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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.

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### **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).

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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 percent 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.

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**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).

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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).

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### 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).

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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 Skrypnik 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.

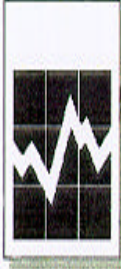
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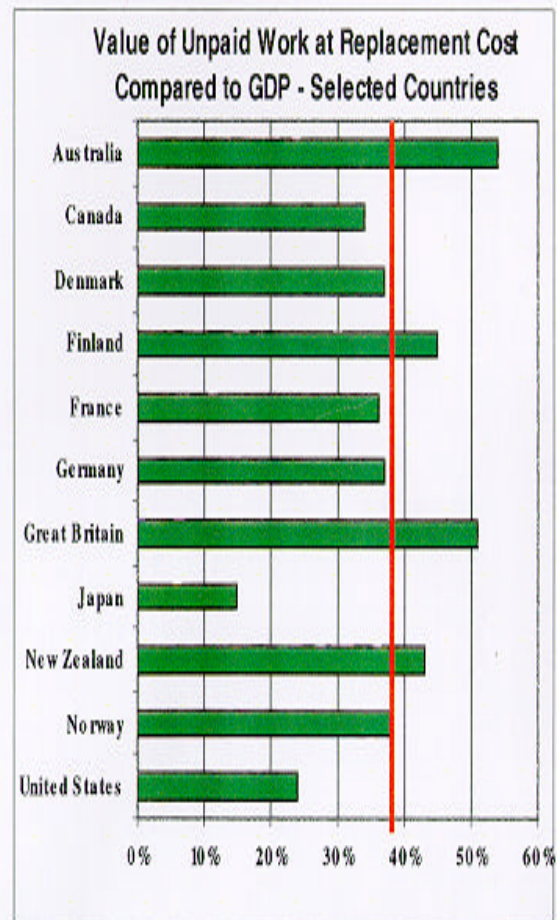
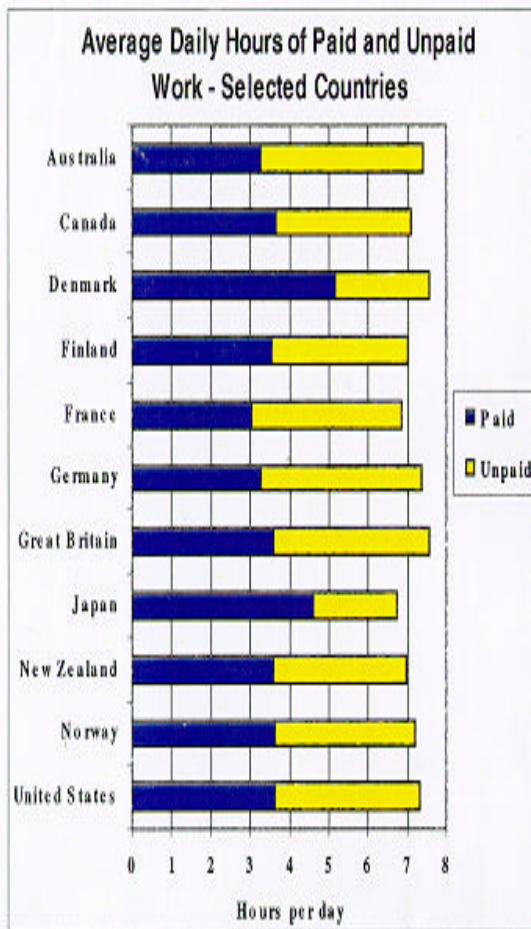
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## **Annexes**



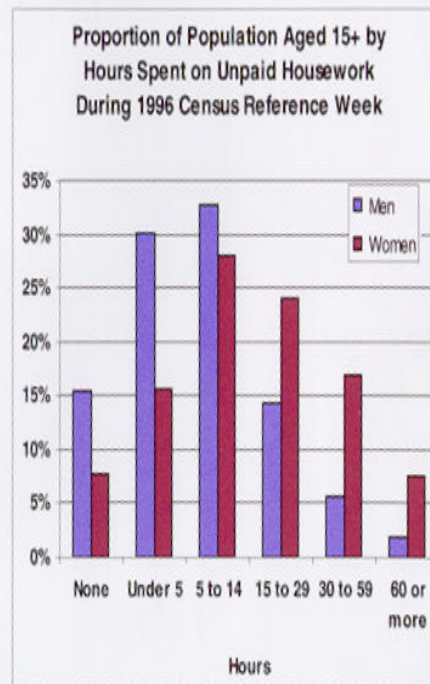
## As much time spent at unpaid work as at paid work, with substantial imputed value



Source: Chris Jackson, Statistics Canada, 1998



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

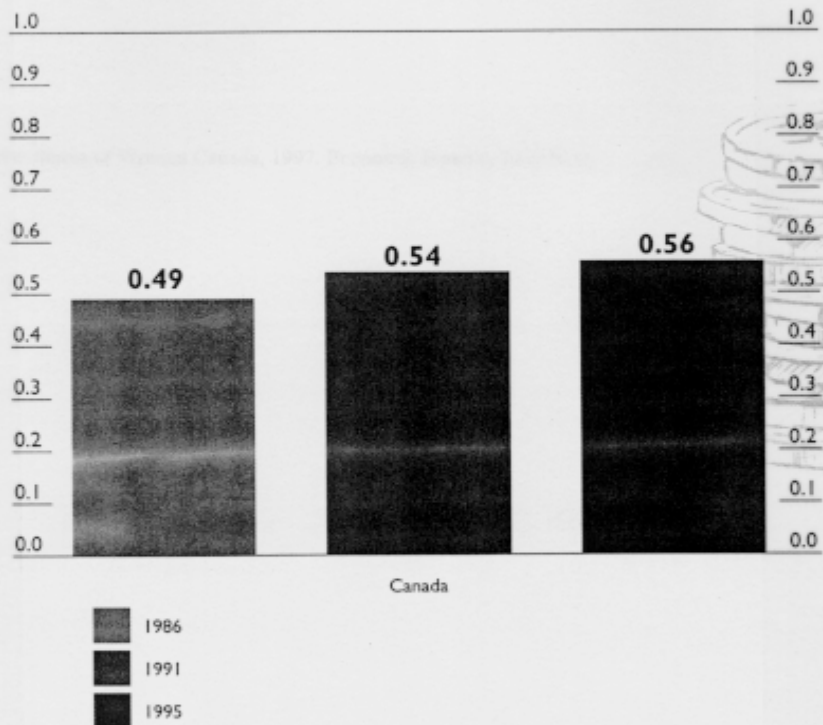


Source : Chris Jackson, Statistics Canada, 1998

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.

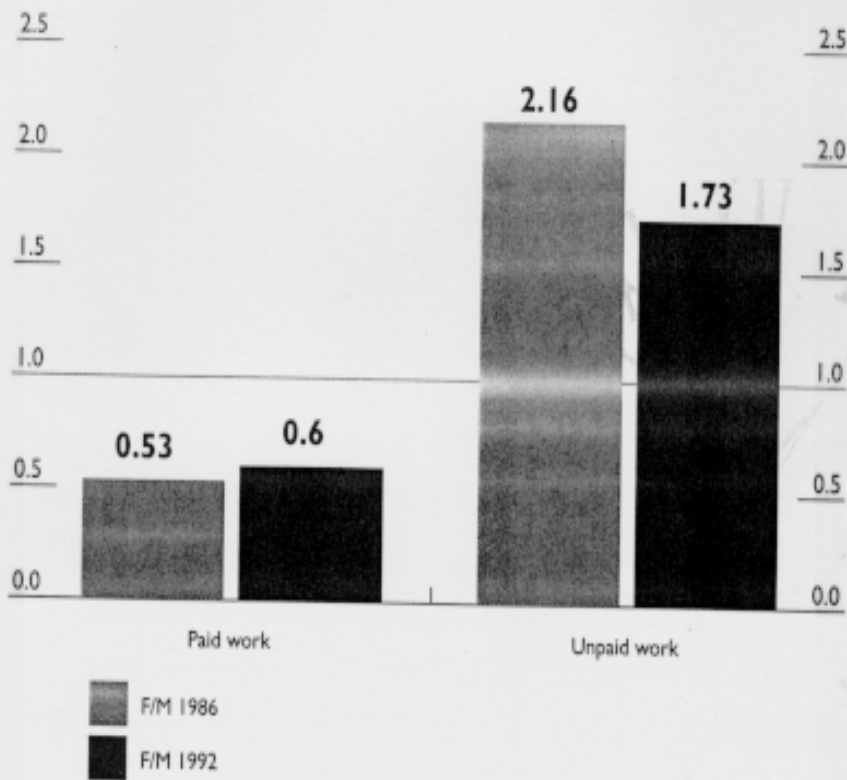
Source: Status of Women Canada, 1997. Economic Equality Indicators.



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.

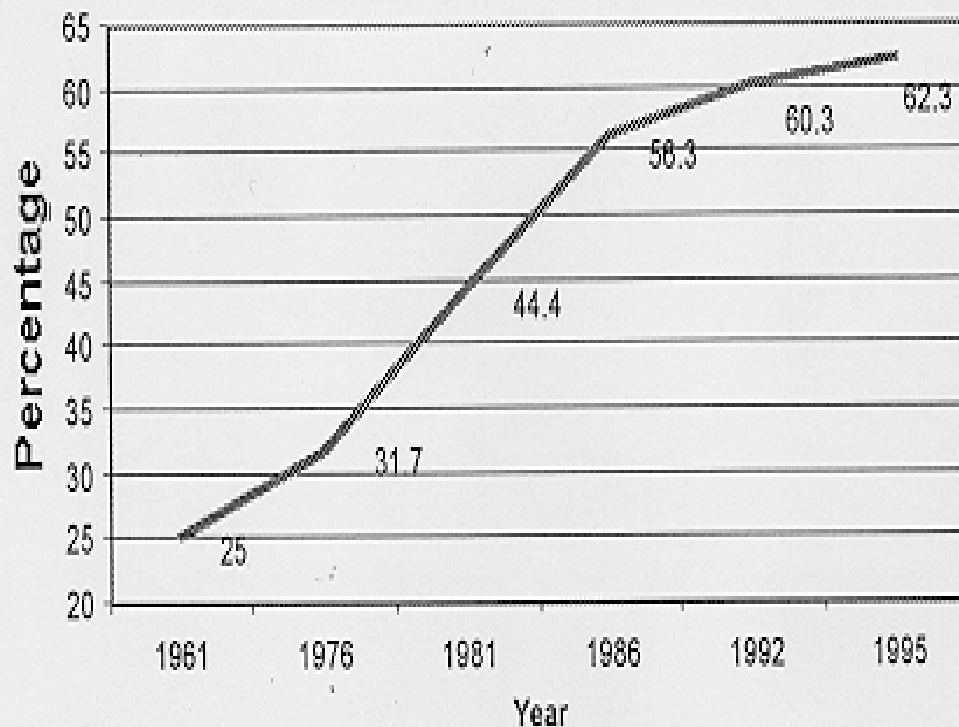


Gender Equality Indexes use ratios of women to men. A ratio of 1.0 is the point where women and men are equal in relation to that index. Below 1.0, women's workload is less than men's; above 1.0, it is greater.

Source: Statistics Canada, General Social Survey.

Chart 3

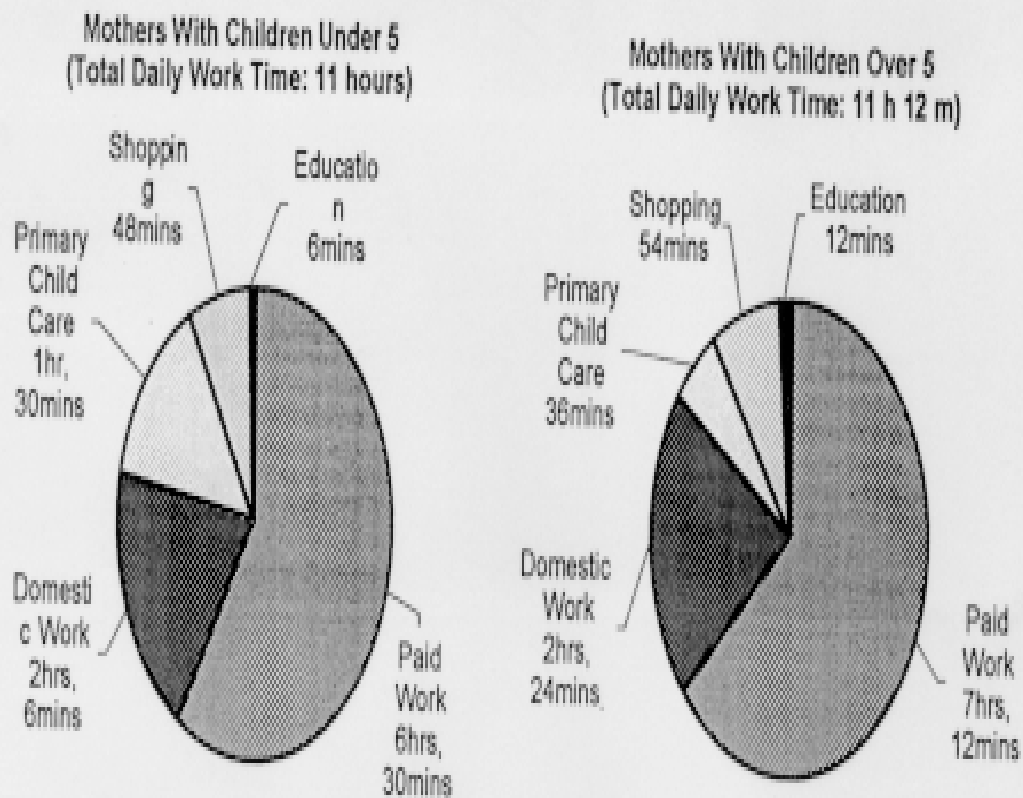
Labour Force Participation Rate of Mothers  
with Infants Aged 0-2, Canada, 1961-1995



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

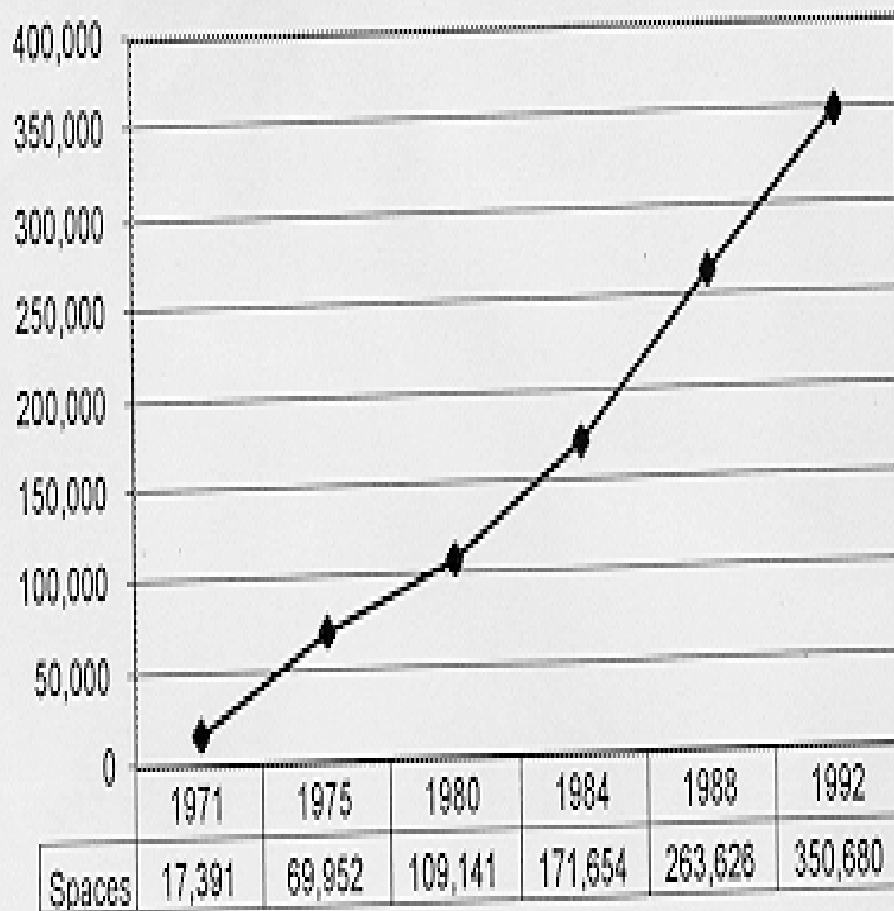


Source: Harvey, Andrew, et. al., *Where Does Time Go?*, General Social Survey Analysis Series, Statistics Canada, catalogue no. 11-612E, #4, table 19, page 117, data from 1986 GSS Time Use Survey. Note: Though these figures are daily averages, the data show that mothers actually shop an average of once every three days for  $2\frac{1}{2}$  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*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., catalogue no. 89-503E, from Health and Welfare Canada, *Status of Day Care in Canada*.

Diagram 1

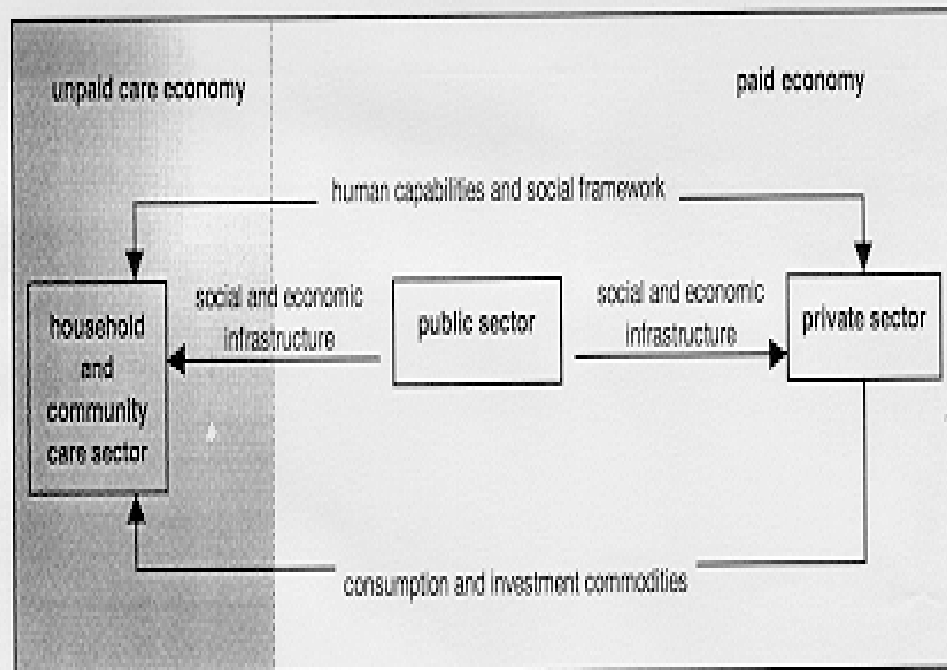
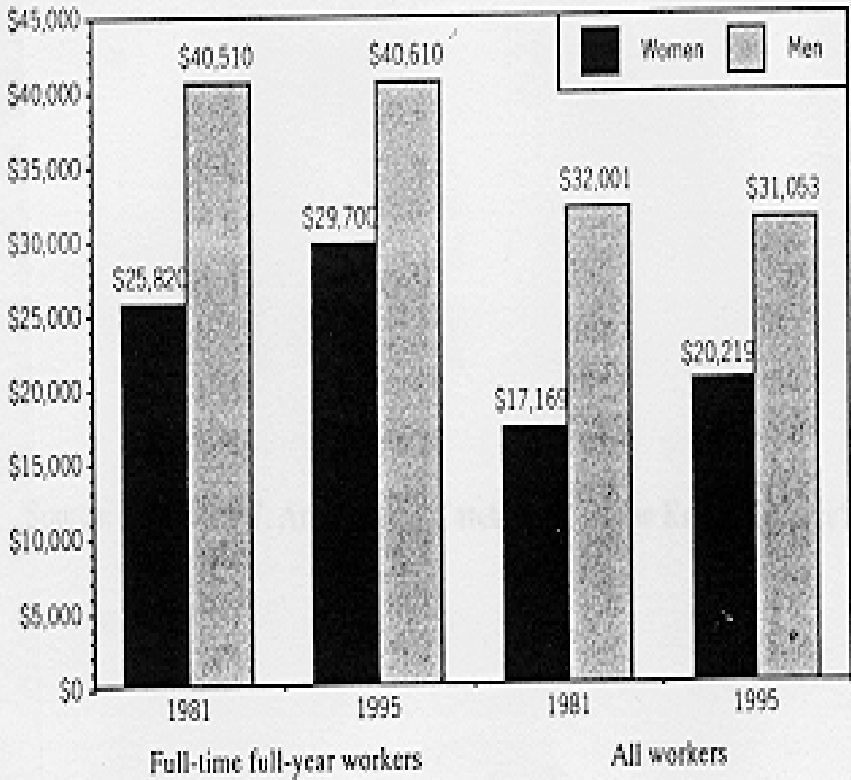


Figure 6.2 The interdependence of the paid and unpaid economies

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 12<sup>th</sup> 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

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**Recent Work-based Responses to Family and work Conflict**

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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)
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Source: Duffy and Pupo (1996).