Asia-Pacific
Economic Cooperation

Conference on Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work in Human Resource Policy

7 – 8 May 1999

Hong Kong, China

APEC Human Resource Development Working Group

May 1999

Report on the APEC HRD NEDM Project and Conference

Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work in Human Resource Policy

May 7-8, 1999, Hong Kong, China

Background

This project presents a gender-sensitive analysis of labour markets. It asks questions about where women are working, and how policies have different impacts on women and men. The project emerged from a recognition that while women's participation rates in formal labour markets are very high in most APEC member economies, women are also employed in unpaid and informal sector work. This contribution to economic growth through work in the unpaid sector is not well recognized in human resource or other policy because it is not captured in official statistics. Thus, measures that would assist unpaid and informal sector workers take advantage of opportunities in the market are often omitted from policy. Further, the possible negative impacts of policies and programs on the unpaid sector may be left out of policy deliberations.

Project Goals and Objectives

A key goal of the project was to illustrate how program and policy effectiveness have been enhanced when linkages between workers' paid and unpaid work are recognized and integrated. This includes more responsive and targeted programming in human resource development policy, and policies that will contribute to greater balance between human and economic development.

Specific objectives of the project are to:

- develop an APEC network of gender specialists and HRD policymakers;
- identify good practices in the public and private sector that recognize paid and unpaid work;
- elaborate a role for APEC in enhancing Asia-Pacific regional awareness of women's needs and roles and access to resources.

The experts from the nine participating economies (Australia, Canada, Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia, Philippines, Chinese Taipei, Thailand, United States) met as a team three times (Chinese Taipei, June 1998; Santiago, January 1999, and Hong Kong, China, May 7, 1999) to set the key directions for the project, assess progress mid-term, and discuss the final reports and develop recommendations.

Throughout the implementation stage, the project received strong support from local partner organizations: in Chinese Taipei, the Academia Sinica; in Santiago, Chile, CEPAL and SERNAM, (Ministry of Women's Affairs), and in Hong Kong, China, the Education and Manpower Bureau and the Equal Opportunities Commission. Linkages were also developed with multilateral and regional organizations and networks interested in issues relating to paid and unpaid work.

Throughout the project, efforts were made to engage broadly with the government, research, private sector, civil society and labour sectors, both during the research phase for the member economy reports, and at project meetings in Santiago and Hong Kong, China. The 42 participants at the May 8 Hong Kong, China conference came from government, research institutions, private sector, civil society and labour organizations.

Project Outputs:

The project was posted on the APEC Secretariat website, prompting several requests to participate in the concluding conference and to receive the project results. The framework paper, member economy papers and project recommendations will be made broadly available through the Internet and via a publication to be completed by the end of 1999. In addition, the results of the conference will be reported to relevant APEC forums, including the HRD WG and networks. Individual project team members will be reporting to their respective domestic networks.

Linkages Between paid and Unpaid Work in Human Resource Policy: Conference Report and Recommendations

The conference was opened by Mr. Anthony Reynalds, Principal Assistant Secretary for Education and Manpower, Government of Hong Kong, Special Administrative Region. Dr. Fanny M. Cheung, Chair, Equal Opportunities Commission, Hong Kong, China, was the keynote speaker.

Panel discussions were held on the following key thematic areas that emerged from the country papers:

- Policy linkages between paid and unpaid work
- Economic and social policy linkages: implications for allocating fiscal resources
- Economic and social significance of unpaid work in the voluntary sector
- Impacts of the financial crisis on the unpaid sector
- Flexibility issues: considerations for employers, employees and governments
- Unpaid work in the informal and agriculture sectors

Recommendations:

The framework paper and individual member economy papers contain recommendations for governments, the HRD Working Group and other APEC forums. The project team and conference participants identified the following as key priority areas:

1. Recognizing the contribution of unpaid work to the economy

Governments:

The financial crisis has heightened awareness of stability and security in human resource development, and the need to find ways to make livelihoods less precarious. For this reason, it is important to develop instruments that will measure how people earn livelihoods. A key instrument is time use surveys that reveal a more complete picture of the economy than instruments such as labour force surveys.

APEC HRD Working Group:

The conference heard from several participants about the need for better understanding of the use and application of time use survey mechanisms. The HRD Working Group could develop a project to share "best practices" in instruments that would measure how people earn livelihoods. A follow-up to a "best practices" workshop could be training programs in time-use survey and accounting methodology.

SOM Ad Hoc Advisory Group on Gender Integration:

Policy will have differential impacts on women and men, and on unpaid work. One way to make visible the impacts of policy on unpaid work is through gender aware budget exercises. To follow-up on calls by APEC Ministers Responsible for Women for APEC to recognize the significance of unpaid work, the SOM *Ad Hoc* Advisory Group on Gender Integration could coordinate a gender-aware budget exercise. Initially, a pilot exercise could be considered, involving two or three member economies to test existing methodologies.

2. Harmonizing Work-Family Tension at the Workplace

APEC HRD Working Group:

Economy papers prepared for the project included examples of "best practices" from the private as well as public sector of policies and programs that attempted to harmonize work-family tension. Several participants expressed a desire for more information on how companies can be encouraged to take steps in this direction. The Business Management Network could consider organizing a dialogue on family-friendly workplaces. This could take the form of a conference, or an on-line dialogue. Outputs could include a publication of "best practices" in the APEC region.

3. Response to the Asian Financial Crisis: Social Safety Nets

APEC HRD Working Group:

The conference heard how mainstream social impact frameworks fail to capture the contribution of the informal, unpaid sector to the economy. The lack of visibility is not confined to statistics, but includes a widespread lack of attention in the mainstream news service coverage of the crisis as well. The conference recommended that APEC HRD develop a system to monitor the impact of economic policies and restructuring packages on unpaid work, to make visible the often hidden dimensions of economic policy impacts, and to have an accurate assessment of resource use and allocation. This could be implemented through support for and linkages with initiatives underway in organizations such as ENGENDER, a Singapore-based regional organization that is developing an on-line news service to address the critical gender gap in mainstream discourse and decision-making. Other initiatives of interest include Malaysia's *Women Watch*.

APEC:

In view of the significance of the informal and agriculture sectors, particularly as sources for livelihood for women, APEC should dialogue with international agencies to encourage them to recognize and integrate the agricultural and informal sectors in recovery packages. Further, all safety-net response packages should be gender-sensitive.

APEC Human Resource Development Working Group
Network on Economic Development Management

Conference on
Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work in Human Resource Policy
Hong Kong, China, May 8, 1999

A Framework Paper
by
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Introduction

Women are major economic actors in the Asia-Pacific region, in both paid and unpaid capacities. They work as salaried workers, farmers, self-employed workers, family and community workers, and owners and managers of enterprises. Labour force participation data demonstrates that women now comprise between 32 and 46 per cent of the labour force in Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum economies.[ii] These figures do not include the enormous numbers of women and men whose labour is unpaid and therefore not factored in national labour force statistics. Such unpaid labour includes unpaid household work and childcare; civic and voluntary work. In developing economies, it also includes unrecorded activities such as subsistence production, wood gathering and water carrying.

In most countries, about as much time is spent on unpaid activities as on paid activities. While both men and women perform unpaid work, the time allocated to unpaid work is a key human resource consideration for women, for in almost all countries, it is women who perform the bulk of unpaid work. The implications for policymakers and practitioners are far-reaching: Target populations, particularly women, may not be able to take advantage of training or business development programs, unless those programs are designed to take into account their time constraints. This usually entails measures that will reduce existing time constraints in order to free up time for new activities. A key tool to reveal time constraints and identify niches around which interventions might be effectively designed is the time-use survey.

This paper addresses the overlapping themes of unpaid work performed in the household, and the uncounted work in the informal sector, all the while recognizing the important distinctions between the two. Most national statistics fail to capture work in the informal sector, which is particularly important as a source of income for women. For many women, especially those with low levels of education and skills, it may be the only option for employment and income generation. Informal sector employment may also offer women with family responsibilities some flexibility that accommodates those roles since the work may be performed at or near the home. In developing economies in particular, the boundary between "work" and "household responsibilities" is often blurred, as, for example, when production of goods for the market takes place in the home. This distinction is also becoming less clear in developed economies, as sub-contracting to home-based workers has become more prevalent in some sectors.

Both kinds of work, however, take place outside the formal market, and thus are largely un-counted in labour force and national income accounts. The result is a lack of attention by policymakers as to how policy might support or jeopardize the productivity of these sectors. Of concern as well is the incomplete picture of the economy which emerges when the unpaid sector is excluded from policy. In the area of trade policy, for example, a more complete understanding of where, when and how women produce for the international market, directly and indirectly, would assist in formulating a more complete understanding of the benefits of trade liberalization for women and men, and identifying priority points for intervention.[iii]

An Inclusive Human Resource Development Strategy

New economic theory has illustrated the important linkages between economic growth, paid and unpaid work, and formal and informal sector employment, presenting new models that recognize and integrate all human resources. This paper considers the "labour market" as one that includes all human resources, paid and unpaid, formal and informal, in and out of the home. This approach brings into focus the characteristics and needs of human resources that may be deployed in a variety of productive activities, paid and unpaid. It enables planners to recognize and account for the reality of most workers who move in and out of the paid labour market for a variety of reasons: retrenchments or firings; education and training; or family responsibilities. Even if everyone of working age were gainfully employed, that is, engaged in paid work in the formal labour market, unpaid work would still remain to be done: the market cannot provide a commercial substitute for all unpaid activities, nor is such a development desirable. Thus, a better understanding of the linkages between paid and unpaid work and how economic and social policy impact on allocation of time between activity in the two spheres has increasing relevance for economic and human resource planners.

Understanding and sharing good practices that seek to integrate paid and unpaid work in human resource policy has taken on particular relevance for the APEC Human Resource Development Working Group (HRD WG) as it considers a range of responses to the social and human resource impacts of the financial crisis in Asia. Research has shown that the informal sector expands during periods of contraction in the market economy. Understanding the complexities of that sector is critical to effective policy responses.

The "paid/unpaid work" project provided a timely contribution to discussions by APEC Human Resource Ministers, who held their third meeting in July 1999 on issues related to labour market adjustment, social safety nets, and the workplace of the future. Insights from the APEC region on linkages between paid and unpaid work contributed to understanding of key economic sectors where women predominate, and the policy supports, including social safety needs, that enhance women's ability to take advantage of opportunities in the economy.

About the Project and the APEC Human Resources Development Working Group

This paper has been prepared as a "framework paper" for the APEC Human Resources Development Working Group project, *Linkages between Paid and Unpaid Work in Formulating Human Resource Policy.* The project is an activity of the Network for Economic Development Management, a sub-group of the HRD WG. This network addresses policy questions relating to economic and structural change and linkages to labour and employment issues, and has a strong interest in gender issues.

The "paid/unpaid work" project offers a new perspective for APEC on issues affecting women's full participation in the labour market: time, and the sometimes conflicting demands of unpaid, family responsibilities, with paid, employment responsibilities. While there has been an increasing focus in APEC on issues relating to women's participation in the paid, or market economy in recent years,[iv] attention has only recently turned to the policy implications of women's unpaid economic activities.[v] In October 1998, APEC Ministers responsible for women in the economy noted that "women's unpaid work constitutes a major contribution to the economy," and called on governments to make efforts to " recognize the economic contributions of women's unpaid work" and the constraints created by those responsibilities. They further emphasized that the "performance of unwaged work falls disproportionately on women," and stated that "… HRD strategies can ease work-family tensions".[vi]

The project builds on outputs from earlier projects undertaken in NEDM that examined gender issues in the labour market.[vii] Experts from Australia, Canada, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Chinese Taipei, and the United States met three times in 1998-1999 to discuss issues relating to paid and unpaid work from the perspective of their respective economies. Nine member economy papers were prepared setting out major trends and issues in integrating paid and unpaid work. The concluding conference, held in Hong Kong, China, on May 8, 1999, presented major findings and conclusions and developed recommendations to the APEC HRD WG.

Structure of the Paper

The paper begins with a brief overview of some key concepts embraced in the discussion of unpaid work. Early in its discussions, the "paid/unpaid work project team" recognized that concepts related to both paid and unpaid work and the informal sector will have different meanings when applied to different domestic contexts. Each economy paper clarifies the definitions used in the respective economy. A brief history of progress in developing methodologies to integrate unpaid work in national accounts is attached as Appendix A. The appendix also offers a definition of "voluntary" activity, an important component of unpaid work.

Section two assesses the economic significance of unpaid work and the relationship between paid and unpaid work and economic development. These linkages are central to an understanding of the human resource development responses that could support women's roles in the economy and ultimately more successful economic recovery and growth strategies.

A short summary of recent initiatives by governments in the APEC region to measure and assess the impact of the unpaid work performed in their economies is presented in section three.

Section four provides a brief overview of the informal sector's contribution to the economy and the significance of the sector for women's livelihoods. The financial crisis has had a devastating impact on women's employment in the affected economies, through retrenchments, loss of inputs to informal and household production, and increasing domestic work to compensate for loss of public services or prohibitively costly goods produced in the market. The impact of the financial crisis on formal and informal employment varies considerably from economy to economy. Appendix B outlines progress in international efforts to develop statistics to capture the reality of the informal sector.

Information on time use contributes to a better understanding of how conflicting demands on time affect take-up by workers, particularly women, of training and employment opportunities. Section five focuses more specifically on applying knowledge of the "time crunch" to human resource development policy, with a discussion of implications for governments and employers.

Finally, conclusions and recommendations for the APEC Human Resources Development Working Group are found in section six.

1. Definitions: What do we mean by "Unpaid Work"[viii]

"Unpaid work" is "non-market" work; activities that are undertaken outside the formal labour market and that are not reflected in national employment and income statistics. These activities include housework; care of children, the sick and the elderly, voluntary community work; work in political or community organizations; subsistence agriculture; fuel and water collection; participating in a family business, building the family house, or maintenance work[ix]. Unpaid work encompasses "non-SNA" activities, that is, activities that are not included in the production boundary defined in the United Nations System of National Accounts (SNA).[x]

One definition of unpaid work is the "third person criterion". This means activities, which could be purchased in the marketplace, such as purchased childcare, meals, housecleaning and laundry services, etc. Analysts have noted that there is no inherent reason why some activities are remunerated and some are not: the same activity may be paid or unpaid, depending on the social or economic context. Explanations vary with the perspective of the analyst: technological innovation, changes in productivity and prices have an impact; others point to sex stereotyping and undervaluing of what is often considered "women's work."[xi]

Since unpaid activities are statistically invisible, they are rarely integrated into the policymaking process. While the type and amount of work that is unpaid varies in different regions and at different stages of economic development, studies show that almost as much time is spent on unpaid work as on paid work. A study of 14 industrialized countries concluded that, with few exceptions, unpaid work (excluding voluntary work) consumed as much labour, in terms of time, as did paid work performed in the labour market.[xii] A further study[xiii] undertaken for the 1995 UNDP *Human Development Report* found that, taking both, paid and unpaid work into account, women worked longer hours than men in almost all of the 31 countries surveyed.[xiv]

There are other expressions used to describe unpaid work. Unpaid work is sometimes referred to as work in the "social economy" or the "care economy", as opposed to work undertaken in the "money economy". "Work" is often classified as "productive" or "reproductive." "Productive" work refers to activities that are undertaken to produce and process goods and services for the market. These tasks may be carried out at a workplace or at home, and may take place in the formal or the informal sector. Child-rearing and other activities carried out in caring for household members and the community are referred to as "reproductive" work.

2. The Economic Significance of Unpaid Work

2.1 Unpaid Work and Labour Market Participation

Some analysts have addressed the constraints that unpaid work or family responsibilities put on the ability of women to participate fully in the formal, paid labour market. This way of thinking about the linkages between paid and unpaid work seeks to understand how policy measures can enhance women's ability to participate in the paid economy and to invest in human resource development. Responses include support measures such as childcare and elder care that would see household or caring responsibilities shared by the individual and the public sector. Other policies address the gendered nature of the division of labour in households, seeking ways to redistribute household work more equally between men and women. Public sector policy can also enhance the value to households of women's participation in the paid labour market through measures to ensure that women's paid work is valued equally to that of men's. These measures include provision of equal social security benefits (pensions, for example), and employment equity legislation. Family-friendly employment practices, provisions for parental leave, and social security benefits for part-time workers are other examples of possible measures. Some analysts suggest that such innovations may be "too expensive", however, a cost-benefit calculation that includes the loss to the economy of women's non-participation would likely produce a different result[xv].

2.2 The Economic Significance of Unpaid Work

An understanding of the significance of unpaid work is critical to a complete understanding of the functioning of the economy. Since the gross domestic product (GDP) does not include non-monetary production, it records shifts in productive activity from the household and non-market sectors to the market economy as economic growth, even though total production may remain unchanged. Paid child-care, hired domestic help and restaurant food preparation all add to the GDP, while the economic values of parenting, unpaid housework, home food preparation and all forms of volunteer work remain invisible in economic accounts. Productivity gains may result in greater output or increased leisure, but the GDP only measures the first, thereby masking longer working hours. Both omissions have implications for the changing role of women in the economy, who have entered the paid workforce without a corresponding decline in their hours of unpaid work.

Unpaid work can be transferred to and from the market: market goods and services, either publicly or privately delivered, can replace unpaid work, if there is enough income to meet the cost. Thus, a "false" picture of the economy is developed. A more comprehensive description of the economy would incorporate inputs from the formal sector (production activity, market transactions); the informal sector (volunteer activity, the underground economy); the household sector (household production, caring, leisure), and reproductive activity (conception and birth, education and value imprinting). [xvi]

Statistics Canada explains that its efforts to measure and value households' unpaid work are aimed at obtaining "a better understanding of the market and non-market sectors of the economy through a more comprehensive system of national accounts."[xvii] The agency's "extended measures of GDP", which include the value of households' unpaid work, reveal more moderate economic growth since the early 1960s than that indicated by real GDP alone, by as much as 0.6 percent to 0.8 percent less per year.[xviii] Various calculations suggest that if the unpaid, non-market sector were included, national GDP would increase from between 11 to 35 percent (UNDP, 1991). Other estimates are much higher. Estimates for the United States, depending on methodology used, vary from 42 percent up to 75 percent of GDP, with one estimate coming in at 312.7 percent.[xix] A 1996 estimate of the value of unpaid work in Japan ranged from 23 to 25 percent, depending on the valuation method used.[xx] If unpaid work had been included in figures for 1997, the GDP of the Philippines would have increased by 37 to 38 percent.[xxi] International time use expert Duncan Ironmonger has proposed a system of household national accounts (a Gross Household Product) that places the value of household production in excess of the value of the two largest market industries in Australia.[xxii] These contributions to the economy, if integrated into national accounts, would drastically alter the picture of most of our economies that GDP figures now present.

Unpaid labour is a resource that can be depleted, with potentially negative impacts on the macro-economy. These include the cost to those who provide the unpaid work, in terms of loss of education, health, and well-being. Second, unpaid work may compete with paid work: meeting greater demands for unpaid work may jeopardize ability to supply more paid work. This may be one explanation for poor supply response to some adjustment programs. Economist Diane Elson[xxiii] argues that a hidden factor in many episodes of stabilization and structural adjustment is the intensification and extension of unpaid labour. Unpaid labour may assist in absorbing the shocks of adjustment: for example, unpaid labour may be substituted for paid labour in the production of food and clothing, which are produced in the home instead of purchased from the market. Voluntary labour may be mobilized in community self-help schemes when public expenditures are cut.

Research undertaken in several economies, including Australia and Canada, has attempted to assess the implications of measures in national budgets for household time budgets. Cutbacks in social services, for example, may have the effect of increasing time spent on care work; reductions in subsidies for food stuffs may result in women, who are usually responsible for provisioning food, spending more time looking for cheaper substitutes.

2.3 The Voluntary Sector

There are human resource and training issues affecting the voluntary sector, and an understanding of time use sheds important insights into the challenges facing the sector, as well as some possible policy responses. One consideration is the impact on social institutions when total demands on work time, paid and unpaid, become so great that there is no time left for volunteer or civic activities. A Canadian study on the value of volunteer time found that individuals under financial or time stress may first cut back on voluntary commitments. The study found that while the number of people volunteering in Canada had increased in the period 1987 to 1997, the average volunteer was contributing 25 percent fewer hours than a decade earlier. The value of this loss in services to the sick, elderly, disabled, children and other vulnerable groups was set at C$1.83 billion a year. This loss of voluntary services has compounded the effect of government budget cuts in public services to produce "a substantial erosion of the social safety net for those most at risk." [xxiv]

3. Accounting for Unpaid Work: Initiatives in the APEC Region

Unlike market activity and transactions, for which fairly reliable and lengthy statistical data and long standing policy applications have been developed, non-market activity has received comparatively little attention.[xxv] In the follow-up to the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women, there has been growing interest by governments and multilateral organizations in advancing methodologies that will enable the SNA to accommodate a broader range of policy concerns. The National Statistical Office of Korea, for example, has sponsored two seminars for Asian region economies on human resource accounts, in partnership with the UNDP. Unresolved technical questions remain, however, the key question is how the effectiveness of human resource policy interventions can be enhanced when those interventions take account of the realities of workers' time constraints.

Efforts to account for unpaid work vary greatly across the APEC region. The less developed member economies in transition, such as Vietnam, are rebuilding their statistical databases. Other economies have progressed with pilot studies. Korea has piloted human resource accounting, and Japan has tried to impute the value of women's unpaid work. Other developed economies have introduced national time-use surveys in various forms.[xxvi]

Indonesia has undertaken initial pilot studies on non-SNA activities with time-use surveys: a 1980 survey in rural Pekalongan, Central Java. More recently, with UNICEF support, the Central Bureau of Statistics undertook a small-scale study in Pandeglang, West Java in 1997. The **Philippines** has undertaken several special surveys to illustrate the kind of work that is needed to expand the coverage of economic activities: the 1995 Urban Informal Sector Survey in the National Capital Region; the 1995 Survey on Working Children, and the 1993 Survey of Homeworkers. [xxvii]

The **Japanese** Bureau of the Management and Coordination Agency conducted a Survey on Time Use and Leisure Activities. The survey concluded that the hours of unpaid work equal about 50 percent the number of hours of paid labour. Using three methods of evaluation, the survey assessed the value of unpaid work at between 67-99 trillion yen in 1991, or 14.6 to 21.6 percent of the GDP. The assessed value of unpaid work for women stood at nearly 70 percent of the average market wage. More recently, a Public Opinion Survey on a Gender Equal Society (1997), by the Office for Gender Equality in the Prime Minister's Office, queried respondents on time use by married and single women and men, and on attitudes to housework.[xxviii]

Following a review of early surveys, which were based on European models, **Korea** prepared a revised survey. Measuring women's unpaid work is considered to be vital for the improvement of women's status and the establishment of a gender sensitive development policy. Time-use surveys were previously carried out by the Seoul Development Institute and the Korea Broadcasting System. The National Statistics Office was to conduct a nation-wide time-use survey in 1998. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry formed an Advisory Committee on Policies for Female Agricultural Workers in 1998 to re-evaluate the contributions of women in their agricultural activities and work at home in order to establish a secure base for agricultural productivity by women and to promote the quality of life in rural areas.[xxix]

In the Asia-Pacific region, the **Regional Bureau for Asia and the Pacific of the United Nations Development Programme**, in association with the UNDP's Human Development Report Office and Gender in Development Program, UNIFEM, and the United Nations Statistical Division, has sponsored two workshops in Seoul, Korea, (May 1997 and December 1998), to refine methodological issues.

In 1997, the **Australian Bureau of Statistics** (ABS) conducted its second time-use survey as part of a continuing program of surveys conducted every five years. The ABS also published a study on work and family responsibilities in 1994.[xxx] **Statistics New Zealand** conducted its first national survey on household time use in 1998. **Canada** collects information on unpaid work through the biennial General Social Survey (GSS) and the national census. The 1996 census was the first to include a detailed question on unpaid work, and there are plans to include questions in the 2001 census. Several studies have been done on the amount and value of unpaid household work in order to gauge production not measured in the System of National Accounts (SNA). They have been used as well to develop Statistics Canada's Total Work Accounts System (TWAS), which forms the basis of the Economic Gender Equality Indicators released by the Canadian Federal-Territorial Ministers Responsible for the Status of Women. Although the **United States** does not regularly collect data on unpaid work, some data is collected by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) and the Census Bureau on unpaid family workers. In 1997, the BLS conducted two pilot time-use surveys, and is presently examining the mechanisms for full-scale time-use surveys. In addition, the United States collects data through regular household expenditure surveys.

4. The Informal Sector

Once thought to be a labour market characteristic of developing economies that would disappear as those economies matured, employment in the informal sector has actually risen rapidly in all regions of the world in the past two decades. In Latin America, the share of the informal sector in the non-agricultural workforce averages 50 percent and in different parts of Asia, 40 to 60 percent.

The sector is particularly important to women. Globally, women represent just under 25 percent of the non-agricultural self-employed. Studies show that the majority of economically active women in developing countries, except in the Latin American region, are in the informal sector, and that a larger share of economically active women than men, in all age groups, are to be found in this sector. The size of the informal sector as a percentage of the non-agricultural workforce globally has actually expanded since the early 1980s in most developing economies, except among the rapidly growing economies of East and Southeast Asia up to the crisis period. Even in those countries, however, World Bank estimates suggested that 43 percent of women workers in South Korea were employed in the informal sector, and 79 percent of women in Indonesia.[xxxi] Among other APEC member economies, the informal sector in Chile expanded from 51.6 percent in 1990 to 56.1 percent in 1995; in Peru from 51.8 per cent to 53.9 percent, and in Mexico from 55.5 percent to 59.4 percent.

It has been difficult for statisticians to develop a definitive set of categories to capture the informal sector, because informal economic activities vary in every economy. A survey of statistical resources on informal sector activity in APEC economies revealed enormous gaps in data for many countries, lack of sex-disaggregated data, and data that described only one segment of the informal sector.[xxxii] Data does not exist for major economies such as China and Russia. The International Labour Organization has played a leading role in developing working definitions to standardize data collection efforts (see Appendix B). Initiatives to develop gender-sensitive statistics on the informal sector are currently underway in the Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO) network of international and national statistical organizations, researchers and users. Table 3 illustrates the magnitude of own-account and family workers as a share of non-agricultural labour force and total informal sector employment for selected APEC economies.

Informal sector activities share common features: ease of entry; small scale activity; self-employment, with a high proportion of family workers and apprentices; little capital and equipment; labour intensive technologies; low skills; low level of organization with no access to organized markets or to formal credit, education and training, or services and amenities; cheap provision of goods and services or provision of goods and services otherwise unavailable; low productivity and low incomes according to some analysts, or, according to others, incomes that are higher than in the public sector, especially during the crisis periods and in the context of structural adjustment policies.[xxxiii] Jobs in the informal sector also feature high levels of insecurity and lack social protection.

Informal sector activities are often legal, but they rarely comply with official and administrative regulations. They are not registered and do not pay taxes, partly because governments are unable to enforce regulations. Informal sector activities are often tolerated in a kind of recognition that the laws are inadequate, and are often a means for economies to cope with population growth, rural-urban migrations, economic crises, poverty, and indebtedness. Some analysts have attributed the growth of the informal sector not so much to low levels of development or weak adjustment to the modern economy, but as an adjustment to the inadequacy of regulations in force. The more

difficult the economic context, the more extended the informal sector. In a more dynamic economy, the micro-enterprise sector tends to expand, attempting to become part of the formal sector. [xxxiv]

The informal sector is not homogeneous, and embraces a wide range of activities:[xxxv]

1. Informal sector employment:
- Own-account workers,
- Self-employed,
- Micro-enterprise operators (employers)
- Micro-enterprise wage employees,
- Unpaid family workers

2. "Atypical types of employment"
- home-based workers – independent
  dependent (sub-contractees)
- temporary workers
- casual workers

3. Wage workers in export industries (especially in export processing zones, or EPZs)

4. International migrant workers

The sector is a dynamic one. Research has demonstrated that the micro-enterprise segment of the informal economy tends to grow as the economy expands. A recent study [xxxvi] of own-account and family workers as a share of non-agriculture labour showed a downward trend in family enterprises during the period of rapid economic growth in Southeast Asia, from more than one-third to nearly one-quarter of the non-agricultural labour force from the 1980s to the end of the 1990s. On the other hand, the own-account/family enterprises segment tends to expand when economies slow down or suffer downturns. The casual and sub-contract segment of the informal economy presents a mixed picture: informal labour contracts and sub-contracting are associated with low growth and economic downturns as well as with recent global trade and investment patterns.[xxxvii]

The member economy papers from Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand prepared for this project describe the movement from unpaid family worker to employee experienced in Southeast Asian economies through the processes of urbanization and industrialization. However, in the wake of the financial crisis, there has been an upsurge in the category of unpaid family worker.[xxxviii]

While jobs in the informal sector are low quality, they are part of the job creation and income generation process. Some components of the informal sector expand when the economic cycle is in decline, allowing people to earn a living rather than staying openly unemployed. In the absence of comprehensive employment insurance or other safety nets, few can afford the luxury of being openly unemployed for very long.

The rapid globalization of production and marketing activities by transnational corporations from many countries has been accompanied by substantial informalization and subcontracting of work arrangements that are beyond state regulation (this phenomenon is sometimes called "flexibilization"). Gender is an important variable in this process. Women's involvement in the informal sector has increased as they are faced with economic recession, reduced job opportunities in the formal sector, and an increased need for additional family income. The relationship between formal sector and informal sector employment is particularly visible in industries producing goods for export. Industry sector studies on the garments and electronics sectors have shed new light on the relationships between industrial, formal sector work, and informal and household work.[xxxix]

4.1 Impact of the Financial Crisis on the Informal Sector

The significance of the informal sector is poorly reflected in official statistics, thus it is not surprising that measures to support the sector are not well integrated in national human resource and economic policies. Neither has the impact of the financial crisis on informal sector workers and producers been well reflected in mainstream social impact frameworks, although it is evident that the informal sector has expanded in 1997-98 in APEC economies affected by the crisis, absorbing large numbers of those laid off from formal sector employment. The informal sector has also been affected through invisible layoffs resulting in unemployment shifts to self-employment, casual work and migration to urban or rural areas or overseas. Appendix C presents a summary of economic, social and welfare impacts of the financial crisis on formal sector workers, informal sector workers and informal sector producers, and illustrates the linkages between formal and informal sector employment effects. The economy papers prepared for the *Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work* project provide additional insights. They describe the shift from formal sector work to informal sector activities in Indonesia and Thailand, with marked gender differences in mobility patterns between women and men in Indonesia. In Malaysia, there has been an increase in informal activities such as hawking, petty-trading and food-stalls, although only Kuala Lumpur has a database that tracks entrants to this sector by sex. There is no gender policy to guide local authorities in licensing policy and practice. They point to the critical need to integrate a gender sensitive understanding of the labour market, one that includes paid and unpaid work in both the formal and informal sectors in the design of social safety nets and recovery strategies.

The invisibility of the informal sector is not confined to the realm of statistics. One analysis of mainstream news service coverage of the financial crisis, economic rescue packages, and news reports from non-governmental organizations found few references to the economic impact on women information[xl]. One organization, ENGENDER, is proposing a news service that would focus on women's livelihoods in the crisis to address this dearth of information.

5. Linking Unpaid Work to Human Resource Policies

A major objective for APEC's Human Resource Development Working Group is increasing productivity in wage employment. Family responsibilities are a major factor affecting women's attachment to the labour force, as well as the use of non-standard work arrangements by those who have jobs.[xli] Growing evidence of the economic significance of unpaid work underscores the need to integrate knowledge about unpaid activities into human resource development policy and activities.

The need to address growing child and elder care concerns of workers has also gained increased importance on corporate and government agendas in recent years, a reflection of the growing participation rates by women in the labour market. The changing demographics of the workforce, combined with an aging population, is one impetus for employers to adopt policies that will ease the conflicts of work and family responsibilities: an aging workforce means that increasingly, workers will have to juggle both child and elder care with their paid work responsibilities. The high cost of replacing experienced workers, women and men, who leave the workforce because of family responsibilities is another. A recent American study estimated the cost of replacing an employee at more than US$100,000.[xlii]

The failure of policymakers to account for reproductive work also results in certain key factors being excluded from policymaking, with resulting negative implications for productivity and human resource development. For example, more women than men take time away from paid work for childbearing and -rearing, and caring for the sick or elderly. These workers become ineligible for workplace-based training, thus, in addition to workplace-based programs, training and re-skilling programs must also be accessible through both formal and non-formal delivery mechanisms.

5.1 Strategies for Governments

5.1.1 Linkages between Unpaid Work and Women's Economic Security

Recognition by governments of the value of unpaid work could enhance women's economic security in several ways: tax credits for individuals who care for a disabled person in the home and child tax credits for stay-at-home parents to look after children are one form of recognition. The introduction of reimbursable tax credits to recognize the work of unpaid caregivers could be a mechanism that would enable them to contribute to pension plans and access other government programs, including job training and social security benefits. Governments could encourage the banking sector to recognize unpaid work as collateral for loans, thereby providing an important bridge for unpaid workers to move into micro- and small-businesses.

A wide range of policies intersect with and have an impact on unpaid work. Time-use data is useful for revealing linkages between the government's budget and household time budgets. The gender sensitive budget, or women's budget, is one analytic tool. In this exercise, the national budget is disaggregated and the effect of expenditure and revenue policies on women and men, girls and boys, is analyzed. The process tends to reveal that the national budget is anything but gender neutral: cutbacks in social services, for example, may increase the need for unpaid work. The distribution of unpaid work within households can further be affected by public sector policies, such as unequal employment or pension benefits, which may serve to reinforce traditional "choices" by women to remain outside the labour market. Australia pioneered work on gender sensitive budgets in the 1980s and 1990s, and two states (Tasmania and Northern Territory) continue to undertake women's budget exercises. The alternative budget exercise in Canada offers a similar analysis. [xliii]

5.1.2 Linkages Between Unpaid Work and Labour Market Participation

Gender biases in tax systems, social security and welfare policies can have the effect of discouraging women from entering the labour market. A key step for governments is to make clear the assumptions and principles about families that shape economic and social policy. Understanding how policy can reinforce gender disadvantage or promote equal access to the productive economy is vital to successful human resource strategies. A framework for analysis examined by the *Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work* project team was that of sociologist Margrit Eichler, who posits three models of the family which influence policy and which have different gender impacts:

- The **patriarchal model**, where the household is treated as a unit, the father/husband is seen as responsible for the economic well-being of the family and the mother/wife is responsible for the household and care of family members, particularly children. With this model, the wife/mother is viewed as the economic dependent of her husband and her unpaid work is viewed as economically valueless. If either spouse ceases to perform his or her function, the state is likely to take over the job no longer performed by the absent spouse (for example, social welfare policies for single mothers that are only available so long as the mother does not live with a man).

- The **individual responsibility model**, where both husband and wife are seen as responsible for their own support as well as that of the other; both are responsible for the household and personal care of family members. Society may give support to families, but is not responsible for the economic well-being of the family or the care of family members when either husband or wife is present. In this model, the economic value of unpaid work is more visible. One implication of this model is that when one spouse is absent, the state will tend not to take over the role of the absent spouse. This leaves the remaining spouse taking on the family care and paid work responsibilities of two persons.

- A **social responsibility model,** where every adult is considered responsible for his or her own economic support would mean that all economic policies should attempt to attract women and men equally into the labour force. Some policies, however, would be required to overcome the barriers that some groups of women encounter when trying to enter or re-enter labour markets. In addition, labour markets would have to be restructured to become more flexible. This could mean, for example, reducing the distinctions between full- and part-time work, and introducing education leaves on a large-scale basis. Socially useful work in the household, such as caring for dependent children and the elderly, would need to be recognized as work and treated as such.[xliv]

Policy responses should include measures that promote a broader recognition and understanding of work and employment, including harmonizing work and family responsibilities for both women and men. [xlv] Ideally, these responses would support a social responsibility model. Some good practices identified by the project team are:

- tracking projects in **Canada** supported by Human Resources Development Canada aimed at understanding the hidden costs of structural adjustment in households and communities;
- training programs for self-employment and micro-enterprise development in **Indonesia**;
- extension of unemployment insurance protection in **Korea** to workplaces employing fewer than five workers, including temporary and part-time workers;
- gender equality training for public sector employees in **Korea**;
- extension of social security protection to the self-employed, farmers, fishers, household workers, overseas workers and household managers in the **Philippines**;
- broad-based gender planning in **Thailand** under the Prospective Policies and Planning for Development of Women (1992-2011) launched by the National Commission on Women's Affairs;
- government recognition of and encouragement for model private sector policies and programs in the **United States.**

Steps for governments to consider include:

- Reform of the tax system and social security policies to eliminate the concept of the sole breadwinner in a two-adult family. Examples of policies that have disincentive effects on women's employment and men's ability to play a greater role in family care include joint income testing for social security benefits and dependent spouse allowances. When such benefits are determined based on the joint rather than separate income of spouses, a couple may find that it is not worthwhile for the wife to work (as women's wages are frequently lower than men's), or that the husband may not qualify as a dependent spouse;

- Reform of the tax system and social security policies should also aim to facilitate flexibility in the way people divide their time between education and training, paid employment, family responsibilities, volunteer activity and other socially useful forms of work;

- Maternity, paternity and childcare leave regulations; ensuring through legislation, incentives and/or encouragement, opportunities for women and men to take job-protected parental leave and to have parental benefits;

- Provision of family-friendly workplaces and social support structures and networks to serve the needs of families and workers;

- Provision of quality, affordable child-care services;

- Provision of care for the elderly, including community-based support programs;

- Financial social support services. Government can encourage enterprises to provide social services through offering tax rebates; employees can make reasonable contributions to facilities that directly benefit them; local community organizations can work with public employment service offices to provide some support services. Government can set ground rules; encourage initiatives from various institutions and facilitate conditions under which they operate;

- Arrangements to make it possible for workers to leave employment temporarily without adversely affecting training opportunities or sacrificing career development prospects. Measures include parental leave and reinsertion training so employees can update skills on re-entry in the labour market. This is particularly relevant for women who seek to re-enter the paid workforce after a period of absence for child or elder care;

- Arrangements for providing workers with more flexibility in planning their work day, to allow workers to remain in employment and maintain their work-related benefits while assuming responsibility for family care. This flexibility can take many forms: intermediate part-time work with the option to return to full-time hours, flextime, job sharing, and the ability to "capitalize" over the working week.

5.2 Private Sector Strategies

There is growing recognition by companies of the value-added of adopting policies and programs that are "family-friendly," that is policies that make it easier for employees, particularly women, to balance work and family responsibilities.[xlvi] Until fairly recently employees were expected to adjust their unpaid work responsibilities to the demands of their paid work, but increasingly, changes are occurring in organizations.[xlvii]

Competitiveness and productivity are other considerations. There is growing evidence that "family-friendly policies" have a positive impact on productivity where indicators of productivity include recruitment, retention, morale, absenteeism, and tardiness [xlviii]. An Australian study has developed a methodology for calculating the costs and benefits of family-friendly workplace policies.[xlix]

While many companies have adopted such measures as parental leave, flexible hours, and job sharing, there is some ambivalence among observers about the actual impact of these measures. An increasing number of organizations offer family-friendly measures such as flextime or reduced hours, but low take-up rates by employees suggest the need for an understanding of the barriers. An overarching corporate culture that rewards long hours at the office, for example, can be a strong disincentive to workers' applying for flextime to accommodate family needs.

Some suggest that focusing attention on the needs of working mothers has reinforced the view that it is only mothers who experience work-family conflicts, and that men do not. This notion is at variance with the reality that men increasingly share responsibility for child and elder care, and also experience scheduling constraints. Some companies are introducing "father-friendly" workplaces that recognize and provide flexibility for male workers. Issues to be addressed include rewarding workers for what they get done, rather than the number of hours they stay at the office; accommodating tele-work arrangements by assessing employees who work off-site by their ability to work independently, yet communicate with their work team to achieve goals; evaluating managers on their degree of support of work-family balance for employees.[l]

Some experts have interpreted parental leave or parental part-time regulations as a way of inducing mothers to reduce their labour supply in times of slack labour demand. This has the effect of reinforcing traditional role models of the male breadwinner and female unpaid household worker, and throws highly skilled women backward in their career progression. Criteria for gender-neutral take-up of leave arrangements should include a well-developed infrastructure for both child care and maintaining employability during the career interruptions. Family leave allowances should be structured like unemployment benefits, that is, as an income replacement subject to taxes and social security contributions. A further criterion would be flexible take-up of entitlements to family time-off.[li]

Telecommuting, or tele-work, is an alternative office arrangement that substitutes computing and telecommunications for the "commute" to the traditional office. Telecommuting can assist both women and men better balance work and family, when it is viewed not merely as a means of relocating work but is integrated with modern management strategies aimed at a less hierarchical organization. However, telecommuting cannot be a substitute for childcare or elder care. There are also concerns that telecommuting for women may in fact result in an increase in both their productive and reproductive workload, as "it is often men, as highly skilled professionals, who benefit from tele-homeworking, as the gender division of labour spares them the burden of domestic labour".[lii] Others have noted the tendency for the workday to creep beyond the eight-hour day: studies have shown that those with computers at home work an average of 2.5 hours per day more than those without home computers.[liii]

5.3 Other Strategies for Governments, Employers, and Workers

- Retirements and retrenchments/redistributing work.

Are there ways of easing the abrupt transition to retirement that could provide both social and economic benefits? Can companies and governments recognize the value of volunteer activities and develop policies that would encourage and support it? These could include phased transitions to retirement for employees who could contribute skills and experience to the unpaid sector, while still retaining some regular income from paid work; company support for volunteer activity as part of employee early retirement packages; and tax credits for hours of volunteer work.

There is a need for better understanding of gender differences in volunteer activities. Canadian time-use survey data suggest that upon retirement, men and women allocate their time differently, with men, particularly retired

professional men, less likely to volunteer time, compared to women with similar occupational and educational backgrounds. Private and public sector employers could collaborate with civic organizations that need volunteer support to find ways of supporting increased participation in the volunteer sector.

Information on time use by different cohorts at different ages is also important for policymakers with respect to management of job-family tensions in senior years, and issues of late-life training and education for displaced workers.[liv]

- Collective Agreements

Gender differences in time use can be integrated into collective agreements, for example, one collective labour agreement reduced working hours for occupations with at least 40 hours per week to 38 hours. More vacation days were preferred in male dominated occupations and reduced working weeks for women.[lv] Another study found high demand among women workers for improved influence over scheduling and work demands to correspond with the needs of the family.[lvi]

The Canadian Labour Congress has published a guide for unions considering bargaining for family-friendly workplaces. Issues include flexible working hours, job-sharing, job protection and consideration for expectant and nursing mothers and for those with family responsibilities. [lvii]

6. Conclusions and Recommendations for the APEC Human Resources Development Working Group

This framework paper has highlighted many the key issues embraced in the discussion on linkages between paid and unpaid work. While questions about statistical methodologies to establish the size and impact of the unpaid sector persist, a survey of the literature and reports from organizations engaged in addressing technical questions suggests that consensus is emerging and methodologies are being refined. Several member economies are moving forward with time-use surveys and are piloting initiatives to attach a monetary value to the unpaid work performed in their economies. International organizations and associations are supporting work on improving data.

Accurate and complete data on unpaid work are important policy tools, however, the APEC HRD inquiry into unpaid work was interested primarily in the linkages with human resource policy. An understanding of the role that unpaid work plays in the individual lives of workers, particularly women, and in the overall functioning of the economy, is critical to the formulation of effective and sustainable human resource policy. This paper has attempted to outline some of the key areas for APEC HRD. These include:

- the contribution to be made by time-use data to identify barriers to employment, training and re-skilling, including time constraints, affecting target populations which policy interventions might be designed to reduce or eliminate;
- time-use data can reveal the implications of changing working conditions, such as increasing reliance on sub-contracting or other forms of "flexibilization", on target populations and households that other survey tools may miss;
- the importance of integrating the informal sector in human resources strategies. The financial crisis has demonstrated vividly the important role this sector plays in sustaining livelihoods, and the importance of extending social safety nets and labour protection to include workers outside the formalwork force.
- the need for a more complete understanding of the economy in which the labour market operates. The economic model informing human resource policy should incorporate inputs from the formal sector, informal sector, household sector and reproductive activity. This model recognizes that unpaid labour is a finite resource, and can be depleted;
- the important role played by the voluntary sector in maintaining society and the need for a better understanding of how policy can support or constrain that sector.

The paper attempts to identify key issues and suggest steps that go beyond interventions aimed at assisting women in their existing roles in society, for those existing roles may tend to conflict with broader policy objectives for full participation in gainful formal sector employment. Rather, the paper and the project team have sought to address underlying issues related to the allocation of paid and unpaid work between women and men, recognizing that it is not realistic to assume that women can add extra paid work and training time to an already overstretched time budget.

A key role for governments is create the enabling environment for women and men to participate fully in the economy and have equal access to the benefits of growth, including gainful employment and opportunities for education, training and lifelong learning. An analytical framework developed by sociologist Margrit Eichler contributes to revealing whether policy tends to support traditional, subordinate roles for women or contributes to a more equal division of labour between women and men in total work, paid and unpaid. The gender sensitive budget is another tool that assists in uncovering how apparently gender neutral policy measures may have unequal impacts on women and men and unintentionally constrain the effectiveness of initiatives in other policy areas, such as human resource policy, aimed at promoting women's economic equality.

The papers prepared by experts from the nine participating APEC member economies in the "Paid and Unpaid Work Project" identify good practices adopted by their public and private sectors that recognize and integrate paid and unpaid work, and suggest additional steps that could be taken by APEC, by governments and other organizations. The evaluation criteria for "good practices" suggested by the project team are:

- does the practice or policy recognize the role of the family/household? Does it recognize and take into account the interface between paid and unpaid work?

- what is the actual take-up rate by the target population?

6.1 Recommendations:

- A key recommendation for the APEC Human Resources Development Working Group is that it broaden its agenda for human resource development to include all human resources, paid and unpaid, formal and informal, in and out of the home. This vision of the "labour force" recognizes that increasingly, workers move in and out of the paid, formal labour market. Changes in the paid, formal economy have profound impacts on the unpaid and informal sectors, sectors which engage a significant proportion of workers, particularly women.

- The interplay between paid and unpaid work needs to be better understood and integrated into policy. Research is needed on understanding barriers to full participation in the paid workforce, including the impacts of government policies and fiscal measures. The gender sensitive budget exercise is one analytical tool being developed to reveal unintended biases in national budgets that serve to restrict women's participation in the labour market. The HRD WG might consider, or recommend to some other appropriate APEC forum, piloting a gender analysis of two or more APEC member economies' budgets.

- With respect to the human resource implications of the financial crisis, the HRD WG should consider examining the responses of those economies that have had the most success in responding to the crisis to see what policies were put in place that supported the informal sector. What policy responses will support workers in both the formal and informal sectors to take advantage of opportunities that emerge in periods of economic reconstruction?

- The APEC HRD Labour Market Information Database should include data on workers in the informal sector. In view of the complexities involved in developing comprehensive informal sector statistics, the HRD WG's Labour Market Information Group might consider ways to develop collaborative linkages with organizations which are attempting to improve informal sector data, for example, Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO).

- The APEC Human Resource Development Working Group should consider ways to develop broader partnerships with research and policy networks whose work on paid and unpaid work and the informal sector could contribute to APEC goals for human resource development. This could be done by reinforcing and expanding networks developed through the implementation of the *Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work* project in subsequent APEC HRD projects, and through linkages to related work other APEC fora.

- The APEC Business Management Network's Chief Human Resources Officers Network (CHRO) should consider holding a seminar to discuss family-friendly workplace practices in Asia-Pacific economies. This discussion could include an assessment of which family-friendly practices have been most successful, that is, have experienced the greatest take-up by workers, and an evaluation of why others have not.

Appendix A

Accounting for Unpaid Work: A Brief Overview

Following is a brief outline of issues and progress in addressing the underestimation of women's work in labour force statistics and national income accounts since the 1970s. This section draws largely from overviews by Lourdes Beneria, "Accounting for Women's Work: The Progress of Two Decades," in *World Development* Vol. 20, No. 11, pp. 1547-1560, 1992, and Lucita S. Lazo, "Counting Paid and Unpaid Work: The State of the Art in the Asia-Pacific Region," Centre for the Informal Sector, Philippines Social Science Centre, Philippines, 1999.

- In the 1970s economist Ester Boserup brought attention to the underestimation of, and exclusion of women's subsistence activities in agriculture in national income accounting. It was observed that production for own consumption was larger in developing agricultural countries. However, even in high income countries, as labour becomes more expensive, self-help activities increase, usually resulting in an increase in the hours spent on unpaid household work. The importance of recognizing this trend is the cyclical shifts of production between the household and the market, whereby the shift to the household is likely to be underestimated.

- The 1980s and 1990s revealed a need for systematic information about domestic production and subsistence activities as the intensification of women's work as a result of structural adjustment policies implemented in many countries was discussed.

- In 1982, the 13th International Conference on Labour Statisticians introduced a new definition of "economically active population" to include subsistence production in national accounts. Remaining was the need for more countries to recognize activities such as gathering fuel or water, processing crops, etc., to be considered "economic activities."

- The 1985 United Nations World Conference on Women in Nairobi produced a report, *Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women*, strongly recommending efforts to measure the contribution of women's paid and unpaid work to "all aspects and sectors of development." This led to support by international organizations, non-government organizations, and governments to systematically include statistics on women's work in national accounts, particularly in labour force and production statistics.

- Since 1986, considerable progress has been made on reviewing national accounts and statistics on women's work, including revisions in the International Standard Classification of Occupations.

- In 1989 the United Nation's World Survey on the Role of Women in Development recognized the need to value non-monetary production in monetary terms prevailing in the market. The UN Expert Group on Measurement of Women's Income and their Participation and Production in the Informal Sector recommended the use of "satellite accounts" to record economic processes of unpaid production of goods and services in households, to complement statistics compiled under the System of National Accounts (SNA). However, there was little agreement on the inclusion of services and volunteer work. The practical implementation is the responsibility of individual member states.

- The early 1990s saw debate around the definition of "total labour force" by UN branches, researchers and women's communities, in order to go beyond subsistence activities to include domestic work and related activities.

- In 1993 the SNA was revised to include all production of goods in households, yet it excluded personal and domestic services within households.

- The *Platform for Action*, adopted at the World Conference on Women in Beijing, September 1995, once again emphasized the need to devise statistical means to make women's work visible and their contributions to national economies, "including their contribution in the unremunerated and domestic sectors, and examine the relationship of women's unremunerated work to the incidence of and their vulnerability to poverty (70 b). "

- Practical difficulties have been identified at national and international levels for collecting data. These include a lack of awareness of the problem and possible solutions; resistance due to beliefs in the adequacy of current systems; technical problems, such as generating data on a large scale; and cost considerations, particularly for low-income countries.

- A major development in methodology for counting paid and unpaid work in 1997 was the UN Trial International Classification for Time Use Activities. The work provides the basis for coding data from time-use surveys and provides categories for assessing national labour inputs into the production of all goods and types of services, in the compilation of household satellite accounts, and in examining trends.

The Voluntary Sector

Voluntary work can be offered either through a formal non-profit organization or independently of any group by people helping on their own. These are "formal" and "informal" volunteers, respectively. The designation "voluntary" work is used here to refer both to work and services performed willingly and without pay through volunteer organizations, and also to informal unpaid help and care rendered to those outside one's own household and to adults, such as elderly relatives, within the household.

Voluntary work refers to three types of assistance:

- help provided directly to others, as in answering a help line or caring for elderly or disabled persons,
- working for the environment or wildlife, and
- providing benefit to society at large or to the local community

Non-profit organizations include groups committed to health care, education and youth development, social services, religious activity, sport and recreation, environmental protection, law and justice, employment opportunities, art and culture, and general public benefit.

"Work of civic value" is defined as non-investment activity undertaken by an individual that, by its nature, is thought to yield more public, community and social benefits than private or family benefits. Such activities are thought to be essential to the promotion of peace, order and good government; effective and just local communities; more publicly sensitive schools, hospitals, businesses and other institutions; and civic minded and environmentally sensitive citizens (Statistics Canada). It is included with voluntary work into one category (See, for example, GPI Atlantic. "Economic Value of Civic and Voluntary Work: Part 1." Genuine Progress Index, Nova Scotia, Canada. http://www.gpiatlantic.org.

Appendix B

The Informal Sector

This section is adapted from Jacques Charmes, "Informal Sector, Poverty and Gender: A Review of Empirical Evidence." October 1998. Paper submitted for the World Development Report 2000 and presented at a WIEGO Workshop, April 14, 1999, Ottawa, Canada.

The main features of informal sector economic units are: small scale of the activity; self-employment, with a high proportion of family workers and apprentices; little capital and equipment; labour intensive technologies; low skills; low level of organization with no access to organized markets, to formal credit, to education and training or services and amenities; cheap provision of goods and services or provision of goods and services otherwise unavailable; low productivity and low incomes according to some analysts, or, on the contrary, incomes that are notably higher than the public sector, especially during the recent period and in the context of structural adjustment policies, for other observers.

Although these activities are legal, they rarely comply with official and administrative requirements. More specifically, as they often go unregistered, they do not pay relevant taxes, not only or not mostly out of a desire or willingness to escape and to remain concealed, but more likely because of the inability of governments to enforce often inadequate regulations. They have become a means for many countries to cope with population growth, rural-urban migrations, economic crises, poverty and indebtedness. In addition, many formal wage-earners are engaged in informal businesses held as additional jobs in order to compensate declining wages and purchasing power.

Definitions

In 1993 the International Conference of Labour Statisticians agreed on a definition of the informal sector for statistical purposes. The category "unpaid family worker" was changed to "contributing family worker" and the group "own-account" workers was expanded to include people working in a family enterprise with the same degree of commitment as the head of the enterprise. These people, usually women, were formerly considered "unpaid family workers" (*World Development Indicators*. Washington DC: World Bank, 1998, p.57).

The statistical definition distinguishes two main segments of the informal sector:

1) "family enterprise" (own-account informal enterprise) without permanent employees;
2) "micro-enterprise" (informal employers) without permanent employees.

"**Informal own-account enterprises**" are enterprises in the household sector owned and operated by own-account workers, which may employ contributing family workers and employees on an occasional basis but do not employ employees on a continual basis. Informal sector enterprises engage in the production of goods or services with the primary objective of generating employment and income to the persons concerned "and typically operate at a low level of organization with little division between labour and capital as factors of production and on a small scale" (*The World's Women 1970-95: Trends and Statistics*. New York: UN, 1995, p. 116).

Units engaged exclusively in non-market production, that is subsistence units, and in agricultural activities generally, although included within production in the national accounts, are not included in this definition of the informal sector. The age limit of the population recorded as working in the informal sector merits special attention because of the extent of child labour. The ILO recommendation is to collect information on the work of children irrespective of age.

Class of Workers

(ILO definitions as outlined in *1998 World Development Indicators*)

Employers operate, alone or with one or more partners, their own economic enterprise, or engage independently in a profession or trade, and hire one or more employees on a continuous basis. The definition of a "continual basis" is determined by national circumstances. Partners may or may not be members of the same family or household.

Own-account workers operate, alone or with one or more partners, their own economic enterprise, or engage independently in a profession or trade, and hire no employees on a continuous basis. As with employers, partners may or may not be members of the same family or household.

Employees are people who work for a public or private employer and receive renumeration in the form of wages, salaries, commissions, tips, piece rates, or in-kind payments.

Unpaid Family Workers[1] work without pay in an economic enterprise operated by a related person living in the same household and cannot be regarded as a partner because their commitment in terms of working time or other factors is not at a level comparable to that of the head of the enterprise. In countries where it is customary for young people to work without pay in an enterprise operated by a related person, the requirement of living in the same household is often eliminated.

Employed Persons[2] usually refers to 15 years of age and older.

Self-employed. Thailand counts both own-account workers and unpaid family workers, as does Chinese Taipei**.** The U.S. counts unincorporated self-employed, but incorporated self-employed are counted as employees (wage and salary workers)**.**

1. The Philippines states unpaid workers are persons working without regular pay for at least 1/3 of the working time normal to the establishment. The United States further defines as "without pay for 15 hours/week. Canada includes child-oriented work, providing help to relatives and friends, performing housework, and voluntary community work as unpaid work, and it is included in the definition of work of economic value in the Total Works Account System. Australia equates total unpaid work with unpaid housework and volunteer and community work. Total unpaid work is not included in the main production boundary of the National Accounts (SNA), but is recorded in the "satellite" accounts. Malaysia terms housewives "outside the labour force."

[2]The United States uses data on individuals 16 years of age and older.

Appendix C

The Asian Crisis and the Informal Sector Impact-Response Framework *

Economic Impacts

	Formal Sector Workers	Informal Sector Workers	Informal Sector Producers
Employment Effects	Layoffs (visible) resulting in unemployment shifts to: self-employment sub-contract work part-time work migration (urban, rural, overseas)	**layoffs (invisible) resulting in:** **-unemployment shifts to-** **self-employment** **casual work** **migration (urban, rural, overseas)**	**loss of livelihood** **shifts to sub-contract work** **shifts between sectors (e.g. to agriculture)** **intensification of work** **migration (urban, rural, overseas)**
Production Effects			**scarcity of raw materials** **drop in market demand** **loss of marketing outlets** **competition + crowding** **drop in volume of production**
Income Effects	Drop in real wages	**drop in real wages**	**drop in volume/value of sales**
Price Effects	Rise in cost of living	rise in cost of living	rise in cost of living **rise in input prices** **drop in output prices**
Public Spending Effects	Lack of public services Rise in cost of public services	lack of public services rise in cost of public services	lack of public services rise in cost of public services

The Asian Crisis and the Informal Sector
Impact-Response Framework *

Social and Welfare Effects

Health

- Decline in health services
- Decline in reproductive/contraceptive services
- Rise in health care costs
- Rise in costs of contraception
- Rise in malnutrition
- Rise in incidence of certain diseases (e.g. HIV/AIDS)

Education

- Decline in education services
- Decline in school enrollment
- Rise in school drop-outs
- Rise in absenteeism

Social

- Rise in drug or alcohol addiction
- Rise in violence: domestic + workplace
- Rise in child labour
- Rise in prostitution

Psychological

- Rise in stress
- Rise in mental health problems, notably depression
- Rise in suicide rate

Security

- Rise in crime
- Rise in civil unrest
- Rise in human rights violations

Demographic

- Rise in fertility

* Based on the Framework presented by Lucita Lazo, HomeNet, Patamaba, Philippines, to the WIEGO Seminar on the Informal Sector, Ottawa, April 14, 1999. The text in bold represents the types impacts that were not included in the social impact frameworks of the World Bank, UNDP, or the ILO.

Endnotes

[i] I would like to acknowledge and express appreciation for the research and writing contributions of Julia Bracken, Graduate Student, School of Public Administration, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada.

[ii] Table 2 provides figures on Female Labour Force Participation in APEC Economies.

[iii] For a broader discussion of gender impacts of globalization and trade liberalization see Marzia Fontana, Susan Joekes and Rachel Masika. January 1998. "Global Trade Expansion and Liberalization: Gender Issues and Impacts", a study prepared for the Department for International Development, UK. BRIDGE (Briefings on Development and Gender), Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, UK. http://www.ids.ac.uk/bridge; Ehnes, Ulrike, ed., Gender in Trade Union Work: Experiences and Challenges. Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bonn, 1998.

[iv] Recognition of gender considerations in APEC is a fairly recent development, however, the "enabling language" has always been included in APEC documents. The 1991 *Seoul Declaration* by APEC Ministers states that a main objective of APEC is "sustaining the growth and development of the region for the common good of its people". There are other APEC documents that address APEC's "people agenda", but explicit attention to women's concerns moved onto the main APEC agenda in November 1996, when APEC Leaders emphasized the need "to jointly undertake economic and technical cooperation activities that will promote the full participation of men and women in the benefits of economic growth". In 1997, APEC Leaders noted that "APEC should take specific steps to reinforce the important role of women in economic development". APEC Ministers responsible for women's concerns related to economics and trade met first time October 15-16, 1998, to discuss women in economic development in APEC. Based on the Ministers' recommendations, APEC has set up an Ad Hoc Task Force on the Integration of Women in APEC which is developing a formal Framework for the Integration of Women and APEC Guidelines for Gender Analysis for approval by APEC Ministers in September 1999.

Other working groups in APEC have discussed the "gender dimension" of their agenda. The Industrial Science and Technology Working Group set up an Ad Hoc Committee on Gender following a decision by APEC Ministers at a 1996 Conference on Regional Science and Technology Coordination "to recognize gender as a cross-cutting concern with implications for other APEC fora". APEC SME Ministers have twice (in 1997 and 1998) welcomed recommendations from the Women Leaders' Network on the specific needs of women entrepreneurs. APEC Transport Ministers have called on the Transportation Working Group to "identify training and development initiatives to ensure that women and youth are well-prepared for career opportunities in the transportation sector."

[v] Two projects of the APEC Human Resource Development Working Group (HRDWG) have called for human resource planners and policy makers to address the interface between paid and unpaid work (*Gender Equity in Education and Training: Meeting the Needs of APEC Economies in Transition*, 1994; *The Role and Status of the HRD of Women in Social and Economic Development*, 1996). More recently, the Industrial Science and Technology Working Group (ISTWG) has discussed questions relating to recruitment and retention of highly skilled women in key sectors, notably science and technology. A 1998 ISTWG Experts' Meeting on Gender and S&T drew attention to the need for sex-disaggregated data on time spent on household chores and parenting. At its March 1998 meeting, the ISTWG Ad Hoc Group on Gender and S&T expressed interest in "best practices in the workplace" that enhance retention of women scientists, including "family-friendly policies" such as flexible workplace policies on elder and child care.

[vi] APEC Ministerial Meeting on Women October 15-16, 1998. *Joint Ministerial Statement.* At http://www.apecsec.org.sg.

[vii] *Gender Equity in Education and Training, Meeting the Needs of APEC Economies in Transition* (1994); *The Role and Status of Women's HRD in Social and Economic Development* (1997); *Gender and Lifelong Learning* (1998).

[viii] This section draws from Chapter IV, *Women in the World of Work: Application of a Gender Perspective*, Working Draft, 10 June, 1998, prepared by the ILO, for the UN 1999 World Survey on the Role of Women in Development.

[ix] Ibid, p. 3.

[x] Human activities may be grouped into three categories:
(a) personal activities (non-economic, like listening to music);
(b) productive non-market activities (mostly for own consumption); and
(c) productive market-oriented activities.

A personal activity is an activity that no one else can do for another person; it is defined by the "third person" criterion, which states that an activity is deemed to be productive if it may be delegated to person other than the one benefiting from it (for example, listening to music). The boundary between (b) and (c) is roughly the "production boundary" defined in the United Nations System of National Accounts (SNA). Luisella Goldschmidt-Clermont, Elisabetta Pagnossin-Aligisakis. 1995. "Measures of Unrecorded Economic Activities in Fourteen Countries". UNDP.

[xi] Joke Swiebel, Unpaid Work and Policy-Making: Towards a Broader Perspective of Work and Employment", DESA Discussion Paper No. 4. United Nations, February 1999.

[xii] Louisella Goldschmidt Clermont and Elisabetta Pagnossin Aligisakis. p. 5.

[xiii] For a working definition of "unpaid work" and "informal sector", please see Appendix 1 and 2.

[xiv] To illustrate the differences in time use for paid and unpaid work by women and men, Table 2 presents the results of time use surveys for five APEC member economies.

[xv] Diane Elson. 1993. "Unpaid Labour, Macroeconomic Adjustment and Macroeconomic Strategies". Gender Analysis and Development Economic Programme Working Paper No. 3. University of Manchester, UK.

[xvi] See Duncan Ironmonger, 1996. "Priorities for Research on Nonmarket Work", *Feminist Economics* 2 (3), pp. 149-152; Mike McCracken, "Gender and the National Accounts: Notes for a presentation to the National Accounts Advisory Group", April 29. 1998, mimeo, and Isabella Bakker, "Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work in Human Resource Policy: Canada", paper prepared for the APEC HRD NEDM project, "Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work in Formulating Human Resource Policy", May 8, 1999. http://www.apecsec.org.sg.

[xvii] Statistics Canada, 1995:63, cited by Duncan Ironmonger, "National Accounts of Household Productive Activities", Paper presented at the Time-Use, Non-Market Work and Family Well-being Conference, Washington, D.C., November 20, 1997.

[xviii] Statistics Canada, June 1998. "The Role of Non-Market Activities". Note prepared for the Policy Research Consortium Growth Network.

[xix] Barbara Fraumeni, 1998, "Expanding Economic Accounts for Productivity Analysis: A Nonmarket and Human Capital Perspective", pp. 8-9.

[xx] Lucita S. Lazo. Mimeo 1999. "Counting Paid and Unpaid Work: The State of the Art in the Asia-Pacific Region"; Fukami, Masahito, 1998. "Monetary Valuation of Unpaid Work in 1996 – Japan", Economic Planning Agency, Tokyo, May. Cited in Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation 1998. Overview Paper: Women and Economic Development and Cooperation in APEC". A Technical Paper prepared for the APEC Ministerial Meeting on Women, October 15-16, 1998, Makati, Philippines. Available at http://www.apecsec.org.sg.

[xxi] Josefino Torres. "Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work in Human Resource Policy: Philippines." Paper presented to the APEC HRD NEDM Conference, Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work in Human Resource Policy, Hong Kong, China, May 8, 1999.

[xxii] Duncan Ironmonger. "National Accounts of Household Productive Activities". Paper presented to the conference, "Time-Use, Non-Market Work and Family Well-being", Washington, DC November 20, 1997.

[xxiii] Ibid.

[xxiv] "Economic Value of Civil and Voluntary Work: Part I" at http://www.gpiatlantic.org, 11/23/98; Press Release (02/11/99) "Nova Scotia Voluntary Services Decline 7.2%; Loss Worth $60 million", at http://www.gpiatlantic.org, 3/19/99.

[xxv] Statistics Canada. June 1998. "The Role of Non-Market Activities". Mimeo.

[xxvi] Much of this section draws from a paper by Lucita S. Lazo, Center for the Informal Sector, Philippines, "Counting Paid and Unpaid Work: The State of the Art in the Asia-Pacific Region", 1999, prepared for WIEGO, Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing. WIEGO is a worldwide coalition of individuals from grassroots organizations, academic institutions and international development agencies concerned with improving the conditions and advancing the status of women in the informal economy through better statistics, research programs and policies. Its program of work has five themes: urban policies, particularly as they affect street vendors; global markets (trade and investment patterns) particularly as they affect home-based workers; social insurance for the informal sector; statistics on the size and contribution of the informal sector; and organization and representation of women in the informal sector in relevant policy-making bodies at all levels. WIEGO publishes its research papers and findings on its website: http://www.wiego.org.

[xxvii] Margarita Guerrero. "Survey Data on Paid and Unpaid Work: New Sources from Policy-driven Initiatives". Proceedings of the Workshop on Integrating Paid and Unpaid Work into National Policies, Seoul, Korea, 28-30 May, 1997, pp. 255-270. Cited by Lucita S. Lazo, Center for the Informal Sector, Philippines. "Counting Paid and Unpaid Work: The State of the Art in the Asia-Pacific Region". Mimeo. 1999.

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[xxix] KWDI Newsletter, No. 61, p. 13, Winter 1998.

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[xxxii] For example, United Nations. 1995. The World's Women 970-95: Trends and Statistics. New York; The World Bank. 1998. World Development Indicators. Washington; UNDP. 1997. Human Development Report 1997. New York; United Nations Women's Indicators and Statistics Database (WISTAT). International Labour Organization, Yearbook of Labour Statistics; Republic of China, Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics. 1998. Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of China 1998.

[xxxiii] Ibid.

[xxxiv] Ibid.

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[xxxvi] Jacques Charmes. "Informal Sector, Poverty and Gender: A Review of Empirical Evidence". Contributed paper for the *World Development Report 2000*. October 1998.

[xxxvii] Marty Chen. "Gender, Informality and Poverty: What Do We Know?" Paper presented to the WIEGO Annual Meeting, April 12-14, 1999, Ottawa.

[xxxviii] See Josefino Torres, op cit; Siti Rohanyi Yahaya (Malaysia); Mayling Oey-Gardiner (Indonesia) and Yongyuth Chalamwong (Thailand), papers prepared for the conference on "Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work in Human Resource Policy", Hong Kong, China, May 8, 1999.

[xxxix] Julie Delahanty. (mimeo). "A Common Thread: Issues for Women Workers in the Garment Sector". Paper presented to the WIEGO Global Markets Program, Garment Sub-sector. April 12, 1999; Gary Gereffi (mimeo). "A Commodity Chains Framework for Analysing Global Industries". Paper presented to the Workshop on the Spreading of the Gains from Globalization", Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, UK, September 15-17, 1999; Adrian Wood (mimeo). "Value Chains: An Economist's Perspective". Paper presented to the Workshop on the Spreading of the Gains from Globalization."
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[xli] Leroy O. Stone. *Dimensions of Job-Family Tension*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Family and Community Support Systems Division, Cat. No. 89-540-E, 1994.

[xlii] John Cunniff. AP. "It Pays to be Nice to Your Workers". Biz.yahoo.com, on 4/6/99.

[xliii] Isabella Bakker. 1998. *Integrating Paid and Unpaid Work into Macroeconomic Policies*. Ottawa: Status of Women Canada. See also Tony Beck, *Using Gender-Sensitive-Indicators: A Reference Manual for Governments and Other Stakeholders*, Commonwealth Secretariat, 1999, p. 31-33; Proceedings of the UNDP-UNIFEM Workshop on Pro-Poor, Gender- and Environment-Sensitive Budgets, June 28-30, 1999 at
http://www.undp.org/poverty/events/budgets_wk.html.

[xliv] Margrit Eichler. "Family Change and Social Policies". In *Family Matters: Sociology and Contemporary Canadian Families*. Nelson Canada. 1998. A new research project on families and how they manage jobs and money explores related questions, including when families are most likely to be attached to the labour market and how they balance financial transactions and family demands in the new economy. See David Cheal, Frances Woolley, Meg Luxton. *How Families Cope and Why Policymakers Need to Know*. Canadian Policy Research Network Study No. F/02. Ottawa. 1998.

[xlv] This section draws from Lin Lean Lim. 1996. *More and Better Jobs for Women: An Action Guide*. International Labour Office, Geneva. Pp. 85-93.

[xlvi] For example, the US Department of Labor, Women's Bureau has published *The Working Women Count Honor Roll Report*, a compendium of "best practices" by large and small businesses, governments, nonprofits and unions that address a range of job-family tension issues.

[xlvii] See, for example, James L. Peters, Barbara H. Peters, Frank Caropreso, eds. *Work and Family Policies: The New Strategic Plan*. The Conference Board Inc. NY. 1990.

[xlviii] Dana E. Friedman, Ellen Galinsky, Veronica Plowden, eds. *Parental Leave and Productivity: Current Research*. Families and Work Institute, NY., p. i. 1992.

[xlix] Robin Kramar, *The Business Case for a Family Friendly Workplace*. NSW Department of Industrial Relations, Sydney, Australia, 1996. Cited in Elaine McKay, "Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work in Formulating HRD Policies: Australia", paper prepared for the APEC HRD NEDM Conference, "Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work in Human Resource Policy", Hong Kong, China, May 8, 1999.

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Table 1. FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION IN APEC ECONOMIES

Women's share of adult labour force (age 15 and above)

APEC member	Year 1970	Year 1980	Year 1990	Year 1996
Australia	26.9	37.6	41.5	46
Brunei Darussalam	30.2	23.8	29.5	
Canada	26.5	40.1	44.7	45
Chile	13.9	26.1	31	32
People's Republic of China	44.3	43	45	45
Chinese Taipei	35.45	39.25	44.5	45.76
Hong Kong, China	29.5	35.4	37.9	37
Indonesia	22.7	33	39.9	40
Japan	39.1	37.7	40.6	41
Republic of Korea	23.1	36.6	40.4	41
Malaysia	21.5	33.7	35.3	37
Mexico	10.1	27.8	23.5	31
New Zealand	22.9	34.2	43.4	44
Papua New Guinea	45	48.9	41	42
Peru	22	24	27	29
Republic of the Philippines	24.5	38	37	37
Russian Federation	51	49	48	49
Singapore	18.6	34.5	39.8	38
Thailand	46.7	48.1	46.6	46
United States	28.8	42.1	44.9	46
Vietnam	48	48	50	49

Sources: UNDP. 1997. *Human Development Report 1997.* New York.
The World Bank. 1998. *World Development Indicators*. Washington.
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Chinese Taipei figures from the *Statistical Yearbook of the Republic of China 1998,* Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics.

Table 2. Indicators on Time Use

Work (hours per week) of women and men

APEC Member	Year	Total		Paid		**Unpaid**		**H/hold chores**		**Child Care**	
		w	m	w	m	**w**	**m**	**w**	**m**	**w**	**m**
Australia	87	49.9	50.9	16.9	35.5	**33**	**15.3**	**27.2**	**13.8**	**5.8**	**1.6**
	92	48.7	48.9	14.7	31.4	**34**	**17.5**	**28.2**	**15.9**	**5.7**	**1.6**
Canada	86	46.4	56.4	17.5	32.9	**28.9**	**13.5**	**24.6**	**12.1**	**4.3**	**1.4**
	92	47.6	47.1	18.7	31.5	**28.9**	**15.6**	**24.7**	**13.9**	**4.2**	**1.8**
US	86	56.4	59.5	24.5	41.3	**31.9**	**18.1**	**29.9**	**17.4**	**2**	**0.8**
Japan	86	45.5	43.1	21.2	41.8	**24.3**	**1.3**	**21.1**	**1.1**	**3.2**	**0.2**
	91	46.6	43.6	19.5	40.8	**27.1**	**2.8**	**24.5**	**2.5**	**2.6**	**0.4**
Korea	87	41.5	37.1	22.5	34.8	**19**	**2.3**	**18**	**2.2**	**1.1**	**0.1**
	90	39	37.5	21.4	35.4	**17.6**	**2.1**	**17.2**	**2**	**0.5**	**0.1**

Source: United Nations. 1995. *The World's Women 1970-95: Trends and Statistics*. New York (Table 8A), p. 132.

Table 3. Informal Sector: Own-account and family workers as a share of non-agricultural labour force and total informal sector employment (percent)

APEC Member	**Years 70**	**Years 80**	**Years 90**	**Years 93-97**	**Total Informal Sector**	
Hong Kong	14.3	13.7	11.7	10.3		
Indonesia	50.2	58.3		49.9		
Korea	35	39.4		30.2		
Malaysia		32		17.9		
Philippines	38.2			33.1		
Singapore	28.7	19.1		13.2		
Thailand	43.6	43.5		32.8		
South East Asia	35	34.3		26.8		
			Year 90	**Year 95**	**90**	**95**
Chile			23.6	23.9	49.9	51.2
Peru			35.3	35.9	51.8	53.9
Mexico			30.4	32.3	*55.5*	59.4

Source: Jacques Charmes, October 1998. "Informal Sector, Poverty and Gender: A Review of Empirical Evidence". Paper submitted for the World Development Report 2000 and presented at theWIEGO Workshop, Ottawa, Canada, April 14, 1999. (Note: Table - elaborated by the author on the basis of national labour force surveys and population censuses. Regional figure is nonweighted arithmetical means.)

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APEC Human Resources Development Working Group
Network on Economic Development Management

Conference on
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Toward Social and Economic Sustainability: Linkages between Paid and Unpaid Work in Canada

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Note: The contents of this paper reflect the views and findings of the author alone.

Introduction and Overview

The dual needs of emp loyment and daily provisioning of people (caregiving, socialization) may create contradictory demands in Canadian society. Governments, private employers, families, and individuals have responded to these potential contradictory pressures in distinct ways throughout the twentieth century. This paper outlines the current imbalance between the increasing reliance on the market participation of all adults on the one hand, and the assumption that the socially necessary work of caregiving can and is being sustained at a sufficient level to meet citizens' daily needs on the other. Existing time -use studies on unpaid household labour and volunteer work indicate that time pressures are contributing to a drop in volunteer caregiving activities and increased pressure on working mothers. The ability to meet those pressures widely varies by type of household (dual earner, single head of household) and income class (higher income groups can buy market substitutes). Hence, the relationship between paid work, unpaid work and family life is one marked by both gender and class asymmetries. Economic restructuring and increasing reliance on an individual responsibility model of the family may exacerbate rather than alleviate these trends.

This paper reviews the current context in Canada and proposes some policy alternatives. Section 1 looks at the interdependence between the private, public and household economies in Canada. Gender-aware economics has been critical of the conventional macroeconomic framework that guides fiscal, monetary and exchange rate policy. Researchers have argued that gender-neutral macroeconomic policy will only address women's needs and experiences to the extent to which they conform to male norms. Yet, a substantial part of women's time and resources (relative to men) are dedicated to unpaid work - the work of producing and caring for human resources - which underpins the paid economy. This omission, that is, the activities and values that are left out of macroeconomic inquiry, is not simply an omission based on complexities of measurement; rather it reflects assumptions built into the policy paradigm that exclude women's time in unpaid work as a used economic resource. This in turn may have serious implications for how macroeconomic policies are formulated (Bakker, 1998). Policy makers are rarely explicit about how such assumptions guide their decision making. Yet, implicit models of the macro economy as well as the family inform policy development in Canada.

For those interested in the data and policy dimensions of unpaid work, Section 2 outlines the domestic political context for unpaid work policies. Section 3 documents data sources and definitions of unpaid work. Section 4 applies data on unpaid work to five potential policy sites: the extent to which households and communities act as coping mechanisms for changes in the market economy; identifying new trends in the relationship between paid and unpaid work which can influence government revenues and expenditures; establishing the extent to which the voluntary sector fills the gap of social infrastructure and transfer cuts; linking unpaid responsibilities to issues of social cohesion, and, connecting national budgets to household budgets (both monetary and time assets). This is followed in Section 5 by a consideration of policies and good practices related to family-work arrangements in Canada. Section 6 offers a number of recommendations emerging from this review.

1. Measuring Women's Contribution to the Macro-Economy

1.1 Unpaid Work Defined

More of women's work than of men's work is not counted by national economic statistics because, although women's formal market contribution is high in Canada, a great deal of women's work continues to take place in:

- informal sector employment
- domestic or "reproductive" work
- voluntary community work

Informal sector employment is market-oriented employment in small workshops, family businesses, subcontracted work undertaken in the home ("homeworking") and work as domestic servants. It includes three types of occupational status - employee, self-employed (both of which are paid) and unpaid family worker (in which the worker does not herself receive money) but the family member (often the male household head) directing the business does receive payment. In principle, informal sector employment should be included in the gross national product, but is often omitted because of the shortcomings of statistical surveys.

Domestic work or 'reproductive work' is the work of managing a household, cooking, cleaning, keeping home, clothing and domestic equipment in good repair, and caring for family members and friends and neighbours. In principle, it is excluded from the gross national product; it is defined in the United Nations System of National Accounts as lying outside the production boundary. But the work of the care economy is vital for keeping the social framework in good repair, and for maintaining and reproducing the labour force.

Voluntary community work includes unpaid activity in all kinds of civic associations, both secular and church based. It includes everything from self-help groups of mothers getting together to run a children's play group or secure improvements in neighbourhood safety, to support work for large international charities. Again, these activities are in principle excluded from the GNP, and often are regarded as leisure activities. But for many poor people, especially poor women, such activities are vital to get access to needed resources and provide some security. Voluntary work makes a vital contribution to sustaining the social framework, particularly the sense of civic responsibility.

Reproductive work and voluntary community work could in principle be done by men or women - but these kinds of work have been socially constituted as more the responsibility of women than men in most countries, including Canada.

Box 1: Accounting for the Unpaid Economy

*Economic Gender Equality Indicators of the Federal-Provincial/Territorial Ministers Responsible for the Status of Women (1997) serve to underscore the continuing gap between women's contribution to paid and unpaid work and their resources (income, assets, institutional decision making). The gender equality indicators are all expressed as indexes using ratios of women to men, where 1.0 represents equality, in the sense that there would be no gap between women and men. Ratios above or below 1.0 indicate inequality or imbalance for that particular indicator. The indicators compare adult individuals and show averages for women and men and trends over time.

Global estimates suggest that women's unpaid work produces an output of $11 trillion, compared to a global GDP of about $23 trillion (UNDP, 1995:97).

The total workload indicator examines the extent of gender equality in overall workload when different types of economic activity are combined. It is based on hours spent doing both paid market work and unpaid work of economic value such as child-oriented work; performing household work and volunteer work. When total workload is divided into paid and unpaid work the female/male ratio for paid work is 0.6 and for unpaid work, 1.73 (for 1992). This unpaid work is a significant part of women's resources, work distribution patterns (within paid work and between paid and unpaid work) and leisure time.

A good deal of progress has been made in Canada in measuring women's domestic or reproductive work and voluntary work compared to other economies. However, little attempt has been made to introduce such results into fiscal policy making. As a first step, we can incorporate the care economy into macroeconomic thinking by focusing on the circular flow of national output, seeing national output as a product of the interaction of three economic domains: the private sector commodity economy, the public service economy and the household and community care economy (see Diagram 1). The creation of wealth in a country depends on the output of all three domains.

Sometimes there is a tendency to assume that the wealth-creating sector is the private commodity economy, while the public service economy and the household and community care economy spend what the private commodity economy has produced. This mistaken view results from considering the circular flow of national income in isolation from the circular flow of national output. The three domains of the economy are interdependent. The private commodity economy would be unable to create wealth for use by the government and by families and communities, if the government and families and communities did not in turn create wealth for use by the private sector. The wealth of a country consists not only of the commodities produced by the

private sector, but also the public services produced by the government (law and order, communications networks, health and education) and by the care economy (human capacities, social cohesion).

1.2 Women in the Private Sector Commodity Economy

Women have continued their entry into the paid work force. This trend has been a pronounced one since the early 1960s, when approximately one-third of women over the age of 15 were active in the labour market, to current female labour force participation rates of 57 percent (in 1997).

In Canada in 1994, 1.6 million women, 26% of all those with jobs, worked part-time compared to just 9% of men. In fact, 69% of all part-time workers in Canada were female, a relatively stable figure over the last two decades (Statistics Canada, 1995: 65).

Part-time workers generally earn lower hourly rates than full-time workers and receive less fringe benefits and employment protection. The ILO (1993) notes that an increasing amount of part-time and temporary work is involuntary and that there is a growing incidence of underemployment and less job security and earnings capacity for women workers. Analysts have suggested that this raises concerns about labour market restructuring and flexibility in employment. So long as flexible employment is associated with marginalization of the workforce, there is a higher probability that workers in these positions (mostly women and ethnic minorities) are bearing an unequal burden of the costs of structural change. For example, involuntary part-time employment for women is primarily due to their inability to secure a full-time job; for their male counterparts, working part-time involuntarily is mainly for economic reasons. In 1994, 34 percent of all female part-time workers in Canada indicated that they wanted full-time employment (Statistics Canada, 1995: 66).

Relatedly, so long as social investment in the caring for children and other dependents is not recognized or granted sufficient priority, women will likely continue to bear a disproportionate share of these tasks as is partly reflected in their over-representation in involuntary part-time work and discouraged workers. In this sense, women may be providing the flexibility that allows men's working patterns to remain less flexible. Women's lack of bargaining power within and outside of the household limits their labour market power and tends to bias their participation towards low skill, part-time work.

A reflection of women's limited bargaining power is the persistence of gender pay differentials. On the one hand, women's share of earnings has increased due to their increased presence in the labour market and declining gaps in average earnings. In 1981, women workers received 29 percent of all earnings and by 1995, this share had increased to 68 percent in 1996.

However, significant distributional disparities remain in earnings between women and men. In 1984, 60 percent of all workers (full year, full time) earned C$28,000 or less but 77.4 percent of female workers fell into this earning range. Ten years later, 57.4 percent of all workers and 70.9 percent of female workers earned C$28,000 or less indicating that women continue to be over-represented at the bottom of the earnings distribution (CCSD, 1997: 11). Women did make gains in the middle and top earnings deciles over this period. For instance, in the top three deciles (of C$42,000 plus earnings) women accounted for 21.2 percent of earners up from 14.4 percent in 1984. The total income index (average of the total income received by women and the average of the total income received by men) in 1995 was at 0.56 meaning that overall, women in Canada received 56 per cent of the income compared to men. The gender gap remaining between 0.56 and 1.0 was 0.44. This is a rise compared to the gender equality index for total income in 1986 which was 0.49 (See Chart 1, Gender Equality Index for Total Income in the Annexes, Status of Women Canada, 1997).

Wage data in Canada seem to confirm one of the characteristics of restructuring: that women's gains are at least as much a result of the deterioration of men's jobs as they are the result of improvements in women's position (Armstrong, 1996: 40). As Armstrong notes: "When the 1991 wage data were released in 1993 a great deal of attention was paid to the significant decline in the wage gap. Between 1990 and 1991, the female-to-male earnings ratio increased to 70 percent from 68 percent for full-time, full-year workers. She notes that it is the drop in male average income that explains a good deal of the decline in the wage gap. This observation is confirmed by Statistics Canada for 1993 as well (Statistics Canada, 1995: 86).

Persistent vertical and occupational segregation continue to lie at the source of pay differences. Skill valuation and the influence of bonus systems also play a significant role in certain aspects of pay differentials (EC, 1992). According to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 1993) rising wage inequality in the public sector also contributes to the overall trend of steady or rising inequality in women's earnings. Explanations vary from continuing occupational segregation to the contracting out of consulting and support services. Some authors have argued that shifts in employment away from manufacturing toward services are contributing to income polarization. As a result, wages and earnings are no longer clustered around the middle of the wage distribution, but are moving towards an hourglass configuration where wages tend to be clustered at the top or the bottom. Emerging jobs are polarized according to earnings and skills which favours the feminization of employment (Standing, 1989). This may be a gain for women in terms of overall economic participation but results in the incidence of more precarious and low-income forms of economic activity.

In terms of occupational restructuring, several key trends can be discerned. First, men's and women's jobs are becoming more similar because many of the traditional jobs held by men are not as good as they used to be. Restructuring of good managerial jobs that men previously held and into which women are making inroads often creates jobs that are becoming more similar to traditional women's work. In this process, men's and women's work has become more similar and more men are taking on jobs in areas traditionally dominated by women (Armstrong, 1996: 46).

Another implication of earnings, skill and job polarization is that as women continue to be drawn to either pole of employment, the disparity between them will increase. In 1994, 70 percent of all employed women were working in teaching, nursing and health-related occupations, clerical positions, or sales and service occupations (Statistics Canada, 1995: 67). This does reflect a decline from a decade earlier when 77 percent of women were employed in these areas. At the other pole, some gains in several professional fields such as management and administrative occupations (43 percent in 1994 versus 29 percent in 1982) and in diagnostic and related positions in medicine and health care (32 percent of doctors in 1994 versus 18 percent in 1982) have contributed to a somewhat better occupational distribution between women and men. This has economic as well as political implications. Pay equity (equal pay for work of equal value) and equal employment opportunity legislation for example, assume a commonality of interests among women, but economic restructuring appears to be creating both material differences and skill divisions within female ranks. The increasing polarization or segmentation amongst women signals, for some authors, a class-based divergence of interests among women in the labour force (Bakker, 1990).

What all of these trends suggest are both new opportunities for women to be economically active and new structures of inequality exacerbated by the process of restructuring. The policy implications of this are far-reaching and will require a rethinking of standard employment equality legislation to address not only differences between women and men but also to target women who are at the lower end of the workforce in terms of job stability and remuneration. For example, if polarization leads to more men in "bad" jobs or, overall employment conditions are lowered, then parity of male and female wages (pay equity) could be realized. However, such equality could be taking place at lower average wage levels. Given women's concentration in the service sector and the continued importance of this area of economic activity in the future, the public sector can play an important role in shaping the mix of services and the structure of employment. Analysts of women's employment patterns are increasingly expanding their focus to encompass broader economic policies. For example, macroeconomic strategies that target deficit reduction via public expenditure cuts should also incorporate a gender-based analysis of the costs and benefits of such policy decisions. Shifting caring activity from the paid to the unpaid economy may result in increased pressures on women's 'choices' in the labour market influencing their participation in more precarious forms of employment.

1.3 Women in the Public Service Economy

The public sector has been declining as a source of employment in Canada, with the private sector and self-employment growing. While the public sector provided 20 percent of all jobs in 1976, it supplied 15 percent in 1996. This sector continues, however, to be a more important source of employment for women than for men. In 1996, 18 percent of all employed women worked in the public sector, compared to 13 percent of all employed men (CCSD, 1997b). The quality of jobs remains better than either in the private sector or self-employment with better wages, working conditions and benefits. More than two-thirds of women in the public

sector earn at least C$15 an hour, compared to less than one-third in the private sector. These relatively better wages also contribute to greater wage parity between men and women in this sector (CCSD, 1997b: 19).

Public sector downsizing then has particular implications for women workers threatening the economic gains they have made over the last several decades. In addition, families and households experience a number of social and economic costs associated with job loss in this sector. Women as volunteers in non-profit community agencies and as care givers in the home will become the 'shock absorbers' of fiscal off loading. These issues are taken up in the next section.

1.4 Women in the Household and Community Care Economy

Overall, Canadians spend more time in unpaid work (work of economic value producing a set of goods and services that are marketable) than in paid work (Status of Women Canada, 1997: 20). Unpaid work includes child-oriented work, providing help to relatives and friends, performing household work such as meal preparation, laundry and maintenance and volunteer work. This definition of work of economic value was developed by Statistics Canada in the 1970s and is found in the Total Work Accounts System. An individual's total workload, according to this definition, is the number of hours per day, averaged over a seven-day week, doing paid or unpaid work. From this, female/male ratios for the total workload index have been derived.

Chart 2 shows the pattern of imbalance in the dual-earner household and patterns of paid and unpaid work distribution in other types of households. Another way to capture unpaid work activities is to look at time use. The General Social Survey of 1992 reveals that women spend more time on unpaid work at virtually all stages of the life cycle as compared to men (about 1.0 hours per day). This number actually increases for women over the life cycle and doubles when full-time employed women become mothers. For men, unpaid work also increased over the life cycle peaking with retirement.

Women's and men's time allocation can be influenced by a number of factors including conditions in the labour market, financial and taxation policies, the availability and affordability of child care, family and community support, number of children and presence of elderly relatives. With unpaid work there is also an additional factor: it can be transferred to and from the market.

1.5 Linkages Between Economic Cycles and Unpaid Work in Canada

Market goods and services, either publicly provided or privately delivered, can replace unpaid work, if there is enough income to meet the cost. Alternatively, when income falls or services are not available, unpaid work may increase to compensate. Detailed analysis to better understand the relationship between income and total work patterns will likely become more essential to policy-makers in the future (Status of Women, 1997: 25). This application of data on unpaid work is discussed further in Section 4.

There are a number of tracking projects currently underway in Canada, which will no doubt help to establish the links between economic cycles and unpaid work. One is the Elliot Lake Tracking Study (ELTS) supported by Human Resource Development Canada (HRDC) which includes a Social and Institutional Costs Sub-Project examining the impact of mass lay-offs on workers, families and communities. One of the main goals of this study is to assess the capacity of local social services to handle the total effects of mass lay-offs in a resource-based community. In other words, one component of this study is to get at the hidden costs of adjustment by defining well being to include four essential elements: productivity, equity, empowerment and sustainability for the individual, families and communities. ELTS has also found evidence to support the buffer effect - that unpaid work in households expands to make up for shortfalls in income.

Box 2: Elliot Lake Tracking Study- Evidence of Household Buffer Effect

In the 1996 survey, the women were asked whether they had made any of the following changes: cutting back on the amount and quality of food eaten, engaging in bulk or group shopping, making meals from scratch, vegetable gardening, canning or preserving, hunting or fishing, eating fewer snacks and junk foods, eating less often in restaurants, and using food banks. The analysis of these data indicated that more than three-quarters of the women had used at least one of these methods of coping with reduced income after the layoffs and 10 percent had used four or more (up to 11 of the 12 of these strategies (Mawhiney, Social and Institutional Costs Sub-Project, ELTS, October 1997:9).

Neither national accounts, nor satellite accounts, in themselves can indicate what policies are appropriate. A conceptual framework or model is required in which to use them. But statistics are important for making inputs and outputs visible - without this visibility it is difficult to get them included in models and seen as significant by policy makers.

2. Domestic Context for Unpaid Work Policies

The 1996 Canadian Census included for the first time a detailed question about the amount of time people spend on unpaid housework and care giving for children and seniors. This question reflects ten years of organizing and lobbying by women's groups to bring into public discussion who is or should be responsible for the socially necessary work of taking care of people. It was during the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing that the Canadian government announced that the 1996 Census would include a detailed question on unpaid work.

The 1996 Census campaign involved international agencies, government actors, NGOs and many diverse national women's groups. Between 1985 and 1995, a small core of women began to organize around issues of unpaid work. Canada, as a signatory to the United Nation's Forward Looking Strategies, had committed itself to generating data on unpaid work through official statistics. Several grassroots actions in the early 1990s, including a BC Voice of Women project called "Who Owns Women's Work?" gained media attention and focused on the failure of the 1991 Census to include questions on unpaid work. In response, Statistics Canada initiated several new projects to measure and value unpaid work, including an international conference in April 1993 o the "Measurement and Valuation of Unpaid Work." By 1994, after considerable pressure from women's groups, Statistics Canada agreed to investigate the possibility of including a single page of questions devoted to unpaid work in the 1996 Census.

A politically diverse range of women's groups were active in this campaign including the anti-feminist group REAL Women, to the feminist group Mothers Are Women. What united these groups was their focus on women's unpaid work in the home, particularly policies to support homemakers. Popular education campaigns were launched including a postcard writing campaign under the slogan "Work is Work is Work" and "Count Women In."

Arguing that exclusion from the Census devalued and silenced unpaid women workers, they also linked public policy decisions to an incomplete view of the economy. Decisions based on GDP figures were questioned as were the lack of social programs designed for those responsible for doing unpaid work.

Despite Statistics Canada's conclusion (after a 1996 Census Pre-test) that unpaid work questions not be included, women's groups continued to lobby the Federal Minister Responsible for Statistics Canada generating significant political attention. Finally, in Beijing in 1995, the Canadian government announced its decision to include questions on unpaid work.

By making the issue a broad-based one and using public education, lobby and media campaigns, women's groups were successful. The larger issue is: What is next? There is some concern that fe minist and labour activists have ceded ground to the family politics of the right by ignoring any serious discussion on unpaid

work. What has also been left unresolved by this victory is the issue of how the Census results will contribute to public policy and to improving the situation of women. This will be taken up in Sections 4 and 5 of the paper.

Traditionally, policy responses to unpaid work have been characterized by two basic approaches in Canada:

- policies that encourage a more equitable distribution of unpaid work between women and men (alternate work arrangements, for example);

- policies that attempt to provide economic and social recognition for unpaid work (tax deductions for childcare).

An underdeveloped, but increasingly important aspect is :

- policies that recognize the linkages and feedback between unpaid work and the macro economy (these are as important in what they do not do as for what they do, for example, assuming that the unpaid sector can absorb the cuts in public services).

3. Definitions and Data

Statistics Canada uses the national accounting approach to valuing non marketed goods and services, which is to assess value in relation to cost rather than benefits, i.e., imputation at the cost of inputs. Statistics Canada defines productive work as that which could be replaced for pay in the market economy. Four wage-based valuation methods are used: opportunity cost before tax, opportunity cost after tax, replacement cost at wage rates that would be charged by a specialist and replacement cost charged by a generalist (Jackson, 1996; Status of Women Canada, 1995).

The main sources of information on unpaid work are the time-use, social support and other focus components of the General Social Survey (GSS). Two cycles of the GSS, one in 1992 and the other in 1986, focused on time use. Information on respondents' activities over a 24-hour period was collected and measures of time spent on unpaid work were produced, including domestic work, childcare, and volunteer activities, as well as participation in sport and cultural activities. With 1996 data, the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics collects information on the major activity of respondents during the year, and "keeping house" is one of the possible responses. Considerable work has been done on the measurement and valuation of unpaid work within the System of National Accounts. Data from the two surveys are available in:

- *As Time Goes By*, Catalogue 89-544, XPB, Statistics Canada.
- *Where Does Time Go?* Catalogue 11-612-MPE91004, Statistics Canada.

There are also a number of analytical articles featuring the topic of women's work (see Status of Women Canada, *Statistics on Women*, Ottawa, 1998).

A number of government-sponsored research projects are currently underway that relate to unpaid work, including the **Applied Research Branch of Human Resource Development Canada** (in collaboration with other departments) is conducting several research projects that are related to the incidence and dynamics of unpaid work in our society:

- **1997 National Survey of Giving, Volunteering and Participating in Canada (NSGVP)**

The survey was a joint effort of the federal government (HRDC and Statistics Canada) and voluntary organizations. The NSGVP was released in August 1998 and examined the incidence and distribution of giving, volunteering and participating behaviour, motivational, social reasoning and attitudinal aspects underlying such behaviour. In addition to the overview report released in 1998 by all partners, the Applied Research Branch of HRDC is producing a set of research reports using NSGVP data. The reports will contribute to a better understanding of the determinants of voluntary behaviour; the relationship between volunteer activities and the labour market; the commitment, incidence and motivations of youth volunteers; how

youth can be helped through volunteer action; and employers' support for voluntarism. These research reports will be available later this spring. See Section 4 for a discussion of potential applications.

- **National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth**

This 20-year study is tracking a large sample of children over time, with the objective of providing a better understanding of the factors that lead to positive child development in different settings. Respondents were first interviewed in 1994 and were questioned again in 1996 and in 1998. The next cycle will be conducted in 2000. Results of the survey indicate that there is no difference in children's outcomes (verbal abilities) whether their mothers stay at home or not.

- **Study on Family Transactions**

The Canadian Policy Research Network is conducting a research on behalf of HRDC to examine the nature of different family transactions and components of resiliency as they relate to labour force attachment. The study will enhance our understanding of labour market attachment and the choices the individuals and households as a whole make around the issue of employment: What kind of work? How are the childcare responsibilities handled? Are both partners satisfied with the choices the household has made? Results of the research will be published in winter 1999.

- **Survey on Work Arrangements (SWA)**

Two surveys on work arrangements were conducted in 1991 and 1995 to explore the extent and use of various alternative work arrangements. There were six research projects assessing current work arrangements of Canadians, the extent of flexibility, insecurity and sustainability in these arrangements and their link to the changing employment structure in the Canadian economy. These projects have been published over 1997 and 1998. One project on "The effects of shiftwork from a work and family perspective" was looking at trends in shiftwork and the challenges that may pose to men and women as to how to balance paid work with the care of families.

Statistics Canada:

- The survey on time-use is part of the **General Social Survey** that tackles specific issue each year. In 1986, 1992 and 1998 the GSS focussed on time-use. The survey on time-use estimates the number of people who engage in the various components of unpaid household work and the number of hours they spend in specific activities. The results of the 1998 survey will be released fall 1999.

- **The Statistics Canada Total-Work Accounts System (TWAS)** is a new analytical tool that integrates data concerning the paid and unpaid work done by individuals in order to support analyses in various fields of public concern. The TWAS is a network comprised of a microdata file, concepts, linked statistical tables, and statistical indicators. The microdata file is based on the 1992 time-use data. The information was released in 1996.

4. Use of Data and Relevant Policies

What follows are five potential policy uses to which data on unpaid work could be applied:

- the extent to which households and communities act as coping mechanisms for changes in the market economy;
- identifying new trends in the relationship between paid and unpaid work which can influence government revenues and expenditures;
- establishing the extent to which the voluntary sector fills the gap of social infrastructure and transfer cuts;
- linking unpaid responsibilities to issues of social cohesion, and,
- connecting national budgets to household budgets (both monetary and time assets).

Use 1: Tracing economic cycles and unpaid work

Many case studies have now documented the impact of structural adjustment and macroeconomic policy reforms including market liberalization on women. However, a good deal of skepticism still remains among those who question the desirability of generalizing from case studies to general effects on women as a group. If national accounting statistics included systematic information on nonmarket work, case studies would be complemented by more aggregate information. As Beneria notes:

> Data series on domestic and volunteer work, as well as on unpaid family labour in agricultural activities, would allow us to analyze, at a country or regional level, the extent to which structural adjustment represents a shift of the costs of adjustment from the market to the household. They would also allow us to measure the links between the productive and reproductive sectors of the economy and the extent to which unpaid work picks up the slack when economic crises set in (Beneria, 1996: 140).

This issue is linked to relative movements through the business cycle of production and work between the household and the market.

Coping Strategies

As Luxton notes, "studies of coping strategies investigate how well individuals, families and households manage to get both domestic labour, especially caregiving, and paid employment coordinated among household members and others...[t]hey also indicate what social and economic policies facilitate or make more difficult effective coping strategies (1998: 60)." She surveys existing studies of both employment-based and household-based coping strategies. What follows is a brief overview of Luxton's survey.

Employment-based coping strategies:
Very few studies (especially recent studies) exist in Canada. Luxton suggests that two contradictory trends have influenced the coping strategies of families with labour market attachments. One is that employers have tended to assume that during the time they are at work, employees have no other responsibilities or, that employees can adjust their domestic and community responsibilities accordingly. It is only with women's increased labour force participation and the efforts of large unionized workplaces that recognition of these dual and triple roles is gaining some policy attention. At the same time, stabilization and restructuring initiatives have increased tensions for those who need to be in the labour market yet also rely on support services which are being cut back or deregulated (e.g., childcare). Many of the cuts, it is assumed, will be taken up by replacement activities in the household or community sector but this assumption is misplaced (see Use 3).

A recent study by Statistics Canada of "family-friendly" workplace policies concludes that typically, men have benefited more from such policies (Luxton citing Frederick, 1997). Luxton suggests that we need more studies on the capacity of family households to absorb increasing amounts of work, especially caregiving.

Household-based coping strategies:
Time budgets, the distribution of household tasks and the overall organization of domestic labour have been the focus of these studies. Luxton concludes that these studies reveal that, "men rarely take on full or even equal responsibility for domestic labour but will pragmatically help out, especially with older children or for a few hours. Men are less likely than their partners to provide care to the elderly, even when those elderly are the man's relatives (1998: 62)." She suggests that we need more studies sensitive to differences among women such as race, class, ethnicity and age.

Use 2: Identification of new needs and trends

(i) Demographic shifts and public policy
In Canada and most OECD countries, an aging population means there will be increasing need for caregiving, yet women's increased labour force participation in the OECD region will create pressures to fulfil informal care roles simultaneously. Currently, there is a gap between the need for home care and the public provision of

home care services. According to one Statistics Canada study, more than 839,000 seniors are not receiving needed home related care (Globe and Mail, March 29, 1999). Furthermore, individuals may be bearing the costs of shifting patient's home care after early discharges from hospitals: researchers estimate the value of unpaid caregiver time at C$564 (Globe and Mail, March 22, 1999).

A number of unquestioned assumptions appear to be driving policy and practice in the area of home care. Most significant for unpaid work is the assumption that Canadians want to assume greater responsibility for health care delivery at home. There is growing concern about the "sandwich generation" which cares for both children and elderly parents. As researchers from the Home Care Evaluation and Research Centre at the University of Toronto note, the weight of this shift falls largely on the shoulders of women who bear the double responsibility of work and home care. This assumption needs to be documented.

This issue also has implications for the future sustainability of the welfare state tax and pension systems. Interruptions in paid work due to caregiving responsibilities for children as well as elderly relatives need to be recognized in the Canada Pension Plan and in Employment Insurance. The CPP does make provisions for women who raise children at home from infancy to elementary school age provided they are labour force participants; there are no provisions for women who do not enter the labour force (GPI Atlantic, 1998). Changes to employment insurance qualifications means that it takes longer for most part-time workers to qualify for benefits (the new cut-off for maternity benefits is 700 hours).

(ii) Changes in Labour Market Participation
Probably the most significant labour market shift in the last decade and a half has been the increased labour force participation of women, an increase of more than 50 percent in the last 35 years. In 1961, 25 percent of women with infants under 2 years of age were in the paid labour force; by 1995, that figure had increased to 62.3 percent (GPI Atlantic, 1998: 20). This means an overall decline in women's free time both in absolute terms and relative to men. Statistics Canada has found that "one out of three full-time employed mothers suffered from extreme levels of time stress" and a recent study at Laval University, Quebec has linked time stress factors to persistently high levels of blood pressure, greater risks of stroke and heart disease (Globe and Mail, March 29, 1999).

The 1992 Time-use Survey of Statistics Canada indicated that the highest rate of stress is experienced by married, working mothers with children. Of a total 11 hours worked in an average day, including 7 hours of paid work, 2 1/4 hours were devoted to domestic chores including cooking and cleaning, an hour was spent on primary child care (including education and training) and 50 minutes on shopping - 15 more hours in unpaid work were added to weekends.

However, workplace arrangements for the most part still reflect a male, breadwinner model and do not recognize the juggling of home and work as well as the increasing incidence of single parent families. The new reality requires flexible work arrangements yet policy in both the public and private sectors lags behind (see section 5).

Use 3: Tracking the Volunteer Sector

Governments in Canada have continually called on the voluntary sector to fill the gap of social infrastructure and transfer cuts. This assumption that the unpaid sector will be able to respond to contractions in public sector expenditures is untested. There is a need to measure whether this gap has been filled by the voluntary sector. Conversely, data will tell us whether this sector is underfunded. Statistics Canada's *1997 National Survey on Giving, Volunteering and Participating* allows for a first-time trend-line analysis of formal volunteer work (work through non-profit organizations) in Canada. The results of the 1998 GSS will be released later this year and will allow, for the first time, an analysis of trends in informal and formal voluntary work.

The numbers concerning formal voluntary activity reveal that voluntary hours per capita have declined by 4.7 percent in the last ten years. If voluntary work had continued to be offered at the same rate as it was ten years ago, Canadians would have received 110.2 million more hours than they actually did. This decline is estimated to have cost C$1.83 billion in lost formal volunteer services in 1997 (GPI Atlantic, Feb. 1999).

These trends also have a direct relationship to restructuring in the market economy. Due to the steady erosion of real incomes through the 1990s, many people are working longer hours to make ends meet. The survey found that university graduates have a disproportionately high volunteer record but they are currently the group most squeezed in overtime market economy hours worked, reflecting a demand for overtime hours and the time stress of family and work responsibilities (GPI Atlantic, Feb. 1999). The author of the GPI Atlantic report concludes that:

> Work and time pressures appear to be squeezing out voluntary work time, which is not measured in any of the standard economic accounts. Because these accounts only keep track of market statistics, the decline in voluntary services is invisible in the policy arena, the media and public perceptions, and only shows up many years later in a subtle decline in the quality of life. This is one reason which the Genuine Progress Index explicitly values voluntary work, and why annual time-use surveys are necessary to keep track of these important trends (Feb. 1999, p.8).

The most immediate policy implications of the recent Statistics Canada survey are that not only have volunteer hours declined along with real incomes but transfer payment reductions and government cutbacks in services mean a double loss over the last decade for vulnerable groups in terms of support received. The invisibility of the voluntary sector in conventional accounting has left assumptions about communities filling the gap of government service reductions untested and as this survey indicates, contrary to actual trends. At a minimum, an annual time-use survey is required to track voluntary work.

Use 4: Social Exclusion

One of the reasons for putting numbers to unpaid work is that it focuses attention on how to prioritize the social condition of women's unpaid work and whether this is a society responsibility as opposed to an individual response. In this sense, the discussion of unpaid work fits into the broader policy debates on social exclusion/cohesion. Social exclusion refers to a process through which individuals or groups are wholly or partially excluded from full participation in the society in which they live (Silver, 1998). The key arenas for exclusion are:

- democratic and legal systems
- markets
- welfare state provision
- family and community

In the case of non-market work, a number of these arenas are relevant. The most obvious is that of markets: women have a different relationship to markets because of what Ingrid Palmer refers to as the "reproductive labour tax": they produce human resources for the paid economy for free thereby providing a kind of subsidy, or tax, to the paid economy via their time use. In addition, in many cases, the work that they do in the unpaid, reproductive sector is in the context of absent markets (childcare, informal sector, subsistence agriculture). Because there are no shadow prices, resources in terms of women's time and labour expended in the unpaid sector get left out of policy. Exclusion from participation in the labour market leads often to marginalization in other areas such as political life and economic prosperity (OECD, 1998).

Use 5: Unpaid Work and Budgets

The impact of public expenditure on time use can reveal the macroeconomic implications of unpaid work in social reproduction. Time-use data can reveal the interconnections between the government's budget and household time budgets through calculating for instance:

- the reproduction tax-average time each person spends on unpaid reproductive work (a time tax) see Appendix. Changes in this can be linked to changes in public expenditure, as well as in labour markets.

- a social service input-output matrix that includes unpaid care economy work as an input and output along with social sector public expenditure;

- household social sector accounts that include expenditures of time along with money expenditure on services like health, education, sanitation, and transport. Changes in time expenditure can be linked to changes in public expenditure (Elson, 1998).

A gender-aware analysis of public finance examines links to the market-based economy and the unpaid reproductive economy. Such a linking creates a policy agenda which incorporates caregiving, community, household and individual responses to changes in macroeconomic policies (Bakker, 1998).

5. Survey of Policies and Good Practices

• Clarify Assumptions about the Family that Underpin Policy

Policy development in Canada is informed by implicit models of the macro economy as well as the family. Eichler (1993), for example, sets out three models of the family that underpin aggregate and specific policies such as those directed at the work-family relationship: the patriarchal family model, the individual responsibility model of the family and, the social responsibility model of the family. At present, the patriarchal family model is being eroded with the individual responsibility model gaining in influence. Shifts from paid to unpaid work in the home due to health care restructuring, for instance, have not been supported by corresponding changes in tax policy which would give greater recognition to unpaid caregiving (Women and Taxation Working Group, 1992; Bakker, 1996). Also, cash transfer systems that have been the basis of income security programmes in Canada are in the process of being replaced by employment initiatives intended to integrate individuals into the labour force (Bakker and Brodie, 1995; Cheal, 1996; Day and Brodsky, 1997).

Box 3 The Individual Responsibility Model of the Family

- The ideology is one of sex equality.
- Household and family memberships are treated as congruous. This being so, a spouse is equated with a parent. Conversely, an external parent is treated as a non-parent.
- The family household is treated as the unit of administration.
- Husband and wife are equally responsible for the economic well being of themselves, each other, and any dependent children. Children are considered dependents of both their parents.
- Fathers and mothers are equally responsible for the provision of care and services to family members in need of care.
- The public has no responsibility for the economic well being of a family or for the provision of care where there is either a husband-father or wife-mother. Temporary help will be provided in the case of absence or incapacity of one of them, but the assumption is that a parent-spouse is responsible for both the economic well being as well as the care provision for dependent children. (Eichler, 1988).

The goal of good policy making should be to make explicit the model that is being used in policy making. If policy is increasingly based on the individual responsibility model, this should be made explicit and the consequences of this shift should be documented not only in terms of the impacts on households but also regarding potential feedback to the macro economy in terms of productivity, growth and income distribution.

• The Genuine Progress Index (GPI)

GPI Atlantic, a non-profit research group in Nova Scotia, is developing a Genuine Progress Index (GPI) that Statistics Canada has designated as a pilot project for Canada. Scheduled to be ready for use before the end of the year 2000, the GPI examines 20 social, economic and environmental indicators, including voluntary and

household work, to get a truer picture of social wellbeing and prosperity. The objective is to determine whether progress in the target region is sustainable over time.

The GPI, unlike the GDP, seeks to evaluate both benefits and costs of economic growth by including non-market factors such as time use, stress levels and the struggle to balance work and family responsibilities:

> (S)hifts from the household economy to market-based production may produce benefits in increased income, convenience and variety but may also potentially produce inefficiencies that outweigh the gains of higher income. If the prices of market substitutes rise faster than incomes; if more work time is necessary to pay for these market substitutes; and if indirect costs result from increased market dependence, then the costs of the shift may well exceed the benefits (GPI Atlantic, 1998: 102).

Tracking the value of household production regularly via an annual time-use survey would provide key information on the health of the household sector and the value of voluntary work (GPI Atlantic, 1998). The first time-use survey was administered nationwide in 1986 and so far, only three have been conducted. GDP growth estimates can also be revised to account for shift between household production and market-based production in order to focus on those non-market variables that directly affect the quality of life of citizen but remain absent from policy discussions (GPI Atlantic, 1998).

- **Family-Friendly Work Policies**

Another vital aspect of more transparent policy making involves thoroughly documenting the variety of initiatives currently underway in Canada, which create a "family-friendly" employment relationship. At present, no up-to-date study exists, although Human Resources Development Canada has compiled a number of case studies of Canadian workplaces (HRDC, 1994). This paper will draw on some of the existing research in this area.

Duffy and Pupo (1996) provide a useful framework for considering family-friendly policies (summarized in Table 1 in the Annexes), as follows:

- **Reducing the time demands of paid employment (alternate work arrangements)**

(i) Part-time work
Part-time work continues to be the most popular solution to the work and family conflict. However, the part-time solution is often short-term and limited. As currently constructed, the part-time solution frequently imposes a loss of income, benefits and status due to the nature of part-time jobs; thus, gender divisions within the family and the workplace may be perpetuated and strengthened as is women's second-class status in the workplace. In the long run, as Duffy and Pupo note (1996), there may be a loss of income, pension and career advancement, which is particularly significant in the event of divorce, or the prospect of retirement. Neither federal nor provincial governments have mandated access to alternate working arrangements (Skrypnek and Fast, 1996). Typically, such arrangements exist through formal corporate policy or through individual informal arrangements between an employee and employer. A recent Statistics Canada study (Frederick, 1997) suggests that such policies have typically benefited men more than women.

(ii) Job sharing
Job sharing involves arrangements to share a full-time position. Logistically, workers report that the work seems to expand beyond the time scheduled and when the other worker is on vacation or taking sick leave, a full-time schedule is required. In reality, many workers do not have the option to share their jobs.

- **Reducing the rigidity of paid employment time schedules**

(iii) Flextime
Flexible time-scheduling arrangements can ensure greater availability to children for certain periods, yet remains a relatively minor alteration in work scheduling, not eliminating work-family conflicts. However, as

Duffy and Pupo suggest, flextime may be an effective educational tool to introduce discussions about changing the traditional workday and workweek.

(iv) Compressed work week
Similarly, the workload pressures of families with small children is not resolved through compressing the workweek (from five, eight hour days to four ten hour days for example).

(v) Family leave provisions
Family-related leave includes maternity leave and other parental leave for new mothers and fathers; also included are bereavement leave and family responsibility leave. Under such provisions, workers are assured of employment with the same employer upon their return to work, provided they meet eligibility requirements. The Canada Labour Code covers workers under federal jurisdiction and provides for maternity leave for women who have been employed continuously with the same employer for at least six months - they are entitled to 17 weeks unpaid maternity leave and benefits must be continued throughout the leave period. Provincial legislation covers those workers not under the umbrella of the Canada Labour Code, which means that in practice, their application varies considerably (Skrypnek and Fast, 1996). Part-time, casual and contract employees are usually excluded from such leave provisions.

A number of limitations to this approach have been cited. The length of leave as well as the level of wage replacement are noted as highly inadequate. In addition, parental leave is inaccessible to single-parent and low-income families who cannot afford leave with a low level of income replacement. In addition, leave arrangements have little impact on the gender division of labour since women rather than men tend to take it, partly because their wages are usually lower than their partners. As Duffy and Pupo warn, this only reaffirms employers' notions about women's lesser commitment to their paid work. They suggest that in order to mitigate some of the limitations of family leave legislation, longer and stronger income supports, such as offering employees the chance to bank days before family leave, could be an interim measure. Nevertheless, such policy needs to be bolstered by the gradual introduction of publicly and socially supported care for children and seniors (Duffy and Pupo, 1996).

Corporate policy in this area provides some enhancement of the publicly provided leave. A survey of 400 Canadian employers (now unfortunately over a decade old) revealed that more than 50 percent of employers provided additional leave provisions; in more than 80 percent of the cases, family-related leave extensions were without pay (cited in Skrypnek and Fast, 1996). In the federal public service, the master agreement of the Public Service Alliance of Canada, which covers about 95 percent of all federal public servants, members are given the right to up to five paid days per year of family responsibility leave and this is generally pro-rated for part-time employees. Five years of unpaid leave for care of preschool children are also granted.

- **Reducing the gap between home and work**

(vi) Telecommuting
Homework policies are increasingly popular with the advances in technology. Recent fiscal constraints and shifts in the perceived role of the state have led to the introduction of 'telework' as a new public sector strategy. Also, the number of self-employed workers working out of their home offices on a contract or sub-contract basis is on the rise. A significant segment of industrial homeworkers also remains clustered in large urban centres such as Toronto. Home-based work breaks down the separation between home and work which can have advantages but which can also intrude into family life and family living space.

(vii) Childcare
Canada does not have a national childcare plan or national standards. In the absence of national policy, a number of forms of childcare have emerged. In 1991, between five and 24 percent of children of working mothers were in provincially regulated programs, depending on the province. Fewer than half of those who wanted to were able to place their children in regulated childcare (Skrypnek and Fast, 1996). Quality and cost also vary widely, along with low-income subsidies. Canadian tax policy allows for some deductions of expenses: currently, the maximum deduction for childcare expenses for children younger than seven is C$7,000, and C$4,000 for each child age seven to 15.

A number of employer-based schemes to meet childcare needs also exist. These include on-site childcare, subsidies for off-site care and childcare information and referral services. However, few employers are involved; one survey cited in Skrypnek and Fast found that of nearly 400 Canadian companies, fewer than five percent of employers reported providing on-site facilities or subsidies for off-site care, and eight percent provided information and referrals.

Family-Friendly Work Policies: Some Conclusions

Two broad conclusions emerge from this consideration of family-work policies. One is the current policy context of deficit reduction and the privatization of responsibilities and needs. The assumptions underpinning work and family policies sustain the individual responsibility model of the family outlined in Section 5, and indicate a move away from a social responsibility approach, which rests on three principles (Eichler, 1988: 80):

- Every adult would be considered responsible for his or her own economic well being. Where this was impossible, the support obligation would shift to the state, not to a family member;

- For an adult in need of care, whether because of a permanent or temporary illness or handicap (including senility), it would become the responsibility of the state (not of a family member) to pay for the cost of such care;

- The cost of raising children would be shared among the father, the mother, and the state, irrespective of the marital status of the parents.

These principles would not rest on the assumptions of a gendered division of labour, nor the separation of the work and family spheres.

The second conclusion derives from evidence from time-use surveys of the unpaid sector. They indicate that many workers are trapped in a vicious circle of selling their labour in the market place, having less time to provide for necessary caring tasks and therefore substituting market services for activities previously done in the household (GPI Atlantic, 1998: 60). At the same time, the prices for these market services are on the rise so that workers have to put in even long hours to meet their budget requirements. The inadequacy of both market income and services as well as policy, whether public or corporate, in meeting family and work-related needs, are serious. The Canadian economy depends on both women's labour force activity and the unpaid labour of women and men in households and communities. With the rise of ever larger numbers of single-parent families and the continuing rise of female labour force participation rates, a new approach to meeting human needs will become an increasingly pressing issue for policymakers as disruptions in the labour force create long term costs such as poverty, training and benefits assistance.

6. Recommendations

A number of data and policy recommendations can be drawn from the discussion over the previous pages. These are grouped as recommendations to national governments in general, to the APEC Human Resources Development Working Group, and finally to the APEC Task Force on the Integration of Women. The recommendations are based on the conviction that good policy requires understanding both the impact of policy and how it might be better designed to meet the needs of diverse groups of women and men.

Recommendations for APEC Economies:

A number of statistical surveys and elaboration of existing data bases can be undertaken by governments in order to enhance human resources development (HRD) policies. These recommendations focus on incorporating all work, paid and unpaid, into policy development in order to build effective bridges between domestic activities and gainful employment.

- Tracking the value of household production regularly via an annual time-use survey would provide key information on the health of the household sector and the value of informal and voluntary work.

- Considerable employment effects could be achieved through greater support for flexible work arrangements due to family reasons. National, multi-sector conferences would be a basic first step to consider financial incentives, tax treatments and social security measures.

- Retirement security currently reflects gender asymmetries because of gender-based differences in accumulating lifetime assets such as savings and investments. This impacts on public treasuries as populations age. Reviewing current barriers to assets (financial, property, etc.) would be a first step in removing gender-based retirement insecurities.

Recommendation for the APEC Human Resources Development Working Group:

- Develop an online monitoring service to track the impact of macro economic policies and restructuring packages on the unpaid sector. Such a service could be coordinated through the HRD WG but could rely on the information gathered by local and regional think tanks, UN agencies, NGOs, community groups and news services. The goal is to make visible the often hidden dimensions of economic policy impacts in order to have an accurate assessment of resource use and allocation. Identifying inefficiencies and inequalities in costs borne would be part of this process. A similar initiative to monitor women's sustainable livelihoods in the context of the Asian Economic Crisis and rescue packages has been proposed by the Centre for Environment, Gender and Development (ENGENDER) in Singapore. The HRD WG could collaborate with ENGENDER in extending such an effort to APEC members.

Recommendation for the APEC Task Force on the Integration of Women:

- Coordinate Gender-Aware Budget Exercises in Member Economies

Substantive equality rights require a recognition that budgetary decisions (on the allocation of resources, the distribution of income and wealth, and stabilization of the economy) affect the lives of men and women differently given preexisting gender inequalities grounded in both the division of labour and gender differentiated social rights and obligations. These gender-based differences are generally structured in such a way as to leave women in an unequal position in relation to the men in their community. Evidence shows that women tend to have less economic, social and political power but greater responsibility for caring for children and the elderly. One response, by the Commonwealth Secretariat with scholars and activists in the North (Canada, Australia, Switzerland, the UK) and the South (Barbados, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania, Sri Lanka, South Africa, Uganda) has been to concentrate on mainstreaming gender issues into key economic policy discussions (Budlender, Sharp, Allen, 1998). Gender-sensitive budgets represent a transition from advocacy to accountability: they audit government budgets for their impact on women and girls, men and boys. The aim is to evaluate whether policies that underlie budget appropriations are likely to reduce, increase, or leave unchanged the degree and pattern of gender inequality. Some gender-aware budget exercises may be conducted from within government (in Australia, for example), some from outside government, or as collaboration between government and civil society organizations, as in South Africa.

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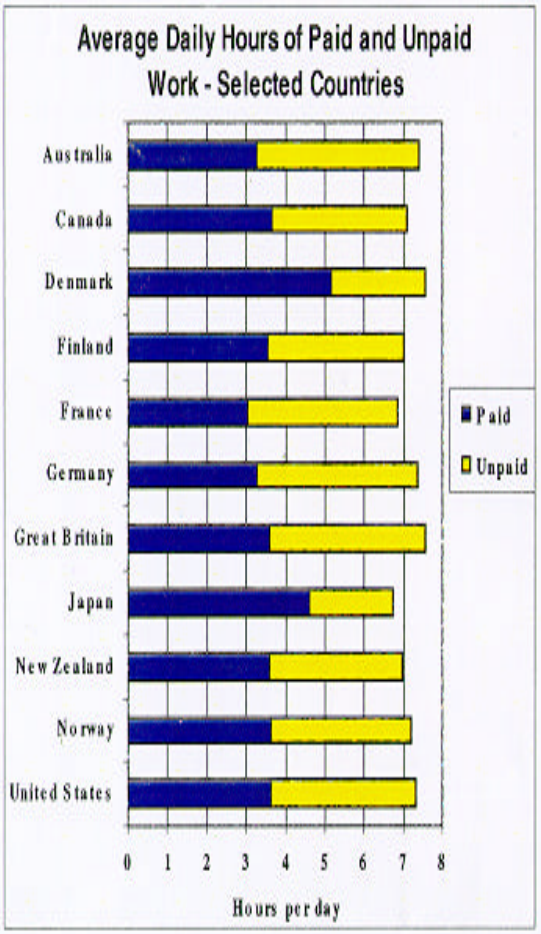
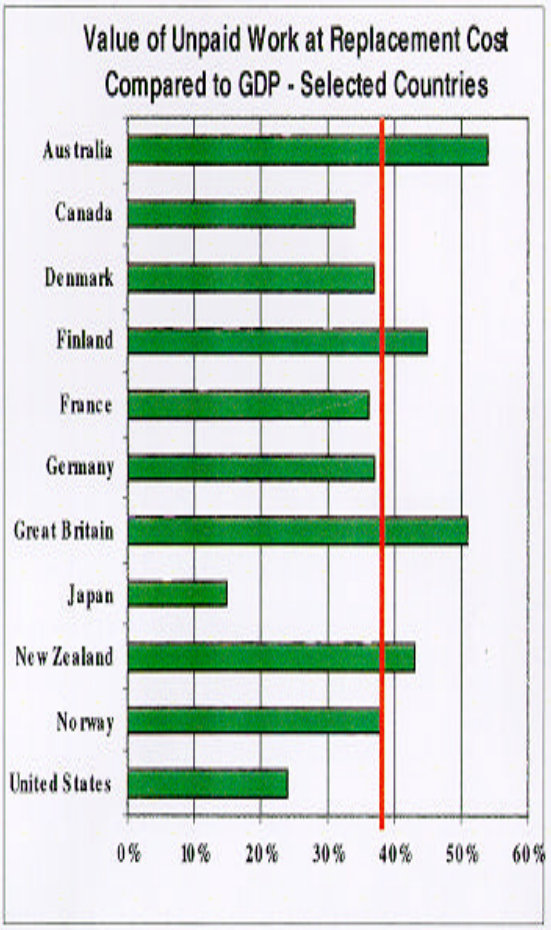
Annexes

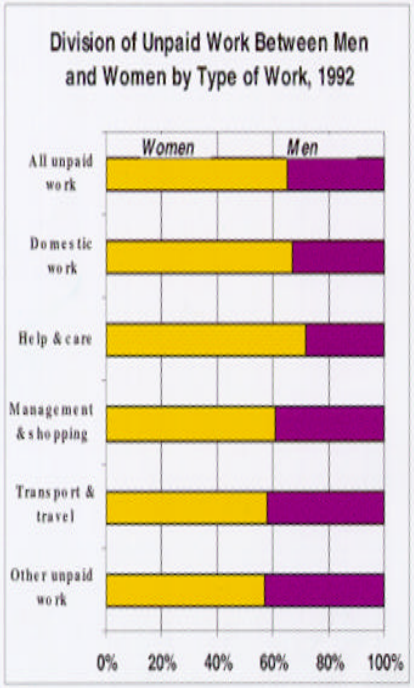
As much time spent at unpaid work as at paid work, with substantial imputed value

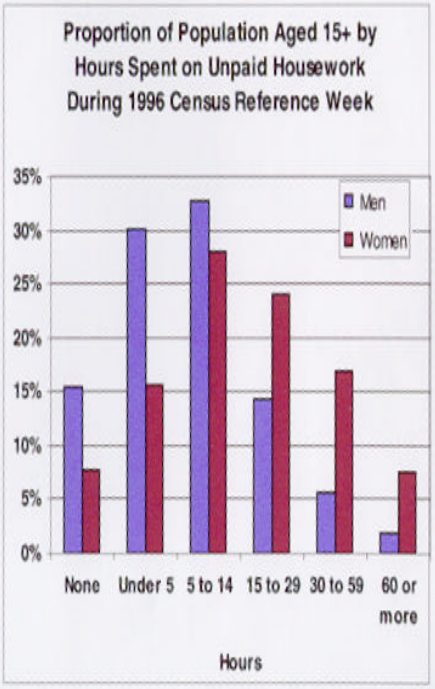




Source: Chris Jackson, Statistics Canada, 1998

Women do two-thirds of all unpaid work; for one in four it's a full-time job



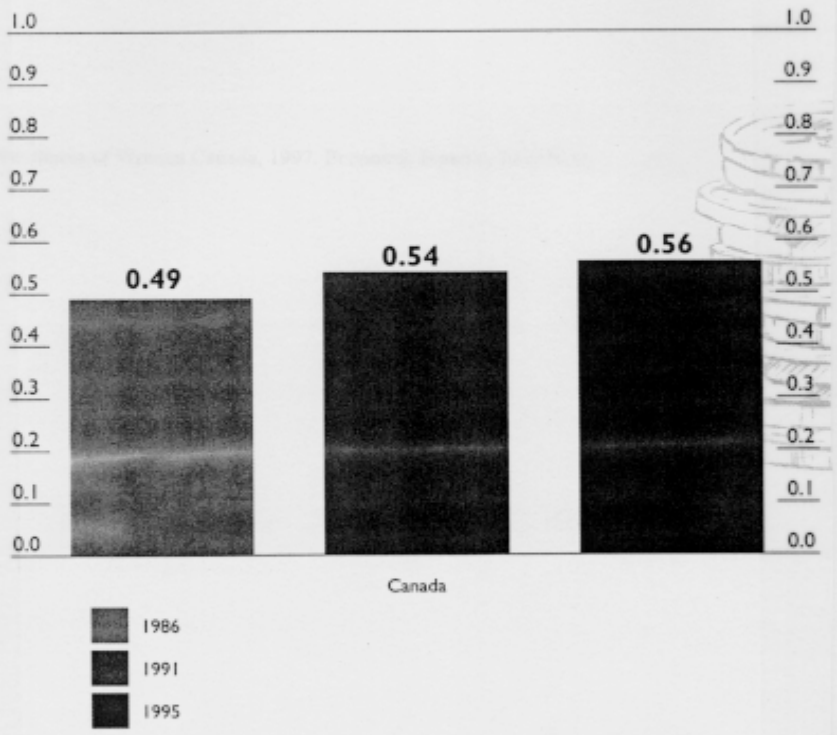


Source : Chris Jackson, Statistics Canada, 1998

Chart 1

I-1 Gender Equality Index for Total Income 1986, 1991 and 1995

• There has been gradual improvement in the gender equality index for total income from 1986 to 1995 but a large gap still remains.



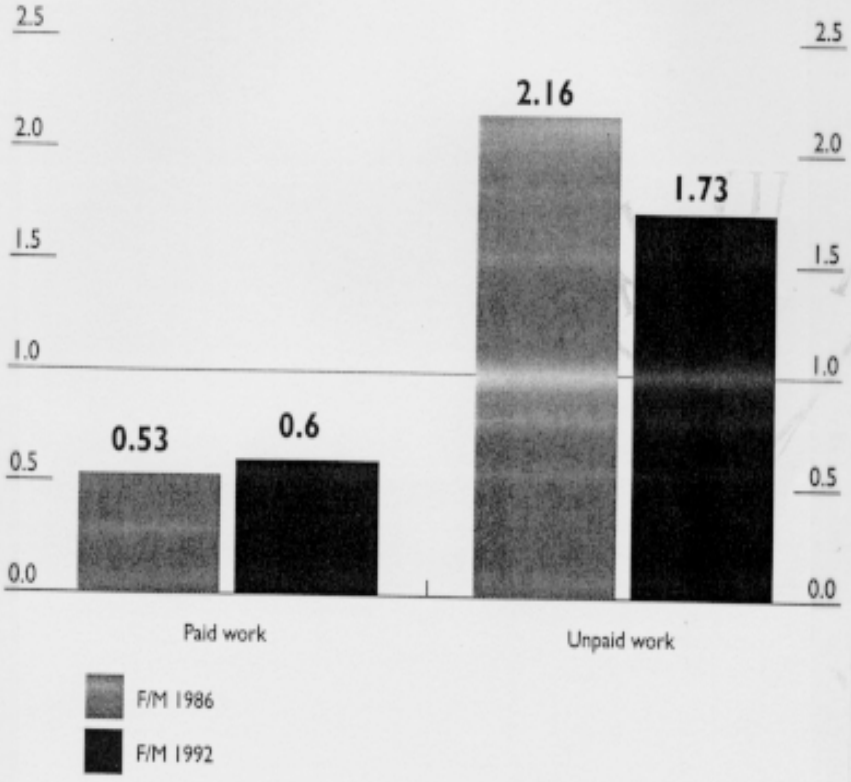
Gender Equality Indexes use ratios of women to men. A ratio of 1.0 is the point where women and men are equal in relation to that index. Below 1.0, women's income and earnings are less than men's; above 1.0, they would be greater.

Source: Status of Women Canada, 1997. Economic Equality Indicators.

Chart 2

W-2 Gender Equality Index for Paid Work and Unpaid Work 1986 and 1992

• **While women do less paid work than men but more unpaid work, there was better sharing of both types of work in 1992 than in 1986.**

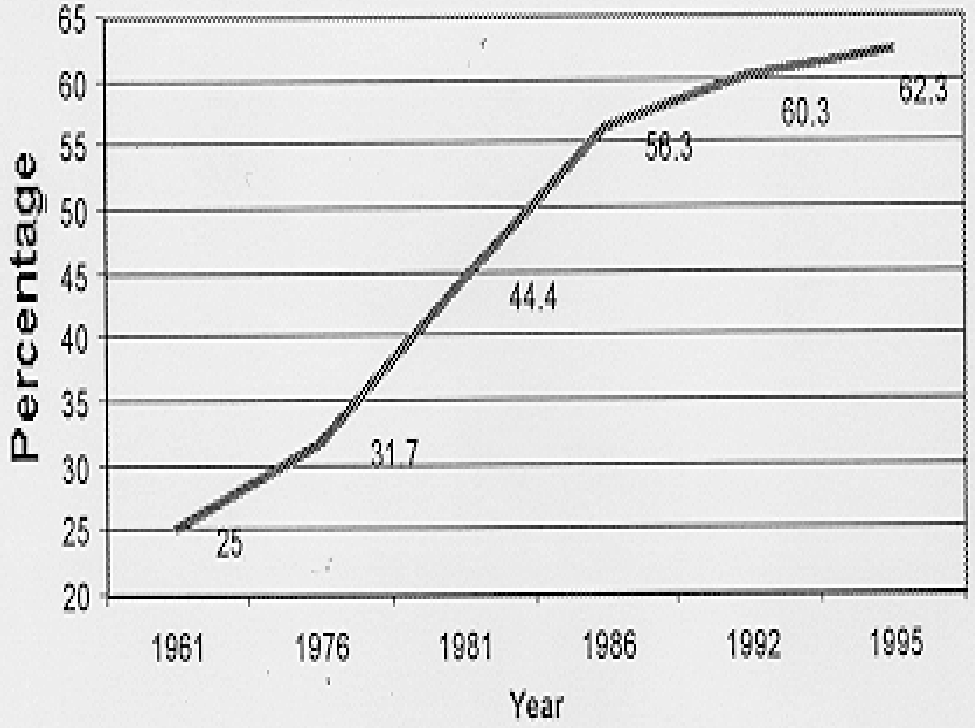


Gender Equality Indexes use ratios of women to men. A ratio of 1.0 is the point where women and men are equal in relation to that index. Below 1.0, women's workload is less than men's; above 1.0, it is greater.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey.

Chart 3

Labour Force Participation Rate of Mothers with Infants Aged 0-2, Canada, 1961-1995

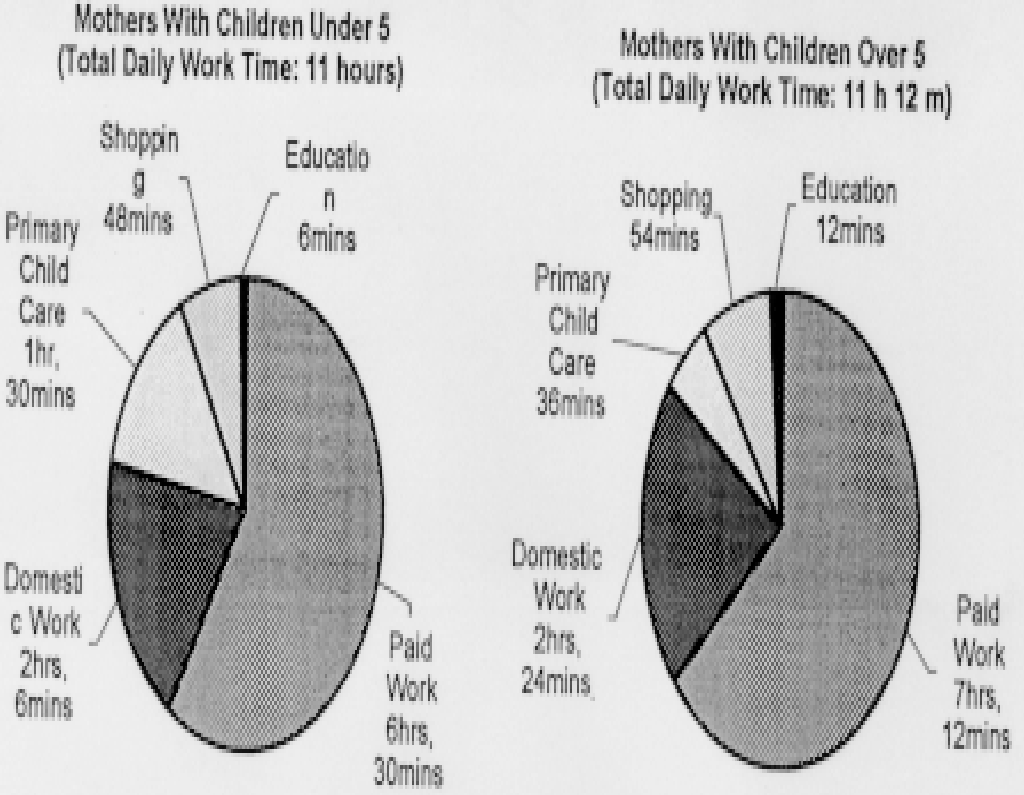


Source: Statistics Canada, *Canadian National Child-Care Study*, catalogues no.89-A-90, volume II, 89-527E, 89-529E and 89-536-XPE; Statistics Canada, *Labour Force Annual Averages*, catalogue 71-220; historical extrapolations for 1961-1975 from Statistics Canada, *Charting Canadian Incomes: 1951-1981*, on married women in the labour force and dual-earner families, and Statistics Canada, *Caring Communities: Proceedings of the Symposium on Social Supports*, catalogue no. 89-514E, page 113.

Chart 4

A Day in the Life of a Working Mother

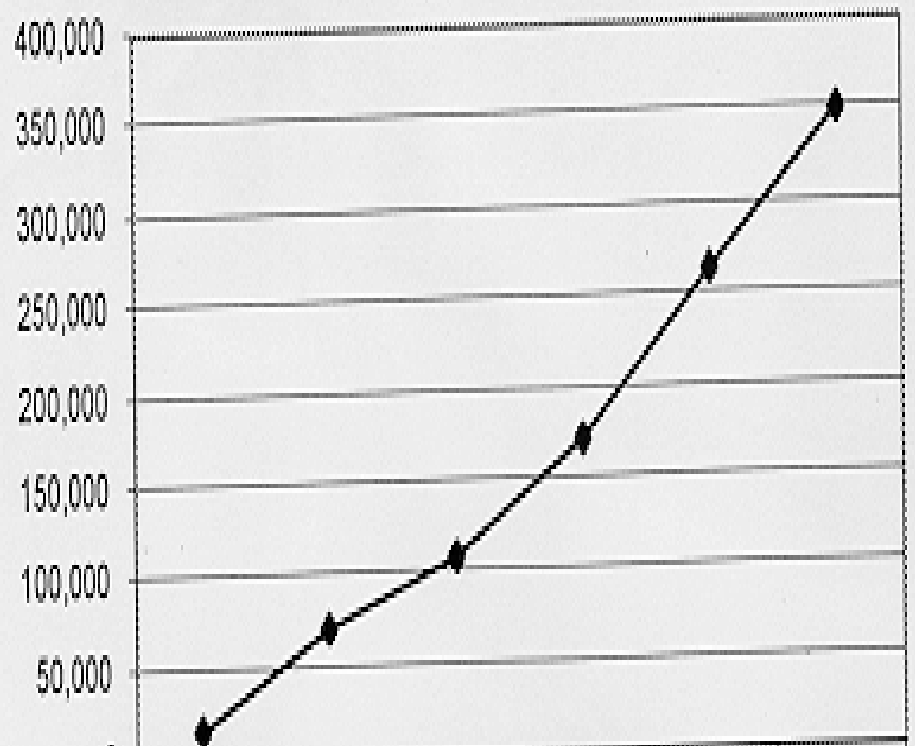
Average Weekday Work Hours, Employed Mothers, Canada



Source: Harvey, Andrew, et. al., *Where Does Time Go?*, General Social Survey Analysis Series, Statistics Canada, catalogue no. 11-612E, #4, table 19, page 117, data from 1986 GSS Time Use Survey. Note: Though these figures are daily averages, the data show that mothers actually shop an average of once every three days for $2\frac{1}{2}$ hours each time.

Chart 5

Licensed Day Care Spaces in Canada, 1971-1992



	1971	1975	1980	1984	1988	1992
Spaces	17,391	69,952	109,141	171,654	263,626	350,680

Source: Statistics Canada, *Women in Canada*, 3rd ed., catalogue no. 89-503E, from Health and Welfare Canada, *Status of Day Care in Canada.*

Diagram 1

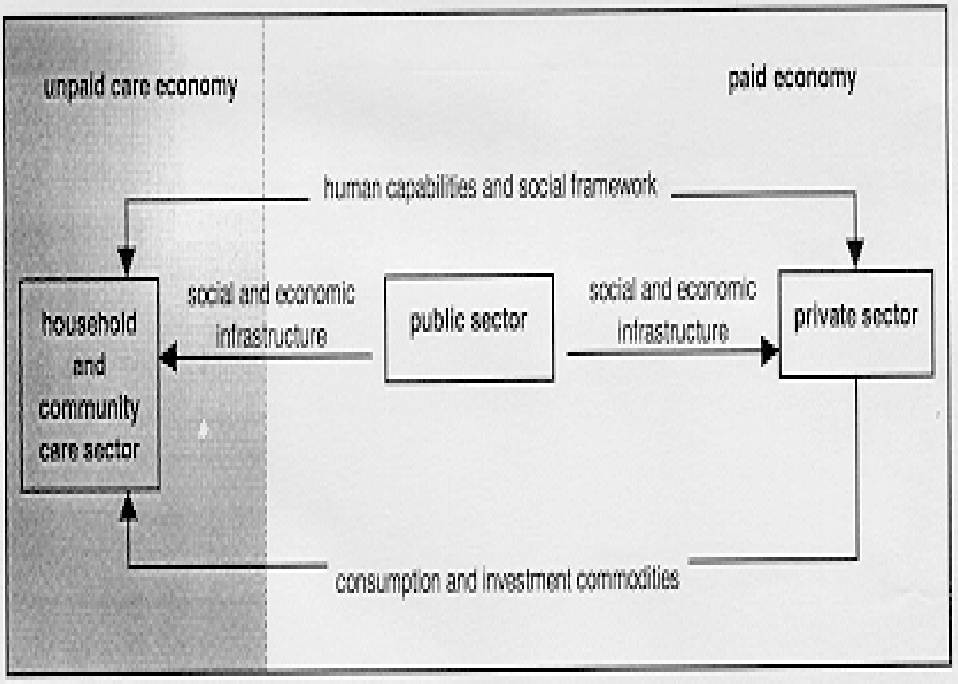
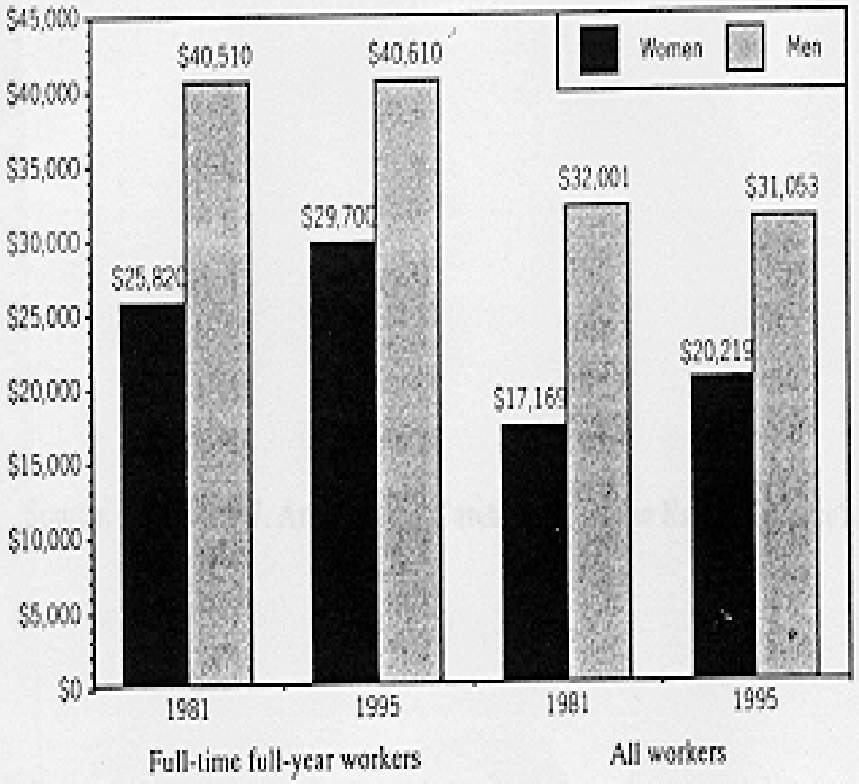


Figure 6.2 The interdependence of the paid and unpaid economies

Sources: Diane Elson (1997a), 'Gender-Neutral, Gender-Blind, or Gender-Sensitive Budgets?: Changing the Conceptual Framework to Include Women's Empowerment and the Economy of Care', *Preparatory Country Mission to Integrate Gender into National Budgetary Policies and Procedures in the Context of Economic reform*, London: Commonwealth secretariat, p 9 and Susan Himmelweit (1998b), 'The need for gender impact analysis', in Sarah Robinson (editor), *The Purse or the Wallet?*, Proceedings of a seminar of The Women's Budget Group held on 12th February, London, p 7.

Figure 1

AVERAGE EARNINGS OF ALL WORKERS AND FULL-TIME FULL-YEAR WORKERS BY GENDER, 1981 AND 1995



Source: CCSD, 1997. Are Women Catching up in the Earnings Race?, p.7.

Table 1

Recent Work-based Responses to Family and work Conflict

Reducing the time demands of paid employment

1. Part-time employment
2. Job sharing

Reducing the rigidity of paid employment time schedules

3. Flextime (flexible working hours)
4. Compressed workweek
5. Family leave provisions (maternity or parental leave, child-related sick leave)

Reducing the gap between home and work

6. Telecommuting (home-based work, self-employment)
7. On-site child-care (employer support for child-care)

Source: Duffy and Pupo (1996).

APEC Human Resources Development Working Group
Network on Economic Development Management

Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work In Formulating Human Resource Development Policies

Hong Kong, China, May 8, 1998

United States of America

by
Marjorie R. Sims
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Note: Opinions set forth are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the positions of the US Government.

1. The American Context

Although some US non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have been advocating the measuring and valuing of unpaid work for some time, most citizens and policymakers are relative newcomers to the unpaid work debate. Two recent actions have focused some national attention to ways to value unpaid work. In January 1999, the issue gained unexpected national attention when a newly-elected, unconventional state governor suggested that his wife should receive a wage for the public service work that she would be called on to perform as a First Lady. The fact that spouses of elected officials — merely by their status as a spouse of a public servant — often do a substantial amount of unpaid work in their communities became a national conversation.

The Clinton Administration announced plans in April 1999 to move forward legislation that would prohibit workplace discrimination against employees who attend to family matters. Supporters of the plan note that parents who decline to work overtime or take on additional work assignments due to family demands are often denied career advancement opportunities. The administration's proposal would allow parents who are denied job promotions the right to sue under US Civil Rights statutes. Under the measure, parents would be categorized as a "protected class" of vulnerable workers that is currently defined as gender, race, religion, age, or disability. While the details of the plan have yet to be formally presented, businesses and employer groups, fearful that workers will simply have another right to sue, have already begun to speak against it.

Many would argue that the recent US discourse about the difficulties individuals have satisfying unpaid and paid work demands and desires is only a small portion of the broader macroeconomic unpaid work issue. Nonetheless, it still remains to be seen what long-term impact the recent attention will have on public and private policies aimed at recognizing the value of unpaid work. What is clear is that more US women have entered the workforce and have risen to positions of decision-making in all sectors of society. With the increase of families comprised of dual-income earners, along with increased numbers of single-parent families, policies and programs linking paid and unpaid work have emerged.

In 1993, groundbreaking federal legislation was enacted to protect workers from job loss should they need to care for a newborn or newly adopted child, recuperate from an illness, or take care of an ailing family member. Titled the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA), the law allows employees who work for firms with 50 or more workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave in a 12-month period. Currently, about 50 percent of the US private-sector workforce is protected under FMLA.[1] While this law was designed to ensure that both men and women could benefit, US researchers note that men have lower participation rates in unpaid leave programs.[2] It can be argued that both men's and women's participation in work-life programs, particularly paternity leave, would increase if paid leave were available.

Most policymakers and women's rights advocates agree that significant gains have been made on policies linking paid and unpaid work. Others would assert that the US has not done enough in this area — particularly given the US role as a world leader and its strong support of the 1995 UN World Conference on Women *Platform for Action,* which called on governments to measure and value unpaid work. There is also concern that only a small portion of private-sector US workers are eligible for current workplace programs that recognize the value of unpaid work. According to the Bureau of Labour Statistics (BLS) 1995 Employee Benefits Survey of establishments with 100 or more workers in private, nonagricultural industries, 83 percent of full-time employees had weekly work schedules of 40 hours, based on five eight-hour days. All but 5 percent of full-time employees were on a fixed work schedule, and childcare benefits were offered to less than one out of 10 employees[3].

Further, for the US workforce as a whole, 35.1 percent of women work in professional, technical, executive, administrative, managerial, and related occupations; and 36.9 percent in clerical, administrative support, and sales occupations (see Table 1). A close look at the participation rates in private-sector work-life programs covered in the Employee Benefits Survey reveals that clerical, administrative support, and sales employees have lower participation rates than professional, technical and related employees. This suggests that US programs that value unpaid work may not benefit all social and economic classes equally.

At the present time, the US government does not regularly collect data on unpaid work and there is little public pressure from mainstream NGOs to do so. At the top of most women's advocates' agenda are equity issues such as health care and social security reform, childcare, reproductive rights, pay equity, workplace fairness, civil rights, and

education. These efforts provide a sectoral approach to remedying women's ability to valuing women's societal contributions. Supporters of a macroeconomic approach to valuing women's unpaid work have developed a bipartisan bill, which would require BLS to conduct time-use surveys of unremunerated work performed in the United States and calculate the monetary value of such work. The measure has been introduced in previous Congresses; however, it has never garnered a hearing. Without stronger political support and leadership it appears unlikely that Congress will pass the measure. The Clinton Administration has undertaken efforts to examine ways to measure unpaid work. In particular, BLS co-sponsored a conference of experts with the MacArthur Network on the Family and the Economy to examine technical issues related to measuring time use.

A few NGOs actively organize around the issue of unwaged work. For example, in February 1999, Women in Dialogue sponsored an event titled "Revisioning Work, Revaluing Women: A Roundtable Dialogue and Speak Out on Unwaged and Low-Waged Work," in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The US Department of Labor's Women's Bureau, Region III, was one of the co-sponsoring organizations. Additionally, during the March 1999 UN Commission on the Status of Women meetings, American NGOs were instrumental in gaining support for provisions that call on governments to recognize and acknowledge the value of unpaid work.

On the eve of the 21st century, the US has never been in a better position to develop programs and policies that link paid and unpaid work. In March 1999, the unemployment rate was 4.4 percent — nearly a 30-year low. The country is also experiencing the longest peacetime economic expansion in its history. During these prosperous times, however, Americans are working harder than ever. According to the Work and Family Institute, paid and unpaid work hours at all jobs appear to be greater than 20 years ago.[5]

2. Definitions and Data

Concepts and Definitions Used

The concepts and definitions in this section are familiar to those involved in the dialogue on paid and unpaid work and those used in the Current Population Survey (described under "US Government Surveys and Reports" below). According to the definition of "employed persons," **unpaid family workers** are the only unpaid workers classified as being employed by virtue of doing such unpaid work. Persons working around their own house or doing volunteer work are excluded from the definition of "employed persons." Under the category of "class of worker," "unpaid family workers" include persons working without pay for 15 hours a week or more on a farm or in a business operated by a member of the household to whom they are related by birth or marriage.

Civilian non-institutional population. Included are persons 16 years of age and older residing in the 50 States and the District of Columbia who are not inmates of institutions (e.g., penal and mental facilities, homes for the aged), and who are not on active duty in the Armed Forces.

Employed persons. All persons who, during the reference week, (a) did any work at all (at least 1 hour) as paid employees, worked in their own business, profession, or on their own farm, or who worked 15 hours or more as unpaid workers in an enterprise operated by a member of the family; and (b) all those who were not working but who had jobs or businesses from which they were temporarily absent because of vacation, illness, bad weather, childcare problems, maternity or paternity leave, labour-management dispute, job training, or other family or personal reasons, whether or not they were paid for the time off or were seeking other jobs. Excluded are persons whose only activity consisted of work around their own house (painting, repairing, or own home housework) or volunteer work for religious, charitable, and other organizations.

Unemployed persons. All persons who had no employment during the reference week, were available for work, except for temporary illness, and had made specific efforts to find employment some time during the four week-period ending with the reference week. Persons who were waiting to be recalled to a job from which they had been laid off need not have been looking for work to be classified as unemployed.

Labour force. This group comprises all persons classified as employed or unemployed in accordance with the criteria referenced above.

Class of worker. The class-of-worker breakdown assigns workers to the following categories: private and government wage and salary workers, self-employed workers, and unpaid family workers. Wage and salary workers receive wages, salary, commissions, tips, or pay in kind from a private employer or from a government unit. Self-employed persons are those who work for profit or fees in their own business, profession, trade, or farm. Only the unincorporated self-employed are included in the self-employed category in the class of worker typology. Self-employed persons who respond that their businesses are incorporated are included among wage and salary workers, because technically, they are paid employees of a corporation. Unpaid family workers are persons working without pay for 15 hours a week or more on a farm or in a business operated by a member of the household to whom they are related by birth or marriage.

Usual Full or Part-Time Status

Full-time workers. Those who usually worked 35 hours or more per week (at all jobs combined). This group will include some individuals who worked less than 35 hours in the reference week for either economic or non-economic reasons and those who are temporarily absent from work.

Part-time workers. Those who usually work less than 35 hours per week (at all jobs), regardless of the number of hours worked in the reference week.

US Government Surveys and Reports

Surveys that collect certain information on paid and unpaid work include:

- The **Current Population Survey**(CPS), a monthly survey sampling 50,000 households, conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The CPS is the primary source of information on labour force characteristics of the US population.

- The **Decennial Census** of the US population. The census, conducted every 10 years by the Census Bureau, collects information on a variety of topics, including employment.

- The **American Community Survey** (ACS), a new monthly household survey conducted by the Census Bureau that will provide comparative housing, social, and economic data about communities and population groups on a yearly basis.

- The **Survey of Income and Program Participation** (SIPP). SIPP's purposes are to improve the measurement of the economic situation of persons, families, and households in the US and to provide a tool for managing and evaluating government transfer and service programs. The survey design is a continuous series of national panels, with sample size ranging from approximately 14,000 to 36,700 interviewed households; the duration of each panel ranges from two-and-one-half to four years.

Paid Work

The Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) regularly issues a wide range of data in the broad field of labour economics, including an extensive amount of information on working women. This data is collected through the Current Population Survey (CPS). BLS is the primary provider of published data on paid work.

In addition to its regularly issued quarterly data on usual weekly earnings of men and women, in 1999 BLS will introduce the first in a series of annual reports focusing on women's and men's earnings. Drawing on usual weekly earnings data obtained from the CPS, the report will show the pay of women and men by age, race and ethnicity, education, full- and part-time status, occupation, and union membership. Most of this information has been available from a variety of reports and news releases issued by BLS; this will be the first time that it has been brought together in a comprehensive report.

The report will provide considerable data on the earnings of women and men, a descriptive summary of the data, and a technical note detailing the source of the data and the operative concepts and definitions.

The first report, to be issued in mid-1999, will include annual average data for 1998.

Unpaid Work

Among the data assembled on unpaid work are the following:

Unpaid family workers. The Census Bureau collects, and BLS and the Census Bureau publish data on unpaid family workers. For example, based on data collected in the CPS, BLS publishes information on employed persons in agriculture and nonagricultural industries by sex and class of worker (including unpaid family workers); this includes a breakdown of nonagricultural industries. It also publishes information on usual full- or part-time status of unpaid family workers. (Unpaid family workers are only a tiny percentage; one-tenth of one percent of US employed workers.) The Census Bureau collects information through the CPS, the ACS, the Decennial Census, and the SIPP.

Reasons for working less than 35 hours in a week. BLS publishes information on persons at work one to 34 hours in all industries and nonagricultural industries by reason for working less than 35 hours and usual full-or part-time status. Reasons include childcare problems and other family or personal obligations. This information is collected through the CPS.

Childcare costs and arrangements. The Census Bureau collects information on childcare costs and arrangements on an intermittent basis in the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP). The SIPP is currently the only source the Census Bureau uses to collect childcare information from families. Childcare questions are considered a "topical module" and assigned to particular interviewing cycles of the survey. Examples of data reported include married fathers as childcare providers of children 0-4 years (all fathers—employed and not working); childcare arrangements used by families with employed mothers (including mothers employed part-time) and provision of care by relatives while the mothers are working). Interviews in 1995 asked how many hours per week a family's children spend in 11 different childcare arrangements, including care by parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, and any other relative. A report of the survey results is in preparation.

Time-Use Surveys. In the summer of 1997, the Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics conducted a pilot study of two alternative versions of a time-use survey using a telephone methodology. The goal of the pilot study was to examine the feasibility of using computer-assisted telephone interview methodology to derive estimates of the value of nonmarket work. In the pilot, nonmarket work included housework, home maintenance, child and elder care, food production, and volunteer work. The research design included cognitive interviews to enhance BLS's understanding of how US respondents react to government-sponsored time-use surveys, and developmental work to design optimal survey procedures for measuring nonmarket work. The field test was designed to assess survey costs, response rates, and coding reliability. Two versions of a survey questionnaire were tested. Both versions asked what the respondent was doing and when the activity started and ended. One version asked who else was with the respondent and the location of the activity; the other version asked whether the respondent was doing anything else at the same time.

Based on the encouraging results of the pilot study, BLS established an internal working group to examine the feasibility of conducting a full-scale time-use survey. Although the work is still in the preliminary stages, the group is focusing on the possibility of using sub-samples of outgoing rotation groups of the monthly Current Population Survey to estimate the time individuals spend in various activities, taking advantage of the wealth of information already collected in the CPS on earnings, hours of work, demographic and family characteristics, and so on. The group is currently determining what such a survey would cost.

Conferences and Meetings. BLS and the MacArthur Network on the Family and the Economy co-sponsored a conference of researchers in the field on “Time-Use, Non-Market Work, and Family Well-being” in Washington, DC in November 1997. The conference was videotaped and a conference summary was prepared. BLS staff sent copies of the summary to the President's Interagency Council on Women for distribution to appropriate NGOs and other organizations.

As indicated under "Time-Use Surveys" above, BLS is looking into the possibility of conducting a time-use survey that could obtain information on unwaged work, as well as other important issues.

In spring 1999, the National Academy of Sciences held a workshop on the subject of time-use data. This workshop included a session devoted to the recent BLS examination of the feasibility of conducting a time-use survey. Other topics at the workshop included an overview of the importance of time-use data and its value to public policy; examination of various methods for measuring time use; the determinants of how people spend their time; and the future of time-use measurement.

Statistics on the US Workforce

The number of unpaid family workers in the labour force has dropped significantly in the last 20 years to only 141,000 in 1998. The main focus of the unpaid work debate is on nonmarket work such as child and elder care, housework, home maintenance, and volunteer work. In the last several decades, the massive increase in women in the labour force, including married women and mothers of young children, has led to increased attention to the unpaid work women (and to a lesser extent, men) do in the home, including childcare. The absence of traditional caretakers in the home and women's increasing participation in the labour force has brought to the fore the issue of the need for public and private sector recognition of and support for workers' important family responsibilities. Women remain more than twice as likely as men to work part-time; but large numbers of women are working full-time (over 45,000,000 in 1998). One resulting trend has been the growing commoditization of work in the home, with a rise in businesses providing caring services and other household services replacing formerly unpaid work done in the home. While the wage gap between men and women is narrowing, women's significantly lower average wages make it more difficult for them to pay for quality childcare and other services.

Unpaid Family Workers. In 1980, there were approximately 297,000 unpaid family workers in agriculture, of whom 197,000 were women; by 1998 the numbers had dropped to 38,000 unpaid family workers, 15,000 of them women. In nonagricultural industries, there were 404,000 unpaid family workers in 1980, of whom 349,000 were women; in 1998 the numbers had dropped to 103,000 and 74,000 respectively. (See Table 2.)

Women in the Labour Force. One of the major trends in the US labour force in the last 30 years has been the great influx of women into the labour force. In 1998, there were 106 million women age 16 and over in the civilian non-institutional population of the United States. Of that total, 64 million women were in the labour force, more than twice the number in 1970. Women comprised 46 percent of the total labour force, compared to 38 percent in 1970. Sixty percent of women age 16 and over were labour force participants, compared to 43 percent in 1970. (See Table 3.)

Women are expected to account for three of every five new labour force entrants between now and 2006, and to comprise 47 percent of the labour force by that year.

Women in the Labour Force by Marital Status. Labour force participation of US women varies by their marital status. In March 1998, participation rates were as follows:

- total for all women — 60.2 percent;
- never married — 68.1 percent;
- married, spouse present — 61.8 percent;
- married, spouse absent — 67.1 percent;
- widowed — 19.6 percent; and
- divorced — 72.6 percent.

This compares to the following 1980 figures:

- total for all women — 51.5 percent;
- never married — 61.5 percent;
- married, spouse present — 50.1 percent;
- married, spouse absent — 59.4 percent;
- widowed — 22.5 percent;
- divorced — 74.5 percent.

These figures show that the labour force participation rates for married women increased significantly between 1980 and 1998.

Mothers in the Labour Force. In 1980, 55 percent of women with the youngest child under 18 were in the labour force; 47 percent with the youngest child under age six; and 42 percent with the youngest child under three. By 1998 those numbers had risen to 72, 65, and 62 percent respectively (see Table 4).

Family Obligations as the Reason for Working Less than 35 hours in a Week. According to 1998 annual averages, of persons working one-34 hours in the reference weeks instead of full-time (35 or more hours), among those who gave non-economic reasons, 856,000 gave childcare problems as the reason for doing so; 5,551,000 gave other family or personal obligations as their reason (these numbers include both workers who usually work full-time and those who usually work part-time).

Regular Part-Time Employment. Annual averages for 1980 show that 8.2 percent of employed men and 23.4 percent of employed women worked part-time; according to 1998 averages, 10.6 percent of employed men and 25.9 percent of employed women worked part-time. In 1998, employed women were 2.4 times more likely than employed men to be working part-time.

Pay. The average weekly earnings of women working full-time were 64 percent of men's in 1980; by 1998, they had risen to 76 percent of men's earnings (see Table 5).

Childcare Workers. The number of workers employed in the child daycare services industry rose from 298,900 in 1980 to 580,600 in 1998, an increase of 94.2 percent.

3. Who are the Main Users of the Data

The main users of the data include:

- government agencies;
- academic and research institutions;
- nonprofit and advocacy organizations; and
- the media.

Gender-specific data is used by various groups and government agencies to make decisions and promote programs and policies for the advancement of women.

4. Policies and Programs

The following illustrate how the various data has been integrated and reflected in human resource policies and programs.

US Federal Laws

- **Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA)** - allows employees who work for firms with 50 or more workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave each year to care for a new-born or newly-adopted child or a seriously ill family member, or to recuperate from their own illness.

- **Dependent Care Tax-Credit** - available on a sliding scale basis to taxpayers incurring expenses relating to the care of a child under the age of 13, a disabled spouse, or any qualifying dependent.

- **Spousal Individual Retirement Accounts** - Unemployed spouses are allowed to contribute up to $2,000 in a tax-deferred Individual Retirement Account (IRA), which allows them to plan for retirement security in a similar fashion to employed individuals.

- **Equal Pay Act** of 1963 - prohibits wage discrimination on the basis of sex.

- **Title VII of the Civil Rights Act** of 1964 - prohibits sex discrimination in employment.

- **Title IX of the Education Amendments** of 1972 - prohibits sex discrimination in federally funded education programs.

- **Women in Apprenticeship and Nontraditional Occupations (WANTO) Act** of 1992, **and Women in Nontraditional Employment (NEW) Act** of 1991. The US Department of Labor (DOL) administers WANTO grants to community-based organizations to provide technical assistance to private-sector employers and unions to increase employment of women in apprenticeships and other nontraditional occupations. The DOL administers NEW grants to states to encourage them to broaden the range and training of women with employment barriers in occupations nontraditional for them. (Such nontraditional occupations pay higher wages, making it more likely for the women to pay for services such as quality childcare for their children while they are at work.)

Federal Recognition of Model Private Sector Policies and Programs

The US government has recognized model public and private sector policies and programs and encouraged employers and other organizations to do more to assist employees in balancing their work and family responsibilities. For example, in 1995 and 1996, DOL's Women's Bureau conducted the "Working Women Count Honor Roll" campaign, a program challenging businesses, nonprofits, unions, and state and local governments to initiate new programs or policies that make concrete, positive workplace change in areas where women said they needed it most. (Over 250,000 women responded to the 1994 *Working Women Count!* national survey and identified pay and benefits, balancing work and family, and respect and opportunity on the job as their three greatest concerns.) In response, employers, public and private, large and small, all across the country took concrete steps to address these concerns. Two of the 880 Honor Roll members are described in Section 5 below.

Federal Policy Proposals

Expansion of FMLA. Numerous proposals aimed at expanding the FMLA have been debated, yet none has been approved. Several proposals seek to cover more US workers by reducing the threshold from businesses employing 50 employees to 25. Proposals have been introduced in Congress, which would allow workers to use the FMLA to attend their child's educational activities, or attend medical appointments. Proposals are also being debated which would provide FMLA coverage to more US workers.

Long-term Care Tax Credit. A Proposal by the Clinton Administration to provide a $1,000 tax credit to family members who provide long-term care to ill and disabled relatives. This Proposal would provide support to approximately 2 million Americans: 1.2 million older Americans, 500,000 non-elderly, and 250,000 children.

Compensatory Time. A Legislative proposal to permit private sector employers to offer compensatory time in place of overtime pay. Currently, under the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) work beyond a 40-hour work week must be compensated at one-and-a-half times a worker's hourly wage.[6]

Social Security Reform. A Legislative proposal that would permit up to five years to be disregarded from the calculations of an employee's average earnings if the worker was caring for a child under the age of seven or for a severely disabled spouse, parent, or other close family member and the worker had no minimal earnings.

Part-time and Temporary Workers' Protection. A Legislative proposal to allow individuals seeking part-time employment to be eligible to receive unemployment compensation, health, and pension benefits.

Tax Incentives for Family-friendly Workplaces. A Legislative proposal that would provide a tax credit to businesses with fewer than 50 employees who provide family and medical leave benefits, and offer tax incentives to businesses permitting flexible work schedules that enable workers to reduce daycare costs.

Unremunerated Work. A Legislative proposal that would require the Bureau of Labor Statistics to conduct time-use surveys of unremunerated work performed in the US and to calculate the monetary value of such work.

Displaced Homemakers. A Legislative proposal that would allow a tax credit for hiring displaced homemakers, defined as individuals entering or re-entering the workforce after raising a family, becoming widowed, or divorce.

Enumeration of Family Caregivers. A Legislative proposal to provide for an enumeration of family caregivers as part of the 2000 decennial census of population.

Childcare Tax Credit. A Legislative proposal to provide tax credits for employers who provide childcare assistance for dependants of their employees.

Childcare. House and Senate resolutions expressing the sense that Congress and the federal government should acknowledge the importance of at-home parents and should not discriminate against families which forgo a second income to be at home with their children.

Domestic Partner Benefits. Legislative proposal to provide benefits to domestic partners of federal employees.

Dependent Care Tax Credit (DCTC). Legislative proposal to increase the amount of allowable dependent care tax expenses and to make the dependent care tax credit refundable. The DCTC sliding scale would be raised from 30 to 50 percent of work-related dependent care expenditures for families earning $15,000 or less. The scale would then be reduced by one percentage point for each additional $1,000 more of income, down to a credit of 20 percent for persons earning $45,000 or more.

5. The Private Sector's Response to Unpaid Work: Policies and Programs

Until recently, US companies were recognized as leaders in work-life issues if they simply provided on-site childcare. However, innovative employers have implemented a host of work-life programs so that their workers are better able to blend paid and unpaid work responsibilities. US companies ranging from large multinationals to small family-owned businesses have evolved to provide comprehensive benefits and programs which include compressed work weeks, flexible work hours, job sharing, time off for volunteer and community activities, paid sabbaticals, and on-site work-family resource counselors. In addition to actively encouraging the input of their workers in the development of work-life policies, many US empbyers participate in research in the subject area as well as solicit expert advice on workforce trends.

Since 1985, *Working Mother*, a national women's magazine, has recognized US companies each year for their progressive work-life policies. Together with the Families and Work Institute, *Working Mother* has devised an application questionnaire to rate companies on six criteria: competitive salaries, opportunity for women to advance, childcare assistance, flexible work arrangements, work-life resources, and family-friendly benefits.[7] Businesses are responsible for providing honest and accurate information for the survey. However, *Working Mother* also conducts its own research on the companies as well as enlisting the support of work and family experts when evaluating the businesses.

The 1998 award winners are a diverse blend of businesses employing as many as 231,233 workers to as few as 70. Many of the companies recognized have a workforce with a high percentage of women workers. However, one company's workforce is only 13 percent women. Along with pointing to their healthy annual reports, all the companies recognized by *Working Mother* magazine indicate that improved worker productivity and morale are key factors in incorporating work-life programs.[8] A few of the US companies recognized by the magazine in 1998 for their work-life policies are highlighted below.

- Aetna, Inc. -- A health care and financial services company with 27,715 employees (70 percent women). In addition to providing its employees with a range of flexible work schedules, through its LifeWorks resource program, Aetna employees gain assistance in managing their work-life issues.

- American Express -- A travel and financial services company with 45,913 employees (67 percent women).

- Auto Desk -- A software design company with 1,750 employees (35 percent women).

- Benjamin Group -- Recognized for its on-site childcare, job share program, part-time program, and an aggressive employee bonus structure, was a technology public relations firm with 70 employees (81 percent women); also rewards employees for exercising and continuing their education.

- Calvert Group -- A mutual fund investment company with 160 employees (51 percent women) offers its employees' childcare subsidies, extension of health benefits, flextime and compressed workweeks, and help with adoption expenses.

- Marriott -- Ten years ago, this hotel chain with 195,000 employees (55 percent women) developed a work-life initiative with programs that include childcare discounts and referral services, education and training, family care spending accounts and a child development centre. The hotel chain has a staff of social workers who are able to provide employees language-appropriate confidential counseling and resource referrals.

- Patagonia, Inc. -- An outdoors-clothing manufacturer with 674 employees (50 percent women) provides on-site childcare, flextime, and job sharing.

- Saint Luke's Hospital of Kansas City -- A not-for-profit teaching hospital with 3,302 employees (81 percent women) offers employees a low threshold for part-time benefits, childcare, campus daycare for sick children, and an employer-based educational support program for pregnant women.

According to a *Working Mother* magazine spokesperson, its efforts to highlight US companies with best practices has been as popular with employers as it has been with employees. Some companies in their 1999 survey pool have expanded upon existing work-life policies to include lactation programs, adoption benefits, and infertility coverage.

Working Mother's annual focus on companies with good work-life programs has been so popular that other mainstream US business magazines have begun to produce similar studies. In January 1999, *Fortune* magazine launched its own "100 Best Companies to Work for in America" survey. Similar to comments made by the businesses surveyed by *Working Mother*, employers acknowledged that work-life programs increase worker productivity, morale, and importantly, their bottom line revenues.

Public-sector workers often have access to more work-life programs than most private-sector workers do. This is due, in large measure, to the higher percentage of unionized workers in the public sector, 9.5 percent compared to 37.5 percent.[9] But efforts to make governments model employers, particularly at the federal level also are a factor. These two forces have resulted in federal and state workers often having work-life options such as compensatory time arrangements, which are not available to their private sector counterparts.

The federal government has often taken steps to recognize good practices in the private sector such as the *Working Women Count Honor Roll* described in Section 4. Among the 880 members of the Honor Roll are.

- The Dependent Care Connection (DCC) - A consulting firm with government and corporate clients. DCC offers LifeCare Counseling, Education and Referral Services nationwide through subscribing employers. Upon request, DCC provides employees with referrals to prenatal services; adoption services; childcare services; emergency care services; special needs services; summer care services; academic services; adult care services; and personal services.

- The American Business Collaboration for Quality Dependent Care (ABC) - A coalition of major corporations that, in October 1995, launched a $100 million initiative to develop and strengthen childcare, school-age care, and elder-care projects in communities across the country where their employees live and work. The 22 lead or "Champion" companies expect to fund more than 1,000 projects over six years, ranging from training for daycare providers to science/technology camps for school-age children to a money management program for senior citizens. ABC has now expanded to include some 200 businesses, government agencies, and nonprofit organizations.

6. Recommendations

Recommendations for APEC

- APEC is urged to adopt a set of ”Good Practices” for valuing unpaid work.

Recommendations for APEC Member Economies

- APEC member economies are urged to develop appropriate and reliable time-use survey instruments.
- APEC member economies are urged to examine laws that limit citizens' ability to manage their productive and reproductive roles.
- APEC member economies are urged to work with civil society, including NGOs, to develop national policies and programs that value unpaid work.

Recommendations for Civil Society

(This recommendation is directed to non-government institutions, including NGOs, community groups, professional associations, religious communities, the private sector, labour and trade unions, political parties, foundations, academic and research institutions, the media, and women's, men's and youth groups, as well as individuals as members of society.)

- Civil society is urged to strongly advocate for national programs and policies that recognize the value of unpaid work.
- NGOs are encouraged to advocate for greater resources to support programs and policies that value unpaid work.
- Civil Society is encouraged to highlight ”Good Practices” that value unpaid work in both the public and private sectors.
- Civil Society is encouraged to mobilize resources for unpaid work research.

Endnotes

[1] Donna R. Lenhoff, "What it Took to Pass the Family and Medical Leave Act: A Nine-Year Campaign Pays Off." The National Partnership for Women and Families, August 18, 1994.

[2] James A. Levine and Todd L. Pittinsky, *Working Fathers: New Strategies for Balancing Work and Families* (Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1997), p. 89.

[3] US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employee Benefits in Medium and Large Private Establishments, 1995* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1998), pp. 1-4.

[4] US Department of Labor, Employee Benefits in Medium and Large Private Establishments, 1995, p. 156.[5] James T. Bond, *et al., The 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce* (New York, NY: Families and Work Institute, 1997), p. 73.

[6] Women's Policy, Inc., "Quarterly Update on Women's Issues in Congress," (Washington, DC, Vol.2, Winter 1998), p.23.

[7] "The 100 Best Companies for Working Mothers" September 8, 1998. Http://www.womenconnect.com. Accessed January 16, 1999.

[8] "The 100 Best Companies for Working Mothers" September 8, 1998. Http://www.womenconnect.com. Accessed January 16, 1999.

[9] "Union membership edges up, but share continues to fall." *Monthly Labor Review: The Editor's Desk*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, www.stats.bls.gov. Accessed February 1, 1999.

Many US Government surveys and reports may be accessed on the following websites:

- Bureau of Labor Statistics

  BLS home page: http://www.bls.gov/
  Labor Force Statistics from the Current Population Survey:
  http://www.bls.gov/cpshome.html

- Bureau of the Census

  Census home page: http://www.census.gov/
  Survey of Income and Program Participation: http://www.sipp.census.gov/sipp/
  Childcare: http://www.census.gov/population/www/socdemo/childcare.html
  American Community Survey: http://www.census.gov/CMS/www/
  Income: http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/income.html

Table 1.Employed Women by Occupational Groups, 1998 Annual Averages[1]
(in thousands)

Total Employed and Percent of Total Employed	Professional, Technical, and Related[2]	Clerical and Sales[3]	Blue Collar and Service[4]	Farming, Forestry, and Fishing
60,771	21,356	22,444	15,552	667
100.0	35.1	36.9	25.6	1.1

[1]*Employment and Earnings*, US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, January 1999. Table prepared by the Women's Bureau, US Department of Labor.

[2]Includes professional, technical, executive, administrative, managerial, and related occupations.

[3]Includes clerical, administrative support, and sales occupations.

[4]Includes precision production, craft, and repair occupations; machine operators and inspectors; transportation and material moving occupations; handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and labourers; and service occupations.

Table 2. Employed Persons in Agriculture and Non-agricultural Industries by Sex and Class of Worker, 1980, 1990, and 1998[1] (in thousands)

Category and Year	Agriculture			Non-agricultural Industries					
				Wage and Salary Workers					
	Wage and Salary Workers	Self-Employed Workers	Unpaid Family Workers	Total Household	Private Workers	Other Private Industries	Government Employed	Self-Employed Workers	Unpaid Family Workers
1980									
Total	1,384	1,628	297	86,706	1,166	69,915	15,624	6,850	404
Men	1,116	1,446	101	48,468	144	40,640	7,684	4,800	55
Women	267	182	197	38,237	1,023	29,275	7,940	2,050	349
1990									
Total	1,679	1,400	107	105,715	1,014	86,961	17,740	8,670	252
Men	1,299	1,169	39	56,263	145	47,906	8,212	5,618	46
Women	381	231	68	49,451	869	39,054	9,528	3,142	206
1998									
Total	2,000	1,341	38	119,000	962	99,674	18,383	8,962	103
Men	1,526	1,005	23	62,630	86	54,366	8,178	5,480	29
Women	474	336	15	56,389	876	45,308	10,205	3,482	74

[1] *Employment and Earnings*, US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, annual averages. Table prepared by the Women's Bureau, US Department of Labor.

Table 3. Civilian Labor Force and Labor Force Participation Rates of Women, Annual Averages, Selected Years, 1970-1998[1] (in thousands)

Category and Year	Civilian Non-institutional Population	Women in the Civilian Non-institutional Population	Civilian Labor Force	Women in the Civilian Labor Force	Women as a Percentage of the Total Civilian Labor Force	Percentage of Women in the Civilian Labor Force
1970	137,085	72,782	82,771	31,543	38.1	43.3
1975	153,153	80,860	93,775	34,475	36.8	42.6
1980	167,745	88,348	106,940	45,487	42.5	51.5
1985	178,206	93,736	115,461	51,050	44.2	54.5
1990	189,164	98,787	125,840	56,829	45.2	57.5
1995	198,584	103,406	132,304	60,944	46.1	58.9
1998	205,220	106,462	137,673	63,714	46.3	59.8

[1] *Employment and Earnings*, US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, January 1999. Table prepared by the Women's Bureau, US Department of Labor.

Table 4. Presence and Age of Own Children of Civilian Women 16 Years and Over, by Employment Status, 1980, 1990 and 1998[1] (in thousands)

Category and Year	Women in the Civilian Non-Institutional Population	Women in the Civilian Labor Force	Percentage of Women in the Civilian Labor Force	Percent of Employed Women Working Full-Time	Percent of Employed Women Working Part-Time	Percent Unemployed
1980						
Total of all women	87,939	44,934	51.1	72.5	27.5	6.7
With Children under 18	31,546	17,790	54.6	71.1	28.9	7.1
With Children under 6	13,966	6,538	46.8	67.1	32.1	10.0
With Children under 3	8,508	3,565	41.9	65.5	34.5	11.2
1990						
Total of all women	98,152	56,138	57.2	73.8	26.2	5.1
With Children under 18	33,262	22,196	66.7	73.0	27.0	6.0
With Children under 6	16,139	9,397	59.2	69.6	30.4	7.1
With Children under 3	9,737	5,216	53.6	68.7	31.3	7.5
1998						
Total of all women	106,141	63,900	60.2	73.1	26.9	4.7
With Children under 18	35,471	25,647	72.3	72.9	27.1	5.6
With Children under 6	16,294	10,619	65.2	68.8	31.2	7.3
With Children under 3	9,458	5,882	62.2	66.9	33.1	7.3

[1] *Marital and Family Characteristics of the Labor Force*, March Current Population Surveys, US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. Table prepared by the Women's Bureau, US Department of Labor.

Table 5. Women's Earnings as Percent of Men's, Selected Years, 1980-1998[1]

Year	Hourly	Weekly	Annual
1980	64.8	64.4	60.2
1985	70.0	68.2	64.6
1990	77.9	71.9	71.6
1995	80.8	75.5	71.4
1998	81.8	76.3	----[2]

[1] Bulletin 2340 and unpublished tables, *Employment and Earnings*, US Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, January issues; Series P-60, *Current Population Reports*, US Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, selected issues. Table prepared by the Women's Bureau, US Department of Labor.

[2] Not yet available.

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1. Introduction

It has been widely recognized that the female workforce, either salaried or unsalaried, and including family workers, housekeepers, and community volunteers, makes a substantial contribution to the economy. Among governments, unions, women's groups, and other members of civil society, greater attention has been focused on the significant role unpaid female workers play in national economies and the fact that this contribution is neither acknowledged or reflected in national employment and income statistics. As cited in the framework paper of this research project, the inclusion of unpaid, non-market sector work could boost national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) figures by 11 to 35 percent in those economies surveyed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Other estimates are even higher (Gibb, 1999).

The realization of the importance of unpaid workers, and in particular the contribution of unpaid female workers, to the economy, is gaining attention at many levels in Chinese Taipei. While inroads have been made in acknowledging the importance of the female labour force and of unpaid work in general, no attempt has ever been made to estimate the contribution of unpaid family workers and female housekeepers to the economy. As an active player in the region, Chinese Taipei must ascertain the contribution of unpaid work and female housekeeping jobs to its economy so that comparisons among APEC members can be made.

Based on the data sets available, this paper proposes an alternative way of estimating the economic contribution of unpaid workers and housekeepers to the economy of Chinese Taipei. First, the paper will offer a brief overview of the current data on the characteristics of unpaid family workers and housekeepers. Second, an analysis of the estimated contribution of unpaid labour to the economy will be presented. A full description of the estimation methodology is included in Appendix 1. Finally, relevant policies and action programs promoting women's participation in the labour force will be reviewed. The emphasis presented in this analysis lies more on the potential of increasing labour market productivity than on gender equality in general.

2. The Data and Measurements

The data used in this paper are based on material collected by the Directorate-General of Budget, Accounting, and Statistics (DGBAS), including monthly human resource surveys, time-use surveys, and work experience surveys. The last two surveys are conducted on an irregular schedule. The human resource survey is carried out through a two-stage random sampling scheme, with the sampling ratio remaining constant at about a half percent of the total population.

The human resource survey records data on the personal, socioeconomic, and job characteristics for each respondent, including sex, age, educational level, marital status, labour force status, earnings, weekly working hours, industry, occupation, and working status, etc. For the employed labour force, the information collected on working status can be utilized to identify paid and unpaid workers. Among the unpaid workers of the labour force, the category of female housekeepers can be distinguished from others, based on the major activities performed in the timeframe covered by the survey.

It is important to note that although information on the number of working hours of unpaid family workers is available in the survey, their earnings are recorded as nil, and that neither the number of working hours nor earnings information is gathered for those not included in labour force, including housekeepers. This suggests that the human resource survey is unable to provide any direct information on the contributions of unpaid family workers and housekeepers to overall economic activities.

To overcome these data limitations, a methodology to indirectly extract an estimate of this contribution was devised. For unpaid family workers, the information on working hours in the human resource survey was used to associate their contribution with paid workers (operationally defined as employers, employees, and the self-employed). To ascertain the average daily working hours of housekeepers and community volunteers, information was extracted from the time-use survey.

3. Characteristics of Unpaid Female Workers and Housekeepers

In recent decades, Chinese Taipei has undergone dramatic changes in many aspects of its economy, including social modernization, demographic transition, political democratization, industrial restructuring, and educational advancement. Under this process of development, women have achieved moderate progress in their participation in the labour market. The female labour force participation rate increased from 35.5 percent in 1970 to 39.3 percent in 1980, to 44.5 percent in 1990, and then 45.6 percent in 1998. However, the current rate is low compared to other economies at a similar stage of development. As in other cases, family responsibilities and labour market activities are competing claims on women's time. Women in Chinese Taipei follow a traditional path, tending to consider the home as the focal point of their lives.

Among employed women, however, classification by working status has changed significantly since the 1950s. As shown in Table 1, the proportion of unpaid family workers was over one-half the population before 1960. It dropped to 21 percent in 1980, 16 percent in 1995, and currently registers 15 percent. In the same period, there was also a decrease in the proportion of self-employed own account workers. The major increase in the share of the employed is observed in the category of private sector employees. The proportion was only about 25 percent 1960. It jumped to 56 percent in 1980, 61 percent in 1990, and recently reached 64 percent. The significant shift of employed women from unpaid family workers to private sector employees reflects the modernization process of the economy and the society.

In recent years, the number of female unpaid family workers has hovered at around 560,000. Table 2 shows a breakdown by personal characteristics. The data reveal that these unpaid workers share similar characteristics with the self-employed, in terms of age and educational attainment. They tend to be in the 25-54-age bracket, followed by those aged 55-64. The figures further indicate that more than one-half of self-employed and unpaid workers received only primary education. Almost 20 percent of them finished junior education and about the same proportion completed the secondary school level. With regard to job characteristics (data not shown), unpaid workers and the self-employed also share some similarities in industrial and occupational job distribution. Both are more concentrated in the agricultural sector and in commerce, working as vendors or sellers. Table 2 shows that unpaid workers are more similar to the self-employed than to other classifications of female workers.

Besides the unpaid labour they perform for family-owned businesses, women also contribute substantially to the economy and society by performing most of the family duties such as childbearing, childrearing, and housekeeping. These family responsibilities keep many women out of the labour force. Table 3 shows the distribution of reasons for not participating in the labour force (excluding the aged and the disabled). It is clear that the number and structure of the female non-labour force is very different from the male non-labour force. In 1997, for example, women accounted for 72 percent of the total number of those not in the labour force. Women cited housekeeping as the main reason for not working, a very minor reason among their male counterparts.

The fact that women assume the major housekeeping responsibilities has not changed much in the process of economic development and social modernization. The category of housekeepers accounted for 79.4 percent of the females out of the labour market in 1978 (Table 3). It has decreased only about 10 percentage points in two decades. This decrease has been mainly due to an increase in the proportion of those attending school. Currently, 70 percent of the female non-labour force are occupied with housekeeping. In 1997 the number was recorded at 2.6 million, or 72 percent of the female labour force. This is much larger than the number of unpaid family workers (546,000).

The data in Table 2 reveal that unpaid workers and housekeepers are extremely similar to each other in terms of age, number of children, education, and marital status. For this reason, unpaid workers and housekeepers can be considered as the same sub-group of the whole population. The housekeepers are also similar to the self-employed in educational attainment, age and marital status. Unpaid female workers (working for family businesses and in the household) and, to a lesser extent, the self-employed, are characterized as being slightly older and with less education and having slightly more children than the average.

To explore the possibility of inducing housekeepers into the labour market, it is useful to examine their work experiences. Table 4 provides information on civilians aged 15 and over by their current status in the labour force. Among the 2.67 million female housekeepers, 72 percent held full-time jobs. The remainder (27 percent) did not even hold part-time jobs. It is interesting to note the percentage of housekeepers in full-time jobs (72 percent) is higher than that of the unemployed (70 percent), and only slightly lower than those intending to work but not seeking jobs. The data suggest a high potential for housekeepers to be drawn into the labour market.

This section has focused on the basic characteristics of unpaid female workers. It was shown that housekeepers and unpaid workers in family businesses share many personal characteristics with self-employed workers. The data further indicate that housekeepers are definitely a source of potential workers for the labour force. To further study this potential, this paper will next estimate the potential earnings of unpaid female workers and housekeepers, based on the available data generated on the self-employed.

4. Estimated Earnings for Female Unpaid Workers and Housekeepers

This paper aims to ascertain the extent that the aggregate earnings of employers/employees and the self-employed will be inflated if the estimated earnings of unpaid family workers and the potential earnings of housekeepers are taken into account. In light of the fact that unpaid workers are more similar to the self-employed than to employers/employees, the estimation process involves two stages. At the first stage, the earnings function of the self-employed serves as a proxy for the earnings function of unpaid family workers. At the second stage, the earnings function of the self-employed, excluding economic factors (i.e., industry, occupation, and hours of work), is designed as a proxy for the potential earnings function of housekeepers. A detailed description of this methodology is found in Appendix 1.

Estimates of the earning function for unpaid family workers and housekeepers are documented in Tables A1 and A2 of the Appendix, respectively. On the basis of these two estimated earning functions, Table 5 outlines the estimated aggregate earnings for female unpaid family workers and the potential aggregate earnings for female housekeepers. For Chinese Taipei as a whole, the observed aggregate monthly earnings of female paid workers (i.e., employers, employees, and the self-employed) will be inflated by a factor of 15 percent if the estimated aggregate earnings of unpaid family workers are included. The inflation factor would reach 66 percent if the potential aggregate earnings of female housekeepers were taken into account. If the two groups were included simultaneously, the extent of inflation would climb to 81 percent. Estimates were made under the assumption that unpaid workers and housekeepers would receive the same earnings as paid workers with otherwise similar characteristics. The figures in Table 5 also suggest that the estimated aggregate earnings of unpaid workers and the potential aggregate earnings of housekeepers as well as their inflation factors tend to vary systematically with personal characteristics and socio-economic status.

At the individual level, the better-educated are more productive than the less educated. At the aggregate level, however, the figures in Table 5 indicate a decrease in the inflation factor with education for both unpaid workers and housekeepers. The underlying reason is that the numbers of better-educated are lower. For unpaid workers, the inflation factor will fall from 39 percent for those with a primary school education to as low as 2 percent for the university educated. The inflation factor of housekeepers also exhibits a declining trend by educational level (197% for the least-educated and 14% for the best educated). The less-educated are apparently more important than the better-educated in terms of their potential contribution to the total actual earnings of the economy.

With respect to the age cohort, the observed aggregate earnings of paid workers, the aggregate estimated earnings of unpaid workers, and the potential earnings of housekeepers all show a convex pattern in the sense that the level increases and then decreases with age. For both unpaid workers and housekeepers, age further indicates a positive effect on the inflation factor. With regard to marital status, the married group plays the most important role in contributing to the total aggregate earnings.

As expected, there is a clear distinction in aggregate earnings by industry and by occupation. For the actual earnings of the paid workers and the estimated earnings of the unpaid workers, the tertiary industry accounted for the biggest share, 68 percent and 49 percent, respectively. In terms of occupational composition, the largest amount of earnings is registered in the category of technicians and clerks for paid workers, and in service and sales workers for unpaid workers. Due to the effect of the distribution of the unpaid workers, however, the extent of enlarging the total earnings is particularly distinctive for the primary

industry and for agricultural workers (see Table 5).
The observed and estimated aggregate earnings also vary with the geographic location of the labour market. Table 5 suggests that the aggregate earnings level for paid workers are highest in the northern region and lowest in the east. A similar pattern emerges for the estimated earnings of unpaid workers and for the potential earnings of housekeepers. This finding is closely related to the industrial distribution and relative population size among the four regions. In terms of the inflation factor, the highest level is seen in the central region for both unpaid workers and housekeepers (24 percent and 77 percent, respectively), but the lowest level is observed in the north for unpaid workers (9 percent) and in the east for housekeepers (54 percent).

Based on the monthly aggregate earnings, this section has demonstrated the significance of unpaid female workers and housekeepers to the whole economy. If unpaid workers received wages, the aggregate earnings in Chinese Taipei are estimated to increase by 15 percent. If the potential earnings of housekeepers were included in national accounting, the total earnings would be boosted by 66 percent. It should be noted that the variable of working hours is crucial in estimating earnings. Unfortunately, due to data limitations, this factor was not taken into consideration in all of the estimate processes.

In 1992-97, self-employed females worked for 47.3 hours a week on average. The corresponding figure for unpaid workers was 45.2 hours. Given the small difference, the estimated earnings of unpaid workers based on the earnings function of the self-employed is reasonable. Consequently, the inflation potential of 15 percent made by unpaid workers to total earnings is acceptable.

As shown in Table 6, a recent survey (DGBAS, 1999) reports that the female non-labour force daily perform about 3.4 hours of household work. This is equivalent to one-half of the weekly working hours of self-employed women (47.3 as mentioned above). For this reason, we conclude that total female earnings would be increased by 33 percent if the value of household work were included. It should be noted that women in the labour force also devote substantial daily blocks of time to household work (2.15 hours for the employed and 1.68 hours for the unemployed). For future research, the value of unpaid household work conducted by women in the labour market should also be assessed and taken into account. This is particularly important given that the number of employed women (3.6 million) is much larger than the number of housekeepers (2.6 million) in Chinese Taipei.

5. Policy and Programs

Chinese Taipei experienced labour shortages in the period 1985 to 1995. At the same time, the female labour force participation rate remained low, at about 45 percent. To tap into its human capital resources and potential, policies were developed and implemented to encourage women's involvement in the market. Many ad hoc action programs were created to meet this purpose. In August 1994, a major "Program of Promoting Female Employment" was formally adopted. The program aimed to facilitate women's engagement in gainful economic activities and to increase their employment stability. Based on Articles 24 and 26 of the Employment Services Act and other relevant documents, the program sought to achieve its goal by winning support and participation from government and civil society. Among the program's basic operating premises were:

- enforcement of labour laws in order to ensure the rights and benefits of employed females;
- expansion of Vocational Training Programs for Women, in order to foster skills development for employment;
- removal of barriers to female employment;
- enhancement of employment services for women; and
- provision of other programs and channels to facilitate female employment.

Table 7 records the major achievements for the period July 1996 to the end of 1998. In its efforts to enforce the relevant labour laws, some 50,000 establishments were inspected under the program to ensure proper working conditions and adequate occupational health and safety environments were in place. An additional 1,905 cases were checked for working conditions specifically related to the employment of women, for example, night shifts.

Chinese Taipei is well known for its extensive vocational training programs. Under the auspices of the

program, training programs specifically designed for women were carried out by trade unions, occupational associations, professional institutions, and other NGOs. Approximately 26,852 women received general skills training. Another 11,780 were trained for a second area of specialty to increase their employment opportunities.

In terms of enhancing employment services for women, the program also provides information on employment opportunities, especially part-time employment, flex-time employment, and family-friendly workplaces. For this purpose, specific surveys and seminars were conducted with an aim of improving the quality of employment services to women. Table 7 shows that the program attracted almost 135,000 applications. At the same time, about 17,000 suitable job opportunities were identified by the program. The number of successful job placements (45,335) is more than the registered vacancies. This fact indicates that the regular channels of employment services are functioning well.

Inadequate or non-existent childcare arrangements are a frequent barrier to women entering or re-entering the workforce. To counter this obstacle, the program provided assistance to set up childcare facilities (including care centers and kindergartens). The program provided 414 business and industrial establishments with financial assistance to establish or improve their care facilities. In total, the number of care centers set up numbers more than 25,000. The amount of financial support provided by the program was NT$684 million with an average contribution per center of NT$27,000.

From the above discussion, it is clear that Chinese Taipei has adopted an aggressive approach to the promotion of female employment, as evidenced by the impressive performance of the Program of Promoting Female Employment. The available data, however, is not sufficient to fully evaluate the impact of the program. It can be assumed that these efforts made by Chinese Taipei could be useful in further research on the linkages between paid and unpaid workers in the economy.

6. Conclusion

As in most other economies, female unpaid workers in Chinese Taipei are an important part of its economy. The female labour force participation rate is 46 percent. The majority of women not in the labour force (2.64 million) are housekeepers who receive no pay. Even among the 3.68 million employed women, 550,000 are unpaid family workers. One major aim of this paper is to assess the contribution made by unpaid family workers and housekeepers to the economy of Chinese Taipei. For this purpose, the potential aggregate earnings of the two groups were estimated on the basis of their personal characteristics and the earnings function of self-employed women.

The estimates indicated that the observed aggregate earnings of female paid workers (i.e., employers, employees, and the self-employed) increased by 15 percent if the estimated earnings of unpaid family workers are included. Taking into account the difference in weekly working hours between housekeepers and self-employed women, the analysis concluded that total female earnings would be enlarged by 33 percent if the potential earnings of housekeepers were included. In sum, the unpaid female workers and housekeepers could have contributed to the economy by raising up the total observed aggregate earnings by 48 percent if they had been paid for their work.

The estimates offered in this paper are by no means a complete survey of all types of unpaid female work. For example, women in the labour force also spend time on housework. At the same time, the number of females in the labour force is one million more than the number of housekeepers. The value of the housework done by employed women is quite substantial and needs to be further assessed. Another concern is the voluntary work by women. According to a recent survey, however, only 6.6 percent of housekeepers currently perform voluntary work (Table 8). This figure is perhaps not significant in Chinese Taipei for the moment.

Many programs have been undertaken in Chinese Taipei to promote female participation in the labour market. They were embraced in the 1994 Program of Promoting Female Employment which included measures to alleviate barriers to women's employment in the workforce, enforce labour laws, expand vocational training for women, and disseminate information on employment opportunities and services.

The achievements of the program have been impressive; however, its effectiveness can be more fully

evaluated when more detailed data is available. It is true that the current female labour force participation rate of 46 percent is considered low for Chinese Taipei. There has been a substantial increase in the participation rates of the primary working ages (20-49) in the past few decades, as the participation rate of the 15-19 age group declined considerably due to education (Tsay, 1995). The re-entry of women into the labour market after middle-age is on the upswing (Tsay, 1998). However, the number of women out of the labour market due to household responsibilities remains enormous (2.64 million). In an attempt to build linkages between paid and unpaid work, it is important to understand their job-related characteristics, attitudes, and opinions.

Table 8 reveals that 76 percent of housekeepers had previous work experience compared to 24 percent who had never worked. As expected, there is a clear relationship between working experience and women's educational attainment. Among those who had never worked, the leading reason for not working was at the request of their husband or family (26 percent). It is interesting to note that the proportion does not vary much with education, except at the highest level. The data point to the important role played by the husbands and family. Other economic and job-related reasons for not working are not as important. For those who had once worked, the major reasons for quitting a previous job were taking care of children (37 percent) and voluntary resignation due to marriage or childbirth. The findings further highlight the importance of family considerations in employment decisions.

Among housekeepers, almost 70 percent have no intention of entering the labour market in the coming year. The proportion intending to work for sure is only 5 percent. The remaining 26 percent would work if they found a suitable job. The data suggest that the intention to work among housekeepers is rather low, probably between 5 and 15 percent. For those who intend to work conditionally, slightly more are concerned about childcare arrangements (37 percent) than about working conditions (31 percent). They desire to work as clerks (21 percent) or sales and service workers (17 percent). With regard to working schedules, the top choice is for part-time work (36 percent), followed by full-time hours with a fixed schedule (25 percent), and then full-time with a flexible schedule (16 percent). The amount of working time appears a more important consideration than flexibility in the working schedule.

For those who would definitely consider working in the coming year, one-half expressed no need of services from the government. Among those who stated they would need services, nearly one-quarter mentioned job information on services and training. This response could be due to the fact that jobs had already been arranged for this group of housekeepers. Those who did see the need for such services, may not appreciate or be informed about the employment services offered by governmental agencies.

In conclusion, most women who remain outside the labour market as housekeepers do so due to family-related reasons and considerations. It is clear that more weight is placed on the family than on the market. Under these circumstances, employment promotion programs should not be limited to the labour market issues. More attention should be directed to the lives of housekeepers and the cultural role of the family. This focus is particularly crucial when the housekeepers do not appreciate existing official employment services, which could help them balance employment opportunities with family responsibilities.

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Appendix 1: Estimation of Aggregate Earnings for Unpaid Workers and Housekeepers

The estimation of aggregate earnings for unpaid workers and housekeepers is based on the human resource surveys of Chinese Taipei. These data is the most reliable in that they provide the most detailed information on personal, socio-economic, and job characteristics.

The proposed method of estimation in this paper is fairly straightforward. Since unpaid family workers and female housekeepers are more similar to the self-employed than to employers and employees, the earning function of the self-employed can thus be applied as a surrogate for the earning function of unpaid family workers and female housekeepers.

The proposed estimation method and procedure are as follows. Since the surveys do not record the information on the work experiences of female housekeepers, we must construct two earning functions of the self-employed. One is the proxy for the earning function of unpaid family workers, and the other is for the earning function of female housekeepers.

The pre-determined explanatory variables for the earning function of the self-employed include sex (male, female), age marital status (single, married, divorced/separated, widowed), educational level (primary, junior high, senior high, college, university+), weekly work hours (wrkhrs), industry (primary, secondary, tertiary), occupation (manager, professional, agricultural worker, craft/trade worker, operator/assembler, low skilled worker), current job seniority (jobdeni), and regional dummy variables (Taipei City, Taipei Prefecture, Shinchu City, Taichung City, Kaohsiung City, other cities, rural prefectures); in other words, let $W^1_{\text{Slf Emped}}$ represent the first earning function, then $W^1_{\text{Slf Emped}}$ reads as

$$W^1_{Slf\ Emped} = W^1_{Slf\ Emped}(\ Sex, Age, Marital\ Status, Education, Work\ Hours, Industry, Occupation, Job\ Seniority, Regional\ Dummy\ Variables\ ).$$

With respect to the second earning function, the surveys do not offer us the information on the economic characteristics of female housekeepers; explanatory variables like industry and occupation can not be included in the earning function of housekeepers. Thus, let $W^2_{\text{Hus Kper}}$ be the second earning function, then $W^2_{\text{Slf Emped}}$ can be expressed as

$$W^2_{Hus\ Kper} = W^2_{Slf\ Emped}\ (\ Sex, Age, Marital\ Status, Education, Work\ Hours, Regional\ Dummy\ Variables\ ).$$

To achieve our goal, the computation procedures are as follows. At the first stage, we construct the earning function of the self-employed by regressing their earnings on their personal characteristics and the remaining variables representing working experiences and socioeconomic status. At the second stage, in recognition of the similarity between unpaid family workers and housekeepers, the earning function of unpaid family workers can serve as a proxy for the corresponding function of housekeepers. Thus, similar to the first stage, we estimate the earning function of unpaid family workers again, but their economic variables (occupation and industry) are not included in the equation. At the third stage, we separately aggregate the earning of employers, employees, and the self-employed and the estimated earnings of unpaid family workers and female housekeepers. Based on the observed and estimated aggregate earnings, we can thus assess how much the monthly aggregate earnings will be inflated if the estimated earnings of unpaid workers and the potential earnings of housekeepers are taken into account.

The empirical estimation results of $W^1_{Slf\ Emped}$ and $W^2_{Hus\ Kper}$ are summarized separately in the Appendix Tables A1 and A2. Explanatory variables in both earning functions exhibit a general pattern. As expected, males exhibit a higher level of earnings than females. The estimated coefficients for Age and Ln (Age) also indicate that age has a convex effect on the earnings of unpaid workers; namely, the level of earnings will go up and then down as age increases. As for the effect of marital status, the single and divorced/separated have lower levels of earnings than their married counterparts. The estimated coefficients for the dummies of educational levels suggest that education has a very strong positive effect, with this positive effect being particularly significant for the better-educated. The effects of industry and occupation are also distinct in the sense that workers in the secondary and the tertiary sectors have higher levels than those in the primary sector and that those in the higher occupational hierarchy tend to have higher earnings. In addition, the regional effect is significant in the sense that those residing in the major cities record higher levels of earnings in general.

Table 1. Structure of the Employed by Working Status, 1951-1999

Year	Total Number (1,000)	% Distribution by Working Status				
		Employer	Self-Employed	Unpaid Worker	Private Employee	Government Employee
			Female			
1951	821	1.20	15.50	53.70	10.50	19.00
1960	963	1.10	12.60	50.50	24.70	11.30
1970	1,396	1.00	12.20	42.00	36.50	8.30
1980	2,191	1.30	10.90	21.40	56.30	10.60
1985	2,709	1.30	9.90	21.00	57.50	10.30
1990	3,108	1.50	9.00	17.60	61.20	10.80
1995	3,487	1.80	8.40	16.10	62.30	11.40
1996	3,560	1.80	8.51	15.90	61.94	11.85
1997	3,613	1.99	8.33	15.11	62.86	11.71
Feb.1999	3,732	1.74	8.33	14.90	63.77	11.25
			Male			
1951	2,072	2.60	42.30	18.90	26.40	9.90
1960	2,510	2.50	38.20	17.50	26.70	15.10
1970	3,180	3.70	32.40	10.50	39.00	14.50
1980	4,357	6.00	25.50	5.30	49.70	13.40
1985	4,719	6.00	27.00	5.00	49.50	12.40
1990	5,175	6.80	24.40	3.80	52.90	12.00
1995	5,558	7.50	22.40	3.70	55.50	10.90
1996	5,508	7.64	22.42	3.50	55.45	10.98
1997	5,562	7.82	21.83	3.33	56.26	10.79
Feb.1999	5,606	7.74	22.03	3.23	57.26	9.74

Source: Yearbook of Manpower Survey Statistics , years cited.

Table 2. Compostions of Female Self-employed, Unpaid Workers, and Housekeepers by Personal Characteristics, 1992-97.

Personal Characteristics	Composition(%)		
	Self-employed	Unpaid Worker	Housekeeper
Total	***100.00***	***100.00***	***100.00***
Age			
15-24	3.74	6.18	5.03
25-34	20.24	23.42	26.00
35-54	58.80	54.90	44.13
55-64	14.43	13.34	20.81
65+	2.79	2.16	4.04
Marital Status			
Single	9.32	6.51	1.45
Spoused	71.43	92.54	89.90
Divorced/Separated	5.53	0.29	2.09
Widowed	13.72	0.66	6.56
Education			
Primary	55.55	53.97	51.37
Junior High	18.15	19.15	20.36
Senior High	21.61	22.61	22.99
J College	3.19	3.10	3.51
University+	1.50	1.17	1.77
Child Number			
0	30.18	9.83	13.12
1-2	26.32	31.70	39.10
3-4	36.74	48.07	38.16
5+	6.76	10.40	9.63

Note: Compiled from the 1992-97 Human Resource Surveys of Taiwan, DGBAS.

Table 3. Structure of the Non Labour Force with Working Ability by Reason of Not Working

Year	Total Number (1,000)	% Distribution by Reason of Not Working			
		Intend to Work but Not Seeking for Work	Attending School or Preparing for Entrance Exams	Housekeeping	Others
			Female		
1978	2,952	1.02	18.20	79.37	1.41
1985	3,238	0.79	22.01	76.12	1.08
1990	3,461	0.85	24.36	73.56	1.24
1995	3,664	1.06	26.42	71.34	1.17
1997	3,719	0.97	28.05	69.86	1.16
			Male		
1978	878	3.52	80.03	1.96	14.49
1985	1,117	3.84	71.53	0.74	23.89
1990	1,264	4.02	70.93	1.62	23.43
1995	1,375	4.95	71.56	0.73	22.84
1997	1,427	5.05	71.20	0.56	23.13

Source: Yearbook of Manpower Survey Statistics , years cited.

Table 4. Work Experience of Civilians Aged 15 Years and Over by Current Status of Labor Force

Current labor force status	Civilians aged 15 and over (1, 000)	Ever took full-time jobs (%)	Never took full-time jobs (%)		
			Subtotal	Ever took part-time jobs	Never took part-time jobs
			Male		
Total	***8,097***	***86.34***	***13.66***	***0.24***	***13.42***
Labor force	5,797	99.34	0.66	0.10	0.56
Employed	5,636	99.90	0.10	0.10	-
Unemployed	161	79.65	20.35	0.18	20.17
Not in labor force	2,300	53.58	46.42	0.60	45.82
Intend to work but not seeking for job	60	76.57	23.43	1.28	22.15
Attending or preparing to attend school	965	2.38	97.62	1.02	96.61
Busy in housekeeping	6	89.71	10.29	-	10.29
Old age or disable	929	92.29	7.71	0.21	7.50
Others	341	88.33	11.67	0.38	11.29
			Female		
Total	***8,155***	***73.91***	***26.09***	***0.57***	***25.52***
Labor force	3,680	98.83	1.17	0.45	0.72
Employed	3,592	99.54	0.46	0.46	-
Unemployed	88	69.85	30.15	-	30.15
Not in labor force	4,474	53.42	46.58	0.67	45.91
Intend to work but not seeking for job	31	76.93	23.07	-	23.07
Attending or preparing to attend school	1,035	3.89	96.11	1.00	95.11
Busy in housekeeping	2,668	72.42	27.58	0.52	27.06
Old age or disable	699	52.35	47.65	0.76	46.89
Others	41	67.71	32.29	0.53	31.76

Table 5. The Extent of Inflation in Monthy Aggregate Earnings due to the Inclusion of Unpaid Family Workers and Housekeepers

Unit: Million NT$, %

Characteristics	Aggregate Earnings			Inflation Extent(%)		
	Employer/ee + Self-employed (Actual Earnings) [1]	Unpaid Worker (Estimated Earnings) [2]	Housekeeper (Potential Earnings) [3]	[2]/[1]	[3]/[1]	([2]+[3])/[1]
Education						
Primary	12,974	5,080	20,522	39.16	158.17	197.33
Junior High	8,652	2,124	9,801	24.55	113.28	137.83
Senior High	24,646	2,486	11,888	10.09	48.23	58.32
J College	12,015	371	1,928	3.09	16.05	19.14
University+	10,675	181	1,292	1.69	12.10	13.79
Total	***63,961***	***10,242***	***45,430***	***14.85***	***65.88***	***80.73***
Age						
15-24	11,448	414	2,025	3.62	17.69	21.31
25-34	24,725	2,692	13,530	10.89	54.72	65.61
35-54	29,956	6,048	21,874	20.19	73.02	93.21
55-64	2,592	978	7,119	37.75	274.69	312.43
65+	241	110	882	45.65	366.00	411.65
Total	***63,961***	***10,242***	***45,430***	***14.85***	***65.88***	***80.73***
Marital Status						
Single	23,359	438	483	1.87	2.07	3.94
Spoused	40,633	9,731	41,852	23.95	103.00	126.95
Divorced/Separated	2,533	23	806	0.93	31.81	32.74
Widowed	2,436	49	2,290	2.02	93.99	96.01
Total	***63,961***	***10,242***	***45,430***	***14.85***	***65.88***	***80.73***
Industry						
Primary	1,185	2,961	-	249.78	-	-
Secondary	20,906	2,233	-	10.68	-	-
Tertiary	46,871	5,048	-	10.77	-	-
Total	***63,961***	***10,242***	-	***14.85***	-	-
Occupation						
Manager	2,787	16	-	0.56	-	-
Professional	8,966	89	-	0.99	-	-
Technician/Clerk	28,247	1,186	-	4.20	-	-
Service/Sales Worker	12,355	3,640	-	29.46	-	-
Agri Worker	1,113	2,955	-	265.52	-	-
Craft/Trade Worker	2,170	777	-	35.78	-	-
Operator/Assembler/Low Skilled	13,324	1,580	-	11.86	-	-
Total	***63,961***	***10,242***	-	***14.85***	-	-
Residential Place						
Northern	35,001	3,182	20,575	9.09	58.78	67.87
Central	14,209	3,417	11,001	24.05	77.42	101.47
Southern	17,911	3,339	12,855	18.64	71.77	90.41
Eastern	1,841	305	999	16.57	54.28	70.85
Total	***63,961***	***10,242***	***45,430***	***14.85***	***65.88***	***80.73***

Table 6. Daily Time Allocation for Staying at Home (Excluding Sleeping) and for Doing Household Work by Sex and Labour Force Status, March 1998

Unit: Hours per Day

Labour Force Status	Staying at Home (excluding sleeping)	Doing Household Work
Males	5.33	1.00
Employed	5.05	1.00
Unemployed	6.50	0.93
Non-Labor Force	7.53	1.09
Females	7.96	2.70
Employed	6.18	2.15
Unemplyed	7.00	1.68
Non-Labor Force	10.18	3.39

Source: *Report of the Survey on Social Development Trends, 1998*, Tables 39 and 40. Taipei: DGBAS.

Table 7. Performance Records of the Program of Promoting Female Employment, 1996-1998.

Item	July-Dec. 1996	1997	1998	Total
Labour Inspection (No. of Establishments)				
Working Conditions	1,611	4,753	5,178	11,542
Health and Safety	6,432	15,570	15,327	37,329
Child + Female Employment	586	1,138	181	1,905
Vocational Training for Females (Number of Persons)				
General Training	4,285	7,726	14,841	26,852
Second Speciality	3,534	4,096	4,150	11,780
Employment Services (No. of Persons)				
Application	22,611	41,359	70,916	134,886
Vacancy	2,586	6,428	7,944	16,958
Placement	7,585	14,999	22,751	45,335
Removal of Barriers (Assistance to Set Up Child Care Facilities)				
Establishments Received Assistance	109	100	205	414
No. of Care Centers Set Up	37	4,072	21,224	25,333
Amount (NT$ in 1,000)	36,178	599,228	48,698	684,104

Source: Bureau of Vocational Training, Council of Labor Affairs.

Table 8: Work Related Characteristics and Opinions of Female Housekeepers by Education, 1998

Unit: %

Characteristics	Education			
	All Levels	Jr. High and Less	Sr. High & Vocational	University and Above
Doing Voluntary Work	6.57	5.35	6.73	17.83
Never Worked Outside the Family	23.98	30.31	11.54	9.25
Major Reasons for Never Worked Outside the Family				
Requested by Husband (Family)	25.78	25.75	27.03	21.19
Family can Afford Economically	16.12	15.25	20.23	24.39
Unable to Find Suitable Job	6.76	6.70	7.74	3.98
No Intension to Work	8.76	8.50	9.66	12.64
Reason for Quiting Job (among those ever worked)				
Voluntary (marriage + child)	31.33	27.66	38.32	33.23
Requested by Husband (Family)	4.22	3.65	5.45	4.01
Requested by Employer	0.85	0.47	1.74	0.40
Child Care	37.39	35.11	40.89	41.56
Intension to Work in the Coming Year				
Definitely Not to Work	68.77	72.20	62.15	60.37
Work if Right Job	26.32	22.85	32.90	35.33
Definitely to Work	4.91	4.95	4.95	4.30
Considerations by those intending to work if there is a right Job				
Childcare Arrangement	36.67	29.61	49.17	37.27
Working Conditions	30.90	33.23	25.58	34.84
Desired Work by those intending to work if there is a right Job				
Manager/Professional	7.31	3.88	9.49	21.12
Clerical	20.79	12.70	32.56	30.55
Sales/Service	17.27	18.96	15.31	13.51
Manual Worker	8.62	12.76	3.60	0.19
Desired Type of Working Time by those intending to work if there is a right Job				
Full-time, Fixed Schedule	25.37	25.12	28.34	16.58
Full-time, Flex Schedule	15.75	14.53	15.66	23.69
Part-time	36.16	37.41	33.54	37.42
Official Services Needed by those definitely to work				
Job Information	25.91	24.73	25.97	38.92
Employment Matching	17.74	17.80	19.67	8.71
Reemployment Training	22.76	20.75	24.68	37.00
No need	51.05	52.74	48.97	41.23

Source: *Report on the 1998 Survey of Women's Employment Status.* Taipei: Council of Labour Affairs.

Appendix Table 1. Wage Regression Function for Unpaid Family Workers

Explanatory Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	*t*	*p-value*
Constant Term	-8.6698	0.9586	-9.0	0.0001
Male	1.1173	0.0325	34.4	0.0001
Age	-0.1118	0.0072	-15.6	0.0001
Ln(Age)	4.1446	0.3200	13.0	0.0001
Single	-0.5054	0.0496	-10.2	0.0001
Divorced/Separated	-0.3245	0.0682	-4.8	0.0001
Junior High	0.1564	0.0353	4.4	0.0001
Senior High	0.2769	0.0367	7.6	0.0001
J College	0.3936	0.0661	6.0	0.0001
University+	0.7934	0.1029	7.7	0.0001
Secondary Industry	1.0468	0.3421	3.1	0.0001
Tertiary Industry	0.4986	0.3397	1.5	0.0001
Manager	2.0409	0.1790	11.4	0.0001
Professional	1.1964	0.1339	8.9	0.0001
Agricultural Worker	-1.1743	0.3409	-3.4	0.0001
Craft/Trade Worker	-0.3973	0.0523	-7.6	0.0001
Operator/Assembler	-0.1811	0.0452	-4.0	0.0001
Low Skilled	-0.6641	0.0674	-9.9	0.0001
Taipei City	0.3293	0.0465	7.1	0.0001
Taipei Prefecture	0.3089	0.0338	9.1	0.0001
Shinchu City	0.6010	0.1177	5.1	0.0001
Taichung City	0.5519	0.0651	8.5	0.0001
Kaohsiung City	0.4265	0.0602	7.1	0.0001

Appendix Table 2. Wage Regression Function for Housekeepers

Explanatory Variable	Parameter Estimate	Standard Error	*t*	*p-value*
Constant Term	-8.8919	0.1794	-49.6	0.0001
Male	1.2121	0.0091	133.2	0.0001
Age	-0.1164	0.0017	-70.0	0.0001
Ln(Age)	4.1611	0.0665	62.6	0.0001
Single	-0.5255	0.0125	-42.1	0.0001
Divorced/Separated	-0.3407	0.0440	-7.7	0.0001
Junior High	0.1129	0.0103	11.0	0.0001
Senior High	0.1870	0.0102	18.3	0.0001
J College	0.3103	0.0184	16.8	0.0001
University+	1.0034	0.0309	32.5	0.0001
Taipei City	0.2155	0.0135	15.9	0.0001
Taipei Prefecture	0.3212	0.0097	33.3	0.0001
Shinchu City	0.6611	0.0269	24.6	0.0001
Taichung City	0.5747	0.0163	35.2	0.0001
Tainan City	0.0744	0.0168	4.4	0.0001
Kaohsiung City	0.3064	0.0177	17.3	0.0001

Note: Compiled form the 1992-97 Human Resource Surveys of Taiwan,DGBAS.

Table 1. Structure of the Employed by Working Status, 1951-1999

Year	Total Number (1,000)	% Distribution by Working Status				
		Employer	Self-Employed	Unpaid Worker	Private Employee	Government Employee
			Female			
1951	821	1.20	15.50	53.70	10.50	19.00
1960	963	1.10	12.60	50.50	24.70	11.30
1970	1,396	1.00	12.20	42.00	36.50	8.30
1980	2,191	1.30	10.90	21.40	56.30	10.60
1985	2,709	1.30	9.90	21.00	57.50	10.30
1990	3,108	1.50	9.00	17.60	61.20	10.80
1995	3,487	1.80	8.40	16.10	62.30	11.40
1996	3,560	1.80	8.51	15.90	61.94	11.85
1997	3,613	1.99	8.33	15.11	62.86	11.71
Feb.1999	3,732	1.74	8.33	14.90	63.77	11.25
			Male			
1951	2,072	2.60	42.30	18.90	26.40	9.90
1960	2,510	2.50	38.20	17.50	26.70	15.10
1970	3,180	3.70	32.40	10.50	39.00	14.50
1980	4,357	6.00	25.50	5.30	49.70	13.40
1985	4,719	6.00	27.00	5.00	49.50	12.40
1990	5,175	6.80	24.40	3.80	52.90	12.00
1995	5,558	7.50	22.40	3.70	55.50	10.90
1996	5,508	7.64	22.42	3.50	55.45	10.98
1997	5,562	7.82	21.83	3.33	56.26	10.79
Feb.1999	5,606	7.74	22.03	3.23	57.26	9.74

Source: Yearbook of Manpower Survey Statistics , years cited.

File Name: Unpaid.xls
Tag Name: Table 1

APEC Human Resources Development Working Group
Network on Economic Development Management

Conference on
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Republic of Korea

by

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Introduction

The Government of Korea has taken major steps toward advancing women's status. It has done so by focusing on gender policies which aim toward the realization of an egalitarian society where women are respected and can participate in all realms of national life on an equal basis with men.

Following the Fourth World Conference on Women held in 1995, and having duly recognized the need for an integrated national plan to facilitate the implementation of existing and emerging women's policies in a systematic manner, the government identified "Ten Policy Priorities for the Advancement of Korean Women". Under the policy aimed at harmonizing "work and family," plans include introducing parental leave, introducing a family care system, enlarging the on-site childcare system, expanding flextime or work at home system, and extending the school lunch program to all elementary schools. In addition, to facilitate an integrated and coherent implementation of women's policy, a comprehensive Five-Year Basic Plan on Women's Policies (1998-2002) was prepared in collaboration with all relevant ministries.

Korea is now entering a phase of an aging society and by the year 2020, the meaning of "care work" will have a profound significance. In light of recent economic hardships, "care" for vulnerable people such as the aged or disabled must be recognized.

The main purpose of thispaper is to examine the policies that recognize the linkages between paid and unpaid work in Korea. First, a brief overview of the social and economic context is presented. Second, domestic policies concerned with harmonizing work and family are delineated, including a brief section on evaluating household work. The final section offers policy recommendations for government and the public and private sectors.

1. Domestic Context for the Discussion on Paid and Unpaid Work

1.1 Government Initiatives

1.1.2. Before the Beijing Conference

Preliminary discussions on the policy implications of recognizing the economic value of household work in Korean society began before the Beijing Conference, not only at the academic level but also in government circles. For example, the Ministry of Political Affairs (II), which was the previous name of the Presidential Commission on Women's Affairs, paid attention to this issue (The Ministry of Political Affairs (II), 1990, 1991, 1993). The Ministry was mainly concerned with the issue of determining the value of a housewife's domestic work in order to integrate it into the tax system. After the amendment to family law in 1990, which guaranteed the equal division of property between husband and wife after divorce, public opinion was stirred up for reform of the heritage tax or donation tax in terms of gender equity. In fact, after several attempts, these areas were reformed.

1.1.3. In Response to the Beijing Platform for Action

- As part of the follow-up to the Fourth World Conference on Women, the government identified 10 priority concerns in October 1995 and began implementation (see Table 1). Items 1, 2, 3, 6 can be classified as those concerned with regulating the tension between job and family. Many of these policies were on the government's agenda before Beijing but it was only after the Conference that the government moved to implement the measures to remove the obstacles to women's full social participation.

- Among the Ten Policy Priorities, in order to recognize the importance of household or unpaid work, the government included the evaluation of the household work in the Women's Development Act, 1995. The Act aims to consolidate a legal basis for taking adequate institutional and financial measures in support of women's participation and gender equality at all levels of society. Article 26 of the Act states, "national and local governments should evaluate the economic value of household work fairly and reflect it into the legislation or policies of the state."

- The Ministry of Political Affairs (II) held an international workshop in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), titled: "International Workshop on Integrating Paid and Unpaid Work into National Policies" in May, 1997. Senior policymakers, statisticians, and gender experts from 21 countries in the Asia and Pacific region met in Seoul on May 28-30, 1997 and determined that it was important to define and implement an action plan to integrate paid and unpaid work into national policies as a means to promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and human development (The Ministry of Political Affairs (II), 1997).

Table 1 Ten Policy Priorities for the Advancement of Korean Women

Policy Issues	Specific Activities
1. Expand childcare facilities and qualitative upgrading of service	• Establish childcare cooperatives. • Develop effective measures to utilize religious facilities for childcare.
2. Introduce after-school child guidance systems	• Expand after-school child guidance system to all elementary schools.
3. Universalize a school lunch program	• Expand existing school lunch program to all elementary schools.
4. Establish targets to raise the ratio of female public employees	• Promote recruitment of female public employees through competitive examinations. • Abolish the ceiling for female admission into public employee training institutions. • Expand female participation ratios in the various Government committees.
5. Introduce a public sector female employment incentive system.	• Introduce incentives for public sector employment of women.
6. Establish a maternity social cost-sharing system.	• Introduce a social cost-sharing system for the remuneration of female employees during their maternity leave through social insurance. • Extend the target businesses/industries eligible for the childcare leave promotion grant.
7. Expand/improve women's resource development infrastructure.	• Strengthen job training in junior and senior high school curricula. • Strengthen job training for women's re-entry into the labour market.
8. Establish an information network on/for women.	• Establish a women's information centre. • Establish a women's information network.
9. Enactment of the Women's Development Act.	• Enact the Women's Development Act.
10. Promote gender equality through the mass media.	• Expand women's participation in broadcast media-related committees. • Prepare the Mass-Media Gender Discrimination Standard Index. • Production/distribution of women-related public interest media materials.

Source: Republic of Korea, The Presidential Commission on Women's Affairs, 1998, p. 24.

- The National Statistical Office (NSO) held international and national workshops in collaboration with UNDP in December 1998 in Seoul titled, "The International Workshop on Integrating Paid and Unpaid work into National Policies (with special focus on time-use surveys)". As the System of the National Accounts (SNA) excludes unpaid household services from the production boundary and therefore from coverage of the gross domestic product (GDP) in most countries, it is suggested that the satellite account should broaden the production boundary. The Asian-Pacific countries gathered to consider and discuss the measurement of women's and men's contribution to the economy by developing the time-use survey (NSO of Korea & UNDP, 1998).

- The Ministry of Political Affairs (II) also sought to adopt a policy on the standardization of household work and its systematization in 1997. It was suggested that an educational program to promote recognition of the importance of household work should be implemented by the government, but the plan is still under consideration.

1.1.4. Support of Women's Employment in Formal Work

In order to promote women's entry into employment and to support those already employed, the Government of Korea has formulated and implemented two successive basic plans for the welfare of working women. Policy objectives include the development of women's job capacities, support to alleviate women's burden in carrying out their dual roles, and facilitation of equal employment opportunities.

In Korea, working women with children under a year old are entitled to take childcare leave (Labor Standards Act Art. 11). In a step to firmly establish the childcare leave (parental leave) system, the recently legislated Employment Insurance Act provides 30 or more days of childcare leave above and beyond the 60 day paid maternity leave at the time of childbirth. Moreover, the Act awards promotional grants to employers who keep their female employees on the payroll as insured persons for more than 30 days after the expiration of their maternity or childcare leave. These provisions under the Employment Insurance Act have been in effect for business/industrial concerns with 70 or more employees since July 1995. The progress made so far in establishing childcare leave as a standard practice for the employment of women is still far short of the desired target, largely due to the financial burden placed on employers. Consequently, in 1998, the Government planned to expand the coverage of the promotion grants to business/industrial establishments with 50 employees or more.

- Paid Leave for Employees

Since the issue of paid leave has been entirely the employer's responsibility, many firms find the cost of maternity leaves a heavy burden. Employers therefore have tended to avoid these extra costs by not employing women. To address this problem, the government is taking steps tosocialize the cost of maternity leave through a tripartite social insurance scheme. But the issue remains to be settled.

Types of Employee Leave:
• Annual leave: 10-day basic leave with pay, one extra day to be added for each year of employment from the third consecutive year. • Monthly leave: One day each month, 12 days per year, with pay. • Sanitary leave (for women): One day per month, 12 days per year, with pay. • Pre-and post-natal leaves (for women): 60 days, with pay.

Childcare Leave System

In Korea, the childcare leave system was introduced in 1987 through the Equal Employment Opportunity Act with the intent of protecting workers as mothers and enhancing the quality of both work and family life.

The system in the private sector is based on Article 11 of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act. Since its passage on December 4, 1987, the Act has served as a unique legal basis for the childcare leave system, obliging employers to accept a request for leave under any circumstance when a female worker who has a child under a year old, is required to take care of the child.

The newly revised Act dictates that an employer who rejects a female worker's request for childcare leave shall be punished for penalizing a female worker. In addition, the period of leave shall be counted as part of the total length of employment, so that the system prevents disadvantages against the female worker in matters of retirement pay and promotion.

The length of the childcare leave should not be limited to the period of the maternity leave and does not necessarily have to be when the child is under a year old. In other words, according to this provision, the employer should grant the leave in full at any time it is requested. The length of the leave can neither be shortened by the employer nor supplemented with vacation leave by the employee.

1.1.5. Support for Women's Informal Work

- Employment Insurance System

Coverage under the employment insurance system was extended to workplaces with fewer than five employees, including temporary employees and part-time workers, in December 1998. Considering that most informal sector workers are women, and that these women are more vulnerable to discharge under times of economic crisis, it may prove to be a necessary policy for female workers.

- The "Social Allotment of the Maternal Protection" through Social Insurance

Though it was planned as one of the Ten Policy Priorities in 1995 at the strong request of women's civil society organizations, this provision has not yet been put into practice. There are two possibilities: One is to place the issue within the context of medical insurance, because married women workers contribute separately from their husbands. The other is to place it under employment insurance. In fact, it would be logical to place it within the context of employment insurance, but the fund is not yet large enough because of the short duration of its existence.

1.1.6. Dispositions to Recognize Women's Unpaid Work

- Amendments to the Income and Inheritance Tax Laws

Taking into consideration that both marital partners contribute to the creation of family assets, even if one or the other does not earn income from outside sources, following the reform of the Family Law in 1990, the Government amended the Inheritance Tax Act in 1994 to raise the upper ceiling on exemptions for gifts and/or inheritance between marital partners. In effect since 1996, under this amendment, inherited assets equivalent to 1 billion won (approximately US$820,000) or less, are subject to exemption, and in the cases of assets received as a spousal gift, up to 50 million won (approximately US$41,000) is eligible for tax exemption.

In December 1996, the Inheritance Tax Act was amended to allow exemption of up to 3 billion won (US$2,400,000) worth of assets inherited from the marital partner and up to 500 million won in the case of gift assets. This amendment went into effect in 1998. In October 1997, taxation after the division of property previously under co-ownership was ruled unconstitutional.

In addition, abolition of the difference between men and women for supporting evidence of the source of money to buy immovable property, and the right to receive pension benefits for a divorced person from the former spouse came into effect as a form of recognizing unpaid work in 1998.

1.2 Roles Played by Civil Society, NGO and Academic Sectors

Civil society's lobbying for recognition of the economic value of household work was initiated by the protest organized by women's groups after an unmarried woman became injured in a traffic accident in April 1985 (The Ministry of Political Affairs (II), 1996: 27).

> Assuming that on average, women would be married at 26 years of age, and that they would be housewives, the daily income of the plaintiff could be calculated according to the average wage of adult women who did daily work in the city (4,000 won per day in 1985).

Spurred on, 16 women's organizations began to seek legal recognition of the economic value of women's unpaid work. In 1985, the Korean Women's Association held a series of demonstrations, which provided momentum to recognition of the economic value of household work.

The push to reform family law peaked with the equal distribution of the property between husband and wife in cases of divorce, and the equal right of succession between son and daughter. Two important umbrella unions of women's organizations, the Korean National Council of Women and the Korean Women's Association, joined together to

reform family law, so it would reflect equality between men and women. After much effort, the law was reformed in 1990.

In 1995, women's organizations raised the problems faced by working wives who are obligated to pay medical insurance fees geared to their income, but who are denied maternal protection. Unfortunately, this issue remains unresolved.

2. Definition of Paid and Unpaid Work

2.1 Paid Work

According to the proposal of the United Nations' System of National Accounts (SNA) in 1968, sectors are classified as formal and informal sectors based on the characteristics of the production unit. In addition, all units with the exception of agricultural units should be classified as one kind or the other depending on whether or not it has salaried employees working for it on a regular basis. SNA considers all output produced for the market as economic production. Output that is not produced for the market is treated in accordance with specific characteristics. In the case of primary producers, all output retained by them plus the processing of these products is considered economic production. But the output retained by non-primary producers is economic production only when part of it is also sold in the market. Women are likely to participate in production for their own use as primary producers in the informal sector (Kim, 1997: 146).

Korea has begun collecting data on time use. The time-use survey methodology employed consists of eight major groups of activity, with sub-groups of activity, that follows the UN SNA model (see Table 2) (NSO in Korea, 1998).

The main objective of the NSO time-use survey is to develop an accurate description of time spent by persons and households on productive activities and other activities. The NSO completed the third pilot survey in 1998. The actual survey is planned for 1999.

Table 2 Classifications for Time-Use Analysis by Housewives and Working Wives

1. Personal care and self-maintenance
2. Employment
3. Household maintenance and management
4. Care for family
5. Learning
6. Social life and community services
7. Cultural and leisure activities
8. Travel

Source: Shon Aae-Li, 1998, p. 202.

Activities that are considered as production according to the SNA are classified under "employment." This includes four subdivisions such as employment for establishments, second jobs, self-employed work (agriculture, forestry, and fishing), and unpaid family work.

2.2 Unpaid Household (Family) Work

Women's unpaid work outside the SNA include the work that women do for their families within the home, such as childcare, cooking, cleaning, and a great number of other diverse tasks. Such activities are omitted in estimates of national gross products if they are done by a member of the household.

Activities, which fall within the general production boundary but remain outside the SNA boundary, are classified

under Groups 3 and 4 in Table 2. Group 3 represents household maintenance, management, and shopping for one's own household. It is comprised of services, which are performed by members of the household for their own house. Group 4 is care for family, preschool children, children seven years old and over, spouses, the elderly, and parents. It includes individual services pertaining to the physical and educational care of children and care provided to members of the household who are sick or elderly.

2.3 Voluntary Work

Group 7 comprises most non-profit volunteer organizations activities such as visiting the sick, caring for the elderly, shopping and cooking for the disabled, providing unpaid childcare for working mothers, and performing a variety of other social and civic services.

In fact, volunteer work replaces much of the social care work that the government should undertake for those most at risk. Volunteer work is a tremendous asset to society and economy, but is invisible in conventional economic accounts. For example, a report by GPI Atlantic, released in July 1998, showed that the province of Nova Scotia has the highest rate of voluntary work in Canada, providing services worth nearly C2$ billion a year to the economy (Colman, 1998). Measuring and assigning an economic value to volunteer activities is an extremely important mechanism to make the economic significance of such activities visible to policymakers.

3. The Current Situation of Korean Working Women

In 1995, the total population of Korea was 45,552,000 - 22, 196,000 female and 22,356,000 male, thus the sex ratio of female to male was 0.99. Breaking the population of women down by age in 1997, the 0-14 age group accounted for 22.0 percent, the 15-64 age for 70.5 percent, and the 65 and over age group for 7.5 percent.

In 1997 the economic active participation rate of women was 49.5 percent and the unemployment rate was 2.3 percent (Table 3). After the economic crisis, unemployment among women increased to 6.8 percent in December 1998.

Table 3 Economically Active Population by Sex in 1993-1997
Unit: Thousand Persons

	15 years old & over		E A P		Participation Rate (%)		Unemployment Rate (%)	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1993	15,647	16,753	11,890	7,913	76.0	47.2	3.2	2.2
1994	15,916	17,023	12,167	8,159	76.4	47.9	2.7	1.9
1995	16,251	17,307	12,433	8,363	76.5	48.3	2.3	1.7
1996	16,590	15,593	12,620	8,568	76.1	48.7	2.3	1.6
1997	16,870	17,866	12,761	8,843	75.6	49.5	2.8	2.3

Source: National Statistical Office, Annual Report on the Economically Active Population Survey, 1997.

When we break down economic activity by type of household, we see that women's participation rates in farm households reached 67.3 percent, compared to that of non-farm household (47.5 percent) (Table 4). Despite their high rates of economic activity, the status of women in rural areas is still low compared to that of women in urban areas. Policies recognizing the value of unpaid labour could contribute toward the advancement of rural women.

Table 4 Economically Active Population by Type of House in 1997
Unit: Thousand Persons

	15 years old & over		E A P		Participation Rate		Unemployment Rate	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Non-farm Household	15,147	16,053	11,401	7,623	75.3	47.5	3.0	2.6
Farm Household	1,723	1,814	1,360	1,220	78.9	67.3	0.8	0.4

Source: National Statistical Office, Annual Report on the Economically Active Population Survey, 1997.

Women's and men's employment structures show totally different characteristics. With the exception of those employed in the formal sector, women are mostly occupied as family workers (20.7%), whereas men are classified as self-employed (33.7%) (Table 5). This means that more women work as family workers, where the "employer" is the husband. The remuneration of the unpaid work should be estimated for the family worker.

Table 5 Economically Active Population by Sex and Status (1997)
Unit: Thousand Persons, (%)

	Male	Female
Population 15 years over	16,870	17,866
Economically Active Population	12,761(100.0)	8,843(100.0)
Employed	12,409(97.2)	8,639(97.7)
Self-employed	4,187(33.7)	1,763(20.4)
Family worker	183(1.5)	1,786(20.7)
Employee	8,039(64.8)	5,190(60.1)
Unemployed	352(2.8)	204(2.3)

Source: National Statistical Office, Annual Report on the Economically Active Population Survey, 1997.

Among working persons, 7.0 percent of all women over 15 years work part-time keeping house, while only 0.4% of men work under similar conditions (Table 6). In addition, women comprise almost two-thirds of part-time workers in Korea (Table 7).

Table 6 Economically Active Population by Sex and Status in Korea
Unit: %

	Total	Male	Female
1995			
Working persons	49.0	70.3	29.1
Mainly working	3.8	0.4	7.0
Partly working, keeping house	0.3	0.3	0.2
Partly working, mainly attending school	0.1	0.2	0.1
Partly working, doing something else	0.3	0.5	0.2
Worked before but not working during reference period			
Persons over 15 years	100. 0	100. 0	100. 0

Source: National Statistical Office, Annual Report on the Economically Active Population Survey, 1997.

Table 7 Yearly Distribution of Part-Time Workers by Gender (less than 35 hours)
Unit: Thousand Persons (%)

	Male Workers			Female Workers			Female/PT
	TE	PT	PT/TE (%)	TE	PT	PT/TE (%)	
1993	11,493	507	4.4	7,710	776	10.1	60.5
1994	11,832	514	4.3	8,005	788	9.8	60.5
1995	12,153	506	4.2	8,224	778	9.5	60.6
1996	12,330	480	3.9	8,434	817	9.7	63.0
1997	12,409	598	4.8	8,639	948	11.0	61.3

Source: National Statistical Office, Annual Report on the Economically Active Population Survey, 1997.

4. The Trends in Unemployment Rates after the Economic Crisis from December, 1997

After the economic crisis, the unemployment rates increased rapidly for both males and females. The rapid increase of 5.1 percentage points for male employees during one year is remarkable. For female employees, the unemployment rate increased 3.5 percentage points during the same period. Considering that most female workers are family workers or part-time workers, the unemployment rate of women is in actual fact, much higher (Table 8).

Table 8 Trends of the Unemployment Rate after Economic Crisis
Unit: %

	January		April		July		October	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1997	3.2	2.8	2.7	2.3	2.3	1.9	2.8	2.3
1998	4.9	3.9	7.5	5.4	8.5	6.3	7.9	5.8

Source: Ministry of Labor Republic of Korea, Report on Monthly Labor Survey, December, 1997 and December, 1998.

5. Public and Private Sector Initiatives that Recognize Women's Unpaid Work

Korean families have changed a great deal in recent decades. The economic participation rate of women has drastically increased. Korea has never had an explicit family policy which consciously tries to foster one particular kind of family (Byun, 1987). Instead, we have had a medley of social welfare policies which address different issues concerning families in need, much like Canada (Eichler, 1987).

Since the early 1980s, Korea has recognized the importance of women's economic activities, and elaborated policies "to harmonize work and family," especially for the caring of children of working mothers. The childcare leave system in Korea uniformly requires the mother to take a fixed leave of absence. From the standpoint of the employee, an extended leave of absence requires disengagement from the workplace during that time. An extended leave of absence also hinders career advancement and development. To the employer, it represents a substantial loss of productivity. Thus, Korea should follow the example of developed nations by expanding the childcare system beyond the single leave of absence model. One alternative would be a reduced work-schedule scheme, under which the work schedule is shortened on a flexible basis to a length determined jointly by the employee and employer.

5.1 The Measurement of Women's Unpaid Work in Private Insurance

Private insurance companies have attempted to put a monetary value to women's unpaid work to compensate for injuries and lives lost in traffic accidents. The companies have evaluated a housewife's work based on the average monthly wage of daily workers. In 1995, it was about 614,000 won (about US$790). The average wage of female workers was 790,000 won (US$1,013). In 1996, insurance companies compensated the unpaid women's work at a rate of 687,262 won.

5.2 "Maternity Leave" and "Child-Rearing" Provisions for Working Women in the Private Sector

Research done by the Korean Women's Development Institute (KWDI) examined the rates of implementation for support system related to maternity leave and childcare, as well as the cost of such systems to employers and the cost to working mothers where no such system exists. It also focused on the provision of monthly leave, maternity leave, leave for miscarriages, leave for premature and still-births, nursing hours, parental leave, on-site day care facilities, and childrearing benefits (Yun and Suh, 1995). One hundred and three companies or establishments and 593 working women were surveyed (Table 9).

Table 9 Implementation and Utilization Rates of Related Maternity Policies
Unit: %

	Implementation rate	Utilization rate
Menstruation leave	82.2	61.6
Maternity leave	96.0	90.4
Leave for spontaneous abortion/premature birth	55.4	3.3
Nursing time	12.9	2.0
Childcare leave	56.4	5.8

- Menstruation Leave

Implementation and use: A menstruation leave was legislated in Act 59 and 111 of the Labour Standards Act and in Act 20, Article 2 of the Civil Workers' Service regulations. In the survey, 83 of 101 workplaces stated that a menstruation leave was provided for female employees, while the remainder gave negative responses to the question. This represents an implementation rate of 82.2%, despite the fact that punishment is mandated for failure to comply with the provision.

While the provision was observed in most manufacturing places and 16 workplaces from the construction, wholesale/retail, hotel/catering service and transportation/communication sectors, only 40 out of 57, or 70.2% of the banking/insurance and other related businesses abided by this system.

The utilization rate for married women was even lower, at 61.6%. The low utilization rate is affected by a number of involuntary factors, rather than by personal choice; it may also be partially attributed to the survey respondents compensating for low wages by choosing to work instead of taking a day off.

- Maternity Leave

Implementation and use: Female workers' right to claim maternity leave is protected under Article 1 of Act 60 and in Acts 27, 37, 48 and 110 of the Labour Standards Act. Ninety-seven out of 101 firms (96.0%) currently observe this provision. The utilization rate is 90.4%.

- Leave for Spontaneous Abortions, Premature and Stillborn Births

There are no specific regulations as to whether female workers are entitled to such leave or, if they are, whether it should be paid or non-paid leave. But if a female employee can supply a doctor's note or other evidence to prove her illness, she is entitled to benefit from the policy. Elective abortion operations are excluded from claims for the leave.

Fifty-six firms (55.4%) said they did not offer leave for abortion, premature births, or stillbirths, while 45 firms responded positively. The utilization rate, by industrial classification, was 35.7% in manufacturing and 66.7% in banking and its related services.

- Nursing Hours

The Labour Standards Act states that nursing hours must be provided for working mothers. The responses concerning this policy were therefore quite surprising. Only 13.9% of the companies (14 firms) questioned said they allowed this practice, while 87 firms gave negative answers.

Among the female employees participating in the study, only 11 working mothers (2%) made use of this benefit, while 541 (98%) working mothers did not take advantage of the law at all. Concerning the space allocated for nursing, one working mother said it was on-site and the remaining 10 said it was at home. In the latter case, the workers were allowed to return home one hour earlier than the normal quitting time.

- Childcare Leave

Working mothers have the right to take a break from work for childcare according to Article 2 of Act 9 in the Gender Equality in Employment Act, Act 2 in the enforcement regulation of the same law, and Acts 44 and 45 of the provisions of maternity leave and childcare in the law of educational public service employees.

Of the 101 companies surveyed, 57 companies (56.4%) allowed women to take a break for childcare, while the others disallowed such an activity (this compares with 25 of 101 companies during the previous year). Of the firms allowing female employees time off from work for childcare last year, more than half (52.7%) reported no employees utilizing the provision, 20.2% of them allowed one or two people, and 10.9% allowed three to five people, and 16.4% allowed five people or more.

There were various reasons for not fully utilizing the policy. 42.2% of the women responded that the company didn't let them take a childcare sabbatical, 12.5% responded that they could not afford the loss of wages, 8.2% said there was too much work, 9.6% said public attention was uncomfortable, 6.4% said that it interfered with their promotion, and 3.8% cited the absence of guaranteed reemployment. Therefore, if we cannot find a way to relieve companies or working mothers of the cost burden, it will be a long time before this measure experiences greater development.

Based on the principle of Gender Equality in the Employment Act, a non-paid break from work for childcare is prevalent among Korean employees. However, in the survey, two firms paid 25-50% of wages, three firms paid 60-75%, and one firm paid 80-95%.

- Childcare

The present childcare policy is based on the Infant and Child Care Act prescribed in December 1990. Most working mothers (62%) have a strong dependency on relatives such as their mothers, mothers-in-law, and aunts. Other choices are public or private nursery schools (22%), babysitters or paid neighbours (8.8%), and home-based daycare centers (7.2%).

6. Gender Equality Education in the Public Sector

It was in December 1989 that the 8th National Committee on Women's Policies decided to include gender equality education in the various public sector-training institutions in an attempt to break down traditional prejudices against women for public employees of all levels. Gender equality education for public employees, which includes changing men's attitude toward household work and childrearing, has been institutionalized since 1991.

The enactment of the Women's Development Act consolidated the system of consciousness-raising education toward the goal of gender equality. In 1991, 40,905 persons underwent such training in 27 separate courses while, in 1995, 18,468 persons did so in 185 separate courses, showing a marked increase of activities in this subject area during 1990-1995. In 1995, 33 of the 45 national or public sector training institutions operated 185 courses among

them; 76 were conducted on a regular basis (The Presidential Committee on Women's Affair, 1998).

Beyond the public sector actions in this area, numerous women's NGOs also engaged in a wide variety of gender equality consciousness-raising training, the most typical of which were those undertaken by KWDI's social education division and Women Link's Center for Women Workers.

Article 21 of the Women's Development Act stipulates that it is the duty of the state and of local autonomous bodies to endeavour to enlist all public sector training institutions, social education agencies and business/industrial establishments in providing gender equality consciousness-raising training. This provision is intended to eliminate socio-cultural factors underlying gender discrimination and fixed notions of gender roles.

7. Recommendations

Korean society has attempted to harmonize conflicting pressures of work and family, and has made much progress toward the promotion of women's economic activities. Of special note are policies to extend childcare facilities and qualitative upgrading of services, and to raise the ratio of female public employees. Korea still does not have a system or mechanism to integrate the value of unpaid work into GDP. Thus a priority is to include unpaid work in the budget by using the data obtained through time-use analysis.

In order to achieve this goal, the government and the public and private sectors must collaborate. On the government side, it is necessary to put the issue of paid and unpaid work on the political agenda and to fully recognize women's contribution to the macro-economy.

Equally, the collaboration of the public and private sectors is necessary to create family-friendly job environments that recognize and attempt to respond to the demands of paid work and family life. Flexible benefits, employer-sponsored daycare, flextime, employee assistance, and maternity/paternity leave, part-time work (with or without pro-rated benefits), flexible work arrangements, telecommuting, or "teleworking" should be encouraged.

Policy recommendations centre around three main points: first, policy should strive to harmonize work and family; second, policy should evaluate the unpaid work concretely; and third, policy should compensate unpaid work with in-kind or substitute services as a way to revitalize and acknowledge voluntary sector activity.

Policies aimed at harmonizing work and family responsibilities:

- Job-protected, paid parental leave
- Maternity and childcare leave to enable women to temporarily exit the paid workforce without sacrificing their jobs, tenure, or continuity of experience
- Care of elderly
- Family friendly workplaces and social support structures
- Support for employed workers: childcare, flextime, pension adjustment, maternity/paternity leaves
- Introduction of the reduced work schedule scheme
- Introduction of various nursing leaves systems for children/families
- Reforms to taxation regimes to address assumptions of a sole breadwinner in a two adult family

Policies aimed at providing economic and social recognition for unpaid work:

- Tax credits for individuals caring for a disabled person in their home
- Tax credits for childcare expenses
- Pay equity policies

Policies aimed at recognizing and supporting volunteer work in the community:

- Tax deductions for community volunteer work.
- Establish a centralized system that would enable volunteers to "bank" their volunteer service hours against "withdrawals" of volunteer services at another time. Alternatively, establish a system whereby individuals could exchange volunteer services.

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APEC Human Resources Development Working Group
Network on Economic Development Management

Conference on

Linkages between Paid and Unpaid Work in Human Resources Policy

Hong Kong, China, May 8, 1999

The Changing Status of Women in Hong Kong

Keynote Address

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Introduction

I would like to thank the APEC Human Resources Development Working Group Network on Economic Development Management and Canada's North-South Institute for giving me the opportunity to speak to you today on "The Changing Status of Women in Hong Kong." My talk will primarily be based on the Hong Kong Census data of 1996 as well as on statistics retrieved from the General Household Survey and other public reports in Hong Kong.

My focus is on the two decades leading to 1996. Bear in mind that the period leading up to 1996 was a time of economic growth for Hong Kong. For example, 1996 was a year when Hong Kong was doing well economically. There were lots of jobs available. The persons most adversely affected in those times were factory workers who found themselves unemployed and unemployable because manufacturing had moved across the border to the Chinese Mainland where labour was less expensive.

Nineteen ninety-nine is very different. We have been experiencing economic difficulties for a year. The unemployment rate in March was 6.2 percent whereas the rate in 1996 was 2.8 percent. The March 1999 underemployment rate was 3 percent. In 1996, it was 1.7 percent. So you can see that there is quite a lot of difference between the current situation and that of 1996.

With this comparison, let us go back to the period leading up to 1996.

Demographics

Due to a decrease in infant mortality and in part due to immigration from across the border, there was an increase of 1.4 million in population over that period. By 1996, there were equal numbers of men and women in the population. The fertility rate was 1.2. Life expectancy for females was 81.8 years versus 76.3 years for males. On average, women lived 5.5 years longer than men. The average household size had decreased from 4.2 persons in 1976 to 3.4 persons in 1996.

Women were also marrying later. The average age of marriage for women in 1996 was 27, versus 24 in 1981. Men were also marrying later; but the two to three year gap between the husband's and wife's median age at first marriage remained constant.

The data shows that remarkable changes had taken place within the family and the marriage institution over the 20 years prior to 1996. These include a movement toward the nuclear family, a decrease in household size, delay of marriage, and an upturn in divorce. By 1996, the number of never-married women in the 25-29 age group was 52 percent versus 37.5 percent in 1986.

Separation and divorce also increased during the same period. By 1996, the divorce rate had grown to 15 percent versus 9 percent 10 years earlier. This increased the number of female heads of households who had less economic resources. By 1996, we can see an increase in the number of single parent families receiving welfare. In 1985, where only 5,205 women were listed as receiving welfare — in order to stay home to care for young children or sick or elderly family members — 17,892 did so in 1996.

Education

The government introduced six years of primary and three years of secondary compulsory education in 1971 and 1978. In 1971, 35.9 percent of the women over the age of 15 had received no schooling or only kindergarten education. By 1991, this figure had been reduced dramatically, to 13.8 percent. A similar trend was seen in the attainment of secondary education. Since the early 1970s, there has been an increase of over 16 percent among girls having attended the upper levels of secondary school. In 1996, 96.8 percent of females in the 12-16 age group attended school. The female to male ratio for enrolment in schools from kindergarten to secondary school ranged between 93.3 percent to 96.3 percent in 1996.

The extension of educational opportunities over the last two decades enabled women to receive more schooling than their counterparts in earlier generations. A similar expansion in tertiary education was also achieved. Total university places in Hong Kong jumped from 2,275 in 1976 to 14,779 in 1996. That is, 2.2 percent of the young adults of university age could attend university in 1976 whereas 17.8 percent could do so 20 years later. The proportion of females in university education climbed from 34 percent to 50 percent

in the same period.

By 1996, information from the University Grants Committee showed women dominating the sub-degree programs. They were catching up with men in enrolment in the degree programs but women tended to concentrate in the comprehensive and the liberal arts universities while men concentrated in the science and technology universities. In postgraduate education, the enrolment for women was lower than that for men.

This increase in educational attainment made it possible for these young women to enter a broader range of jobs and to obtain employment in relatively well-paying jobs that required university degrees.

Labour Force Participation

The overall female labour force participation rate in 1996 was 48 percent. The rate in Hong Kong had not varied greatly over the previous two decades. Sixty-two point eight percent of the total population, that is, 3.2 million people worked, and of those who were employed, about 40 percent were women.

The female labour force participation rate in Hong Kong was comparable to that in developed countries in the region, such as Japan, but lower than that in North America. Women's participation in the labour force could be attributed to many social and economic factors. These included the growth of the service sector and white-collar occupations; the increase in real wages for women; the decline in the fertility rate; the expansion of educational opportunities; and the availability of domestic help. However, the inadequacy of childcare facilities continues to restrict working-class women fromjoining the paid labour force.

The social and demographic composition of the female labour force had undergone observable changes. Young women, especially those aged between 25 to 39, accounted for most of the increase since 1980. Participation among older women had dropped. The women who dropped out were relatively less educated. Most of them were employed as semi-skilled workers in light manufacturing industries such as garments, textiles, and electronics. The industrial development in Hong Kong during the 1960's and 1970's provided them with many opportunities in the factories. At that time, 41.3 percent of the workforce — as compared to less than 20 percent in 1996 — was employed in the manufacturing industry. In the 1980's, manufacturing began moving across the border and most of the female workers lost their jobs and left the labour market.

By 1996, over 55 percent of all working women were less than 35 years old. In particular, almost four out of five women in the age group of 20-29 had joined the labour force. This change was due to increased access to education by young women, and delayed marriage and childbirth.

Employment Patterns and Status

The median age of the female worker increased from 28.8 in 1981 to 33.8 in 1996. The highest labour participation was among women between the ages of 25 and 39 — prior to the marriage and childbearing years. A visible drop during the childbearing years could be seen with a slight rise after the period of childbearing and child rearing. Then, there was a final tailing off in subsequent years reflecting the trend of earlier retirement.

A review of the available data on paid employment within the past two decades shows some interesting factors: First, the absolute number and proportion of female employers steadily increased. Second, women employed in the service industry rose to about 80 percent. Finally, a significant change also occurred in the gender composition of the civil service, with the percentage of women rising steadily from 23.8 percent to 32.2 percent within the two decades.

Another significant change was a 10.16 percent increase in women's representation in managerial, administrative, and professional occupations between 1991-96. Women now make up about 25 percent of the managerial occupations and 35 percent of the professional occupations. Young women with more education made great inroads into the better-paying and higher status jobs once dominated by men. On the other hand, there was a drastic shift of blue-collar women out of industrial employment with the percentages of women employed in the category of "plant and machine operators and assemblers" declining from 35.78 percent to 18.53 percent between 1991 and 1996.

Gender Gap in Pay

Similar to the rest of the world, women's pay in Hong Kong was lower than that of men, even when both had similar qualifications, the same educational attainment, and were employed in comparable jobs. However, compared to other Asian countries such as Japan and South Korea, the gender gap in earnings was smaller in Hong Kong. In 1996, an average working woman earned about 76 percent of an average working man.

The pay gap between genders may narrow in time as data indicates that the gap for workers under 30 was only 97.9 percent. The greatest gap, 61.7 percent, was found in the middle-age group, between 35-49.

The gender gap in pay also varied by occupation and industry. It was smaller in the white-collar occupations, and larger in service and blue-collar jobs. In managerial and professional occupations, the gender gap narrowed to 84.8 percent.

Women and the Glass Ceiling

How did women fare in the top echelons of the private sector? Since no statistics are available, the Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) studied the 1996-97 Annual Reports of the 33 companies that make up the Hang Seng Index. It found that only one of these 33 companies had a woman chairing the Board of Directors. Unfortunately, she has since retired.

In the 33 companies surveyed, women held 23 of the 465 positions on the Boards, while 442 were held by men. That is, the women made up a mere 4.95 percent of the membership of the Boards of the 33 blue chip companies in Hong Kong.

Of the non-Executive Directors of the Boards of these companies, nine of the 191 were women, a total of 4.7 percent. As for the Executive Directors, 13 of 208 were women, or 6.25 percent. What about Managing Directors? Not one women held that post.

Women fared better in the public sector. There were at least seven out of the twenty-four senior officials in government.

Civic and Political Participation

Political representation of women was lower than that of men even though both enjoyed the same political rights. Women were also less likely to run for and be elected to political office. Only 16 percent of the current Legislature is female even though 47.7 percent of the registered voters were women. The percentages of female members in the Provisional Municipal Council and Provisional District Boards are 12 percent and 11 percent respectively. There are even fewer women in advisory and statutory bodies. A study conducted by the EOC last year showed that of the over 3,500 persons serving on these agencies, less than 14.5 percent were women.

While the Census and other available data may tell us about the changing status of women in many areas, the available sources do not reveal anything about the women who perform unpaid work. They give us no information about women who left the labour market and settled into the role of unpaid workers because they could not find paid employment. The data is moot on the subject of women's contribution to SMEs and other family businesses that list the husband as the owner and managing director.

Subjective Indicators

Subjective indicators that reveal personal attitudes and possible trends for future change can complement objective indicators. In 1996, the EOC commissioned a baseline survey on equal opportunities on the basis of gender. One of the objectives of the study was to collect information on the public's perception of gender equality, sex roles and stereotyping.

The findings showed that respondents had stereotypic perceptions of personal traits for men and women, with female stereotypes more rigid than male stereotypes. In education, women generally had a lower educational attainment than men but possessed equally high academic expectations. Women had a greater

desire to improve themselves and took more advantage of adult and continuation programs. On a positive note, men and women did not appear to discriminate against daughters in their educational expenditure, spending about the same amount for sons and daughters.

Respondents generally held egalitarian expectations regarding the division of labour in the household. However, gender-biased attitudes toward childcare responsibilities persisted. Compared to women, men seemed to adhere more closely to traditional gender role expectations in the family. Among married respondents, traditional gender-based division of household labour was evident, with husbands seldom sharing household responsibilities with their wives. Husbands are regarded as the "head of the family." They often had the ownership rights to their home property. Contrary to the myth that women control the purse strings, most important family decisions in spending money were made jointly by both husbands and wives, or by the husband alone.

As for employment, respondents were rather sensitive to situations of gender inequality and discrimination in the workplace. They viewed difficulties of married women in juggling work and family life as constituting gender inequality at work. Among those who were employed, they considered dismissal due to pregnancy as sexual harassment of women at work, and gender-based differential benefits as the most severe form of gender discrimination.

Men related to participation in community and social affairs as career development while women regarded social participation as an opportunity for learning. Men possessed more influence in community affairs as they held more executive or senior positions in social organizations. Both men and women expressed favourable attitudes toward women's participation in politics, although they also compared women unfavourably with men as leaders and politicians.

Conclusion

Nineteen ninety-six and the two decades before it were times when Hong Kong's economy was booming and there were increased employment opportunities for women. Some progress in gender equality at work was made and the income gap between the two genders narrowed. Women gained entry into the formerly male dominated occupations and an increasing number of women started their own businesses. Despite these advances, women still suffered from a number of disadvantages in the labour market. They performed most of the low-paid and low-end jobs, and were less likely than men to be employers, managers, and administrators. Women were also paid less than men, even when they held the same level of education.

The downturn in Hong Kong's economy began in 1998. How will that affect the gains women have made in the past two decades? The most recent unemployment figures we have are for September 1998 to February 1999. During this period we find that the male unemployment rate increased from 5.6 percent to 6.9 percent while the unemployment rate for the females decreased from 4.8 percent to 4.2 percent. Many women's groups claim, however, that the official unemployment rate for women is underestimated, as it leaves out many women who have returned to unpaid housework and are not actively seeking employment.

At the EOC, we also gauge how women are faring in the workforce by examining complaint cases. For example, pregnancy discrimination and sexual harassment complaints are usually filed after the woman had been dismissed from her employment. Of the total number of complaints lodged under the Sex Discrimination Ordinance, pregnancy discrimination complaints increased from 18 percent (13 cases) in 1997 to 24 percent (28) in 1998. Sexual harassment complaints rose from 26 percent (18 cases) in 1997 to 46 percent (54) in 1998.

I have given you a broad overview of the changing status of women in the last two decades. These trends are based on published official statistics only. In this conference, you have talked about the linkages between paid and unpaid work. You have also pointed to the importance of accounting for unpaid work. These issues are particularly significant in recognizing women's contributions to human resources. We need to strengthen our official statistics in these uncounted areas before we can gain a full picture of our potential human resources.

APEC Human Resource Development Working Group
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Conference on
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Malaysia

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Introduction

Malaysia entered a new and even more painful economic crisis in mid-1997 as compared with the economic downturn of the 1980s. Beginning as a financial crisis marked by rapid declines in currencies and stock market levels, the worst hit sectors have been construction and manufacturing. The economic slowdown is expected to affect adversely the demand for labour and investment in human resource development. An initial assessment of the immediate impact of the economic downturn on the labour market has been a marked increase in the retrenchment of workers. Slower GDP growth is expected to result in a significant decline in employment growth and loss of jobs. Employment levels are expected to fall in all economic sectors except for the export-oriented industries. The wholesale and retail, hotels and restaurants sectors are experiencing an employment growth rate below 1 percent. Overall, employment growth is not expected to improve substantially during the period 1999-2000 (Seventh Malaysia Plan, 1996).

In general, this economic crisis has had social impacts, particularly on women. Among the most serious are:

(1) a rise in female unemployment, leading to the feminization of unemployment.
(2) more women turning to the unpaid labour force (informal sector and petty trading), as the formal sector becomes increasingly unable to absorb them.

1. The Impact of the Crisis on Paid and Unpaid Work

The policy implications of unpaid work are very difficult to measure in Malaysia as statistics on unpaid work are not compiled at the national level. However, generally it can be concluded that most women in paid employment who lose their jobs will switch to work in the informal sector and be involved in activities such as hawking, petty-trading and operating foodstalls.[1]

The impact of the crisis on paid work can be observed from Table 1. As presented in the table, the sectors that have been most affected by the current crisis in terms of losses in employment include manufacturing, wholesale and retail, construction, financial services, insurance and trade. The manufacturing sector has been the most affected in terms of retrenchment. The total number of persons retrenched within the 18 months beginning in January 1997 to June 1998 was 41,790, as reported to the Ministry of Human Resources.[2] This constitutes only 0.5 percent of Malaysia's labour force of 9 million (Table 2). Given the unemployment rate of 2.6 percent, this marginal increase indicates that Malaysia is still experiencing full employment and operating under tight labour market conditions. However, unemployment may increase to 6.4 percent within the year (NERP, 1998).

Data on the gender breakdown by sector reveals that more men than women were retrenched during the same period (Table 2). Both men and women in the manufacturing sector seemed to be the most affected, as well as in the wholesale and retail, financial services, insurance and trade sectors. The majority of those retrenched in other areas such as construction, transport, storage, communications, and social services were mainly males.

The occupational group that recorded the largest number of persons retrenched is professional, technical and related work (Table 3). The number of skilled workers retrenched is significantly larger than semi-skilled workers. It has been noted that more men than women have been retrenched. Another occupational group that is severely affected is services. The majority of employment in these occupations is concentrated in personal services such as hotels, cosmetics industry, and protective services. Whereas there were massive retrenchments in the private sector, particularly in the manufacturing sector; the government will not retrench in services. Instead, the government cut back on employment in lower groups. Most of those in the lower groups are women and they are less likely to be hired as compared to their male colleagues.

Women's participation in the labour force is confined to industries with low technology, low capital requirements, and industries that, in spite of high capital requirement and sophisticated technologies, are highly labour-intensive. The common factors for women workers in these two types of industries in

Malaysia and almost in every country in the world are relatively low wages and poor working conditions. It is not surprising when evidence shows that women are the last to be hired and the first group to be affected by economic recession. In line with the retrenchment trend (Table 2), human resource development and skill training should be further enhanced in order to upgrade the workforce in various sub-sectors in manufacturing, especially in skills related to information technology, computers, automation, and computer-integrated manufacturing.

Manufacturing firms should be encouraged to take advantage of the slowdown in production to train their staff in-house. In the meantime, school leavers and retrenched workers unable to find jobs can also be given training in public and private institutions so that they may be better equipped and prepared for employment opportunities during the economic recovery process.

The predominance of males in these occupational groups should be linked to their labour force participation rate (LFPR). The wide disparity between the LFPR of men and women has remained and by 1996 it was 86.6 percent and 47.2 percent, respectively (Ministry of Human Resources, 1997).

The lower rate of women's participation in the labour force has been linked to various factors such as their lower level of education and skills; the lack of employment opportunities; availability of affordable quality childcare services and flexible working conditions. It is significant to note that 76.6 percent of women identified housework as their reason for not seeking employment in 1996. The Malaysian report for the Asian Development Bank project, "Education of Women in Asia, 1994," indicated that 80 percent of Malaysian women interviewed identified family responsibilities as a major factor limiting their access to education and training; 68 percent indicated parents' attitude; 60 percent the husband's attitude. In rural areas, women cited lack of facilities and distance to facilities. Housework is considered a constraint to formal employment by only 4.3 percent of men (Labour Force Surveys 1995, Department of Statistics). The AsDB report suggested, based on the above, that the following information was needed: what percentage of women want to interrupt or postpone careers for family reasons; what percentage of those want to re-enter active employment; what is the average duration of layoffs due to family reasons? Should maternity leave be extended, with or without pay? What kinds of changes need to be made in the work environment and in family life to accommodate women in the workforce (Education of Women in Asia, Asian Development Bank/Agrodev Canada Inc, 1994, pp 137-167).

It cannot be disputed that the occupational structure in both developed and developing economies reflects various elements of inequality defined by educational attainment, rewards and social standing. These occupational structures are also gendered. In light of this characteristic, the issue of safety nets must be given careful consideration in order to ensure that workers are protected in times of crisis. In principal, workers in Malaysia are protected by various pieces of labour legislation. Despite increasing pressures to provide compensation and alternative employment, a "welfare" or "social security" system has yet to be established. The current crisis emphasizes the need to address such matters. This issue is of great significance since the majority of men and women in Malaysia are employed at the bottom of the occupational ladder where incomes are correspondingly low. Working conditions vary according to sector and occupational group.

In Malaysia the National Council of Women's Organisations (NCWO) launched 'The Women's Watch' on March 8, 1998 to protect and enhance the rights of women and to work toward the achievement of equality, development, and peace. Women's Watch can be considered as a gender-sensitive social safety net mechanism.[3] The Women's Watch will set up an appropriate mechanism/methodology for data and information collection, and disseminate its findings to all media organizations, and to relevant national, regional, and international agencies.

The suggested safety net for Malaysia stated below can be channelled to the Women's Watch for further implementation. It includes:

(a) public works and other employment programs;
(b) credit-based self-employment programs; and
(c) community-based arrangements that help mitigate against deprivation and temporary income shortfalls.

1.1 Labour Legislation and Other Supportive Measures for Working Women

In general, Malaysian women enjoy equal rights under most legislation affecting employment, including some legislation with special protective provisions for women in the workplace. Yet, some legislation remains outmoded and discriminates against women.

The public sector adopted the principle of "equal pay for equal work" in 1969 but this principle does not apply to employees in the private sector. Men's wages are nearly twice as high as women's wages.[4] The law differentiates between the rights of a widow and those of a widower of an employee who dies during employment. The widow receives all benefits due, the widower will only receive if he is incapacitated, either mentally or physically, at the time of his wife's death (Pension Act 1970, Employees Social Security Act, 1969).[5]

The Employment Act of 1955 applies equally to both men and women, but confers special rights and protection for women based upon physical differences and their maternal functions. The Act includes provisions that prohibit women from working underground or on night shifts, without permission from the authorities. Female workers are also entitled to 60 consecutive days with pay for up to five surviving children. As of May 1998, employees in the public sector, who were previously entitled to only 40 days, are to receive 60 days. In addition, women may opt for early retirement upon reaching 50, even though the mandatory retirement age is 55 for both males and females. The Employment Act was recently amended to permit women, especially housewives, to be gainfully employed in part-time employment, while allowing them the flexibility to meet their family obligations. The amendments ensure the payment of statutory benefits to part-time employees proportionate to those full-time employees in order to entice them to enter the labour market.

Women are also entitled to opt for a separate income assessment. The Income Tax Act, 1967, was amended in 1978 to allow a married women employee to elect for separate income tax assessment. Prior to this, it was mandatory for a wife's income to be aggregated with her husband's. As women are given the choice to have their income tax assessed separately, there is a strong indication that the government has recognized the gender equality aspect of women's contribution and justified the importance of women's contribution in the workforce.

Fiscal incentives are provided to establishments to set up childcare centres to encourage more women with children to enter the labour market. Evidence of the full utilization of these incentives is still questionable. Childcare providers are from public as well as from private organizations. Publicly, the Ministry of Rural Development through KEMAS (social development division) carries out childcare services. The role of the Ministry is to train the teachers and provide the syllabus. Hindering the success of the public centres are problems in management, monitoring and implementation. The other providers of the childcare centres are from private agencies like PETRONAS, RISDA and others. Apart from various management problems, these agencies also face the problem of few qualified trained human resources.

2. "Paid" and "Unpaid Work"

2.1 Definitions

"Employed", as used in the Labour Force Survey, includes all persons who at any time during the reference week did any work for pay, profit, or family gains (as an employer, employee, own-account worker, or unpaid family worker). Persons who did not work during a vacation, labour dispute, or due to social or religious reasons are considered employed if they have a job, farm, enterprise, or family enterprise to return to. Those temporarily laid-off with pay and who would definitely be called back to work are also included as employed. The term "unemployed" includes both active and inactive unemployed persons. Actively unemployed includes all persons who do not work during the reference week but are actively looking for work during this period. Inactive unemployed includes persons who are not looking for work because they believe no work is available, or if available they are not qualified; those who would have looked for work if they had not been temporarily ill or had it not been for bad weather; those who are waiting for answers to job applications; and those who looked for work prior to

the reference week. All persons not classified as employed or unemployed, such as housewives, students, retired or disabled persons, and/or who are not interested in looking for a job, are considered to be "outside the labour force".

Employment status can be categorized as employees, employers, own account workers, and unpaid family workers. A high percentage of employees and a small percentage of unpaid family workers characterize the labour force in advanced countries. In developing countries, it is common to encounter a high percentage of own account workers and unpaid family workers, especially among women. As shown in Table 4, there is a very obvious shift within the female labour force from being an unpaid family worker to an employee. During 1980-95, the percentage of employees of the total female labour force increased from 64.5 percent to 77.1 percent. On the other hand, the percentage of unpaid family workers declined from 18.5 percent in 1980 to 9.5 percent in 1995. The processes of urbanization and industrialization have shifted an increasing proportion of the female labour force from unpaid family workers to employees. However, when the crisis arises, the unpaid category increases again.[6]

When a gender comparison is done, as shown in Table 5, it is evident that males dominate the employer status. Similarly, the percentage of males who are classified as employees and own account workers is higher than that for females. Conversely, females maintain a higher percentage than males in the unpaid family worker category. Unpaid family workers are more prevalent in rural areas than urban areas. For example, in 1995, about 64.9 percent of unpaid family workers were located in rural areas, while 35.1 percent were located in urban areas (Malaysia, 1995).

2.2 Structure of Paid Work and Unpaid Work

2.2.1 Paid Work

Significant differences in the pattern of male and female employment in Malaysia still exist today. Despite changes in the past two decades, the gendered employment structure has undoubtedly been reproduced. A look at the distribution of employment by industry and sex shows that women are largely employed in manufacturing, services, wholesale retail, and agriculture. Table 6 shows that agriculture absorbed about 68 percent of the female workforce in 1970, but by 1996 it fell drastically to 17 percent. A tremendous increase is observed in the employment of women in the manufacturing, service, and commerce sectors between 1970 and 1996. The greatest disparity between male and female employment is still in the mining, construction, transport, and communications sectors. Large differentials in terms of male and female employment patterns are maintained within all the other sectors, except social, personal household, and related community services which employ more women than men. The gap is narrowing significantly only in the manufacturing sector (Seventh Malaysia Plan, 1996-2000). Once again it can be concluded that gender patterns in employment have not changed significantly since the post-independence period. Where significant female entry is observed, women have remained confined to traditional segments (Table 6).

The distribution of the workforce by sex and occupation in 1995 (Table 7) shows that women are still underrepresented in administrative, managerial, and higher professional occupations. Only half of those employed in administrative and managerial occupations are women. Three main occupational groups appear to employ more women than men. Clerical and related occupations employed more than twice the proportion of males and the professional and technical group employed 14 percent females and 8 percent males. The proportion of male and female sales workers was equal at 11 percent (Seventh Malaysia Plan, 1996-2000). Therefore, there is no clear break from earlier trends. Women continue to be concentrated in clerical employment. While there has been an increase in their participation in the professional and technical groups, they are most likely to be located in the lower professional groups, as based on the class framework discussed earlier.

2.2.2 Unpaid Work

The "housewives" category, which is not surprisingly 90 percent female, is considered to be outside the labour force in the census classification. This is a reflection of the value or the lack of value accorded to women's work in the economy and implies that the increase in women's participation in the workforce has yet to be accompanied by a reduction in their domestic responsibility. Survey data indicates that

women's decision to enter paid employment will continue to be influenced by their domestic and childcare responsibilities, and the availability of reliable and affordable quality childcare services. Under such circumstances, the options available to women appear to be limited. Henceforth, the relationship between the domestic or private sphere of reproduction and the public sphere of production will need to be transformed if the occupational mobility and class mobility of women is to be ensured.

2.2.3. Agricultural Sector and Informal Sector

Although employment in the agriculture sector is declining, accounting for about 15 percent of total employment, the sector has been experiencing labour shortages. In terms of ethnic concentration, Malays are largely represented in the agricultural sector. In 1990 and 1995, 69.1 percent and 63.1 percent of the agricultural workers were Malays (Labour Force Surveys 1990, 1995).

The term "informal sector" is difficult to define and monitor since some of its characteristics are nebulous and unlicensed. Malaysia's informal sector has been growing since the mid-1970s, following the introduction of the New Economic Policy 1971-1975. Although Chinese men are dominant in this sector, foreign nationals and others have joined it as well. During both good and bad times, budding entrepreneurs have been attracted to the informal sector due to its easy access and low capital requirements. The increase in urban population has also encouraged the expansion of this sector as it caters to the lower income urban populace. Undoubtedly, this sector helps to sustain a lower cost of living for lower and middle income groups. Given this realization, local authorities have tried to develop and manage this sector by providing proper trading facilities. The Ministry of Housing and Local Authority (the ministry responsible for this sector) estimated that in 1991 there were more than 400,000 jobs generated by this sector in major cities in Malaysia, (The Star, 28/6/90).

Women are late entrants into this sector as monitored by the local authorities. However, only Kuala Lumpur has a gender disaggregated database. There is no gender policy to guide the authorities in the issuance of licenses. For example, in the case of food products, it is more or less a case of suitability of the applicant in terms of type of vendor, location, and health status. Casual observations reveal that women work more with food items, which is probably an extension of their domestic skills. Women operate either in licensed food courts or in a stall or van at strategic locations, sometimes near their homes within the squatter areas. Most of them are full-time vendors, either static or mobile according to the night market schedule arranged by the local authorities.

It should also be noted that the issuance of licenses is not necessarily an indicator of the level of women's involvement in this sector. Women could be involved as family helpers, as the wife or daughter to the licensee. In the absence of extensive research and monitoring, it is difficult to ascertain the actual involvement of women in this sector and in unlicensed sub-sectors such as tailoring, subcontracting of various products, food hawking, childcare, and domestic help.

During the economic crisis there has been a sharp decline in the subcontracting sector which employs women working from their homes to do various activities such as cutting and sewing clothing items. The textile and garment industry is one of the trades that has been hit hard. Most of these women work to supplement their husband's income, although some of them can earn up to RM1500 in a good month. Although there is a decline in family income, families can still survive with some adjustments to their lifestyles. Most women claim that their income goes towards personal needs and their children's tuition. Without their own source of income, they now have to rely totally on their husband for cash.

2.2.4 Poor Households and Single Parents

The majority of Malaysian women contributed their labour to the care of siblings and housework before joining the labour force. Many of them are withdrawn from school so that their mother is able to work for money, while their male siblings remain in school. Many girls as young as 16 years old (the minimum legal age for formal employment), become factory workers. Their monetary contribution often provides the means for educating their siblings and other expenses. A household is at its most vulnerable when the parents are too old or too weak to work and are totally dependent on a working daughter. Unskilled women workers, particularly women heads of households, are also the most vulnerable groups. A study shows that 18 percent of Malaysian women are single parents (HAWA, 1997)[7].

Most members of the household are forced to work for an income; children inevitably engage in work in the informal sector. The hours of work necessary for women to fulfil their functions is one of the most important factors affecting their welfare. Research shows that women often spend most of their waking hours working, even in better times. Studies across the world have shown that women consistently work longer hours than men do. In Malaysia, female rubber tappers, who come from the poor households, have workdays of 18-20 hours, including time spent on domestic duties (Cecelia, Rokiah 1985). It is anticipated that with the economic crisis most women will spend extra hours working because it is perhaps the only weapon against poverty.

3. Linkages between Paid and Unpaid Work in Human Resource Policy

Policy concerns are mainly in the context of the increase in women's participation in waged employment. Policy concerns lie with the ways and means to increase the "supply" of women workers, especially in the manufacturing sector, under the tight labour market situation.

The labour force comprises more than 8.1 million, out of Malaysia's estimated population of 20 million. Sixty percent of the workforce is young and educated and within the age group of 15 to 34 years. Malaysian workers have a reputation for their productivity. Today, eight universities (new ones are being established to cater for the increased local demand for higher education), numerous technical and vocational schools, and private colleges provide a stable supply of "trainable" labour to support the growth of industry. At the same time, the Human Resources Development Act of 1992 has made it mandatory for industry to contribute 1 percent of the total wage bills toward the Human Resources Development Fund (HRDF), managed by the Human Resources Development Council (HRDC) in order to finance the training and retraining of employees. A "retrenchment training scheme" was recently proposed which reflects the government's preparedness to continue to "retool" employees despite layoffs.

In short, during the 1990s, human resource development has assumed new importance. Competitiveness, productivity, innovation and capability in the management of new technologies in Malaysia will be determined by the quality of its human resources. Thus, in view of the challenges ahead with the increasing globalization of the world economy, Malaysians should be well equipped with a strong base in education and training, including the ability to speak English, the international language of commerce.

Since the late 1980s, there have been various government initiatives seeking to raise the skills of Malaysian workers. Since the early days of labour-intensive assembly activities, there has been an increasing sophistication of the manufacturing processes in Malaysian industries. Skill levels have risen significantly through industry-led training centers such as the Skills Development Corporations of various states throughout the country.

While these are encouraging trends, from the perspective of human resources development, several problems may be noted. In-house training meets some of the market failures in the provision of technical skills, but it cannot substitute for major gaps in the formal education system. Also, most large firms do little formal training beyond the minimum needed for operational purposes, and the creation of better long-term human resources for advanced design or development work is not considered by most. The SMI (small-and medium industries) sector provides almost no training apart from apprenticeships, which only require a pass on simple skills.[8]

On the whole, human resources development must contain policies and programs that continuously upgrade and improve the education and training programs and facilities to meet the changing skill requirements. With rising incomes, the demand for higher education will keep increasing. Most of this demand will have to be met locally as Malaysia cannot continue to rely upon foreign universities and colleges to solve the problem of providing places for its students. In view of the larger financial resources required to meet local demands, it will not be possible for the government alone to bear the full burden. Hence, policy initiatives such as corporatization of local universities and education franchising are quickly becoming acceptable norms in both public and private institutions of higher learning toward the close of the 20th century.

It is imperative that the Ministry of Human Resources have a role in supporting the nation's thrust to industrialize the economy.[9] The objectives of the Ministry include the following: to restructure and promote the balanced distribution of human resources in accordance with the New Economic Policy (NEP); to preserve, develop, and improve the welfare and well-being of workers; to preserve the safety and health of workers with emphasis on pollution control in factories and places where machinery is used; to provide data concerning manpower and its demand and supply characteristics of the labor market; to provide training facilities in industrial skills to meet the basic and expert skills demanded; and to provide standards and trade certifications. These objectives are to be achieved through agencies

such as the Department of Trade Union Affairs, the Occupational Safety and Health Department, the Industrial Relations Department, the Industrial Court, Labor Department, National Vocational Training Council, Social Security Organization (SOCSO), and the Labor Market Information Service. Employers must also play a role and this is being addressed through employer associations such as the Motor Vehicle Assemblers Association, the Malaysian Agricultural Producers' Association, the Malaysian Commercial Bank Association, and the Electrical Industry Employers Association. An association that addresses the needs of a variety of industrial firms is the Federation of Malaysian Manufacturers (FMM) which provides a wide range of business and employer support activities, including human resources development and training.

4. Current Status of the Malaysian Government Initiatives in Integrating Paid and Unpaid Work Considerations in Public Policy

At this point in time recognition of women's contributions are in both the " public" sphere of production and "private" sphere of reproduction. The twin responsibilities of family and career are constraints to greater female labour force participation, particularly for married women. In this respect, the private sector will be encouraged to facilitate greater entry of females into the labour force through women-sensitive personnel policies. Measures that are suggested and implemented in the Seventh Malaysia Plan include the provision of housing and transportation facilities between the home and place of work. The private sector will also have to consider providing more conducive working arrangements for women that take into account their multiple roles and responsibilities. The provision of flexible working hours, career breaks and other flexible work practices will enable women to integrate work with household duties. Discussions on the increasing need for childcare facilities are still in process. Currently, there are no efforts to integrate paid and unpaid work in public policy. Concerns are focused on "gender and development" and "paid" employment. The issues are labour force participation, increasing educational opportunities, and other social concerns such as violence against women.

5. Policy Implications

Despite a shift in female employment from unpaid workers to employees and an increase of employed women in professional and technical related jobs, women still lag behind their male counterparts. For example, between 1980 and 1995, more than 60 percent of unpaid family workers were female. Similarly, although there is a rise in the number of employed females in professional and technical related jobs, further scrutiny reveals that a high percentage of them are teachers. In addition, the increase in paid employment does not necessarily reduce the burden of household responsibilities, including childcare. Therefore, further effort is needed from the government to reduce gender imbalances. Studies indicate that the presence of young children reduces the probability of labour force participation among married women. In order to encourage more women to participate in the labour force, employers and government should seriously consider providing child-care facilities at the work place. Some government departments like RISDA, the Department of Agriculture, the Ministry of National Unity and Social Development have already initiated their own in-house childcare centres.

During the Seventh Malaysia Plan, the Government included the provision of tax exemptions to employers for the establishment of childcare centres or crèches near or at workplaces to enable working mothers to look after their children during off-time periods. Institutions such as the Women's Institute of Management (WIM) provided training in small business and entrepreneurial activities. Other efforts by both the public and private sectors included the provision of job training, better career prospects, as well as improved transport, and welfare facilities. Employers were also urged to provide proper housing and hostel facilities, particularly for the benefit of rural migrants, many of whom were women. The Government as well as NGOs encouraged the growth of extended family systems whereby the elderly helped young couples in caring for their children. This was aimed at releasing more women to seek employment and undertake income-generating activities.

Recognizing that one of the main factors constraining women's participation in higher-skilled and better-paying jobs was a lack of marketable skills, further efforts will be taken by the public and private sectors to enhance human capital formation among women through technical, vocational, and other

relevant training programs. Greater access to labour market information will further facilitate the entry of women in wage employment by providing women with knowledge of job availability and requirements in various sectors of the economy. Advances in information technology will assist women to increase their productivity and efficiency at the workplace.

Successful integration of paid and unpaid work would give a truer picture of the real economy as this would have implications for decisions on allocation of public resources for sustainable economic development. In Malaysia, databases on women are not integrated and are scattered all over agencies. HAWA is not able to strengthen this data. Time-use surveys have not been carried out.

Therefore, the first recommendation to the national government (HAWA) is to begin strengthening the database using time-use surveys. Time-use information can serve to inform future allocation of public resources. Misunderstandings about women's available time and unemployment can result in misallocation of resources and wastage in planning processes. This information is essential for human resource policy planners and trainers need to know whether target groups in fact have room in time budgets for training and skills upgrading. However, some of these recommendations are outlined in the National Action Plan.

6. Recommendations in the National Action Plan

Measures taken by the Malaysian government to overcome the crisis are outlined in the National Economic Recovery Plan, unveiled on July 22, 1998. Taking a macro level approach, its basic aims are to stabilize the ringgit, to restore market confidence, maintain financial stability, strengthen economic fundamentals, restore adversely affected sectors, and to continue with the equity and socio-economic agenda.

However, some specific measures are outlined in relation to vulnerable groups, particularly the extremely poor. The original budget allocation to ameliorate poverty for this group has been retained and there is an additional budget from the World Bank loan. More allocations were also made for overall poverty eradication and rural development. This is in anticipation that the incidence of poverty will increase as a result of the crisis. Yet no specific measures were mentioned in the case of vulnerable groups such as women, migrant workers, the urban poor, and the elderly. A migrant worker who cannot be re-deployed is, however, encouraged to be repatriated, while the tightening of entry controls for foreign workers is envisaged.

Measures to increase labour competitiveness are also outlined. These include steps to increase labour productivity, encourage employers to send workers for training and retraining, and to channel levies collected from foreign workers in order to fund the retraining of retrenched workers. Efforts were also being undertaken to overcome the slower employment growth by increasing opportunities for self-employment. These include promoting systematic petty-trading in vegetable cultivation, livestock, etc., training new petty traders and those interested in agriculture and revitalizing construction and infrastructure projects in order to create new jobs.

Notes

1. Reasons women opt for self-employment are independence, higher income, greater freedom and control over their working lives, and not having to retire at a specific age (Maimunah & Rusinah, 1997; Sieh L.M et al, 1991). Self-employed women in the informal sector usually consist of petty traders, hawkers and home-based contract workers or other home-based service providers, as well as those involved in cottage industries and direct selling.
2. The statistics only cover the sectors that responded to the questionnaires provided by the Ministry of Human Resources. The figures only cover the period between January 1997 to June 1998.
3. The objectives set for the Women's Watch are as follows:
   (i) To monitor discriminatory practices in all sectors, the formulation of government policies to ensure the integration of all women's interest and the implementation of all Government's programs in line with the Beijing Platform for Action, Women's Policy and other international conventions.
   (ii) To assess the impact of Government policies and progress on Women in particular and the Nation in general in order to ensure complete transparency.
   (iii) To closely liaise and interact with the relevant government departments, government agencies and the NGOs with the aim of assessing the present position of women and urging major reforms and changes.
   (iv) To initiate the formulation of new legislation and programs.

   A wide combination of activities needs to be implemented to meet the objectives and functions of the Women's Watch. Among these are:

   ⇒ Hotline for discriminatory practices in the media/newspaper survey.
   ⇒ Studies and Research
   ⇒ Networking
   ⇒ Capacity building for the Watch
   ⇒ Fund Raising
   ⇒ Maintain a Database.

4. Wage differentials were prevalent in agriculture, with monthly wage rates for female rubber tappers of RM268 compared with RM282 for males (Occupational Wage Survey 1974, 1997, 1980, 1983, Ministry of Labour). Data on occupational wages for 1970 and 1980 indicate that wage differentials for major industrial sectors widen as one approaches the top level of the employment pyramid. Male-female wage differentials continued to exist in private sector establishments. However, these differentials were narrowing steadily, particularly in labour intensive industries where women were well represented (7MP, p.625).

5. The two examples imply that female employment benefits are weaker than male benefits in the paid workforce, and that there would be less value in investing a female's education, training and career development than that of males. The two Acts are male-biased.

6. Unfortunately, data on unpaid category is not available.

7. The government is currently reviewing the Employment Act 1955, with a view to amending rules relating to part-time employment. This will permit women to be gainfully employed in part-time employment. To further raise the female participation rate, firms will be encouraged to adopt flexible work practices by introducing career breaks, job shares, and flexitime for full-time women workers. This family-friendly approach will provide women the flexibility to balance their time between work and family. The greater use of information technology will provide opportunities for women to be gainfully employed from home.

8. Recently, however, WIM (Women Institute of Management) has developed training programs in small business and entrepreneurial activities for women.

9. The strategy policy thrusts for human resource development (7MP) that support the nation's thrust to industrialize the economy are:

   (a) encouraging greater capital intensity of production in order to save on the use of labour, thereby reducing the reliance on foreign labour;
   (b) increasing the utilization of local labour, including raising female labour force participation;
   (c) enhancing the productivity of labour through greater efforts at skills training and retraining.

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Malaysia: Tables

Table 1. Total Retrenchment According to Sectors: January 1997-June 1998

Sectors	Jan -Jun 1997	July-Dec 1997	Jan-Mar 1998	Apr-June 1998
Agriculture, Forestry, Livestock & Fishery	221	324	415	247
Mining & Quarrying	57	65	86	256
Manufacturing	4,592	7,676	9,298	4,826
Electrical, Gas				
Construction	19	93	2,041	1,586
Wholesale &Retail	64	199	2,008	1,659
Transportation, Storage & Communication	1,369	70	230	615
Financial Services, Insurance, Trade	5	0	1,243	972
Social Services	18	17	428	513
Other services	18	486	71	0
Total	6,363	8,930	15,821	10,676

Source: Ministry of Human Resources, Malaysia.

Table 2. Peninsular Malaysia: Retrenchment According to Sectors: January 1998-June 1998 (in thousands)

Sectors	January		February		March		April		May		June		Total Employment 2000**	Total Retrenchment Jan-June 1998		Total Retrenchment	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		M	F	N	(%)
Agriculture, Forestry, Livestock & Fishery	97	143	1	8	87	79	43	5	30	47	85	37	1,187,700	343	319	662	0.05
Mining & Quarrying			4	-	70	12	53	22	119	2	57	5	44,500	303	41	344	0.77
Manufacturing	174	185	1,729	2,269	2,100	2,841	57	11	1,142	1,259	1,326	1,031	2,616,300	6,528	7,596	14,124	0.54
Electrical, Gas													84,000				
Construction	6		450	111	1,268	209	44	14	629	122	581	196	845,400	2,978	652	3,630	0.42
Wholesale &Retail	28	15	570	295	786	312	38	17	464	323	419	398	1,469,600	2,305	1,360	3,665	0.2
Transportation, Storage & Communication			39	42	39	110	2	0	372	94	107	40	506,900	559	286	845	0.2
Financial Services, Insurance, Trade			262	191	412	378	3	3	254	163	299	250	479,000	1,230	985	2,215	0.46
Social Services			87	42	182	117	0	0	190	108	126	89	894,200	585	356	941	0.11
Other services	14	19	14	24			0	0					938,600	28	43	71	0.008
Total	319	362	3,156	2,982	4,944	4,058	240	72	3,200	118	3,000	2,046	9,066,200	14,859	11,638	26,497	0.29

**Derived from Table A.12, Malaysia: Employment by Sector, p.20, Malaysia: Labour and Human Resource Statistics 1977, Ministry of Human Resource.

Data January 1998- June 1998 from Ministry of Human Resource, Malaysia.

Table 3. Peninsular Malaysia: Retrenchment According to Occupational Group: January 1998-June 1998 (in thousands)

Occupational Group	January		February		March		April		May		June		Total Jan-June		Total Employment year 2000	Retrenchment	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		M	F
Professional, Technical and Related Work	5	0	1,093	370	1,204	258	959	235	638	134	640	130	4,539	1,127	1,097,000	5,666	0.50
Administrative & Managerial Workers	19	36	282	132	386	183	443	263	196	117	319	187	1,645	918	290,100	2,563	0.90
Clerical and Related Workers	6	13	290	504	364	708	393	621	236	462	280	505	1,569	2,813	933,800	4,382	0.50
Sales Workers	6	5	83	62	163	141	178	133	207	205	128	100	765	646	1,042,600	1,411	0.10
Service Workers	38	5	66	44	298	119	446	170	299	126	199	170	1,346	634	1,167,500	1,980	0.20
Agriculture, Forestry Workers, Fisherman	4	0	0	0	16	20	20	47	13	16	7	20	60	103	1,486,900	163	0.01
Production Workers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3,046,200	0	0
Skills Worker	7	2	452	635	944	1,689	392	38	526	329	416	150	2,737	2,843	n.a	5,580	n.a
Semi-skilled	19	116	434	1,122	538	431	232	320	642	353	523	553	2,388	2,895	n.a	5,283	n.a
General Workers	215	185	456	113	1,031	509	385	257	443	376	488	231	3,018	1,671	n.a	4,689	n.a
Total	319	362	3,156	2,982	4,944	4,058	3,448	2,084	3,200	2,118	3,000	2,046	18,067	13,650	9,066,200	31,717	0.35

*Figures for Total Employment from Table 4.3, p.113 Seventh Malaysia Plan.
Source: Labour Department, Peninsular Malaysia

Table 4 Distribution of Economically Active Females (%) in Peninsular Malaysia by Occupational Status, 1980-1995

Employment Status/Year	1980	1985	1990	1995
Employer	0.6	0.8	0.7	0.7
Employee	64.5	64.4	69.1	77.1
Own Account Worker	16.4	16.5	15.2	12.7
Unpaid Family Worker	18.5	18.3	15.0	9.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Labour Force Survey (1980, 1985, 1990 and 1995).

Table 5. Percentage Distribution of Economically Active Population by Employment Status and Gender, Peninsular Malaysia, 1980-95

Employment Status	1980		1985		1990		1995	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Employer ('000)	112.7	8.4	133	13.5	155	14.4	142.6	15.1
(%)	2.7	0.2	2.9	0.3	2.8	0.4	2.4	0.2
Employee ('000)	1,868	907	2074.6	1031.1	2438.6	1359.9	2949.5	1616.3
(%)	44.1	21.4	44.6	22.2	44	24.5	48.6	26.6
Own Account Worker ('000)	669.8	247.6	686.8	264.5	805.7	299.5	817.7	65.4
(%)	15.8	5.8	15.1	5.6	14.5	5.4	13.5	4.3
Unpaid Worker ('000)	142.5	277.9	150.9	293	165.1	296.1	65	200.2
(%)	3.4	6.4	3.1	6.2	3.1	5.3	1.1	3.3
Total ('000)	2,793	1,441	3045.3	1,602.1	3564.4	1,969.9	3974.8	1,897
(%)	66	34	65.7	34.3	64.4	35.6	65.6	34.4

Source: Calculated from Labour Force Surveys - various years, Department of Statistics, Kuala Lumpur.

Table 6 Employment Distribution by Gender and Industry, 1990 and 1995 (%)

Industry	1970		1980		1990		1996	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Agriculture, Forestry, Livestock & Fishing	49.6	67.9	37.5	49.3	28.6	33.7	20.6	17.0
Mining & Quarrying	2.3	0.7	1.4	0.3	1.1	0.2	0.6	0.1
Manufacturing	9.3	8.1	11.8	16.3	13.0	18.9	20.2	27.6
Construction	3.1	0.5	6.4	1.0	10.7	1.2	12.1	1.7
Electricity, Gas and Water	1.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.8	0.5	0.7	0.2
Transport, Storage & Communication	5.0	0.5	0.5	0.7	5.9	1.3	6.4	1.7
Wholesale & Retail Trade, Hotel & Restaurants	11.6	5.8	13.1	11.2	16.8	19.1	17.1	21.6
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate & Business Services	-	-	1.9	1.6	3.8	3.9	4.4	5.9
Other Services	18.1	16.4	22.7	19.5	19.3	21.2	17.9	24.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Table 20-2, Seventh Malaysia Plan, Government Publication Malaysia, 1996.

Table 7 Employment Distribution by Occupation and Sex, 1990 and 1995 (%)

Occupation Category	1990		1995	
	M	F	M	F
Professional, Technical & Related Workers	6.4	9.4	8.4	13.5
Administrative & Managerial Workers	2.8	0.6	4.4	1.9
Clerical & Related Workers	7.0	14.1	7.3	17.6
Sales & Related Workers	11.4	11.4	10.9	11.3
Service Workers	9.9	14.1	9.9	13.4
Agriculture Workers	29.4	28.1	20.9	15.8
Production & Related Workers	33.1	22.3	38.2	26.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Table 20-3, Seventh Malaysia Plan, Government Publication, Malaysia, 1996

APEC Human Resources Development Working Group
Network on Economic Development Management

Conference on
Linkages between Paid and Unpaid Work in
Human Resources Policy
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Philippines

by

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1. Introduction: The Philippine Context

The significance of measuring the economic contributions of unpaid work of women and men was recognized, in principle, in 1975 at the first International Women's Conference in Mexico City. Ten years later, the Nairobi *Forward Looking Strategies* specifically called for action to recognize and measure and reflect unpaid contributions in national accounts and economic statistics and in the gross national product.

Similarly, full recognition of unpaid work was a major focus of discussion at the Fourth World Conference on Women and the call for development of improved methodology was reiterated in the *Platform of Action*. The *Platform of Action* adopted at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in September 1995, called for "suitable statistical means to recognize and make visible the full extent of the work of women and all their contributions to the national economy including their contribution in the unremunerated and domestic sectors, and to examine the relationship of women's unremunerated work to the incidence of their vulnerability to poverty."

The United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985) focused the world's attention on the situation of women. This period highlighted the problems and issues confronting women in countries at various stages of development and gave rise, in most instances, to measures intended to improve their situation. The Philippines' response to the Women's Decade and the worldwide concerns for women has been encouraging. For one, the Philippine government has ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and has committed itself to the Nairobi *Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women.*

1.1 Linkages between Paid and Unpaid Work and HRD Policy

In the Philippine experience, human resource development (HRD) has been closely associated with the broader concept of social development or the improvement of the quality of life of the population. This is done through the provision of basic human needs; equitable distribution of opportunities, income, and wealth; inculcation of self-reliance and community consciousness; and the promotion of popular participation in both the productive and social sectors. Social development is viewed both as an objective and as a strategy. As an objective, it proceeds from the fundamental premise that all development begins, and ends with people and therefore, the goals of economic growth and all development efforts, for example, in the ultimate improvement in the quality of life of the population. As a strategy, social development is the process, which enables the population to become active agents of development.

The development of human resources entails the improvement of the physical, intellectual, and material well being of the population. From a short-term perspective, it requires the provision of basic needs: food, health, nutrition, education, and housing to nourish and sustain the population in order for them to deliver the vital inputs for economic growth. From a longer-term perspective, it is full enjoyment of the fruits of development, a consequence of the conquest of mass poverty and unemployment.

In the short-term, the promotion of the physical, intellectual and material aspects is viewed as directly affecting the productive capacity of the labour force. The labour force must be adequately nourished, housed, and trained. They must be gainfully employed and given wages commensurate to their work, including other benefits and incentives to improve their productivity. This, in turn, is expected to promote production, investment, and overall economic output.

It is in this larger context and framework of HRD that the issues and concerns related to paid and unpaid work are tackled and discussed, consistent with the avowed goals and aspirations for integrating women in the development process.

2. Toward Defining and Accounting for Paid and Unpaid Work

But while the Philippine govemment has ratified on the UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (August 3, 1981), discrimination against women continues to be a major obstacle for women seeking to enter the labour force. For instance, the stereotyping of roles has a pervasive influence on the employment of women. The age-old tradition that the proper role of Filipino women is that of wife, mother, and homemaker remains honoured in Philippine society. Meanwhile, the Filipino man is generally considered as the provider/breadwinner. And while historians generally allude to the equal position occupied by Filipino men and women during the pre-colonial period (i.e., before the 16th century), it cannot be denied that even then the domain of the Filipino women was the home. Inside the home, then as now, she remained the 'boss," the educator, the financial officer, the accountant, the censor, the laundry woman, and the cook.

This stereotyping of roles is felt even in the way labour force statistics are assemb led. One of the major concerns of women's groups is that 'housekeeping" is not classified as an occupation under the definition of labour force. Housewives are automatically disqualified from being part of the country's workforce as having no reported economic activity.

While unpaid work remains a mute contributor to the Philippine economy, ideas about counting and recognizing the unpaid work of housewives as labour had surfaced as early as 1976, when it was suggested that "the hours (women) devote to caring for the family and running the household should be quantified and given weight in terms of their corresponding economic and social value…(if a woman) is not employed elsewhere but stays at home doing the chores…the number of hours she spends doing those should also be quantified and considered as her labour output. Thus, she becomes a contributor to the national economic set-up and not just a non-entity or a burden to society as statistics would have it."

Perhaps the sociological treatment of unpaid work in the Philippine context contributed to the dismissal of these ideas as "wild". Such thinking was largely out of synch to even attempt to quantify or put a value to unpaid work rendered by a family member in a household activity that would later accrue to an income or economic gain.

It is because of the foregoing that there is still no exact and officially accepted definition of "paid and unpaid work" as used in the system of national accounts, more precisely in the gathering of employment-related statistics in the Philippines. But some terms are used which are related and may help in defining "paid and unpaid work."

Included in defining employment in establishments are working owners, unpaid workers and paid workers. **Unpaid workers** are persons working without regular pay for at least one-third of the working time normal to the establishment. **Paid workers**, meanwhile, include full-time/part-time workers, employees working away from the establishment paid by and under the control of the establishment. These workers are distinguished from working owners who do not receive regular pay but render work in and for the establishment. Excluded from the employment of the establishment are the service workers hired through service providers and contractors, that is, security guards, janitors, messengers, and homeworkers.

Meanwhile, workers are segregated further by class of worker: wage and salary workers; own-account workers; and unpaid family workers. A worker is classified as an **unpaid family worker** if a member of the family worked without pay in a farm or business operated by another member living in the same household. Room and board and any cash allowance given as incentives are not counted as compensation for these family workers.
In a paper presented by the National Statistics Coordinating Board, a working definition of unpaid work was listed as "those utilized in the production of all types of goods and services, both for the market and non-market whose labour inputs are not paid," with the rest being "paid work."

The discussion in government in integrating paid and unpaid work in public polices is virtually at an infertile stage. However, in response to the call for "suitable statistical means to recognize and make visible the full extent of the work of women and all their contributions to the national economy including their contribution in the unremunerated

and domestic sectors, and to examine the relations of women's unremunerated work to the incidence of their vulnerability to poverty," the governme nt has embarked on the exploration of a methodology by which the concern for the inclusion of unpaid work can be addressed (see below).

3. Significance of Unpaid Work to the Philippine Economy

3.1 Economic Contribution

The size of the Philippine labour force grew from 24.24 million in 1990 to 28.38 million in 1995 and to 31.05 million in 1998. In 1998, 19,408 million (62.5 percent) of the country's labour force were men (Table 1).

Despite the economic crisis, employment in 1998 expanded by 8.01 percent to 27.912 million from 25.676 in 1995. Of these, 17.534 are men while women accounted for 10.378 million. Correspondingly, women posted a growth rate of 28.9 percent while men posted a much lower growth of 23.76 percent for the eight-year period (Table 1).

By major occupation group, the non-agricultural sector accounted for 61 percent of total employed in 1998, while the agricultural sector registered at 39 percent. By class of worker, wage and salary workers comprised nearly half the employed in 1998, while the own-account employment category accounted for 37.5 percent. The unpaid work category, on the other hand, comprised 13.5 percent of total employment (Table 1). On the average, women accounted for 53.3 percent of unpaid workers.

3.1.1 Women in the Agricultural Sector

The share of female employment in agriculture in rural areas was about 50 percent in 1997. Female wage and salary earners were no more than 20 percent of the total employed female, with the highest proportion recorded in 1997 at 17.6 percent. The proportion of female own-account workers was highest in 1995 at 27.9 percent. The lowest proportion was in 1990 at 23.74 percent while in 1997 the figure settled at 25.8 percent. Unpaid female workers in the country accounted for more than 55 percent of total agricultural employment during the reference period. In 1995, however, the rate decreased to 55.1 percent from 58.97 but went up again to 56.6 in 1997.

Women in the agricultural sector are mostly engaged in rice, corn, sugarcane, and coconut production, animal breeding and fishing. Aside from their traditional house/home tasks, they also worked in the fields transplanting, harvesting, and threshing. Most rural women who are working find themselves engaged in farm work, peddling, running sari-sari stores, doing laundry, weaving, etc., which are forms of self-employment or unpaid family labour carried out intermittently, irregularly, and quite often when the opportunities arise (Castillo, 1979).

The many tasks involved in farming, animal breeding, and fishing are distributed between males and females, both undertaking specific roles and responsibilities that usually vary by crop or by activity. Except for land preparation, most farm-related activities like fertilizer application, chemical spraying and mechanized threshing, rice and corn production, harvesting and post-harvesting tasks rely heavily on female labour. Moreover, women take over land preparation where minimum tillage is required. Women and children usually do planting and weeding, but male family members sometimes help with the tasks to minimize labour costs. In fishing communities, capture fishery is predominantly a male activity but women have been known to join their spouses. Processing and selling of the produce are the wome n's domain. Hauling is mainly done by males, but improved transport facilities has lessened women's dependence on male labour. Throughout rural Philippines, women keep much longer total working hours than men. In many cases, the long working day covers eaming wages or profit, growing food crops for home consumption, and doing time-intensive housework (Illo, 1997). In the rural areas, women spend almost 16 hours a day producing, processing, marketing, and preparing food, gathering fuel, and water and performing other household tasks in addition to caring for their children and extended families.

Although more and more rural women participate in the labour force, their participation may be considered part-time since housekeeping is still their main activity. Women in agriculture work hand-in-hand with men but there is a gross under-estimation of women in the rural workforce and their work is often not counted. This is due largely to the confusion and contradiction over what is "productive work," how to deal with "housework" and who is the "worker." But the primary reason for non-inclusion of women's work in the computation of the Gross National Product is that so much of it is done within the family setting and is often subsistence in nature.

In most surveys, only fixed employers and regular wages are reported. Not reflected in these surveys are the large number of women who usually undertake various market (informal sector work) and non-market production (produced for home/own consumption) tasks to support their families, as well as other non-economic tasks, i.e., domestic chores, such as housework, child and family care, shopping for goods and services, and community services and organizational volunteer work.

In the Philippine setting, it is a generally accepted standard that women's work be recorded as "unpaid family labour." As such, it is to a large extent labeled domestic work and is conventionally excluded from the labour force statistics. Unpaid work is especially prevalent in the rural areas. So much so that the significant role and functions of women in the domestic scene and in the national economy are deemed far less important compared to men. Women involved in such activities are normally reported as housekeepers, and not considered part of the labour force. These are the millions of farmers' and fishers' wives and daughters who work in the fields, grow subsistence crops, raise chickens or pigs, engage in actual capture and trading of fishery products, do community volunteer work, but who basically view these activities as part of their housekeeping/household activities.

All these activities, whether in the form of self-employment opportunities or non-market production, have been assessed and identified as productive activities that contribute to the welfare of society and the development of the economy.

3.1.2 Women in Volunteer Work

In many Philippine communities, women are in charge of unpaid, volunteer activities in the areas of nutrition, immunization, and health care, cleanliness, sanitation, solid waste management, beautification, religious ceremonies, fiestas and other festivities.

Women are usually missing in formal community leadership structures because the real value of their social development work is not recognized, or they do not have enough time to attend meetings, which are usually held, when they are occupied with other responsibilities. Thus, even when it comes to development programs and projects at the community level, women are disadvantaged compared to the men who are more visible and have more time.

3.2 The Informal Sector

The informal sector penetrates every aspect of the Philippine economy (ILO, 1994). However, the majority of informal activities are agricultural and rural in nature, and mainly unrecorded. In the agricultural sector, these workers are primarily those who have limited access to land. These include smallholder and tenant farmers that are self-employed and own limited land or farm; usually, the farm is located in isolated areas, with limited exposure to modern technology and irrigation, and produces only enough for family consumption. It also includes landless workers who earn a living by wage labour or payments in kind; usually they are in seasonal share-rate contracts. In urban areas, it includes the poor who have no substantial capital or training to allow them to participate in qualified and higher-paying jobs. These people are the self-employed entrepreneurs who perform independent jobs that require little training or capital, and wage labourers in small and family business, who have no capital to start a business. The extent to which these operations affect the national economy in terms of their contribution to total output and their effects on employment have not been calculated. Nevertheless, there is a consensus that the size of the informal sector is substantial (Lanzona, 1998).

Using the operational definition that the informal sector is composed of self-employed, own-account workers and unpaid family workers, and based on official employment figures (1998 Labour Force Survey), the number of informal sector workers is estimated to be 51 percent. Of these, 10 million were self-employed/own account workers and 3.8 million were unpaid family workers.

In a 1996 survey of the urban informal sector in the National Capital Region (NCR) conducted by the National Statistics Office (NSO), a detailed breakdown of the activities of informal sector operators was provided. Sari-sari store operators account for 17.7 percent, followed by other trades with 10 percent, and then by restaurants, cafés, and other eating and drinking places with a 7.9 percent (Table 3). A comprehensive nationwide estimate of the total number of persons employed in the informal sector was provided by the International Labour Organization (ILO) Project on the Informal Sector in Metro Manila. The study revealed that the agricultural sector accounts for the majority of people engaged in the informal sector, followed by the services sector, and then by the industry sector. From 1993 to 1995 however, the figures for the agricultural sector decreased from 8,580 to 8,252 but increased to 8,670 in 1996 (Table 4).

According to the NSO's 1995 Integrated Survey of Households, nearly 73 percent of females among the self-employed are engaged in trade, with the largest percentage, over 77 percent, employed as unpaid family workers (Table 5). Women are concentrated in the service category, which includes personal services. The findings indicate that women dominate the informal sector.

The extent of the informal sector's contribution to the national total output and its effects on employment have not been accurately calculated. Nonetheless, several studies have estimated the output produced by the informal sector. In a study by the Center for Research and Communication (CRC), the informal sector accounted for P125 to P130 billion of the GNP per year, or an average of 20 percent of the GNP from 1980 to 1990. In 1993, the sector was calculated to have generated about P225 billion, or 30 percent of the GNP. These estimates were derived by taking the difference between the amount of currency in circulation and the amount of demand deposits. The remaining money in circulation, after subtracting those in bank accounts, was supposed to reflect the extent of output transactions in the informal sector, which are perceived to be excluded from the financial markets.

The linkages of the informal and formal sectors are significant in the export manufacturing sector, characterized by the existence of an industrial structure where formal and informal sector enterprises can complement each other through subcontracting arrangements. This is observed in the following industries: leather, garments, electronics, toys and gifts, handicrafts, food processing, paper and packaging products, and furniture making. In agriculture, contracting exists in sectors like banana, rubber, poultry, swine, beef, cattle, feedgrains and shrimp (ILS, 1998).

The informal sector is also able to link the formal sector with the majority of the poor, benefiting a broad range of sectors in the economy. Since informal enterprises are able to do away with costly procedures and government regulations, they can operate profitably, especially in vending which is the most common activity. Informal enterprises using household resources purchase their products and raw materials from grocery stores and retail them to low-income markets. This makes formal sector goods more affordable to the poor (Lanzona, 1998).

3.3 Unpaid Work in Non-Market Production

For non-market production, this may be translated into income and/or savings, considering its value in terms of price, that is, how much would it cost if a hired person had provided the service. Virola and De Perio (1998) provided some estimates of the relative contribution of women and men to the GDP, both conventional and adjusted, for the years 1990-1997. The study made use of both opportunity cost and market valuation in estimating unpaid domestic work, and of other parameters from previous studies (Tables 6, 7, 8 and 9). The following are among the significant findings of the study:

- Almost 90 percent of the total unpaid hours of work were done by women, with about 72 –73 percent coming from the employed and unemployed (ie: classified as part of the labour force). Unpaid work performed by women

is higher among those outside the labour force, representing 91 percent. There was also a slight increase in the employed women's share of unpaid work and a slight decrease in the share of unemployed women. By economic activity, women's contribution to unpaid work is higher in agriculture, fishery and forestry, manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, financing, insurance, real estate and business services, and community, social and personal services, which comprised 80 percent of the total GNP in 1997.

- Women contributed about 90 percent in terms of the monetary value of unpaid work, with a slight difference between opportunity and replacement cost methods. This is attributed to the representation of unpaid work where the majority comes from those outside the labour force for which the same cost (replacement) was used to derive the value of unpaid work.

- An average of 33 percent represented women's unpaid work against only 4 percent for men in the conventional GDP for the period under study. If the value of unpaid work had been included in 1997, the GDP would have increased by 37 – 38 percent.

- The share of women's unpaid work increased to 51 percent from the 35-40 percent share when the GDP/GNP was adjusted for unpaid work.

3.3.1 Enhancing Access to Training and Gainful Employment

The majority of workers in the informal sector, including unpaid family workers, are from impoverished groups. They lack access and the means to acquire skills and education, to new production technologies and methods from formal institutions that can fully enhance their productivity, and ultimately increase their income. It is largely through unpaid work that they develop and acquire the skills and acumen to ply certain trades and/or occupations. Rendering unpaid work, to some, is a solid investment to increase capacities through skill formation, and therefore acquire the means for survival. Thus, unpaid work in the Philippine context has contributed through the enhancement of access to training and gainful employment, and more specifically, through the skills formation through hands-on apprenticeship and time-tested approaches, and the promotion of entrepreneurship.

3.4 Enhancing Women's Equality

In the Philippines, the promotion of gender equity in its pursuit of human development has come a long way, enabling women to be more active participants in national growth and development. But while investment in opportunities for women has grown, there still exists a wide gap in equality between men and women. Both still live in different worlds, with different access, opportunities, rewards, and legal protection. Yet, women's economic roles could be greater in society if they had equal access to education and training and other opportunities. Unpaid work is seen as contributing to increasing gender equality through enabling women's access to informal education and training.

3.4.1 Enhancing Family Relationships

Workers in the informal sector, including unpaid family workers, are widely accepted to be central to the support and survival of families. This sense of responsibility for the care of the family is entrenched in Philippine culture. As such, much can be done to harmonize work and family responsibilities to further strengthen family relationships. Thus, unpaid work, in one way or the other, contributes to the strengthening of the family, which is regarded as the basic institution for personal and citizenship development. Unpaid work is regarded as the training ground for future caretakers or managers of a family enterprise or economic activity.

Unpaid labour, is also seen to contribute to the changing paradigms in Filipino family relationships, through:

- Challenging traditional definitions, concepts and ideas about women and work;
- Appreciating the benefits of dual income households, both economically;

- Encouraging equitable sharing of housework;
- Harmonizing household and housework and market activities; and
- Encouraging and increasing entry of unpaid labour in the workplace.

4. Public Policy Responses

4.1 The Legal Framework

The spheres of law and government policies are probably the most crucial mechanisms in effecting changes in the economic and social integration of unpaid workers. A brief overview of existing labour and social security laws and executive issuances that are deemed important in promoting and enhancing the even distribution of unpaid work is provided in this section.

National policy provides a relatively favorable atmosphere for women's development. The **1987 Philippine Constitution** explicitly stipulates the fundamental equality between women and men and cites women's role in nation building, recognizing women's maternal and economic roles, and women's special health needs. It also declares natural-born those children of Filipino mothers born before January 17, 1973 and those who elect Philippines citizenship at the age of majority, and allows Filipino women married to aliens to retain their citizenship, thereby correcting the iniquitous provisions of earlier laws. Equity and access to education and training opportunities and enjoyment of their benefits is also provided for in the 1987 Constitution.

Executive Order 27, "**The New Family Code of the Philippines"** (signing on July 17, 1987), eliminated many of the discriminatory provis ions contained in the Spanish colonial law-based Civil Code of the Philippines.

Several legislative acts protect and extend women's rights. The **Women in Development Act**, for example, mandates that a portion of all development assistance funds received from international agencies and other governments be set aside to support income-generating programs for women. It also allows women to borrow, and obtain loans and credit without the consent of their spouses. The Act also provides women the right to attend the Philippine Military Academy.

The **Maternity Act** extends the period of maternity leave to 60 days for normal delivery and 78 days for caesarian section with pay, and increases the benefits due to a woman on maternity leave. Meanwhile, the Paternity Act grants seven days paternity leave to married male employees during childbirth by their legitimate wives.

Social security coverage of married persons who manage the household and family affairs full-time is also provided for under R.A. (Republic Act) 7192. Upon the spouse's consent, they are entitled to the above coverage to the extent of one-half of the salary and compensation of the working spouse.

In addition, whereas before, a Filipino wife was unable to practice her profession without the consent of the husband, the **Philippine Family Code of 1988** empowers her to practice any legitimate profession, occupation, business or activity without the consent of the husband. The same Code provides that the latter may object only on valid, serious and moral grounds.

The Philippines is also signatory to **ILO Convention No. 100, Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value.** Remuneration includes "the ordinary, basic or minimum wage or salary and additional emoluments whatsoever payable directly or indirectly, whether in cash or in kind, by the employer to the worker and arising out of the worker's employment."

Improvements in national policy, particularly in HRD policy, remain to be done in order to establish functional linkages between paid and unpaid work. For instance, many areas tend to reinforce the "stereotyped" domestic roles of women while ignoring their productive work. For instance, technology transfer in agriculture, land tilling, job opportunities in industry, financial credit and skills development programs target male beneficiaries as "household

heads" and economic producers. Women on the other hand, are provided with more housekeeping skills like cooking, gardening, and nurturing their offspring.

National policies, particularly HRD policy, have gone a long way in reducing, if not eliminating "stereotyped" roles for women. Priority is now being given to developing new employment models/flexible work arrangements, which will enable both women and men to combine career with family commitments. With the "partial liberation" of working mothers from the traditional perception that they are responsible for childrearing and household management, husbands are now taking a more active role in the performance of these tasks.

4.2 Government Programs and Services

The Philippines has also embarked on a number of pilot projects, mostly with the assistance of the International Labour Organization, that are designed to explore various methodologies and approaches to minimize, if not eliminate the vulnerability of disadvantaged sectors among paid and unpaid workers. Among the targeted sectors are homeworkers and workers in the informal sector. These pilot projects address various issues including working conditions, enterprise development, and schemes for expanding social protection.
Some recent and notable government initiatives include the following:

- **Measuring women's and men's contribution to the economy**

The National Statistical Coordination Board (NSCB), in coordination with the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) and the National Statistics Office (NSO), under the auspices of the Government of the Philippines and the Canadian International Development Agency, is undertaking a project to develop a framework for measuring women's and men's contributions to the economy.

The proposed framework uses satellite accounts (SAs), a special construct that is semi-integrated with the central System of National Accounts (SNA) framework. The SAs focus on a certain field or aspect of economic or social life in the context of national accounts. Through the SAs, housework services and the contribution of women can be measured and linked with the core national accounts.

The SAs have two parts: identification of the percentage contribution by sex to the economy of the production boundary of the conventional accounts; and identification, measurement and inclusion of housework services/unpaid work of those not in the labour force i.e., those not considered economically active in the SNA. Estimation methodologies include: Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by sex; Gross Value Added (GVA) decomposed by employment; Gross Value Added (GVA) decomposed by number of hours; Unpaid Household Services by sex; and Net Factor Income from Abroad by sex.

- **Training of women in new and non-traditional trades**

The training of women in new and non-traditional trades aims to increase participation of women in national development by developing a broader and more diversified range of job opportunities. This program promotes the entry of women in non-traditional trades in specific areas of technological and industrial trades. It also provides entrepreneurial development training. In its pilot testing in July 1988 until March 1992, some 615 women were trained. It is now part of the regular offering of the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA).

The National Vocational Training and Development Center for Women was established in April 1998 to provide traditional and non-traditional trades training. The vocational courses include comprehensive trainers training, pre-employment training, skills upgrading training, methodology training, and non-skills training. Research and development activities include focus on women's capability and development, wider employment opportunities for women, and other measures enhancing women's status. In collaboration with NGOs and other relevant organizations, the Center organizes and conducts symposium/seminars and other activities on gender and development issues. Since April 1998, the Women's Center has turned out 91 women graduates.

- **Social security protection for unpaid work**

Social security protection, as defined in the Philippines, is the development, delivery, and promotion of work-related standards and projects that would cushion the impact of unemployment, seasonality of employment, and lack of access to basic services.

Under the formal conventional scheme, social security protection for workers in the private sector is provided through the Philippines' Social Security System (SSS). In response to the call of the International Labour Organization for the establishment of appropriate forms of social protection, the SSS implemented several measures in an attempt to provide social protection to all Filipinos. In 1992, the SSS initiated a line of coverage expansion programs that led to inclusion of farmers and fishermen with an annual income of at least PhilP18,000.00. In succeeding years, other expansion programs were added which included the coverage of household helpers earning at least PhilP1, 000.00 a month. In 1995, self-employed persons such as cigarette vendors, newspaper vendors, watch-your-car boys, hospitality girls, and other workers in the informal sector with a monthly net income of PhilP1, 000.00 were included. In 1997, the Social Security Law was amended with the enactment of Republic Act 8282, which saw benefit packages, and expansion of coverage to private workers such as the self-employed persons, farmers, fishers, household helpers, overseas workers, and household managers.
A household manager is a person who manages his/her household and family affairs full-time. His/her coverage in the SSS, however, is purely voluntary and is subject to the following:

- he/she is legally married to an actively paying SSS member;
- he/she has never been a member of the SSS;
- his/her coverage has the approval of his/her working spouse; and
- his/her contributions are based on 50 percent of the working spouse's last posted monthly salary credit but be no lower than PhilP1, 000.00.

As of December 1998, a total of 1,821 non-working spouses and 1,181,475 workers in the informal sector have voluntarily been registered for their social security coverage under the Social Security System.

5. Private Sector Strategies

Private sector initiatives to enhance and promote productivity in unpaid work can be grouped into those related to employee relations and those related to community relations:

5.1 Employee Relations Initiatives and Strategies

To maintain harmonious relationships and industrial peace between workers and the company, business organizations have pursued varying yet innovative and well-meaning strategies and initiatives in promoting the living and working conditions of their employees and their families. Business organizations have adopted a range of strategies and initiatives including:

- Menstrual leave wherein women employees are allowed rest day (s) with full pay due to menstrual disorder;
- Maternity leave over and above that mandated by law, with provisions for extension, advanced payment, and special maternity privileges;
- Emergency/calamity leave wherein regular employees are allowed to go on emergency leave with full pay equivalent to a specified number of working days in a year in any of the following causes: natural disasters such as typhoons, fire, earthquake, and other calamities directly affecting the employees, and serious illness of an immediate member of the employee's family.
- Maintaining a medical clinic, along with the services of a physician and a nurse with emergency cases being referred to an accredited hospital nearest the workstation.
- Free dental services such as prophylaxis, extraction, temporary and permanent filling of cavities and minor tooth operations.

- Free medicines for common illnesses such as influenza, stomach aches, colds, coughs, diarrhea, and dizziness.
- Hospitalization benefits in addition to those found under the National Health Insurance Law comprising of confinement for a maximum number of calendar days, non-surgery and surgery cases including medicines, professional and laboratories fees.
- Leaves for serious illnesses such as tuberculosis and cancer.
- Nursery/infant assistance in the form of cash assistance to married employees for the birth of their first to fourth child.
- Term life insurance with double indemnity in case of death for regular employees;

5.2 Community Relations Initiatives and Strategies

A review of community relations programs by the Philippine Business for Social Progress, a non-government organization supported by the country's top companies, shows a spectrum of activities ranging from corporate giving or philanthropy to the less advantaged with the view that communities are partners in the business.

Exhibit 1 (see appendices) outlines a range of examples of these corporate initiatives to illustrate these emerging dimensions of these new concepts in Philippine business as they define their mission in society and their target "community".

6. Recommendations

- **Recommendations for Governments**

1. To harness the full productive potential of unpaid work in contributing to the economy, national governments should institutionalize support mechanisms that would provide access to productive resources, skills and education and new production technologies/methods. Following are some recommendations that could enhance the productivity of the unpaid sector:

- Promoting community-based training to provide some new skills in secondary activities to supplement household income;
- Expanding capability building programs to include on-site, advisory, and consultancy services in the areas of skills, values and preparatory technical assistance;
- Linking skills training programs to existing job opportunities to ensure that these training programs do not become static and can accommodate volatile labour markets;
- Promoting growth-oriented micro-enterprises where motivation is made not by economic survival but by the prospect of making a profit;
- Opening access to wider and more reliable markets to avoid overcrowding and thereby increasing potential for growth.

2. Sustain the initiatives in measuring the contributions of paid and unpaid work to the economy

The research currently being done with the Philippines' National Statistical Coordinating Board on measuring the contributions of women and men to the economy should be sustained. While the conceptual framework has been established, future directions should determine the data items, designs, classification of activities, and data collection schemes. Further discussions of the results, approaches, or methodology and issues concerning the conceptual framework should be held among fellow researchers and policymakers, including senators, congress, and other government officials and interest groups.

3. Pursue effective coverage of unpaid workers in public sector programs and services

While there are various public sector initiatives and strategies that give due recognition and benefit to those rendering unpaid work, much remains to be done. For public sector initiatives and programs to have considerable impact and relevance in improving the living and working conditions of those performing unpaid work, the public sector must be able to adapt to the needs, conditions, and circumstances of those with unpaid work. The establishment of one-stop shops for unpaid work is an initial step in this direction. One-stop shops aim to deliver under one roof to unpaid workers programs and services that will enhance their contributions to the economy.

4. Provide an environment where private sector initiatives that recognize and support unpaid work are supported, recognized, and rewarded.

While the key policy consideration in the Philippines remains to the generation of productive and paid labour, an environment must be created that catalyzes or facilitates private sector initiatives that either extend the gains of paid employment or spurs development in communities where unpaid work is thriving or predominating or where paid and unpaid work are necessarily or indispensably linked. With industry regarded as the main engine of economic development, the private sector continues to be the primary source of creative and innovative ways of enhancing the linkages of paid and unpaid work. Thus, a system of helping, recognizing, and rewarding private sector initiatives should be instituted. In the Philippines, the "Galing Pook Awards" or the "Gawad Sikap Awards" are worth emulating in this regard. The "Galing Pook Awards" recognize initiatives of local authorities in pursuing development in their respective communities while the "Gawad Sikap Awards" recognize outstanding individual and institutional efforts in promoting workers' welfare and industrial peace.

- **Recommendations to the APEC Human Resource Development Working Group**

It is hoped that this project on "Linkages between Paid and Unpaid Work in Formulating Human Resources Development Policies" will promote a broader understanding of how intra- and inter-relationships among APEC member economies can be further strengthened and enhanced. The new insights on paid and unpaid work, and intellectual gains from this project notwithstanding, there are many paths that the APEC HRD Working Group could consider, for example:

1. To widen the discussions to transcend those related to work to look deeper in the socio-cultural dimension of paid and unpaid work

While the discussion of paid and unpaid work in some APEC member economies often leads to the recognition of unpaid work by attaching proper monetary values, the Asian handling of unpaid work transcends monetary values and has deep roots in culture and family. Thus, to some APEC member economies, unpaid work is not synonymous to exploitative conditions of work like child labour and/or forced labour but is related to family rearing or future assumption of family responsibilities such as managing the family business enterprise. This aspect of unpaid work is very Asian and very Filipino. A deepening of the discussions of paid and unpaid work with a focus on this aspect is necessary to understand the subject matter across APEC member economies.

2. To continue the discussions on the measurement of the contributions of men and women in each economy

Recognition of the linkages of unpaid work and other "invisible" contributors to the economy begins with an accounting of their quantity, dimensions and contribution to the economy. The Philippines, for instance, with support from the APEC Central Fund and under, perhaps, the auspices of the APEC HRD Working Group LMI, could take the lead among APEC member-economies on capability building and information dissemination on the measurement of "unpaid work" contributions.

3. To take up the agenda of paid and unpaid work for wider debate and discussion

As a follow through to the debates and discussion that ensued in this project and the HRD Working Group, the recognition and accounting of unpaid work and strengthening their linkages should be brought to a higher level of

discussion toward arriving at an international consensus on the matter. The APEC HRD Working Group could bring forward these issues in other forums, notably starting with the other working groups, committees, and the ministers' levels (i.e., HRD Ministerial, Finance Ministers, Labour Ministers and the like).

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Appendices

Table 1. Summary of Employment Situation: Philippines 1990, 1995 and 1998 (In Thousands)

Indicator	1990			1995			1998		
	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female
Labour Force	24,244	15,295	8,948	28,380	17,907	10,472	31,054	19,408	11,646
Employed Persons	22,212	14,167	8,045	25,676	16,322	9,354	27,912	17,534	10,378
Class of Worker									
Agriculture	9,981	7,504	2,477	11,147	8,348	2,799	10,933	8,129	2,804
Wage and Salary Workers	2,033	1,598	435	2,357	1,859	498	2,407	1,904	503
Own-Account Workers	5,061	4,449	612	5,706	4,905	802	5,599	4,767	832
Unpaid Family Workers	2,887	1,457	1,430	3,084	1,585	1,499	2,928	1,460	1,469
Non-Agriculture	12,216	6,651	5,566	14,518	7,966	6,552	16,972	9,400	7,571
Wage and Salary Workers	8,062	4,829	3,233	9,506	5,761	3,744	11,266	6,804	4,463
Own-Account Workers	3,549	1,634	1,916	4,296	1,945	2,351	4,867	2,296	2,571
Unpaid Family Workers	604	187	417	716	260	455	839	301	538
Industry Not Elsewhere Classified	15	13	2	12	7	4	6	18	4

Source: National Statistics Office, Bureau of Labour and Employment Statistics

Table 2. Summary of Female Employment in Agriculture in Rural Areas, Philippines, 1990, 1995 and 1997 (%)

Indicator	1990	1995	1997
TOTAL	48.77	48.8	50.1
Wage and Salary Earners	17.29	17.0	17.6
Own-Account	21.43	27.9	25.8
Unpaid Family Workers	58.97	55.1	56.6

Source: Bureau of Agricultural Statistics

Table 3. Breakdown of Activities of Operators in the Informal Sector, National Capital Region, Philippines, 1995 (by number and %)

	Frequency	Percent
Agriculture, forestry, fishery	140	3.9
Textile, wearing apparel, leather Manufacturing	265	7.3
Other manufacturing	210	5.8
Construction	138	3.8
Sari-sari stores	642	17.7
Other food and beverage retailing	284	7.8
Other trade	366	10.1
Operators of bus, taxicabs, jeepneys	197	5.4
Tricycles and other transport	217	6.0
Renting of buildings and rooms	169	4.7
Financing insurance, real estate, Business services	84	2.3
Repair services	136	3.7
Other personal and household services	192	5.3
Restaurants, cafes and other eating and Drinking places	287	7.9
Hotels, motels and other lodging places	174	4.8
Others	126	3.5
TOTAL	3,627	100.0

Source: 1995 Urban informal Sector Survey in Metro Manila, National Statistics Office

Table 4. Persons in the Informal Sector in the National Capital Region, Philippines by Major Industry Group, 1990- 1996 (in thousands)

Year	All	Agriculture	Industry	Services
1990	11,387	7,499	744	3,144
1991	11,708	7,667	790	3,251
1992	12,278	8,140	699	2,794
1993	12,854	8,580	810	4,194
1994	12,936	8,513	839	3,584
1995	12,911	8,252	856	3,803
1996	13,540	8,670	828	4,042

Source: ILO (1994); Philippines' National Statistics Office

Table 5. Distribution of Own-Account and Unpaid Workers in the Informal Sector, National Capital Region, Philippines by Class of Worker, Sex and Industry Group, 1995 (in %).

Industry	Self-Employed						Unpaid Family Worker		
	Own-Account			Employer					
	M	F	Both	M	F	Both	M	F	Both
Agriculture, Fishery, Mining, Quarrying	5.2	0	2.8	5.7	0	3.3	3.4	0	1.4
Manufacturing,Construction, Electricity, gas and water	11.9	8.4	10.2	18.6	11.8	15.7	17.2	9.1	12.3
Wholesale and Retail trade,	35.6	72.6	52.7	32.9	56.9	43.0	41.4	77.3	63.0
Transportation, Storage and Communication	25.4	1.3	14.3	15.7	5.9	11.6	13.8	0	5.5
Financing, insurance, real estate and business services	2.5	1.6	2.1	7.1	2.0	5.0	0	2.3	1.4
Community, social and personal services	19.3	16.1	17.9	20.0	23.5	21.5	24.1	11.4	16.4
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number (000)	363	312	675	70	50	120	30	44	74
% of employed work force	11.7	10.0	21.7	2.2	1.6	3.9	1.0	1.4	2.4

Source: 1995 Integrated Survey of Households, National Statistics Office

Table 6: Percentage Distribution of Estimated Total Unpaid Hours of Work (Housework Services) By Sex, Employed, Unemployed and Not in the Labour Force (in thousands)

	Average 1990-1997	
	M	F
A. Employed	27.2	72.8
Agriculture, Fishery and Forestry	12.6	14.8
Mining and Quarrying	0.2	0.1
Manufacturing	2.6	9.3
Electricity, Gas and Water	0.2	0.1
Construction	2.2	0.2
Wholesale and Retail Trade	2.4	23.4
Transportation, Communication and Storage	2.7	0.5
Financing, Insurance, Real Estate and Business Services	0.6	1.7
Community, Social and Personal Services	3.7	22.6
B. Unemployed	28.1	71.9
C. Not in the Labour Force	8.8	91.2
TOTAL	10.5	89.5

Source: From the study of Virola, Romulo A. and Sylvia M. de Perio., "Measuring the Contribution of Women to the Philippine Economy"

Table 7. Percentage Distribution of Total Value (at current prices) of Unpaid Hours by Sex for All, 1990-1997 Opportunity Cost and Market Prices

	Employed				Unemployed		Not in Labour Force		Total			
	M		F		M	F	M	F	M		F	
Year	OC	MP	OC	MP	MP		MP		OC/ MP	MP	OC/ MP	MP
1990	6.2	27.0	73.8	73.0	25.5	74.5	8.7	91.3	10.7	10.3	89.3	89.7
1991	26.1	26.8	73.9	73.2	26.9	73.1	8.3	91.7	10.2	9.9	89.8	90.1
1992	27.2	27.5	72.8	72.5	27.4	72.6	8.3	91.7	10.4	10.0	89.6	90.0
1993	26.0	26.8	74.0	73.2	27.9	72.1	8.7	91.3	10.7	10.4	89.3	89.6
1994	26.2	26.7	73.8	73.3	28.4	71.6	8.8	91.2	10.7	10.4	89.3	89.6
1995	26.3	26.5	73.7	73.5	27.6	72.4	8.9	91.1	10.8	10.7	89.1	89.4
1996	26.4	26.5	73.6	73.5	28.5	71.5	8.6	91.4	10.6	10.2	89.4	89.9
1997	25.9	25.9	74.1	74.0	28.9	71.1	8.6	91.4	10.6	10.2	89.5	89.8
1990-1997	26.3	26.7	73.7	73.3	27.6	72.4	8.6	91.4	10.6	10.3	89.4	89.8

Source: From the study of Virola, Romulo A. and Sylvia M. de Perio., “Measuring the Contribution of Women to the Philippine Economy”

Table 8. Percentage of Value of Unpaid Hours (Housework Services) to GDP/GNP (at current prices)

Year	% to GDP						% to GNP					
	Total		M		F		Total	M	F	Total	M	F
	OC/MP	MP	OC/MP	MP	OC/MP	MP	OC/MP			MP		
1990	33.0	32.1	3.5	3.3	29.4	28.8	33.1	3.5	29.6	32.2	3.3	28.9
1991	39.1	38.3	4.0	3.8	35.1	34.5	38.9	4.0	34.9	38.1	3.8	34.3
1992	38.8	38.0	4.0	3.8	34.8	34.2	38.1	4.0	34.2	37.3	3.7	33.6
1993	38.0	37.2	4.1	3.9	33.9	33.3	37.4	4.0	33.3	36.5	3.8	32.7
1994	40.3	39.5	4.3	4.1	36.0	35.4	39.3	4.2	35.1	38.6	4.0	34.5
1995	35.3	34.5	3.9	3.6	31.5	30.9	34.4	3.8	30.6	33.6	3.5	30.0
1996	36.2	35.3	3.8	3.6	32.4	31.7	34.8	3.7	31.1	33.9	3.5	30.5
1997	37.6	36.7	4.0	3.8	33.6	32.9	36.1	3.8	32.2	35.2	3.6	31.6
1990-1997	37.3	36.5	4.0	3.7	33.3	32.7	36.5	3.9	32.6	35.7	3.7	32.0

Source: From the study of Virola, Romulo A. and Sylvia M. de Perio, “Measuring the Contribution of Women to the Philippine Economy”

Table 9. Percentage Distribution of GDP and GNP (at current Prices) Adjusted or Unpaid Housework Services by Sex, Using Hours of Work, Employed-Opportunity Cost; Unemployed and Not in Labour Force-Market Price, (in Millions of Pesos).

Year	GDP Adjusted			GNP Adjusted		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
1990	100.00	50.2	49.8	100.00	50.9	49.1
1991	100.00	48.1	51.9	100.00	48.9	51.1
1992	100.00	48.3	51.7	100.00	49.1	50.9
1993	100.00	48.6	51.4	100.00	49.3	50.7
1994	100.00	48.0	52.0	100.00	48.6	51.4
1995	100.00	49.1	50.9	100.00	49.7	50.3
1996	100.00	48.6	51.4	100.00	49.4	50.6
1997	100.00	48.1	51.9	100.00	48.9	51.1
1990-1997	100.00	48.6	51.4	100.00	49.4	50.6

Source: From the study of Virola, Romulo A. and Sylvia M. de Perio, "Measuring the Contribution of Women to the Philippine Economy"

Exhibit 1. Spectrum of Programs on Community Relations of Selected Business Organizations in the Philippines.

1. Name of Organization:	PHINMA Group of Companies	PHIMCO Industries Inc.	RFM Corp.	Central Azucarera Don Pedro
2. Title of Program:	Community Relations	Community Development	Family Welfare and Livelihood Program	Community Development
3. Logic/Philosophy:	Development of community residents into productive, self-reliant and "empowered individuals and groups	Assist in combating unemployment, drug dependency, malnutrition and lack of education	Enable employee or their family members to engage in projects which will augment their threshold income	Promotion of corporate social responsibility through the implementation of relevant community development program and assistance in achieving industrial welfare by conducting effective employee-oriented program
4. Target "Community"	Communities around the factories and plants	Urban Poor of Punta, Sta. Ana, Manila	Needy employees and their families	Communities where employees reside and contiguous to the factory
5. Structure:	Full Time COMREL Group	Integrated in the human resource function of the company	Working committee with management and labour representatives	Community Development Office reporting directly to the Resident Manager
6. Strategies:	1. Livelihood group assistance 2. Day care center 3. Scholarship grants 4. Health care services 5. Skills training and workshops	1. Supplementary feeding program 2. Preparatory school for pre-school children 3. Training & livelihood 4. Organizing into business group	1. Family welfare 2. Livelihood projects	1. Livelihood 2. Social services 3. Community organizing 4. Information

APEC Human Resource Development Working Group
Network on Economic Development Management

Conference on
Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work in Human Resource Development Policy
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Thailand

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1. Introduction

Thailand has recognized the significant role and status of women in social and economic development, especially in paid and unpaid work, for decades. However, progress toward equality in the role and status of women in the paid and unpaid sectors fall short of the gains women have achieved in the developed world. Women must have an opportunity to participate more equally both in paid and unpaid work in the next century.

1.1 APEC and the Issue of Paid and Unpaid Work

The APEC Human Resource Development Working Group (HRD WG) has set out to explore how human resource development policies might recognize and account for the linkages between paid and unpaid work. It also examines the role of planners and policymakers to address the interface between paid and unpaid work (APEC HRD Working Group Proposal, 1998).

The objective of this paper is to explore APEC's proposal. In particular, the impacts of the recent financial crisis on the social roles and status of women especially in the paid and unpaid work in Thailand are examined. Finally, public policy responses to the equity issues between men and women in these matters will be addressed.

2. The Macroeconomic Meltdown and the Unexpected Financial Crisis [1]

The current financial crisis was born of the internal problems resulting from the clash of speculation in property by the private sector, government liberalization of the financial system, and the launching of the Bangkok and Provincial Banking Facilities. External factors exacerbated the crisis because the baht float, which was supposed to help Thai exports, did not reach expectations due to the financial crisis in neighbouring states. As to the recovery, external factors should play a vital role. An excellent indicator would be the economic condition of Japan, which is the main Asian engine for economic growth.

Thailand's economic crisis and the turmoil that followed the baht floatation in July 2, 1997, forced the country to seek financial help from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) with the rescue package of US$17.2 billion. So far the Thai government has strictly implemented the austerity programs negotiated with the IMF in order to rebuild the economic stability.

In the midst of the crisis, the Thailand Development Research Institute's (TDRI) macro-economic forecasts in early January 1999, when the value of baht averaged around 41.26 per US dollar, predicted a negative growth in exports of around -5.6 percent with -33.8 percent of total investment. By the end of 1998, it was predicted that the Thai economy would experience growth at -8.2 percent. The industrial sector would experience growth of -13.1 percent. The service sector was also expected to record negative growth at -6.1 percent despite the fact that the government declared 1998 and 1999 as "Amazing Thailand" years for tourism promotions. Both current account and trade account would be in surplus to the tune of US$ 13.2 billion and US$ 12.3 billion, respectively. Inflation would reach its peak this year at 8.1 percent, increased from only 5.6 percent in the previous year.

TDRI also forecast that in 1999 the Thai economy would shrink slightly with a negative growth rate of 0.4 percent when the value of baht fluctuates around 36 baht per US dollar. The government has achieved a certain degree of success in solving the problem of the finance sector (e.g., lack of liquidity, and foreign investment). All sectors of the economy except agriculture will experience a negative growth rate with inflation dropping to 3.2 percent. The trade and current accounts continue to show positive growth at US$12.9 billion and US$12.3 billion, respectively (Chalamwong, 1999).

The slowdown of the Thai economy in 1997 and the recession in 1998, which is expected to continue until the end of 1999, will definitely increase open and underemployment. This point will be explored further in the next section.

2.1 Impacts of the Economic Crisis on Labour Markets

[1] This section Is drawn from Yongyuth Chalamwong. "The Impact of the Crisis on Migration in Thailand" Asian and Pacific Migration Journal, Vol. 7, Nos 2-3, 1998, pages 207-301.

As a result of the 1998 economic recession, a large number of factories and business establishments closed down. There are labour surpluses everywhere, in every sector and at every skill level, a phenomenon Thailand has not experienced for years. The number of unemployed reached 1.13 million in August (peak season) or 3.45 percent of labour force in 1998 as compared to only 0.29 million person or 0.87 percent in August 1997. The contraction in demand appeared in three work sectors, namely employers, private employees and unpaid family workers. By contrast, the government and own-account employment remained relatively stable.

The impacts of the crisis on real sectors was quite different. For example the Labour Force Survey data indicated that the construction sector experienced a sharp decline in employment. Employment in this sector fell from 2.98 million in February 1997 to 2.04 million February 1998.

2.2 Underemployment

The crisis also caused large-scale underemployment and layoffs. The number of employed persons working fewer than 35 hours a week increased almost by 2 million, from 2.43 million persons in February 1997 to 4.41 million in the same period in 1998. Underemployment was concentrated in private employees and self-employed persons. The largest number of underemployed persons was concentrated in the manufacturing and commerce sectors, and accounted for 65.9 percent of the total 1.97 million (Chalamwong, 1999).

The following sections will emphasize the impacts of the crisis on paid and unpaid workers, especially women.

3. The Significance of Unpaid Work

"Unpaid work" is defined as work without pay on a farm or in business enterprise owned or operated by the household head or any other members (NSO)[2]. Unpaid work is defined by Heather Gibb in her Framework Paper as "non-market work" which is unlikely to be reflected in the national employment and income statistics. The majority of unpaid family workers are likely to be women. This is probably true everywhere, and Thailand is no exception. For example in 1998, based on the Labour Force Survey, the data clearly indicated that 66.4 percent of the 9.4 million employed persons who are classified as unpaid family workers are women.

3.1 Linkages between Own-Account Workers and Unpaid Workers

The own-account worker is defined as a person who operates an enterprise on his/her own account or jointly with others in the form of a partnership either for profit or dividends but without engaging employees. The linkages between unpaid workers and own account workers are clear when the enterprise is operated by husband and wife. Here, the husband is usually classified as an own-account worker while the wife is classified as an unpaid family worker. Sometimes, both are classified as self-employed workers. They are active, work in similar environments and face similar risks. In 1998 the proportion of self-employed (own-account plus unpaid family workers) constituted about 60.7 percent of the total labour force. Out of this total self-employed, 9.12 million persons were female and 10.28 million persons were male. This is a slight decline from 1990 when the total self-employed females numbered 10.26 million and 10.68 million were male.

The impact of the crisis since its start in mid July 1997 on work status is not clear when the statistics of 1997 with 1998 are compared. As stated earlier, total employment decreased by more than one million as a result of the financial crisis. The number of unpaid family workers continues to drop regardless of the crisis. While more and more of the labour force were composed of own-account workers, the number of employed in formal employment decreased by almost one million in 1998 as compared to 1997. The impact of the crisis is likely to reduce the proportion of women in unpaid family work while this gap is widened among men.

[2] National Statistical Office (NSO), Office of the Prime Minister.

3.2 Women in Unpaid Work: Trends

During the past three decades, the role and status of women has changed along with economic development. As the economy was transformed from predominantly agricultural to industrial, the share of agricultural product dropped from 31.5 percent in 1975 to 11 percent in 1998. The majority of workers, however, are still concentrated in this sector. In 1998, according to the Labour Force Survey, about 51 percent of total employed persons were farmers.

As the economy underwent structural change, the population structure also changed. The population growth rate dropped very rapidly from more than 3 percent in the 1970s to only 1.2 percent in the 1990s. The smaller family size has lessened the burden of childbearing and other household activities for women. This should provide women more time to acquire knowledge and participate more actively in social and economic activities.

In fact, despite having lower labour force participation rates than men, women always participated in economic activities and the gaps between both sexes has been narrowing over time, especially in municipal areas. However, the gap between both sexes has widened in non-municipal areas. This gap is wider than ever as a result of the crisis.

The nature of work status in non-municipal areas has been slightly different from that in municipal areas. The share of unpaid family workers in non-municipal areas has been much larger than municipal areas, where most economic activities take place outside the household. Women have been less engaged than men both in the formal labour market (i.e., employer, public, and private employees) and in the informal market (i.e., own-account). Women have dominated the unpaid family work sector for a long time, despite the fact that their participation rates declined over time. Market and household work are somewhat complementary, especially for those women who work in non-municipal areas where most activities are concentrated in agriculture and small family non-farm enterprises. The shift from unpaid household work to paid work among women is accounted for by the shift in production away from households. Phananiramai (1995) argued that this phenomenon would help women improve their role and status. The more women participated in paid work, the more economically independent they should be. They should be able to achieve their own fulfillment as individuals instead of having to depend solely on their family (or husband).

In general, men dominated in all work sectors except in the unpaid family worker category in the study period. However, the proportion of men and women in the formal sector (e.g., employer, and employee) has not deteriorated. It is interesting to note that in 1998, own-account work is dominated by men who accounted for 71.2 percent, increasing from 70.3 percent in 1990. The unpaid work sector is dominated by women who accounted for 66.4 percent in 1998 as compared to 68.2 percent in 1995. During the past eight year period, more than 1.4 million women have turned to work in the productive, or market sector.

As mentioned before, women are concentrated in the area of unpaid family work, accounting for more than 46 percent in 1995, decreasing to 43.4 percent in 1998. During this period, more and more unpaid family workers shifted from unpaid to paid work. The crisis further pushed at least 0.42 million women out of unpaid work and into paid work to help generate income for the family.

3.3 Jobs and Earnings

The data indicate that job segregation by gender persists in the family. Traditionally, when women work as unpaid workers (or are self-employed), the distinction between market and non-market activities is not clear, since women move back and forth between the two types of work. The division of labor between men and women is clear. Currently, it is even more difficult for women to participate actively in both markets. According to Phananiramai (1995), men specialize more in market activities and women in non-market activities. The following data support this finding. As we all know, the agricultural sector has been the largest sector in terms of employment absorption in Thailand. This sector absorbed about 16.4 million people in the labour force in 1998. Of that total, about 52.1 percent were men. Women's participation in this sector declined over time as more and more women shifted from non-market work to market activities such as sales, crafts and as professionals as a result of better working environments and higher educational backgrounds.

Until 1995, men dominated work in all industries except in the professional, clerical and sales categories. This pattern has changed since 1995, when more women turned to work in the service sector. The financial

crisis is pushing women out of unpaid farm work to become wage earners. In fact, the proportion of women in all sectors except farming increased in 1998 compared to 1997.

The crafts occupation was also hit hard by the crisis. In many of the remaining occupations, employment rose after the crisis.

When both sexes work in family enterprises, their work activities are complementary. Their income is shared among family members. But when women work outside of the family, they may not be able to compete with men on an equal basis. Women are likely to perform both paid work and unpaid family work due mainly to cultural biases in Thai society. Even though this discrimination has been declining slowly, it still creates disadvantages for women to compete in the job market.

During the past ten years (1987 to 1997), the total number of employed persons increased by 6.4 million or about 24 percent. It increased in every work status except unpaid family worker. The number of employed unpaid family workers dropped only 0.135 million, with the number of women increasing by 0.197 million while men decreased by 0.334 million over the same period.

While the number of unpaid workers declined during the crisis, the number of own account workers, especially in the public sector increased. The number of unpaid family workers fell by 0.461 million for women and 0.03 million for men.

4. Paid and Unpaid Work and Human Resource Development

4.1 Education

Discrimination persists against women in human resource development as well as in the job market. Women in general tend to have lower education than men especially among unpaid family workers. Research by Tonguthai (1998) confirms that gender bias remains. However, the Seventh Economic Development Plan has had some success in narrowing the education gap between men and women.

The upward trend in education attainment improved very slowly during the past ten years as the share of employed persons with less than primary education decreased. Women received lower education than men in all education levels but the gap has been reduced over time. For both sexes, the percentage of unpaid workers who had primary education or lower slowly declined from 9.0 million (or 90.0 percent) in 1987 to 7.5 million (or 79.8 percent) in 1998. The educational attainment level of women unpaid workers was slightly lower during the same period. The share of primary education or lower of female workers was 93.8 percent in 1987 and 85.4 percent in 1998.

The crisis most affected workers with primary education or less. About 1.5 million of unpaid workers and private employees were left unemployed because of the crisis.
Women still experience limited choices in selecting subject areas for study. At the middle level of education, home economics, commerce and business administration are popular choices among women. At the university level, women are found mostly in social science, business, education, and nursing. Some subject areas of study (economics, agricultural economics, veterinary science, forestry science, industrial agriculture, archeology, production management, nursing, and military school) still have quotas limiting access for women. According to Tonguthai (1998), these patterns of selecting areas of study derive from persisting social values that are linked to traditional gender roles and to occupational segregation by sex. These practices result in limited education opportunities and discrimination against women.

4.2 Training

Training has become a crucial means for women to improve their employability and quality of life. Adequate training enables women to gain equal work status with men. This point was supported by a 1998 study submitted to the APEC HRD NEDM in Chinese Taipei that noted the urgent need for upgrading Thai workers' skill and knowledge through non-formal education and training.[3] The training (pre-employment,

[3] For more details see "Gender and Life-Long Learning: Enhancing the Contributions of Women to SMEs in Thailand for the 21st Century" .Paper presented at the APEC HRD NEDM conference in Chinese Taipei, June, 1998.

retraining and upgrading) offered by various organizations in Thailand is limited. Special questions were added to the Labour Force Survey in 1995 to ask whether workers had received any formal training at least one time during the past three years. The data showed that only about 4.5 percent had. Of the 1.48 million who had received training, about 75 percent were civil servants, 5 percent were enterprise workers, and 18 percent were private workers. However the data was not broken down by sex, therefore we do not know how many benefited.

Training courses are offered by four major government authorities: the Department of Non-formal Education, the Department of Vocational Education, the Department of Agricultural Extension, and the Department of Skill Development. In 1997, 97 percent of the 3.04 million people who had received vocational training had been trained by these four departments.

In non-formal education, according to Tonguthai, more than 53 percent were females participating in adult functional literacy, vocational certificates and vocational short courses. Women tend to participate more in self learning programs , compared to men, who participate more in classroom and distance learning.

Most of the short courses offered by the Department of Agricultural Extension are in home economics and farming, and women form the majority in home economics courses. However, for agricultural courses, men select themselves to participate in learning new farm techniques and other special training , since they are the heads of household and often community leaders.

According to data received from the Department of Skills Development, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, women comprised only 35 percent of total enrollment. In pre-employment training, women accounted for only 10 percent. The training programs offered to women covered spinning, weaving, sewing, cooking, good preservation and artificial flower making. Although the experience women receive from such training may help them improve their employability, their chance of participating in such programs remains limited.

The Report from the Women in Development Working Committee [4] identified three major barriers to women: program barriers as a result of limited choice for mainstream training programs for women; physical barriers as a result of inappropriate training equipment and facilities for women; and social barriers as a result of having too many men in the existing training system. There are no chaperones and/or activities for women during leisure time. This also discourages parents from allowing their daughters to participate and live in the training centres run by the Department of Skill Development.

Other factors that may limit women's opportunity to participate in training include women's roles in domestic work such as household chores and child care. Husbands may object to their wives attending training programs that require overnight stay. Women who do attend risk having family quarrels and stirring up "neighbourhood gossip" as summarized by Tonguthai (1998).

4.3 Characteristics of Unpaid Work

The unpaid work which is a part of informal employment is mainly performed by women. Their work is concentrated in labor intensive activities with limited technology and low costs. These activities do not require very high education and skills. The work is quite heterogeneous and flexible, allowing women to work at home and perform household chores at the same time. This reflects a kind of "women friendly workplace."

A survey conducted by the Department of Labor Protection and Welfare found that the majority of workers in the informal sector, especially "home-based" workers, were women. Their education was relatively low but they were skillful in their work. The majority of these homeworkers had previous experience working in factories. Currently there is no country data on the total number of those classified as "homeworkers". But women who currently work as homeworkers are very concerned, since they are not covered by current Labor Protection Law (1997).

[4] A detailed report appeared in the "Women in Development Team of the Asian Development Bank" (ADB) Project on Skills Development of DSD/MOLSW, 1998.

Their major concerns are:

- The chance of receiving any training comes only from subcontractors. Additional education and training from other sources is limited.

- Self-employed work among women is uncertain. There is a lack of continuity in employment and income, and no such thing as a long-term contract.

- Money wage earnings for women are relatively uncertain and lower than the minimum wage rate as a result of limited market and/or monopolies by suppliers or subcontractors. The welfare of workers is not covered by the Labour Protection Law.

- Since subcontract work is not covered by the Labour Protection Law, workers' health and safety is at risk.

- Homeworkers are very scattered geographically. It is less likely that these subcontracting workers will form groups to improve their bargaining power with subcontractors. Therefore they are vulnerable to exploitation.

There are some success stories of homeworker activities organized by local entrepreneurs and others jointly with the Ministry of Industry, civil organizations and communities. There are many examples of the private sector participating in promoting non-farm enterprises in rural communities. Many work activities have been initiated by the Population and Development Association (PDA) aimed at raising income and the quality of life of people in rural communities. Successful programs have been developed in various parts of the country, especially in the poorest regions such as in the Northeast and in the North. The programs in Burirum Province, for example, include producing brand name shirts and shoes by hiring hundreds of workers from nearby communities. Similar activities have been carried out by large Thai companies as part of their policy of "giving back to society". These projects involve predominantly women in communities and can be considered as *friendly workplaces*. It is expected that the crisis will encourage more rural people to participate in such activities as more and more laid off workers return home. Some of these workers are relatively old and do not want to return to factory work even though the crisis is over. Therefore a friendly workplace such as local small industries, community industries, and homework activities which allow women to stay close to their family should receive some support from these groups.

5. Gender Equity

5.1 Unequal Role in the Family

In Thai society, in addition to economic disadvantages, it is quite clear that women still suffer social disadvantages. Thai women have multiple roles, as wife, mother and daughter. Their roles also include: taking care of parents; sharing income with other members in the family; taking care of household chores; and earning supplementary income for the family. In addition, cultural beliefs and religious values may put women at a further disadvantage. For example, in the past when a woman married, she had to use her husband's surnames even after her husband passed away. Currently, married women no longer suffer such discrimination because a new law [5] allows her to make her own choice whether to use her own maiden name or her husband's last name. This choice still remains even after women divorce. A free choice also was given to sons or daughters whether to use the mother's maiden name or father's last name after their parents divorce.

In short, the burdens that women shoulder to perform their traditional roles as daughters and mothers (i.e. unpaid work) in the family, coupled with lack of human resource development and decent job opportunities may force some of these women to accept work under poor conditions (Phananiramai, 1995).

5.2 Unequal Work and Unequal Pay Opportunities

In theory, there are only a few regulations which prevent women from working in all positions in the formal labour market. Some positions in the public service, such as working with male prisoners, or those requiring

[5] Still in the stage of final review by the Office of the Council of State.

frequent transfers from one remote area to another, are examples. In practice, however, many positions have been rarely filled by women, even though there is no regulation prohibiting them from such positions, for example, the governor of a province and/or chief of local administration. This may lead to a conclusion that a bias against women is deeply embedded in the Thai culture and belief system.

The current Labour Protection Law [6] also prohibits pay discrimination. But in reality, as cited by Phananiramai (1995), the practice persists widely both in terms of employment and pay, in both public and private sector employment. Based on the Labor Force Survey report, it was found that the average monthly earnings of women in 1997 were about 30 percent lower than men as compared to 50 percent lower in 1980, indicating a narrowing of the gap over time.

6. Public Policy Responses

The Thai government though The National Commission on Women's Affairs has prepared a 20-Year Perspective Plan for Women (1992-2011). This document has been used as a basis for Five-year Development Plan for Women as well as to assist in the coordination and promotion of women in development. The relevant public policy recommendations will be drawn from this document along with other documents reported elsewhere concerning paid and unpaid workers.[7]

6.1 Policies Toward Gender Equity

The new constitution stipulates the equality between men and women. Thailand has also ratified the UN Convention on "Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women", whose main points are:

- To eliminate discrimination against women ensuring equality between women and men, especially for those who are employed and other circumstances.

- To protect women from various abuses, such protection includes women in both employment and family work.

The Thai government became increasingly aware of the plight of women when the United Nations declared 1975 as International Women's Year, and 1976-1985 the decade for women. The Thai National Economic and Social Development Board has included women since the Fourth Plan (1977-1981). The main problems cited in the plans are illiteracy rates among women, employment and wage discrimination, education and training opportunities, and social attitudes that reflect beliefs that men are more productive than women. The Plans have been criticized by Thomson (1990) for only recognizing women's problems without always specifying how and when they are to be solved.

6.2 Gender Planning

Through a special task force, the government initiated the first "Long-term Women's Development Plan (1982-2001) in 1981. Later on in 1995, the National Commission on Women's Affairs (NCWA) continued to follow up with another long-term plan for women in development in 1995. The Perspective Policies and Planning for Development of Women (1992-2011) launched by the NCWA forms the basis of a five year plan and assists in the coordination and promotion of women in development initiatives. The long-term plan is extensive, and covers socio-economic and cultural change, family, health, education, employment, social participation, environment, mass media, religion, prostitution, law, resources and research concerning women. The plan outlines the following basic strategies to promote women:[8]

[6] The law states that where the work is the same in nature, quality, and volume, the fixing of wages, overtime pay, and holiday work pay shall be equal regardless of the sex of employee.

[7] National Committee on the Perspective Plan and Policies for Women's Development, 1992-2011, National Commission on Women's Affairs (NCWA), Office of The Prime Minister, Thailand, 1995.

[8] The section is drawn directly from "Perspective Policies and Planning for the Development of Women (1992-2011), NCWA, 1995, p. 1-4.

- Central government organizations or mechanisms responsible for women in development should be further developed and promote networking among governmental as well as non-governmental agencies. Coordinating and networking should be both horizontal and vertical, all the way to the village level. In all undertakings, men should also be encouraged to participate.
- Initiate programs and projects with special reference to women.
- Integrate women in all programs and projects, both as beneficiaries as well as agents of development.
- Campaign for values and attitudinal changes related to women, especially those with negative connotations or stereotypes. Advocacy groups should be formed to encourage and open ways for women to participate more fully in economic and social development.
- Recognize the importance of information and the use of mass media with special emphasis on women's issues and status of women in order to create a common understanding and common needs so that goals can be achieved.
- Promote training in various subjects so that women can have knowledge and skills in determining societal changes.
- Recognize the family as a common social unit in promoting development equality and eliminate gender-based biases especially among children and youth.
- Revise laws and regulations to facilitate equality, both de jure and de facto.
- Collect and analyze information and situations to promote women in development as well as promote research related to women.
- Encourage various government agencies to include women in their projects and activities.
- Organize formal and informal groups to promote the protection of women.
- Promote policies related to women as a part of political platforms to all political parties.
- Instill a systematic exchange of information among organizations and agencies on innovations used for women in development. Distribute and disseminate information to help change the image of Thai women especially in international communities.

6.3 Policies to Increase Equality Between Paid and Unpaid Work.

Since there is only sketchy information on unpaid workers in Thailand, there is an urgent need for research on the characteristics and the economic and social benefits women may gain from such activity. However, based on the current knowledge, policy recommendations which are related to increasing equality between paid and unpaid work could address the following points:

(1) Since unpaid work (e.g., homeworkers) happens mostly around the household and community nearby, the roles of women and the family may not be greatly impacted. But to equip women with knowledge, modern skills and equal opportunities to enjoy a better quality of life, the following recommendations are needed:

- The burden of women must be reduced. This could be done by promoting the family, including child rearing and household chores. In order to increase campaigns to create an attitude of partnership between husband and wife and increase men's participation in family matters, campaigns to stimulate pride in fatherhood and its duties are needed;
- Women working in informal activities must also be protected by labour protection law and/or regulations, especially in dangerous areas and in activities with health hazards;
- Both government and civil society organizations should support training for women who are self-employed in order to improve administrative and managerial skills (i.e., entrepreneurs); and
- All parties concerned should be encouraged to provide knowledge in the fields of modern science and technology in addition to general knowledge outside the home.

It is unfortunate that efforts to address the above initiatives are not documented. However, the Social Insurance Scheme (SIS) implemented last year encouraged more participation by husbands in child care and domestic work. The new SIS-scheme extended the maternity leave of women from 60 days to 90 days under a

cost-sharing basis. The employer and SIS will share 50 percent of women's salary. The scheme also allows husbands up to one month's leave at the time of birth to help take care of the infant and domestic work.

(2) In order to encourage women to engage more in the paid work in the community, the following should be implemented:

- Daycare services established nearby to encourage mothers to breastfeed their child and to enhance infant care services;
- Better protection for illness caused by poor working environments and risky conditions must be improved by employers and subcontractors;
- Women should be encouraged to seek knowledge from various sources to develop themselves, their families and communities;
- Discrimination against women in all levels of education and training must be eradicated so that women can continue to improve their general knowledge, analytic and synthesizing skills;
- There is also an urgent need to eliminate other occupational discrimination. This could be done by encouraging women to form professional groups to improve their bargaining power;
- Sharing job information through all kinds of mass media must be encouraged and targeted to reach women's groups; and
- Laws, rules and regulations must be changed to improve welfare and protect self-employed women.

6.4 Policies to Provide Better Social Recognition of Unpaid Work

In Thailand, there are no *direct* policies to provide better social recognition of unpaid workers. The NCWA (1995) has summarized the problems concerning government and private agencies with respect to women and unpaid work:

- There is still a lack of understanding among various agencies regarding policies and plans on unpaid work.
- There are almost no networks to implement Women in Development policies that integrate unpaid work because government agencies do not understand its economic and social significance.
- The work of the private sector to support and integrate unpaid work activities still has very weak linkages with government agencies.
- There is no specific delegation of authority to any government organization to respond to the needs of unpaid workers.
- There is a lack of resources in development of women in this area.

To address these problems, there is an urgent need to create understanding and networks among government, private and business organizations, civil organizations, and others in the development of policy directions and plans. There is a need for trained personnel in both governmental and non-governmental organizations relating to self-employed women. There is a need for research to improve our understanding about women participating in self-employed work, especially unpaid activities, so that appropriate plans and actions can be developed to address these problems.

6.5 Toward A Self-sufficient Economy and Sustainable Development

Ever since the economic bubble burst, the Thai economy has been cushioned by the rural non-municipal sector. If Thailand had not maintained a large agricultural sector, the impact of the crisis would have been even more severe. This situation alerted authorities to the fact that the traditional safety net has been

neglected for many years, while attention was focused on industrial and service sectors with the hope that Thailand would soon become another Asian Tiger.

As a result of long-time neglect and mis guided policies, agriculture can no longer provide a sustainable livelihood to most rural people, especially the self-employed. Unpaid family workers have to depend more and more on income from the non-agricultural sector. The boom of non-farm sectors which was concentrated only in the central part of the country during the past decade drew people from rural communities and households. It created severe social impacts on household ties and rural social capital. To restore potential to this sector, new ways of thinking and new farming techniques are badly needed.

Most of the Thai people now acknowledge the wisdom in the speech given by His Majesty the King on December 1997 about the concept for a "self-sufficient economy." His Majesty the King reminded all of us about returning to the traditional agriculture sector. His Majesty the King also developed a new a approach to farming several years back by suggesting that farmers divide their land into four sections, 30 percent for a water pond to raise fish, 30 percent for rice crops, 30 percent for fruit trees and other non-rice crops, and the remaining 10 percent for residential use wherever appropriate. The residential areas could be used to raise chickens, pigs and vegetables. The main outputs from this practice would be mainly used in the family, and the surplus would be sold in the local market. This money could provide cash flow for the family. Hopefully, this concept will be developed and extended to rural families all over Thailand.

Time Use Case Study: Lopburi Province

To help us understand more about time allocation of males and females in such a practice, a family in Lopburi Province was interviewed in early February 1999. The results are as follows:

	Male %	Female %
1. Land preparation	100.0	0.0
2. Planting	34.8	65.2
3. Taking care of farm	41.7	58.3
4. Harvesting	56.6	43.4
5. Marketing	0.0	100.0
6. Total	42.9	57.1

More than 80 percent of time spent on household work is performed by women. Community work is shared equally by husband and wife. More than 90 percent of the public speeches or lectures and attendance in training is performed by the husband. The husband also entertains visitors who want to learn more about his farming practices.

The Social Working Group on Social and Economic Plan for rehabilitating Low Income Communities organized by the Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI) has developed recommendations to the government utilizing existing local resources to enhance the capacity of existing communities to respond to the crisis and improve the quality of life of both urban and rural communities.

The process is based on a multi-partite partnership and a people-centered approach. It starts with many organizations and/or communities engaging in addressing their own problems. This is organized by independent or collaborative groups or agencies, various existing consultative groups or groups that are to be established based on the needs of the communities. Several development agencies from both the public and private sectors form a network to accommodate this process. It is important that networking, coordination and collaboration exist among these organizations to support their collective activities. Through cooperation, the community will benefit from a vast array of technical assistance which can be provided in an effective and efficient manner. The key to the success of this model is that the communities must identify and rely on their own social capital and indigenous resources before they seek outside help. Currently, the government has taken these policy suggestions very seriously and has begun implementing this concept. It is our hope that if outcomes described in this section are realized, it should strengthen the linkage between paid and unpaid work.

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Thailand

Tables

Table 1 Percentage distribution of employment by work status - Thailand
(in thousands)

Status	Total	Whole kingdom		Municipal		Non-municipal	
		F	M	F	M	F	M
1998							
Total number	31,935	14,380	17,555	3,046	3,461	11,334	14,094
%		100.0)	(100.0)				
Employers	822	173	649	2	6	1	3
%		(1.2)	(3.7)				
Private employees	8,994.5	4,026.5	4,967.9	48.3	48.3	22.6	23.4
%		(28.0)	(28.3)				
Public employees	2,714.2	1,064.2	1,650.1	16.3	16.9	5.0	7.4
%		(7.4)	(9.4)				
Own-account workers	10,003.2	2,876.1	7,127.1	16.7	23.0	20.9	45.0
%		(20.0)	(40.6)				
Unpaid family workers	9,400.9	6,241.1	3,159.0	16.6	5.7	50.6	21.0
%		(43.4)	(18.0)				
1997	**Total**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**
Total number	32,942.8	14,937.5	18,005.3	3,045.1	3,625.5	11,892.4	14,379.8
%		(100.0)	(100.0)				
Employers	746.6	134.4	612.2	1.5	5.7	0.7	2.8
%		(0.9)	(3.4)				
Private employees	10,036.5	4,346.8	5,689.7	53.0	50.8	23.0	26.6
%		(29.1)	(31.6)				
Public employees	2,420.5	926.1	1,494.4	13.6	15.2	4.3	6.6
%		(6.2)	(8.3)				
Own-account workers	9,860.1	2,838.1	7,022.0	16.7	23.2	19.6	43.0
%		(19.0)	(39.0)				
Unpaid family workers	9,878.9	6,692.0	3,159.0	15.3	5.2	52.4	20.9
%		(44.8)	(17.7)				
1990	**Total**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**	**F**	**M**
Total number	29,956.2	13,942.2	16,014.0	2,221.8	2,737.5	11,720.4	13,276.5
%		(100.0)	(100.0)				
Employers	372.0	83.7	288.3	2.0	5.7	0.3	1.1
%		(0.6)	(1.8)				
Private employees	6,785.2	2,941.8	3,843.3	45.5	47.7	16.4	19.1
%		(21.1)	(24.0)				
Public employees	1,856.3	655.2	1,201.0	15.3	18.6	2.7	5.1
%		(4.7)	(7.5)				
Own-account workers	9,151.2	2,537.4	6,613.8	19.8	21.0	17.9	45.5
%		(18.2)	(41.3)				
Unpaid family workers	11,791.5	7,723.9	4,067.6	17.4	7.0	62.6	29.2
%		(55.4)	(25.4)				

Sources: National Statistical Office (NSO), Labor Force Survey on August 1990, 1997-1998.
Note: persons aged 15 years and above

Table 2 Labor Participation Rate of Thai Labor Force (in thousands)

Year	Municipal				Non-Municipal			
	Total	M	F	?	Total	M	F	?
1971	51.7	64.3	39.0	25.3	76.3	81.5	71.1	10.4
1975	50.9	63.0	38.7	24.3	71.5	77.5	65.5	12.0
1980	59.0	68.1	50.2	17.9	75.7	79.0	72.4	6.6
1985	60.8	69.0	52.9	16.1	75.9	80.9	70.9	10.0
1990	66.7	67.6	58.6	9.0	82.2	86.6	77.7	8.9
1997	67.1	75.4	59.2	16.2	73.0	79.6	66.3	13.3
1998	68.5	76.0	61.6	14.5	75.0	83.0	67.0	16.0

Sources: NSO, Labor Force Survey, Various Issues.
Note: Age of employed persons during 1971-85 surveys was 11 years old and over
Age of employed persons during 1990-97 surveys was 13 years old and over
Age of employed persons during 1998 surveys was15 years old and over

Table 3 Percentage of Labor Force by Work Status on August, 1995-1998

Work Status	1995		1996		1997		1998	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Total	45.4	54.6	44.9	55.1	45.3	54.7	45.0	55.0
Employers	19.9	80.1	19.8	80.2	17.7	82.3	20.6	79.4
Private employees	42.7	57.3	41.5	58.5	43.4	56.6	44.8	55.2
Public employees	36.3	63.7	37.3	62.7	38.0	62.0	39.4	60.6
Own-account workers	29.7	70.3	29.5	70.5	28.8	71.2	28.8	71.2
Unpaid family workers	68.2	31.8	69.4	30.6	67.7	32.3	66.4	33.6

Source: NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1995-1998.

Table 4 Percentage of Female and Male Labor Force by Work Status on August, 1995-1998.

Work Status	1995		1996		1997		1998	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employers	1.3	4.3	1.1	3.7	0.9	3.4	1.2	3.7
Private employees	26.6	29.7	28.3	32.5	29.1	31.5	28.0	28.3
Public employees	6.0	8.8	6.0	8.2	6.2	8.3	7.4	9.3
Own-account workers	19.9	39.3	20.4	39.7	19.0	39.0	20.0	40.6
Unpaid family workers	46.2	18.0	44.3	15.9	44.8	17.7	43.4	18.0

Sources: NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1995-1998.

Table 5 Percentage of Female and Male Labor Force by Occupation on August, 1995-1998.

Occupation	1995		1996		1997		1998	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Professional	5.7	4.3	5.7	4.1	6.4	4.4	7.0	4.6
Administrative	0.9	3.3	1.1	3.5	1.1	3.5	1.2	3.6
Clerical	4.8	3.2	4.6	3.2	4.9	3.0	5.2	3.0
Sales	14.9	8.1	15.4	8.6	15.4	8.8	16.7	9.1
Farmers	53.3	50.9	51.6	48.8	51.4	49.6	49.9	52.1
Transportation	0.4	7.0	0.4	6.7	0.3	6.7	0.5	6.3
Crafts Laborers	15.4	19.2	15.7	21.5	15.3	19.6	14.2	17.0
Services	4.5	3.9	5.5	3.6	5.1	4.2	5.3	4.2
Others	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

Source: NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1995-1998.

Table 6 Percentage of Labor Force by Industry on August, 1995-1998.

Occupation	1995		1996		1997		1998	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Total	45.4	54.6	44.9	55.1	45.3	54.7	45.0	55.0
Professional	52.5	47.5	53.3	46.7	54.4	45.6	55.8	44.2
Administrative	19.3	80.7	21.2	78.8	20.4	79.6	21.6	78.4
Clerical	55.4	44.6	54.0	46.0	57.0	43.0	58.5	41.5
Sales	60.4	39.6	59.2	40.8	59.2	40.8	60.0	40.0
Farmers	46.5	53.5	46.3	53.7	46.2	53.8	43.9	56.1
Transportation	4.2	95.8	5.0	95.0	3.5	96.5	5.7	94.3
Crafts Laborers	40.1	59.9	37.3	62.7	39.4	60.6	40.5	59.5
Services	49.0	51.0	55.5	44.5	50.3	49.7	50.7	49.3
Others	31.5	68.5	84.6	15.4	64.4	35.6	94.2	5.8

Source: NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1995-1998.

Table 7 Employed Persons by Work Status, Education, and Sex in 1987. (in thousands)

	Employer	Private Employee	Public Employee	State Enterprise Employee	Own Account Worker	Unpaid Family Worker	Total
Female	**101.9**	**2,490.3**	**588.5**	**56.2**	**2,431.4**	**6,502.8**	**12,171.0**
Less than Primary	69.9	1,473.5	51.2	15.3	2,127.7	4,743.7	8,481.3
Primary	8.0	496.4	13.5	-	174.6	1,430.8	2,123.2
Lower Secondary	13.2	148.4	46.3	3.5	70.6	178.3	460.3
Upper Secondary	5.2	211.1	106.7	11.5	37.5	86.1	458.1
College	5.2	151.9	369.5	25.9	13.8	53.2	619.6
Unknown	0.4	8.9	1.3	-	7.1	10.7	28.4
Male	**258.5**	**3,115.3**	**1,030.3**	**255.8**	**6,198.8**	**3,526.5**	**14,385.2**
Less than Primary	158.2	1,765.2	221.1	71.0	5,471.5	1,556.8	9,243.7
Primary	20.5	611.6	57.5	30.3	318.8	1,366.8	2,405.5
Lower Secondary	37.7	297.4	214.2	48.2	236.9	320.1	1,154.4
Upper Secondary	21.7	273.1	151.6	53.9	97.6	198.6	796.4
College	15.8	150.2	383.5	51.0	45.8	82.1	728.3
Unknown	4.7	17.9	2.4	1.5	28.3	2.2	56.9
Total	**360.4**	**5,605.6**	**1,618.8**	**312.0**	**8,630.2**	**10,029.3**	**26,556.3**
Less than Primary	228.1	3,238.7	272.3	86.3	7,599.2	6,300.4	17,725.0
Primary	28.5	1,108.0	70.9	30.3	493.4	2,797.7	4,528.7
Lower Secondary	50.9	445.8	260.5	51.7	307.5	498.4	1,614.7
Upper Secondary	26.9	484.2	258.4	65.3	135.1	284.6	1,254.5
College	21.0	302.1	753.0	76.9	59.6	135.3	1,348.0
Unknown	5.1	26.9	3.7	1.5	35.3	12.9	85.3

Sources: NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1987. **Note:** Persons aged 15 years and above.

Table 8 Employed Persons by Work Status, Education, and Sex in 1997. (in thousands)

	Employer	Private Employee	Public Employee	State Enterprise Employee	Own Account Worker	Unpaid Family Worker	Total
Female	**131.9**	**4,347.5**	**831.8**	**90.3**	**2,836.9**	**6,699.0**	**14,937.5**
Less than Primary	80.4	1,823.2	59.9	6.5	2,122.1	4,185.9	8,278.0
Primary	16.0	1,048.4	13.9	2.1	384.9	1,784.0	3,249.3
Lower Secondary	12.4	516.2	56.4	8.2	182.8	455.8	1,231.8
Upper Secondary	8.8	444.5	116.0	23.9	84.3	183.7	861.2
College	14.3	514.3	585.6	49.6	61.9	89.4	1,315.1
Unknown	-	0.9	0.0	-	0.9	0.1	2.0
Male	**612.7**	**5,669.4**	**1,204.6**	**298.8**	**7,027.7**	**3,192.0**	**18,005.3**
Less than Primary	352.8	2,269.7	205.9	50.0	5,364.0	805.4	9,047.8
Primary	55.9	1,545.2	63.7	36.5	847.4	1,591.8	4,140.5
Lower Secondary	75.7	799.0	225.1	49.5	480.6	506.4	2,136.4
Upper Secondary	53.5	533.8	187.8	63.7	232.9	240.7	1,312.4
College	72.8	520.8	522.1	98.6	99.8	47.6	1,361.8
Unknown	1.8	1.0	-	0.5	3.2	0.1	6.5
Total	**744.7**	**10,017.0**	**2,036.4**	**389.1**	**9,864.6**	**9,891.0**	**32,942.8**
Less than Primary	433.3	4,092.9	265.8	56.5	7,486.0	4,991.2	17,325.8
Primary	72.0	2,593.5	77.7	38.5	1,232.3	3,375.8	7,389.7
Lower Secondary	88.1	1,315.2	281.5	57.8	663.4	962.3	3,368.2
Upper Secondary	62.3	978.3	303.7	87.7	317.2	424.5	2,173.7
College	87.1	1,035.1	1,107.7	148.2	161.7	137.1	2,676.8
Unknown	1.8	1.9	0.0	0.5	4.1	0.2	8.5

Sources: NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1997. **Note:** Persons aged 15 years and above.

Table 9 Employed Persons By Work Status, Education, and Sex in 1998. (in thousands)

	Employer	Private Employee	Public Employee	State Enterprise Employee	Own Account Worker	Unpaid Family Worker	Total
Female	**170.3**	**4,029.4**	**937.7**	**124.2**	**2,880.7**	**6,238.2**	**14,380.5**
Less than Primary	96.5	1,499.0	68.5	11.6	2,070.1	3,747.0	7,492.8
Primary	25.4	970.9	14.1	5.9	402.0	1,628.1	3,046.3
Lower Secondary	11.1	622.8	58.4	12.0	214.1	526.8	1,445.3
Upper Secondary	13.3	407.4	133.5	28.1	118.8	238.8	939.9
College	24.1	529.1	663.2	66.6	71.7	97.4	1,452.0
Unknown	-	0.2	-	-	4.0	0.0	4.2
Male	**654.7**	**4,974.5**	**1,273.1**	**357.0**	**7,133.3**	**3,162.0**	**17,554.5**
Less than Primary	361.1	1,835.1	205.6	48.6	5,146.5	677.7	8,274.6
Primary	66.5	1,299.1	63.0	34.4	974.2	1,485.8	3,923.0
Lower Secondary	80.4	789.4	237.5	72.4	607.6	629.6	2,417.0
Upper Secondary	71.9	494.2	231.4	76.6	261.5	289.4	1,425.0
College	70.8	551.9	535.6	125.0	140.6	79.4	1,503.3
Unknown	4.0	4.8	-	-	2.8	0.1	11.7
Total	**825.0**	**9,003.9**	**2,210.7**	**481.2**	**10,013.9**	**9,400.1**	**31,935.0**
Less than Primary	457.6	3,334.1	274.2	60.2	7,216.6	4,424.7	15,767.4
Primary	91.9	2,270.0	77.0	40.3	1,376.2	3,113.9	6,969.3
Lower Secondary	91.5	1,412.2	295.9	84.5	821.7	1,156.5	3,862.2
Upper Secondary	85.2	901.6	364.8	104.7	380.2	528.2	2,364.8
College	94.9	1,081.0	1,198.8	191.5	212.3	176.7	2,955.3
Unknown	4.0	5.0	-	-	6.8	0.1	15.9

Sources: NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1998. **Note:** Persons aged 15 years and above.

Table 10 Increment Employed Persons By Work Status, Education, and Sex in 1998-1987. (in thousands)

	Employer	Private Employee	Public Employee	State Enterprise Employee	Own Account Worker	Unpaid Family Worker	Total
Female	**68.4**	**1,539.1**	**349.2**	**68.0**	**449.3**	**(264.6)**	**2,209.4**
Less than Primary	26.7	25.6	17.3	(3.7)	(57.6)	(996.7)	(988.4)
Primary	17.4	474.5	0.6	5.9	227.4	197.3	923.0
Lower Secondary	(2.2)	474.4	12.1	8.6	143.6	348.6	985.0
Upper Secondary	8.1	196.3	26.7	16.6	81.3	152.8	481.7
College	18.9	377.1	293.7	40.7	57.9	44.2	832.4
Unknown	(0.4)	(8.7)	(1.3)	-	(3.1)	(10.7)	(24.2)
Male	**396.2**	**1,859.2**	**242.8**	**101.2**	**934.4**	**(364.5)**	**3,169.3**
Less than Primary	202.9	69.9	(15.5)	(22.5)	(325.0)	(879.0)	(969.1)
Primary	46.0	687.5	5.5	4.1	655.5	119.0	1,517.6
Lower Secondary	42.7	492.1	23.4	24.2	370.7	309.5	1,262.5
Upper Secondary	50.2	221.1	79.8	22.8	163.9	90.8	628.6
College	55.0	401.7	152.1	74.0	94.8	(2.7)	774.9
Unknown	(0.7)	(13.1)	(2.4)	(1.5)	(25.4)	(2.1)	(45.2)
Total	**464.6**	**3,398.3**	**592.0**	**169.2**	**1,383.7**	**(629.1)**	**5,378.7**
Less than Primary	229.5	95.4	1.9	(26.1)	(382.6)	(1,875.7)	(1,957.6)
Primary	63.4	1,162.0	6.1	10.0	882.8	316.2	2,440.6
Lower Secondary	40.5	966.4	35.4	32.8	514.2	658.1	2,247.5
Upper Secondary	58.3	417.4	106.5	39.3	245.1	243.6	1,110.3
College	73.9	778.9	445.7	114.7	152.7	41.4	1,607.3
Unknown	(1.2)	(21.8)	(3.7)	(1.5)	(28.5)	(12.7)	(69.4)

Sources: NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1998. **Note**: Persons aged 15 years and above.

Table 11 Impacts of Crisis on Employed Persons By Work Status, Education, and Sex in 1998-1997. (in thousands)

	Employer	Private Employee	Public Employee	State Enterprise Employee	Own Account Worker	Unpaid Family Worker	Total
Female	**38.4**	**(318.1)**	**105.8**	**33.9**	**43.8**	**(460.8)**	**(557.0)**
Less than Primary	16.1	(324.2)	8.6	5.2	(52.0	(438.8)	(785.2)
Primary	9.3	(77.5)	0.2	3.8	17.1	(155.9)	(203.0)
Lower Secondary	(1.3)	106.6	2.0	3.8	31.3	71.0	213.4
Upper Secondary	4.5	(37.1)	17.5	4.1	34.5	55.1	78.6
College	9.8	14.7	77.7	17.0	9.8	7.9	136.9
Unknown	-	(0.7)	(0.0)	-	3.0	(0.1)	2.2
Male	**42.0**	**(694.9)**	**68.5**	**58.2**	**105.5**	**(30.0)**	**(450.8)**
Less than Primary	8.2	(434.6)	(0.3)	(1.4)	(217.5)	(127.7)	(773.2)
Primary	10.6	(246.1)	(0.8)	(2.1)	126.9	(106.0)	(217.5)
Lower Secondary	4.6	(9.6)	12.5	22.9	127.0	123.2	280.6
Upper Secondary	18.4	(39.6)	43.6	12.9	28.5	48.6	112.5
College	(2.0)	31.1	13.4	26.4	40.8	31.7	141.5
Unknown	2.1	3.8	-	(0.5)	(0.3)	0.1	5.2
Total	**80.4**	**(1,013.0)**	**174.3**	**92.1**	**149.3**	**(490.8)**	**(1,007.8)**
Less than Primary	24.3	(758.8)	8.3	3.7	(269.4)	(566.5)	(1,558.4)
Primary	19.9	(323.6)	(0.6)	1.8	144.0	(261.9)	(420.4)
Lower Secondary	3.3	97.0	14.4	26.7	158.3	194.2	494.0
Upper Secondary	22.9	(76.7)	61.1	17.0	63.1	103.8	191.1
College	7.8	45.9	91.1	43.3	50.6	39.7	278.4
Unknown	2.1	3.1	(0.0)	(0.5)	2.7	(0.1)	7.4

Sources: NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1998 **Note:** Persons aged 15 years and above.

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Network on Economic Development

Conference on
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Australia

by

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1. Context

The total number of women of employable age (15yrs+) in Australia is 7.4 million. Of this total, about half (3.6 million) are in the paid labour force and a further 334,000 are looking for full-time or part-time work (most recent data, ABS, 27/2/98). This represents 43 percent of all employees.

Two-thirds of people not in the labour force are women. Of these, 15 percent are still in the education system or have returned to education. Of the rest, significant numbers would seek work if it were not for constraining reasons, both personal and family. A further group is classified as "discouraged job seeker." This half of the female population will be discussed in more detail below.

While women constitute slightly more than half the population of Australia, only 54 percent participate in the workforce. However, this participation rate is increasing steadily, particularly in part-time work.

The labour force participation of women has steadily increased from 63 percent in 1987 to 70 percent in 1997, although the rate of this increase has progressively leveled off during the 1990s.

2. Paid and Unpaid Work

2.1 Paid Work

Of the women classified as being in the paid labour force, 42.7 percent are part-time or casual employees. Part-time work, including permanent part-time work, is increasingly the paid work position of women. At the same time, 6 percent of employed women held more than one salaried job in 1994, twice as many as in 1981. Women are more likely than men to hold a second paid job in all age groups (Junor, 1998).

2.1.1 Gendered nature of the workforce

The Australian workforce remains highly segregated, with women concentrated in clerical, sales, and personal service occupations (56%). The most significant recent change to this picture is the advances women have made in the professions where they are approaching half the total (48.96%). Management and administration remains an occupational sector dominated by men (75.7%), (ABS, 1998).

2.1.2 Casualization of the workforce

Between 1988 and 1998, the proportion of workers employed on a casual basis has increased from 17.6 percent to 26.9 percent. In 1998, 65.4 percent of part-time employment was on a casual basis, representing a slight drop from 1988. Australia is second only to Spain in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries with its proportion of casualization of the workforce.

However, much of the casual work is long-term. Data from the Australian Workplace Industrial Relations Surveys suggests that the average job tenure for casual employees is just over three years and 16 percent have been working in their current workplace for more than five years.

There were important gender differences in the incidence of casual work. In 1998, 32 percent of women were casual employees, up from 27 percent in 1988. For men, the incidence of casual employment more than doubled over the same period, rising to 22.6 percent in 1998, up from 10.8 percent.

Casual workers are becoming more marginalized. The long periods of time that many workers spend on casual rates is cheap for employers who are not required to pay for annual or sick leave.

2.13 Part-time work and women

According to Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) data, the proportion of employees working part-time rose between August 1988 and August 1999 from 19 percent to 28 percent. Three-quarters of part-time workers are women, though this has declined eight percentage points since 1988. For men, there has been a corresponding increase in part-time employment over the same period. The main feature of part-time work for women is their increasing proportion of permanent part-time work. Although this is also a feature of part-time work for men, the rate of growth is not so great.

2.1.4 One possible reason for the changes

The phenomenon of the growth in women's permanent employment, whether in full-time or part-time employment, needs to be explained.

Anne Junor (1998) has found that this growth was driven primarily by employer demand. Contrary to the rhetoric, it had little to do with overcoming the disadvantages of casualization or with meeting workers' needs to "harmonize" careers and family commitments. Employers were seeking both skills and flexibility. Mature-aged women recruited into administrative and customer service jobs brought with them a complex but under-recognized configuration of "articulation work skills."

Junor defines articulation skills to include a combination of information work, emotional labour, and time management. These skills combine the integration of technology with service delivery. The technology provides the information and the service delivery requires interaction with the public. This demands a range of interpersonal skills, including responsiveness and patience, and coping with sometimes hostile reactions. Further, it includes organizational skills, such as the anticipation of problems and bridging gaps; the management of interruptions and of the requirement to do several things at once, as well as remembering personal details and case histories, and an ability to follow up loose ends. (Junor, 1998: 6)

More fundamentally, permanent part-time employment also offered a means of generating additional value through enhanced productivity. This productivity is produced by time flexibilities based on some combination of three measures: an increased span of ordinary time hours, variable rostering, and the averaging of part-time hours over an extended period. In fact, Junor found that permanent part-time employment proved to be a more reliable source of flexibility than either casual or full-time work.

Junor points out that it is also possible to take the argument one step further. By allowing workers (mainly women) sufficient time to continue providing some household and community services outside the market system, part-time employment released the wages system from the full cost of reproducing labour power. It is unlikely that this was in the minds of the employers but it would be welcomed by governments who do not meet the potential demand for childcare, after-school care, etc., or cover for the voluntary services women provide and which would be demanded by full-time workers.

2.1.5 Adverse changes to paid work

Changes in the nature of waged employment are having a differential impact on groups like women, older workers, and people from non-English speaking backgrounds (NESB). Research has shown that these changes are profound and structural and not cyclical (ACIRRT, 1998: 14-23).

Adverse changes include the following characteristics:

Distribution. The distribution of working hours is inequitable and available work is not shared evenly or fairly. While 36 percent of employees are working a "standard" working week of 35-40 hours, some Australians are working excessive hours (32%), some (8%) are not working at all, and others are underemployed.

Duration. Since the mid-1980s, full-time workers have been working longer hours. This is true for all occupations. Furthermore, 20 percent of workers would like to work fewer hours, with managers and professionals being the most unhappy about their excessive hours. These workers are also less likely to

be paid for their overtime. Those workers with more traditional or set structures or who are paid overtime are happier with their hours. Overtime is worked on a regular basis by 27 percent of female employees and 43 percent of male employees. Female employees are more likely than their male counterparts not to be paid for their overtime (46 percent compared to 29 percent). Women are less likely than men to have overtime included in their salary package (Australian Women's Year Book, 1997: 92-3).

These figures have implications for occupational health and safety and are particularly manifested in an increase in stress leave. Among the OECD countries, Australia is second to the United Kingdom in the proportion of its workers regularly working more than 45 hours per week and a full 7 percent work over 60 hours per week.

Precarious employment. Other workers have less predictable work and security of hours. This is a result of the demand by employers for "flexibility." The downsizing of organizations has led to casualization and contracting out of part of the workforce. There has been a steady growth of contracted work and outsourcing. Research shows that contract employees are both undermining workplace standards and are having their own conditions undermined.

Intensity of work. Research conducted in 1995 and 1998 shows clearly that there is an increase in work pace, and tighter management and performance monitoring and control. This, together with workplace under-staffing, is leading to increased stress and decreased ability to balance work and family and social life.

Compensation. In the past, excessive hours of work have been compensated in various ways including overtime, night-time and weekend pay, and time in lieu. These compensations are rapidly being eroded especially by non-union enterprise agreements and individual contracts. There has been a decrease in the value of wages through the weakening of the relationship between hours worked and hours paid and an increase in annualizing salaries and wages.

Unpredictability. Changes relate to both shortening and lengthening working hours according to the needs of the workplace, unscheduled changes in rosters, and unpredictability in hours of work and therefore, for casual employees, in take-home pay. The unpredictable nature of the hours of work makes childcare arrangements extremely difficult and the precarious nature of the take-home pay calls into question whether childcare can be afforded. These factors are adding to the discouragement of women seeking to re-enter the workforce.

The new flexibility of work more often than not suits the employer more than the employee. The implementation is left largely to the discretion of middle managers and supervisors which often works against women workers.

2.1.6 Effects of Changes on Women

The changes outlined affect women directly because they are the group of workers most likely to be in part-time and precarious employment, with consequent lower incomes and less likelihood of benefits such as holiday pay, recreation and sick leave, and superannuation. They are also affected as men work longer, anti-social hours, thus placing even more of the family and childcare responsibilities onto women. With the reduced likelihood of men taking an increasing share of the caregiving responsibilities because of hours worked, the chances of a shift in the culture toward this end is also diminished.

From a woman's point of view, there may be certain stages in her life when she considers part-time work to be desirable (if the family unit can afford to forego a full-time wage). Theoretically, it enables mothers of small and school-age children to balance their family responsibilities, at the same time allowing women to maintain their skills and their position in the workplace. With the changes outlined above, working mothers are faced with serious childcare problems. Childcare providers want a commitment to specific times and hours. Women employees on the other hand, are often not able to give such commitments because of the "flexibility" which has been introduced into their working patterns, but which is determined by the needs of the workplace.

The childcare period is, however, often a temporary period in the full span of a women's working life. If

she has not secured her return to work after a break for childbearing and childcare, she may find that opportunities for re-entry to both the full-time and the part-time workforce have been curtailed and conditions, especially the hours of work, not family-friendly. This will, of course, depend on her skills and the type of industry she is seeking to enter. As we have seen, mature women are in demand in certain industries.

2.1.7 Home-Based Work

The significant developments in information technology (IT) and its relative accessibility, combined with the growth of information-based work, is changing both the nature of work and the place of work. Not all home-based work is based on or is dependent on IT. Some are outworkers, for example, doing piece work for the garment industry, but it is not possible on the ABS data to identify these people. Some may be working in another person's home; they may be concentrated in particular geographic areas; and some may not be willing to provide accurate answers to survey questions.

In 1995, a relatively small proportion of employed people worked most hours at home – 6 percent of employed females and 2 percent of males. A further 16 percent of women and 22 percent of men usually worked some hours at home. The number of women working from home increased from 186,200 to 230,700 during the period 1989 to 1995. Over the same period, the number of men increased from 80,300 to 112,600. Approximately half were own account or self-employed workers or contributing family members (AWYB, 1997: 97)

The occupations of women and men who worked from home differed. Fifty-five percent of women were in clerical occupations and 15 percent were salespersons or personal service workers. In contrast, 34 percent of men were in professional occupations and 22 percent were tradespersons.

2.1.8 Women and SMEs

So far, most of the discussion has focused on an assumption that women are wage workers in large organizations. However, just over 1 million women are employed in small businesses, of whom 313,400 are either employers or own account workers. In 1997, more than half (58%) of Australian businesses were two-operator businesses and 87 percent of these were male-female combinations. Women constitute approximately one-third of all small business owners and this proportion is growing faster than the rate for men. The ABS predicts that by the year 2000 SMEs will be owned mostly by women than men. Almost two-thirds of female-operated businesses have been established in the last five years, compared with half of the male-operated businesses.

Clearly, there are both push and pull factors at work. The flow of women from salaried employment into SMEs either as sole operators, employers, or employees will continue. In addition, women wishing to enter the workforce for the first time, or to re-enter the workforce but finding the opportunities restricted, may contemplate moving into SMEs.

The Australian Bureau of Statistics estimates that SMEs owned by women contribute 10-15 percent of GDP and probably contribute about 20 percent of private sector net employment creation.

The reasons women give for establishing their own business include the desire to escape the demands of large organizations, and to achieve flexible use of their time and thus better balance work and family responsibilities. Other reasons include the opportunity to control the enterprise and personal satisfaction. Many do not think in terms of entrepreneurship and expansion, perhaps for fear that this will increase the demands on their time and energy, and that is the very reason many women left large organizations. Underlying all this is women's responsibilities in the domestic sphere and as caregivers.

While their pre-existing skills are invaluable, the transition from one form of work to the other, and the upgrading of skills in, for example, information technology, and the acquisition of new, more relevant skills, such as business planning and market research, will be needed.

2.2 Unpaid Work

People not in the labour force are separated into categories according to their attachment to the labour force. Some have a close association with the labour force because they want to work and in some cases are looking for available for work. Those people looking or available for work partially satisfy the criteria for being classified as unemployed. They can be considered as having a strong attachment to the labour force.

In September 1997, 53,000 people were actively seeking work, 54 percent were women. In addition, 837,200 wanted to work, were not actively looking for work but were available to start work within four weeks. Seventy-two percent of these were women.

There is a cohort of women who can be described as "discouraged job seekers." Among their reasons for not actively seeking work are that they were considered too young or too old by employers; they lack the necessary education, training , or experience; they have difficulties because of language and ethnic background; and there is either no work in the locality or no jobs at all (Table 1).

Table 1 Main reasons given for not actively seeking work - "Discouraged job seeker."

	F (%)	M (%)	Total (%)
Considered too young or too old by employers	30.1	18.6	48.7
Lacked the necessary schooling, training, or experience	15.4	4.5	19.9
Difficulties because of language and ethnic background	12.2	4.1	16.3
No job in locality or line of work	16.2	10.0	26.2
No jobs at all	4.8	2.6	7.4

ABS, Persons not in the Labour Force, September 1997.

Apart from the discouraged job seeker, other reasons given for not actively looking for work could be labeled "personal reasons" and "family reasons." Personal reasons include own physical health/physical disability/pregnancy, had no need to work, wanting to give others a chance, welfare payments or pension may be affected, and had moved house or were on holidays when the survey was done. However, the overwhelming reason was because people were attending an educational institution (Table 2).

Table 2 Main reasons for not actively seeking work - "Personal Reasons."

	F (%)	M (%)	Total (%)
Own ill-health/physical disability/pregnancy	54.3	47.0	101.3
Attending an educational institution	84.7	87.8	172.5
Had no need to work	25.2	9.1	34.3
Give others a chance	3.4	0.8	4.2
Welfare payments or pension may be affected	8.9	5.4	14.3
Moved house or holidays	11.5	6.1	17.5

ABS, Persons not in the Labour Force, September 1997.

The family reasons for not actively seeking work included the ill health of others than self and other family considerations, but overwhelmingly the reason was childcare (Table 3).

Table 3 Main reasons for not actively seeking work - "Family Reasons."

	F (%)	M (%)	Total (%)
Ill health of others than self	14.5	2.2	16.7
Childcare	200.2	6.2	206.4
Other family considerations	59.2	4.3	63.4

ABS, Persons not in the Labour Force, September 1997.

There is one further consideration. We might call it “degree of commitment.” There are women in unpaid work situations who say they would like to work if all kinds of conditions were met – such as the ones listed above and even if their husbands approved! Their degree of commitment is not clear. These women have been described as having a "marginal attachment to the workforce" but it is very possible that, provided the conditions were met, they would opt for work – possibly part-time work.

2.2.1 Value of Unpaid Work

The ABS measures unpaid household work and volunteer and community work under the “total unpaid work." These activities constitute the so-called non-market sector which deploys, without pay, a large amount of human labour for the production of goods and services which are directly consumed by households without going through the market. Although these activities are “productive” in the broad sense of the term, they are, with some exceptions, not included within the main production boundary of the System of National Accounts (SNA). They have, however, been recorded in the “satellite” accounts.

A widely accepted principle for determining the scope of total unpaid work is the “third person” or “market replacement” criterion:

“Household production consists of those unpaid activities which are carried on, by and for the members, which activities might be replaced by market goods and paid services, if circumstances such as income, market conditions and personal inclinations permit the service being delegated to someone outside the household group.” (Reid, 1934, 11, quoted in Goldschmidt-Clearmont, L.; *Unpaid Work in the Household*, ILO, 1984).

Using this method, the value of total unpaid work in Australia for 1992 is estimated to have been A$227.8 billion. This represents an average hourly rate of A$12.17.

Women were estimated to have contributed about two-thirds of the dollar value of total unpaid work. They also contributed 20 percent of their daily time compared with 10 percent contributed by males.

International comparisons show Australians apparently contributing more to GDP through unpaid work than other nationalities. This may be due to methodological differences in calculations, or it may be due to cultural factors, such as, for example, a high level of home ownership and the predominance of detached housing with gardens.

2.2.2 Voluntary Work

Time spent on voluntary work and care activities includes unpaid voluntary work for community organizations, caring for adults, and doing favours for family and friends outside the household. Time spent per day on voluntary work and care by women was slightly more than for men. For the people who participated in these activities, males spent longer but fewer of them participated.

Both males and females spent a similar amount of time on unpaid voluntary work. Differences between time spent by males and females were evident in caring for adults and helping doing favours. Although fewer males participated in these activities, they spent, on average, more time on both of these activities than females (ABS, 1997: 7).

3. Who Uses the Data

Data produced by the ABS is used by all government departments and by a wide range of academics and businesses. It is considered reliable and the methods by which calculations are made are transparent. The list given below is indicative only.

3.1 Australia Bureau of Statistics (ABS)

The ABS itself uses the data it collects. The Time-Use Survey shows how people allocate their time to activities such as paid and unpaid work and allows for analysis of such issues as gender equality, caregiving, and balancing family and paid work responsibilities.

The ABS says that patterns of time use have assumed increasing importance as a means to measure the productive value of households as economic units. The data collected by the latest survey (1997) will be used by the ABS to derive a monetary value for all forms of unpaid work to update measures that assist analysis of the national accounts for the household sector.

3.2 Office of the Status of Women (OSW)

OSW is responsible for monitoring the development of government policy to ensure that it does not adversely affect women. The Office, in partnership with the ABS, annually publishes the *Australia Women's Year Book (AWYB)*. The latest issue was in May 1997. The year book looks at women's position across a broad range of areas including employment, income and income support, and women's role in voluntary work, as well as living arrangements, health, housing, education, employment, crime and justice, and decision-making. Data is included wherever possible, to allow for monitoring the progress of women over time. Comparative data for women and men are presented following international guidelines. It is recognized that comprehensive, accurate, and up-to-date statistics are essential if government is to develop economic and social policy that meets women's needs.

3.3 Affirmative Action Agency

The Agency was established to administer the Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act 1986. Its main functions are to provide advice and assist employers on the development and implementation of affirmative action programs; monitor the position of women in the labour force and promote an understanding of affirmative action through community awareness and educational programs.

3.4 Department of Employment, Workplace Relations and Small Business (DEWRSB)

Within this department, there is a Work and Family Unit which provides advice and assistance to individuals and organizations who have an interest in getting work and family initiatives on the work agenda. The unit produces a range of publications including on each of the features which make up family friendly workplaces.

Since 1992, DEWRSB, in conjunction with the daily newspaper, *the Australian Financial Review*, has made awards to public and private sector organizations for family friendly workplaces.

3.5 Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC)

As well as investigating and conciliating complaints of discrimination, HREOC also monitors the effects of legislation and other societal changes on women and other groups. Its Flexible Working Hours and Women Project produced *Stretching Flexibility: Enterprise Bargaining, Women Workers and Changes to Working Hours* in October 1996.

3.6 Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DETYA)

There is a decreasing number of women participating in vocational education and training. To address this issue, the National Strategy for Women's Vocational Education and Training was developed to set "a direction for governments, industry and training providers to ensure that the needs of women are consistently addressed as a priority in policy making, planning, resourcing, implementing and monitoring vocational education and training." The Strategy advocates the sensitive and consistent use of Recognition of Prior Learning (Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs Vocational Education, Employment and Training Women's Taskforce, 1996: 16).

The Australian National Training Authority (ANTA) has funded a wide range of projects in 1997-98 to support the Strategy. Innovative aspects of the programs include customized learning materials, supported self-directed learning groups, on-farm networking and after hours access to support services.

The Small Business Professional Development (Best Practice) Program is a Commonwealth-funded, State and Territory operated program concerned with the development of a better and more widespread training capacity within small business. It was begun in 1995-96 and has been piloting various approaches, including mentoring.

4. Impact on Public Policies

4.1 Linkages between unpaid work and HRD Policy

When considering preparation of unemployed women for the workforce, the following cohorts must be taken into account:

- Those who have never worked – unfortunately a large number of youth and now even second generation members of families;
- Those who have been made redundant in industry restructuring; and
- Women who wish to re-enter the workforce following temporary withdrawal due to childbearing or other family responsibilities.

Almost one-quarter of women re-entering the labour force have not had a job for 10 years or more. A further third have been out of the workforce for five to nine years. Eighty percent of women seeking to enter the labour force were employed while the remainder were looking for work. The likelihood of being employed decreased as the length of time since their last employment increased.

4.2 Issues for Women wishing to enter or re-enter the workforce

It is clear from the discussion above that issues affecting women's entry into the workforce are much wider than their skills and training needs. The changes to the nature of work and the nature of the workplace which have been set in train in the past two decades, as well as a decline in family incomes and the increase in the cost of childcare are perhaps the most critical factors.

Women who have been out of the workforce for five years or more are likely to be not only out-of-date with work-place practices, but may also need to upgrade their information technology skills. In addition, they may suffer a loss of confidence and uncertainty because of their isolation from these changes.

4.3 Overcoming the Barriers

Methods used for overcoming barriers for women's participation in the paid workforce can be generalized as "facilitating" or “enabling" conditions. These conditions also affect women's ability to participate in education and training programs.

4.3.1 Facilitating conditions

- Mobility
- Cost of transport and courses
- Appropriate courses
- Suitable times and locations of courses

Women in business or wishing to move into business either as an emp loyee or on their own account recognize the need to upgrade their skills or that they need new skills. Berrerra and Robertson (1996: 52) list the areas of training most often requested by women to include financial management, business planning, marketing and promotion, management experience, self-confidence building, and industrial relations.

Recent research conducted by the author on the Business Training Needs of Rural Women in the state of Victoria arrived at very similar conclusions. Rural women wanted "business development skills", such as marketing, financial planning, business planning, productivity enhancement, and leadership and negotiation skills; and "core business skills" such as computer skills, budgeting, practical farming topics, bookkeeping, accounting, and personnel management, in that order (McKay and Christie, 1999: 20).

Since courses of these kinds are provided by a wide network of Technical and Further Education (TAFE) Colleges, the question must be asked why women have not increased their participation in these courses in recent years despite an increase in resources devoted by governments to them. Still and Timms (1997: 36) have identified several barriers to women's participation:

- courses are perceived to be male dominated
- entry criteria are restrictive and
- timing of courses conflicts with women's caregiving responsibilities.

In addition, Still and Timms found that information about government training and assistance programs is too fragmented and requires greater streamlining and proactive marketing strategies.

These researchers found that women prefer training in short, flexible modules which lead to credentials, is relevant to business survival and growth, and which is associated with appropriate follow-up. The provision of training should include women-only groups, women trainers and consultants, visible female role models, networking and mentoring programs, opportunities to learn in groups, and alternatives to TAFE courses for the less academically inclined.

The recent research referred to above concerning rural women once again generally confirmed these findings though rural women were happier to take classes with men perhaps because rural women in Australia are very often better educated than their spouses. Partly because of costs and time taken with travel, and also because TAFE courses are not run if class sizes fall below 15 participants, rural women would like learning materials, including videos, which they could follow with close neighbours and friends (McKay and Christie, 1999: 18-19, 26).

Relevant to this paper are the study provisions which may be in workplace agreements and training programs provided in the workplace. One large finance company (see below) has a good policy on recognition of prior learning and work-based learning which leads to degree accreditation from the University of Technology, Sydney. It also conducts Executive Development and Leadership, Advanced Management Development, Applied Business and Springboard (for women in non-management positions) programs. Women are given overseas experience to increase their potential for promotion to senior management.

4.3.2 Enabling Conditions: Flexibility in the Workplace

In theory, flexible work practices allow organizations to operate effectively and assist employees in effectively managing work and family responsibilities. It also allows employees choice and versatility in ordering their lives. Examples of these work practices are:

- flexible working hours
- part-time work
- job sharing
- career break schemes
- working from home
- part-year employment
- family leave
- parental leave
- childcare and eldercare provisions.

The results of a family-friendly workplace can include:

- a reduction in employee absenteeism, lateness and stress
- greater availability in the workplace for overtime, travel, shift work and training
- increased employee motivation and commitment to the workplace.

These improvements can translate into benefits for the organization or business in the form of:

- increased employee productivity
- reductions in recruitment and training costs as staff retention is increased
- improvements in attendance rates and reduced sick leave costs
- maintenance and enhancement of workplace skill levels
- a motivated workplace with loyal, diligent, and enthusiastic employees
- ability to attract skilled, efficient labour, encompassing a diverse range of workers
- compliance with industrial and anti-discrimination legislation.

5. Private Sector Strategies

Although the public sector is ahead of the private sector in granting the conditions which add up to "family-friendly" workplaces, a combination of factors is driving medium and large firms in this direction. Among these factors are the desire to comply with legal requirements and the costs of compensation.

Under affirmative action legislation, organizations with a workforce above a certain number of employees are required to report annually on their policy and movement toward equity goals. Most conform even though the penalties for non-compliance are minimal. Of greater significance is the possibility of court act under the 1984 Sex Discrimination Act and various state and territory anti-discrimination acts. Dismissal due to family responsibilities may constitute an unlawful action. Liability may also arise in respect of unfair dismissal claims under industrial legislation. For example, in 1993, the Industrial Relations Commission of New South Wales found the dismissal of a woman because of her absence from work for a sick child was "harsh, unreasonable and unjust."

Among other factors pushing firms toward changes in their workplace practices are the changing nature of work with the decline of unskilled labour and the increase in knowledge-based workers in whom an employer may have a lot invested or who would be costly to replace. Some companies are also benefiting from the policies of a new generation of managers who are aware of the increase in productivity (and the reduction of costs) which result from these workplace practices.

5.1 Enterprise agreements replacing award regulated work

Changes have been steadily introduced since the 1980s when workers were persuaded to enter into a "social contract." Wage increases were frozen but workers could negotiate for other advantageous conditions in lieu. Enterprise bargaining agreements were formally introduced in October 1991, not as a new direction but as a continuation of an increasing focus on the workplace, rather than the industry, in wage negotiations. The changes represent a recognition by both employers and employees that strike action was too destructive to livelihoods and that industry could not bear greater demands for improved pay and conditions and remain internationally competitive. Improved pay and conditions had to be traded against increased productivity.

The Workplace Relations Act of 1996 gave this shift to workplace negotiations a considerable push. It also reduced the role of unions in the negotiating process. The Act guarantees a "safety net" of 20 "allowable matters" which preserve fair and enforceable minimum pay and conditions. Other matters which include childcare, flex-time, and home-based work are negotiable. The Act provides a "no disadvantage" test, making the awards and conditions of 1996 the minimum benchmark.

One of the intentions of the Act was to encourage the spread of regular part-time work involving reasonably predictable hours of work and pro rata conditions and allowing a clear distinction from casual employment. The Act also places priority on helping workers to balance their work and family responsibilities and highlights the importance of preventing discrimination, including on the grounds of responsibilities. In addition, workplaces are required to report on enterprise bargaining developments and their impact on women, part-time employees, and immigrants. It acknowledges the application of the 1984 Sex Discrimination Act and ILO Convention 156.

Despite all the time spent in developing agreements, less than a quarter of the women surveyed by HREOC reported any significant changes to the hours, days, or times worked. This was because some of the changes made to working time arrangements were implemented partly or not at all. The lack of implementation suggests that some changes sought by employers are speculative or related to anticipated future arrangements. This means that it is very difficult for workers and unions to tally the cumulative impact of proposed changes. This situation should be monitored over an extended period of time. One of the problems with this is that one of the monitoring authorities, HREOC, has been downsized and another authority, the Australian Industrial Relations Commission which records the certification proceedings, has acted in a mechanical rather than investigative way (HREOC, 1996: 10-11).

5.2 Efficiency and Productivity

Government promotion and the rhetoric of those companies which have espoused a family-friendly workplace claim benefits in efficiency and productivity of family friendly work practices. But there has been no research which gives a comprehensive accounting of these benefits.

Robin Kramar of Macquarie University was commissioned in 1996 by the NSW Department of Industrial Relations to write *The Business Case for a Family Friendly Workplace*. Apart from presenting the arguments, she includes steps by which workplaces may act and simple formulae to show how costs of absenteeism, turnover, training, and performance differences may be calculated (Appendix C).

5.3 Men and Workplace Conditions

Finding a satisfactory balance between the demands of family life and the workplace is not confined to women. The case which follows demonstrates that men, in a male dominated workplace like the railways, have for a long time been able to manage some flexibility in their work practices to accommodate family concerns. From being negotiated informally, these practices have gradually been built into management practice.

A research project into Westrail commissioned by the Work and Family Unit of the Department of Workplace Relations and Small Business collected information on work and family issues from 109 male employees from non-traditional families including sole fathers, non-custodial fathers, and from workers

from non-English speaking backgrounds, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander workers, workers with family of origin responsibilities, and those with disabilities.

Westrail provides many family-friendly work conditions including parental leave, flex-time (for administrative positions), adoption leave, bereavement leave, leave for Aboriginal employees to attend meetings convened under the Aboriginal Affairs Act, and an entitlement to attend counseling under the Employee Assistance Program during working time without having pay deducted. Other general work-family entitlements include shift exchange where employees may freely exchange shifts in order to fulfil family responsibilities and an EEO child-care register of facilities to assist employees in placing their children in appropriate care.

Many of the policies, practices, and conventions were developed in response to conflicts that railway workers have always had to contend with in reconciling work and family issues, such as shift work, relocation, and working away from home. Interestingly, the development of some of these policies and practices preceded the development of any formal welfare state (ICAS Pty Ltd: 1995).

5.4 Men and Childcare

In 1992, research was conducted into 84 companies in Victoria and Tasmania concerning childcare. Of the 40,000 respondents, 47 percent were male. Of these, just over half (53%) came from private sector companies. Twenty-four percent of fathers (and 37% of mothers) reported difficulties managing and caring for children (ABS: 1994).

Data collected for the Work and Childcare Advisory Service also clearly showed that fathers were finding work and family to be a juggling act. The findings show that 54 percent of males had difficulties with care arrangements including problems when a child was ill (27%), cost of care (24%), and availability and hours of care (22%). Sixty-eight percent reported some negative impact on work from caregiving responsibilities (compared with 85% of women), caused by lateness for work, leaving early, or interruption during the day because of problems with care arrangements. One-third of men indicated they had to take time off work when under school-age children were sick and 29 percent indicated they would like childcare facilities near their work (Morgan and Charlesworth: 1997).

Although there has been an increase in the number of men availing themselves of family-friendly conditions, especially parental leave and home based work, these conditions still largely benefit women.

5.5 Family Friendly Workplaces

Some workplaces have gone beyond the terms of the Act in their provisions and practices to make their workplace family friendly. (The term "work/life balance" is not yet common in Australia.) These organizations provide examples of best practice and have been acknowledged in national awards, such as that conducted by the Department of Employment, Workplace Relations and Small Business and the *Australian Financial Review* newspaper.

5.6 Case Studies

The following case studies have been selected from the 1998 winners of the awards to illustrate the range of industries in which best practice can be found.

- **Finance**

AMP is a long established mutual benefit society (financial, superannuation, insurance, investment, and management) which in 1997 demutualized and was launched on the Australian Stock Exchange. AMP was the gold award winner in 1998.

Size: 5,633 employees and one-third of the workforce have dependents. Fifty-eight percent of the total workforce is female; its target is 50 percent.
Sites: 60 locations around Australia.
Practices: All the practices listed above in 4.3.2. In 1995, AMP was the first Australian company to offer six weeks paid parental leave for male and female employees and is still one of the few which offers paid parental leave to men.
Outcomes: In 1997, the company had a very high retention of women staff. No senior women left, 11 percent turnover for women was lower than for men, 90 percent of women returned to work from maternity leave. As a result of the 1997 Enterprise Agreement, all employees' remuneration is now packaged. This change resulted in nearly 2,000 "unpackaged" female employees receiving an increase in employer superannuation of 2.5 percent (from 8% to 12.5%). There was a 100 percent increase in flexible jobs.

Home based work is an option which has been in operation for one unit for more than four years. Productivity has increased 20 percent, turnover has dropped, and there have been no resignations in the past year.

The company believes that critical to its success is the commitment of its CEO and senior management to cultural change in general and to increasing diversity in particular. This rhetoric is backed up with action: each business unit has an affirmative action implementation plan and progress is monitored statistically every quarter or half-year.

- **Petroleum Industry**

Mobil Oil Australia Ltd. is a refiner and marketer of a broad range of petroleum products in Australia and the Pacific Islands.

Size: 1,912 employees, 367 females, 1,545 males.
Sites: 23 locations.
Practices: Most of the practices listed above. Known in the company as "Balancing Work and Personal Needs" because not all employees are married or responsible for dependent care.
Outcomes: Retention rates of women beginning parental leave have increased from 42 percent in 1996 to 72 percent in 1997. Both men and women use flexible work times for family reasons. Eleven people have used childcare referral services successfully.

- **Municipal Government**

The City of Melbourne is the capital of the state of Victoria and is a focus for business, international trade, arts, entertainment, and sporting activities.

Size: 968 employees: 481 females and 487 males.
Sites: 18 locations.
Practices: Most of the practices listed above. Provisions include a Baby Room on site, "Keep-in Touch" programs, counseling and health programs.
Outcomes: Staff surveys have revealed on-going concerns about work-family issues which were to be addressed in the following year. Measurement of retention rates, etc. was begun.

- **Professional Services**

Dunhill Madden Butler is a national commercial law firm based in Melbourne.

Size: 28 partners supported by 157 staff, 122 females and 58 males.
Sites: 4 locations.
Practices: Most of the practices listed above. These were introduced in 1996 following the work of a large group of professional employees undertook research and developed the policy. This includes the requirement of the managing partner to monitor and manage the policy.
Outcomes: A number of staff, including partners, use flexible working hours, 16 staff have used special family leave, and there are three job-share secretarial positions.

- **Utilities Provision**

Sydney Water Corporation is the biggest water company in Australia serving more than 3.8 million residential customers and 73,000 businesses.

Size: 4,777 employees, 973 females and 3,804 males.
Sites: 130 Locations in greater Sydney.
Practices: Most of the practices listed above including home-based work on a temporary basis and to address specific needs and tele-working at the discretion of the local business unit and work-based childcare at two locations.
Outcomes: Since these practices came into force in the early 1990s, there have been decreasing levels of absenteeism, the number of employees working part-time has almost doubled, and there is an increasing number of women being employed. Most of these are choosing part-time work. This has occurred at a time when the overall workforce numbers have almost halved.

6. Conclusions

The research done by HREOC (1996) and the Australian Centre for Industrial Relations Research and Training (ACIRRT) (1998) and that done by progressive companies demonstrates the congruence between the desires of workers, both men and women, with regard to their hours, flexibility, and other conditions of work, a company's profitability and the "health" of the workplace.

This raises the question as to why such family friendly practices are not the norm.

6.1 Management

One conclusion is that Australian management culture generally is stuck in outdated and unresponsive work practices. This is confirmed by an Australian Government sponsored study undertaken between 1992 and 1995 which is highly critical of Australian management practices (Industry Task Force on Leadership and Management Skills, "The Karpin Report", 1995.) Ultimately this should be to the detriment of the company as it spends more on labour force replacement costs and inefficiencies caused by absenteeism to cover family responsibilities. Companies have found that the up-front recognition of the worker in a holistic way, for example, having a life and responsibilities beyond the workplace and

making provision for this in workplace practices, actually "buys" greater loyalty and productivity from the worker.

- **Role of Department of Employment Workplace Relations and Small Business (DEWRSB)**

The greatest protection of women workers will be in the maintenance and strengthening of minimum standards, the application of a comprehensive no-disadvantage test of the Workplace Relations Act 1996 and the maintenance and strengthening of consultation requirements.

- **Role of the unions**

The study commissioned by HREOC says that unions have been largely reactive in their approach to enterprise bargaining. Few have developed comprehensive policies which identify employee preferences for flexibility and take a strategic employee-oriented approach to changes to working time (HREOC,1996: 9).

- **Role of the Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DETYA)**

Since VET makes a vital contribution to training and re-training for the workplace, it is essential for women's participation that VET provisions be women friendly. The VET Action Plan for Women is a highly commendable development but its place at the institutional level is fragile. It has not yet been fully embedded in the culture of all individual institutions and thus is constantly under threat by financial cuts.

7. Recommendations to the APEC HRD Working Group

Generally, to develop a broader recognition and understanding of work and employment and to harmonize work and family responsibilities for women and men by:

- putting the issue of unpaid work back on the agenda and acknowledging the current dual burden on women and families, with attendant implications for government provisions such as childcare;

- promoting recognition of the contribution of women's unpaid work to the System of National Accounts and argue a case for policy change such as tax concessions;

- identifying the barriers to women moving back into the workforce;

- arresting women's declining participation in Vocational Education and Training and to inform and improve the provision of VET to overcome the barriers to women's participation and to generally make it more attractive to women;

- promoting the wide range of characteristics which make for family friendly workplaces and the economic benefits of introducing such conditions; and,

- recognizing the contribution to society of voluntary work done by both women and men, its contribution to the strength of civil society, and the effects on participation in voluntary work by excessive pressures in the workplace.

Appendix A: Definitions Relating to Australian Data

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) is a statuary body whose work is independent of political interference. It is responsible for the national census in all its forms and undertakes commissioned work for the private sector. It is experienced in collecting and analyzing time-use data which is also disaggregated by gender.

Three time-use surveys have been conducted in Australia. After a trial survey in NSW in 1988, a nationwide survey was published in 1992. The next survey was done in 1997 and published in December 1998.

Gender disaggregated statistics continue to be reported and analyzed in annual ABS publications such as the *Year Book Australia* and *Australian Social Trends.*

Definitions

The ABS divides the activities on which people spend their time into four categories or types of time use:

- *Necessary time* - activities which are performed for personal survival, such as sleeping, eating, and personal hygiene;
- *Contracted time* - activities such as paid work and regular education where there are explicit contracts which control the periods of time in which the activities are performed;
- *Committed time* - activities to which a person is committed because of previous social or community interactions such as setting up a household or performing voluntary work and the consequent housework, childcare, shopping, or provision of help to others;
- *Free time* - the amount of time left when the previous three types of time have been taken out of a person's day, which is devoted to social interaction, recreation and leisure.

Other terms of relevance to this study are:

- *Part-time work* - any time less than 35 hours is classified as part-time. Part-time work may be temporary, permanent, or involuntary. In all cases, workers are covered by the terms of the Workplace Relations Act (WRA) 1996. The WRA defines a "regular part-time employee" as someone who works less than full-time ordinary hours, who has reasonably predictable hours of work, and who receives, on a pro rata basis, equivalent pay and conditions to those specified in an award or awards for full-time employees who do the same kind of work. Awards can include a minimum number of consecutive hours the employee may be required to work and provisions for a regular pattern of hours worked, maximum and minimum hours of work for regular part-time employees are not allowable.

- *Casual work* - either part-time or full-time and of a non-tenured nature. None of these workers is entitled to either annual or paid sick leave. Included in the definition for ABS purposes are persons operating their own incorporated business.

- *Contract work* - may be of two kinds:
  -legally binding, fixed term arrangement with an employer with a high degree of certainty about the job duration and conditions. Under the Workplace Relations Act 1996 such an employment contract cannot undermine the appropriate award and the employee must be offered at least the equivalent of the appropriate award;

  -employment through employment agencies where the employee is legally working for the agency who determines the place of work. As employees of the agency, workers are entitled to employee protections under the Workplace Relations Act 1996. This type of work is a growth area in Australia but from a small base.

Appendix B: Social/Economic Safety Nets in Australia

Federal Minimum Wage (FMW)

Australia has a history of almost 100 years of a guaranteed minimum or "basic" wage. In April 1997, the Australian Industrial Relations Commission established a FMW at A$359.40 per week for full-time adult employees, with proportionate amounts to junior, part-time, and casual employees. The FMW also applied to certain other categories of employees such as apprentices, trainees, and employees under the supported wage system. The FMW is reviewed annually and in April 1998, the FMW was increased to A$373.40 as a "safety net adjustment."

Data from the 1995 Australian Workplace Industrial Relations Survey shows that safety net adjustments go disproportionately to lower paid workers. However, they are still below the OECD definition of the low paid as less than two-thirds of median earnings. This would be A$410 per week for full-time employees based on data from the ABS series Weekly Earning of Employees (Distribution).

On the other hand, compared with certain other OECD countries, the ratio of minimum wages to median full-time earnings in Australia (57.8%) is much higher than New Zealand (45.6%), Canada (41.5%) and the United States (38.8%).

Direct Government Assistance

A wide range of social security payments are provided on a means-tested basis by the Commonwealth Government. These cash transfers to the low paid and the unemployed have a large impact on people's standard of living.

Newstart Allowance (unemployment assistance) is paid to people over 21 years of age at the following rates:

Single, no children	A$325.70
Single, with children	A$352.30
Partnered, each receive	A$293.80
Partnered, over 21 years of age with children	A$293.80

Other forms of assistance include age pensions, Maternity Allowance, Parenting Payment, childcare assistance, educational support payments, and disability payments.

Many of these direct transfer payments are provided to those in paid employment. For example, a typical low-income couple with children will receive the Family Allowance and, if one partner is at home full-time with children, they may receive the Parenting Payment (partnered). The family may be in subsidized government housing but if renting privately, could be eligible for Rent Assistance. The family could also be eligible for a Health Care Card which provides access to various subsidies. A sole parent in low paid employment might receive part rate parenting Payment (single) and if so, will receive the Guardian Allowance, Family Allowance, possible Rent Assistance and a Pensioner Concession Card. Both families will also be eligible for the Family Tax Payment and may receive the Childcare Cash Rebate and Childcare Assistance to reduce the cost of childcare.

Other initiatives to assist individuals and families include the Family Tax Initiative and the Family Tax Payment; a targeted rebate of 18 percent to individuals who make superannuation contributions of up to $3,000 on behalf of their spouse; a rebate for private health insurance; and the Youth Allowance.

All wage earners and others with taxable incomes must pay a health care levy.

All wage earners must contribute at least 5 percent of their salaries to a superannuation fund and this contribution is matched by their employer. Men over 65 years of age and women over 61 years of age whose income from other sources does not exceed A$835.60 (US$557) in the case of single people and A$1,397.20 (US$932) in the case of couples, are eligible for an age pension.

The following table shows that wage income units in the lowest quintile receive a significant amount of their income through direct cash benefits. These benefits are means-tested. The table also illustrates the progressive nature of the income tax system. For example, for wage income units in the top quintile, income tax represents 30.9 percent of total cash income compared to only 12.6 percent for wage income units in the bottom quintile.

Table 1 The estimated composition of weekly cash incomes of persons in income units with at least one adult employed full or part-time as a wage and salary earner - average income components, by quintile, May 1999.

Dollars	Private income	Cash transfer income	Total cash income	Income tax	Disposable income	Equivalent disposable income
First (Bottom)	476	125	601	76	525	384
Second	759	54	813	156	657	550
Third	1,000	18	1,018	233	785	733
Fourth	1,176	3	1,179	296	883	955
Fifth (Top)	1,924	2	1,926	595	1,331	1,560
All	1,067	41	1,108	271	837	837

Source: Commissioned STINMOD microsimulation as at May 1999 based on the ABS 1994-95 and 1995-96 Continuous Income and Housing Survey, NATSEM, January 1999.

Appendix C: The Case for Family Friendly Workplaces

Costs of Absenteeism

Kramar quotes a 1993 survey of the Australian workforce which found that:

- working parents take an average of 9.9 days off work per year to care for children;
- about 3.5 of these days were to care for sick children;
- almost one-third of respondents had taken time off in the previous 12 months to care for parents, parent-in-law, a spouse, partner, or other relative.

The costs of absenteeism include:

- cost of paying the employee both wages/salary and other benefits while not producing;
- costs of supervisor's time in managing absenteeism;
- costs associated with overtime, production losses, inefficient material usage.

A simple way of assessing the costs of sick leave is:

Take salary and add employer costs @ 30%. Thus, if an employee on $30,000pa - divide by 240 days takes 10 days sick leave a year- multiply by number of days absent

$$\frac{\$30\,000 + 49\,000}{240} = \$1{,}625$$ - total = cost of days absent

The cost of the employee being absent on sick leave is $1,625 or 4.9% of salary costs (Kramer, 1996: 10).

Costs of turnover

Turnover refers to a voluntary or an involuntary departure from the organization. Costs include separation costs - exit interviews, administrative functions, and separation pay and replacement costs - advertising, selection, and training.

An example of recruiting costs for a junior management post is:

Human resource costs 20 hours @ $20 per hour	$ 400	
Stationary and copying		$ 300
Management costs		
- 5 hours shortlisting @ $50 per hour	$ 250	
- 16 hours interviewing @ $50 per hour	$ 800	
Advertising in national newspaper and specialist journal	$3,000	
Total	$4,750	

A number of Australian organizations have estimated the costs of replacing staff:

- NRMA (automobile association) estimates that it costs $48,000 to replace managers, $29,000 to replace senior specialists, $21,000 to replace specialists and $12,000 to replace other staff.

- Westpac Banking Corporation calculated it costs $40,000 to replace a staff member with eight years experience and $60,000 to replace a senior manager.

- In 1990, the Australian Manufacturing Councils "Automobile Division estimated the cost of replacing a manager was $77,000 and the cost of replacing two clerks was $32,000.

- **Training costs**

When an employee is new to a position, the organization will probably provide formal training away from the job and/or training on-the-job with an experienced employee.
Costs associated with training include:

- overheads including informational and instructional literature;
- instruction under a formal training program; and,
- instruction while on assignment.

Example of training costs:

Cost of training a personal assistant (salary $30,000) on a five-day in-house training program:

Informational and instructional literature, equipment & material	$ 200
Premises	$ 200
Trainer's costs (salary, 35 hrs @ $30 per hour) divided between 10 trainees on the course	$ 105
Trainee's costs (salary, 35 hrs @ $20 per hour)	$ 700
Temporary cover expenses (average)	$ 300
Total	$1,505

When an employee leaves an organization, the benefits of the employee's on-the-job and off-the-job training and education are lost. It is not only the skills which are lost, but the corporate knowledge and an understanding of how work is done in the organization. The banking industry has estimated that it cost $65,000 - $80,000, excluding recruitment costs, to retrain a person to the same level of experience as a employee who leaves after 7 to 10 years' experience. Esso Australia assessed the training investment in experienced employees as at least $100,000 per person.

Performance differences

There are also costs associated with the difference in the work performance of an employee who leaves, compared with his or her replacement who is likely to be less efficient for some time. The time, of course, will vary with past experience, the work expected and the new skills required. The lower performance can also adversely affect the performance of those people dependent on the person's output. An example of the costing of performance difference follows:

A replacement employee earning $30,000pa is initially 60% efficient (A) and 40% inefficient (A to B) and he/she becomes 100% efficient after one year (C).
Cost of limited work performance = ABC = 0.5 x 1 x 0.4 x $30,000 = $6,000
(Kramar for NSW Department of Industrial Relations, 1996).

Appendix D Tables

Table 1. Value of Voluntary Work

	1992	1992	1992	1992	1997	1997	1997
Sex/Employment Status	Weekly Hours	Wage Rate	Population	Value of Voluntary Work	Weekly Hours	Wage Rate	Popula
	(hr)	($/hr)	('000)	($ million)	(hr)	($/hr)	('000)
Female	0.7	12.17	6,911.6	3,078.58	0.82	14.03	7,398.5
Male	0.46	12.17	6,699.4	1,960.95	0.7	14.03	7,160.2

Source: DEWRSB.
Methodology: Weekly hours column based on 4153.0 (*How Australians Use Their Tim*e, page 1. The 1992 wage rate is based on table 5, 5240.0, *Unpaid Work and the Australian Economy - Occasional Paper* (the methodology for calculating the rate was the individual function replacement cost method, which is the ABS preferred method. It involves assigning values to the time spent on unpaid household or voluntary work according to the cost of hiring the market replacement for each individual function). For 1997, 1992 wage rate was multiplied by 15.3% as this was the growth in average weekly earnings over this period. The population data was taken from the ABS PC *Austats Labour Force Database*: annual average population figures were formed from monthly population data. Finally, the value of voluntary work for the years 1997 and 1997, is calculated by hours multiplied by wage rate multiplied by population multiplied by 52.2857 (i.e 366 days/7) for 1992 and 52.14 (365/7) for 1997.

Table 2. Value of Unpaid Household Work

	1992	1992	1992	1992	1997	1997	1997
Sex/Employment Status	Weekly Hours 1992	Wage Rate 1992	Population 1992	Value of Unpaid Household Work	Weekly Hours 1992	Wage Rate 1992	Popula 1992
	(hr)	($/hr)	('000)	($ million)	(hr)	($/hr)	('000)
Female	33.53	11.14	6,911.6	134, 983.37	32.55	12.92	7,398.5
Male	16.97	11.14	6,699.4	66,219.5	17.27	12.92	7,160.2

Source: DEWRSB
Methodology: Weekly hours column based on 4153.0 (*How Australians Use Their Time*, page 17). 1992 wage based on figure in table 2 from the 5240.0 *Unpaid Work and the Australian Economy - Occasional Paper* (the methodology for calculating the rate was the individual function replacement cost method, which is discussed in the 5240.0). For 1997, the 1992 wage rate is multiplied by 16% as this was the growth in average weekly earnings for the (broadly comparable) personal and other services sector over this period. The population data was taken from the ABS PC *Austats Labour ForceDatabase*; annual average population figures derived from Monthly population data. Finally, to obtain the value of unpaid household work for those years, hours are multiplied by wage rate population, by 52.2857 (i.e 366 days/7) for 1992 and 52.14 (365/7) for 1997.

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A Gender Perspective in Examining Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work in Indonesia

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1. The Indonesian Setting

The debate on unpaid work, especially done by women, sets rich and poor economies apart. Women in rich economies, who are not gainfully employed are therefore invisible (Gibb, 1998). But they are fighting, with some success, for recognition of housework, care for children, sick, and the elderly, voluntary work, and work in political organizations in their national economies. In poor economies such as Indonesia, most women who join the labour market do so for family or household survival. There is a tendency to maximize labour in poor households and as long as the marginal returns are positive, additional labour continues to be added to a household enterprise. Many women simply help fathers, husbands, other relatives, or even neighbours to keep the family enterprise going, whether in subsistence agriculture, cottage industry, or street vending. In other cases, in exchange for their services, they are given free meals. In either circumstance, they receive no actual payment for their services. Statistically, they are referred to as unpaid family workers.

Even when hailed as one of the East Asian miracle countries (World Bank, 1993) before the economic crisis hit in August 1997, Indonesia's labour market was still predominantly non-formal,[1)] absorbed in non-legal based businesses. The introduction of numerous deregulation measures during the 1980s, led to structural changes in the labour market. Reliance on agriculture declined and export-led industrialization increasingly expanded employment opportunities in industry and the services sectors, in legal-based enterprises or otherwise referred to as the formal sector. In the meantime, educational opportunities and achievements expanded and rose, and the better educated wanted, and some were getting, jobs in formal sector enterprises where they were paid salaries or at least regular wages. Consequently, the workforce was formalizing, albeit slowly because of Indonesia's enormous population size, already more than 200 million persons living in an archipelago counting some 13,000 islands across the equator. With the economic crisis, the tides have turned and Indonesian workers are increasingly again forced to rely on non-formal sector activities, the traditional cushion in difficult times.

It is within this dichotomy of formal and non-formal sector workers that we shall examine the linkages between paid and unpaid work. More specifically the purpose of this paper is to examine whether there are linkages between paid and unpaid work and if so, why those linkages have surfaced. More specifically, a gender perspective and urban-rural distinctions will also be reviewed.

The distinction between formal and non-formal sector workers is based on a classification of workers by their status. Following ILO recommendations, workers are statistically differentiated into four categories: self-employed; employers; employees; and (unpaid) family workers. While the formal and non-formal sector dichotomy is all inclusive of the work force,[2)] in examining the relation between paid and unpaid workers, we prefer to rely on a subset only of those who 'work' for others providing their labour only. Among those working for others, some receive payment while others do not. In this framework, paid workers will be regarded as employees and unpaid workers as unpaid family workers.

Another reason for focusing on unpaid family workers is the gender perspective. As described below, unpaid family workers is a category strongly associated with females. The unpaid family worker status for males is usually a classification given when they are young. When they get older and marry, they are usually categorized as self-employed. Besides, on their part, many women continue to perceive themselves as only "assisting" their husbands (*bantu-bantu suami*, Djamal 1996: 232-250) even when they obviously run the business and their husbands are assisting them. This asymmetrical relation is socially accepted and legally supported. According to the 1974 Marriage Law (*UU Perkawinan No. 1/1974)*, men are heads of households responsible for the well being of their families (Article 31:3) while women are wives responsible for household management (Article 34) (Luhulima and Ihromi 1998).

2. Data Sources

Independent Indonesia has a fairly long history of macro population and labour force data collection. In fact, the first macro data collection exercise was the 1958 Labour Force survey. This was followed by the 1961 Population Census and the National Socio-Economic Surveys conducted between 1963 and 1970 by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS for *BPS*). After the second Population Census of 1971, the CBS has conducted numerous other population-based surveys such as the intercensal population surveys known as *SUPAS*, national socio-economic surveys known by its acronym *SUSENAS* and labour force surveys commonly referred to as *SAKERNAS*. Population censuses are now conducted once every decade in years ending in zero and the *SUPAS* in years ending in five. As the need for statistical data rises, and especially for current information, so have the frequency of the surveys. Today both the *SUSENAS* and *SAKERNAS* are conducted annually in February and August.[3)]

Early macro labour force analyses during the 1970s focussed on size and trends in composition, including distributions by socio-demographic factors distinguishing groups of population. The size of the labour force was an issue due to changes in definition, classification, and also imputation rules during data processing. All these factors have different implications for women and men (Jones, 1974, 1981; Bukit and Bakir, 1984; Bakir and Manning, 1983; World Bank, 1983; Rucker, 1985; Cremer, 1990). The need to distinguish between 'signal' and 'noise' in the labour force, where 'noise' arises from 'erratic' inclusion of 'unpaid family workers' was proposed by Korns (1987), who examined a whole range of different data sources. In addition to the earlier findings of variables affecting labour force data, causing different results in the labour force, instruments, sequence of questions, and size or length of instrument, all appear to also have an impact. For that reason the analysis below shall rely on only one series, the *SAKERNAS*.

3. Definitions

In their labour force data collection procedures for the *SAKERNAS*, the CBS claims to have relied on definitions recommended by the ILO. The following definitions for inclusion in the labour force have been used since 1976:

- **Labour force**: Persons of 10 years old and over who were working, temporarily absent from work but having jobs which are categorized as employed, and those who didn't have work but were looking for work..
- **Working**: All persons who worked for pay or assisted others in obtaining pay or profit for the duration of at least one hour during the survey week.[5).]
- **Temporarily absent from work, but having jobs**: All persons who had jobs but were temporarily absent from work for some reason during the survey week.
- **Did not have work and looking for work**: All persons who did not have any job but were looking for work during the survey week. This is usually called open unemployment.
- **Work Status:** is the status of a person at the place/establishment where he/she works.
- **Self-employed without assistance of other person(s)**: is a person who works at his/her own risk without the assistance of his/her family members or employees.
- **Self-employed assisted by family members or temporary workers.**
- **Employers with permanent workers**: are persons who do their business assisted by paid permanent workers.
- **Employees:** are persons who work for another person or an institution for pay in cash or in kind.
- **Unpaid family workers:** are persons who work **without pay** in an economic enterprise operated by **other members of the family**, relatives, or neighbours**.**

4. The Context of Indonesian Workers

The following discussion will focus on the period between 1986 and 1997, before the crisis. This time frame is partly dictated by data availability and also by the economic dynamism of the period. Regrettably, the detailed impact of the crisis can not be addressed in this paper as the results of the *1998 SAKERNAS* are not yet released (at time of writing).

Between 1986 and 1997 the working age population, here defined as 10+, grew from 123 to 157 million persons (Table 1). Females constitute slightly more than half. Overall labour force participation

remained fairly stable, between 57 and 58 percent, rose slightly for males from 70 to 72 percent, but remained constant for females at around 44 percent.[6] Overall work force participation (percent for the work force over the working age population) also hardly changed, between 55 and 56 percent. Similarly, for males work force participation varied between 68 and 69 percent, and for females the variation was between 42 and 44 percent.

Open unemployment, however, rose faster for females (from 2.6 to 6 percent) than for males (from 2.6 to 4 percent) since the mid-1990s[7] (Table 2). These numbers were consistent with the prevailing optimism arising from steady rapid economic growth. More people wanted to join the labour market. Even though we agree with Manning (1998) that those with upper secondary education or more and seeking work or waiting for a "better" job were no longer limited to the elite,[8] they were still hopeful to obtain better paying jobs in the formal sector labour market. Consequently, the proportion of new entrants into the labour market among the openly unemployed rose substantially, overall from 74 to 82 percent, for males somewhat faster (71 to 79 percent) than for females (from 80 to 85 percent). About three-fifths of the unemployed have completed upper secondary schooling or higher.[9]

The general assumption that formal sector employment is preferred over non-formal sector activity also applies to Indonesian workers. A definite preference for paid work[10] was recorded in favour of unpaid family work. Overall the share of paid workers rose from one-fourth to one-third, among males from three to four out of every 10 workers and among females from 2 to 3 out of every 10 workers (Table 3). Unpaid worker status is quickly deserted when an opportunity comes along. Overall the share of unpaid workers declined from three to two-tenths, among males from 16 to 9 percent and among females from 50 to 37 percent.

These data show an inverse relation between the shares of paid and unpaid workers. The relation is, however, not a straight line. It is not true that those not entering or leaving unpaid jobs necessarily become employees. In fact, other trends also occurred over time and these changes are different for males and females. Earlier we said that with age and marital status, men move into the self-employed status. Yet this category also declined for males from 54 to 50 percent, implying the less desirable nature of the status and therefore also to be left when opportunities become available (Table 4). While most became employees, a smaller proportion became employers (0.8 to 2.2 percent). Women remain at least a step behind. Rejection of unpaid work was accompanied by a rise in the share of self-employed among female workers from 30 to 34 percent, and to a lesser extent also among employers, 0.3 to 0.8 percent.

The implications of these trends are clear. When the opportunity arises, not just men but women too will strike out on their own. They start as self-employed, initially relying on family or household labour and eventually possibly expanding, using hired labour. At times though, women are socially considered by others as well as by themselves as subordinate to men. When their businesses grow, they are often taken over by their husbands. By then they either revert back to being unpaid workers or they exit from the labour market to take care of their families.[11] Thus, as the economy continued to grow resulting in a growing middle class, the share of women as housekeepers also rose (from 28 to 32 percent, Table 5). This phenomenon had been observed before based on a slanted **J**-curve, relating education as proxy for social class, with labour force participation. Female labour force participation declines to the lowest point among those with lower secondary schooling and rises rapidly thereafter (Oey-Gardiner, 1991; Rahardjo and Hull, 1984).

Even though no feminization occurred among paid workers over the decade, there was a fairly strong tendency toward feminization among urban paid workers. In other words, paid employment opportunities grew at a similar pace for men and women. Hence the share of women among total paid workers (urban and rural) remained fairly constant at around 30 percent (Table 6). While it is true that among urban paid workers women made significant inroads, in rural areas, women were losing ground. The share of females among urban paid workers rose from 28 to 33 percent, but declined in rural areas from 32 to 29 percent. The decline in the share of females among rural paid workers is attributed to two factors. One was the departure of rural women with potential to enter the formal sector in urban areas, and two, a more rapid increase in rural paid employment opportunities for men.

As men rapidly left unpaid activities, women constituted a rising share among unpaid workers. Overall, the share of women among the total unpaid workers rose from 67 to 71 percent, among urban unpaid workers from 67 to 69 percent, and among rural workers from 67 to 71 percent. This phenomenon is a

function of very different age compositions between male and female unpaid workers. Men perform unpaid work when they are young. Women, especially those with little human capital, are more likely forced to perform unpaid labour throughout their working lives. Consequently most elderly unpaid workers are female.

In sum, as the Indonesian economy grew between 6 to 7 percent per annum from the mid-1980s to before the 1997 financial crisis, workers increasingly were able to obtain paid employment and unpaid work was shunned. The benefits from expanding paid employment opportunities were not only enjoyed by men (30 to 39 percent) but also by women (20 to 29 percent). To take up paid employment they left their unpaid jobs when possible (among men the decline was from 16 to 9 percent and among women from 50 to 36 percent). On the other hand, men were one step ahead of women. Men also left their own 'businesses' where they were self-employed (from 54 to 50 percent). Women, on the other hand, became more independent, establishing their own 'businesses' as self-employed workers (30 to 34 percent). Even though urban paid workers numbered more females, and rural paid workers numbered more males, on average the share of females among paid workers remained fairly stable over the period. On the other hand, women assumed more unpaid work as men abandoned such jobs.

5. Better Educated Workers

The shift from unpaid to paid work occurred as the population and therefore also the work force became better educated. As suggested earlier, unpaid work is to be abandoned for paid work whenever possible. The opportunity to abandon unpaid work comes with education. Due to the size of the Indonesian work force, even during the period of rapid economic growth, paid employment opportunities did not grow as fast as expansion of education opportunities and the output of the system. Paid job seekers exceeded available opportunities. Some of these paid job seekers joined the ranks of unpaid workers while waiting for a 'proper' job to come along.

Rising education is denoted by the percentage of LSS+ (lower secondary schooling or more). Among the total work force this group made up 17 percent in 1986 and 33 percent in 1997 (Table 7). Of course urban workers are much better educated (rising from 43 to 57 percent) than rural workers (from 11 to 21 percent). Males are better educated (21 to 37 percent) than females (11 to 27 percent). The gender gap is narrowing faster than the urban-rural gap. The urban-rural gap for males remained fairly stable at 35 percentage points but widened for females from 26 to 35 percentage points.

As the education of all workers increased, so did the education of paid and unpaid workers. Paid workers are much better educated (rising from 38 to 54 percent) than unpaid workers (only rising from 9 to 21 percent). Over time the education gap between paid and unpaid workers widened (rising from 29 to 33 percentage points between 1986 and 1997).

But that is not where the story ends. As paid employment is more likely available in urban areas, the urban-rural education gap widened more among paid workers than unpaid workers. Among paid workers the urban-rural education gap rose from 28 (55 – 27 percent) to 34 (70 – 36 percent) percentage points while among unpaid workers the rise was only from 28 (36 – 8 percent) to 30 (47 – 17 percent) percentage points.

There was a noticeable gender difference in the education gap between paid and unpaid workers. For males, the education gap between paid and unpaid workers narrowed from 26 (42 – 16 percent) to 22 (55 – 33 percent) percentage points between 1986 and 1997. For females, the education gap widened, from 24 (30 – 6 percent) to 36 (52 – 16 percent) percentage points.

These patterns are the result of different mobility experiences between men and women in moving out of unpaid work into paid work and from rural to urban areas. For both males and females, the education gap between urban and rural paid workers widened. For male paid workers, the urban-rural gap rose from 29 (58 – 29 percent) to 35 (72 – 37 percent) percentage points and for females from 27 (47 – 20 percent) to 35 (68 – 33 percent) percentage points. Among male unpaid workers, however, the urban-rural gap narrowed from 33 (47 – 14 percent) to 30 (58 – 28 percent) percentage points, while for females the gap widened from 25 (30 – 5 percent) to 28 (40 – 12 percent) percentage points. Most striking is the rapidly narrowing education gap between males and females paid workers from 12 (42 – 30 percent) to 3 (55 – 52 percent) percentage points while widening for unpaid workers from 10 (16 - 6 percent) to 17 (33 – 16 percent) percentage points.

What happened within the context of linkages between paid and unpaid work? While education is increasingly necessary to obtain paid employment, it is not sufficient to obtain paid employment as such opportunities lagged behind educational attainment. Paid jobs are more available in urban than in rural areas, and women had relatively greater access to paid employment openings. Following the patterns in East Asian countries, women have benefited disproportionately from export-led industrialization as paid employment became more accessible to the better educated and those willing to brave the urban labour market. Consequently, the education gap between paid and unpaid workers widened, and between urban and rural workers; but the gender gap in education narrowed. As the period was also characterized by different gender mobility dynamics, the education gap between male and female urban paid workers is rapidly narrowing while widening among unpaid workers.

6. Aging Workforce

Earlier statements of preference for educated youth by employers should be set within the context of an aging work force. One of Indonesia's success stories has been fertility control through extensive provision of family planning services. As a result, the population and by extension the workforce is getting older. As the proportion of youth is declining the proportion of older ages has to rise.

The last decade has seen a fairly sharp decline of new entrants into the labour market. The proportion of workers age 10-24 years declined from one-fourth to one-fifth between 1986 and 1997 (Table 8).[12] Most of the decline occurred among rural workers (from 27 to 21 percent) while the share of new entrants into the urban workforce remained fairly constant at around one-fifth.[13] By the time of the crisis there was a convergence in the youthfulness of the urban and rural workforce.

The decline of new entrants was also sharper among females (28 to 22 percent) than males (24 to 20 percent) for reasons already mentioned. As the economy grew, so did the middle class. Some women, who regarded themselves as only "helping" their husbands as secondary earners, became housekeepers when the need to contribute to household resources lessened. The opportunity cost of staying home taking better care of their husbands and children outweighed the benefits from unpaid work, especially among rural women. Most of them would have been involved in agriculture. Over time the farmers' terms of trade worsened, rendering unpaid work in agriculture of little value.

A different picture appears from the relation between paid and unpaid workers in regard to age. Paid workers are older than unpaid workers as the share of new entrants is much lower among paid workers. Overall about one-fourth of paid workers are new entrants and the same is true of urban paid workers. As urban workers dominate the overall numbers of paid workers, the slow decline of the youth among rural paid workers has had little effect on the total. Unpaid workers are much more youthful but are slowly aging as the share of new entrants declined from about one-half to around 40 percent, a trend also experienced by rural unpaid workers. Even though not as pronounced because of fluctuations resulting from rural-urban migration, a decline among young unpaid workers in urban areas had also been revealed, albeit at a much slower pace.

These results support our earlier contention that unpaid work is a temporary status and a stepping-stone while waiting for either an opportunity to obtain paid employment, or to strike out on one's own, as self-employed. Paid employment, however, is a status maintained throughout one's working life.

The gender breakdown shows very different patterns and trends. Among paid workers, women are younger than men are, as the share of new entrants is substantially higher among women (about one-third) compared to men (about one-fifth). The gender differences among urban paid workers are even more pronounced (women around 40 and men less than 20 percent) than among rural paid workers (females one-third and males one-fourth). Again this is a function of the relative recent growth in paid employment created by modern businesses concentrated in and around major cities which tend to favour young and educated women.

The opposite pattern has been recorded among unpaid workers. Male unpaid workers are much younger than female unpaid workers are, even though for both an aging process was occurring, and faster for women. In the mid-1980s one-third of female unpaid workers were age 10-24 years, and before the crisis about one-fourth. Among males the decline was only from 80 to 74 percent. Again the aging process is more a rural than an urban phenomenon.

The following observations have been recorded. First, as the overall workforce is "aging" so too are paid and unpaid workers. Second, the aging process, as measured by a decline in the percentage of new entrants, 10-24 years old, is more a rural than an urban phenomenon. Third, as rural workers were younger than urban workers were, there appears a convergence in the share of new entrants between urban and rural workers. Fourth, unpaid workers are much younger than paid workers are. But, as the better educated youth are more likely to obtain paid employment, the avoidance of unpaid work for paid work among youth has also contributed to an age convergence between paid and unpaid workers. Fifth, as women not only avoid or abandon unpaid work for paid work, but also for household responsibility, the decline in the share of young unpaid workers is faster among women than men.

The above analysis has provided some flavour of the complexity of the relationship. This serves as a warning that no simple solutions can solve complex problems, especially not those caused by the economic crisis.

7. The Aftermath of the Crisis

Indonesia is suffering an economic and financial crisis of unprecedented magnitude. After achieving decades of rapid growth[14)] and reducing the incidence of poverty from 40.1 percent in 1976 to 11.3 percent in 1996 (BPS, 1996), the economy is now near collapse. Eighteen months after the crisis began, the Indonesian currency has lost more than 70 percent of its value against the US dollar.[15)] Inflation has soared to 77.63 percent for the calendar year 1998 (*Suara Pembaruan* February 1, 1999). The economy has swung from rapid growth to even more rapid contraction, and the stock exchange has lost much of its value.[16)] Capital and entrepreneurs have fled following racial riots in mid-May 1998. Foreign creditors have withdrawn their funds and practically no new investments have been made. Unfortunately, the crisis was exacerbated by the worst drought in 50 years, and international oil prices registered a sharp decline. Businesses have had to rationalize and open and under-employment is rapidly expanding, leading to widespread poverty. In response a variety of social safety net programs have been introduced.

Mass retrenchments were one of the most widely discussed consequences of the crisis. Starting with construction sector workers in late 1997, as the Rupiah continued to weaken there followed retrenchments in textiles, garments and leather goods, electronics, metal products, automobile and machinery manufacturing. Young and relatively well educated women lost their jobs as a result of closure of numerous factories, especially in the foot-loose and export oriented industries (textiles, garments and leather goods, and electronics). While some returned to their home villages toiling on the land, others tried to make ends meet while staying in the city. Whatever their circumstances, many of these workers are experiencing a downward spiral in their standard of living as prices of goods and services continue to rise.

In early March 1999, the discourse focused on the liquidation of some 30 to 40 private banks and the merger of four state banks, causing massive retrenchments of some 33,000 skilled workers among whom a substantial proportion are women. Most of the financial sector workers are well educated. A good proportion had completed some sort of post-secondary education. During the boom years, when managers were in short supply, bankers were better paid than other occupations. Retrenchment for bankers carried very different meaning from that of factory workers. It can be anticipated that while waiting for another job to come along, these well-educated workers will turn to further invest in their human capital by attending school or other training programs.

7.1 Estimating the Impact on Unemployment

In early 1999, as the impact of the crisis unfolds, disaster and hardship estimates are being questioned. As the crisis wore on, a number of agencies produced estimates, apparently rather exaggerated but in line with the politics of poverty. The Ministry of Manpower (MOM) announced in April 1998 that there were to be 13.4 million unemployed (*Suara Pembaruan*, 4 April 1998). By July the estimate had further escalated to 15.4 million and was feared that it could reach 18-20 million (*Kompas* 21 July 1998). More recently, MOM estimated 13.7 million unemployed for 1998 and 16.86 for 1999 (*Kompas*, 19 February 1999). The National Planning Board (*BAPPENAS*) arrived at 12.4 million for 1998, and the ILO task force claimed 9 million unemployed in 1998 (1998).

7.2 Data Based Measures of the Crisis Impact

Preliminary tabulations from the latest *1998 SAKERNAS* show far lower numbers of unemployed. Based on preliminary tabulations for the population 15+,[17] BPS recorded the unemployed to number only 4.2 million persons or 4.7 percent in 1997, and 5.1 million persons or 5.5 percent of the labour force in 1998. In urban areas there was an increase of 3.2 percent and in rural areas 2.4 percent. Women recorded a much stronger increase in the workforce than men, not only in relative but also in absolute terms. The female workforce expanded by 1.4 million persons or 4.2 percent while among males the increase was only 900,000 or 1.7 percent. Fewer women could remain as housekeepers, which declined by almost 700 thousand persons or 2.7 percent between August 1997 and 1998.

Besides unemployment, the impact of the crisis is also reflected by paid workers. Men have borne the brunt of the crisis. Of the net decline in paid workers of 1,472,400 only 33,500 or 2 percent were females. In an economy like Indonesia, the loss of paid employment is of course compensated by a return to unpaid work and also self-employment, basically the categories associated with non-formal sector activities. As the loss of paid employment was more severe among men than women, the rise in unpaid workers and the self-employed was much sharper among men than women. Male unpaid workers expanded by 12.1 percent and female unpaid workers by 6.9 percent. Among the self-employed, males expanded by 6.6 percent and females by 5.5 percent.

In contrast to times of rapid economic growth when people were deserting unpaid jobs for paid employment or housekeeping, in response to the crisis unpaid activities serve as a cushion in facing hardship.

8. Dealing with Poverty

If any notice has been taken of unpaid workers it is in the context of informal sector workers and poverty reduction or amelioration policies. Every now and then it is realized that the informal sector serves as a cushion against hardship experienced by the less well off. More frequently mentioned is the issue of underemployment related to low hours of work, usually referring to those working less than 35 hours a week. As the impact of the crisis has resulted in widespread suffering and expanding poverty due to massive lay-offs, declining purchasing power, and the absence of social safety nets, public responses have focused on developing social safety net programs. These programs are designed to directly deal with poverty and less on human resources development. Thus there have been food distribution programs for the poor known as *sembako.* Then there are four types of labour intensive programs organized by the Minister of Manpower: (1) in urban areas; (2) in rural areas; (3) in forestry; and (4) in skilled programs. While urban programs are basically of the public works type, rural programs have focused on repairs to or improvement of irrigation systems. Under the forestry program, the plan calls for reforestation with mixed cropping. The fourth component is to address the needs of skilled labour, including bankers, a good proportion of whom are women. They are to be trained or integrated into small-scale industries with some credit/capital support schemes. Then there is the program introduced by the coordinating Minister for People's Welfare and Poverty Alleviation, the former Minister for Population and Head of the National Family Planning Coordinating Board, the *KPKU-Prokesra* (*Kredit Pembangunan Kemitraan Usaha Program Keluarga Sejahtera*), a small business partnership credit scheme for the family welfare program. The loans extended through this program are very small and usually directed at women who are also the target of the family planning program.

9. Beyond the Crisis: Developing Human Resources

As we are living in the aftermath of the crisis and considering the extent of the poverty problem and the severity of the problems for the poor, it is the needs of the poor that deserve priority attention. Thus the following recommendations focus on training for self-employment and micro-enterprise development, some of which have been forwarded in the ILO report (1998):

1. The neediest should be the focus for poverty alleviation and training for self-employment and micro-enterprise development.

2. Employment and training programs should be selective, carefully targeting poor individual households, household groups, and geographical areas. The programs should include provision for training and technical and marketing assistance, together with credit-based programs for self-employment. Credit should be advanced at near market rates and recourse to subsidy should be avoided to minimize leakage to non-target groups.

3. The Government should resist calls to assist the educated unemployed, particularly university graduates, in establishing small businesses. Experience suggests that fresh university graduates without work experience and networks are not likely to succeed in business and create additional employment.

4. As there is a gender bias in the labour market, it is necessary to have a gender focus in program design and development. Unlike available micro-credit programs directed at women, mostly limited to traditional women's activities, gender stereotyping should be avoided. Gender sensitive projects should take care to identify viable activities and new occupations in growth sectors to diversify women's skills development.

5. An important component of training programs for the poor is the inclusion of literacy training to impart basic cognitive skills that are needed alongside more specialized skills training. The difficulty in training of inexperienced poor for self-employment should not be underestimated; instead special efforts should be built into the design.

6. As the crisis progresses the Government has introduced a variety of social safety net programs, including paid employment creation, credit schemes, and rice distribution. Usually the poor, and poor women in particular, have little access to information. Special efforts should therefore be made within the scheme of these programs to reach poor women.

Table 1 Population, Labour and Work Force by Sex, Indonesia 1986-1997

Year	Pop. 10+ (m)			% Labour Force			% Work Force		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1986	60.3	62.2	122.5	70.5	44.4	57.3	68.6	43.3	55.8
1987	62.0	63.8	125.9	70.3	44.8	57.4	68.5	43.7	55.9
1988	63.9	65.5	129.4	69.7	45.8	57.6	67.8	44.6	56.0
1989	65.9	67.0	132.9	68.8	45.0	56.8	66.9	43.7	55.2
1990	67.1	68.6	135.7	70.9	44.0	57.3	69.2	42.9	55.9
1991	67.9	69.4	137.3	71.2	43.4	57.1	69.5	42.1	55.7
1992	69.7	71.1	140.8	71.0	44.0	57.3	69.2	42.7	55.8
1993	70.9	72.9	143.8	70.6	43.1	56.6	68.7	41.8	55.1
1994	72.7	75.1	147.8	72.0	44.5	58.0	69.2	42.2	55.5
1996	76.5	77.9	154.4	72.3	44.6	58.3	69.3	42.0	55.5
1997	77.9	79.5	157.4	72.3	44.1	58.0	69.3	41.6	55.3

Sources: Biro Pusat Statistik, *SAKERNAS* for several years.
Notes: Pop. = population; the Labour force consists of the working population or work force and those looking for work or the unemployed; the Work force consists of the working population. In both the % labour force and % work force, the denominator is the working-age population or age 10+.
M = Males, F = Females.

Table 2 Unemployment rates and percentage of new entrants among the unemployed, Indonesia1986-1997

Year	Unemployment Rates			% New Entrants		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1986	2.6	2.6	2.6	70.7	79.5	74.2
1987	2.6	2.4	2.6	71.6	81.7	75.4
1988	2.8	2.8	2.8	72.9	81.8	76.8
1989	2.8	2.8	2.8	72.6	82.7	76.7
1990	2.4	2.6	2.5	72.7	80.4	75.9
1991	2.4	2.9	2.6	72.9	81.5	76.6
1992	2.6	2.9	2.7	69.4	81.2	74.4
1993	2.6	3.0	2.8	70.2	82.4	75.3
1994	3.9	5.1	4.4	68.2	75.5	71.6
1996	4.2	6.0	4.9	79.2	85.6	82.2
1997	4.1	5.6	4.7	79.0	85.1	81.8

Sources: Biro Pusat Statistik, *SUSENAS* for several years.

Table 3 Percent Paid and Unpaid Workers of Total Workers by Sex, Indonesia 1986-1997

Year	% Paid Workers			% Unpaid Workers		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1986	29.6	19.7	25.7	15.8	49.9	29.2
1987	30.5	20.6	26.5	16.3	50.5	29.8
1988	30.3	20.7	26.4	16.9	50.6	30.5
1989	30.6	21.4	26.9	16.7	48.6	29.4
1990	31.1	22.5	27.8	15.7	47.7	28.1
1991	32.5	24.1	29.3	14.4	46.7	26.7
1992	32.3	24.5	29.3	14.3	45.9	26.5
1993	34.1	25.7	30.9	12.9	43.6	24.7
1994	37.2	26.4	33.0	11.4	40.7	22.8
1996	37.9	27.2	33.8	9.0	34.1	18.6
1997	38.9	28.7	35.0	9.2	36.5	19.6

Sources: Biro Pusat Statistik, *SAKERNAS* for several years.
Notes: Paid workers = employees and Unpaid workers = Unpaid Family Workers

Table 4 Percent Employers and Self-employed of Total Workers, Indonesia 1986-1997

Year	% Employers			% Self-employed		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1986	.8	.3	.6	53.6	29.8	44.2
1987	.8	.4	.6	52.5	28.5	43.0
1988	.9	.3	.7	51.8	28.4	42.4
1989	.9	.3	.7	51.8	29.6	43.0
1990	1.1	.3	.8	52.1	29.4	43.3
1991	1.1	.4	.8	52.0	28.9	43.2
1992	1.1	.4	.8	52.2	29.2	43.3
1993	1.2	.4	.9	51.8	30.2	43.5
1994	1.3	.4	1.0	50.1	32.5	43.3
1996	1.8	.8	1.4	51.4	37.9	46.3
1997	2.2	.8	1.7	49.7	33.9	43.7

Sources: Biro Pusat Statistik, *SAKERNAS* for several years.

Table 5 The share of housekeepers among the working age population by gender and residence, Indonesia 1986-1997

Year	Males			Females			Total		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
1986	0.4	0.2	0.2	35.7	25.3	28.1	18.2	12.9	14.4
1987	0.5	0.2	0.3	34.4	24.5	27.3	17.7	12.6	14.0
1988	0.4	0.2	0.3	33.8	23.1	26.2	17.3	11.8	13.4
1989	0.5	0.3	0.4	34.7	23.7	27.0	17.7	12.1	13.8
1990	0.5	0.3	0.4	34.3	26.4	28.8	17.6	13.5	14.8
1991	0.6	0.4	0.5	35.1	27.4	29.9	18.0	14.1	15.4
1992	0.6	0.3	0.4	34.4	27.2	29.6	17.8	13.9	15.2
1993	0.6	0.4	0.5	34.6	27.6	30.3	17.8	14.2	15.4
1994	0.5	0.3	0.4	33.7	27.1	29.4	17.3	14.0	15.2
1996	0.6	0.4	0.5	34.9	28.1	30.6	17.9	14.4	15.7
1997	1.0	0.6	0.8	35.3	30.4	32.3	18.3	15.6	16.7

Sources: Biro Pusat Statistik, *SAKERNAS* for several years.

Table 6 Share of Females among Paid and Unpaid Workers by Residence, Indonesia 1986-1997

Year	Paid Workers			Unpaid Workers		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
1986	28.0	31.7	30.2	67.0	67.2	67.2
1987	29.4	31.8	30.7	65.5	67.3	67.1
1988	29.9	32.7	31.5	65.4	66.9	66.8
1989	29.8	33.3	31.8	65.0	66.1	66.0
1990	31.2	31.6	31.4	64.8	66.0	65.9
1991	32.0	30.8	31.4	65.9	66.8	66.7
1992	32.3	32.4	32.3	66.7	66.9	66.9
1993	32.4	31.6	32.0	66.9	68.0	67.9
1994	32.4	29.4	30.9	67.5	69.4	69.2
1996	32.0	29.2	30.7	68.7	70.4	70.1
1997	32.8	29.3	31.1	69.3	71.1	70.8

Sources: Biro Pusat Statistik, *SAKERNAS* for several years.
Notes: Paid workers = employees and Unpaid workers = Unpaid Family Workers

Table 7 Percent with LSS+ among Paid and Unpaid Workers by Sex and Residence, Indonesia 1986-1997

Status and Year	Males			Females			Total		
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total
Paid Workers									
1986	58.3	29.5	41.8	46.8	20.1	30.3	55.1	26.5	38.3
1987	60.1	28.9	42.7	50.4	19.4	32.2	57.3	25.9	39.5
1988	60.9	30.1	43.6	50.2	20.2	32.4	57.7	26.9	40.1
1989	61.1	30.2	44.0	52.2	22.3	34.5	58.4	27.6	41.0
1990	63.9	30.1	46.1	52.0	21.8	35.9	60.2	27.5	42.9
1991	64.1	32.0	47.7	51.3	24.2	37.8	60.0	29.6	44.6
1992	65.9	32.8	49.2	56.5	23.1	39.6	62.9	29.7	46.1
1993	65.9	31.9	48.7	57.7	24.9	41.4	63.2	29.7	46.4
1994	67.3	32.9	49.6	59.5	27.3	44.0	64.8	31.2	47.9
1996	71.7	37.0	54.9	65.6	30.3	49.7	69.7	35.0	53.3
1997	71.6	37.4	55.1	67.8	32.8	52.3	70.4	36.1	54.3
Unpaid Workers									
1986	47.2	13.6	15.8	29.8	4.6	6.2	35.5	7.5	9.4
1987	44.0	17.5	19.6	27.3	5.8	7.4	33.1	9.6	11.4
1988	46.4	18.1	20.4	30.7	6.3	8.2	36.1	10.2	12.3
1989	51.0	21.0	23.5	32.9	6.9	8.9	39.2	11.7	13.8
1990	50.8	21.2	23.9	29.9	7.4	9.3	37.3	12.1	14.3
1991	52.0	23.8	26.7	32.4	9.1	11.3	39.1	14.0	16.4
1992	51.5	23.5	26.4	31.4	8.5	10.9	38.1	13.5	16.0
1993	52.2	23.4	26.7	33.9	9.0	11.7	40.0	13.6	16.5
1994	51.7	24.8	28.2	34.6	9.9	12.8	40.1	14.5	17.6
1996	60.3	28.5	32.9	40.1	12.0	15.6	46.4	16.9	20.7
1997	58.4	27.9	32.7	40.1	11.9	16.1	46.6	16.5	20.9
Total Workers									
1986	47.6	13.4	20.9	32.5	6.7	11.1	42.6	10.7	17.0
1987	49.0	14.4	22.5	34.5	7.5	12.5	44.0	11.6	18.5
1988	48.8	15.0	23.1	34.6	8.1	13.2	43.8	12.2	19.1
1989	49.5	15.8	23.9	36.6	8.9	14.2	45.0	12.9	20.0
1990	51.8	16.6	25.6	36.9	9.1	15.2	46.6	13.6	21.6
1991	52.7	18.8	28.2	38.0	10.7	17.3	47.6	15.6	24.0
1992	53.0	18.7	28.5	40.1	10.6	17.9	48.4	15.5	24.4
1993	53.9	19.0	29.4	42.1	11.3	19.3	49.7	16.0	25.5
1994	55.0	20.4	31.2	44.2	12.4	21.1	51.2	17.2	27.3
1996	60.1	23.1	35.5	49.0	14.4	24.8	56.2	19.6	31.4
1997	60.3	24.2	36.8	51.2	16.1	27.4	57.0	21.0	33.2

Sources: Biro Pusat Statistik, *SUSENAS* for several years.
Note: LSS+ refers to those who completed/graduated from Lower Secondary School, total of 9 years of schooling.

Table 8 Percent New Entrants of Paid and Unpaid Workers by Sex and Residence, Indonesia 1986-1997

Status and Year	Males			Females			Total		
	U	R	T	U	R	T	U	R	T
Paid Workers									
1986	17.3	25.5	22.0	37.1	36.1	36.5	28.8	28.9	26.4
1987	15.9	25.7	21.3	35.6	34.4	34.9	21.7	28.4	25.5
1988	16.2	25.9	21.6	36.7	33.6	34.9	22.3	28.4	25.8
1989	16.4	25.2	21.3	40.2	32.1	35.9	22.7	28.3	25.9
1990	18.1	26.1	22.3	42.2	34.8	38.5	25.0	28.0	26.6
1991	19.0	25.4	22.3	42.2	34.8	38.5	26.4	28.3	27.4
1992	19.0	25.8	22.4	40.4	32.7	36.5	25.9	28.0	27.0
1993	18.3	24.4	21.4	40.1	32.2	36.1	25.3	26.8	26.1
1994	19.2	25.0	22.2	41.2	33.3	37.4	26.4	27.4	26.9
1996	18.5	24.2	21.3	38.0	30.8	34.8	24.8	26.1	25.4
1997	18.5	23.5	20.9	37.5	29.5	34.0	24.7	25.3	25.0
Unpaid Workers									
1986	68.8	80.8	80.0	31.3	34.3	34.1	43.6	49.5	49.2
1987	63.4	79.6	78.4	30.2	33.0	32.8	41.7	48.2	47.7
1988	63.5	78.7	77.4	32.4	31.7	31.8	43.2	47.3	46.9
1989	60.2	79.1	77.6	29.2	30.6	30.5	40.0	47.1	46.5
1990	67.6	77.9	77.0	31.5	30.2	30.3	44.2	46.4	46.2
1991	64.1	77.0	75.7	30.6	29.8	29.8	42.0	45.5	45.1
1992	65.4	78.5	77.1	30.6	29.5	29.6	42.2	45.7	45.3
1993	68.2	78.0	76.9	30.6	29.5	29.6	42.4	44.6	44.3
1994	65.6	76.0	74.7	32.4	28.1	28.6	43.2	42.8	42.8
1996	65.0	79.2	77.3	30.5	27.2	27.7	41.3	42.7	42.5
1997	62.5	76.1	74.0	27.0	25.3	25.5	37.9	40.0	39.7
Total Workers									
1986	16.3	26.0	23.9	26.3	28.4	28.0	19.7	27.0	25.5
1987	15.6	25.9	23.5	25.1	27.5	27.1	18.9	26.6	24.9
1988	15.6	25.9	23.4	25.6	26.4	26.3	19.1	26.1	24.6
1989	15.2	25.7	23.1	24.7	25.3	25.2	18.5	25.5	23.9
1990	17.2	25.6	23.4	27.5	25.0	25.6	20.8	25.4	24.3
1991	17.5	24.6	22.7	29.2	25.3	26.2	21.6	24.9	24.0
1992	17.3	24.9	22.7	27.5	24.7	25.4	21.0	24.8	23.8
1993	16.9	23.9	21.8	27.7	23.9	24.9	20.7	23.9	23.0
1994	17.5	23.1	21.4	29.0	23.2	24.8	21.6	23.2	22.7
1996	16.3	22.5	20.4	26.4	21.9	23.2	19.9	22.2	21.5
1997	16.5	21.2	19.5	25.4	20.8	22.3	19.7	21.0	20.6

Sources: Biro Pusat Statistik, *SUSENAS* for several years.
Note: New entrants are here defined as those aged 10-24 years.

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NOTES

[1)] Non-formal is used here in contrast to formal, meaning legal. The non-formal sector includes the informal sector associated with urban economic activities.

[2)] It is important to note our distinction between the labour force and the work force. The labour force consists of the work force and those looking for work or the unemployed. The work force consists of only those actually recorded as 'working' during the reference period.

[3)] From the introduction of the *SAKERNAS* in 1976, data was collected on a quarterly basis to capture the effects of the agricultural cycle on labour utilization. As agricultural technology has changed, so has the nature of labour utilization changed. Harvest frequency is no longer a function of seasonality but rather determined by soil quality and inputs, and therefore reducing the need for quarterly data collection. Starting in 1994, *SAKERNAS* data is now collected only annually with a reference month of August.

[4)] As *SUPAS* was conducted in 1995, *SAKERNAS* was not conducted in that year. Because *SUPAS* produces rather different results from other surveys, including *SAKERNAS*, we shall omit data for that year.

[5)] This one-hour reference period has often incited hectic debates (Oey-Gardiner and Suleeman, 1997), but not since the crisis until recently when the over-riding issue is open unemployment.

[6)] This stability among females is contrary to earlier data when comparisons extended from 1961 to the early 1980s, based on various sources. As mentioned earlier, differences in data collection procedures resulted in different records of the labour force. These results, however, led to inferences of continuing rising female labour force participation (BPS 1983), which are today not fulfilled.

[7)] Even though part of the rise may well be a statistical artifact. The rise in unemployment is first recorded in 1994 when data collection for the *SAKERNAS* became annual and was conducted in August, only one to two months after school is out and there is an upsurge of new entrants into the labour force (Table 2).

[8)] As a result of rapidly expanding education opportunities, the less well off were also increasingly benefiting from the available services.

[9)] The poor with little or no education can hardly afford the 'luxury' of being unemployed.

[10)] From here on based on employees.

[11)] As the crisis wears on and women are the responsible party for household welfare, increasingly women have had to return to the labour market, even at poor levels of returns. Women can no longer afford to only be responsible for housekeeping. Instead, increasing numbers of women have had to combine household duties and participating in economic activities, even at very meager returns.

[12)] This decline can not be fully attributed to an aging population. Instead, aging of the workforce is also affected by withdrawal from the workforce by women. Rapid economic growth spurred the rise of housekeepers among women.

[13)] There are three contributing factors to this decline. First is the slowdown in overall population growth resulting from declining fertility affecting the cohort of new entrants. Second, is the withdrawal or non-entrance of young, and particularly rural, mothers whose wage levels are too low to make it worth their while to join the labour market. They are better off taking care of their families as homemakers. Third, urbanization of young women into paid employment in urban areas resulting in constant shares of new entrants among urban workers in general and female workers in particular.

[14)] GDP was growing at 6.1 percent per annum during the 1980s and rose to 7.6 percent during the first half of the 1980s and even reached 7.8 percent in 1996. This high growth has been associated with a structural shift in favour of manufacturing, which grew at an impressive average rate of 10 percent per annum between 1985 and 1995, and accounted for a quarter of the nation's GDP. Indonesia's gross

investment rate rose from 24 to 32 percent of GDP between 1980 and 1996. Domestic savings had also grown to 31 percent of GDP in 1996 (World Bank 1997, Asian Development Bank 1997 and ILO 1996, cited in Islam 1998).

[15)] Between July 1997 and July 1998, the exchange rate deteriorated from around Rp.2,400 to Rp.15,300 per US dollar. In late February 1999, the exchange rate was approximately Rp.9,000 to US$1.

[16)] In July 1997, the Jakarta Stock Market Index stood at more than 700. By January 1998 it had reached its lowest point at around 350, and by mid-July it had risen again to 470. In late February 1999 it hovers around 400.

[17)] As earlier tabulations were based on the population 10+, these preliminary figures are not comparable to the data used in this paper.

APEC HRD NEDM

Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work in Human Resource Policy

Summary of Recommendations from Member Economy Papers
May, 1999

1. As a top priority: recognize the contribution of unpaid work to the functioning of the economy:

- Governments should promote recognition of the contribution of women's unpaid work. Information collected through time-use surveys will give a truer picture of the economy than, for example, labour force surveys which omit significant portions of the population.

- Governments should develop appropriate and timely time-use survey instruments and continue work on developing methodology to evaluate unpaid work.

- APEC HRD WG should take steps to recognize the significance of unpaid work in the functioning of the economy in its projects and activities by integrating gender analysis in its project management cycle.

- APEC HRD WG could develop a project to share "best practices" in time-use survey methodology, and provide training in time-use survey and accounting methodology.

2. Policies to Harmonize Work-Family Tension

Recommendations for the Private Sector:

- Recognize, help and reward private sector initiatives that are directed to harmonizing work-family tension. An example is the annual awards by the US magazine, *Working Mothers*.

- Promote understanding of the economic benefits of family-friendly policies in the workplace. The Department of Industrial Relations, NSW, Australia, commissioned a study on the business case for family friendly workplaces, which includes a cost-benefit methodology for businesses.

- Governments could coordinate national conferences on family-friendly workplaces;

- The most frequently-cited example of "good practice" is the provision of childcare. Whether childcare is best situated at the workplace or in the community will depend on considerations such as distance traveled to work and health and safety considerations at the workplace. The team learned of a foreign social investment mechanism in Chile, where a foreign investor "invested" in the provision of daycare facilities in the community where it proposed to base itself.

- Key considerations in evaluating family friendly practices are the discrepancies between *de jure* and *de facto* rights. Policies and practices need to be evaluated according to their implementation rate and their take-up rate.

- Research is needed to understand why the private sector may not take up fiscal incentives provided by governments for family-friendly practices, and why some family-friendly policies have poor take-up by workers.

Recommendations for the Public Sector:

- It is important that governments make clear the set of assumptions about families that are embedded in policy, and consider whether various policy initiatives are actually consistent with those assumptions. Governments may have conflicting human resource policies. One framework that the project team discussed set out the following models of the family:

1. Patriarchal model – The wife/mother is viewed as the economic dependent of the husband/father. Policies tend to reinforce the economic role of men over women (for example, unequal pension and benefit schemes, which would make it more advantageous for a household to favour male employment or investment in training over that of the female).

2. Individual responsibility model - Both partners are seen as responsible for their own support and that of the other, and for the care of the family. In this model, the state tends not to provide support if one partner becomes unable to fulfill either role, since it is assumed the other will provide the need (eg: no support is provided for a single parent because it is assumed the individual can combine both income-generating and childcare/family responsibilities, although formerly these tasks were shared with the other parent).

3. The project team recommended the "social responsibility model" as a "good practice". Under this model, policy is based on the assumption that every adult is responsible for both his/her own economic support and that of the household. The implications for policy of this assumption is that all policies would attempt to attract women and men equally into the labour market. As a result, labour markets would become more flexible, in the sense that there would be a reduction in distinctions between full- and part-time work; unpaid work would have to be recognized as work and treated as such (in terms of benefits and supports), and policies would aim to harmonize work and family responsibilities for both women and men. Examples include: reform of tax and social security policies to eliminate the concept of the sole-breadwinner in a two-adult family; reform of the tax and social security systems to facilitate flexibility in the way people divide their time between education and training, paid employment, family responsibilities and volunteer activity; family friendly workplaces, childcare, etc.

3. Policies to support the voluntary sector:

- Governments should develop methods to monitor and evaluate the contribution of the voluntary sector to the economy by, for example, time use surveys;

- Governments and the private sector could develop measures to compensate or reward voluntary work, including a banking system (for example, a mechanism whereby volunteer workers could "bank" credit for voluntary work that could be exchanged for other voluntary services);

- Tax deductions or credits for voluntary work;

- Governments could collaborate with private sector and civil society organizations to develop and support a pool of volunteers (tax or pension credits; flex time; phased retirement that would permit individual to combine volunteer work with part-time employment);

- Governments and the private sector should collaborate with civil society organizations to develop policies and programs that value unpaid work, highlight good practices, and mobilize resources for research.

4. Social Safety Nets:

- In many APEC economies, women, through their unpaid and informal activities, and the agriculture sector, provide social safety nets for families.

- Specific measures are needed in recovery plans to address the needs of vulnerable groups, including women, migrant workers, the elderly.

- The poor, particularly poor women, have little access to information about social safety net programs, therefore, programs should build in special efforts to reach poor women.

- Governments and institutions need to develop mechanisms that will monitor the impact of policies and programs on unpaid work. A specific recommendation to the APEC HRD WG in one paper was that the working group develop a system to monitor the impact of economic policies and restructuring packages on unpaid work. This kind of impact assessment would make visible the often hidden dimensions of economic policy impacts, and would provide an accurate assessment of resource use and allocation. One suggestion to implement the recommendation was for the HRD WG to support and link up with initiatives such as that proposed by ENGENDER (a Singapore-based regional organization) for a news service that would focus on women's livelihoods. Another suggestion was for APEC HRD to develop linkages to civil society initiatives such as Malaysia's *Women Watch*.

- APEC HRD WG should explore regional cooperation in developing systems to monitor the impact of policies and programs on unpaid work. One mechanism is the gender-aware budget exercise. A recommendation directed to the Ad Hoc Task Force on the Integration of Women is for a pilot project that might partner two or three member economies to test existing methodologies.

- The neediest should be the focus for poverty alleviation and training for self-employment and micro-enterprise development. Employment and training should be selective, targeting poor individual households, household groups and geographic areas.

- Include literacy training for the inexperienced poor.

5. Measures to harness the productive potential of the unpaid and informal sectors:

- APEC should dialogue with international agencies to encourage them to recognize the importance of the informal, unpaid sector in recovery programs.

- Research on the relationship between paid and unpaid work; and the formal and informal sectors;

- Research on the policy responses that will enable all workers to take advantage of the opportunities that emerge in periods of economic reconstruction;

- Steps to harness the full potential of unpaid workers, including: community-based training; expand capacity-building programs to provide on-site services in skills development; link skills training to existing job opportunities; promote growth-oriented micro-enterprises;

- Increase equality between paid and unpaid work through measures that will reduce women's time burden;

- Training for the self-employed in administrative and managerial skills; entrepreneurial skills; technology and science;

- Labour protection for women workers in the informal sector;

- Collect good practices in developing alternatives to urban-based industrial growth. One example cited was the local employment schemes developed by the Population and Development Association of Thailand.

6. Measures to Increase Women's Participation in Paid Work:

- Understand the barriers to women re-entering the paid workforce after a period of absence;

- Understand barriers to women accessing vocational training;

- Examine systematic barriers, including policies that reinforce gender stereotypes (for example, women in the household; men as breadwinner), including differential benefits and pension entitlements;

- "Support" measures, including childcare, healthy work environments; eliminate gender discrimination and gender stereotyping;

- Accessible labour market information, particularly for poor women who may have weak access to information.