

Unpaid Work in Asia and the Pacific



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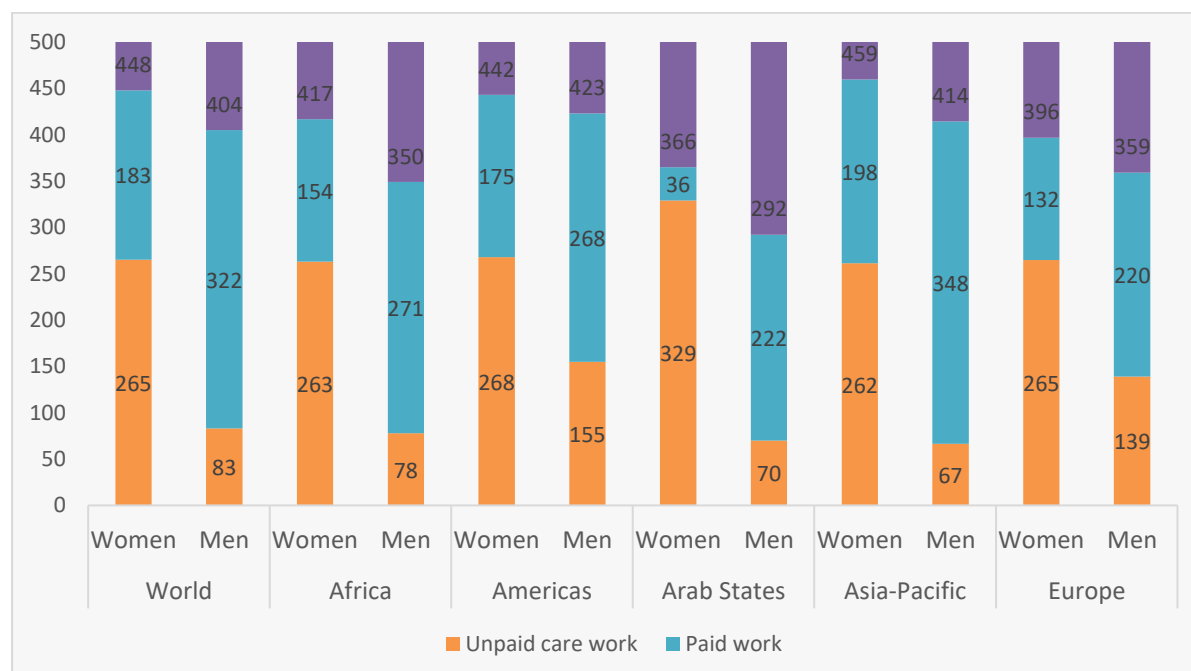
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I. Introduction

Women in Asia and the Pacific work the longest hours in the world. On average, women in the region worked 7.7 hours daily, of which only 3.3 hours are paid, and the rest are dedicated to unpaid care work. If included in measurement of GDP, unpaid care work undertaken by women in Asia Pacific would add 3.8 trillion USD to the regional total GDP (Woetzel et al. n.d.).

It is well-known that how households in general, and women in particular, decide to spend use their time, has implications for women's economic participation. 80 per cent of the unpaid care work in the region is done by women. Therefore, it is no surprise that the labour force participation rate of women in the region is only 46 per cent. Furthermore, ILO (2018b) reports that 64 per cent of women workers in the region are in informal employment. The need for flexible arrangements between home and work drive women to look for jobs that are accommodating and therefore, become employed in the informal sector which offer flexibility, but at the cost of vulnerable conditions of work and pay. Furthermore, the unpaid work done by women has implications on outcomes such as gender earnings gap, gender gaps in political representation and decision-making. It is agreed in policy and research circles that women's engagement in unpaid work is one of the main causes for their economic and social disempowerment (UN Women 2018).

Figure 1. Time spent daily in unpaid care work, paid work and total work, by sex and region, latest year



Note: Age group: 15 and older. Estimates weighted by the working-age population.

Source: ESCAP calculations based on ILO, Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work, 2018.¹

¹ The definition of unpaid care work in this graph follows the classification used by the ILO publication:

There is a tendency in policy and research circles, especially when it comes to matters of gender equality, that calls women to play an identical role to that of men. Studies find that all things constant, if women were to step into the shoes of men, their increased labour force participation would augment GDP by 26 per cent (Woetzel 2015, cited in ILO, 2018). However, such prognosis, do not take into account the burden of unpaid work, mostly shouldered by women, which makes it difficult for women to engage in paid work in the manner that is possible for men. Therefore, our discussions on women's economic empowerment need to acknowledge the constraints faced by women and argue out possible ways to empower them, in spite of these constraints. This points to a larger problem about the way in which policy disregards women's experiences, especially the unpaid work done at home.

The unpaid-paid work connection has been explored and dealt with considerable attention in policy circles. This paper pushes the envelope further by showing how the question of paid-unpaid work goes beyond labour market dynamics and that policy makers need to adapt an integrated thinking about unpaid work done by women, taking into account, along with labour market dynamics, macro-economic factors and socio-demographic factors. This policy paper therefore, illustrates a policy framework that could be adapted for an integrated treatment of unpaid work and discusses some of the policy interventions that are relevant to this region.

Table 1. Framing Unpaid Work through Macro-economy, Labour Market and Socio-Demographics

Macro-economic factors		Labour Market Factors		Socio-Demographic Factors	
i.	Invisibility of unpaid work	I.	Time use	i.	Ageing
ii.	Gendered impact of austerity measures	II.	Fatherhood Bonus, Motherhood Penalty	ii.	Urbanization and Migration
		III.	Structuring effects of labour market	iii.	Changing family structures
Policy Interventions					
i.	Make unpaid work visible through time use surveys	i.	Provision of family leave policies	i.	Developing long-term care policies
ii.	Building momentum to reflect unpaid work in national accounts	ii.	Adopting and implementing inclusive laws and policies	ii.	Adopting transformative policies for care economy
iii.	Social Protection, public services and infrastructure	iii.	Preventing and eliminating discrimination against women and men with family responsibilities		

In line with the standards adopted by the 19th ICLS, care work can be performed for pay or profit (care employment) or can be unpaid (as either unpaid care work, volunteer care work or unpaid trainee care work, see table 1). This definition focuses on the labour process involved in providing care services rather than the intended final destination of the service provision (household/family or market) or the physical location where the service is provided (private or public sphere).²² The care economy is the sum of all forms of care work. It therefore comprises both unpaid carers and care workers.

What is unpaid work?

Discussions on “unpaid” work requires a definite understanding of our object of research, i.e., unpaid work. The ensuing discussion would surround three strands of work, which have a bearing on how we understand “unpaid” work in policy. We refer to the Systems of National Accounts (SNA), International Classification of Activities for Time Use Surveys (ICATUS) and Resolution I of the 19th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) to map out the logical frames that inform the policy understanding of unpaid work. The inter-relations have been diagrammatically represented in Table 2.

Systems of National Accounts

The System of National Accounts (SNA) is the internationally agreed standard set of recommendations on how to compile measures of economic activity. The production boundary of SNA determines which goods and services are included in national income accounts. While household is considered as a part of the economy, the treatment of the unpaid work that takes place at household is not consistent and some scholars consider the exclusion of unpaid care and domestic work arbitrary. While unpaid family work in family enterprises, production of subsistence goods by households for own consumption and the collection of free goods for own consumption and production are included, unpaid domestic work and unpaid care work, along with unpaid voluntary services are outside the production boundary. According to Antonopolous (2010), 35 to 50 per cent of total work-time in an economy is spend doing unpaid work, which falls outside the ambit of the production boundary.

19th International Conference of Labour Statisticians

Discussions of paid and unpaid work have implications on what we understand as “work”. At the 19th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS), Resolution I on “Statistics of work, employment and labour underutilization” introduced a new definition of work as comprising “any activity performed by persons of any sex and age to produce goods or to provide services for use by others or for own use” (“Resolution Concerning Statistics of Work, Employment and Labour Underutilization” 2013). It includes five mutually exclusive forms of work, namely,

- *own-use production work*, comprising production of goods and services for own final use;
- *employment work*, comprising work performed for others in exchange for pay or profit;
- *unpaid trainee work*, comprising work performed for others without pay to acquire workplace experience or skills;
- *volunteer work*, comprising non-compulsory work performed for others without pay;
- *Other work activities*

By including activities that result in production of goods or services “for use by others or for own use” the definition recognizes the production of goods and services produced at home for personal use or for the use of other household members as “work”.

The International Classification of Activities for Time Use Statistics

The International Classification of Activities for Time Use Statistics 2016 (ICATUS 2016) classifies the different possible activities that could be undertaken by people in a day. It categorises activities in nine ways namely, (1) Employment and related activities;(2) Production of goods for own final use;(3) Unpaid domestic services for household and family members;(4) Unpaid care services for household and family members; (5) Unpaid volunteer, trainee and other unpaid work;(6) Learning;(7) Socializing and communication, community participation and religious practice; (8) Culture, leisure, mass-media and sports practices; (9) Self-care and maintenance.

There are three activities under this classification which enters our discussion of unpaid work- namely, (3) Unpaid domestic services for household and family members; (4) Unpaid care services for household and family members; (5) Unpaid volunteer, trainee and other unpaid work. This classification draws a distinction between unpaid domestic services and unpaid care services. Unpaid domestic services refer to domestic services rendered without pay for household and family members.² Whereas ‘unpaid care services’ refer to caregiving services rendered without remuneration for household and family members or members of other households.³

For the purpose of this paper, unpaid work, unless stated otherwise, would include both unpaid care and unpaid domestic work.

² This includes activities like: Food and meals management and preparation; Cleaning; Care of clothes and textiles (e.g., washing, ironing) ;House maintenance and repair ;Household management (e.g., paying bills, organizing) Pet care; Shopping for household and family members; Traveling, moving, transporting or accompanying goods or persons related to this kind of unpaid domestic services.

³ This includes activities like: Childcare; Care for dependent adults; Care for non-dependent adult household and family members; Traveling and accompanying goods or persons related to unpaid care giving services for household and family members; Other activities related to unpaid care giving services for household and family members.

Table 2. Classification of Unpaid Work: ICLS, ICATUS and SNA

Intended destination of production	For own final use			For use by others							
Forms of work in the 19th ICLS Resolution I	Own-use production work			Employment			Unpaid trainee work	Other work activities	Volunteer work		
									in market and non-market units	in households producing	
	Of services		Of goods						Goods	Services	
ICATUS 2016	4. Unpaid caregiving services for household and family members	3. Unpaid domestic services for household and family members	2. Production of goods for own final use	1. Employment and related activities			5. Unpaid volunteer, trainee and other unpaid work				
				11. Employment in corporations, government and non-profit institutions	12. Employment in household enterprises to produce goods	13. Employment in household and household enterprises to provide services	53. Unpaid trainee work and related activities	59. Other unpaid work activities	51. Unpaid direct volunteering for other households 52. Unpaid community- and organization-based volunteering		
Type of work	Unpaid work			Work for pay or profit			Unpaid work				
Type of care work	Unpaid care work <i>(as a subset of Unpaid work, comprising care of persons and household work)</i>			"Care employment" to provide care services in care occupations and/or care sectors <i>(as a subset of Employment)</i>			Unpaid trainee care work to provide care services in care occupations or care sectors <i>(as a subset of Unpaid trainee work)</i>		Volunteer care work <i>(as a subset of Volunteer work)</i>		
									Unpaid community- and organization-based volunteering to provide care services in care occupations or care sectors	Unpaid direct volunteering for other households to provide care services akin to unpaid care work	
Relation to to SNA 2008				Activities within the SNA production boundary							
				Activities within the SNA general production boundary							

Source: Laura Addati, 2018.

International Commitments

There is an increasing policy attention on the issue of unpaid work, the origin of which could be traced to a historical decision of the Beijing Platform for Action at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995. The Platform valued both the remunerated and unremunerated contributions of women to the economy and development, and understood women to be an active agent in the process of development (See paragraphs 21 and 156). However, the platform also avers that the unremunerated work of women stands undervalued and unrecorded. This invisibility gives little social recognition to the women's contribution to development (See paragraph 156). Recognising that by 2025, 72 per cent of the ageing population will be living in developing countries and that more than half of them would be women, the platform draws attention to the fact that care of children, elderly and the sick is a responsibility that more often than not, falls on the shoulders of women. This derives from the "unbalanced distribution of remunerated and unremunerated work between

men and women” (paragraph 30). Further, the platform acknowledges the risk faced by women for falling into poverty is greater in comparison to men. This seems to be the case for elderly women where the system of social protection works on the principle of continuous remuneration. However, uninterrupted work is not an easy achievement for women, especially because of the unbalanced division of remunerated and unremunerated work. The platform also recognises how austerity measures in the form of cutting back public services disproportionately impact women. Women take on more unpaid work in order to make-up for the loss in public services. It also aims to enhance the access of unpaid women producers in food production and urban enterprises to productive resources.

The platform identified 12 critical areas of concern for women’s advancement, which it addresses through strategic objectives and actions. The issue at hand for this paper, is addressed under three critical areas of concerns, namely, Women and Poverty, Institutional Mechanisms for the Advancement of Women and Women and Economy. The action points relate to reviewing national policies, programmes, projects to ensure that women benefit from development and that their contributions to their economy are duly considered while formulating economic plans and policies; generating knowledge to understand the type, extent and distribution of unremunerated work, sharing and disseminating this knowledge to make women’s contributions visible; ensuring access to resources for unpaid women producers (see table 3 for details).

The platform calls for the following actions in relation to the unremunerated work done by women:

Table 3. Unpaid work in Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action

Critical area of concern and Strategic Objectives	Actions to be taken
<p>A. Women and poverty</p> <p><i>A.4. Develop gender-based methodologies and conduct research to address the feminization of poverty</i></p>	<p>68. By national and international statistical organizations:</p> <p>(b) Devise suitable statistical means to recognize and make visible the full extent of the work of women and all their contributions to the national economy, including their contribution in the unremunerated and domestic sectors, and examine the relationship of women's unremunerated work to the incidence of and their vulnerability to poverty.</p>
<p>H. Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women</p> <p><i>H.2. Integrate gender perspectives in legislation, public policies, programmes and projects</i></p> <p><i>H.3. Generate and disseminate gender-disaggregated data and information for planning and evaluation</i></p>	<p>204. By Governments:</p> <p>(a) Seek to ensure that before policy decisions are taken, an analysis of their impact on women and men, respectively, is carried out;</p> <p>(b) Regularly review national policies, programmes and projects, as well as their implementation, evaluating the impact of employment and income policies in order to guarantee that women are direct beneficiaries of development and that their full contribution to development, both remunerated and unremunerated, is considered in economic policy and planning;</p> <p>206. By national, regional and international statistical services and relevant governmental and United Nations agencies, in cooperation with research and documentation organizations, in their respective areas of responsibility:</p> <p>(f) Develop a more comprehensive knowledge of all forms of work and employment by:</p> <p>(i) Improving data collection on the unremunerated work which is already included in the United Nations System of National Accounts, such as in agriculture, particularly subsistence agriculture, and other types of non-market production activities;</p> <p>(ii) Improving measurements that at present underestimate women's unemployment and underemployment in the labour market;</p> <p>(iii) Developing methods, in the appropriate forums, for assessing the value, in quantitative terms, of unremunerated work that is outside national accounts, such as caring for dependants and preparing food, for possible reflection in satellite or other official accounts that may be produced separately from but are consistent with core national accounts, with a view to recognizing the economic contribution of women and making visible the unequal distribution of remunerated and unremunerated work between women and men;</p>

<p>F. Women and the economy</p> <p><i>F.1. Promote women's economic rights and independence, including access to employment, appropriate working conditions and control over economic resources</i></p> <p><i>F.2. Facilitate women's equal access to resources, employment, markets and trade</i></p> <p><i>F.5. Eliminate occupational segregation and all forms of employment discrimination</i></p>	<p>165. By Governments:</p> <p>(g) Seek to develop a more comprehensive knowledge of work and employment through, inter alia, efforts to measure and better understand the type, extent and distribution of unremunerated work, particularly work in caring for dependants and unremunerated work done for family farms or businesses, and encourage the sharing and dissemination of information on studies and experience in this field, including the development of methods for assessing its value in quantitative terms, for possible reflection in accounts that may be produced separately from, but consistent with, core national accounts;</p> <p>166. By Governments:</p> <p>e) Create and modify programmes and policies that recognize and strengthen women's vital role in food security and provide paid and unpaid women producers, especially those involved in food production, such as farming, fishing and aquaculture, as well as urban enterprises, with equal access to appropriate technologies, transportation, extension services, marketing and credit facilities at the local and community levels;</p> <p>178 (e) Ensure that strategies to eliminate child labour also address the excessive demands made on some girls for unpaid work in their household and other households, where applicable;</p>
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Currently, rebalancing the distribution of unpaid care and domestic work between men and women is considered a fundamental entry point to eliminating gender gaps in the labour market. In 2014, at the 58th Commission on the Status of Women, the Agreed Conclusions averred the need to:

"Recognize that caregiving is a critical societal function and therefore emphasize the need to value, reduce and redistribute unpaid care work by prioritizing social protection policies, including accessible and affordable social services, including care services for children, persons with disabilities, older persons and persons living with HIV and AIDS, and all others in need of care; the development of infrastructure, including access to environmentally sound, time- and energy-saving technologies; employment policies, including family-friendly policies with maternity and paternity leave and benefits; and the promotion of the equal sharing of responsibilities and chores between men and women in caregiving and domestic work to reduce the domestic work burden of women and girls and to change the attitudes that reinforce the division of labour based on gender"

(UN Women, 2014)

The current paradigm of development, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development addresses unpaid care and domestic work under Goal 5, Gender Equality and Empowerment of all women and girls. Target 5.4 under the goal calls to '*recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate*'.

While the target enjoins member States to provide public services, infrastructure, social protection policies and shared responsibilities in order to recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work, the indicator to capture this target, namely, Target 5.4.1 aims to measure the *'proportion of time spent on unpaid domestic and care work, by sex, age and location'*. In order to measure 5.4.1, there is a need to design and conduct time-use surveys. While the indicator does not inform us of the status of the services mentioned in the target, this is a step-forward in the right direction. SDG 5.4 is creating a palpable momentum in policy circles in giving more attention and visibility to the issue of unpaid work and its policy implications. The 2017 Report of the UN Secretary General's High Level Panel on Women's Economic Empowerment shows that the recognition, reduction and redistribution of unpaid care and domestic work to be one of the seven drivers of economic empowerment of women.(UNSG-HLPWEE 2017) The policy actions on the care economy foreseen in SDG 5.4 towards the reduction and redistribution of women's unpaid work burden are closely interlinked to achieving other gender equality targets under SDG 5.

Table 4. Inter-linkages with other SDGs

SDG		Target	The contribution of a high road to care work towards achieving the SDGs
Goal 1	End poverty in all its forms everywhere	1.2	Social protection contributes to decreasing out-of-pocket care-related expenses and can thereby help to reduce the proportion of people living in poverty (1.2)
		1.3	Calls for the implementation of "nationally appropriate social protection systems and measures for all, including floors" in relation to, among other issues, maternity, children, persons with disabilities and older persons (1.3)
Goal 2	End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture	2.1	Access to public food programmes for children enrolled in early childhood education services, as well as in primary and secondary education, will contribute to ensuring access to safe, nutritious and sufficient food all year round (2.1).
		2.3	Access to better basic and improved infrastructure, such as that relating to water, sanitation and electricity, can support the engagement of rural women, women working in agriculture and indigenous women in agricultural or other gainful activities
Goal 3	Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages	3.1	Better access to maternity protection will reduce the maternal mortality ratio
		3.2	Better access to maternity protection will reduce the preventable deaths of new-borns as well
		3.8	Better access to care services and universal health coverage, including long-term care, will improve the health of all, including people living with HIV or AIDS, people with disabilities and older persons
Goal 4	Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all	4.1	Ensure access to free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education
		4.2	Improve access for all girls and boys to quality early childhood care and education (ECCE) services so that they are ready for primary education
		4.3	Improve access to affordable and quality technical, vocational and tertiary education

		4.a	Guaranteeing facilities that are child, disability and gender sensitive
		4.c	Increase the supply of qualified teachers in regions where they are most lacking
Goal 5	Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls	5.4	Public care services, social protection and improved infrastructure will reduce drudgery in unpaid care work and contribute to recognizing, redistributing and valuing unpaid care and domestic work
		5.5	By shifting some of the burden of care work from the household to the State, market or non-profit sector, as well as from women to men within the household, these care policies will also contribute to promoting women's full and effective participation, and equal opportunities for leadership, in political, economic and public life
		5.a	Care policies will contribute overall to both women's equal rights to economic resources
		5.c	Care policies will also contribute to the adaption of sound policies that promote gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls
Goal 6	Ensure availability and sustainable management of water and sanitation for all	6.1	Universal and equitable access to safe and affordable drinking water will enable a reduction of drudgery for girls and women, who bear a disproportionate burden of unpaid household work
		6.2	Access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene will benefit all, especially women and people with disabilities who face greater obstacles and risks
Goal 7	Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all	7.1	Universal access to affordable, reliable and modern energy services will also facilitate the gain of substantial amounts of time for personal, leisure and income-generating activities for women, helping to reduce the drudgery of collecting wood for heating and food preparation.
Goal 8	Promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all	8.3	Active labour market policies, such as public works programmes, that take into account the care obligations of participants, can contribute to the creation of decent jobs (8.3), including among rural women and others from disadvantaged backgrounds.
		8.5	By giving support to unpaid carers through the provision of care services and by generating decent care jobs, care policies and services expand the care workforce, sustaining the demand for women's (and men's) employment and contributing to full and productive employment for all. Collective bargaining and increased organization of all care workers, including migrant and domestic workers, can also help to achieve decent work for all and equal pay for work of equal value.
		8.8	Better state regulation and the formalization of informal care workers will also contribute to the protection of labour rights and promote safe and secure working environments for all workers, in particular women migrants and those in precarious employment
		8.10	Access to financial services is also key to ensuring that women are empowered, and households can afford decent care services

Goal 9	Build resilient infrastructure, promote inclusive and sustainable industrialization and foster innovation	9.1	The development of care-related infrastructure, as well as care services that offer decent care jobs, will contribute to developing quality, reliable, sustainable and resilient infrastructure to support economic development and human well-being.
Goal 10	Reduce inequality within and among countries	10.1	Universal access to social protection cash benefits related to care and care services will support income growth among the bottom 40 per cent of the population.
		10.2	Universal access to social protection cash benefits promote the social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status
		10.3	Fiscal, wage and social protection policies for care workers and unpaid carers will contribute to ensuring equal opportunities and reducing inequalities of outcome
		10.4	Fiscal, wage and social protection policies for care workers and unpaid carers will contribute to progressively achieve greater equality
Goal 17	Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development	17.1	Macroeconomic policies that aim to invest in the provision of care infrastructures, public care services and care jobs are linked to the strengthening of domestic resource mobilization to improve domestic capacity for tax and other revenue collection

Source: Laura Addati, 2018.

II. Macro-economic Factors

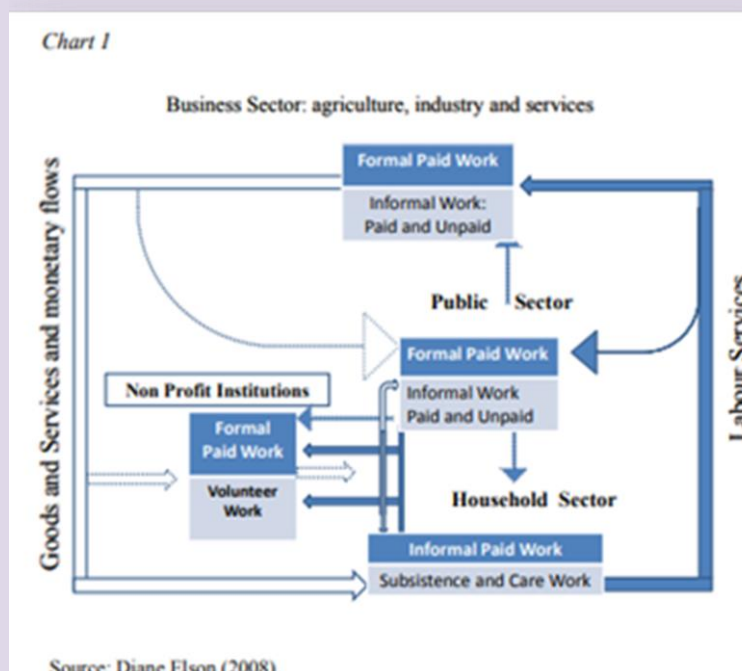
(a) *Invisibility of Unpaid Work*

Mainstream economic theories consider household as a unit of consumption and the unpaid work undertaken within the ambit of household is not considered as production and therefore, not included in the calculation of Gross National Product under the Systems of National Account. They are excluded due to three reasons: one, since non-monetary flows have little relevance for macro-economics; two, inclusion could overwhelm national accounts, three, inclusion could lead to a situation of full employment, which is looked at with suspicion. However, economists have contested these reasons by showing the ways in which non-monetary flows exert influence on monetary flows, by making case for the inclusion of unpaid work, irrespective of its overwhelming consequences and by highlighting the need to modify concepts like workforce and labour force instead of arbitrarily keeping unpaid work out of the ambit of SNA's production boundary (Hirway 2015 p.5-6 ; Waring 1999 chapters 3 and 4). Further economists have also argued for treating the household as a unit of production, producing labour force for the formal and informal sectors of the public , business and non-profit sectors, as well as to take care of the subsistence and care needs of the household sector (Elson 2008; see Box 1).

The invisibility and exclusion of unpaid work from systems of national accounts also renders it invisible for policy making. For instance, the costs of caring for children and the elderly in the public and private sectors are visible in national accounts and therefore, taken up for consideration in policy formulation and discussions. However, the costs of caring for the elderly and children in the household sector are unaccounted in the national accounts system and therefore not accounted for in policy discussions. For instance, In Uganda and South Africa, Akintola (2004) has found that cuts in public health care sector has resulted in reducing nursing personnel in hospitals, reducing the length of stay in hospital and a chronic reliance on family labour for providing home-based care to ailing patients. In these instances, public policy assumes an infinitely elastic supply of unpaid labour and entails no cost to those who provide the service, i.e., feeding, cleaning and bathing of ill patients, primarily provided by women in the household sector. However, as Palmer (1995) describes, unpaid care work works like a tax that is levied on the household sector, and usually paid for by women, in order to reproduce the economy. In other words, unpaid work exerts a cost on those who perform it and it could be difficult for the carers to absorb these costs without taking on the strain, despite it been invisible to the economists' eye. Therefore, to make unpaid work visible, is to make the costs and strains associated with the performance of such work, amenable to policy discussions.

Box. 1. Household as a Unit of Production

Chart 1 (below) shows how the household is one of the three sectors of the macroeconomy. It is not an add-on sector or an afterthought; it is a fundamental building block, structurally interlinked with the other two sectors, namely the public sector and the market. The chart also shows that the household sector provides formal labour, informal labour, and unpaid labour to the economy. This labour is provided to the business sector and the public sector. Both these sectors get formal and informal labour from the household sector. The household sector also provides formal paid work and voluntary work to non-profit institutions. Similarly, the business sector and the public sector provide goods and services to the household sector and to non-profit institutions. The business sector also provides goods and services to the public sector. Finally, the public sector also provides services to the business sector, the household sector, and to non-profit institutions. This chart depicts very clearly the linkages between the three fundamental sectors in the macroeconomy. The chart implies that how people divide their time between paid (SNA) and unpaid work (non-SNA) ought to be used to understand the impact of macro policies on those performing paid work, as well as those performing unpaid work (Antonopoulos 2009).



Excerpt from Hirway, 2015.

(b) Austerity and its gendered impact

Austerity measures, which entails fiscal consolidation by cutting public expenditures have been associated with worsening developmental outcomes for women. The Global Financial Crisis (2008-9) and the Asian Financial Crisis (1997-98) are instances where fiscal policies which entailed cuts to public expenses adopted in response to financial crisis only exacerbated the crises (Elson 2018).

For the Asian Financial Crisis, although a comprehensive study of its gendered impact is lacking, a study based on Indonesia Family Life Surveys has shown that as men lost jobs, women stepped up as the “provider of last resort”. Frankenberg, Thomas and Beegle (1999) show that between 1997 and 1999, labour force employed in paid work increased for women by 1 per cent, while it decreased for men by 1.3 per cent. Adding unpaid work, this figure stands at 7 per cent and 1.3 per cent respectively (cited in Elson 2002).

In the case of the Global Financial crisis, it has been reported that low-income women have been impacted adversely, despite an increasing female labour force participation. This has been explained through the concept of “added worker”, wherein women in developing countries made forays into informal employment, in order to compensate for the loss of earnings from men (Elson 2018). Further, Elson (2018) states that globally, women utilise public services more than men, due to their status as primary caregivers. UN Women (2014) notes that the austerity measures that followed the Global financial crisis intensified women’s unpaid care burdens to a point which cannot be absorbed without experiencing strain and ill-effects. Without critical public investments and opportunities for decent jobs, it concludes that the capabilities of people would diminish through mal or undernutrition, dropping out of school, breaking up of families and rising levels of violence. Cuts to social protection payments are particularly poignant for women from low-income groups. A study conducted on the impact of cuts to social protection payments and tax cuts in UK since 2010 shows that the most hard-hit by these changes are the low-income Asian women (UK Women’s Budget Group 2017:21-23, cited in Elson, 2018).

Further, fiscal consolidation or austerity measures, while been carried out, should take into account possible adverse developmental effects and how it can avert compromising long-term developmental efforts. Countries should explore options to free-up fiscal space to release resources to ensure adequate social protection measures for women. We need to understand the impact of macroeconomic policies on unpaid work and gender inequalities and vice-versa.

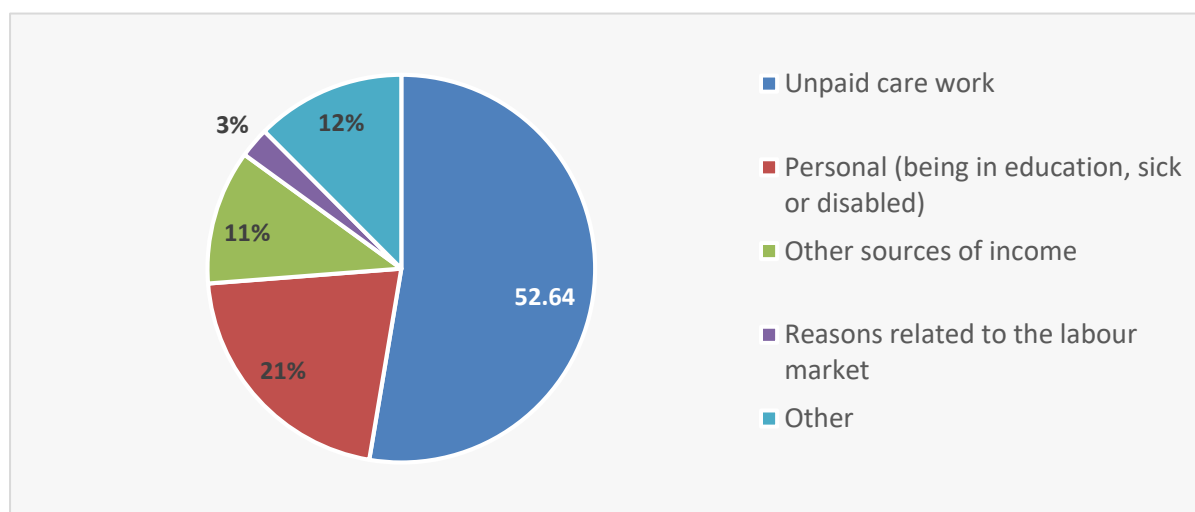
III. Labour Market factors

How households decide to spend their time, in general, and how women decide to spend their time, in particular, have implications for their engagement with labour market. Unpaid work impacts the ways in which women allocate their time and the types of jobs they can undertake. Due to their multiple responsibilities for unpaid work, women may seek paid work that is more flexible, for fewer hours and closer to home – resulting in women’s segregation into the informal sector, or in lower-paying jobs with little or no social protection.

(a) Unpaid work- Paid work connection

In Asia and the Pacific, around 426 million people belonging to working age population cite unpaid care responsibilities as one of the main reasons for staying out of the labour market. We arrived at this figure based on ILO (2018) calculations for the world, which states that 647 million people are outside of labour force due to family responsibilities. In the ESCAP region, around 400 million women, more than the half, 52.64 per cent of the 770 million inactive women stay out of the labour force due to unpaid care work responsibilities. Not only do women perform the bulk of the unpaid care work in the region, unpaid care work emerges as the main reason for around 400 million women to stay out of the labour force. This amounts to more than half of the women labour force in the region. Unpaid care work is the most common reason among women for being outside of the labour force, while men reported that each possible reason other than unpaid care work is more likely to be the main constraint. Only 7.88 per cent of their male counterparts, 26 million men stay outside the labour force for the same reason. While unpaid care work is the leading reason among female working-age population, men reported it as the least common reason. 53 per cent of the working age male population stay out of the labour force due to personal reasons like education, sickness or disability.

Figure 2: Percentage of inactive persons, by main reason for being outside the labour force, women



Note: Age group: 15 and older. Estimates weighted by the working-age population.

Source: ESCAP calculations based on ILO, Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work, 2018.

(b) *Fatherhood Bonus and Motherhood Penalty*

Further, there is persistent employment gap among women and men that deepens with parenthood. Women are less likely to be employed than men regardless the number of children they have. Additionally, parents with young children exhibit different trends in employment: mothers are less likely, fathers are more likely to be employed than their childless counterparts. These patterns reflect the gender stereotype that it is women who must sacrifice paid work due to the experience of childbirth and the associated period of leave to care for the child.

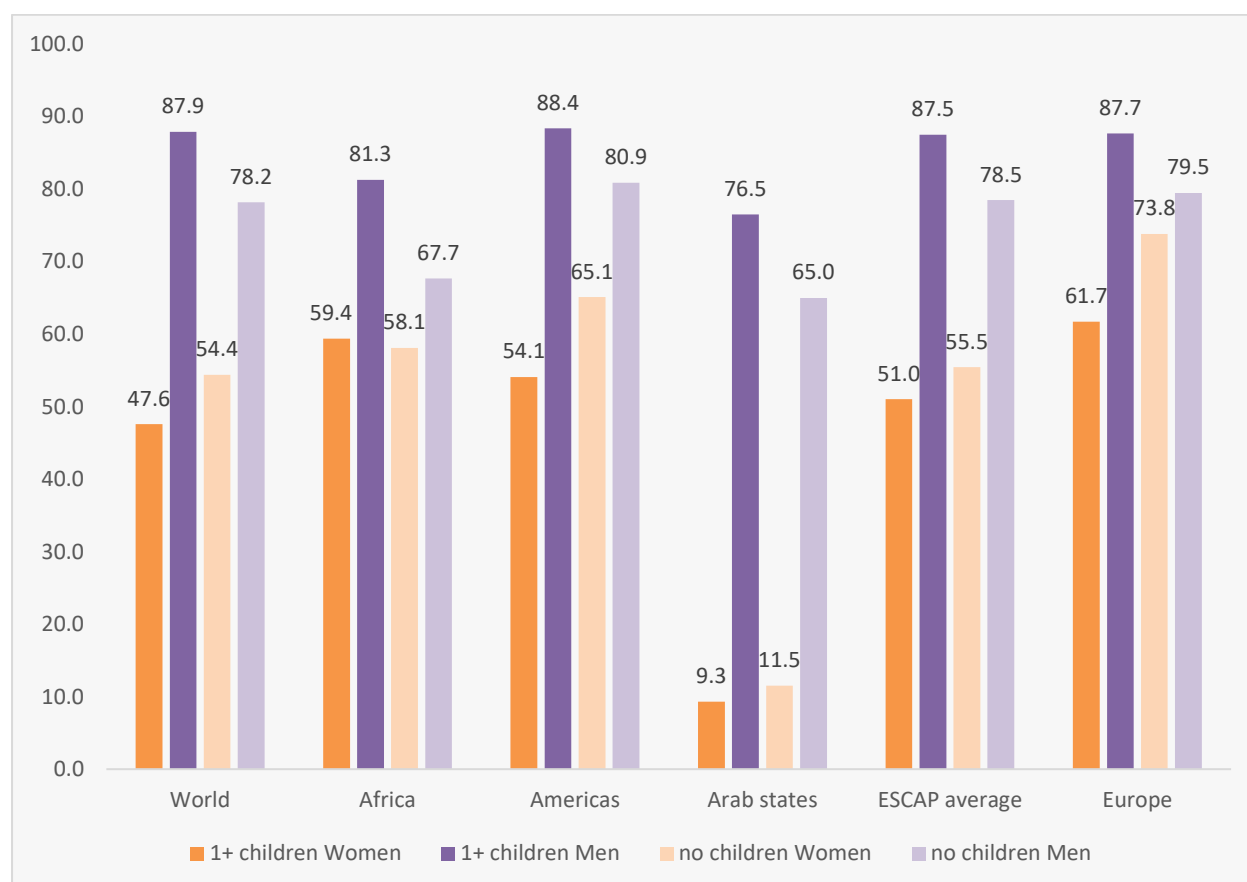
Two phenomena highlighted by International Labour Organization (Laura Addati 2018), the *motherhood penalty* and the *fatherhood bonus* capture the responses of women and men on the labour market to having children. To explore and analyse differences with respect to highest employment-to-population ratios between men and women, parents with and without children aged 0- 5, this paper follows ILO's classification: women with at least one young child, women without young children, men with at least one young child, men with no young children.

Mothers of young children account for the lowest employment-to-population rate rates (47.6 per cent) compared not only with fathers (87.9 per cent) and non-fathers (78.2 per cent), but also with non-mothers of children aged 0-5 years (54.4 per cent). This global trend termed as "motherhood employment penalty" measures the employment gap between mothers and non-mothers, persistent in the Asia-Pacific region. Women with children aged 0- 5 are less likely to be employed than women without young children. While 55.5 per cent of childless women in the region are employed, this rate is only 51 percent in case of mothers.

The trend called "fatherhood bonus" seems to be the opposite among men, they are more likely to be employed if they have young children. At 87.9 per cent, fathers with young children have the highest employment-to-population ratios throughout the world among all the adult groups. In the ESCAP region, 78.5 per cent of men without children are employed while as many as 87.5 per cent of fathers reported to be employed.

The regional non-parents employment gap, the difference between the employment-to-population ratio for men and women without children aged 0–5 years is 23 per cent. However, this gendered employment gap widens with parenthood: the difference in employment rate follows the global trend and increases from 23 to 36.5 per cent among parents with young children which is called the parenthood employment gap. Even though it is below the world average of 40.3 per cent, it is the second highest value after the Arab countries.

Figure 3. Employment-to-population ratios of mothers and fathers of children aged 0 to 5 and of non-mothers and non-fathers of children aged 0 to 5, latest year



Source: ILO, 2018.

(c) Structuring effect of structures of labour market: Family Leave Policies

In the above two sections, we saw how decisions relating to allocating time and family planning can have an impact on the economic participation of men and women. On the other hand, the structures of the labour market, the protection offered by the employment and also the presence /absence of legal provisions to prevent discrimination against women at workplace, have important implications for how women choose to engage in the labour market. The provision of family leave provides significant benefits not only working mothers and their children, but also to fathers, partners, families and communities in general. The benefits are manifold, ranging from physical, social, economic and psychological. Provision of job and income security for women during and after maternity through family leave policies can be a critical pathway to advance and achieve gender equality at work (World Bank 2018).

ILO Conventions on Maternity Protection: Status Check in Asia and the Pacific

The ILO Maternity Protection Convention, 2000 (No. 183) lays out a comprehensive guide for countries to provide adequate maternity protection. It recommends a minimum paid maternity leave of 14 weeks and the accompanying recommendation no.1918 encourages countries to provide for at least 18 weeks. Cash benefits during maternity leave, according to Convention No. 183 should amount to two-thirds of the previous earnings of the woman. 19 countries in Asia and the Pacific comply with Convention No. 183. Further, 12 countries provide at least 18 weeks of leave, thereby complying with Recommendation no. 191. 29 countries pay 100 per cent of the wages, whereas ten countries provide less than 100 percent and two countries pay less than two-thirds.

Furthermore, the convention applies to all employed women and thereby does not restrict its applicability only to women in formal sector. Globally, around 800 million working women are estimated to not have access to protection, i.e. leave and income security during maternity (ILO 2018a). In Asia and the Pacific where about 64 per cent and upwards of the women who are employed work in the informal sector (ILO 2018b) maternity protection need to be extended to this sector in order for working women to be truly empowered. ILO standards discussed above, along with ILO's the Social Protection Floors Recommendation (No. 202), and the Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy Recommendation (No. 204) are excellent guides for countries to extent maternity protection beyond the formal sector. Countries have amended their legal frameworks to provide maternity protection coverage to categories of workers, who are usually employed in the informal sector. By doing so, it becomes a step towards transitioning workers into the formal sector. (see box xx)

Box 2. National Social Security Fund, Lao People's Democratic Republic

In Lao People's Democratic Republic, informal sector workers can join the National Social Security Fund (NSSF) on a voluntary basis under the 2014 Social Security Law. Coverage includes access to a number of social security benefits, including health care and maternity benefits, based on a contribution rate of 9 per cent of their chosen reference wage. In order to be eligible for maternity cash benefits, insured persons need at least 6 months of contributions within the last 12 months. The maternity cash benefit of 80 per cent of the average reference wage (during the last 6 months) is paid for a maximum of 90 days. Coverage is however limited so far: in 2015, the number of voluntarily members was 1,599 persons out of roughly 2.48 million informal sector workers in the country.

Excerpt from ILO, 2018b.

IV. Socio-demographic factors

Demographic changes, urbanisation, migration and attendant effects on changing family structures are important factors, particularly in Asia and the Pacific, that should be considered while discussing the issue of unpaid work in the region. Demographically speaking, since the 1950s, the region has been moving from high birth and death rates to low birth and death rates. Globally, the number of persons aged 60 and above is estimated to reach 1.4 billion in 2030 and 2 billion in 2050 and to 3.1 billion in 2100-the majority of whom are living in less developed countries (UN DESA Population Division., 2015; United Nations[□]., 2017). A total of 65 per cent of the global increase between 2017 and 2050 for this age group is expected to occur in Asia (United Nations., 2017). In 2016, approximately 12.4 per cent of the population

in the Asia-Pacific region was 60 years or older, but this is estimated to increase to more than a quarter – or 1.3 billion – people by 2050 (UNESCAP., 2016; UNESCAP., 2018). The growing number of ageing population puts the Asia-Pacific region at the forefront of one of the most important global demographic trends.

Figure 4. Proportion of Total Population Aged 60 or Over in 2016 and 2050 by ESCAP Sub-regions,



Source: UNESCAP Statistical Database, 2016.

In 2017, around 571 million older persons are reported to have been living in Asia and the Pacific. For a lot of countries in the region, the rate at which the population of older persons is growing is more rapid than that of working-age population. In the five sub-regions of Asia and the Pacific, old age support ratios (ratio of working-age population to older population) have been in decline and are projected to fall till 2050. This trend increases the demand for care and health services for older persons as they could require assistance in their daily living. Across the world, the majority of care work for older persons is performed by family members on an unpaid basis. And most carers are women: spouses, daughters or daughters-in-law who are often treated as the invisible spine.

The Asia-Pacific region is urbanizing at breakneck speed. In ASEAN, 90 million more persons will move into cities by 2030. Further, this region is also an important source and destination for international migration. In 2017, about 102 million people lived outside their countries of birth, whereas the region hosted around 62 million migrants. The combination of urbanisation and migration renders change in the family structures in the region, reducing chances of family provision of care for older persons. In China, family's responsibility to provide care for older persons is enforceable by law with penalty (fine and imprisonment), whereas in India, children could be tried in court of law if they do not provide care for their parents (ILO: Game Changers). A review of thirteen countries in Asia reports that about 60 to 90 per cent of the older persons who were living with their children in the 1990's no longer live with their

children. In cases where care work for older persons are done by women family members, they could have to forego economic participation. For instance, a study based on China found that the primary care givers in households with older persons had to cut back on paid work in 48 per cent of the households in rural areas as opposed to 4 per cent in urban areas (ref: ADB -UN Women).

While there is an increasing trend of men being involved in taking care of family members in the region, the bulk of the work is predominantly done by women. It could also take the form of paid care work by domestic workers, health workers, nurses (see ILO 2018, ILO 2018 change makers) who are informally employed. In light of the changing nature of family in the region, there are two main issues that are important from a policy angle:

One, long-term care is yet to be identified as a burning policy issue in low- and middle-income countries, which is where the majority of older persons live. And even in developed countries where long-term care has been discussed as a public agenda for some time, it is hardly discussed in gendered terms. Instead, debates are often overwhelmed by concerns over its fiscal implications (UN Women., 2017). Therefore, it is critical to bring the attention of the policy world onto the issue of long-term care.

Two, the provision of long-term care becomes an opportunity to provide jobs to care workers. A major challenge that afflicts economy of care surrounds the poor working conditions of caregivers and the vulnerability they face. Therefore, the policy-attention surrounding LTC should be harnessed to generate conditions of decent work for the care workers.

V. Policy Interventions

(a) Make unpaid work visible through Time Use Surveys

Time-use surveys make visible diverse range of activities in the household that are otherwise invisible. These include time dedicated to subsistence production, domestic chores, temporary or casual work, voluntary work, self-employment and caregiving. Time-use surveys enable the capturing of the time-burden of households accurately. It also captures other activities that are usually not counted such as training and participation in community events and the time spent in other households for caregiving.

By producing economic statistics on work, including household and non-market activities, time-use surveys have the potential to advance policies that consider the time burdens faced by households, especially women. As an example- how women engage with an employment programme would be a function of availability of care services that are affordable for younger or elderly persons. Economic policies that take into account the care and domestic functions at home are better poised to release households from time-burdens and make them available for leisure or economic activities.

Historically, the first set of time-use statistics were produced in 1900s through social surveys that reported on working class families and their living conditions. The statistics were used to estimate the long work hours and short leisure time of industrial workers so that labour groups could advocate for shorter working hours. In 1960's and 70's, the time-use statistics were used for planning transportation, social policies and by television companies to gauge how people used their leisure time. With the rise of women's movement, since the mid 1970's, TUD have been used for shedding light on gender inequalities, particularly in estimating women's unremunerated contribution to the economy and in drawing up policies for women's empowerment.

Currently, the data is used to understand work-life balance, care of elderly persons, children, persons with disabilities, health, education and nutrition. The data by including information on informal employment and subsistence work, can complement labour force estimates, which tend to record 'formal' employment. Scholars also find it useful to visualise the total economy, which constitutes both paid and unpaid work. In short, time-use statistics not only help us cast light on gender inequalities but can also address larger development concerns.

Box.3 Time use statistics for Poverty assessments

The predominant framework for poverty assessment assumes everyone has time to devote to household production or has the resources to buy market substitutes. The traditional measures of poverty thresholds assume that one member of the household to be a full-time homemaker. While the conventional measures of poverty take into account income-poverty line only, Levy Institute's innovative Measure of Time and Income Poverty (LIMTIP) takes into account the amount of time that must be devoted to unpaid household production activities required for the reproduction of household members.

LIMTIP unmask the extent of bias through research conducted in seven countries. This study corrects the bias identified in the poverty line by adding replacement cost of the time deficit—defined as the cost of buying goods and services to substitute for missing household production—to the poverty line of households with time deficits.

A unique feature of the study is that it considers time-deficit to be an intra-household phenomenon, moving away from an earlier understanding and taking into account that even when men and women engage in paid work for the same amount of time, women undertake a disproportionately higher share of household tasks. This means that not everyone in a time poor household (a household with at least one time deficit person) is time poor. This is different from income poverty—where everyone in an income -poor household are considered poor.

Poverty estimates were developed for Argentina, Chile, China, Korea, Mexico, Tanzania and Turkey, based on official national income /consumption poverty lines combined with own estimates for the required time for household production, nationally. The study finds a higher rate of time-poverty among women than men. In Korea, the country with the lowest official poverty rate in the group of countries studied—only 5.4 per cent of household, it was found that taking into account time-deficits doubles the poverty rate to 10 per cent. This highlights that the extent of hidden poverty is the same size as officially recognised poverty with serious implications for policymaking.

Source: www.levyinstitute.org/research/the-levy-institute-measure-of-time-and-income-poverty.

The broadening of the concept of work following the 19th ICLS conference, along with the international attention received by unpaid work in global agreements and commitments have build a momentum amongst policymakers to attend to time use data collection and analysis (Flora and King, 2016). Several methods have been developed for its collection and measurement, namely, (i) Observation, (ii) Stylized Question, (iii) Interview- recall and (iv) time- diary methods. Furthermore, methods have also been developed to value/measure unpaid work, namely through (i) input-related method (imputes shadow value to time) and (ii) output method (imputes market price to goods and services produced by unpaid work).

Analysis of time-use data is central to the achievement of SDG 5.4. However, the benefits of TUD are not limited to SDG 5.4. It is relevant to monitor the progress on other development goals by painting a full picture of women's contributions to the economy. For instance, it could shed light on time-poverty, a critical dimension of poverty, often ignored in policy. (For connections to SDG goals, see Floro and King, 2016). However, there are certain practical limitations and challenges involved in time-use research. One, there is an issue of reliability especially, in methods where respondents have to self-report time. Two, the issue of simultaneous activities makes it difficult to measure time-use. Three, the structure of employment particularly in low-income countries is a cause for concern. The formal employment estimates do not account for the high proportion of casual /seasonal/ temporary workers, along with unpaid family workers that characterise labour markets in these countries, resulting in a gross underestimation of the work in the economy, especially by women. Four, the financial considerations of conducting time-use survey are weighty. In an effort to manage costs, countries have adopted stylised question method as it elicits data only on particular tasks.

Box.4 Filling the Policy Gap: ESCAP's Forthcoming Manual on Time-Use Data

UNESCAP Statistics Division is working with experts to develop a manual on time-use data analysis to demonstrate the potential of time-use data to address policy issues and development concerns in the context of the Sustainable Development Goals, across a wide range of areas including poverty, employment, household division of labour and gender equality. The manual will cover techniques for collecting, storing, processing and analysing time-use data as well as time-use data applications and hands-on exercises to put theory into practice. The manual is expected to serve as a useful resource for self-training and to organize related capacity building workshops for relevant national agencies. The manual is expected to be available in 2019. The manual will plug an existing lacuna in policy making regarding analysis of time-use data, calling attention to policy makers on how time use data that is collected could be used for advancing the sustainable development goals.

Note: See UNDP-ILO, 2018 p. 4 on discussion regarding existing manuals on time-use statistics.

(b) *Building momentum to reflect unpaid work in national accounts*

The transformative language of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development affords member States an opportunity to rally around the issue of recognizing unpaid work in the calculation of national wealth. The reflection of unpaid work in the calculation of GDP would be one of the most important ways to recognise women's contribution to the economy. This paper has already discussed how current macro-economic formulation of unpaid work conducted within the household renders a good bulk of work predominantly undertaken by women, outside the purview of policy-making. Further, we also noted that unpaid work acts like a tax which is, no surprises there, exacted from women. Organizing time use surveys to collect data on unpaid work is a first step towards pushing for the revision of the United Nations Systems of National Accounts (SNA) to reflect the bulk of unpaid work done predominantly by women. Works of scholars such as Phyllis Deane (1948) and Marilyn Waring (1999) are instructive in shedding light on how the framework for GDP calculations can make invisible women's unpaid work (see Box xx).

The focus afforded by the 2030 Agenda on unpaid work could be harnessed by interested parties to push the envelope to revise the rather exclusive(-ly male) basis of the United Nations Systems of National Accounts and to reflect, fully and in no ambiguous terms, women's contributions to the economy.

Box.5 Women's unpaid work must be included in GDP calculations: lessons from history

It's been nearly 80 years since British economists James Meade and Richard Stone devised a method of national income accounting that would become the global standard. Today, we call it a country's gross domestic product (GDP).

Their method was intended to provide a comprehensive and up-to-date picture of an entire national economy, by estimating the monetary value of all "economic" production that took place in a country in a given year. Like most economic statisticians of the day, Meade and Stone focused almost entirely on measuring the value of goods and services that were actually bought and sold. But a problem quickly emerged, thanks to the experiences and observations of a 23-year-old woman named Phyllis Deane. She was hired by Meade and Stone in 1941 to apply their method in a few British colonies. In present-day Malawi and Zambia, Deane realised that it was an error to exclude unpaid household labour from GDP.

In a research paper I published recently on the history of the GDP, I write that Deane believed this convention excluded a great share of productive activity – especially in rural Africa. She argued that it was "illogical" to exclude the

economic value of preparing and cooking food and collecting firewood. She contended that such kinds of labour had historically been excluded because they were commonly viewed as women's work. To decide which activities to include in her GDP calculations, Deane spent months conducting village surveys in order to measure, and include in GDP estimates, particularly burdensome activities like the collection of firewood. She concluded that if governments wanted to formulate policies that increased aggregate national income *and* ensured an equitable distribution of that aggregate, the contributions of all producers – including rural women – had to be counted.

Over the next seven decades, GDP calculations would not generally include unpaid (and mostly female) labour. But Deane's work shows us this was not the only way to measure economic production. As GDP calculations come under increasing criticism, we should look to her research for a way forward.

Invisibility of female labour

Richard Stone paid little attention to Deane's recommendations. In 1953, he oversaw the

publication of the United Nations' first *System of National Accounts*. This report provided detailed standards for calculating GDP.

The system ignored Deane's call to include unpaid household labour. And because UN technical assistance programmes sought to ensure that low and middle-income countries followed the system's standards, Stone's method had global consequences. Activities which were central to everyday life in low-income African countries – like fetching water, grinding corn, and weaving mats – were not included in national accounts.

This invisibility of female labour in national income accounting eventually provoked a backlash. While pushing for female domestic labour to be economically quantified, scholar-activists like the Italian-born philosopher Silvia Federici, who taught for many years in Nigeria, argued that male "economic" production was impossible without women's uncompensated "non-economic" labour.

For instance, without a wife to tend to the children and the home, how would a male factory labourer have the time or the energy to fulfil his stereotypical role as the breadwinner?

Time rather than money

Some feminist economists held a different view. In 1999 the New Zealand-born economist Marilyn Waring articulated concerns about including unpaid labour in national accounts. Rather than using economic activity to measure the value of labour, Waring called for a different indicator: time. Time, she explained, was "the one investment we all have to make". Drawing on research she conducted in rural Kenya, she argued that time-use surveys would demonstrate "which sex gets the menial, boring, low-status, and unpaid invisible work".

Such surveys would show how targeted interventions, like access to clean water and efficient cooking stoves, could alleviate the drudgery of domestic labour and allow billions of women to gain greater freedom in how they spend their days.

In 2008, the authors of the newly updated *System of National Accounts* responded to their feminist critics by way of a compromise. They agreed to include the production of all goods – whether these were sold or not – in GDP calculations, so

activities like weaving mats or brewing beer would be included.

However, they continued to exclude most unpaid household services, like cooking and cleaning. And the revised system ignored both Deane's and Waring's calls for more data on the distribution of time-use by gender. This has caused ever more criticism to be levelled at the system.

In recent decades, the work of feminist economics has shown how the methods of calculating GDP render much of women's labour invisible. Meanwhile, surveys and time-use studies show the toll this has taken on women's lives, particularly in the Global South. One recent report found that hundreds of millions of women worldwide have to walk more than a 30-minute round-trip to reach clean water for their families.

Future of the GDP

A 2009 report commissioned by then French President Nicolas Sarkozy stated that because GDP is "treated as a measure of economic well-being" it "can lead to misleading indicators about how well-off people are and entail the wrong policy decisions".

More recently, the World Bank pointed out that GDP only measures flows of income but doesn't tell us whether health care, education, and the wealth of the natural world are being built up or plundered. *The Economist* called for a "new metric" of economic progress that included "unpaid work in the home, such as caring for relatives".

None of these insights are new. But they do mark a renewed appreciation for the economic indices and policies that feminist scholars have long favoured. For instance, Silvia Federici's insistence that household labour should be paid has been at least partially realised in the spread of cash transfer programmes across Africa.

If we want to really bring women's work out of the shadows and overturn the stereotypical gender roles that relegate women to more than their fair share of household labour, we must first take the blinders off the GDP.

Source: <https://theconversation.com/womens-unpaid-work-must-be-included-in-gdp-calculations-lessons-from-history-98110>.

(c) Social Protection, Public Services and Infrastructure to recognize, reduce and redistribute the burden of unpaid work

As noted earlier, target 5.4 delineates social protection and the provision of public services and infrastructure as means to recognize the value of unpaid care and domestic work. These three strategies cover a wide umbrella of policy interventions that go beyond just recognizing unpaid work and has potential to reduce as well as redistribute unpaid work.

Social Protection

Social protection is a human right and “is defined as a set of policies and programmes designed to reduce and prevent poverty and vulnerability throughout the lifecycle (ref. ILO 2017)”. It includes protection towards children, families, in the event of maternity, unemployment, occupational hazards, health issues, old-age, disabilities. It is addressed through a mix of contributory and non-contributory benefits.

ADB’s Social Protection Index shows that women in Asia-Pacific region have lower chances of being part of social insurance programmes compared to men. This is linked to women’s lower rate of participation in formal employment, which for Asia and the Pacific, stands at 46.3 per cent. Furthermore, when unpaid domestic and care obligations constrain access to employment, it could disadvantage women from accessing contributory pension scheme at their old age.

While social protection programmes in the region have expanded over the last few years, the regional expenditure in Asia and the Pacific on social protection at 6.6 per cent of GDP, is well below the global average of 11.2 per cent. Consequently, we risk leaving behind 60 per cent of all women, men and children in the region without adequate social protection. Currently, only 21 of 49 countries offer benefits to children and families and only less than 4 out of 10 people have access to any kind of health care.

Further, women are insufficiently covered for gender-specific life course risks (CSD paper). For instance, as few as three out of ten mothers with babies receive maternity benefits in the region. Such precarity could force women, especially those who are engaged in informal employment, to work very late into pregnancy or return to work soon, which could expose both the mother and baby to health risks. ILO (2018b) suggests that in Asia and the Pacific, around 1.3 billion people are working informally and about 64 per cent of the women employed in the region are in informal employment, making it all the more pertinent to extend social protection to women in

Box 6. Anticipatory Social Protection

“The predominant question for policy discourse seems to be, ‘What do women and children need to protect them from adversity?’. In contrast, our anticipatory framework asks the question, ‘What would make women’s lives easier, safer and freer, and what would make women more valued, productive, have more life opportunities have more power?’”

Excerpt from Warring et al 2013, p. 11.

informal employment, in line with ILO Recommendation 202 on Social Protection Floors.

Building an effective social protection system begins with the establishment of the social protection floor, which is a nationally defined set of essential social security guarantees that ensure, at a minimum, that everyone has access to essential health care and to basic income security throughout the life cycle as required by target 1.3 of the 2030 Agenda (see table 5).

Table 5. Core Guarantees of Social Protection Floor

Social Protection Floor			
Access to essential health care for all, including maternity care, that meets the criteria of availability, accessibility, acceptability, and quality.	Income security for children, including access to nutrition, education, care and any other necessary goods and services.	Income security for working-age people who are unable to earn sufficient income, in particular in cases of sickness, unemployment, maternity and disability.	Income security for Older persons.

Source: ILO Social Protection Floors Recommendation, 2012 (No. 202).

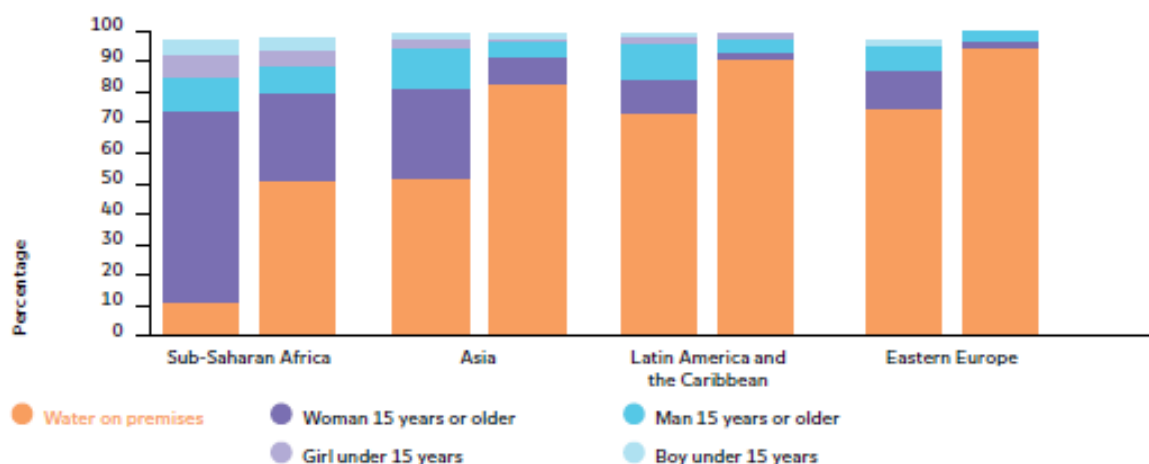
Scholars have noted the importance of protecting against gender-based discrimination at each stage of the life-cycle (Waring et al. 2013). This discrimination could take the form of male child preference, inequities in health and education, workplace discrimination, trafficking etc. Further, at each stage, it has been noted that efforts should be directed towards alleviating women's unpaid domestic and care work and towards empowering them through enhancing their capabilities. This requires the adoption of an integrated approach towards social protection that “anticipates the needs of women at each life stage, with the purpose of ensuring they can have a life of dignity with the ability to take part in the life of the community, and to live a life without ‘capability servitude’ arising from the burden of unpaid care work” (Waring et al, p. 13; See box xx). An anticipatory approach to social protection moves beyond the current social protection framework that bases itself on adversity, to replace it with opportunities in the designing of social protection schemes.

Public Services and Infrastructure

Dr. Shahra Razavi, Chief of Research and Data at UN Women (EU and SPS 2018) notes that social protection strategies that provide relief in the face of distress and contingencies need not necessarily address key inequalities regarding women's income insecurity and disproportionate share of unpaid work. She notes that public services and infrastructure investments are key in reducing and redistributing the burden of unpaid work, thereby opening up opportunities for women to access labour markets, participate in community events, or access leisure activities. This would include the provision of affordable child-care services, which would free-up time for mothers to engage in activities that are appropriate to their situations. Provision of water, sanitation and clean energy, especially in rural areas, would be another critical link to free-up

time that could be used to improve developmental outcomes. Data from 30 countries in the World Health Organization's (WHO) Household Energy Database (2016) reveal that girls living in households that cook mainly with polluting fuels bear the greatest time-loss burden for collecting fuelwood or water. In most of the countries reviewed, children of both sexes who collected fuelwood or water spent at least 15 hours a week on these tasks; in some countries, they spent more than 30 hours per week.

Figure 5. Water collection, by person collecting and by world region and urban or rural area, 2005–2007



Source: DESA, 2010.

As shown in Figure 5 above, women and girls are disproportionately responsible for fetching water. A recent Asian Development Bank study (2015) in nine countries, including three in Asia (India, Nepal and Pakistan), found that women spent more time on water collection than men. On average, women

spent more than five hours each week collecting water, compared with men who spent 3.6 hours. In Africa and Asia as of 2010, girls and children walked approximately 6 kilometers a day just to fetch water (United Nations, 2010). When resources like water and energy, become scarce, women tend to suffer disproportionately because they have less decision-making power and control than men over the access and control of resources, although they have a more prominent role in the provision, management and allocation of water at the household level.

In short, social protection that is gender-responsive, anticipatory and creates opportunities for enhancement of women's capabilities is critical to meaningfully empower women. Further, this should be complimented by public services and infrastructure which enable women to free-up time that could in-turn be used to spend in activities that could fulfil and empower them.

(d) Provision of Family Leave Policies

Maternity Protection

Maternity protection is garnering policy interest in Asia and the Pacific due to a series of developments in relation to gender equality and labour issues, which include: the persistent inequality in the share of unpaid care work in the household (Miranda 2011); work intensification and the growth in non-standard work, which has been particularly significant for women workers (Ghosh 2014); the decline in fertility and simultaneous growth in the ageing population; and changes in the pattern of family make-up. In light of these challenges, there is growing awareness of the need to reconfigure the work, family and personal lives of both men and women, taking into consideration the role that maternity protection and family leave policies can play in this process. Figure (3) shows that motherhood adversely affects women's economic participation rates, thereby making it critical for policymakers to focus on effective maternity protection that enables women to take paid leave to attend to the tending of their children and guarantees their position on their return.

Maternity protection is a right enshrined in a number of human rights treaties such as the 1948 Universal Declaration on Human Rights, International Covenant on Economic and Social Rights, 1966, the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, 1979 and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995. Further, the ILO recommendation on National Floors of Social Protection (2012) No. 202, calls for including maternity protection as part of the national social protection floors in countries.

Paid maternity leave is critical to safeguard the health of the mother and the baby, as well as the income security of the mothers. This has been acknowledged and institutionalised in countries where statutory provisions have been adopted to protect women and children during perinatal period.

Without safety nets, women are forced to quit or cut-short their labour market engagements in order to tend to their care obligations, thereby resulting in income loss. In the absence of adequate protection, women are forced to work into pregnancy or cannot take enough rest before re-joining work, both of which adversely impact the health of the mother and the child. Research shows that in the event of short maternity leave provisions, there is a high risk of women dropping-out of labour market altogether, with attendant costs been incurred by the firms (Keck and Saraceno 2013; Grimshaw and Rubery 2015). Strong, legal safeguards need to be in place to prevent maternity-based discrimination like dismissal, loss/ downgrading of pay and employment status.

Box. 7. Mapping of family leave policies in Asia and the Pacific

Family leave policies can comprise a range of measures but for the purposes of this report, the focus will be on the following ¹:

a. Maternity leave: leave generally available to mothers only and usually understood to be a health and welfare measure, intended to protect the health of the mother and newborn child, and to be taken just before, during and immediately after childbirth.

b. Paternity leave: leave generally available to fathers only, usually to be taken soon after the birth of a child and intended to enable the father to spend time with his partner, new child and older children.

c. Parental leave: leave available equally to mothers and fathers, either as: (i) a non-transferable individual right (i.e. both parents have an entitlement to an equal amount of leave); or (ii) an individual right that can be transferred to the other parent; or (iii) a family right that parents can divide between themselves as they choose. It is generally understood to be a care measure, intended to give both parents an equal opportunity to spend time caring for a young child

d. Childcare services: refers to early childhood care and education services offered to children at any age between 1 and 5 years. Childcare may take different forms, such as kindergartens or preschools, crèches or day care centres. Public childcare services are completely funded by the government or government-funded with co-pay by parents. These public childcare centres are available universally to all families regardless of their income level.

e. Child allowances: covers financial support granted by the government to parents for children not yet old enough for primary school. The payments are not tax benefits, do not require attendance at preschool and are not conditional cash transfers.

Table 1 outlines the status of family leave mandated by law and childcare support available for 46 countries in Asia and the Pacific, with available data. Of these, 40 countries mandate maternity leave whilst paternity and parental leave are yet to be widely recognized. In addition, childcare services are provided by just 25 countries, whilst parents receive allowances for children under 6 years old in only 17 countries.

Table 1: Family leave and childcare support in Asia and the Pacific

	Law mandates maternity leave	Law mandates paternity leave	Law mandates parental leave	Public childcare services	Child allowances
<i>Of 46 countries in Asia and the Pacific</i>	40	24	13	25	17

¹ Adapted from: Blum S., and others, eds. (2017). *13th International Review of Leave Policies and Related Research 2017*. International Network on Leave Policies and Research.; and World Bank Group (2018).

Excerpt from Puliyeel, 2018.

Financing maternity protection

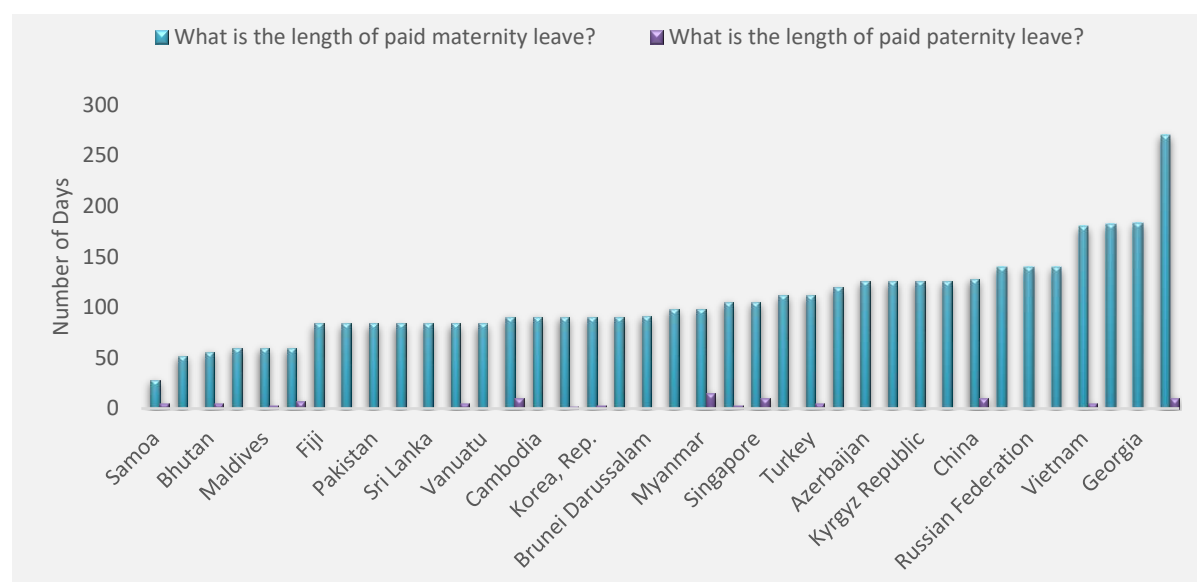
Finance is an important consideration for provision of maternity protection. There are three commonly used methods for financing maternity protection in Asia-Pacific region: namely, (i) contributory schemes (employment related social insurance), (ii) employer liability where employer directly pays the maternity benefits, (iii) mixed system and lastly, and less frequently, the benefits are paid out of public funds which are non-contributory. The way in which maternity protection is financed could have implications for the hiring practices of companies. For instance, in 2017 Indian Parliament made amendments to the Maternity Benefit Act, which increases the entitlement of women working in organized sector from 12 weeks of paid leave to 26 weeks of paid leave. However, critics were quick to point that as the Act makes employer liable for the payment of maternity benefits, the Act itself, as a matter of fact accompli, creates a disincentive to companies to hire women or offer reduced salaries in lieu of the maternity benefits. Therefore, it is critical to avoid circumstances where incentive structures are created which disadvantages women.

Paternity Leave and Parental Leave

Legislated paternity leave is increasingly seen as a way to get men to share the obligations of childcare while also supporting the career progression of their partners/wives. Non-transferable paid paternity leave schemes in Iceland and Sweden have been reported to have resulted in an increased uptake amongst fathers of the paternity leave (OECD 2015).

In Asia and the Pacific, paid paternity leave is scarce. Where it is available, fathers have very few days at their disposal after the birth of a child and in many cases, any leave they are able to take is unpaid (see figure 6). Of note is that a few countries in the region are shifting away from maternity and paternity leave in favour of paid parental leave available to both parents (namely, Australia, Japan, New Zealand and the Republic of Korea). Where parental leave exists, it is often taken mostly by mothers while fathers' take-up rate is low unless appropriate incentives are put in place.

Fig.6 Number of Paid Maternity and Paternity Leave Days Mandated by Law in Asia-Pacific Countries, 2018



Source: World Bank, Women, Business and the Law 2018 database. Available at <http://wbl.worldbank.org/> (accessed on 12 October 2018).

Adopting and implementing inclusive laws and policies

Access to effective protection rests on labour legislation, policies and regulations that enshrine the right to maternity protection and work–family balance for all working women and men, including self-employed, informal, domestic and agricultural workers and those with non-standard contracts. Greater efforts are also needed in raising awareness among employers and workers of maternity protection rights and through investing in monitoring and enforcement mechanisms. Furthermore, improving data collection to measure the coverage of maternity protection legislation and its outcomes requires increased attention.

Preventing and eliminating discrimination against women and men with family responsibilities

A comprehensive approach to preventing and combating the multiple forms of discrimination based on maternity and family responsibilities requires the establishment of adequate anti-discrimination frameworks supported by specialized authorities. Periodic review of anti-discrimination frameworks, enhanced guidance to both employers and workers on compliance, as well as the collection and publication of data on maternity-based discrimination will increase accountability and public awareness of this issue.

Early Childhood Care and Education

Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) denotes a broad range of interventions for the development of children. A number of professional organizations concerned with early childhood education regard the early childhood period as continuing from birth to primary school admission, which is 6 or 7 years in the majority of countries (Rao and Sun, 2010). Besides the basic needs for children in this age group, ECE services can affect children much more broadly promoting cognitive, social, emotional and physical development; and providing social protection. Comprehensive early childhood care and education is instrumental at a time when children's brains are developing, with long-term benefits for children (UNESCO., 2015; UNESCO and UNICEF., 2012).

We have seen how motherhood exacts a penalty understood through lower rates of labour force participation, in comparison to women who are not mothers (see section on Fatherhood Bonus and Motherhood Penalty). The provision of ECCE can free-up time, which can be used to go back to work or be used in a manner that works well for the mother at the time. Further, studies show that the lack of access to quality early-life care could have long lasting impacts – it can result in lower performance in school and in-turn, adversely impact labour market outcomes (Heckman, Pinto, and Savelyev 2013). Following this, studies find that pre-school education yields the highest returns formalized in terms of higher future earnings and that the positive effects are particularly large for children from disadvantaged households (Conti and Heckman 2012; Heckman et al. 2010). A universally accessible childcare and pre-school system also helps to decrease inequalities among children by improving the viability of dual-earner households, particularly for lower-skilled couples, and thereby enhance household incomes and alleviate poverty (Ilkcaracan and Degirmenci 2013).

Research is underway that can measure the economic returns to social care investments, thereby providing a solid base for policy makers to make an informed decision about the costs and benefits of different budgetary allocations. A study conducted by the Istanbul Technical University's Women's Studies Center (ITU-WSC) in collaboration with Levi Economics Institute, UNDP and UN Women Regional Offices for Europe and Central Asia and ILO Turkey, undertook a costing and microsimulation exercise that showed the how investments in Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) would have the potential to create more jobs and decrease poverty, in comparison to the effects generated by the same amount invested in the construction industry (see box 8 for more details). There is a need to undertake such exercises, which could in turn serve as powerful policy advocacy tools that can push the agenda of gender equality and women's empowerment forward, especially in the current economic climate of resource crunch and austerity.

Box 8. Estimating economic returns from investing in Early Education and Childcare Education (ECCE) in Turkey

An example of a comprehensive policy simulation is by Ilkcaracan et al. 2015 for Turkey. Following civil society and academic work on the care economy and gender inequalities in the country throughout the 2000s, care was finally positioned on the agenda of the Ministry of Women (later renamed the Ministry for the Family and Social Policy, MFSP) as of 2009-2010. The MFSP was convinced that childcare services were an indispensable component of the solution to eliminating the gender employment gap in Turkey (one of the highest in the world). In cooperation with the Ministry of Labour, the MFSP prepared a draft law on childcare service vouchers for employed parents. As the proposal was about to be brought to the Council of Ministers for approval, Ministries of Finance and the Economy objected, pointing to tight public budget conditions in the context of the global economic crisis. In the meantime, however, the country was going through a period of fiscal expansion, including a stimulatory spending package and a public works employment programme. Such expenditures were focused almost exclusively on physical infrastructure and construction, almost entirely a male sector.

It was these developments that led Istanbul Technical University's Women's Studies Center (ITU-WSC) to develop the research initiative for a policy simulation on the demand-side economic impact of different sectoral fiscal spending priorities.

The motivation was to promote dialogue with the Ministry of Finance and the State Minister in charge of the Economy on resource allocation for social care expansion. The study was undertaken in collaboration with the Levy

Economics Institute and modelled after their pioneering studies on South Africa and the United States. Also, in partnership were the UNDP and UN Women Regional Offices for Europe and Central Asia and ILO Turkey. The partnership with the UN agencies not only provided partial funding but also, more importantly, feedback throughout the research process as well as improved visibility and dissemination of the findings.

The study focused on early childhood care and education (ECCE) as a sub-sector of social care. A costing exercise revealed that for Turkey to achieve the

average ECCE enrolment rate of OECD countries, it would need to spend an additional 1.18 per cent of its

GDP. This expenditure was found to have the potential to create as many as 720,000 new jobs, 2.5 times the number of jobs that similar spending would generate if it were directed at the construction sector. Moreover, spending on childcare could narrow the gender employment gap by several percentage points due to the pro-women profile of sectoral employment demand, while construction spending had the opposite effect of widening the gender employment gap. Finally, social care spending was found to have a stronger impact on the poverty rate, decreasing it by an additional 1.5 percentage points over construction spending. Following the dissemination of the study's findings, there have been some government initiatives at allocating additional funding to childcare, albeit with an unexpected twist to the policy approach. The new policy adopted in February 2017 foresees payment of 'care wages' to grandmothers who take care of the children of their employed daughters or daughters-in law.

The wage rate is set at about one third of minimum wages and entails no social security coverage. This new policy initiative recognizes unpaid care work and aims to reduce labour supply constraints of mothers of small children. Nevertheless, NGOs and women's rights advocates are critical of the initiative, pointing to a number of major problems. First, the approach encourages preservation of childcare as a female responsibility and as an informal domestic activity. It redistributes the care burden from unpaid female domestic labour to poorly paid female domestic labour. By so doing, the initiative also foregoes the potential job generation and employment multiplier effects that spending on formal care promises. Moreover, from a care receiver perspective, the policy reinforces inequalities among children. Children of high socio-economic status households access quality professional and institutional day care as a complement to family care. Children from lower socio-economic status households, however, have their grandmothers, with limited or no schooling, as the primary care providers.

Excerpt from : UN Women (2018) p.38.

(e) Long-Term Care (LTC) Policies for an ageing society

Due to increased longevity and decreased birth rates, rapid ageing has become one of the most important global demographic trends (ADB, 2016). Especially in the Asia-Pacific region, the pace of ageing is unprecedentedly rapid even if it varies across the region (UNESCAP, 2017). For this reason, demands to design and implement well-structured long-term care for older persons are increasing.

LTC is a multi-sectoral issue

An aging population brings about inherent challenges to the institutional and policy setups of governments because it intersects with many sectors and stages of life (World Bank, 2016). Therefore, LTC should be addressed by a broad range of different sectors such as communities, private sector, non-government organizations, and government (ADB, 2016). However, LTC is often provided by family members, especially women on an unpaid basis. In many countries, LTC policies and services are being developed in a fragmentary or unsystematic manner, in ad-hoc responses to political or financial limitation. In order to enjoy quality longer life with dignity, meaning, purpose, and well-being, a sustainable LTC system should be developed and implemented. Some countries have endeavoured to bring a wider view to sectoral policies. One example is the periodic intergenerational reports produced for the Australian Treasury, which help to set long-term expenditure and policy priorities for age-related programs. Japan is another country with an institutionalised, multi-sectoral mechanism to address ageing.

Gendered Intersections in LTC

Currently, there are 91 men for every 100 women above the sixty years, and 70 men for every 100 women over the age of eighty (UNESCAP 2017). Even though older women live longer, they tend to be in a more vulnerable situation than men since many of them suffer from a lifetime inequalities and discrimination beginning from birth and persisting throughout childhood, adolescence and leading into adulthood and old age. In many societies, such inequalities and discrimination mean that women have greater nutritional deficiencies, less access to health services, higher rates of illiteracy, lower educational levels, lack of labour force participation, lower income security, lack of decision-making power, no access to inheritance and property, and lower levels of participation in social and political activities (UNESCAP, 2017; UNFPA, 2017).

The results of such inequalities and discrimination throughout their lifetime are compounded and reinforced by the time women become old. Many older women face intersecting challenges since being old and being a woman leaves the door wide open to age and gender discrimination (UNFPA., 2017, 12). The disparate experiences of men and women in old age have crucial implications for policies relating to a wide spectrum of issues but especially as it affects pension schemes, health care services, and access to inheritance and property (United Nations Population Fund and Help Age International, 2012).

The principal caregivers of care dependent older persons are mostly women and many of them often cut back on paid work to look after family members (ADB and UN Women, 2018; UN Women, 2017). Despite having cared for them, women are not able to lay claim to the older person's pension or to survivor benefits, particularly in lower- and middle-income countries, where many older persons die intestate; and therefore, struggle to regain labour force participation (UN Women, 2017). Lack of access to education and paid employment often leads unpaid family carers to experience greater socio-economic stress. The specific burden and cost laid on women carers could be somewhat diminished by the more equitable distribution of care responsibility between the sexes. However, socio-cultural norms discouraging men's engagement in care work remain ingrained and endemic in most countries and resistant to change (WHO, 2015).

Many older women themselves are still caregivers for their grandchildren or sick family members. Therefore, older women have to carry the burden of unpaid care work even if they are in the position of receiving care (see Figure 7.). And young women's labour participation is growing and thereby, caregivers are even more required (World Bank, 2016). When there is no sufficient support from government, older women who are left home end up having to be responsible for all the unpaid care work when they also need care for themselves. In some countries in the Asia-Pacific region, it is a common practice for grandparents to make an increased contribution to childcare, especially where public or private services are either lacking or else insufficient to meet demand (ILO, 2018).

Government Provision and Funding of Institutional Care

LTC services should pursue key objectives, including ensuring well-being, dignity and human rights not only for care dependent older persons, but also care givers. In order to accomplish the key objectives, government should provide direct LTC services to those who need it while guaranteeing accessibility, affordability and quality of LTC services.

In Republic of Korea, for instance, some municipal governments run their own care centres and programs for older persons (UNESCAP [a], 2015). In this way, LTC services and systems are better-organized and ensured based on specific needs of each older person in each region in the country. In Fiji, the government established several care organizations free of charge for older persons without families. The Government of India runs nursing institutes for poor older persons and older persons with dementia (UNESCAP, 2018).

Subsidies and Support for Family Care Givers

Interventions to support family care givers are often poorly structured and resourced. Such interventions are required to broaden its scale and expand in a variety of forms. Several governments in developed countries, for example, have offered financial support to previously

unpaid care givers to compensate them and help them to (re)gain socio-economic power after the termination of care work for older persons (UN Women, 2017).

In Singapore, non-governmental organizations or private corporates run homes and nursing centres for older persons, and the government funds them from its central budget (UNESCAP[b], 2015). Moreover, some governments subsidize income of paid care givers in nursing organizations, as observed in the Republic of Korea (UNESCAP[a], 2015). Such subsidies and benefits can develop the whole care industry and thereby, increase quality care as well as decrease the burden of unpaid care work, especially for women care givers at home.

Furthermore, training or educational support is an important as part of supporting family care givers as well as care recipients. Numerous studies have shown that providing family care givers with training and information about conditions such as Parkinson, Alzheimer or dementia and strengthening their relationships with local care workers significantly reduces stress and possibly increase the quality of care for older persons (UN Women, 2017). For example, Thailand has developed a wide range of trainings and programs for care givers and nursing assistants, mainly aiming family members and informal workers (ADB and CIF, 2016).

Finally, leave policies should aim to recognise unpaid care work for older persons. Paid family leave empowers workers in a way that they are able to take time off to care for their dependents without endangering their job and income security (ADB and CIF, 2016). Evidence from selected developed countries indicates that leave policies can alleviate gender inequality by incentivizing men to take more leave for their family care work (ADB and CIF, 2016). Therefore, leave policies that consider not only both maternity and paternity leave, but also family leave for older persons should be recognized and enforced more vigorously.

Financial Support to Users of LTC Services

Some governments offer direct subsidies to older persons who consume LTC services. In Singapore, means-tested subsidies of up to 80 per cent of LTC costs are guaranteed to each individual (UNESCAP[b], 2015). In Republic of Korea, municipal governments provide cash benefits to support out-of-pocket payments for health care services that are not covered by the government (UNESCAP[a], 2015). China provides broad, overall assistance to its ageing population. Since 2012, local governments at all levels, have to provide special subsidies to older persons to improve their living conditions. This law has led to the introduction of a range of measures across different provinces of China, including LTC insurance schemes in three provinces, and subsidy systems for older persons (UNESCAP, 2018). Moreover, categorizing LTC services depending on the severity of needs can help governments efficiently provide older persons with appropriate care and support as well as ensure the effective delivery of LTC services (see Table 7).

Table 7. The Continuum of Long-Term Care for Older Persons

Intensive institutional care
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Long-term hospitalization • Nursing homes
Less intensive institutional care
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residential homes • Short stay or respite care • Sheltered housing
Community services
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Day centres • Nurse and professional carer visits
Home-based services
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Home help • Cash benefits for carers • Support groups for carers

Source: UN Women, 2017.

LTC Insurance

LTC insurance is considered to be the most comprehensive means to help individuals with LTC costs (UNESCAP., 2018). LTC insurance is a channel that can make it easier for caregivers (predominantly women) to maintain labour force participation (and to avoid disruption at work) and preserve social interactions. Research exhibits that family care givers for older persons with LTC insurance are almost twice as likely to be able to work as those whose care recipients do not have LTC insurance. This research also suggests that a working caregiver of an older person with LTC insurance is less likely to experience severe social stress, multiple workforce accommodations and the financial burden associated with care than a caregiver of a non-insured person (America's Health Insurance Plans, 2014; MetLife Mature Market Institute, 2011).

Some countries including Japan and the Republic of Korea have established and developed LTC insurance systems. In Japan, LTC insurance is not only funded by insurance premiums, but also subsidized by the national government, prefectural governments and municipality governments (UNESCAP[c], 2015). The Republic of Korea has enacted an LTC insurance policy that funds home and institutional care for older persons. In addition to reducing the out-of-pocket expenses of care, the policy has reduced the share of care that family members (predominantly women) provide on an unpaid basis by 15 per cent (ADB and CIF, 2016).

Pension Schemes

The demand of unpaid care work often forces women into informal jobs, if not the deprivation of jobs and such situation often leads to no access to social protection such as paid family leave, unemployment insurance and pensions (ADB and CIF, 2016). Since pension schemes, especially contributory pension schemes are often linked to paid labour participation and the income level, women are disadvantaged due to a double challenge: on one hand from lack of time spent out of paid work owing to unpaid family care work, and on the other hand lower income level owing to the gender wage gap.

Given the ageing population trend in the region, designing and implementing a comprehensive pension scheme should be an urgent priority. According to UN Women (2015), however, active pension scheme contribution rates of the working-age population are still lower for women than men in many countries in the Asia-Pacific region. For example, almost three times more men than women are contributing to a pension scheme in Solomon Islands.

Non-contributory pension schemes can be a powerful tool to support women's vulnerable situation in older age, particularly if there are no penalties for women who perform unpaid family care work over their life cycle. For example, in Thailand, access to pensions is granted and guaranteed as a universal right to older persons (ADB and CIF, 2016).

(f) Transformative policies and decent work for care workers

The changing socio-demographic profile in Asia and the Pacific, makes the question of paid care work pressing. Care work force consists of workers in the care sectors, namely education, health and social work, workers undertaking care work in other sectors, domestic workers and those non-care workers who support care service provision in care sectors. Globally, there are 381 million workers in the care economy, of which 65 per cent are women. This sector accounts for 11.5 per cent of total global employment, 19.3 per cent of global employment of women and 6.6 per cent of global employment of men.

Care work is perceived as a natural extension of the unpaid work done by women and therefore is riddled with low status, poor social recognition and low pay. Poor quality and conditions of job lead to poor quality of care services, which is detrimental to the care-receivers, care givers and unpaid carers, whose options are limited. For instance, higher pupil to teacher ratios are correlated with lower educational outcomes. Policy interest in the care economy should steer towards improving the working conditions of caregivers and augment formal employment in care economy, while also being supple and responsive to the care needs of older women, who tend to outlive men.

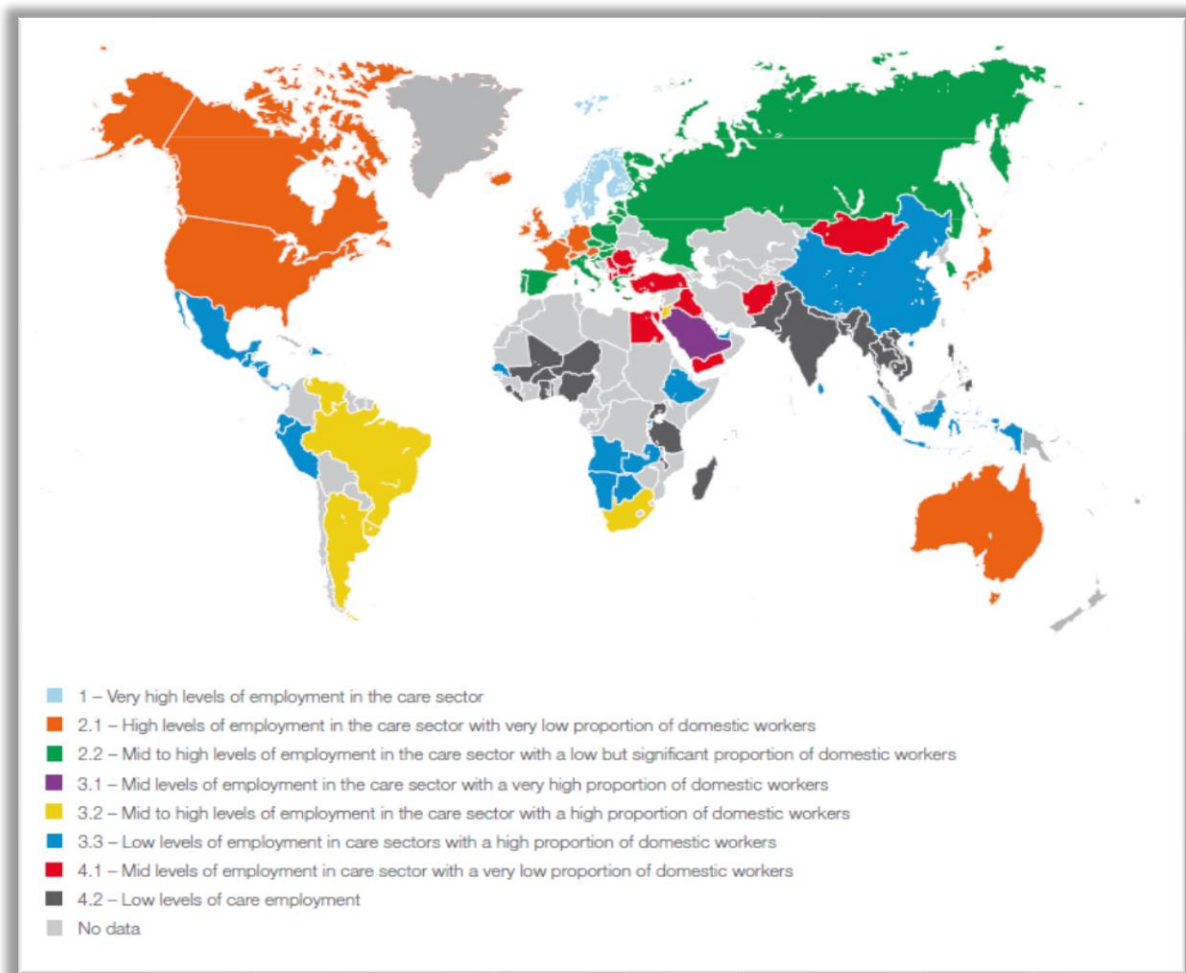
Table 8. The 5R Framework for Decent Care Work

Main policy areas	Policy recommendations	Policy measures
Care policies	Recognize, reduce and redistribute unpaid care work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Measure all forms of care work and take unpaid care work into account in decision-making ■ Invest in quality care services, care policies and care-relevant infrastructure ■ Promote active labour market policies that support the attachment, reintegration and progress of unpaid carers into the labour force ■ Enact and implement family-friendly working arrangements for all workers ■ Promote information and education for more gender-equal households, workplaces and societies ■ Guarantee the right to universal access to quality care services ■ Ensure care-friendly and gender-responsive social protection systems, including floors ■ Implement gender-responsive and publicly funded leave policies for all women and men
Macroeconomic policies		
Social protection policies		
Labour policies	Reward: More and decent work for care workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Regulate and implement decent terms and conditions of employment and achieve equal pay for work of equal value for all care workers ■ Ensure a safe, attractive and stimulating work environment for both women and men care workers ■ Enact laws and implement measures to protect migrant care workers
Migration policies	Representation, social dialogue and collective bargaining for care workers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life ■ Promote freedom of association for care workers and employers ■ Promote social dialogue and strengthen the right to collective bargaining in care sectors ■ Promote the building of alliances between trade unions representing care workers and civil society organizations representing care recipients and unpaid carers

Source: Laura Addati, 2018.

A macro-economic simulation study of 45 countries into 2030 shows that increasing investment in care economy could add 269 million new jobs, compared to 206 million care jobs that were reported to exist globally in 2015. More than half of the new jobs created are likely to go to women. This is a lower estimate of the effect of the investment taking care of direct and indirect job creation, but without accounting for the induced employment effects through household consumption spending. The simulation shows that good-quality care employment has the potential to promote gender equality, as the care economy is disproportionately represented by women workers. This simulation scenario dubbed as 'High Road to Care Work' was constructed by marrying the relevant targets of Sustainable Development Goals with ILO's Decent Work Agenda. The high road emphasised the need for transformative measures in five policy areas namely, care, macroeconomics, social protection, labour and migration and developed 'The 5R Framework for Decent Care Work: Achieving a high road to care work with Gender Equality', a useful framework for policy makers that aims to achieve decent care work through *recognition* of the value of unpaid care work, *reduction* of its drudgery, *redistribution* of care work, appropriate mechanisms of *reward* for the care work and promote the *representation* of care workers (paid and unpaid) and care recipients in decision-making and policy processes (see Table 8).

Figure 7. Models of care employment



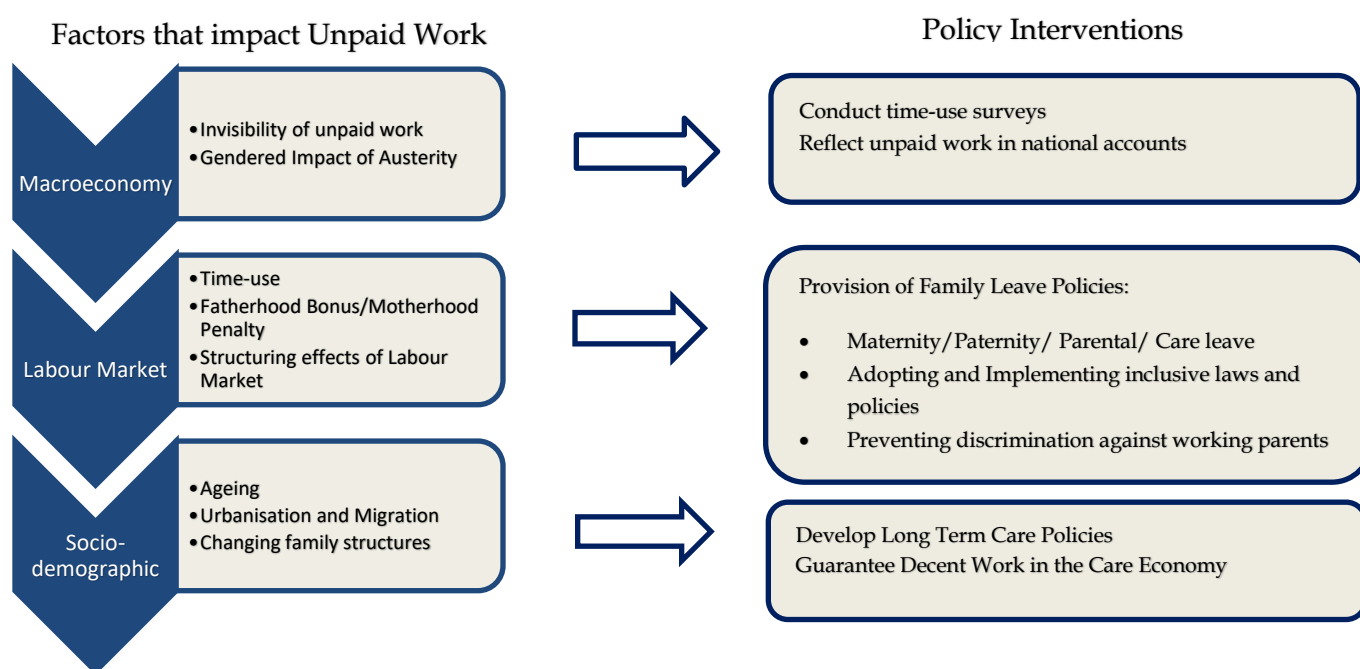
Source: ILO, 2018.

A key limiting factor in the current economic climate is the question of having sufficient fiscal space to generate the resources required to undertake the appropriate investments. A cluster analysis of the care workforce in 99 countries showed that there are eight models of care employment, roughly based on two defining characteristics: (i) employment in health and social work, which is a function of health care and long-term care policies and (ii) employment in domestic work, which is usually disproportionately done by migrant domestic workers. The cluster analysis also showed that countries with similar economic growth levels and socio-economic conditions exhibit different care policies, thereby shedding light on the decisive role played by policy interventions in determining the employment rates, conditions of work, including pay and status of care workers. In other words, for transformative care policies to become a reality there is a need for countries to demonstrate the political will to make the requisite fiscal space available to make the necessary investments and reap the consequential benefits.

VI. Conclusions

As we stand at the threshold of the 25th Anniversary of the Beijing Platform for Action, ESCAP in partnership with UN Women, conducted a regional review of the implementation of the platform. While such reviews have been conducted every five years since 1995, this is the first time that the review is held in the context of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. The review took a holistic view of unpaid work, taking into account how both the platform and the 2030 Agenda understood the issue. Through the review, it has been found that to ease the burden of unpaid work, 24 countries in the region have introduced or strengthened different types of family leave, 20 countries have expanded childcare services, 16 countries have expanded services for older persons and 10 countries have conducted time-use surveys during the period of the review. 13 countries in the region undertook austerity measures over the review period, but no country had assessed its gendered impact. The impact of macroeconomic policies on unpaid work and gender equality should be better studied and countries should explore options to free-up fiscal space to ensure adequate social protection measures for women⁴.

Figure 7. Diagrammatic representation of the policy framework to address Unpaid Work



⁴ ESCAP/MCBR/2019/1.

For women's economic empowerment to be a reality in Asia and the Pacific, policy attention needs to be focussed on paid work as well as unpaid work done within the confines of one's homes. This policy paper first presents the policy landscape surrounding unpaid work. By discussing the way in which unpaid work is understood by different entities, this paper acts as an entry point to make substantive policy interventions. Further, the paper also situates how the issue of unpaid work has been discussed in two very key international agreements, namely the Beijing Platform for Action and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. More importantly, the paper presents a useful policy framework to examine unpaid work that takes into account macro-economic, labour market and demographic factors and proposes corresponding policy interventions, thereby making a case for an integrated policy treatment of the issue.

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The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) serves as the United Nations' regional hub promoting cooperation among countries to achieve inclusive and sustainable development. The largest intergovernmental platform with 53 member States and 9 associate members, ESCAP has emerged as a strong regional think-tank offering countries sound analytical products that shed insight into the evolving economic, social and environmental dynamics of the region. The Commission's strategic focus is to deliver on the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, which it does by reinforcing and deepening regional cooperation and integration to advance connectivity, financial cooperation and market integration. ESCAP's research and analysis coupled with its policy advisory services, capacity building and technical assistance to governments aim to support countries' sustainable and inclusive development ambitions.

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