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The Unpaid Care Work–Paid Work Connection

by

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PART I

PART II

Recommendations

-Better design and more frequent collection of time use data
-Analysis of family-work reconciliation policies and unpaid care work
-Explore importance of employment guarantee policies on unpaid work
-Discuss lack of regulation, period of retirement or social protection for paid informal care workers.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the 1960's a substantial amount of research has been undertaken to take stock of differences in the socio-economic status between men and women. At the same time, mobilization and awareness building culminated in international fora and, under the auspices of the United Nations, many governments committed to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women. To document the progress made (or lack of) new conceptual frameworks were developed that made evident the need for gender-sensitive data collection processes. Thus came the great push forward for data gathering that allowed tracking of differences between girls and boys, women and men at the national level for both developing and developed countries.

In the decades that followed, research findings pointed out that ameliorating gender disparities in paid and unpaid work, a goal in its own right, is a contributing factor to promoting gender equality but also pro-poor growth, social cohesion and improvements in overall human development.[1] As a result, policy attention and resources were devoted to address gaps in health and education, labour markets and labour rights, and access to credit and markets. These have been important initiatives and rising female labour force participation rates provide encouraging testimony to that end.

Progress made not withstanding, gaps remain. Women are still overrepresented among the underpaid and unprotected workers around the world. Despite their contributions to the economy, returns to education are lower for women; gender-based wage differentials persist; market segmentation and occupational segregation further exacerbate inequalities. Last but not least, gender disparities in the division of labour between paid and unpaid work also persist, with men spending more of their work time in remunerative employment and women performing most of the unpaid work[2]. It is this gap that constitutes the focus of the present paper. Time Use Survey data[3] reveal this to be the case in the North and in the Global South, and among women that participate in the labour market and those that are "inactive".

Unpaid work is interlinked with the location individuals occupy in paid work through many channels; it (a) shapes the ability, duration and types of paid work that can be undertaken and therefore limits access to existing and potential collective

[1] Jahan (2005); Çagatay and Ertürk (2004); Lustig et al. (2002), Klasen (1999)

[2] An excellent introduction to the topic can be found in D. Budlender (2002), *Why Should We Care About Unpaid Care Work?*

[3] We will discuss Time Use Surveys in detail in a later section as they are key to gathering data on unpaid work.

action processes and social security; (b) does not offer monetary remuneration which reduces the exercise of "voice" over decision making and ability to accumulate savings and assets (c) as in many societies it is regarded a woman's "natural" work, performed in the "private" sphere of the family, it essentializes this work and strips it of its socioeconomic dimensions and contributions (d) assigns paid social reproduction (care) workers to jobs that are presumed to be unskilled, with low pay, slender options for promotion and scant social protection.

Taking care of one's own household and family members' needs may be labour of love but it is also labour of sorrow and drudgery. Unpaid care work, in particular, though embedded in feelings of obligation and commitment to others' well being, is also rooted in patriarchal structures that interact with the rest of the economy in ways that need to gain more visibility. The male-breadwinner female-caregiver polar representation perpetuates a "gendering" ideology that distorts and limits human potential and narrows the range of experiences of "being" and "doing" for men and women. If we are to make further progress towards gender equality we have to address the fact that it is neither "normal" nor "natural" for women to be performing most of the unpaid labour.

Most importantly, unpaid care work entails a systemic transfer of hidden subsidies to the rest of the economy that go unrecognized, imposing a systematic time-tax on women throughout their life cycle. These hidden subsidies signal the existence of power relations between men and women. But also, they connect the "private" worlds of households and families with the "public" spheres of markets and the state in exploitative ways. We must shed light on these interconnections in ways that motivate public dialogue, and action on behalf of policy makers, to remedy this phenomenon. The present paper joins existing efforts that aim to draw attention to this problem, a pervasive form of inequality, in the hope that progress and change is possible.

Part I of this document examines various aspects of women's and men's division of labour between paid work and unpaid work and consists of seven sections. Section I introduces the concept of unpaid work and contextualizes the use of "unpaid care work" in this paper. Section II elaborates on the relationship of unpaid work to the economy at the aggregate level. Section III is concerned with the paid/unpaid work division of labour between men and women. Section IV discusses domestic work and the global care chain. Section V regards poverty and unpaid work. In the context of unpaid care work next, in section VI, we consider the role of the state as it addresses issues of unemployment, poverty and social care. Finally, we conclude Part I with a discussion on the importance of Time Use Survey data, in section VII. Part II identifies recommendations for selected issues that warrant further research and

analysis. The tables and figures included in the text present selected statistics. Note that more statistics and information is available in the extended tables and figures in the appendices.

Part I

I. Concept and Purview of Unpaid Work

Analytically speaking, people allocate their time on activities that can be classified as paid work, unpaid work and no work. Leaving aside sleep time, the concept of "no work" is commonly understood as consisting of free time spent on personal care and leisure activities. We should note here the often-neglected distinction between "no work" as voluntarily chosen free time and "no work" as the outcome of enforced inactivity due to chronic lack of employment opportunities[4].

Paid work refers to time contracted out that receives remuneration. Work arrangements and the extent to which paid work is performed under decent conditions show extreme variations, with notable consequences on workers. Informality and lack of decent work conditions have receive considerable attention worldwide by government and non-government organizations, trade unions, the International Labour Organization as well as academic researchers. Labour market segmentation, wage differentials, unemployment, labour force participation rates are also relatively well investigated subjects and national labour statistics departments routinely collect data on these issues. Unpaid work has received less attention and we now turn to this.

"Unpaid work" includes all non-remunerated work activities and it is safe to say that it lacks social recognition. The overall division of time between paid and unpaid work depends upon many factors including age, gender, type of household structure, social class, geographic location and presence of children to name a few. The very young, those that can purchase substitutes in the market, those with few or no children and non-single heads of households devote overall less of their time to unpaid tasks.

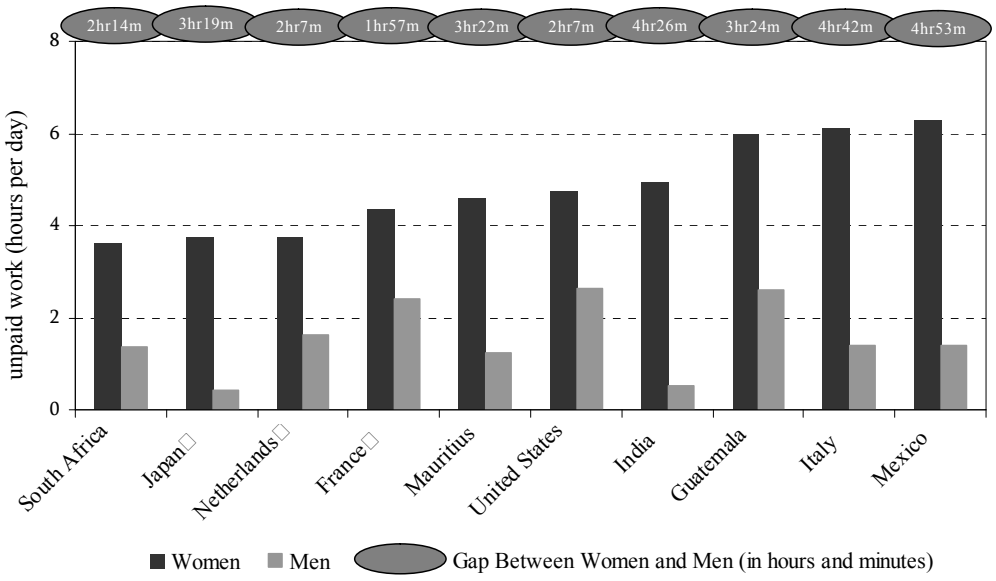
Equally important is the level of development of the economy as it affects the duration but also the distribution on time between paid/unpaid work as well as the allocation of unpaid time among a variety of activities. In wealthier countries larger segments of the population have access to paid jobs. Among those that work part time or not at all, as one would expect, less time is devoted to subsistence production or fetching wood for example. Finally, public sector infrastructure and state provisioning regimes determine social service delivery which plays a role in the specific allocation

[4] Traditional economics presumed that within the span of a day what is not accounted for by work-time is leisure (Pigou 1920; Becker 1965; Linder 1970). Heterodox economic traditions warn that "no work" can also be the outcome of social exclusion from paid work in which case a person is rendered forcefully inactive for short or long periods of time (Vickery 1977, Minsky 1986).

of time among a variety of unpaid tasks. Universal free access to health services, child and elder care, and water delivery to one's doorstep reduces the amount of time needed in taking care of family/household members at home and in gathering and transporting water, for instance.

Nonetheless and despite the above mentioned differentiating elements a most striking and well known feature of unpaid work is that women, as compared to men, perform it disproportionately in developing and developed countries alike. Figure I-1 shows that the gender gap ranges from 2 hours to almost 5 hours.

Figure I-1 Time Spent on Unpaid Work: Selected Developing and OECD Countries



Sources: Author's tabulations; data from UNDP (2006) and ECLAC (2007)

In the next sections we will elaborate on several dimensions of unpaid work and their implications for men and women. As the term unpaid work is unwittingly conflated with non-production work and at other times with performing production but not market-oriented work, some conceptual clarifications are in order and we turn to this issue first. To complicate matters, unpaid work, unpaid *care* work, household production and household reproduction are used interchangeably. It is useful to devote a bit of time then, to clarify these terms and in the process to critically examine the meanings attached to them.

We begin with the question of whether unpaid work is *economic* work or *non-economic* work. According to the United Nations System of National Accounts of

1993 (SNA), which provides the conceptual framework that sets the international statistical standard for the measurement and classification of economic activities[5], some unpaid work activities are deemed "economic work" and, much like paid work, are considered to belong within the "SNA production boundary". Other unpaid work activities are classified as "non-economic".

SNA 1993 convention indicates that the former (unpaid *economic* work) activities be measured and included in annual estimates of Gross Domestic Product (GDP). These pertain to (a) production of fixed assets for household use such as building a house; (b) subsistence production work such as crop cultivation, animal husbandry, forestry, fishery for own use; (c) collection of basic necessities like water and fuel wood from common lands or private lands; (d) collection of raw materials for *income* generating activities like crafts and other manufacturing; and (e) activities like unpaid family work for crop production that *reaches the market* as well as animal grazing, agro processing and food processing *for sale*. Accordingly, unpaid economic work consists of activities in procuring inputs and producing for own use and as well as for the market. Unpaid agricultural family work for the market is also included here. In practice, data collection gaps make measurement and inclusion of many of the above mentioned activities in National Income and Product Accounts very difficult.

Other types of unpaid work are deemed by the SNA 1993 to be "non economic" and are relegated outside the SNA production boundary. Non-SNA unpaid work, often referred to as work that falls "outside the SNA production boundary", consists of household maintenance, cleaning, washing, cooking, shopping; providing care for infants and children (active and passive care), care for the permanently ill or temporarily sick, as well as for older relatives and the disabled; and all volunteer work for community services. Recognizing these as contributing to society but not to the "economy", the SNA recommendation is that parallel (satellite) accounts to the National Income and Product ones (GDP) are constructed. Table 1.1 shows a schematic representation of the relationship between paid/unpaid work and SNA/Non-SNA work and Appendix A elucidates further the recommended taxonomy proposed by SNA 1993. To briefly reiterate, unpaid work is at times performed with a view to produce for the *market* as in cell (B); and it is considered to be *production* work, as in cells (B+C), whether it is destined for the market as in cell (B)or for own use within the household cell (C).

[5] It consists of an integrated set of macroeconomic accounts, balance sheets and tables based on internationally agreed concepts, definitions, classifications and accounting rules that delineate the market economy but in addition, for constructing satellite accounts of unpaid work For details see http://unstats.un.org/unsd/sna1993/introduction.asp

Table I-1	The Overlap of Paid/Unpaid Work and SNA/Non-SNA Work			
SNA work (production boundary)	**(A) Paid work** (for the market)	**(B) Unpaid work** (for the market)	**(C) Unpaid work for the household** (non-market)	
Non-SNA work (outside the production boundary)				**(D) Unpaid work** (non-market; hh maintenance, care work and volunteer work)

Influenced by the above mentioned statistical classification the term unpaid care work has come to signify the sum of childcare, eldercare and care of the sick and permanently ill. Accordingly, these are treated as self-contained, well-delineated activities performed by household members for other household members. But this language/terminology may be problematic as it inadvertently creates some misrepresentations. There are two challenging issues here.

First, the assumption is that unpaid work provides *care* when the activity is devoted to those who cannot care for themselves due to their age (young or too old to care for oneself) or due to a temporary or permanent ailment/disability. Feeding a child, bathing a sick person, cleaning the room of an elder, etc. Yet, to feed a child one must prepare the food. Furthermore, unpaid work that provides a sanitary and healthy environment for everyone in the family irrespective of age and health status that transforms raw ingredients to consumable cooked food and provides for clean and ironed clothing for all members of the household is not considered care.[6] Calling it anything but unpaid care work obscures the fact that the daily social reproduction of all members of our society and the generational reproduction and upbringing of children is achieved through unpaid care work.

The second issue relates to access to "intermediate inputs" that are necessary for unpaid care provisioning. Across and within countries, households differ substantially

[6] Harvey and Mukhopadhyay (2007: p. 60) make use of a more meaningful term that of "*Committed time* which refers to total time undertaken to maintain one's home and one's family. Adopted from Aas (1982) they identify "four main time categories: *contracted time, committed time, necessary time*, and *free time*. *Contracted time* is time that by agreement has been set aside to undertake paid work or education. One is obligated by the nature of the employment or educational contract to allocate time to these activities as appropriate. *Committed time* refers to time undertaken to maintain one's home and one's family. *Necessary time* is time required to maintain oneself in terms of eating, sleeping, bathing etc. *Free time* refers to the remaining time that is left when contracted, committed and necessary time is subtracted from 24 hours of the day.

in terms of the required "household overhead time", e.g. the minimum number of hours a household must spend to transform raw materials to consumable goods and to provide a clean and healthy environment (Harvey and Taylor, 2000). For example, the time women allocate to fetching water, a vital input for all sorts of unpaid work (from production of staple food to processing of food, to cleaning) ranges from zero minutes per day in developed countries to thirty two minutes in rural Madagascar and to over an hour in Benin (table 1.2).

Table I-2	Time Spent Fetching Water in Benin and Madagascar (In hours and minutes)					
	Benin (1998)			Madagascar (2001)		
	Women	Men	Women/Men	Women	Men	Women/Men
Urban	16	6	267%	16	10	160%
Rural	1h 2	16	388%	32	8	400%
Urban + Rural	45	12	375%	27	9	300%

Source: Kes and Swaminathan. 2006. "Gender, Time-Use and Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa." World Bank Working Paper No. 73, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank

We conclude this section with a remark we will return to in section V, when we discuss unpaid work and poverty. It is not only the length of time devoted to unpaid work that puts women at a disadvantage. It is also, the types of activities and nature of the tasks that create (and reveal) further inequalities among women and between households. The exact duration of "household overhead time" and its distribution among tasks is determined, to a large degree, by income levels and availability of household appliances. The first allows for purchase of intermediate goods and services and the second for use of technologies that reduce unpaid work time. It has been shown that the distribution of time allocated to unpaid work across non-poor and poor households shows a lot of variation (Hirway 2005; Blackden and Wodon, 2006).

Equally important is the existence of social and physical public infrastructure, which provide access to critical inputs such as water, sanitation, adequate health care services and energy resources. Existing time-use information reveals that the pattern of time distribution to access such vital inputs matters a lot from a gender perspective as more unpaid work is needed to fill in infrastructural gaps. This as mentioned earlier, implies that longer household overhead production hours are necessary for poor households, which further exacerbates the burden of poor women.

An expanded, and more appropriate usage of *unpaid care work* (or some other category perhaps) ought to be constructed then around the concept of unpaid social reproduction work which would consist of all unpaid non-SNA work *and* those parts of unpaid SNA work that are necessary in securing and processing the intermediate

inputs for the daily and generational reproduction of people. This category would then consist of the direct unpaid care work plus the indirect care work. What it would exclude is family unpaid work that produces goods for sale in the market. Such a measure would make evident differences in necessary unpaid time between household types as well as among men and women[7].

[7] It is this notional category that we use here when we refer to unpaid care work, recognizing that the use of the term is different from that of the SNA 1933, and in so doing we agree with the approach taken in the ECLAC (2007) document prepared by Sonia Montaño.

II. Unpaid Work and the Macroeconomy

Among the contributions of gender-aware economic analysis is the reexamination of the function households play at the macroeconomic level of investigation. For our purposes it is worth noting that traditionally, households have been presumed to supply labour to the business sector in return for which they receive income, which they either consume or save. This, as feminist economists have pointed out, is a rather limited view as it conceals the fact that households are also linked to the rest of the economy through their *production* capacity[8] in so far as they produce goods and provide services through unpaid work. Excluding the non-monetized part of the economy is even more problematic for developing countries where fully marketized activities comprise a small fraction of the economy. We wish to highlight three aspects here (a) the fact that GDP should be expanded to include the value of economic unpaid work by including the SNA 1933 guidelines as well as the portion deemed "non-economic" contribution.; (b) the link of unpaid work to the marketized part of the economy; and (c) the link of unpaid work to state provisioning of public goods and service delivery.

A. Expanding the Measurement of GDP

Our starting point is that household production expands the available pool of necessities human beings rely upon for their physical and social reproduction. At one level then, household unpaid [care] work supplements the goods and services bought with income from the market and those made available through public sector provisioning. Time use survey data and the construction of parallel satellite accounts have made the contribution of household production transparent[9]. For countries with available time use data, satellite accounts estimates range from an additional 20 per

[8] New Household Economics (Becker, 1981) introduced in Neoclassical *Microeconomics* the idea that households also engage in production of goods and services. This field of study is predicated on unrealistic and gender-blind assumptions about preferences, behaviour and choices; the further presupposition of similitude in regards to regulating principles of the institution of the market and the institution of the family renders its findings quite problematic. For a discussion see *Beyond Economic Man*, 2000, Ferber and Nelson.

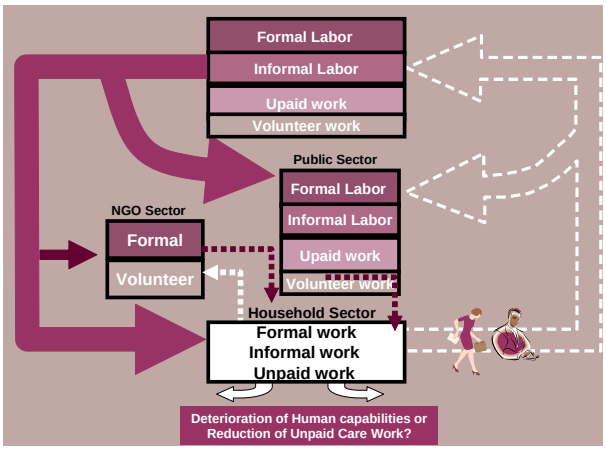
[9] The measurement of unpaid work was one of the major challenges to governments that came out of the UN Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985 as well as the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The Platform for Action that developed out of Beijing called for national and international statistical organizations to measure unpaid work and reflect its value in satellite accounts to the GDP. Few counties have developed full accounts though.

cent to 60 per cent of GDP[10] highlighting the contribution of this hidden sector of the economy and women's contributions in particular to economic well being.

But even more importantly, than assigning monetary value to the contributions of household production, awareness of unpaid labour's value leads to the recognition that the three sectors, households-markets-government, and for some developing countries the NGO sector, are structurally interlinked at the economic level. Accepting such a vision implies that investigating questions related to growth, as well as fiscal, monetary, international trade and financial sector policies, the household *production* sector should not be viewed as an add-on afterthought but rather as one of the fundamental building blocks[11]. From a policy point of view, how people divide their time between paid and unpaid work ought to be used to understand the impact of macro-policies on those performing unpaid work as well as those that operate mostly within formal markets.

A gender aware vision proposes that studying the economy entails specifying the processes that take place not only within and between the marketized parts of the economy and the government sector, but also those related to the non-monetized household sector. Figure II.1 shows a revised view of labour flows in the economy.

Figure II-1 Unpaid Works and the Macroeconomy



Note: Original graphic design is from E. Gomez Luna, "*Unpaid work and the System of National Accounts*", Conference on "Unpaid Work: Gender, Poverty and the MDGs", The Levy Economics Institute, October 3-4, 2005.

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[10] For Canada it is estimated as more than 45 percent (Harvey and Mukhopadhyay, 2007); for the United States 42 percent of GDP. Japan ranges from 15 to 23 percent and for the Philippines 38 percent for the year 1997 (APEC, 1999); for Mexico and Nicaragua, the figures for the years 2002 and 1998 respectively are 21.6 percent and 30 percent of GDP (ECLAC, 2007).

[11] See *World Development*, special issue on Gender, Adjustment and Development, December 1995 and *World Development*, special issue on Growth, Trade, Finance and Gender Inequalities, July 2000.

B. Unpaid Work as a Subsidy to the Marketized Part of the Economy

Unpaid work activities entail every day routine household maintenance work, such as cooking, cleaning, shopping, doing the laundry, caring for children etc. Viewed from the point of view of classical economics, this work lowers the cost of labour, which at the macro level allows for a smaller wage fund and thus a larger pool of profits, which facilitates the process of accumulation at any given time. Unpaid time spent on these activities, then, can be thought of as a "subsidy" to the business sector, as a transfer, a "gift" if you may, from one institution, the household/family, to the institution of the market.[12] That unpaid work may be important at a personal level, both to the giver and to the receiver, does not alter the fact that in its absence, to maintain the same standard of living for employees and their families a higher real wage would be necessary, with consequences for cost structures and wage-profit rates. At the same time, the "subsidies" unpaid work provides result in lower overall levels of labour force participation, income that could have been generated and lower levels of effective demand for goods and services which could be providing employment and generating further economic activity, especially, in employment intensive sectors.

A recent study on selected Latin American countries shows that over half of the women aged 20 to 24 stated their responsibilities at home as *the main reason* for not seeking a job in the labour market (ECLAC, 2007). This group is larger than those unable to find jobs due to lack of education. The study also reports that having someone in the household engaged exclusively in housework (i.e., another relative or domestic worker) does not have much impact on the amount of time that men spend on unpaid domestic work but it has a major impact on women's time who report a positive affect on time spent on other activities including work in the labour market. The study validates the fact that women's domestic unpaid work forms a barrier in seeking or keeping a paid job.

C. Unpaid Work as a Subsidy to State Provisioning

The provisioning of a different linkage of unpaid work and the rest of the economy exists through its connection to public sector goods provisioning. For example, unpaid work provides care to the homebound and chronically ill or those in need of protracted treatment; care is provided in hospitals due to lack of nurse-aides, sanitation personnel, cooks etc; or at home due to shortened hospital stays dictated by

[12] Antonella Picchio (2003), pp.11-26 and the 1970's discussion on the productive/unproductive nature of reproductive labour.

structural adjustment policies of the late 80's and 90's. Time use data and satellite accounts allow for estimations of the volume of unpaid work directed in the provisioning of goods and service delivery that the public sector should be making available: health, education, transportation, water, sanitation, and childcare. It is time spent performing unpaid work in these areas that we will refer to as *"subsidies"* to *public sector provisioning.* Included in these activities are the delivery of raw foodstuff, cooking, serving and cleaning up for (school) children's nutrition enhancement programs; fetching and carrying water and fossil fuels for sanitation and energy use in households; childcare and eldercare provisioning for one's own family and for the community to give just some examples.

This work places an enormous time-tax on some people asymmetrically; particularly on women, and especially on poor women, and children in developing countries which limits other aspects of social engagement[13]. In some cases, it reduces the time spent in self-employment or market participation, a case in point is taking care of HIV/AIDS patients in Sub-Saharan Africa (Akintola, 2004). In other cases it limits involvement in political processes, in attending school and medical appointments, skill upgrading, artistic expression. Yet at other times it reduces leisure and time available for self-care and sleep. At times of financial crisis as in Argentina in 2001, as women increased their time for pay, the slack of unpaid work was picked up by elder women (Esquivel, 2006). These can lead to social exclusion, time-poverty and depletion of human capabilities[14]. Internalized as one's "destiny" the inviolable obligations of unpaid work deprives some of their "rights" and citizenship by *de facto* segregation.

We have argued that from an economy wide point of view, unpaid care work fills in *infrastructural gaps* in that it "subsidizes" public sector provisioning of goods and services. We must keep in mind though, that women are not a homogeneous group and therefore their engagement with unpaid work is quite varied. Creation of public assets that facilitate provisioning of drinking water and construction of feeder roads can alleviate burdens by increasing productivity and reducing the time spent on unpaid work (Hirway and Terhal 1994; Hirway 2006) in rural areas and urban slumps. In other instances interventions are needed to promote gender equality by allowing women to devote more time to higher productivity jobs in the labour market. Yet in other cases the issue is to create appropriate social/institutional infrastructure to better allow for reconciling paid work and unpaid work obligations for the population in general and women in particular.

[13] Harvey and Mukhopadhyay (2007) estimating time-adjusted poverty thresholds taking into account the amount of time spent on unpaid housework in Canada finds high incidence of time deficit among the employed single parents with children.

[14] For documentation see various reports at http://www.levy.org/undp-levy-conference

From a policy point of view, being viewed as work that is not related directly to the rest of the economy suggests that addressing unpaid care work can be treated as an island to itself. The caring for adults and raising children can be seen as simply a family affair, effectively relegating the existence (and potential change) of gender inequalities to cultural biases in gender norms. Folbre (1994 and 2001) has convincingly argued that the maintenance of a healthy pool of labour and the generational reproduction of the labour force raises the issue of the State's responsibility in its own right. From this angle, even if the principle of "women are carers by nature" holds steadfast, reduction in inequalities of overhead time are warranted.

In concluding this section, a few words on empirical tools are in order. Greater availability of time use data in recent years has facilitated construction of satellite accounts capturing production outside of the SNA boundaries. Still, there is great need to operationalize these ideas and to integrate them in modeling tools that can be used for macroeconomic analysis and impact assessment exercises. Social accounting matrix (SAM) analysis[15] is an effective way of examining the interconnection between unpaid work and the market economy[16].

A gender-aware SAM is capable of containing information on institutional production sectors that rely on paid formal, paid informal and household unpaid work; allows for male-female intensity of labour factors to be identified and also to be broken down by skill level and occupation; value added can be split by gender for both paid and unpaid work contributions made to the economy, in all sectors[17]. Once a SAM is constructed, it can be also used as the informational basis of Computable General Equilibrium models (CGE). Recent efforts in constructing gender aware SAMs and CGEs include models for Bangladesh (Fontana and Wood 2000), Zambia (Fontana 2002), Nepal (Fofana, Cockburn and Decaluwé 2005), Pakistan (Siddiqui, 2005) and Spain (Uriel et al. 2005).

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[15] A SAM is a square matrix that represents transactions among various sectors and actors in an economy and usually consists of six accounts: activities (the productive sectors of the economy), commodities (intermediate, domestic and imported goods used in production), factors of production (such as capital and labour, usually disaggregated by skill or other characteristics), institutions (such as households, firms and government), capital account (which incorporates the financial side of the macroeconomy) and rest of the world

[16] SAMs are of value in and of themselves and allow for short term evaluations; but they also provide the informational basis for constructing Computable General Equilibrium models, the most promising of which are the structural variety, in the view of this author.

[17] What has not been done as of yet, is to identify activities and commodities by contributions of unpaid labour inputs.

To give some insight into the type of explorations such exercises allow we present brief summaries of two papers. The paper on Bangladesh (Fontana and Wood, 2000) concentrates on the impact of foreign trade on women's wages, employment and household work. In addition to the traditional market sector, the authors include and assign market values to two more sectors, the unpaid work (social reproduction) and a leisure sector. They proceed to model female and male labour separately as imperfect substitutes assuming higher female labour intensity in some production market activities and less male labour intensity in household reproduction work. Once the model is set up, they simulate several scenaria and record the effects of (a) changes in trade policies and (b) foreign capital flows on the employment, wages, leisure and social reproduction activities of women and men. Their findings suggest that a rise of world food prices would increase women's wages vis-à-vis that of men but their available cash income would decline and so would their leisure time. On the other hand, an increase in inward foreign direct investment gives women higher relative wages, more cash income and more leisure with clear implications for policy.

The study on Nepal by Fofana, Cockburn and Decaluwé (2005) analyses the effects of trade liberalization on male and female work. The structure of their model is similar to the one mentioned above and its contribution is principally based upon the investigation of male participation in domestic work. The experiment conducted in this paper shows that the complete elimination of tariffs on imported goods in Nepal benefits women more than men in terms of earnings and that female market work hours expand in rural households but contract in urban households. It also shows that women end up with a "double day", i.e., no reduction in the time they spend in domestic unpaid work. As a result, their leisure time declines as they enter the labour market. Furthermore, the study indicates that leisure time consumed by men, which is already greater than that consumed by women, increases with trade reform. Among other findings, the authors conclude that women are more responsive to the market when there is greatest scope to substitute between domestic household work and market work, i.e., when men are more involved in domestic work.

These represent encouraging first steps toward building appropriate modeling tools for simulation and impact analysis. Data gaps and oversimplifying assumptions are often mentioned as caveats in this work and it is often the case that underlying assumptions and decisions about model closures make the findings somewhat difficult to accept without reservations. Yet, they do point us to analytical thinking and empirical research that makes the invisible parts of the economy transparent, thus allowing us to trace the implications of trade, fiscal, monetary, and exchange rate policies on *all* segments of the economy.

III. The Intersection of Paid and Unpaid [Care] Work

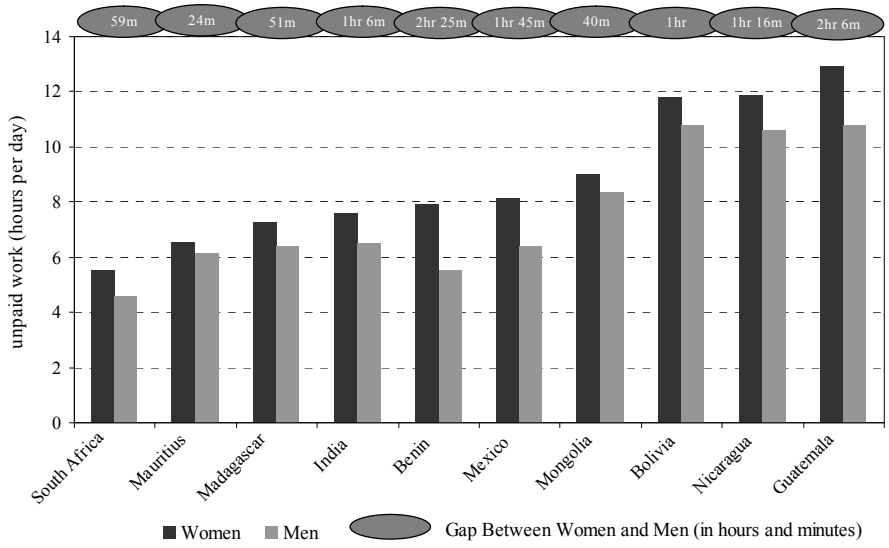
In the world of paid work there is a continuum that runs from employed to underemployed to unemployed to discouraged workers. In another axis, we can distinguish workers by status of employment such as employer, employee (salaried and waged worker), own account, causal/temporary/informal and unpaid family worker, and there is yet another distinction in terms of the place of work between street, home – based or formal place of work. In the world of unpaid work, there exist differences between the type of activity (subsistence production, direct care, indirect care, procurement of intermediate inputs) and location (home, private or common lands, public buildings) where the activity is performed, as well as who the direct individual beneficiaries are (household members, communities, institutions[18]).

Existing patterns in the division of labour between men and women manifest inherited differences and deeply rooted inequalities. These are not immutable though. Sometimes economic development and other times social policy interventions can result in positive changes. Textile factory production and the multi fiber agreements in the South resulted in gains in employment for women and comparable worth policies in the North are highly correlated with the lowest gender wage differentials. Redressing inequalities though, requires documenting current trends and monitoring changes. This is a lot more difficult in the area of unpaid work as there is dearth of time use information for many countries.

As we have seen in section I, women do most of the provisioning of unpaid [care] work, while men tend to devote most of their time to paid work. While these general patterns have been changing slowly, they are still the prevalent patterns in much of the world. Although female labour force participation (FLFP) is higher today than twenty years ago, FLFP has increased only slightly in the last decade, standing at 40 per cent in 2006 as compared to 39.7 per cent 10 years ago (ILO, 2007). It is interesting to note at this juncture, as the figure below illustrates, that when combined with unpaid work, women work longer hours than men in general.

[18] To give an example, unpaid care work subsidizes wages which benefit some employers but also limits demand for goods and services produced by other employers; unpaid home-based care reduces the public budgetary allocations to health care provisioning.

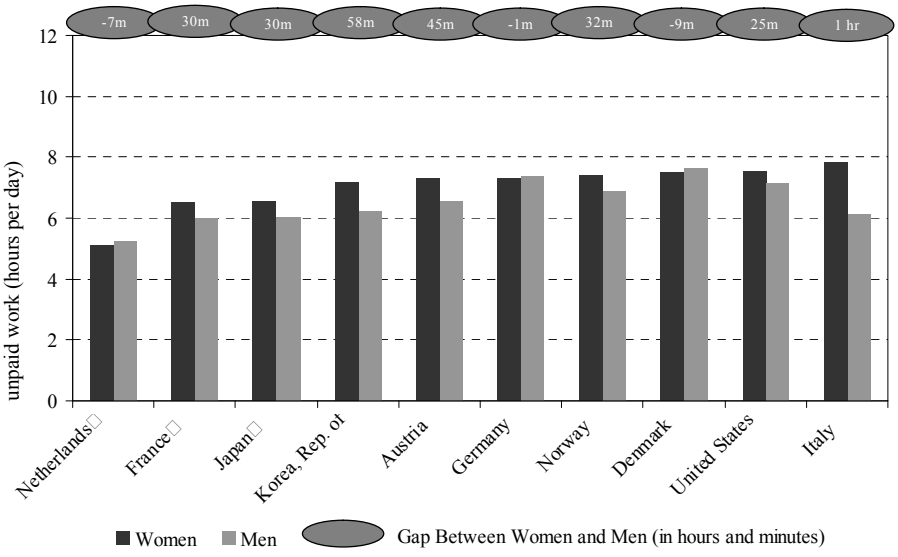
Figure III-1 Time Spent on Total Work – Selected Developing Countries



Sources: Author's tabulations data from UNDP (2006) for OECD countries and ECLAC (2007)

Burda, Hamermesh and Weil (2007) argue that this is not the case for many European countries, the exceptions being Italy, France and Spain. This is an interesting question of research and more work is warranted in this area. Be that as it may, a simple tabulation below shows considerable differences among advanced countries, with Austria for example witnessing women working an average 22.5 extra days per year and 30 extra days in Korea while in Denmark, where men work an extra 9 minutes per day, males work longer, by an average of 4.5 days per year.

Figure III-2 Time Spent on Total Work – Selected OECD Countries



Sources: ibid. as for Figure III.1 above.

Another emerging finding from simple tabulations is that the difference in total work time between men and women is smaller in urban centers than in rural areas and declines overall with level of development of the area/country of residence (see Figure B.1 in Appendix B)

As we proceed to provide a snapshot of differences between men and women below, we do so in the belief that "the step from unpaid contributing family worker or low-paid own-account worker to wage and salaried employment is a major step toward freedom and self-determination for many women" (ILO, 2007). It has been correctly argued that decent conditions of employment and living wages are very important for women's emancipation and that simply expanding employment opportunities is not necessarily beneficial. We are in complete agreement, but we take exception with those who suggest that staying outside the market may be a preferable option for women. We rather side with those in favour of collective action and pressuring companies and governments to adhere and enforce international standards, even when the obstacles are many[19].

The fundamental gender-based division of labour between production of commodities and unpaid work devoted to the reproduction of human beings has resulted in women being concentrated in economic activities with low earnings, insecure, and irregular jobs and where there is little protection through labour laws. Data on employment patterns broken by sex confirms that women are less likely to be employers and in developing countries with the exception of Latin America and the Caribbean and few countries in North Africa they are less likely to be waged or salaried workers than men (see Table B.1 in Appendix B). In the short space provided in this paper we can not do justice to the many differences between men and women in paid employment, instead, we restrict our discussion to presenting some stylized facts.

A. Women as Contributing Family Workers

Worldwide, there is a downward trend to people working as contributing family workers and overall an inverse relationship to level of economic development is evident. The other pronounced characteristic of this type of work is that many more women are found to be unpaid contributing family workers: while 11.6 per cent of

[19] This is an issue that comes up often in the context of conditions of work with increasing globalization, precariousness of jobs etc; it also comes up in discussions regarding "cash transfers" to mothers versus "employment guarantee programmes". We will return to this issue in a later section of this paper but our view is that in addition to reinforcing gender stereotypes, the inability of poor and working people to stay away from paid employment and the detrimental impact of any "male-wage earner" ideological underpinnings on women's self-determination provide support for employment generating advocacy.

men are contributing unpaid family workers, over 25 per cent of the world's women were found in this sector in 2006. Regional breakdowns show wide variation. In South Asia the ratio for women to men is 62.6 per cent versus 16.2 as the table III.1 shows below. In Latin America the rates are 5.1 to 3.7 correspondingly. Women though, are consistently found to be in this line of work anywhere between 150 to 380 per cent more than men.

Table III-1	Male and Female Status of Employment 1996 and 2006			
	Contributing Family Workers			
	1996		2006	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
World	**33.2**	**15.8**	**25.1**	**11.6**
Developed Economies and European Union	3.5	1.0	2.1	0.7
Central and Eastern Europe (non-EU) and CIS	10.8	5.1	7.8	3.4
East Asia	38.8	20.4	20.9	12.8
South East Asia and the Pacific	47.2	18.1	37.1	14.6
South Asia	72.8	22.4	62.6	16.2
Latin America and the Caribbean	7.2	6.2	5.1	3.7
Middle East and North Africa	33.0	14.7	28.4	11.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	36.2	27.0	39.3	23.3

Source: ILO Global Employment Trends for Women, 2007, Table 5.

B. Women in Informal Work

The redefinition of informal work, focused on the nature of employment (Chen et al., 2004) in terms of lack of protection, lack of regulations as well as lower earnings and inferior conditions of work, has pointed out that at least 60 per cent of women workers are engaged in informal employment (except for North Africa where this figure is 43 per cent) (ILO, 2002, p.19). There are, however, significant regional variations. For example, in sub-Saharan Africa the share of women workers in informal employment is even as high as 84 per cent compared to 63 per cent of male workers (Table III.2); in Latin America this ratio is 58 per cent for women vis-à-vis 48 per cent for men while in Asia, the proportion of women and men non-agricultural workers in informal employment is roughly equivalent (ILO, 2002; Chen et al., 2004)[20]. Further, with globalisation (Standing, 1989; 1999a and 1999b) informalization in employment has been intensified in terms of its nature.

[20] When informal employment in agricultural employment is included, the significance of women's employment in the informal economy is overwhelming. For example in South Africa, 70 per cent of women employed in the agricultural sector work in informal enterprises and they represent the 55 per cent of total informal employment in agriculture. In India, while agricultural informal employment corresponds to 78 per cent of women's total informal employment, the same figure is 58 per cent for men (ILO, 2002).

Table III-2	Informal Employment in Non-agricultural Employment, 1994/2000		
Region/Country	Informal employment (IE) as percentage of non-agricultural employment (NAE)	Women's IE as percentage of women's NAE	Men's IE as percentage of men's NAE
North Africa	48	43	49
Sub-Saharan Africa	72	84	63
Latin America	51	58	48
Asia	65	65	65

Source: J. Charmes in ILO (2002) data.

Women as home-based workers: ILO (2002) categorizes home-based work as involving various forms of work: (a) routine assembly type work like sewing, packing; (b) artisan production such as carpet-making among others; (c) personal services like laundry, dressmaking; (d) clerical work like bookkeeping, telemarketing, e) professional work such as computer programming, legal advising, etc. Most of the home-based work is concentrated in textile, garment and foot wear manufacturing. However, increasingly it involves more of service activities like clerical and professional work. A striking fact observed through available evidence is that the share of women's employment in these types of low-paid domestic work is as high as 80 per cent in some countries and in seven among 13 developing countries the figure is higher than 70 per cent (Table III.3).

Table III-3	Home-Based Workers in Selected Developing Countries		
Countries/Categories of Workers	Number of Home-based Workers	Home- based Workers as a Per Cent of Non-Agricultural Workforce	Women as Per Cent of Total
Only Homeworkers Covered			
Chile (1997)	79,740	2	82
Philippines (1993-5)	2,025,017	14	79
Thailand (1999)	311,790	2	80
Only Self-Employed Covered			
Brazil (1995)	2,700,000	5	79
Costa Rica (1997)	48,565	5	45
Morocco (1982)	128,237	4	79
Peru (1993)	128,700	5	35
Both Categories Covered			
Benin (1992)	595,544	66	74
Guatemala (2000)	721,506	26	77
India (1999-2000)	23,496,800	17	44
Kenya (1999)	777,100	15	35
Mexico (1995)	5,358,331	17	43
Tunisia (1997)	211,336	11	38
Venezuela (1997)	1,385,241	18	63

Source: J. Charmes in ILO (2002) data.

C. Women in Part-time and Irregular Jobs

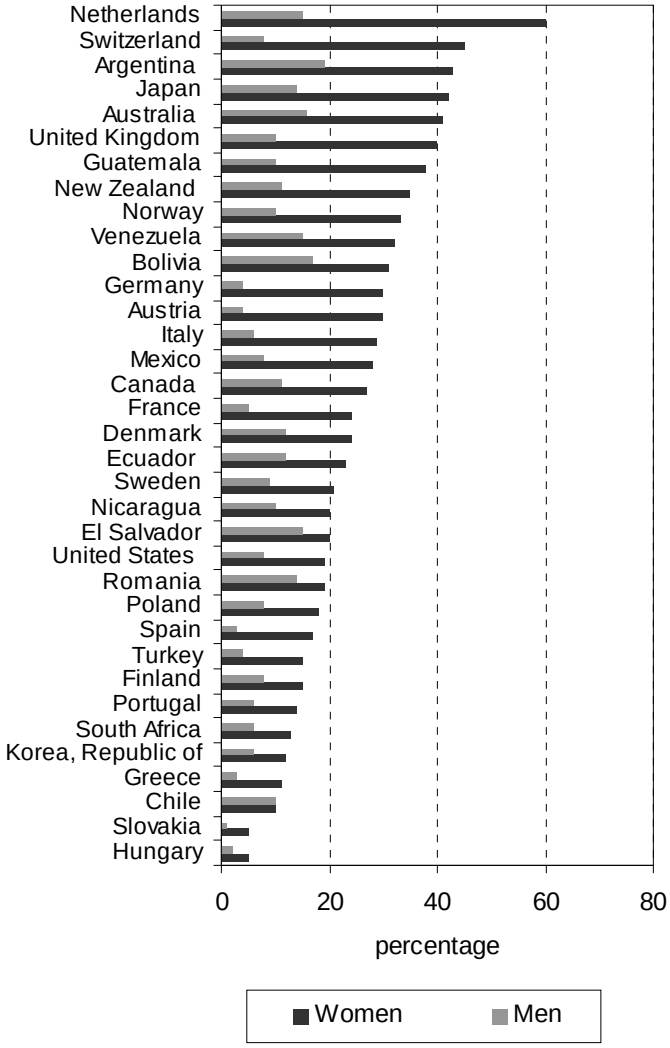
A larger share of women workers than men are part-time[21] workers, which is a common pattern in almost all economies (ILO, 2003). Figure III.3 below shows the percentage of women workers who are employed in part-time jobs as a share of total women workers employed in paid work. In Australia, Japan, Argentina and Switzerland more than 40 per cent of female workers are engaged in part-time employment and this figure is as high as 60 per cent in Netherlands. On the other hand only less than 20 per cent of male workers are in part-time employment, less 10 per cent in the case Switzerland.

In terms of regional variation, women make up larger proportion in developed countries (as high as 98 per cent in Sweden, 80 per cent in the United Kingdom, and 68 per cent in both Japan and the United States in 1998) while in developing ones, and particularly in the Caribbean and Central American region the female share of part-time employment is around 50 per cent (see Figure B.2 in Appendix B). Coupled with rising female participation, it is a point for further research to examine the extent to which people undertake part-time work out of choice or because as it has been suggested elsewhere there are not alternative options (ILO, 2003).

Evidence shows that working part-time is associated with high pay penalties even in the developed country cases. For instance one recent study on women's wages in Britain finds that women who work part time earn about 25 per cent less than that of women working full-time (Manning and Petrangolo, 2007). The extent of the pay penalty for working part-time was found to be much greater for women than for men (Grimshaw and Rubery, 2007). Estimates show that women who move back to full-time work after only one year of part-time work earn up to 10% less per hour even 15 years later. Manning and Petrangolo (2007) trying to explain the underlying reasons behind this gap find that part-time pay penalty is partly explained by rising occupational segregation, which will be discussed next and partly by rising wage inequality *per se.*

[21] Part-time work is defined as less than thirty hours of work per week in a main job.

Figure III-3 Percentage of Employment that is Part-time



Source: UN Statistics and indicators on women and men, Table 5b. Data presented here corresponds to the latest figures available. Cross-country comparison requires great caution due to differences in national surveys; see http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/indwm/tab5b.htm for detailed technical information on the national surveys.

D. Industry and Occupational Sex Segregation

Women who have regular paid jobs face job segregation in the form of occupational sex segregation and/or industry sex segregation all over the world. Distribution of employment by sector broken down by sex shows that the share of male workers in industry is higher in comparison to females in all countries where data is available except for a few countries (Honduras, Macau, China, Maldives and Morocco; ILO, 2003). Employment in agriculture depicts a higher share of male workers but the

differences between the shares by sex are not as high as in the industry sector. The indicators also show regional variations. In Asia, sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East and North Africa and some economies in Latin America and the Caribbean women have a higher share in agricultural employment, especially in economies with low per capita income (Table III.4). As can be observed across the globe women's share in industry is lower than men's. Looking at the service sector we observe that the share of women workers in the service sector is higher vis-à-vis men almost in all countries. As pointed out by ILO (2004) "within the service sector, women are still concentrated in sectors that are traditionally associated with their gender roles, particularly in community, social and personal services, whereas men dominate the better-paid sector jobs in financial and business services and real estate" (ILO, 2004, p.12). Furthermore, as depicted in Figure B.3 in Appendix B, female and male share of employment by sectors show persistent structure of these patterns over time.

Table III-4	Male and Female Share in Total Employment by Sector 1996 and 2006							
	Employment in Agriculture (%)				Employment in industry (%)			
	1996		2006		1996		2006	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
World	**45.4**	**41.6**	**40.4**	**37.5**	**17.4**	**23.9**	**17.2**	**24**
Developed Economies and European Union	4.3	5.8	2.5	3.7	16.8	37.3	12.4	33.6
Central and Eastern Europe (non-EU) and CIS	25.5	26.8	21.6	22.4	22.1	32.7	19.7	34.3
East Asia	58.4	50.4	52.1	45.3	24	26.2	24.7	26.8
South East Asia and the Pacific	52.5	49.9	47.2	46.8	13.7	18.3	15.4	19.5
South Asia	72.6	53.9	64.5	46.4	12	16.8	17.7	19.3
Latin America and the Caribbean	14	28.5	9.9	24.7	14.5	23.7	14.3	23.4
Middle East and North Africa	33	28.8	39.1	26.7	17.7	22.8	11.7	26.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	69.4	67	64.2	62.1	5.8	11.4	5.5	11.3

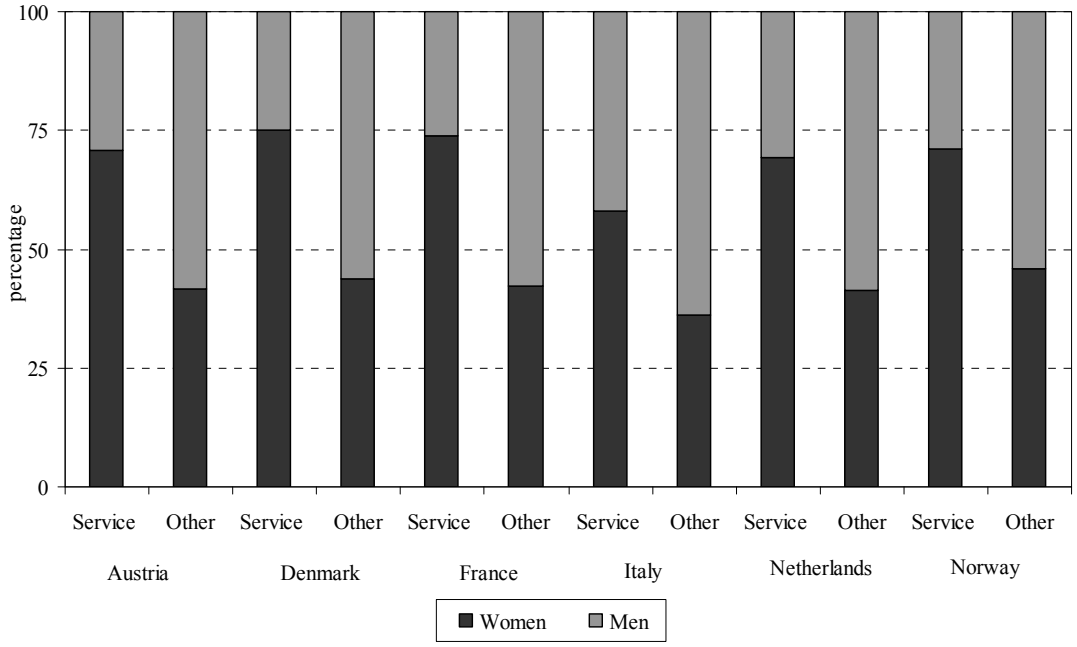
Source: ILO Global Employment Trends for Women, 2007, Table 4.

As we have seen women tend to be in sectors, which provide more temporary lower paying jobs than men. Sex segregation can be observed more clearly in terms of occupations. Occupational segregation has been one common pattern observed both in developing as well as developed regions of the world. In comparison to 1970s and 1980s, even though recent figures on occupational segregation depict a reduction in developed countries as well as Latin American and Middle Eastern counties, there is no change observed in transition economies and economies in the Far East. In addition despite the decreasing trend in some regions segregation levels still show high figures all around the world (Anker et al. 2003) including European Union

countries. Estimates using the latest available data by UNECE show the high degree of occupational segregation in 2005 (Figure III.4). For instance in Austria and Italy, almost three quarters of service and sales workers, which includes housekeepers, personal carers are women whereas men fill up other occupations.

Thus gendered patterns of occupational and industrial segregation summarized above, are associated with women undertaking occupations, which resemble the characteristics of unpaid care work. As a result, **women's work is often undervalued**. The occupations and sectors which are dominated by women are generally seen as being less important, requiring lower skills, and thus deserving of lower earnings than the occupations and sectors dominated by men. Men working in such occupations and sectors are also penalized in terms of pay.

Figure III-4 Occupational Segregation: Share of Women and Men in Service and Sales Workers; Share of Women and Men in Other Occupations, 2005



Source: UNECE Statistical Division Database, compiled from national and international (EUROSTAT and ILO) official sources.

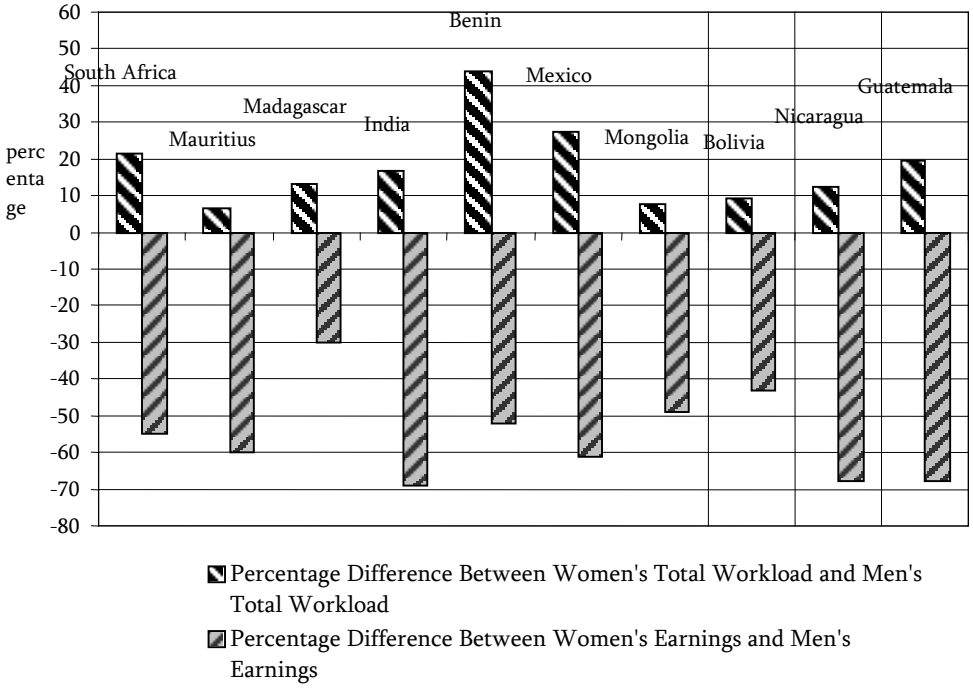
E. Total Workload (Unpaid and Paid Work) and Earnings Gap: Women and Men

To this point, we tried to present briefly the patterns of employment of women and men in paid work. However from the beginning we have been trying to raise attention to the urgent need to bring unpaid work together with paid work in order to make visible the full extent of work inequality women are subjected to. As we have seen, whether women are engaged in paid work or not, they spend: (a) more time in

unpaid care work than men, and (b) more total time in paid and unpaid work combined. In other words their lower time allocation in paid work is more than compensated in unpaid work contributions.

The unequal distribution of paid and unpaid work between women and men is accompanied by a different inequality as we have seen, that of persistent wage differentials. Figures III.5 and III.6 paint a grim picture[22], not only for developing countries but also in OECD countries: while women's total workload is higher than men's their earnings are lower than that of men. These figures indicate the extent of undervaluation and invisibility of unpaid work load and the undervaluation of women's work in the labour market.

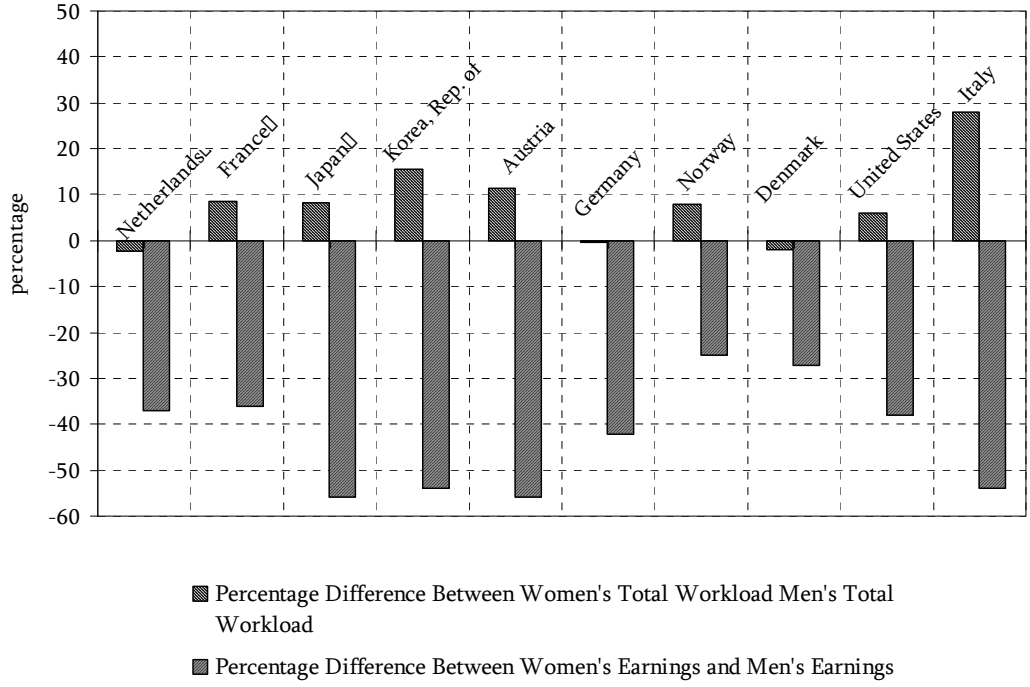
Figure III-5 Total Workload and Earnings Gap: Selected Developing Countries



Source: Authors' calculations. For the total workload series see the source of Figure 1.1. For the earnings gap, ratio of estimated female to male earnings is used, which is provided by UNDP-Human Development Report (HDR) (2006).

[22] For calculations, see notes in the Appendix A.

Figure III-6 Total Workload – Earnings Gap: Selected OECD Countries



Source: ibid as for Figure III.5 above.

IV. Paid and Unpaid Work: Globalisation, Domestic Work and Global Care Chains

The free and borderless movement of goods, foreign direct investment and speculative financial capital has brought mixed and uneven socioeconomic outcomes, with some groups benefiting while others being left behind and as a consequence, their positive or deleterious effects have been hotly debated for some time now[23]. Gender outcomes of globalisation processes have also been mixed leading to much research and extensive debates.

A. Globalisation and Gender Issues

There has been general agreement that liberalization of trade and foreign direct investment has been accompanied by expanded employment creation for women. In the North a notable change occurred in the late 80s and during the 90s in that new female entrants in the service sectors of the economy included mothers with young children. In the South, many women -in addition to being employed in agriculture- sought and found jobs in textiles and clothing, undertaking factory jobs much like women did during early industrialization in the North (Beneria 2003). [24] According to Memis (2007) a variety of explanations have been offered to explain these trends ranging from a gender favouring comparative advantage of trade sectors between the North and the South (Wood 1994)[25] to sectoral expansion of female-intensive sectors (Elson 1996) as a key variable, to feminization of labour (Standing 1989,1999a,1999b), a process that employers' reaction to intensified global competition as they started substituting women workers (lower paid) for men to primarily ensure a more "flexible" labour force.

An equally important issue in the literature regards the degree to which increased female labour force participation has been transformative in reducing gender wage differentials and wage discrimination. The evidence is mixed. Using comprehensive ILO occupational wage data for over 80 countries, Oostendorp (2004), finds that in some cases wage gaps decrease with the level of development, trade and foreign investment. In other instances, the key determinant turns out to be the skill category of workers as the overarching trend has been for wage gaps to widen between unskilled and skilled labour over time. Berik et al., (2004), also finds that competition

[23] For example, see Bhagwati 2004 for views on one end of the spectrum and Stiglitz (2002) and Rodrik 1997 on the other.

[24] See also Arriagada (1998) and Thorin (2001) for a review on Latin America; and Benería and Lind (1995) who discuss trade liberalization and gender issues in the context of NAFTA and the European Community.

[25] For a refutation of the Wood argument see Kucera and Milberg (2000).

from international trade does not reduce gender based wage discrimination in Taiwan and Korea.

Related to the above issues, there has been considerable debate on whether women employed in export-oriented industries and in export processing zones, became *victims* of globalisation or *beneficiaries* of increased autonomy and bargaining power. On the one hand, it has been argued that increased female labour market participation was based on exploiting women's "nimble fingers" characterized by proliferation of subcontracting, spreading of informalization of work and erosion of labour standards (Elson and Pearson, 1989; Sayeed and Balakrishnan, 2004; Unni and Bali, 2002). Kabeer (2004) has challenged this view. Based on fieldwork in Bangladesh she has argued that the process is much more complex, if contradictory, and that enforcing global labour standards through international trade agreements would not serve the interests of women. [26]

Sorting out the interaction of globalisation with unpaid work has been pursued in two distinct areas. First, in exploring the implications of increased levels of international trade and foreign direct investment on women's time allocation in paid and unpaid work and leisure in developing countries. As discussed earlier in the paper, there have been several studies in recent years. To provide another example along these lines, Siddiqui (2005) develops a gender informed model for Pakistan, based on social account matrix and computable general equilibrium analysis. The study explores the impact of two types of shocks: trade liberalization and fiscal adjustment. Her results show that trade liberalization over burden women but reduces income-based poverty and affirms the hypothesis that despite changes in the gender structure of market employment, an entrenched gender division of labour remains unequal within the household economy .

Second, a different set of issues emerged in testing the "convergence" hypothesis, which examines patterns in allocation of time to unpaid and paid work between men and women across time and countries. Burda, Hamermesh and Weil (2007) using time-diary data from 25 countries have recently demonstrated that there is a negative relationship between real GDP per capita and the female-male difference in the sum of work for pay and work at home, while estimates in some countries in the North show that there has been a *convergence* between the time allocated to unpaid work by women and men. European and North American men have increased the time allocated to unpaid domestic labour (Gershuny and Robinson, 1988; Sullivan and Gershuny, 2001; Beaujot and Liu, 2005).

[26] David Kucera (2002) has challenged the view that foreign direct investment "prefers" countries with lower labour standards.

Despite the increase in men's participation in unpaid household production work, it is hard to dispute that women are the ones who overwhelmingly assume to take the responsibility of domestic work (Sullivan, 2000). Recognizing the prevalence of changing work arrangements and allowing for the existence of simultaneous and overlapping activities (Floro, 2003) the picture changes dramatically. Craig (2006), based on the 1997 Australian time use survey data, finds that mothering in comparison to its fathering counterpart involves more multitasking as well as more physical labour and a more rigid time table and thus time women spend in care work is more demanding, a finding that applies to part-time and full-time working women alike. Some findings have even suggested a reversal in the trend of men's allocated time to domestic work. Crompton, Brockmann and Lyonette (2005), based on 2002 survey data from Britain, Norway and the Czech Republic find a declining trend in men's involvement in domestic work due to rising work pressures and rising needs for career development.

Trends summarized in the previous section have shown that women's employment in services, particularly in the North but also as Beneria (2003) has argued in India, the Caribbean and in Asia, has expanded substantially. The majority of these jobs correspond to clerical, sales work and data processing for financial services for the banking, insurance, and airline industry. As women have entered paid work, in many countries a care deficit has appeared. And where state and corporate responsibility have not stepped up to the plate to provide child care, eldercare and care for the permanently ill, feminization of international migration has provided one means to alleviating the global crisis of care, especially in the North. This is the topic we turn to next.

B. Domestic Work and Global Care Chains

The paid care sector tends to evolve alongside the unpaid care sector. In many countries paid care work is highly female-dominated as well as being low-status and low-paid compared to other forms of paid work involving similar levels of skill and training. Race and ethnicity are also important markers in occupational hierarchies, with disadvantaged ethnic and racial groups often over-represented as frontline carers.

One common pattern observed across the globe is the fact that domestic work is one of the major sources of employment for women. In 2004, only in the Latin America region 10 per cent of all new jobs created were in domestic service, and not surprisingly domestic sector service became a highly growing one by almost 5 per cent a year (ECLAC, 2007). Possible explanations behind this high growth are stated as the recovery in the earnings of middle-income groups, as well as lack of job

opportunities for women. The intersection of unpaid and paid work becomes more evident when one recognizes the particularities of paid domestic work, which tend to be not only undervalued and unregulated lowest pay and low status jobs but also embedded in expectations of being on call twenty four hours a day. An indication of this is the discrimination against domestic workers in national labour legislations and regulations (Box A).

Box. A. Regulation of Employment - Discrimination Against Domestic Workers– Some Examples

Costa Rica: Costa Rica has a Labour Code which entitles employers to engage children from the age of 12 as domestic servants. Domestic workers are allowed to require a 12-hour working day of a domestic helper, and 4 additional daily working hours if considered necessary.

Chile: Chilean Labour Code states that monetary remuneration of workers in private households can be set at 75 percent of the monthly minimum wage since the worker's food and lodging is counted as part of the remuneration.

Croatia: Safety and Health Protection at the Workplace Act, 1996 states: "the provisions of this Act do not apply to domestic servants".

El Salvador: The Labour Code currently in use, states that: a) employment contract for domestic service workers may be entered verbally b) domestic service workers are entitled to at least 12 hours a day for rest, but working hours schedule need not be set c) domestic service workers must provide services on their day offs on employers' requests

Jordan: The Labour Code 1996 states "the provisions of this Code shall apply to all workers and employers, except domestic servants, gardeners, cooks and the like.

Korea: The Labour Standards Act, 1997 states: "This Act shall not apply to any business or workplace which employs only relatives living together and to a worker who is hired for domestic work".

Norway: Working Environment Act, 1977 specifies: "The Crown shall decide whether and to what extent this Act shall be applicable to work performed in the employee's home. The Crown may further decide that the rules of this Act shall apply, wholly or in part, to workers who carry out domestic work, care or nursing in the home or household of private employers, and may in this connection stipulate particular regulations for such employees".

United States of America: The National Labor Relations Act cites that "the term employee shall not include any individual employed as an agricultural worker or in the domestic service of any family or person at his home".

Source: J.M. Ramirez-Machado, Domestic Work, Conditions of Work and Employment: A Legal Perspective (Geneva, ILO Conditions of Work Branch, 2000, unpublished document) and ECLAC (2007)

Trying to keep up with the responsibilities of care work and the paid domestic work adds to the hardship of the conditions of domestic work. Women who cannot delegate domestic work burdens at their own places frequently devote themselves to household work and stay at home without earnings if they can afford staying home. This stands as the underlying reason behind low activity rates of women (lower than

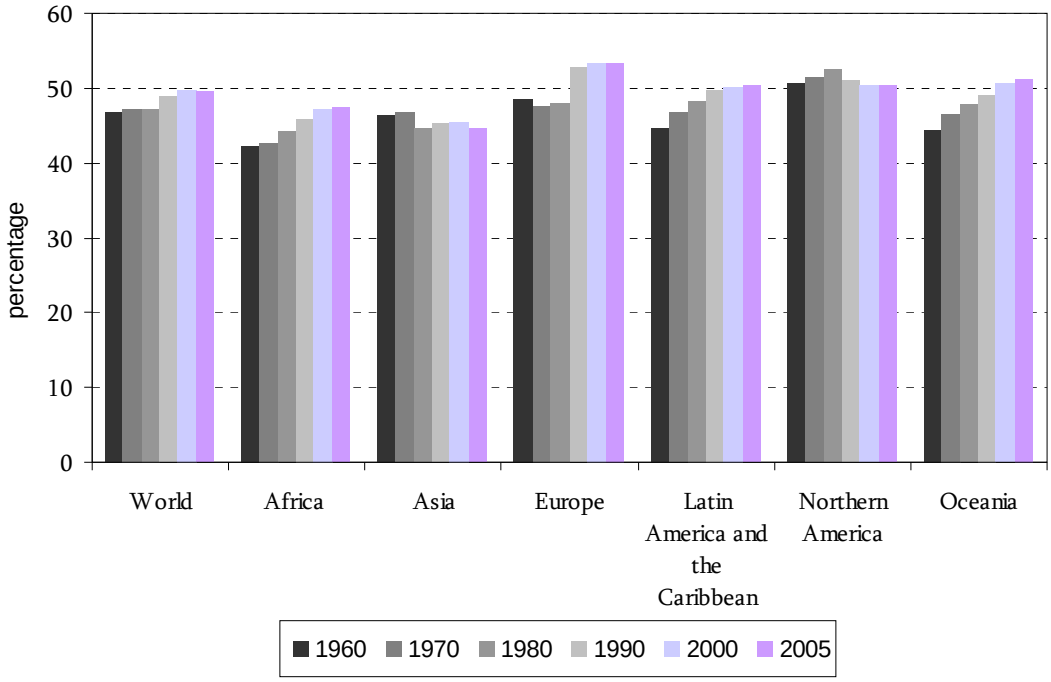
50 per cent in 94 countries among 188 countries where data is available according to the latest figures[27] provided by UN).

When the responsibility is delegated, unless there is an active state involvement in some sort of public policy to support families, it is schlepped to relatives and other family members either to grandmothers or to the daughters. ECLAC (2007) presents evidence for the fact that over half of the women aged 20 to 24 do not seek outside employment, because they are performing unpaid work. The number of women who are in this group is higher than the number in the education system (30.1% as against 15.9%), whereas when men are economically inactive it is because they are studying or for some other reason. Similarly, 85 per cent of children spending over 20 hours a week on housework were girls in Chile in 2003; and similarly in Bolivia, in the data for 2001 as mentioned earlier, girls under 14 spend over 20 hours a week carrying wood or fetching water and 20 hours a week washing and ironing clothes, which are actually the activities that likely impact their health adversely (ECLAC, 2007). On quantifying the scale of child labour ILO defined concepts such as: light work that does not affect children's health or personal development, child labour and worst forms of child labour classified according to the number of hours spent on these activities and the extent to which children's health or physical safety is imperiled. However, all these definitions consider only "economic" (paid or unpaid) activities as work, which is carried out for the market or for private consumption. Thus these concepts do not pay much attention to the possible harmful implications of unpaid domestic service on these children's health and development. When housework is considered, there is evidence by now showing that such types of activities are mostly pursued by girls (ECLAC, 2007).

Trying to maintain both paid and unpaid care work needs imperative support as the situation becomes so brutal for domestic workers who cross borders for some reasons. As of 2005, there are about 200 million migrants across the globe, supporting a population in their respective countries that is as big if not bigger. Of these 200 million, which corresponds to 3 per cent of the world population, are women (Figure IV.1).

[27] Data updated in June 2007 is available at:
http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/indwm/tab5a.htm

Figure IV-1 Female Migrants as Percentage of All International Migrants



Source: United Nations Population Division, World Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision Population Database. http://esa.un.org/migration/. Note that as a result of the disintegration of the former USSR, the former Czechoslovakia and the former Yugoslavia and the reunification of Germany, the composition of several regions and major areas changed shortly after 1990. Information on these changes and the regional classification of countries is available at: http://esa.un.org/migration/index.asp?panel=3

Either because of the demand for cheap labour in destination countries (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2002; Sassen, 2003) or due to lack of available job opportunities in the country of birth with expectations of finding better-paying jobs or for both reasons, millions of women move across borders (UNDP, 2005; ILO, 2004). However, given the basic gender division of labour in destination countries women migrants are often restricted to traditionally "female" occupations—such as domestic work, care work, nursing, work in the domestic services, and sex work— frequently unstable jobs marked by low wages, the absence of social services and poor working conditions (Human Rights Watch, World Report, 2007).

Discrimination in labour legislations and laws against domestic workers, a majority of which are women, adds to their vulnerability. On top of the fact that they are isolated from their own families and communities, women are more subject to deprivation, hardship, violence, theft, fraud or abuse. More significantly, young women are at greatest risk, including or unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections,

including HIV/AIDS. In situations when women know little of the language of the country of destination or in situations where their qualifications are not recognized in their new places they find themselves in extremely dreadful situations. Thus discrimination of otherness is added to gender discrimination.

This said, it has been argued that migration on the other hand can offer economic opportunities, financial independence and decision-making power to women to escape restrictions. In addition, it is also argued that migration through remittances can play a significant role in poverty reduction and growth in developing countries benefiting the countries of origin (Lucas, 2004; Adams, 2005; World Bank, 2006). Estimations show that in 2005 remittances were as high as $300 billion, which corresponds to almost three times the $104 billion from the world's combined foreign-aid budgets. For example remittances bring Morocco more foreign exchange than tourism does and brings Sri Lanka more than tea does (DeParle, 2007); for Latin America and the Caribbean region they bring 2.67% of the region's GDP (ECLAC, 2007). By increasing reserves of foreign exchange, remittances reduce government borrowing costs, saving the Philippines about half a billion dollars in interest each year. While 80 per cent of the money sent to Latin America is spent on consumption that leaves nearly $12 billion for investment (DeParle, 2007). Evidence also points out that households receiving remittance income account for a large percentage of incomes such as in Uruguay 45%; in Paraguay 41.9%; and in Mexico 35.6% (ECLAC, 2007). However, with respect to recipients there is still significant variation among regions as the largest recipients are middle-income countries whereas Sub-Saharan Africa received only 1.5 per cent of all remittance flows in 2002. Given also the fact that members of the very poor households are less able to migrate, the outreach of these remittances to the poor families and poor regions is less likely.

Since traditionally care work is their responsibility either back in their countries of birth and/or in country of destination, when one considers the intersection of unpaid care work and paid care work one should recognize that without any support to the migrant families, remittances alone are not sufficient to redistribute the burden of their workload. Supporting families with social provisioning of their children becomes extremely vital. Sometimes, the children are left behind because the working conditions for the women do not permit them to have accompanying family members, so more frequently they are left with grandparents or other relatives (Hugo, 1994) subsidizing the system of global care chain (Ehrenreich and Hochschild, 2002).

As a result of all these patterns women tend to be in sectors/industries and occupations and considering all these within the context of globalisation, makes it harder for them to realize their fundamental rights as workers in countries where such rights exist in law and are enforced. The problem is not only the existence of the

laws and their enforcement, but also the differential ability of men and women to realize these fundamental rights (such as freedom of association, the right to bargain over conditions of work etc., and absence of forced labour).

V. Unpaid Work and Poverty

In securing basic needs, the provisioning of necessities and conveniences of life occur through a combination of paid and unpaid work in four key institutions: market, state, households and non-government (non-profit) institutions. In general, the contribution of each of these institutions in securing material needs varies by the level of economic development of the country people live in, and in accordance with the prevailing public provisioning policy regime.

In turn, the degree to which a person is able to procure "goods" and "services" from the market depends first of all, on whether markets are relatively well developed and enjoy price stability and second, the ability of household members to participate in paid work and earn sufficient income to make the necessary purchases. Income poverty due to joblessness or sub-living standard wages limits access to marketized inputs. On the other hand, independent of how poor or wealthy a household is, some time must be devoted to "overhead household production", i.e., time needed to transform purchases into consumable final goods. Wealthy households are in a position to often substitute hired services for their own unpaid overhead household production contributions. A cook, gardener, nanny and laundry services do just that.

Finally, households that are income poor in addition to not being able to buy such services, may also face difficulties in paying the customary user fees to have running water in their home or electricity, make use of public or private transportation and avail themselves to durable household assets that reduce household production time such as an electric stove, refrigerator and washing appliances. In yet other cases, severely poor households may live in settlements where basic services such as sanitation, electrification and water delivery are completely missing.

Hence, income and access to public services delivery determine *structurally* the unmet needs of families. Based on individual characteristics and other circumstances households are called to provide for and cope with remaining unmet needs on their own through their main available resource, that is, unpaid time contributions for direct and indirect care provisioning. It must be recognized then that the *required* contributions of unpaid work-quantitatively and qualitatively- differ between countries and among households depending on the: (a) level of economic development; (b) prevailing welfare-state policy regime; (c) availability of quality assets and time to engage in subsistence SNA production for the market and for the household; and (d) availability and quality of assets that people have access to when they engage in non-SNA/non-market "non-economic", unpaid household production.

The *socially necessary unpaid labour time* or "average overhead unpaid work time" will differ then according to socioeconomic and individual household characteristics. These types of unpaid time contributions must be differentiated from time spent at home *voluntarily over and above what is minimally needed*. Time dedicated to preparing a gourmet meal, devoting time for the cultural enrichment of children, constructing and maintaining an expansive flower garden are all activities that increase the well-being of household members; yet, this time is qualitatively different from overhead unpaid time and it points to the fact that poor and non-poor exhibit different distribution patterns of unpaid work time allocations.

This becomes evident for example in the case of childcare. Around the world better off households report longer hours supervising young children and it is speculated that this is due to their preference *and* ability to engage in "quality time" with children. On the other hand, supervising young children among the poor is left to older siblings, other relatives and is mostly considered a "secondary activity" performed simultaneously with other unpaid activities while cooking, cleaning. Time use surveys reveal that carrying a child on one's back while fetching water is not reported as part of "providing childcare" by most women, unless they are probed by other contextual questions such as "who was with you" or "where were the children while you performed that activity".

There are several important questions in this context. First, are there significant differences in the time use patterns of the poor versus non-poor? Second, how does income poverty affect time allocated to unpaid [care] work? Third, is there a time-poverty concept that can be constructed in parallel to income poverty? Fourth, should income poverty be expanded to include time burdens of poor people and women in particular? And finally what is a meaningful way of conceptualizing time-poverty and who are the time poor? Answers to these questions are of value in and of themselves but from our perspective, insights are important in that they carry implications for poverty reduction policies[28].

In spite of the voluminous literature on poverty and the debates on measurement, not much is known about how the poor spend their time. As they are often employed in "difficult to measure sectors" like subsistence work, home work and street vending

[28] From an analytical point of view, the first steps to addressing these questions require a framework to conceptualize (a) *time-poverty*) and (b) poverty in ways that take into consideration the nexus of income poverty and time poverty

the economic paid work done by the poor is not usually captured adequately through conventional labour force surveys (Charmes and Hirway, 2006). Time use surveys are better suited for that purpose. They are also better suited in making visible their engagement in subsistence work for own consumption and on "non-economic" domestic unpaid work. The cash poor may need to work longer hours. But when jobs are not available they may have to migrate in search of work or devote longer hours in unpaid work as a coping strategy to make ends meet. Information on these unpaid activities of the poor is likely to throw additional light on their constraints and problems.

In making use of the concept "time poverty" a caveat must be identified. It is quite intuitive to argue that a senior business executive, a junior lawyer and a domestic worker who devote twelve hours a day in paid work for extended periods of time may turn out to be sleep deprived, socially reclusive, or unable to adequately attend to personal care and needs of others. Among many other differences these women may share, for our purposes one stands out. Their potential income would allow the first one to cross the poverty line in one hour of paid work per month, the second in three days time, while the third would need to work for an additional extra ten hours. This hypothetical example illustrates that although many people may experience time-stress, there is a qualitative difference that becomes apparent when time allocation to paid work is correlated to its income generation potential.

Vickery's (1977) seminal paper on time poverty is based on the idea that the working poor (versus the non-poor) need to spend longer hours performing paid work if they are to secure sufficient income to just reach the poverty line. It is only on the basis of these longer hours that they are able to purchase a basket of goods that allows them a minimal level of consumption. Governments calculate the minimum "economy food basket" taking for granted, she argued, that there is enough time that remains after such long paid work hours to perform the necessary household work (that transforms purchased goods into meals, for example). But more paid work means less available time for childcare, maintenance and food preparation leaving poor households with two options: engage in paid work even longer so as to substitute market goods for home made ones[29], or face a reduction of time allocated for self care and leisure. Using time budget data collected on 1400 households in the USA she calculated that if poor household members are to reach the minimum consumption level they must devote to free time (sleeping, resting, eating, personal care, and leisure) 26 less hours per week than the median income adult in the survey. This finding points to the idea that

[29] The underlying assumption of substitutability of paid and unpaid work is questionable, but the argument can be framed without such a stringent condition. (Harvey 1996).

to avoid being income poor, the working poor must endure chronic relative (at least) time poverty.

Using an extension of the same analytical framework, many have investigated this issue, including a recent study on the intersection of income and time poverty of working parents in Canada (Harvey and Mukhopadhyay, 2007) which illustrated the extreme situation of single employed parents, primarily women[30]. Only 5.3 per cent of this group are subject to neither money nor time poverty while over 54 per cent of non-employed single parents are money poor; and 58 per cent of employed single parents are time poor and money poor. In contrast, in dual parent families over three quarters 77.5% are neither money nor time poor.

A different study measures time poverty and analyses its determinants for the case of Guinea (Bardasi and Wodon, 2006). They use a simple calculation of a time poverty gap represented by the mean distance separating the population from a predetermined time poverty line, where the non-time poor are given a distance of zero[31]. Thresholds are established around the median of the total individual working hours distribution, against which poverty in time is evaluated. Their starting point is that time is a limited resource. They calculate the time spent working in -informal or formal labour market plus time spent on domestic chores or collecting water and wood and then establish a median value. Time poverty would apply to individuals because long working hours reduce time available for leisure, rest or friends and family. In the view of the authors, this does not mean that time poor individuals are worse off than other individuals; rather, time poverty is simply one of the many dimensions that may affect an individual's level of welfare and satisfaction with life. The concept of time poverty is therefore quite loosely used in this context.

Another issue is related to the sensitivity of the results to the cut-off poverty lines[32]. More significantly analysis of the detailed types and characteristics of the activities is required in order to fully understand how they spend their time rather than just setting a poverty line adjusted with time poverty.

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[30] Consistent with earlier findings (see Douthitt (1993) and Vickery (1977)) they find that the extent of time poverty is greatest for single mothers. Single mothers with more than two children have the highest incidence of poverty.

[31] They actually calculate the squared time poverty gap; using the poverty gap they then take the square of that distance into account which gives more weight to those who have extra long working hours.

[32] Lesotho case study reveals how sensitive the results can be depending on the decision on poverty threshold. In Lesotho time use figures for men is skewed compared to women so a higher proportion of men appear to be time poor depending on the level of the threshold, if lowered than the difference between men and women turns out to be so marginal (Lawson, 2007).

There exists a two-way dependence between time and poverty. Not only does time use form and structure poverty but poverty shapes time as well[33]. Turner and Grieco (2000) illustrates this point clearly. Their study shows that in the UK, similar to other developed countries, women have different transport and travel patterns from men. Women are often involved in poorly resourced, highly complex, multiple-purpose trips (trip chaining); unlike men who use superior modes of transport. The underlying reason behind this, stated by the authors, is that women are time poor due to the unequal burden of household tasks. Specifically, they argue that it is poor quality public transport in low-income areas that adds to their burden. Different patterns in transport and travel come out as a result of gender-based inequalities in terms of access to resources, not only economic or social but also time resources. Thus, on one side unequal distribution of resources, inequalities in terms of access to goods and services due to poverty, shapes the experience of time across different groups in a society. On the other side, unequal access to productive resources (such as land ownership, access to credit, unequal opportunities in terms of access to education, unequal access to paid work and unequal opportunities for taking part in decision-making) determine women's poverty.

There are also structural determinants of women's poverty (Valenzuela, 2003) which again lie at the heart of the unpaid/paid work nexus. As women devote more time to unpaid domestic work, they are expected to look after children as the biological role of reproduction is extended, and lastly as women's unpaid work is undervalued time and time poverty turn out to be a vicious circle for women. Shaping social practices, poverty as a life event has major impacts on uses of time which do vary among women and men and among different social strata.

From a policy point of view, there is a need to fully understand that poverty is not a fixed characteristic of certain disadvantaged groups but the outcome of diverse process. Second any anti-poverty policy should follow an integrated approach to poverty considering the inequalities between women and men both in terms of their role in paid as well as unpaid work. Having a paying job in the labour market - or as prescribed frequently getting education- are not sufficient to overcome the lack of economic, social and/or political capabilities. Anti-poverty policies, which overlook the mutually linked formation of the structural as well as individual factors that determine poverty, tend to perpetuate the existing gender-based inequalities.

[33] See Fitzpatrick (2004) for a discussion on time and poverty in the context of social policy implementation.

If women's contribution to the economy was counted, it would be easy to observe also their contribution to poverty reduction. Valenzuela (2003) states that according to the estimates in Latin American urban households if female partners in poor households who are not employed could receive work at wage levels comparable to those earned by the same income group, poverty would be lower by 8 per cent (ECLAC, 1996). The study also provides estimates showing how much higher poverty would be without women's contribution with figures ranging from a 100 per cent to 50 per cent rise in Argentina and Uruguay respectively. Despite the implications of gender discrimination in the paid labour market and in the world of work these figures indicate the significance of women's contribution in poverty reduction.

VI. Unpaid Work, Unpaid Care Work and the Role of the State

As stated earlier, provisioning of necessities and caring occurs through a combination of paid and unpaid work that takes place through four key institutions: market, state, households and non-government (non-profit) institutions. The *required* contributions of unpaid work-quantitatively and qualitatively- differ between countries and among households depending on the prevailing welfare-state policy regime and access different individuals have to those.

To better situate the role of the state in our discussion we must reiterate the two basic linkages of unpaid work to the rest of the economy from a structural point of view at the macro level, by asking how unpaid work contributes to the rest of the economy. We have argued that some portions of unpaid work contributions comprise overhead household time made necessary due to deficits in physical infrastructure and social sector service delivery infrastructure. This is typically more pronounced in developing countries (Kes and Swaminathan, 2006; Charmes, 2005) where regenerating the (potential) labour force requires longer hours of unpaid work as explained earlier.

For instance, government downsizing in the health care sector has resulted in a range of negative impacts: from reduction in the length of stay in hospitals, to reduction in hospital custodial and nurse's aides personnel, to extreme reliance on family provisioning of home based care as the primary means of providing care to HIV/AIDS patients. Cooking, cleaning, bathing, feeding of ill patients is carried out primarily by women (Akintola, 2004) both at home and in hospitals. In such contexts public policy has implicitly assumed that there is no cost to those that provide the unpaid work based on a notion of an infinitely elastic supply of unpaid labour. In South Africa and other African countries the substitution effect that takes place between time devoted to health unpaid care work and unpaid family work, subsistence production and time devoted to fetching water and fuel are invisible but experienced by women non the less (Akintola, 2006). The same is true in developed countries whenever public goods and services are curtailed due to economic crises and to erosion of social contract entitlements, manifested in budgetary reductions of government supported services (Elson, 2000). Unpaid work in this case is spent to fill in gaps in infrastructure.

As the reasons of unpaid work inequalities are multi-layered, there need to be distinct policy interventions to effectively remedy their negative impacts for different groups of women. Work-family reconciliation policies have to be tailored accordingly. Creation of public early childhood development centers in urban areas will be of importance to all women but especially to those working part time if childrearing

constrains their supply of labour. Some types of assets can reduce the drudgery of work, for example traditional irrigation systems and laying of water pipes, which would benefit poor rural women but may also increase the productivity of rural landless households in general and better-off households who have access to land even more so; or, environmental small investments in regeneration of common lands to produce fodder can improve the productivity of unpaid work. But if the problem is due to social sector restructuring, as is the case in many countries over the past two decades then other types of interventions are needed.

A. The State and Its Contributions to Social Reproduction Provisioning

The role of the modern Liberal State was historically circumscribed within the era immediately following the Great Depression. At that time a welfare promoting (activist) Keynesian state came into existence in many parts of the world, making it part and parcel of state's responsibility to provide goods and services and employment for those unable to do so within the market system. An equally significant development, in parallel, was the emergence of a new kind of public sphere. Since the market was understood as the institution that provides goods and services as well as the necessary income to purchase them, the privatized economic relations of the marketplace were brought under the auspices of public authority. Securing the adequate functioning of the market amounted to putting in place and safeguarding institutions and rights that allowed citizens to enter and freely negotiate contracts, own property and in general participate in economic life as free agents. Conflicting, at times, interests of group claims were to be negotiated and settled according to agreed upon institutional rules. As these rules were not immutable, the state becomes a contested terrain; who participated in these discussions, how the agenda was formed and the specific outcomes of such "negotiations", resulted ultimately in a social contract to be accepted and observed by all.

Coming in the aftermath of the Great depression, this social contract implied a central role for the state, over a citizen's life cycle, that aimed to reconcile market functioning and social cohesion in three domains: (a) when the private sector did not have an incentive or the ability to provide basic goods and services in sufficient quantities and prices to satisfy basic needs, i.e., infrastructure, education, healthcare, the state would undertake the public provisioning of such goods and services and citizens were entitled to these; (b) in view of the cyclical nature of market economies, Keynesian – state activist in nature- governance took stronghold, i.e., stepping in and implementing countercyclical and economic stabilization policies; and (c) when the market failed to provide jobs, Democratic Liberal States were to augment social protection programmes and unemployment insurance as well as direct job

provisioning. They were, as in the New Deal programme, part of the liberal democracy's charge and were envisioned as entitlements, not charitable (statist) contributions. They also provided a framework within which the state enabled individuals to pursue economic goals while providing the space for group interest protection and daily life negotiations (Antonopoulos, 2007).

In the context of this paper (a) becomes important to discuss in some detail. How were basic care needs and claims to be determined? Is the state responsible for such provisioning or should other institutions participate in such provisioning such as the market and business-supported benefits for their own workers? The 1980s and 1990s provided an answer in the form of Neoliberal policies. The role of the state was to be minimized through the selling of public assets and drastic reductions in public services; expanded and highly unregulated entrepreneurial freedom was presumed to result in economic growth that would take care in a more efficient manner of all citizen's needs that the newly diminished role of the state would no longer provide.

This exclusive emphasis on market-driven growth and price stabilization culminated, among other things, in the polarity of "good economic outcome/bad social outcome" thinking. The first, namely economic policy, was understood as creating an economic environment conducive to investment and growth, predicated among other things on "smaller government". The second, social policy, was assigned the responsibility of supporting the vulnerable, poor and poorest in an attempt to create a more humane and equitable society by providing a safety net (Barrientos et al., 2005).

Indigence, increased vulnerability, lack of employment opportunities, precariousness in job creation, sub-living standard wages, spatial displacement and deterioration of income distribution are viewed as social ills to be relegated to poverty alleviation programmes. But the root cause, the very economic policies that contribute to the "ills" remained intact. As the government reduced its public goods provisioning and service delivery role and as economic outcomes failed to promote a more equitable and just society, inequalities ended up rising and thus, much of social protection policy pointed towards compensatory measures and away from entitlements. The problem at hand, in our view, centers on a disconnect of instruments and targets. By assigning to social policy what was the outcome of economic policy, we end up with ineffective interventions. (Antonopoulos and Fontana, 2006; Razavi and Hassim, 2006).

This period, at best, has been shown to have had mixed results, with only some groups being net gainers while the majority lagged behind (Wade, 2004: Cornia, 2004; Milanovic, 2003). Structural reforms associated with the Washington Consensus did not result in the kind of economic growth that met the demands of the

population. This realization gave rise in the past to popular protests against structural adjustment as well as to early empirical work that documented its devastating social effects and overall deleterious impact on vast numbers of people (Cornia et al., 1987). Fiscal restraint and the drive to streamline government spending led, as we mentioned above, to a shift away from public sector provisioning and towards "self reliance" in tandem with private sector and volunteer sector provisioning. At present a post-Washington Consensus has opened up space for policy reversals in that government spending is seen in many instances as necessary and desirable (Sacks et al., 2004; Roy, 2006) If there is renewed policy space what may be the best possible arrangements for such provisioning, from the point of reducing unpaid care work burdens?

B. What Type of State (Welfare Promoting) Policy Is Best?

We argued in earlier sections that burdens of unpaid work and unpaid care work could be reduced through creation of infrastructure and social service delivery[34]. In this short note we cannot do justice to the complex literature on alternate institutional frameworks of welfare regimes[35]. Instead we will highlight some differences among policy options; classifying them as: (a) universal coverage/direct state service provisioning; (b) employment guarantee/job creation based; (c) family based cash transfers/targeted; and (d) family-work reconciliation policies.

Rather than asking "which one is best for women performing unpaid work" we will attempt to make some observations that help contextualize their potential effects within diverse frameworks and policy spaces. If a country is facing underemployment and unemployment and is willing to engage in public work programmes we need to identify from a gender point of view the interventions that can ameliorate burdens on women; if social cash transfers are used to improve human development indicators, it is useful to interrogate how and when they are also useful in addressing unpaid care work. And when universal provisioning is a viable option, we need to ensure that policies are mindful of existing inequalities in paid and unpaid work.

[34] in the areas of health, education, early childhood development, water and sanitation access, road construction etc.

[35] these are rooted in theories of social choice, welfarist, rights-based, capabilities and functionings, horizontal versus vertical equity, see Anthony Giddens, 1998; Esping-Andersen, 1999; Nusbaum and Sen, 1993; UNRISD project on *Gender and Social Policy*; Razavi, 2006.

a. Universal Provisioning

A most common example of universal coverage of social service delivery is the Nordic model[36]. Since the 1960s it has been based on the state becoming a direct provider of childcare, after school programmes, eldercare, health and education services. These are not targeted to the disenfranchised but rather are meant as universal entitlements. This model stands in direct opposition to the US tax credit programmes and school vouchers which provide an allowance to families, allowing them "market choice" in which case the market system remains the main provider. It is also quite different from the corporatist model, i.e., where much of the same services are provided by corporations to their employees, supported sometimes by state tax credits[37]. The Nordic system is combined with generous parental paid leave and other tax incentives which have indeed resulted in lowering unpaid work reproductive burdens for women somewhat, but primarily it has resulted in higher labour market participation rates for women. In addition, the majority of the state employed workers who provide the caring are women, and that has raised concerns among some researchers. (Razavi and Hassim, 2006)

If such state policies end up releasing women's time in paid work (market or state) in stereotypical "female" caring jobs should we be alarmed? Is it not the same as performing unpaid (care) work? This is a subject for debate, but it is our view that the two are quite different experiences as the social relations, conditions and entitlements within which the same task is performed differ. It is also interesting to note that although Sweden has a high level of gender occupational segregation it also has the smallest gender based wage gap in the world.

b. Employment Guarantee/Job Creation Based

Many low-income countries, in addition to large deficits in social services, face a severe lack of basic physical infrastructure. Water delivery systems, electrification, roads construction, drainage and sanitation, buildings for schooling and health services are in short supply. More often than not, long unpaid work hours co-exist with deficits in employment, especially for unskilled workers. Faced with structural

[36] Sweden is not alone in this category. In addition to Finland, Norway and Denmark, many European countries provide universal coverage in health, education, etc. but to varying degrees.

[37] These entitlements remain tied-up to employment status.

constraints and insufficient demand for labour, some groups of people are disproportionately excluded from productive remunerative employment. Asymmetries in educational attainment and skills further exacerbate their plight. In such instances, Employment Guarantee Policies, namely the idea of government as employer of last resort, represent a powerful policy intervention and India, South Africa, Argentina, Chile, Zambia, and Bolivia are some of the countries that have enacted such policies. In some countries such interventions have taken the form of employment intensive infrastructure projects[38], which substitute labour for machines within the same budgetary allocation for creation of public physical assets, such as roads in many African countries. A case in point here is the *Expanded Public Works Programme* in South Africa. In other cases projects are devised that guarantee a fixed number of workdays, as through the *National Rural Employment Guarantee Act* in rural India which constitutionally mandates a hundred days of work per annum to rural poor unemployed workers.

An important but overlooked aspect of these initiatives is that female participation rates have been very often high, which points to the existence of unemployment among women but also to hidden unemployment in the form of what is commonly referred to as the "inactive" population. In Maharashtra, India, women comprise 53 per cent of the programme participants and earn about thirty per cent of household income (Engkvist, 1995). Chile's Minimum Employment Program (PEM), originally set up in 1975, had reached 73 per cent of female participation rate by 1987 (Buvinic, 1996). When the Jefes programme was introduced in Argentina in 2001, it anticipated 400,000 participants, heads of households, and to the surprise of officials it reached close to two million people or five per cent of the population (Tcherneva and Wray, 2005). In a year's time, 75 per cent of registered participants were women. These programmes therefore enhance employment opportunities for women.

Public employment guarantee programmes have generally invested much more in infrastructure projects such as construction and maintenance of roads and have placed less emphasis on projects that provide *social services* or those that target *the efficiency and enhancement of public service delivery*.[39] But building a hospital will not be sufficient unless its staffing includes, nurses' aides, personnel that cleans and sanitizes the premises, prepares the meals and assists the patients with daily functions. Encouraging educational attainment will require the construction of the physical

[38] See ILO, EIIP; www.ilo.org/eiip

[39] One exception is the Jefes program in Argentina; a large number of projects are designed specifically to cater to community needs by providing a wide range of goods and services. (Tcherneva and Wray, 2005). Also recently, some opening has been created within the Expanded Public Works Programmes in South Africa.

space and the presence of a teacher. But school attendance will be enhanced if girls are not required to help their families take care of the chronically ill at home by fetching water and providing care, as is often the case in households with HIV/AIDS virus inflicted members in many parts of the world. Implementation of these programmes, when they address infrastructural deficits in public service will benefit women and children by alleviating work that is drudgery and places disproportionate time burdens on them.

Despite the high participation rates of women in these programmes, there has not been adequate cross-country evaluation of the extent to which these programmes are gender-informed in design and implementation. And in those cases when references are made to gender equity the issues discussed pertain to facilitating women's participation and access to these public jobs (i.e., supply of labour issues) such as childcare arrangements, distance of the sites of employment from home residences, gender based wage differentials, etc.[40] These are very important issues. But we must also introduce as an evaluative criterion the degree to which these public employment programmes create jobs in economic sectors and occupations that reduce the amount of free "subsidies" the unpaid work of women provides at the moment (King-Dejardin, 1996; Antonopoulos and Fontana, 2006) These newly created employment opportunities can serve as a vehicle for transforming women's lives by reducing the unpaid work burden and thus altering the paid-unpaid gender division of labour.

In some cases this will translate to prioritizing public investment in infrastructure that reduces unpaid work, such as rural water projects, feeder roads, building separate latrines in schools for girls and boys, which reduce the time allocated to fetching water, walking children to school and allowing female students to go to school, respectively. In other instances it will require investing directly in work activities that are "invisible": childcare, elder care, care for the chronically ill. To truly benefit those most in need, substituting paid employment for portions of currently performed unpaid work, projects will have to be context specific and the best way to guarantee this is by participatory community based project design processes that directly engage with women and women's groups.

Public job guarantee programmes designed with these concerns in mind will have three distinct benefits. First, it will generate income for participants, setting simultaneously a wage floor for all, including some benefits (depending on the design of the programme). These newly created jobs may or may not be always filled by

[40] For work that explicitly addresses differential impacts on men and women see Tcherneva and Wray, (2005) and Krishnaraj et al. (2004).

women. It could be that women are the ones employed as construction workers while young men provide home-based care to those chronically ill. But in all cases, in addition to income, capacity building and skill acquisition will be gained to varying degrees. Second, the goods and services delivered will become part of the basket of consumption for underserved communities and populations, in itself a contribution to pro-poor development. Third, and quite significant for promoting gender equality, this may be turn out to be a very powerful redistributive policy of unpaid work burdens. The importance of employment guarantee programmes in our context is that they can reduce, if well designed, unpaid work while re-distributing the cost of reproduction by creating jobs for both women and men instead of reinforcing the existing gender based division of unpaid labour. But if such projects are not gender-informed, the danger is that they may create a typical "double" day effect for women.

c. Family-based Cash Transfers/Targeted

The next intervention is one that provides a grant to targeted poor households with children, on the condition that in exchange for a monthly cash (transfer) payment the mother of the child will engage in human capital investments that promote the child's welfare in the short run and employability in the long run. Practically, this type of intervention provides incentives to women to engage in unpaid work activities that are mainly focused on securing school attendance for their children as well as scheduling and accompanying them for regular health check-ups. The cash transfers also result in higher food consumption for children and for their families, a clear and important benefit against material deprivation. Cases in point are the *Bolsa Familia* in Brazil and *Oportunidades* (formerly *Progresa*) in Mexico but similar programmes abound in other countries including Colombia, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Turkey (Rawlings, 2005). In terms of increasing enrollment rates and improving preventive health care there is little debate that the intervention yields positive outcomes even at times of negative economic shocks (Attanasio et al., 2005 and 2006). Questions remain, however.

Conditional transfer programmes stem from the concept of social protection as human capital investment. Their premise is that the reproduction of poverty across generations is due to a lack of investment in human capital, and they seek to enhance access to basic services and prevent the use of strategies with adverse long-term consequences such as child labour for example. These interventions aim at, and are quite effective in, influencing behavioural patterns and enhancing the demand poor households have for educational and health services. They provide the cash income to do so and the incentive to participate in the programme as it reduces overall vulnerability and risk, for the duration of participation. But by design, they are not able to address the existing shortages in the available supply of social services and

infrastructure. If this is the case, to give an example, a family that benefits from participating in a cash transfer programme will still be in need of fetching wood, collecting water and taking care of infants. To meet household unpaid work needs, increased levels of school attendance may come at the expense of children's free time. This is not to suggest that a cash transfer is not beneficial to the family. It rather serves the purpose to highlight that unpaid work requirements for the social reproduction of the household will still place burdens on women and children with the potential adverse effects of time stress and sleep or free time of children, which turned out to be the case in cash transfer projects in Bangladesh. (Ravallion and Wodon, 1999).[41] ECLAC (2002) and Britto (2005) have also warned that there is no guarantee that greater educational attainment will reduce intergenerational poverty. This would require school attendance rates to be accompanied by skill formation that matches conditions for labour demand. Higher monetary incomes, in the long term, depend on employment opportunities and in the context of recent global trends in the growth-employment nexus this is far from assured.

In addition, gender sensitive beneficiary assessments raise a crucial issue related to the unequal impacts of such programmes in sharing the responsibilities required by the programme activities. For example, it is argued that the Oportunidades programme in Mexico, despite its principle aim to empower women beneficiaries[42]; results in extra burden of work and time for many women since certain programme activities often require them to travel to attend health centers and education and nutrition workshops or to receive payments (ECLAC, 2007).

More significantly, attention has been drawn to the ways in which women in such programmes seem to be "primarily positioned as a means to secure programme objectives; they are a *conduit of policy*, in the sense that resources channeled through them are expected to translate into greater improvements in the well-being of children and the family as a whole" (Molyneux, 2006). Women may be happy to contribute their time to their children's future (though not in having their mothering roles regulated in the way the programme does), but they still need programmes that can further their own economic security, through training and links to employment (Razavi, 2007). In short there is little in the design of the programme that can further women's economic security, and "scant, if any, childcare provision for those women

[41] According to some researchers, higher demand for education generates negative externalities in the form of lower service delivery if supply remains constant suggesting a need for compensatory supply expansion (Villatoro, 2005). It is also argued that an expanded supply of education, i.e., new buildings closer to place of residence providing greater accessibility, training early childhood educators etc, may be more needed and cost-effective than conditional transfers as a way of improving education for poor families (Coady and Parker, 2002; Skoufias and Parker, 2001; Hirway 2006).

[42] Payments are made only to mothers and grants given to girls are 10 percent higher.

who want or need it because they work, train or study" (ibid). Despite stated aims of "empowering women", the success of the programme has depended on "fortifying and normalizing the responsibilities of motherhood as a way to secure programme goals" (Molyneux, 2006: 440).

d. Family-work Reconciliation Policies and Unpaid Care Work[43]

From a historical perspective the origins of the work-family conflict can be traced in the separation of home and workplace and the increasing labour force participation rates of women (Hein, 2005). When coupled with declining availability of extended family assistance and kin networks due to migration, urbanization and the increasing care needs of the elderly - itself an outcome of increasing life expectancy - extraordinary pressures are placed on families to provide care. Typically longer working hours and two wage-earner family trends in recent times (Kodz et al., 2002; Duxbury and Higgins, 2003) serve to only aggravate the situation. For low-income workers, travel time has increased due to an explosion of real estate markets, which ever expanding urbanization brings about. Unskilled low-pay workers in Rio de Janeiro and Mexico City, for instance, spend around four hours a day in public transportation (Moghadam, 1998; Peters, 1998; Williams, 1998). In other parts of the world, HIV/AIDS has increased time stress (Akintola, 2006; ILO Programme on HIV/AIDS and the World of Work, 2004)

The main aim of reconciliation policies has been to create effective equality opportunity and treatment for men and women in the labour market. These policies are crucial first and foremost in promoting equality but, recently, the role of such policies has also been gaining recognition by employers. Reducing work-family conflict is in the interest of higher productivity, lower turnover rates and costs, and reducing absenteeism (Dench et al., 2000; Duxbury and Higgins, 2003). Furthermore "since employment diversity is an important issue such policies can also help

[43] Reconciling work and family responsibilities has been a major concern of the ILO since the adoption of the maternity protection convention (no.3) in 1919. Later in 1965 a *Recommendation on Women with Family Responsibilities* was introduced, but it was later also recognized that many of the measures under this Recommendation reinforced the traditional role of women as natural providers of care for their families, implicitly divesting men of such responsibilities. Being replaced in 1981 by the *Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention* (no. 156) and Recommendation (no. 165), equality of opportunity and treatment of women and men workers was finally introduced. Yet, very few governments have adopted and implemented an explicit national policy concerning men and women workers with family responsibilities in line with the Convention (ILO, 1993, p. 23). Since these Conventions were adopted in 1981, rising attention has been directed towards this issue. Concerns have been raised regarding the conflicting nature between work and family responsibilities and hence the need to reconcile family and work life.

businesses to attract and recruit employees from a larger pool of the labour force."[44] Thus, for some employers these policies form a way of creating and maintaining competitiveness.

Reconciling work and family responsibilities is also of concern for male workers. Reducing work-family conflict should not only be perceived as women-friendly as noted by Hein (2005), the family roles of men and their appreciation of work-family policies by men are now increasingly recognized and "fathering" programmes reduce turnover rates of employees in male-dominated sectors as well (Hein 2005, p.62). In addition, trade union organizations are increasingly taking into account work-family issues in collective bargaining agreements. The fact, for example, that family responsibilities may constitute a barrier to trade union membership for women and/or restrict their active involvement in union activities has been recently of great concern. It has also been mentioned that this issue may be taken up more and more by unions as in the current climate there might be more scope for non-wage benefits rather than wage gains in collective bargaining (Hein, 2005, p.35).

Ability to cope with work-family conflicts is influenced by several measures related to working time arrangements, leave entitlements, as well as measures related to care. Hein (2005) collects different kinds of measures into three main types as: *establishing routines* (often on a daily basis but sometimes on a weekly or yearly basis) so that both work commitments and family responsibilities can be met satisfactorily and with minimum stress; *coping with major family events*, such as childbirth or long illness of a close member, which require temporary arrangements but of a prolonged duration; *coping with short-term emergencies* or unpaid care demands such as a sick child or an elderly relative who needs to be taken to the doctor which may require on one's time.

[44] Arthur and Cook, 2004 report that the introduction of family-friendly initiatives, announced in Wall Street Journal, increased the value of a said firm in the stock market.

VII. Existing Methodologies on Data Collection, Production and Analysis on Unpaid Care Work[45]

The main tool for collecting information on unpaid work is Time Use Surveys (TUS) and below we provide a discussion on data collection work in this area. It was argued in earlier sections that better understanding of the macro economy, economic modeling that incorporates unpaid work and expanded poverty measures that take into account unpaid work, can be constructed if time use data become available. Such improved tools can provide important inputs in assessing the impact of economic changes and policies, particularly from a gender point of view.

Historically, time use statistics were first produced in the early years of the twentieth century in social surveys reporting on the living conditions of working class families. Later on, in the 1920s, time use surveys were carried out in some centrally planned economies as well as in some industrialized countries (UK & USA), for different specific purposes. The first multinational comparative time use research project in the 1960s included conducting time use surveys in 12 European countries, with the main objective of understanding the use of free time by people on hobbies and recreation; mass media and child care. It was only in the 1970s that unpaid domestic work got the attention of policy makers, statisticians as well as women's movement in industrialized countries. A large number of industrialized countries, such as UK, Germany, Netherlands, Finland, Japan, Australia, Canada, etc. started conducting periodical time use surveys to understand and estimate the contribution of unpaid work of men and particularly women to total well being of people. Over the years, the objectives behind conducting time use surveys have expanded to cover many socio economic objectives, with the objective of estimating contribution of unpaid domestic work still remaining important. Most industrialized countries are conducting periodical time use surveys with multiple objectives. These surveys are now more or less well established in industrialized countries.

In the case of developing countries a large number of countries located in Asia, Africa and Latin America have conducted their first time use survey by now. Included are India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Thailand, Mongolia, Sri Lanka, Lao PDR and South Korea; Benin, Guinea, Mali, Malawi, Madagascar, Mauritius, Morocco, South Africa, Kenya,

[45] This section draws heavily on a earlier co-authored conference paper (Antonopoulos and Hirway, 2005)

Chad; and Argentina, Mexico, Chile, Brazil and Nicaragua respectively. Except for Benin no other country has conducted a second time use survey so far. Though several scholars have analyzed time use statistics to understand different aspects of time use and though discussion on methodological issues are on, these surveys are not yet well established or institutionalized in the national statistical system of developing countries.

Most of these surveys also lack in conceptual clarity, methodological rigor and data quality. As a result, we do not have comparable data on time spent on different activities, and particularly unpaid work. However, the surveys have thrown very useful light on unpaid economic and non-economic work carried out in developing countries.

A. Unpaid Work, Paid Work and Time Use Studies

Though time use studies were first used in the earlier years of the twentieth century as a means of understanding the life style of people, over the years they have emerged as an important tool for: (1) measuring unpaid domestic and voluntary work of men and women; (2) measuring paid (i.e. economic) work of men and women in the informal sector including the household sector; and (3) getting a comprehensive picture of the activities of men and women in economic and non-economic (falling within the General Production Boundary) spheres and in personal services. Time use data are thus seen as an important part of many national statistical systems.

During the last few decades a particular interest emerged from within feminist groups in industrialized countries in the North to measure the "invisible" unpaid *care* work of women to assess both the emerging "double day" and to estimate women's contribution to human welfare. Subsequently time use surveys emerged as a tool of projecting the uneven distribution of total (paid and unpaid) work between men and women in an economy.

The developing countries, however, saw that time use surveys can also throw useful light not only on the "paid work" but also on much of unpaid work. The latter, is frequently not well recorded in these countries due to extended prevalence of informal conditions of work and accompanying conceptual and methodological limitations in conventional data collection systems. Time use surveys, which collect data on how people spend their time, could help in overcoming these conceptual and methodological problems if: (a) the time use information is collected carefully; and (b) it is analyzed systematically using a good classification of time use activities. This new use of time use surveys for estimating and understanding the characteristics of workforce engaged in economic work is now seen as relevant to industrialized

countries also. This is because the labour markets in these countries, under increasing flexibilization, have a variety of production organizations with a wide range of work time arrangements that cannot be captured through conventional surveys. Since women predominate as flexible labour, i.e. as part time workers, home based workers, casual and temporary workers, time use surveys are extremely relevant to understand gender differences in labour market status of workers.

And recently, time use surveys have also been recognized as a tool that provides comprehensive information on human life. Human activities can be broadly divided into three categories, namely, economic activities, i.e. the activities falling within the Production Boundary of the UN System of National Accounts (UN-SNA) as discussed earlier, unpaid activities falling outside the Production Boundary, mainly domestic services, voluntary services, etc.; and personal care and leisure activities like sleeping, watching TV, etc. which cannot be delegated to others. Though all the three categories of activities contribute to human well-being and though national policies impact on all the categories of activities, many national statistical offices still collect data only on marketized and fully reported activities, and national policies are formulated and monitored using this partial picture. This approach of using a partial picture for formulating policies that affect the entire economy or society does not seem to be appropriate; and since unpaid activities are performed predominantly by women, it undermines women's interests. Time use survey technique is therefore needed to get a comprehensive picture of the activities of men and women.

B. Time Use Studies Improve Estimates of Macro Variables

Information on how people spend their time on the different paid and unpaid activities can be used in getting improved estimates of some macro variables, which in turn can also be useful in macroeconomic modeling. The macro variables are: (1) workforce estimates; (2) national income estimates; (3) valuation of "unpaid" work; and (4) national time accounts.

a. Improving Workforce Estimates: Workforce, particularly in developing economies, is underestimated in "difficult to measure sectors" like subsistence sector, home-based work, home work and other informal sector activities as: (1) the nature of work in these activities gets mixed with household work and it is not always easy to distinguish between the two; (2) informal sector units are small/tiny, temporary, scattered and uncertain; (3) workers, mainly women workers, frequently suffer from socio-cultural biases which prevent them from reporting their economic work correctly; (4) investigators also frequently suffer from socio-cultural biases which prevent them from reporting women's work accurately; and (5) work in the

subsistence sector is many times not reported adequately as conventional surveys fail to report this work accurately. Time use surveys can get over these difficulties if these are organized well. In India, for example, the time use survey based workforce estimates have proved to be more accurate.

b. Improving National Income Estimates: There are three major sectors/sub sectors, which are underestimated or not estimated in national income estimates: (1) informal economy; (2) production for self consumption, i.e. subsistence economy; and (3) underground or illegal economy. The main reason for this non/under estimation is the lack of adequate statistics. *Contribution of informal sector activities* is frequently compiled by multiplying the number of workers in each of the activities with its average production, (which is calculated by conducting special surveys). The total contribution of each of the activities is then added up to arrive at the total contribution of the informal sector to the national GDP. Time use surveys are useful in improving these data as they can provide better estimates of workers for the different informal sector activities. *Contribution of subsistence sector to national income* also can be improved by using time use data. The production boundary for the purpose of estimating National Accounts (UN-SNA) was expanded in 1993 to cover non-marketed production for own consumption. It is difficult to estimate the production for self consumption, through conventional surveys, as frequently these activities get mixed with unpaid domestic services and conventional surveys find it difficult to collect data on how many persons spend time on subsistence activities and how much do they produce for self consumption, etc. A time use survey is a suitable survey for collection of these data as they collect comprehensive information on how people spend their time on difficult activities and how much do they produce (collected through the suitable context variables).

c. Valuation of Unpaid Work/Satellite Accounts: Unpaid domestic services are outside the purview of national income according to the 1993 UN-SNA. However, these services contribute to human well being in several ways. Since women are predominant in these services, it is important to estimate their contribution to the total welfare of the economy. That is, valuation of unpaid domestic services is essential for making visible women's contribution to total welfare. However, there are several conceptual and methodological problems in this valuation: (1) many domestic services do not have market prices available for valuation, as these activities are never marketed; (2) domestic services are performed in non-competitive non-market environment and therefore it is not valid to use market prices to value these activities; and (3) the concept of time in the unpaid domestic sector is elastic, as the same work can be done in different time periods. In spite of these problems, attempts have been made to value these activities, using the following approaches:

Input Method: According to this method the time input in unpaid work is valued by multiplying it with an appropriate wage rate. These kinds of wages are used: specialized wage rate, generalized wage rate and opportunity cost. This approach has several limitations, as it ignores the role of capital in the production.

Output Method: According to this method, unpaid work is presented in output terms (for example, so many meals prepared, so many clothes washed, etc.) so as to compute its value by multiplying the output produced with market prices. This approach also has several limitations, as not all domestic services can be converted into output. Also, the value of output needs to be expressed in terms of value added.

Households Input/Output Tables or National Accounts of Household Economy: This is essentially an extension of SNA to include unpaid household productive activities of men and women in a system of "household" accounts, which will be separate from, but consistent with, the main accounts. That is, these will be presented in Satellite Accounts.

Satellite National Time Accounts are essentially income and expenditure accounts of time, similar to the estimates of national income and expenditure that account for market transactions in monetary terms. The accounts present how households allocate time between paid work, unpaid work and leisure according to the standard categories of industrial activities (for paid work), and standard categories of household production and leisure. A system of national time accounts would provide a basis for international comparisons and for greatly improved modeling of economic and social systems. Regular national time accounts present a more complete perspective and understanding of the role of household in the total economy, productive activities and leisure activities, and the interaction between the household and the market. So far countries like Netherlands, Canada, Australia, etc. have compiled National Time Accounts.

C. Time Use Surveys: Concepts and Methodologies

The concepts and methods of conducting time use surveys are still not well established at the global level. One observes a variety of concepts and methods used in conducting time use surveys. The variations are observed particularly in: (1) objectives; (2) nature of the surveys (i.e. independent survey or attached to other major survey); (3) background schedule; (4) methods of time use data collections; (5) context variables; (6) classification of activities; and (7) data analysis and use. Some work has been initiated by the UN Statistical Division, ILO, IATUR (International

Association of Time Use Research), etc. to standardize these concepts and methods. It will be useful to survey the literature carefully and further the process of harmonization of concepts and methods at the global level.

1. What Do Time Use Data Tell Us?

Information collected through time use surveys has three components: (1) information collected through the background schedule, i.e. the socioeconomic information on the background of the respondent; (2) the time use pattern of the respondent, i.e. the details about how the respondent has spent his/her time; and (3) the context of the time use activities through contextual variables. The background schedule collects all the relevant information on the respondents depending on the objectives of the survey. Generally it collects information about the socio-economic characteristics of the household as well as the individual and any other information, which can be related to their time use to understand the time use better. For example, the background information can help in analyzing the time use patterns of the poor and non-poor, of men and women, of children going to school and not going to school, a married woman or a single woman, different ethnic groups, etc. The time use survey component collects detailed information on how individuals spend their time on a daily and weekly basis, while contextual variables basically provide the context of time use activities. Contextual variables provide critical information about the activities in a manner that the utility of the information on the time use is enhanced considerably. The major contextual variables are about: (a) the location of time use activities (for example, whether the activity is performed inside or outside home); (b) for whom or for what purpose is the activity performed (for example, whether the activity is for self consumption or for sale); (c) the activity is performed with whom or accompanied by whom (for example, whether the activity is performed with children or adult or others); and (d) any other characteristics of time use activities, such as whether the activity is paid (remunerated directly) or unpaid. The background schedule, the comprehensive details of the time use and the context of the activities together provide a wealth of information which has immense possibilities of uses for different purposes.

Time use surveys need not be independent surveys. They can be linked to relate the time use information with other relevant areas of study. For example, these can be a module on time use survey in a labour and employment survey, as was done for Benin, Nepal, or it can be a module of a survey on living conditions as in the case of Guatemala, or it can be a module in an expenditure and consumption survey as in the cases of Lao PDR and Oman.

Several measurements, indicators and indices can be developed to use these data meaningfully. In this paper we will discuss the issues relating to the use of time use data: (1) in estimating accurately the GDP; (2) in monetary valuation of unpaid work; and (3) in preparing national time accounts and time based social indicators.

2. Improved Measurement of Gross Domestic Product Using Time Use Statistics

The problem areas for the estimates of the gross domestic product (GDP) in an economy are the areas of the non-observed economy, namely, underground production/informal production and subsistence production (OECD 2002). Underground production is defined as that production, which is legal but is deliberately concealed from the public authorities to avoid payment of taxes or complying with regulations. A part of the underground production comes from self employed workers and production units who subcontract their work to workers at home. Informal sector production is the production that is undertaken by unincorporated enterprises in the household sector. These units are generally unregistered and have a very small size. Subsistence production or production of households for their own final use is the production of goods and services consumed or capitalized by the households that produce them.

In the case of the informal economy, the major problems with respect to data are under coverage of enterprises, under reporting of enterprises and non-response of enterprises. This is primarily because the informal economy, which is highly heterogeneous, covers a large variety of economic activities, such as, own account workers (self employed) managing their own enterprises; persons engaged in petty trade, petty manufacturing and petty services; home workers and home based workers who are partly piece rated wage earners and partly informal enterprises; and other informal workers engaged in small and petty economic activities. Since these activities are short term, temporary, scattered, and sporadic, these are not captured adequately by conventional surveys.

As a result, a common practice in several developing economies is to estimate the average production of workers by conducting special surveys for the sectors in which informal economy is operating, and multiplying the production with the number of workers employed in the sector. The employment data are captured through conventional employment/labour force surveys. Such an approach, however, frequently leads to under estimation of the output, as the conventional labour force surveys are observed to be under reporting workers (Hirway, 2002).

Time use surveys are expected to net the informal workers adequately. Since time use surveys collect comprehensive information about how people spend their time on

different activities, a good classification of activities can provide improved estimates of workers, who are employed temporarily, seasonally or sporadically, as self employed, as unpaid family workers, as causal labour or home workers or home based workers. Improved estimates of workers, then leads to improved estimates of production from a number of activities located in the informal economy.

It is frequently argued that adding supplementary questions to labour force surveys will provide correct estimates of informal workers. It is also argued that adding supplementary questions to household income and expenditure surveys will provide data on goods and services produced by the informal sector. However, past experience tells us that time use data clearly have an advantage in getting improved estimates of workers engaged in the different sectors of the informal economy (Hirway, 2003; Charmes, 2006). There can be two approaches to estimating additions to the GDP: (1) independent valuation from the informal economy and (2) improving existing estimates by using improved estimates of the work force engaged in the different sectors of the informal economy. Unfortunately none of these have been tried out in any country so far[46]

3. Valuation of Unpaid SNA and non-SNA Work

Valuation of unpaid work is an area of extensive debate in the literature and there are experts who argue against valuation on the grounds that the underlying assumptions are highly unrealistic, while on the other hand elaborate methodologies for valuation have been presented and used.

The first set of issues arises in the context of questioning the efficacy of the methodology involved in assigning monetary value (shadow prices so to speak) on unpaid work. Economic work in the market place is performed under competitive conditions, where efficiency and productivity matter, while household work (and voluntary work) is carried out within the household environment where there is no pressure of competitive forces. Commodification through market exchange processes is essential for price/value formation and when there is no exchange, it is difficult to put any value to that activity .Why compare non-comparables?

In addition, valuation of unpaid work entails a large number of assumptions, such as whether the quality of household services remains the same for all households.

[46] An expert committee of the department of statistics, government of India, has recently finalized the classification of time use activities in a manner that will help in estimating employment in the informal sector

Serious problems arise also in regard to the availability of the required data and about the methodology of valuation. Do cooked meals and care provided to children, etc. have the same quality in each household? Is the quality of the home produced service similar to that in the market? Should one use the replacement market wage rate of a domestic worker or of a specialist (i.e., a chef or a cook)? Is the childcare provided by a low literacy level and a Ph.D. holder mother of the same valuation? No standard methodologies have been developed so far. In fact, different methods are likely to give different values of the same service: for example fetching water can be the value of the time spent on fetching water (computed on the basis of the time spent) or the value of the water (production cost of water). The input method will measure the burden, while the output method will value the product.

In spite of these problems, however, valuation of unpaid work is essential on the following grounds:

- Like economic work, unpaid work contributes to human well being. In many economies unpaid SNA and non SNA work accounts for the lion share of the access to means of survival for the majority of the population. In fact, the contribution of unpaid work is fairly comparable with that of the economic work insofar as securing basic needs. If we need an aggregate variable to measure the total well being in any economy, it is important to value the unpaid work component.

- The valuation will give visibility to the unpaid work in official statistics. (Time accounting will not do it). This will provide the basis for unpaid workers to claim entitlements and their due share in the budgetary allocations to improve the productivity of their work and conditions of work. The valuation will be a formal recognition given to unpaid work in macroeconomics and macroeconomic policy making.

- Though unpaid work is not exchanged in the market, it is not free. It has a cost, as it uses human capital plus other capital like space, equipment, facilities etc. Unpaid work is also not unlimited; there is a limit to it. In a strict sense therefore unpaid work is an economic good and it needs to be valued.

- An important implication of the valuation of unpaid work will be for women and the poor, as unpaid work is a major constraint to their development opportunities. Valuation of unpaid work will make their contribution visible, highlight the unjust inequalities and justify measures to promote gender equality and poverty reduction.

- There are some other important implications of the valuation. First, the valuation of unpaid work contributed by a woman will improve her claim to entitlements, social insurance, access to pensions and to compensation in the case of divorce. Greek female rural unpaid workers for example receive old age pensions and have by now access to health benefits in their own right. The Republic of Korea is considering introduction of these measures as well. The valuation will also help in the engenderment of national budgets, as it will justify larger allocations to women's development and empowerment.

As is well known, national income estimates are not only macro level estimates of the total well being, but they also form the basis for measuring and monitoring the performance of an economy. The SNA (1993) has very rightly recommended valuation of unpaid work and compilation of satellite accounts for unpaid work, and this is also the case of the Platform For Action Recommendations of the Beijing World Conference on Women, which has also included this valuation in its official document[47].

[47] UN-ESCAP (2003)"Integrating Unpaid Work into National Policies", Section 4 on Policy Implications of Unpaid Work, UN, New York

Part II: Recommendations

a. Better design and more frequent collection of time use data
b. Analysis of family-work reconciliation policies and unpaid care work
c. Explore importance of employment guarantee policies on unpaid work
d. Address lack of regulation, period of retirement or any kind of social protection for paid informal care workers.

a. Better design, more frequent collection of, and wider use of time use data

Taking into consideration the paid/unpaid work nexus suggests that inequality, poverty and any assessment of economic policy (and reforms) requires a more comprehensive framework. At the macro level such evaluation requires that we create a model of the economy in ways that capture: (a) contribution of unpaid work to GDP and (b) not only changes in growth, prices, external and internal deficits and exchange rate fluctuations but also on overall production of output generated via unpaid work assisted by creating satellite accounts. Inequality and poverty should include estimates of: (a) time poverty and (b) unequal distribution of unpaid work time. Ideally a macro-micro framework would be able to combine the two aspects mentioned above. Such a framework is possible by creating gender aware (time and value) input-output tables for Social Accounting Matrix Analysis. Separate tables would further keep track of household level and inter-group (women/men) differences.

Just as a policy example, the removal of food price subsidies is usually analyzed in terms of shifts in money income and consumption levels, which serve as indicators of the impact on living standards. However, changes in household income and consumption do not adequately convey the other important changes that also may have resulted from such a policy. Existing welfare indicators do not take into account the serious consequences of longer hours of household work, reduction in sleeping hours or increased time spent on multiple and simultaneous activities all of which have implications for the well-being of men and, more particularly, women and children in poor households. The absence of data, though, on increased unpaid work, overlapping tasks and their impact on health is likely to give a false impression of the effectiveness of the policy reforms, disregarding the effects on those who are likely to be both "time-poor" and "cash-poor". It will therefore be necessary to develop new indicators to monitor progress in time allocation. Some of the indicators could be (ESCAP 2003):

- Total time spent by men and women on SNA and non-SNA activities
- The share of unpaid work in the total work performed by men and women

- Time spent on multiple activities (per week) indicating time stress
- Personal time enjoyed by men and women
- Time spent by children working

Therefore, governments and institutions need to develop mechanisms that will monitor the impact of policies and programmes on unpaid work. Better design of surveys and more frequent time use data collection will be an important first step.

But a most important aspect of promoting policy action on unpaid work is examining the process that will increase public understanding of the issues and concerns, and mobilizing those persons who have the power to transform time-use data into an agenda for women and men whose unpaid work has not been counted (ESCAP, 2003).

b. Further research on family-work reconciliation policies and unpaid care work

As argued in section IV family-work reconciliation policies are progressively being embraced as a key response to promote equal opportunity and treatment for men and women in the labour market. These policies are important, but "reconciling work and family responsibilities" may well turn out to be too *women-friendly* in practice and leave intact the gender-based division of labour of paid/unpaid work and unquestioned the very meaning of "family responsibility". To promote gender equality, reconciliation polices must be combined with options that aim to create alternatives to family-centric social reproduction. Flexible arrangements may be an advance over rigid schedules but not if it is mostly women who take "advantage" of them. In any event the point is that public debate is taking place around these issues and it needs to continue.

There are still many difficulties that need to be addressed particularly with respect to the gendered nature of work as well as the differences in the nature of work in developing countries vis-à-vis developed countries. Moreover, research evidence on earlier experiences confirms many problems in practice, both in designing and implementing these measures. In practice measures to reduce work-family conflicts and protect workers with family obligations can turn out to reinforce the gender distribution of household responsibilities if policies are not designed to challenge the ideal worker model, i.e., as one dedicated to the firm, one that is devoid of "other" responsibilities. Employers end up discriminating against women as for example the case in Korea, reconstituting unpaid work as the primary domain of labour activities for women (Sung, 2003).

The ILO (2003) report *Time for Equality at Work* notes that "there is a danger that as work-family policies are so often aimed implicitly or explicitly at women in particular they may end up reinforcing the image of women as 'secondary' earners and accruing to the double burden of working women" (p.75). Family responsibilities are still very much assigned to women. When they have to combine child-raising activities with work activities, women are required to find a solution for balancing these two roles. For example a recent study based on Australian Bureau of Statistics Time Use Survey shows evidence indicating that compared to fathering, mothering involves not only more overall time commitment but more multitasking, more physical labour, a more rigid timetable, more time alone with children, and more overall responsibility for managing care (Craig, 2006). The study also shows that this finding applies even when women work full-time.

"Role incompatibility is likely to be a greater problem for women in wage employment, less for those in self-employment and least for contributing family workers who are unpaid (but still count as employed people according to the standard definition of employment)" (ILO, 2004). The main examples of countries which have addressed work-family conflicts as part of a gender equality strategy come from the Scandinavian countries, where family policies have converged with equality policies, with the aim of encouraging and facilitating greater participation of men in family life and of women in employment.[48]

But equally important is the contextualization of the importance of such policies in terms of differences between North and the South: there is some, but very little discussion outside the North but also the availability of inexpensive market-based domestic service functions as a cushion that diminishes family tensions around unpaid work. Although this privilege is available only to the middle and upper classes, they are precisely those most likely to contribute to the debates and to introduce legislation to begin with. But most importantly, the vast majority of poor women in the South find themselves working under informal conditions. This phenomenon requires different thinking and hence such programmes that are tied to formal employment are irrelevant for them.

Beneria (2007) questions whether the types of legislation that are designed mainly for the North are appropriate for the developing world particularly for Latin American countries. In answering this question she points out there are three main differences between the North and the South that must be taken into consideration: a) the

[48] See gender equality objectives in Sweden, Hein, 2005, p.37 and Sweden Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications, 1999.

debates around policies of reconciliation are apparently less urgent than in the Northern countries given the sparse research and practice on developing economies; b) the extent and nature of the informal economy differ in the South (formal and secure work corresponds only to the small portion of population); and c) with globalisation rising feminization of migration has been observed in the South (Beneria, 2007). The implications of this trend in terms of reconciliation policies has been that the need to balance unpaid and paid in the South shifts away from mothers and younger women who migrate to the North to those who replace them back home. Taking into account such crucial differences between North and the South there is an urgent need to link reconciliation policies with employment guarantee policies at home (Antonopoulos, 2007) and human development or capabilities approach, for women and children (Beneria, 2007).

c. Explore the linkages between employment guarantee policies and unpaid work

Employment guarantee programmes can provide support by constructing the required assets and infrastructure that alleviate unpaid work burdens. For example, the programmes can build infrastructure like water supply to provide water at the door step, can build assets like farm ponds, minor irrigation works, etc. to enhance productivity of subsistence work, and can regenerate eco systems that ensure necessities like fuel wood (with the use of fuel efficient stoves) and raw materials for the large majority of the population that depend on natural resources for their livelihood.

It needs to be underlined, however, that all domestic work cannot be delegated to employment guarantee programmes. Each household has a "household time overhead", i.e. the minimum number of hours that a household must spend on basic chores vital to the survival of the family, on the activities like cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, fetching water, shopping necessities, etc. The duration of this time depends on several socio economic factors like income and assets of the household, equipment, cultural values and customs, etc. But, providing appropriate infrastructure, services and suitable assets can reduce overhead time of poor households. Employment guarantee programmes can help in reducing this time by reducing the drudgery of household work.

The total effect will be positive in terms of reduction of time stress and increased time for leisure or for productive work, improved productivity of work and improved health and overall well being of women as well as improved access of children to better health, better nutrition and better education.

To sum up, support can be provided to women (and men) engaged in unpaid drudgery by undertaking the following works / assets in an employment guarantee programme.

1. Provision of water supply through constructing water harvesting structures and also water distribution systems.
2. Plantation of trees for fuel wood along with production of energy efficient stores.
3. Construction of bio gas energy plants that use cow dung and produce clean gas as energy for cooking and heating.
4. Construction of child care facilities for infants (below 3 years).
5. Construction of pre schools for 3-6 year old children
6. Construction of primary schools and related infrastructure like, toilets, provision of water, mid day meal kitchens, etc.
7. Construction of dispensaries and health care centers for grown ups to take care of sick, old and the disabled.
8. Improving and expanding government services by constructing additional facilities to reduce waiting time of people.
9. Reducing travel time of people by constructing new roads and by improving transportation services.

An important observation emerging from the paper is that women (and poor) in developing economies spend considerable time on unpaid subsistence work including collection of basic necessities like water, fuel, wood, etc. and unpaid care work. They also spend a good amount of time on traveling. Most of this unpaid work, which involves drudgery, can be turned into productive employment in the mainstream economy through appropriate planning of works under employment guarantee programmes. To put it differently, the hidden vacancies can be filled through well-designed employment guarantee programmes.

The impact of filling the hidden vacancies can be multi fold. On the one hand, it can reduce drudgery and time stress of men and particularly women; alleviate poverty by generating employment and incomes for the poorest at the bottom in the short run and many more poor in the long run and contribute significantly to gender equality; while on the other hand, it can modify the course of economic development in developing economies by leading them towards full employment economies. It can also contribute significantly towards improving education and nutrition of children and to overall improvement of health as well as well being of women and others.

The paper has indicated that the new database needed for planning for such programmes is not readily available. Time use surveys, along with a sound base of

other data, can help considerably in this context. A positive development observed in developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America in this context is that many of these countries have conducted, or are in the process of conducting their first time use survey. Though there are several gaps in these surveys in survey design, data collection methods and classification of time use activities, the data thrown by these surveys are adequate to establish the utility of such surveys for planning for reducing unpaid drudgery under employment programmes.

A lot is to be achieved, however, in terms of improving the methods of conducting time use surveys to improve the quality of the data. There is a need to conduct these surveys with much more rigorous methods than what are being used at present.

d. Address the needs of paid (informal) care workers: lack of regulation, retirement benefits and social protection

One of the "solutions" for better reconciling work with family responsibilities involves more paid employment in caring but the conditions of work and employment in these jobs often leave much to be desired. Undervaluation of paid care work goes hand in hand with lack of recognition of unpaid care work which is seen as natural, and not requiring skills.

The growth of the care sector has provided more jobs for women as most is done by women (ex. UK it grew by 21 per cent from 1998 to 2002 and only 2 per cent of childcare workers are men) Care workers are among the most poorly paid and have the highest turnover rates. Since it comes as the traditional task of women it is not perceived as skill requiring but rather coming naturally to women. It is barely recognized as a profession. Organizing and obtaining better conditions is a major challenge for them since for example 25 per cent of childcare workers work either part-time or as casuals in Australia (Goward, 2001)

Wage rates are even lower than average female wage rates thus reinforcing the gender gap in earnings. The move away from public to private services in care in many countries, with the state having more of a managerial than a providing role means that women benefit less from the wage margin of public sector employment and national wage determination for public sector workers.

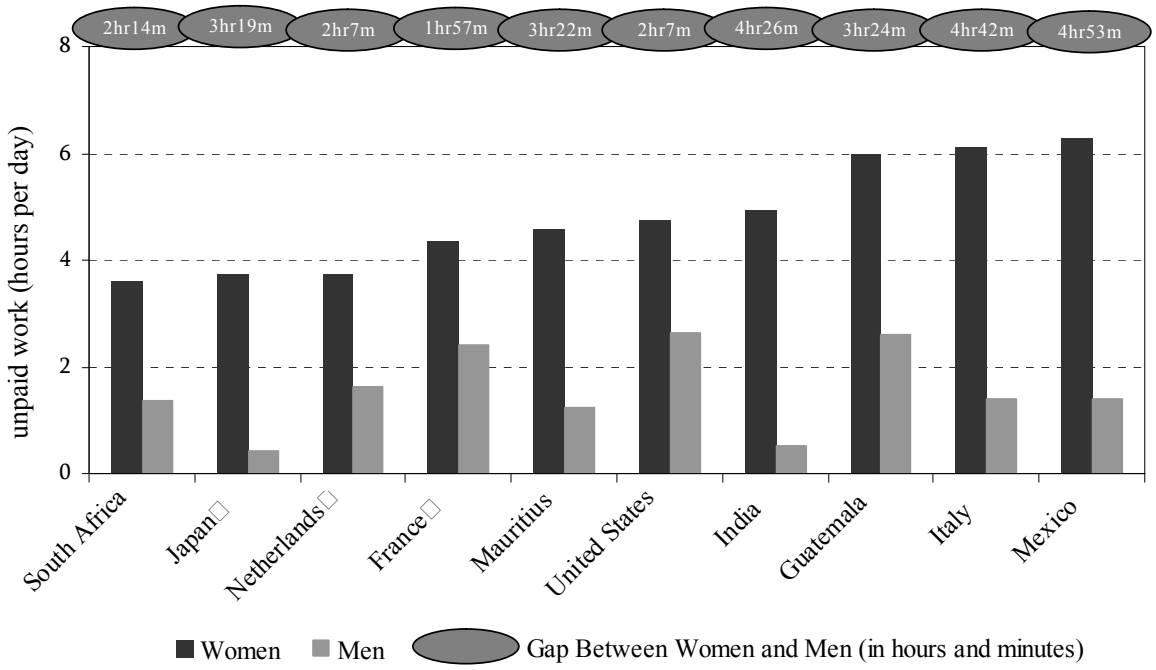
Specific to domestic workers, the majority of them tend to work longer hours for low pay. A recent survey of the legislation in more than 60 countries found that 19 countries have enacted specific laws or regulations dealing with domestic workers and another 19 have devoted specific chapters or sections. The result is that domestic workers are afforded lower level of protection than other workers and tend by law to

have longer hours of work (Ramirez-Machado, 2003). Granting domestic workers the same basic labour rights that are afforded to other workers by legislation could be a first step to improving their conditions (ex. ILO, 1999). Unionization of domestic workers is a way for them to increase their bargaining power and improve their conditions of work (ex. union action in Bangladesh and South Africa).

Female migration in this context has significant impacts both in the South and the North. In the receiving countries, the employment of women immigrants represents an individual household's solution to the needs of balancing family and labour market work. To the extent that many households recur to similar solutions, it contributes to the privatization of social reproduction prevailing under global neoliberalism. This solution is open to families that can afford the corresponding costs but leaves lower income households without solving the problems of balancing paid and unpaid work. Thus, it might tend to decrease social pressures to find collective solutions to the crisis of care, thus contributing to the vicious circle through which households in countries with insufficient public care services have to search for individual solutions that do not contribute to collective care. In the South, the need to balance paid and unpaid work shifts from the women who migrate to the individuals who replace them. In the case of mothers leaving their children behind, studies show that it's mostly women who replace them, even in cases when fathers assume responsibility, and this includes especially close relatives or female extended kin. Policy must address their needs urgently.

APPENDIX A. TABLES AND FIGURES INCLUDED IN THE TEXT[49]

Figure I-1 Time Spent on Unpaid Work: Selected Developing and OECD Countries



Sources: Author's tabulations data from UNDP (2006) for OECD countries and ECLAC (2007)

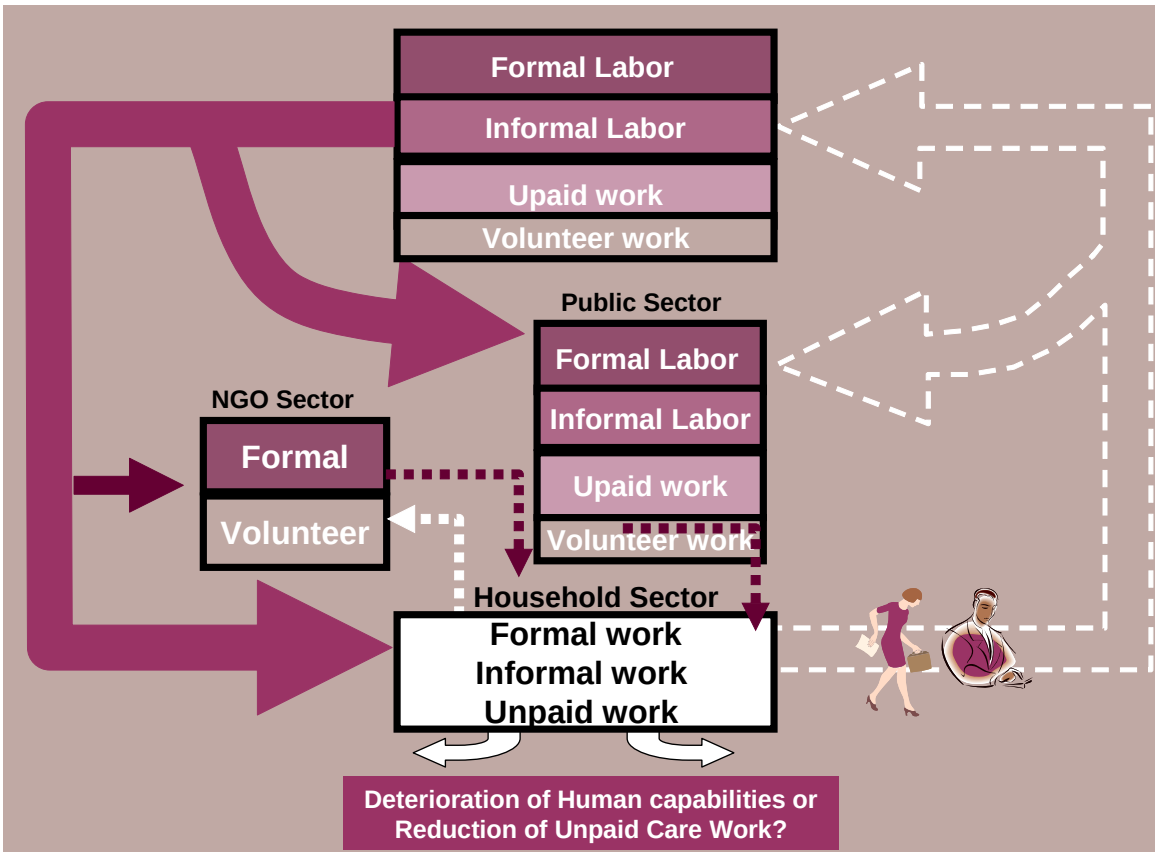
Table I-1	The Overlap of Paid/Unpaid Work and SNA/Non-SNA Work			
SNA work (production boundary)	**(A) Paid work** (for the market)	**(B) Unpaid work** (for the market)	**(C) Unpaid work for the household** (non-market)	
Non-SNA work (outside the production boundary)				**(D) Unpaid work** (non-market; hh maintenance, care work and volunteer work)

[49] The order of the tables and figures follows the order they appear in the text.

Table I-2	Time Spent Fetching Water in Benin and Madagascar (In hours and minutes)					
	Benin (1998)			Madagascar (2001)		
	Women	Men	Women/Men	Women	Men	Women/Men
Urban	16	6	267%	16	10	160%
Rural	1h 2	16	388%	32	8	400%
Urban + Rural	45	12	375%	27	9	300%

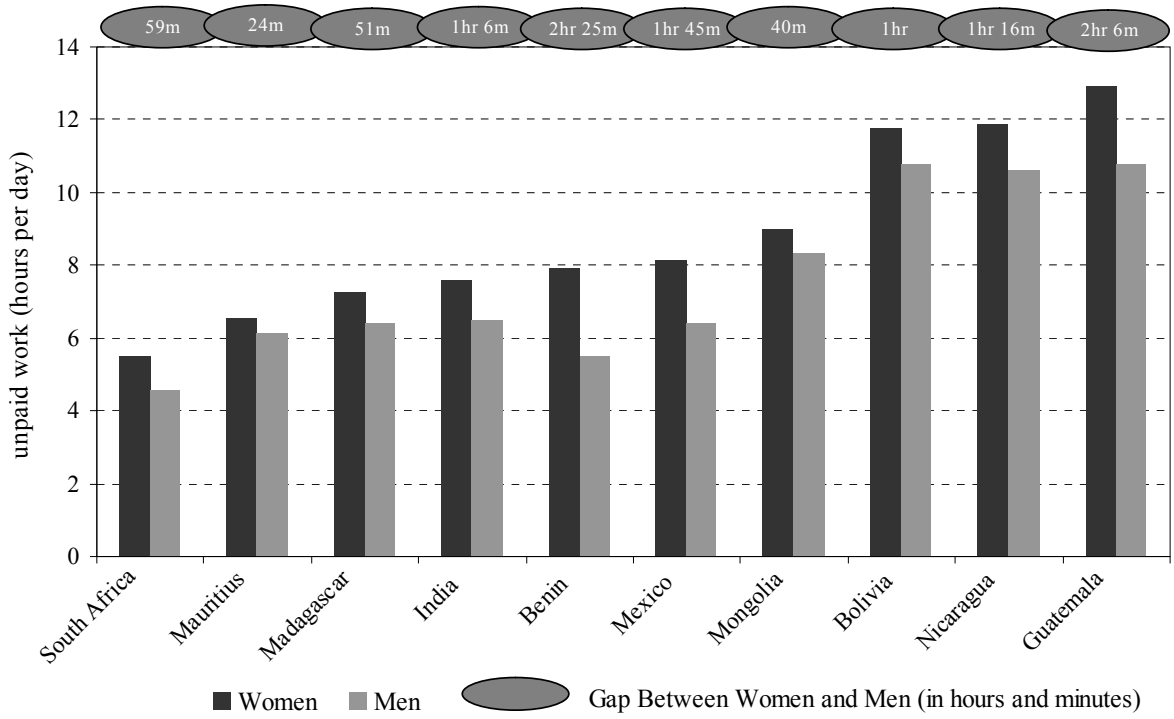
Source: Kes and Swaminathan, 2006. "Gender, Time-Use and Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa." World Bank Working Paper No. 73, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank

Figure II-1 Unpaid Works and the Macroeconomy



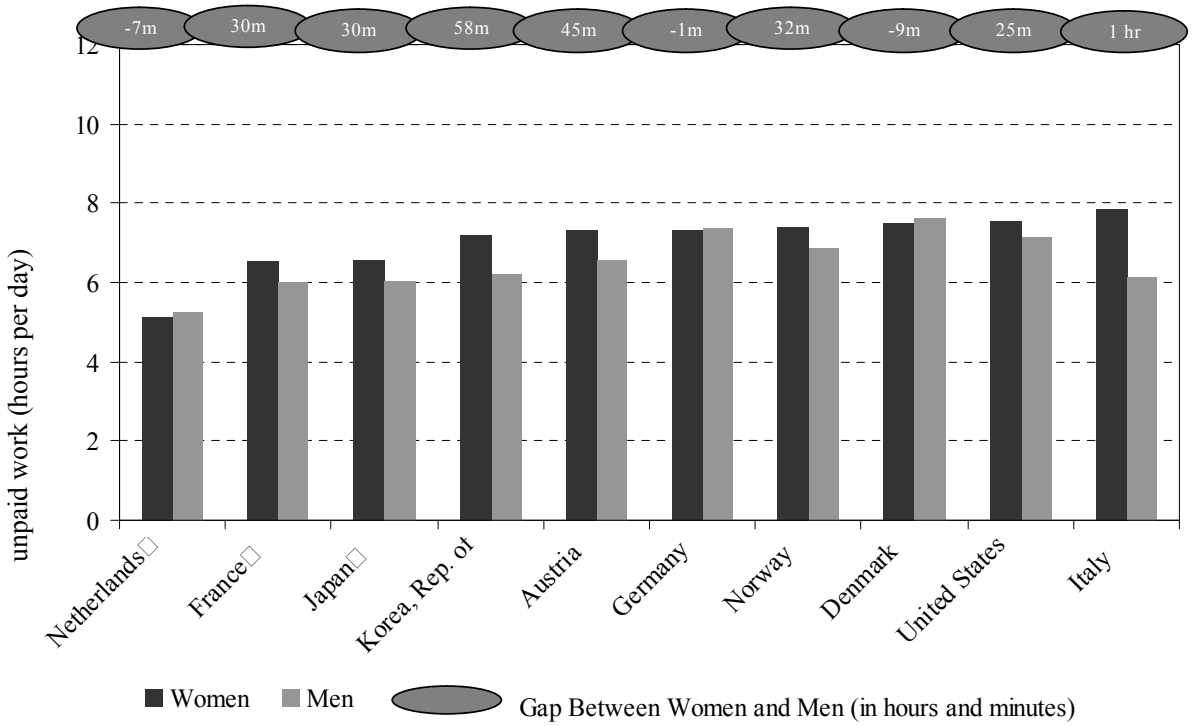
Note: Original graphic design is from E. Gomez Luna, "*Unpaid Work and the System of National Accounts*", Conference on "Unpaid Work: Gender, Poverty and the MDGs", The Levy Economics Institute, October3-4, 2005.

Figure III-1 Time Spent on Total Work – Selected Developing Countries



Sources: Author's tabulations data from UNDP (2006) for OECD countries and ECLAC (2007)

Figure III-2 Time Spent on Total Work – Selected OECD Countries



Sources: ibid. as for Figure III.1 above.

Table III-1	Male and Female Status of Employment 1996 and 2006							
	Wage and salaried Workers				Employers			
	1996		2006		1996		2006	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
World	**42.9**	**45.7**	**47.9**	**49.2**	**1.5**	**3.8**	**1.4**	**3.3**
Developed Economies and European Union	86.7	81.9	89.5	83.1	3.4	6.9	3.0	6.9
Central and Eastern Europe (non-EU) and CIS	78.5	*76.5*	79.0	*76.2*	0.5	*2.6*	0.8	*2.9*
East Asia	31.4	*42.1*	40.8	*48.7*	1.1	*2.9*	0.8	*1.5*
South East Asia and the Pacific	28.8	*37.6*	34.9	*41.4*	1.0	*3.1*	1.0	*2.6*
South Asia	10.3	*19.5*	15.3	*27.2*	0.5	*2.3*	0.4	*1.4*
Latin America and the Caribbean	66.6	*59.3*	67.5	*60.7*	2.0	*5.0*	1.7	*4.4*
Middle East and North Africa	47.5	*52.2*	56.2	*55.4*	2.4	*9.7*	4.1	*11.4*
Sub-Saharan Africa	13.8	*26.8*	17.0	*29.5*	1.1	*2.7*	1.4	*2.7*
	Own-Account Workers				Contributing Family Workers			
	1996		2006		1996		2006	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
World	**22.4**	**34.7**	**25.7**	**35.9**	**33.2**	**15.8**	**25.1**	**11.6**
Developed Economies and European Union	6.4	10.2	5.4	9.3	3.5	1.0	2.1	0.7
Central and Eastern Europe (non-EU) and CIS	10.2	*15.8*	12.4	*17.5*	10.8	*5.1*	7.8	*3.4*
East Asia	28.7	*34.7*	37.4	*37.0*	38.8	*20.4*	20.9	*12.8*
South East Asia and the Pacific	22.9	*41.2*	27.1	*41.4*	47.2	*18.1*	37.1	*14.6*
South Asia	16.3	*55.8*	21.7	*55.2*	72.8	*22.4*	62.6	*16.2*
Latin America and the Caribbean	24.2	*29.5*	25.6	*31.1*	7.2	*6.2*	5.1	*3.7*
Middle East and North Africa	17.1	*23.4*	11.3	*21.2*	33.0	*14.7*	28.4	*11.9*
Sub-Saharan Africa	49.0	*43.6*	42.3	*44.4*	36.2	*27.0*	39.3	*23.3*

Source: ILO Global Employment Trends for Women, 2007, Table 5.

Table III-2	Informal Employment in Non-agricultural Employment, 1994/2000		
Region/Country	Informal employment (IE) as percentage of non-agricultural employment (NAE)	Women's IE as percentage of women's NAE	Men's IE as percentage of men's NAE
North Africa	**48**	**43**	**49**
Algeria	43	41	43
Morocco	45	47	44
Tunisia	50	39	53
Egypt	55	46	57
Sub-Saharan Africa	**72**	**84**	**63**
Benin	93	97	87
Chad	74	95	60
Guinea	72	87	66
Kenya	72	83	59
South Africa	51	58	44
Latin America	**51**	**58**	**48**
Bolivia	63	74	55
Brazil	60	67	55
Chile	36	44	31
Colombia	38	44	34
Costa Rica	44	48	42
El Salvador	57	69	46
Guatemala	56	69	47
Honduras	58	65	74
Mexico	55	55	54
Rep Dominicana	48	50	47
Venezuela	47	47	47
Asia	**65**	**65**	**65**
India	83	86	83
Indonesia	78	77	78
Philippines	72	73	71
Thailand	51	54	49
Syria	42	35	43

Source: J. Charmes in ILO (2002) data.

Table III-3	Home-Based Workers in Selected Developing Countries		
Countries/Categories of Workers	Number of Home-based Workers	Per Cent of Non-Agricultural Workforce	Women as Per Cent of Total
Only Homeworkers Covered			
Chile (1997)	79,740	2	82
Philippines (1993-5)	2,025,017	14	79
Thailand (1999)	311,790	2	80
Only Self-Employed Covered			
Brazil (1995)	2,700,000	5	79
Costa Rica (1997)	48,565	5	45
Morocco (1982)	128,237	4	79
Peru (1993)	128,700	5	35
Both Categories Covered			
Benin (1992)	595,544	66	74
Guatemala (2000)	721,506	26	77
India (1999-2000)	23,496,800	17	44
Kenya (1999)	777,100	15	35
Mexico (1995)	5,358,331	17	43
Tunisia (1997)	211,336	11	38
Venezuela (1997)	1,385,241	18	63

Source: ILO (2002) where the data is based on the calculations provided by Charmes (2002).

Figure III-3 Percentage of Employment that is Part-time

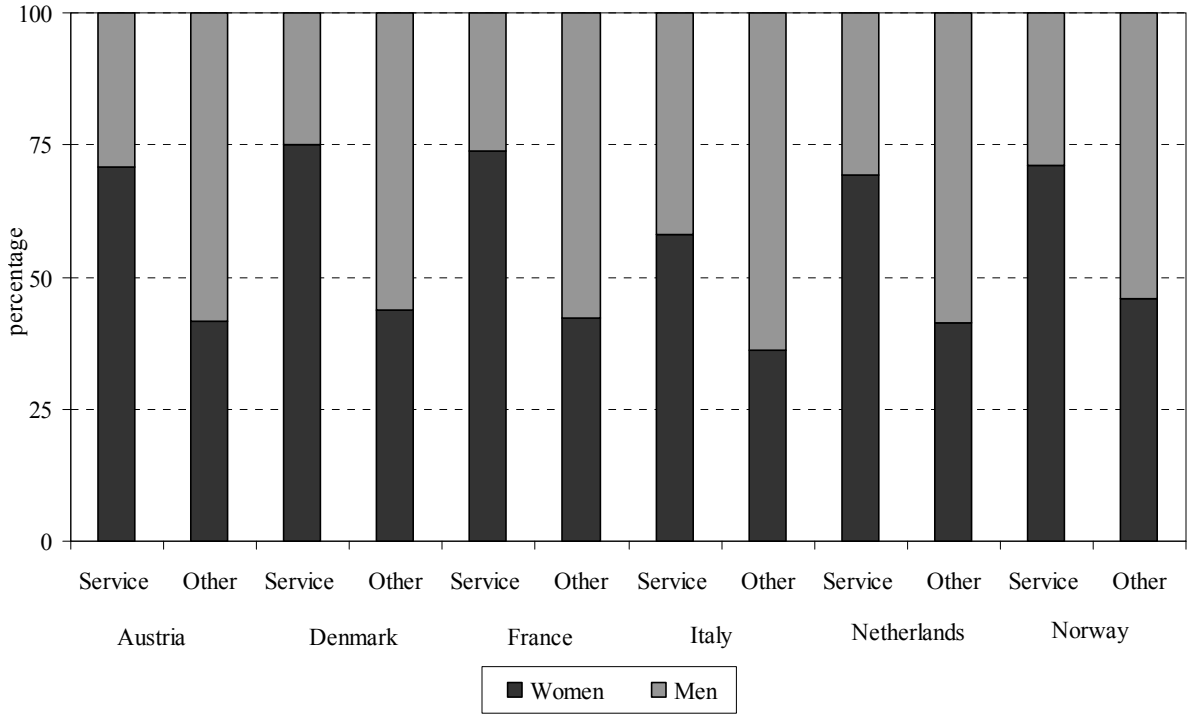
Source: UN Statistics and indicators on women and men, Table 5b. Data presented here corresponds to the latest figures available. Cross-country comparison requires great caution due to differences in national surveys; see http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/indwm/tab5b.htm for detailed technical information on the national surveys.

Table III-4	Male and Female Share in Total Employment by Sector 1996 and 2006							
	Employment in Agriculture (%)				Employment in Industry (%)			
	1996		2006		1996		2006	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
World	**45.4**	**41.6**	**40.4**	**37.5**	**17.4**	**23.9**	**17.2**	**24**
Developed Economies and European Union	4.3	5.8	2.5	3.7	16.8	37.3	12.4	33.6
Central and Eastern Europe (non-EU) and CIS	25.5	26.8	21.6	22.4	22.1	32.7	19.7	34.3
East Asia	58.4	50.4	52.1	45.3	24	26.2	24.7	26.8
South East Asia and the Pacific	52.5	49.9	47.2	46.8	13.7	18.3	15.4	19.5
South Asia	72.6	53.9	64.5	46.4	12	16.8	17.7	19.3
Latin America and the Caribbean	14	28.5	9.9	24.7	14.5	23.7	14.3	23.4
Middle East and North Africa	33	28.8	39.1	26.7	17.7	22.8	11.7	26.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	69.4	67	64.2	62.1	5.8	11.4	5.5	11.3

	Employment in Services (%)			
	1996		2006	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
World	**34.5**	**37.2**	**38.4**	**42.4**
Developed Economies and European Union	56.9	78.9	62.7	85.1
Central and Eastern Europe (non-EU) and CIS	40.5	52.4	43.3	58.7
East Asia	23.3	17.6	27.9	23.3
South East Asia and the Pacific	31.8	33.8	33.6	37.3
South Asia	29.3	15.4	34.3	17.9
Latin America and the Caribbean	47.9	71.5	51.9	75.8
Middle East and North Africa	48.4	49.2	46.8	49.2
Sub-Saharan Africa	21.5	24.7	26.6	30.3

Source: ILO Global Employment Trends for Women, 2007, Table 4.

Figure III-4 Occupational Segregation: Share of Women and Men in Service and Sales Workers; Share of Women and Men in Other Occupations, 2005

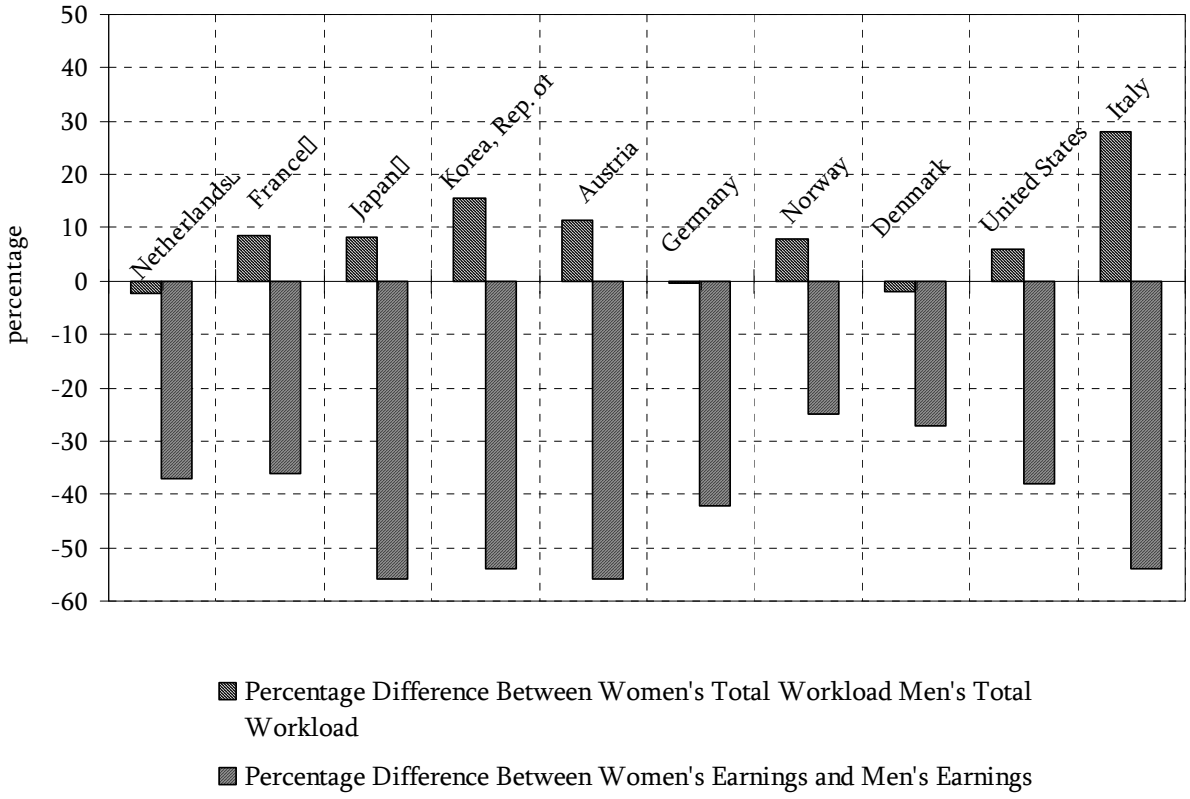


Source: UNECE Statistical Division Database, compiled from national and international (EUROSTAT and ILO) official sources.

Figure III-5 Total Workload and Earnings Gap: Selected Developing Countries

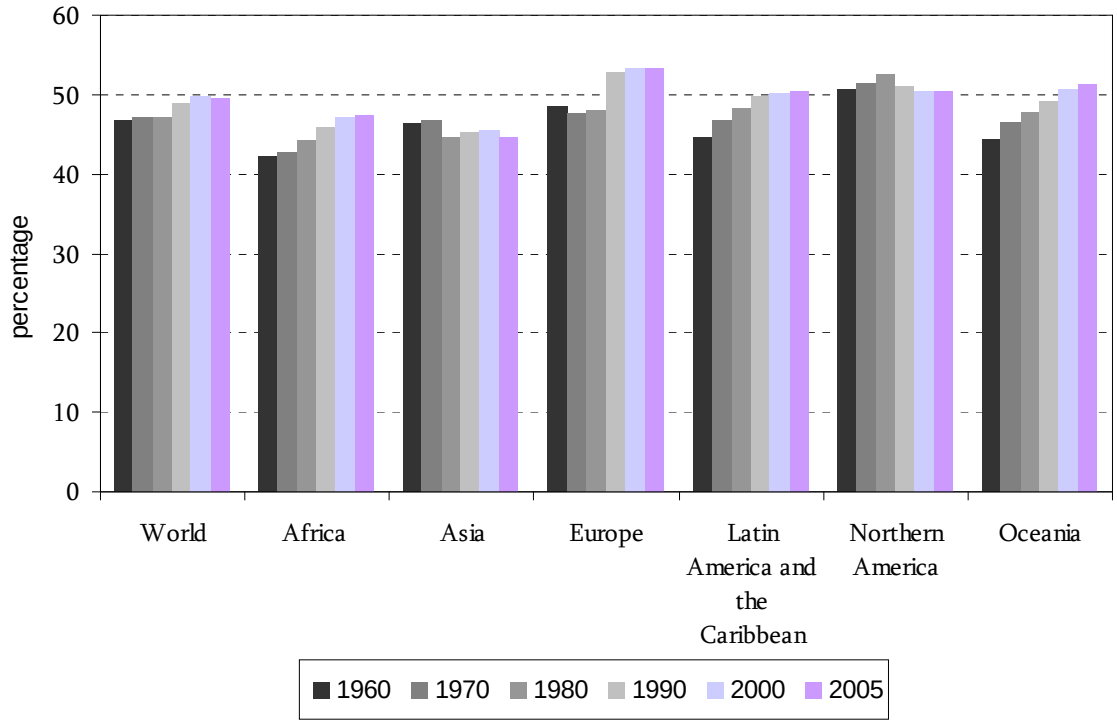
Source: Authors' calculations. For the total workload series see the source of Figure 1.1. For the earnings gap, ratio of estimated female to male earnings is used, which is provided by UNDP-Human Development Report (HDR) (2006). The report notes that because of the lack of gender-disaggregated income data, female and male earned income are crudely estimated on the basis of data on the ratio of the female nonagricultural wage to the male nonagricultural wage, the female and male shares of the economically active population, the total female and male population and GDP per capita in purchasing power parity terms in US dollars. Estimates are based on data for the most recent year available during 1991–2004. For the countries covered here in calculating the estimated female and male earned income, a value of 0.75 was used by the report for the ratio of the female nonagricultural wage to the male nonagricultural wage.

Figure III-6 Total Workload – Earnings Gap: Selected OECD Countries



Source: ibid as for Figure III.5 above.

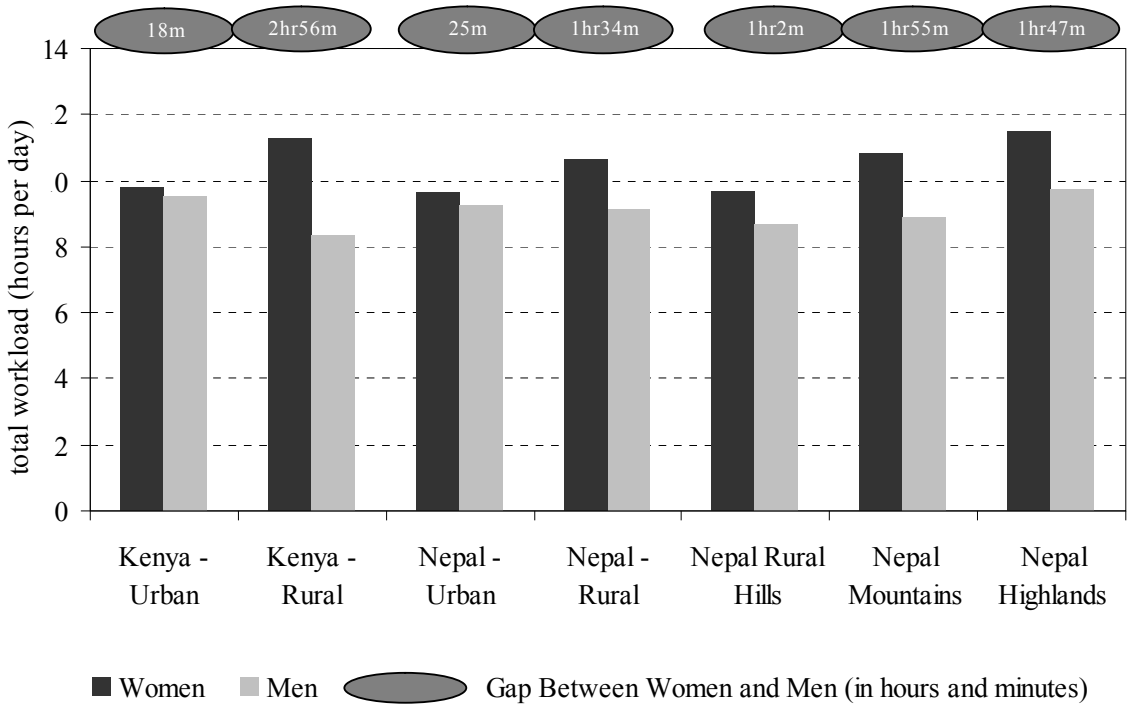
Figure IV-1 Female Migrants as Percentage of All International Migrants



Source: United Nations Population Division, World Migrant Stock: The 2005 Revision Population Database. http://esa.un.org/migration/. Note that as a result of the disintegration of the former USSR, the former Czechoslovakia and the former Yugoslavia and the reunification of Germany, the composition of several regions and major areas changed shortly after 1990. Information on these changes and the regional classification of countries is available at: http://esa.un.org/migration/index.asp?panel=3

APPENDIX B. ADDITIONAL TABLES AND FIGURES[50]

Figure B-1 Total Workload – Urban/Rural



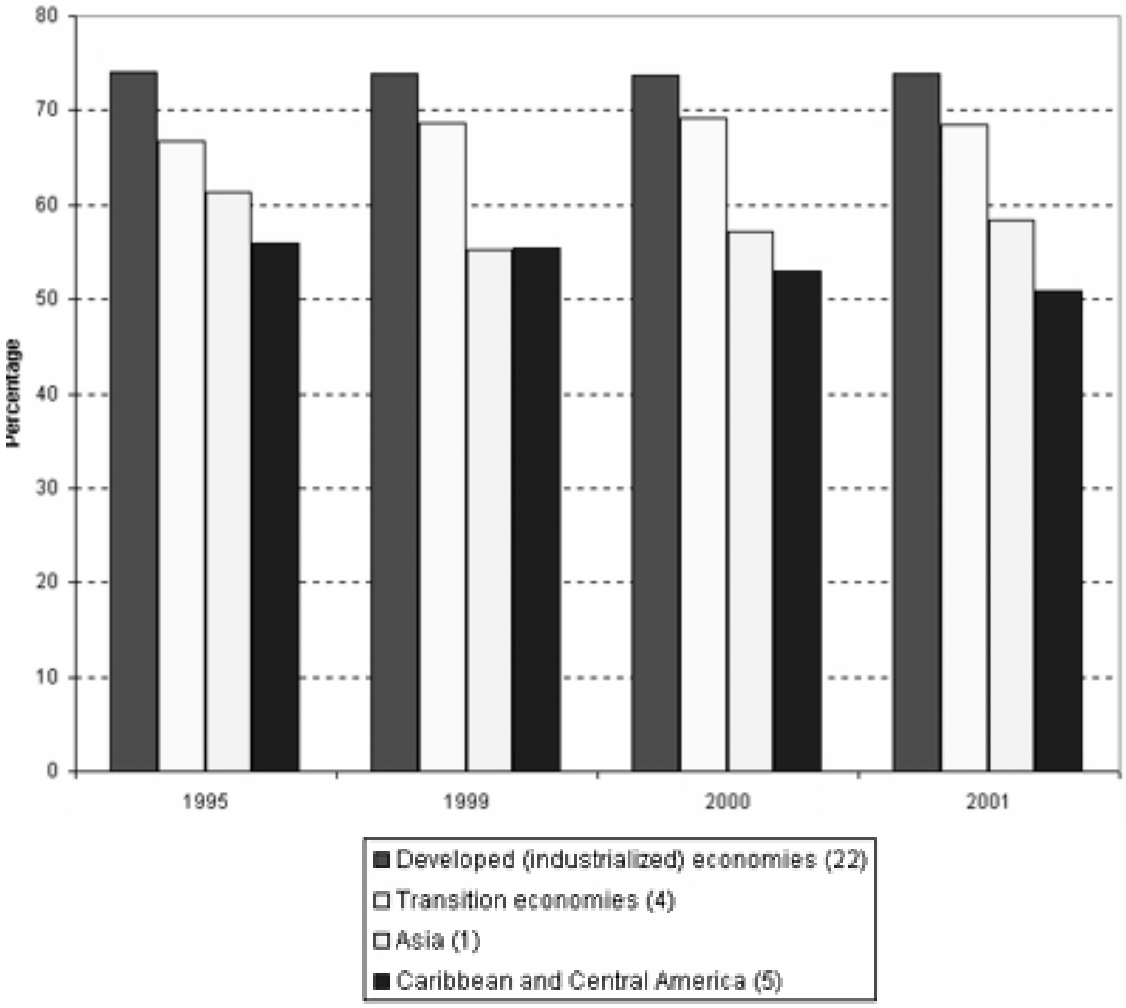
Source: See the note for Figure 1.1.

[50] The order of the tables and figures here follows the order referred in the text.

Table B-1	Male and Female Status of Employment 1996 and 2006 (extended version)							
	Wage and salaried Workers				Employers			
	1996		2006		1996		2006	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
World	**42.9**	**45.7**	**47.9**	**49.2**	**1.5**	**3.8**	**1.4**	**3.3**
Developed Economies and European Union	86.7	81.9	89.5	83.1	3.4	6.9	3.0	6.9
Central and Eastern Europe (non-EU) and CIS	78.5	76.5	79.0	76.2	0.5	2.6	0.8	2.9
East Asia	31.4	42.1	40.8	48.7	1.1	2.9	0.8	1.5
South East Asia and the Pacific	28.8	37.6	34.9	41.4	1.0	3.1	1.0	2.6
South Asia	10.3	19.5	15.3	27.2	0.5	2.3	0.4	1.4
Latin America and the Caribbean	66.6	59.3	67.5	60.7	2.0	5.0	1.7	4.4
Middle East and North Africa	47.5	52.2	56.2	55.4	2.4	9.7	4.1	11.4
Sub-Saharan Africa	13.8	26.8	17.0	29.5	1.1	2.7	1.4	2.7
	Own-Account Workers				Contributing Family Workers			
	1996		2006		1996		2006	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
World	**22.4**	**34.7**	**25.7**	**35.9**	**33.2**	**15.8**	**25.1**	**11.6**
Developed Economies and European Union	6.4	10.2	5.4	9.3	3.5	1.0	2.1	0.7
Central and Eastern Europe (non-EU) and CIS	10.2	15.8	12.4	17.5	10.8	5.1	7.8	3.4
East Asia	28.7	34.7	37.4	37.0	38.8	20.4	20.9	12.8
South East Asia and the Pacific	22.9	41.2	27.1	41.4	47.2	18.1	37.1	14.6
South Asia	16.3	55.8	21.7	55.2	72.8	22.4	62.6	16.2
Latin America and the Caribbean	24.2	29.5	25.6	31.1	7.2	6.2	5.1	3.7
Middle East and North Africa	17.1	23.4	11.3	21.2	33.0	14.7	28.4	11.9
Sub-Saharan Africa	49.0	43.6	42.3	44.4	36.2	27.0	39.3	23.3

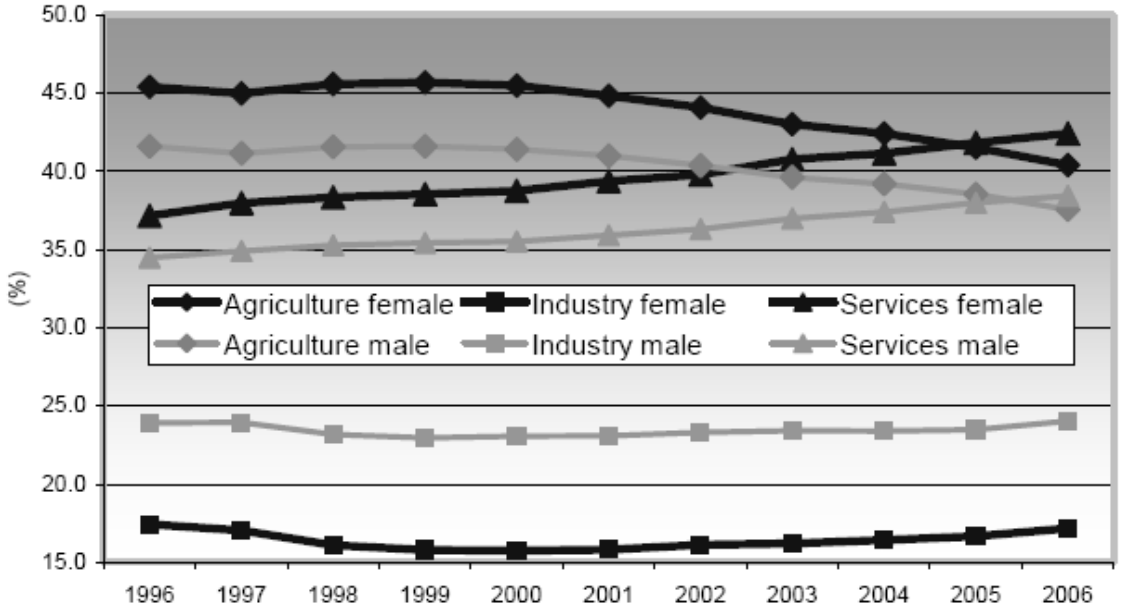
Source: ILO Global Employment Trends for Women, 2007, Table 5.

Figure B-2 Female Share of Part-time Employment, Regional Averages, 1995 -2001



Source: International Labour Organization, KILM 5, Figure 5c.

Figure B-3 Sectoral Employment Shares by Sex, 1996-2006



Source: Adopted from ILO, Global Employment Trends for Women, 2007.

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