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

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

Introduction and Overview

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

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

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

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

1.1 Unpaid Work Defined

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

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

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

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

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

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

Box 1: Accounting for the Unpaid Economy

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.2 Women in the Private Sector Commodity Economy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1.3 Women in the Public Service Economy

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

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

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

1.4 Women in the Household and Community Care Economy

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

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

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

1.5 Linkages Between Economic Cycles and Unpaid Work in Canada

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

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

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

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

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

2. Domestic Context for Unpaid Work Policies

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- policies that encourage a more equitable distribution of unpaid work between women and men (alternate work arrangements, for example);
- policies that attempt to provide economic and social recognition for unpaid work (tax deductions for childcare).

An underdeveloped, but increasingly important aspect is :

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

3. Definitions and Data

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- **Study on Family Transactions**

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

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

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

Statistics Canada:

- The survey on time -use is part of the **General Social Survey** that tackles specific issue each year. In 1986, 1992 and 1998 the GSS focussed on time-use. The survey on time -use estimates the number of people who engage in the various components of unpaid household work and the number of hours they spend in specific activities. The results of the 1998 survey will be released fall 1999.
- **The Statistics Canada Total-Work Accounts System (TWAS)** is a new analytical tool that integrates data concerning the paid and unpaid work done by individuals in order to support analyses in various fields of public concern. The TWAS is a network comprised of a microdata file, concepts, linked statistical tables, and statistical indicators. The microdata file is based on the 1992 time-use data. The information was released in 1996.

4. Use of Data and Relevant Policies

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

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

Use 1: Tracing economic cycles and unpaid work

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

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

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

Coping Strategies

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

Employment-based coping strategies:

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

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

Household-based coping strategies:

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

Use 2: Identification of new needs and trends

(i) Demographic shifts and public policy

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

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

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

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

(ii) Changes in Labour Market Participation

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

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

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

Use 3: Tracking the Volunteer Sector

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

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

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

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

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

Use 4: Social Exclusion

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

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

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

Use 5: Unpaid Work and Budgets

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

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

- a social service input-output matrix that includes unpaid care economy work as an input and output along with social sector public expenditure;
- household social sector accounts that include expenditures of time along with money expenditure on services like health, education, sanitation, and transport. Changes in time expenditure can be linked to changes in public expenditure (Elson, 1998).

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

5. Survey of Policies and Good Practices

• Clarify Assumptions about the Family that Underpin Policy

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

Box 3 The Individual Responsibility Model of the Family

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

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

• The Genuine Progress Index (GPI)

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

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

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

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

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

- **Family-Friendly Work Policies**

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

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

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

- (i) Part-time work

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

- (ii) Job sharing

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

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

- (iii) Flextime

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

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

(iv) Compressed work week

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

(v) Family leave provisions

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

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

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

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

(vi) Telecommuting

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

(vii) Childcare

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

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

Family-Friendly Work Policies: Some Conclusions

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

- Every adult would be considered responsible for his or her own economic well being. Where this was impossible, the support obligation would shift to the state, not to a family member;
- For an adult in need of care, whether because of a permanent or temporary illness or handicap (including senility), it would become the responsibility of the state (not of a family member) to pay for the cost of such care;
- The cost of raising children would be shared among the father, the mother, and the state, irrespective of the marital status of the parents.

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

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

6. Recommendations

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

Recommendations for APEC Economies:

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

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

- Considerable employment effects could be achieved through greater support for flexible work arrangements due to family reasons. National, multi-sector conferences would be a basic first step to consider financial incentives, tax treatments and social security measures.
- Retirement security currently reflects gender asymmetries because of gender-based differences in accumulating lifetime assets such as savings and investments. This impacts on public treasuries as populations age. Reviewing current barriers to assets (financial, property, etc.) would be a first step in removing gender-based retirement insecurities.

Recommendation for the APEC Human Resources Development Working Group:

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

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

- Coordinate Gender-Aware Budget Exercises in Member Economies

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

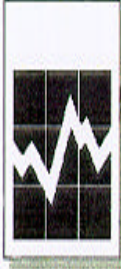
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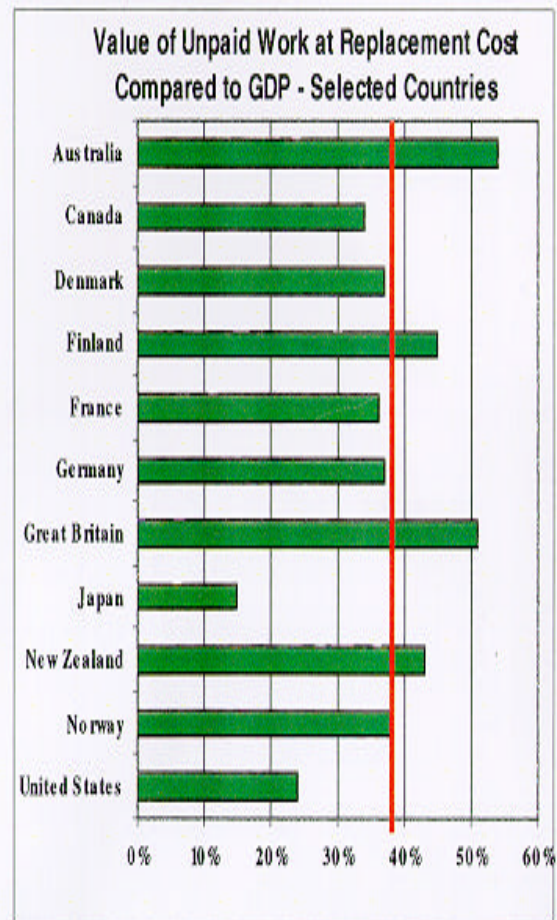
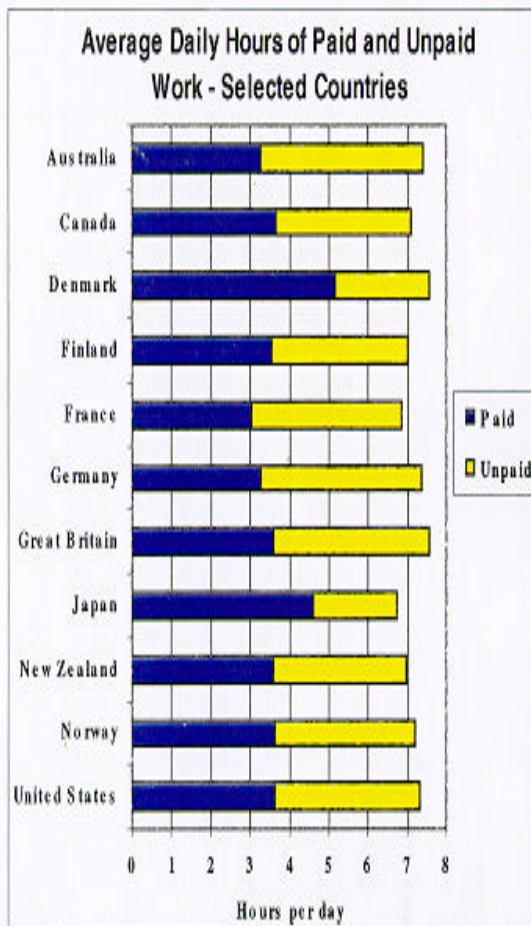
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Annexes



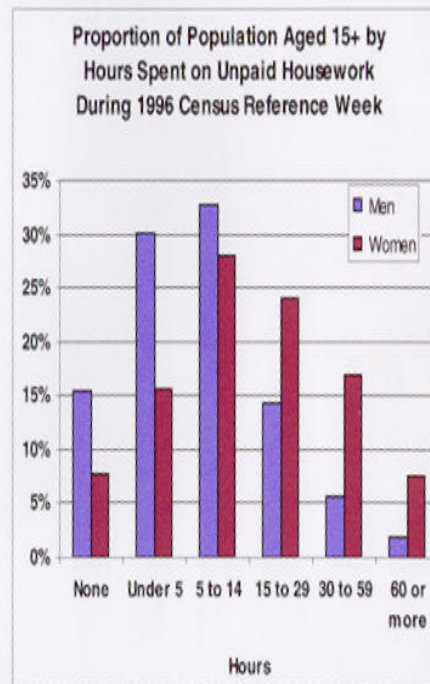
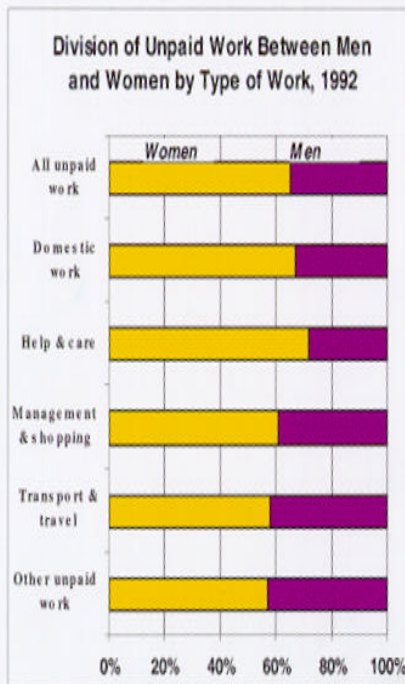
As much time spent at unpaid work as at paid work, with substantial imputed value



Source: Chris Jackson, Statistics Canada, 1998



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

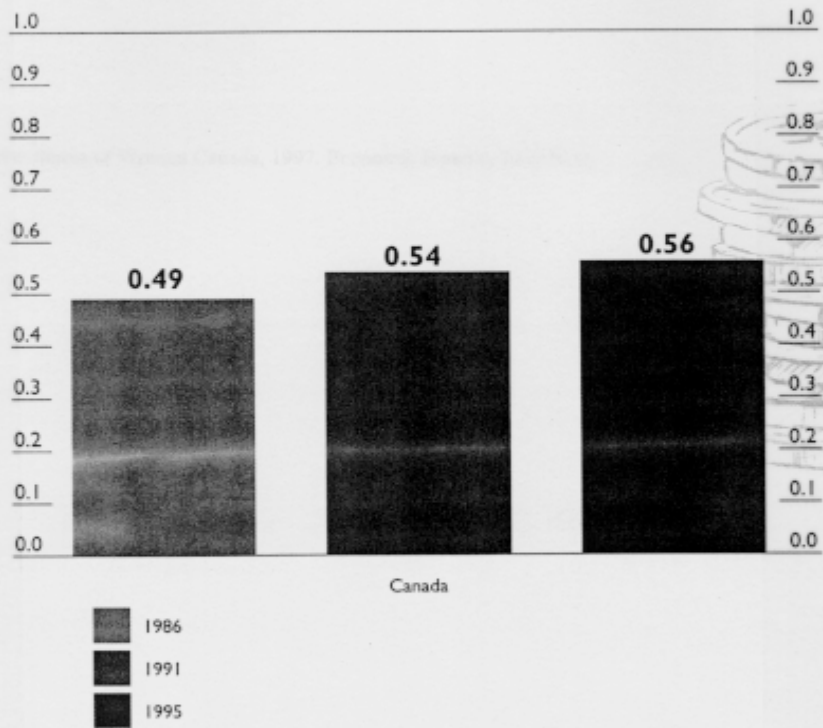


Source : Chris Jackson, Statistics Canada, 1998

Chart 1

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

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



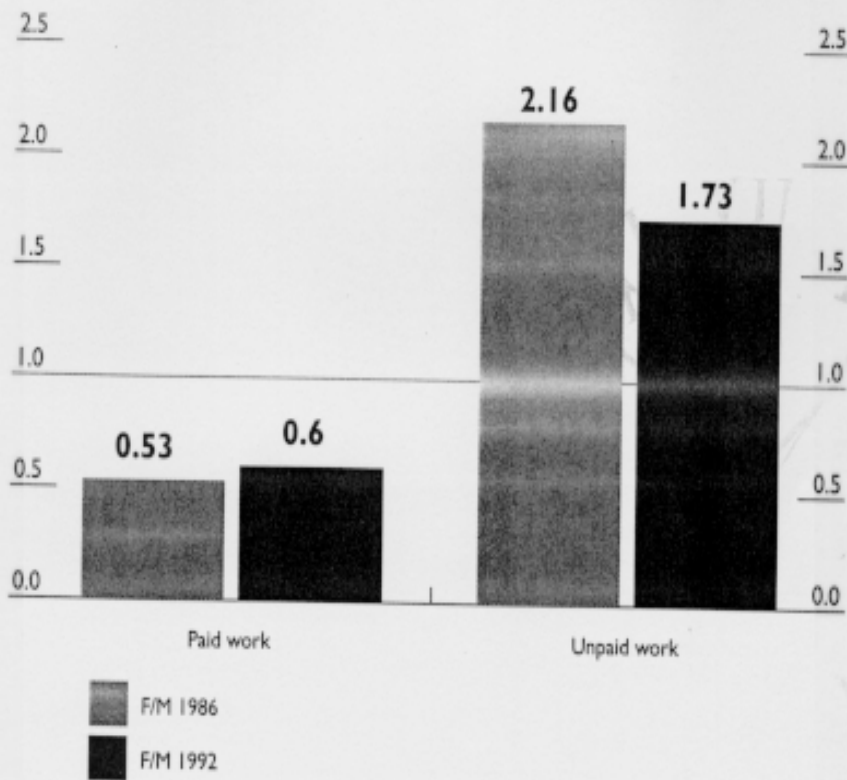
Gender Equality Indexes use ratios of women to men. A ratio of 1.0 is the point where women and men are equal in relation to that index. Below 1.0, women's income and earnings are less than men's; above 1.0, they would be greater.

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

Chart 2

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

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

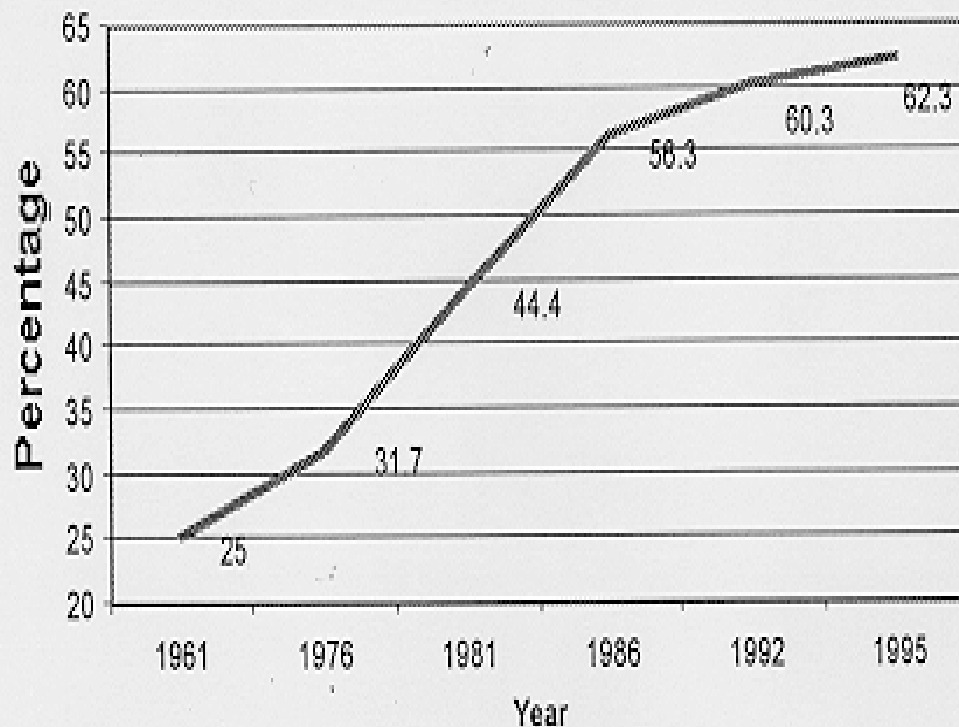


Gender Equality Indexes use ratios of women to men. A ratio of 1.0 is the point where women and men are equal in relation to that index. Below 1.0, women's workload is less than men's; above 1.0, it is greater.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey.

Chart 3

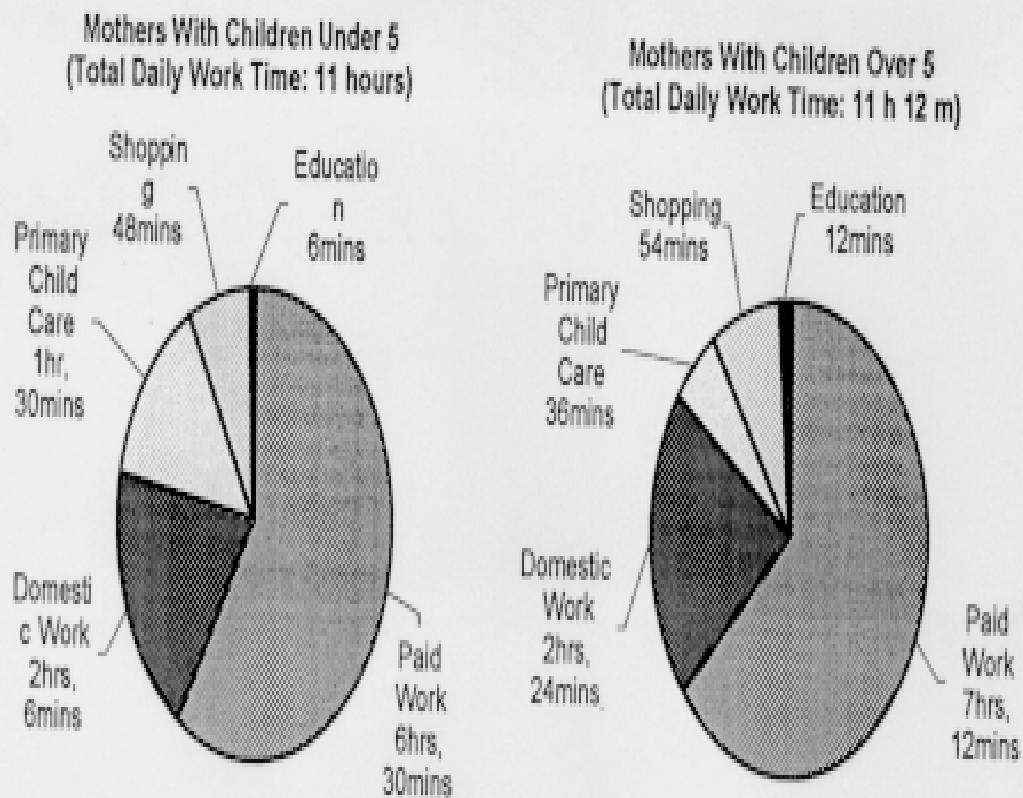
Labour Force Participation Rate of Mothers
with Infants Aged 0-2, Canada, 1961-1995



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

Chart 4

A Day in the Life of a Working Mother
Average Weekday Work Hours, Employed Mothers, Canada

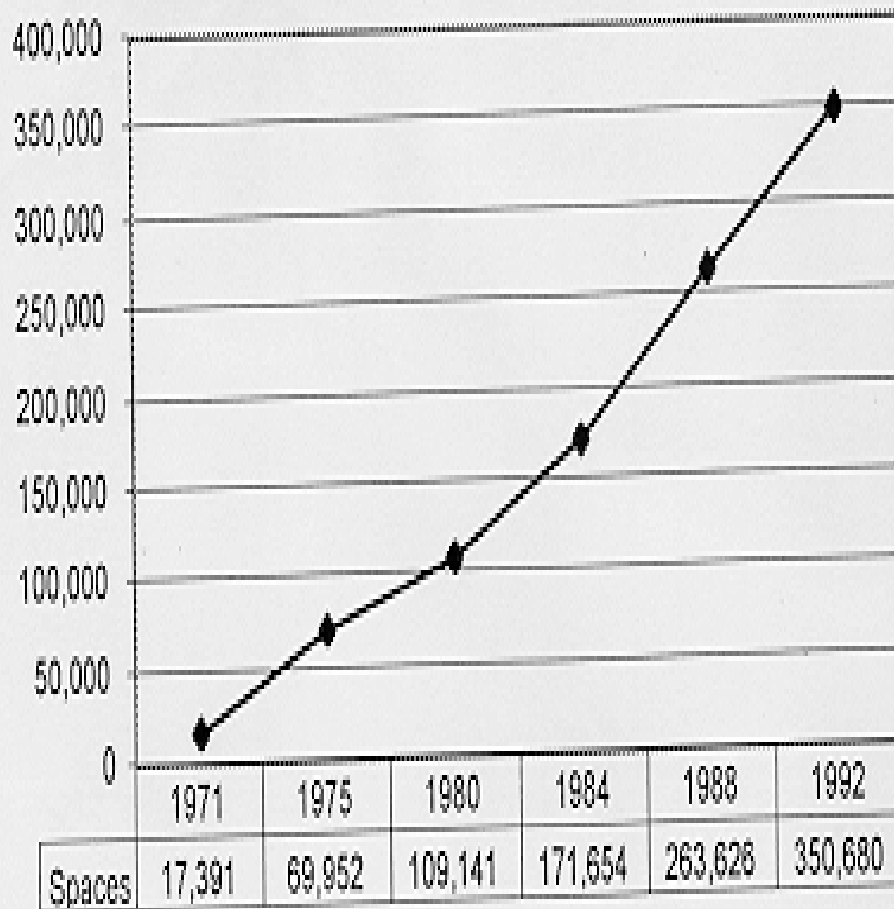


Source: Harvey, Andrew, et. al., *Where Does Time Go?*, General Social Survey Analysis Series, Statistics Canada, catalogue no. 11-612E, #4, table 19, page 117, data from 1986 GSS Time Use Survey. Note: Though these figures are daily averages, the data show that mothers actually shop an average of once every three days for 2½ hours each time.

Chart 5

1989 CPT in licensed day care spaces

Chart 5: Licensed Day Care Spaces in Canada, 1971-1992



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

Diagram 1

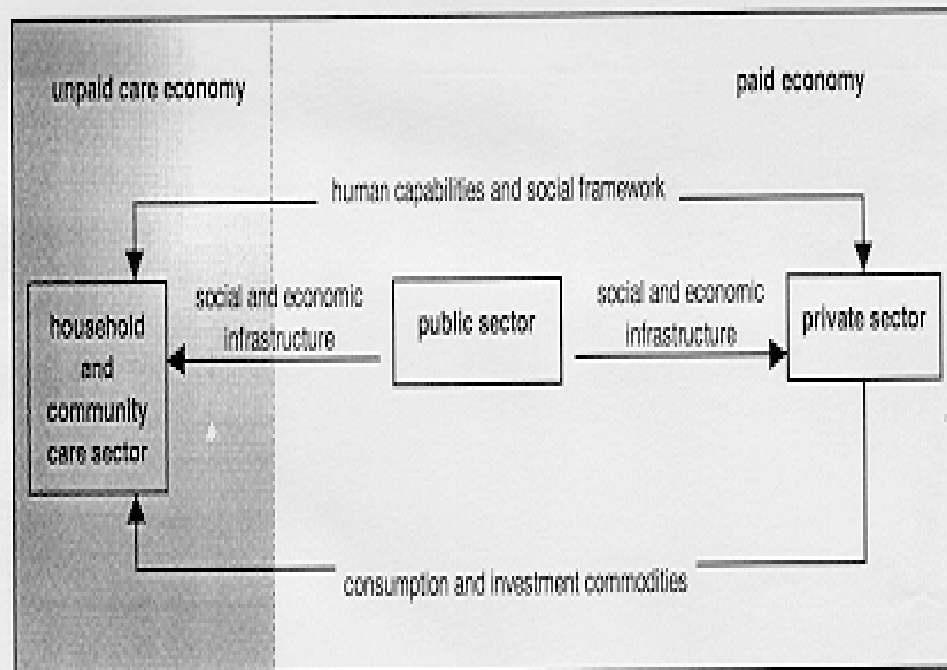
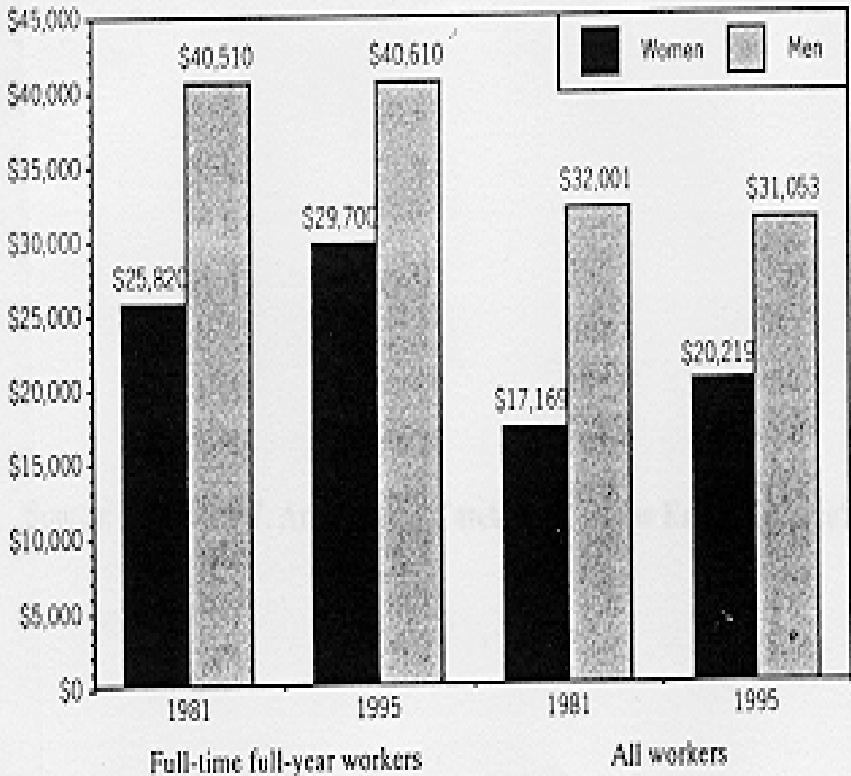


Figure 6.2 The interdependence of the paid and unpaid economies

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

Figure 1

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



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

Table 1

Recent Work-based Responses to Family and work Conflict

Reducing the time demands of paid employment

1. Part-time employment
2. Job sharing

Reducing the rigidity of paid employment time schedules

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

Reducing the gap between home and work

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

Source: Duffy and Pupo (1996).

**APEC Human Resources Development Working Group
Network on Economic Development Management**

**Linkages Between Paid and Unpaid Work
In Formulating Human Resource Development Policies
Hong Kong, China, May 8, 1998**

United States of America

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

1. The American Context

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

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

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

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

Most policymakers and women's rights advocates agree that significant gains have been made on policies linking paid and unpaid work. Others would assert that the US has not done enough in this area — particularly given the US role as a world leader and its strong support of the 1995 UN World Conference on Women *Platform for Action*, which called on governments to measure and value unpaid work. There is also concern that only a small portion of private-sector US workers are eligible for current workplace programs that recognize the value of unpaid work. According to the Bureau of Labour Statistics (BLS) 1995 Employee Benefits Survey of establishments with 100 or more workers in private, nonagricultural industries, 83 percent of full-time employees had weekly work schedules of 40 hours, based on five eight-hour days. All but 5 percent of full-time employees were on a fixed work schedule, and childcare benefits were offered to less than one out of 10 employees³.

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

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

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

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

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

2. Definitions and Data

Concepts and Definitions Used

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

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

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

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

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

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

Usual Full or Part-Time Status

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

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

US Government Surveys and Reports

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

- The **Current Population Survey (CPS)**, a monthly survey sampling 50,000 households, conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The CPS is the primary source of information on labour force characteristics of the US population.
- The **Decennial Census** of the US population. The census, conducted every 10 years by the Census Bureau, collects information on a variety of topics, including employment.
- The **American Community Survey (ACS)**, a new monthly household survey conducted by the Census Bureau that will provide comparative housing, social, and economic data about communities and population groups on a yearly basis.
- The **Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP)**. SIPP's purposes are to improve the measurement of the economic situation of persons, families, and households in the US and to provide a tool for managing and evaluating government transfer and service programs. The survey design is a continuous series of national panels, with sample size ranging from approximately 14,000 to 36,700 interviewed households; the duration of each panel ranges from two-and-one-half to four years.

Paid Work

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

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

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

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

Unpaid Work

Among the data assembled on unpaid work are the following:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Statistics on the US Workforce

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

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

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

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

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

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

This compares to the following 1980 figures:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. Who are the Main Users of the Data

The main users of the data include:

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

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

4. Policies and Programs

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

US Federal Laws

- **Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA)** - allows employees who work for firms with 50 or more workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave each year to care for a newborn or newly-adopted child or a seriously ill family member, or to recuperate from their own illness.
- **Dependent Care Tax-Credit** - available on a sliding scale basis to taxpayers incurring expenses relating to the care of a child under the age of 13, a disabled spouse, or any qualifying dependent.
- **Spousal Individual Retirement Accounts** - Unemployed spouses are allowed to contribute up to \$2,000 in a tax-deferred Individual Retirement Account (IRA), which allows them to plan for retirement security in a similar fashion to employed individuals.
- **Equal Pay Act of 1963** - prohibits wage discrimination on the basis of sex.

- **Title VII of the Civil Rights Act** of 1964 - prohibits sex discrimination in employment.
- **Title IX of the Education Amendments** of 1972 - prohibits sex discrimination in federally funded education programs.
- **Women in Apprenticeship and Nontraditional Occupations (WANTO) Act** of 1992, **and Women in Nontraditional Employment (NEW) Act** of 1991. The US Department of Labor (DOL) administers WANTO grants to community-based organizations to provide technical assistance to private-sector employers and unions to increase employment of women in apprenticeships and other nontraditional occupations. The DOL administers NEW grants to states to encourage them to broaden the range and training of women with employment barriers in occupations nontraditional for them. (Such nontraditional occupations pay higher wages, making it more likely for the women to pay for services such as quality childcare for their children while they are at work.)

Federal Recognition of Model Private Sector Policies and Programs

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

Federal Policy Proposals

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- Aetna, Inc. -- A health care and financial services company with 27,715 employees (70 percent women). In addition to providing its employees with a range of flexible work schedules, through its LifeWorks resource program, Aetna employees gain assistance in managing their work-life issues.
- American Express -- A travel and financial services company with 45,913 employees (67 percent women).
- Auto Desk -- A software design company with 1,750 employees (35 percent women).

- Benjamin Group -- Recognized for its on-site childcare, job share program, part-time program, and an aggressive employee bonus structure, was a technology public relations firm with 70 employees (81 percent women); also rewards employees for exercising and continuing their education.
- Calvert Group -- A mutual fund investment company with 160 employees (51 percent women) offers its employees' childcare subsidies, extension of health benefits, flextime and compressed workweeks, and help with adoption expenses.
- Marriott -- Ten years ago, this hotel chain with 195,000 employees (55 percent women) developed a work-life initiative with programs that include childcare discounts and referral services, education and training, family care spending accounts and a child development centre. The hotel chain has a staff of social workers who are able to provide employees language-appropriate confidential counseling and resource referrals.
- Patagonia, Inc. -- An outdoors-clothing manufacturer with 674 employees (50 percent women) provides on-site childcare, flextime, and job sharing.
- Saint Luke's Hospital of Kansas City -- A not-for-profit teaching hospital with 3,302 employees (81 percent women) offers employees a low threshold for part-time benefits, childcare, campus daycare for sick children, and an employer-based educational support program for pregnant women.

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

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

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

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

- The Dependent Care Connection (DCC) - A consulting firm with government and corporate clients. DCC offers LifeCare Counseling, Education and Referral Services nationwide through subscribing employers. Upon request, DCC provides employees with referrals to prenatal services; adoption services; childcare services; emergency care services; special needs services; summer care services; academic services; adult care services; and personal services.
- The American Business Collaboration for Quality Dependent Care (ABC) - A coalition of major corporations that, in October 1995, launched a \$100 million initiative to develop and strengthen childcare, school-age care, and elder-care projects in communities across the country where their employees live and work. The 22 lead or "Champion" companies expect to fund more than 1,000 projects over six years, ranging from training for daycare providers to science/technology camps for school-age children to a money management program for senior citizens. ABC has now expanded to include some 200 businesses, government agencies, and nonprofit organizations.

6. Recommendations

Recommendations for APEC

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

Recommendations for APEC Member Economies

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

Recommendations for Civil Society

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

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

Endnotes

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

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

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

⁴ US Department of Labor, *Employee Benefits in Medium and Large Private Establishments, 1995*, p. 156.⁵ James T. Bond, *et al.*, *The 1997 National Study of the Changing Workforce* (New York, NY: Families and Work Institute, 1997), p. 73.

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

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

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

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

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

- Bureau of Labor Statistics

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

- Bureau of the Census

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

**Table 1. Employed Women by Occupational Groups, 1998 Annual Averages¹
(in thousands)**

Total Employed and Percent of Total Employed	Professional, Technical, and Related²	Clerical and Sales³	Blue Collar and Service⁴	Farming, Forestry, and Fishing
60,771	21,356	22,444	15,552	667
100.0	35.1	36.9	25.6	1.1

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

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

³Includes clerical, administrative support, and sales occupations.

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

Table 2. Employed Persons in Agriculture and Non-agricultural Industries by Sex and Class of Worker, 1980, 1990, and 1998¹ (in thousands)

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

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

Table 3. Civilian Labor Force and Labor Force Participation Rates of Women, Annual Averages, Selected Years, 1970-1998¹
(in thousands)

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

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

Table 4. Presence and Age of Own Children of Civilian Women 16 Years and Over, by Employment Status, 1980, 1990 and 1998¹ (in thousands)

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

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

Table 5. Women's Earnings as Percent of Men's, Selected Years, 1980-1998¹

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

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

² Not yet available.

**APEC Human Resource Development Working Group
Network on Economic Development Management**

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

Chinese Taipei

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1. Introduction

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

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

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

2. The Data and Measurements

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

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

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

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

3. Characteristics of Unpaid Female Workers and Housekeepers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. Estimated Earnings for Female Unpaid Workers and Housekeepers

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

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

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

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

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

industry and for agricultural workers (see Table 5).

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

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

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

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

5. Policy and Programs

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6. Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Source: Yearbook of Manpower Survey Statistics , years cited.

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

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

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

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

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

Source: Yearbook of Manpower Survey Statistics , years cited.

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

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

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

Unit: Million NT\$, %

Characteristics	Aggregate Earnings			Inflation Extent(%)		
	Employer/te + Self-employed (Actual Earnings) [1]	Unpaid Worker (Estimated Earnings) [2]	Housekeeper (Potential Earnings) [3]	[2]/[1]	[3]/[1]	(2)+[3]/[1]
Education						
Primary	12974	5,080	20,522	39.16	158.17	197.33
Junior High	8652	2,124	9,801	24.55	113.28	137.83
Senior High	24646	2,486	11,888	10.09	48.23	58.32
J College	12015	371	1,928	3.09	16.05	19.14
University+	10,675	181	1,292	1.69	12.10	13.79
Total	68,961	10,242	45,430	14.85	65.88	80.73
Age						
15-24	11,448	414	2,025	3.62	17.69	21.31
25-34	24,725	2,692	13,530	10.89	54.72	65.61
35-54	29,956	6,048	21,874	20.19	73.02	93.21
55-64	2,592	978	7,119	37.75	274.69	312.43
65+	241	110	882	45.65	366.00	411.65
Total	68,961	10,242	45,430	14.85	65.88	80.73
Marital Status						
Single	23,359	438	483	1.87	2.07	3.94
Spoused	40,633	9,731	41,852	23.95	103.00	126.95
Divorced/Separated	2,533	23	86	0.93	31.81	32.74
Widowed	2,436	49	2,290	2.02	93.99	96.01
Total	68,961	10,242	45,430	14.85	65.88	80.73
Industry						
Primary	1,185	2,961	-	249.78	-	-
Secondary	20,906	2,233	-	10.68	-	-
Tertiary	46,871	5,048	-	10.77	-	-
Total	68,961	10,242	-	14.85	-	-
Occupation						
Manager	2,787	16	-	0.56	-	-
Professional	8,966	89	-	0.99	-	-
Technician/Clerk	28,247	1,186	-	4.20	-	-
Service/Sales Worker	12,355	3,640	-	29.46	-	-
Agri Worker	1,113	2,955	-	265.52	-	-
Craft/Trade Worker	2,170	777	-	35.78	-	-
Operator/Assembler/Low Skilled	13,324	1,580	-	11.86	-	-
Total	68,961	10,242	-	14.85	-	-
Residential Place						
Northern	35,001	3,182	20,575	9.09	58.78	67.87
Central	14,209	3,417	11,001	24.05	77.42	101.47
Southern	17,911	3,339	12,855	18.64	71.77	90.41
Eastern	1,841	305	999	16.57	54.28	70.85
Total	68,961	10,242	45,430	14.85	65.88	80.73

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

Unit: Hours per Day

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

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

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

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

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

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

Unit: %

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

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

Appendix Table 1. Wage Regression Function for Unpaid Family Workers

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

Appendix Table 2. Wage Regression Function for Housekeepers

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

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

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1995	3,487	1.80	8.40	16.10	62.30	11.40
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1960	2,510	2.50	38.20	17.50	26.70	15.10
1970	3,180	3.70	32.40	10.50	39.00	14.50
1980	4,357	6.00	25.50	5.30	49.70	13.40
1985	4,719	6.00	27.00	5.00	49.50	12.40
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Feb.1999	5,606	7.74	22.03	3.23	57.26	9.74

Source: Yearbook of Manpower Survey Statistics , years cited.

**APEC Human Resources Development Working Group
Network on Economic Development Management**

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

Republic of Korea

by

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Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

1.1 Government Initiatives

1.1.2. Before the Beijing Conference

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

1.1.3. In Response to the Beijing Platform for Action

- As part of the follow-up to the Fourth World Conference on Women, the government identified 10 priority concerns in October 1995 and began implementation (see Table 1). Items 1, 2, 3, 6 can be classified as those concerned with regulating the tension between job and family. Many of these policies were on the government's agenda before Beijing but it was only after the Conference that the government moved to implement the measures to remove the obstacles to women's full social participation.
- Among the Ten Policy Priorities, in order to recognize the importance of household or unpaid work, the government included the evaluation of the household work in the Women's Development Act, 1995. The Act aims to consolidate a legal basis for taking adequate institutional and financial measures in support of women's participation and gender equality at all levels of society. Article 26 of the Act states, "national and local governments should evaluate the economic value of household work fairly and reflect it into the legislation or policies of the state."
- The Ministry of Political Affairs (II) held an international workshop in collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), titled: "International Workshop on Integrating Paid and Unpaid Work into National Policies" in May, 1997. Senior policymakers, statisticians, and gender experts from 21 countries in the Asia and Pacific region met in Seoul on May 28-30, 1997 and determined that it was important to define and implement an action plan to integrate paid and unpaid work into national policies as a means to promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and human development (The Ministry of Political Affairs (II), 1997).

Table 1 Ten Policy Priorities for the Advancement of Korean Women

Policy Issues	Specific Activities
1. Expand childcare facilities and qualitative upgrading of service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish childcare cooperatives. • Develop effective measures to utilize religious facilities for childcare.
2. Introduce after-school child guidance systems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand after-school child guidance system to all elementary schools.
3. Universalize a school lunch program	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand existing school lunch program to all elementary schools.
4. Establish targets to raise the ratio of female public employees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote recruitment of female public employees through competitive examinations. • Abolish the ceiling for female admission into public employee training institutions. • Expand female participation ratios in the various Government committees.
5. Introduce a public sector female employment incentive system.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduce incentives for public sector employment of women.
6. Establish a maternity social cost-sharing system.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Introduce a social cost-sharing system for the remuneration of female employees during their maternity leave through social insurance. • Extend the target businesses/industries eligible for the childcare leave promotion grant.
7. Expand/improve women's resource development infrastructure.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen job training in junior and senior high school curricula. • Strengthen job training for women's re-entry into the labour market.
8. Establish an information network on/for women.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish a women's information centre. • Establish a women's information network.
9. Enactment of the Women's Development Act.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enact the Women's Development Act.
10. Promote gender equality through the mass media.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expand women's participation in broadcast media-related committees. • Prepare the Mass-Media Gender Discrimination Standard Index. • Production/distribution of women-related public interest media materials.

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

- The National Statistical Office (NSO) held international and national workshops in collaboration with UNDP in December 1998 in Seoul titled, "The International Workshop on Integrating Paid and Unpaid work into National Policies (with special focus on time-use surveys)". As the System of the National Accounts (SNA) excludes unpaid household services from the production boundary and therefore from coverage of the gross domestic product (GDP) in most countries, it is suggested that the satellite account should broaden the production boundary. The Asian-Pacific countries gathered to consider and discuss the measurement of women's and men's contribution to the economy by developing the time-use survey (NSO of Korea & UNDP, 1998).
- The Ministry of Political Affairs (II) also sought to adopt a policy on the standardization of household work and its systematization in 1997. It was suggested that an educational program to promote recognition of the importance of household work should be implemented by the government, but the plan is still under consideration.

1.1.4. Support of Women's Employment in Formal Work

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

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

- Paid Leave for Employees

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

Types of Employee Leave:
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Annual leave: 10-day basic leave with pay, one extra day to be added for each year of employment from the third consecutive year.• Monthly leave: One day each month, 12 days per year, with pay.• Sanitary leave (for women): One day per month, 12 days per year, with pay.• Pre-and post-natal leaves (for women): 60 days, with pay.

Childcare Leave System

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

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

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

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

1.1.5. Support for Women's Informal Work

- Employment Insurance System

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

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

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

1.1.6. Dispositions to Recognize Women's Unpaid Work

- Amendments to the Income and Inheritance Tax Laws

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

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

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

1.2 Roles Played by Civil Society, NGO and Academic Sectors

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Definition of Paid and Unpaid Work

2.1 Paid Work

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

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

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

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

<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Personal care and self-maintenance2. Employment3. Household maintenance and management4. Care for family5. Learning6. Social life and community services7. Cultural and leisure activities8. Travel

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

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

2.2 Unpaid Household (Family) Work

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

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

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

2.3 Voluntary Work

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

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

3. The Current Situation of Korean Working Women

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

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

Table 3 Economically Active Population by Sex in 1993-1997

Unit: Thousand Persons

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

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

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

Table 4 Economically Active Population by Type of House in 1997

Unit: Thousand Persons

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

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

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

Table 5 Economically Active Population by Sex and Status (1997)

Unit: Thousand Persons, (%)

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

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

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

Table 6 Economically Active Population by Sex and Status in Korea

Unit: %

	Total	Male	Female
1995			
Working persons	49.0	70.3	29.1
Mainly working	3.8	0.4	7.0
Partly working, keeping house	0.3	0.3	0.2
Partly working, mainly attending school	0.1	0.2	0.1
Partly working, doing something else	0.3	0.5	0.2
Worked before but not working during reference period			
Persons over 15 years	100.0	100.0	100.0

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

Table 7 Yearly Distribution of Part-Time Workers by Gender (less than 35 hours)

Unit: Thousand Persons (%)

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

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

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

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

Table 8 Trends of the Unemployment Rate after Economic Crisis

Unit: %

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 9 Implementation and Utilization Rates of Related Maternity Policies

Unit: %

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

- Menstruation Leave

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

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

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

- Maternity Leave

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

- Leave for Spontaneous Abortions, Premature and Stillborn Births

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

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

- Nursing Hours

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

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

- Childcare Leave

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

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

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

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

- Childcare

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

6. Gender Equality Education in the Public Sector

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

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

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

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

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

7. Recommendations

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

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

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

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

Policies aimed at harmonizing work and family responsibilities:

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

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

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

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

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

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