Examining the low market participation rate of women in the Philippines: Is housework the missing link?

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Objectives

- To provide a systematic evidence on how women’s LFP is affected by housework
- To provide directions for future researches in market and non-market work

- Many studies done on housework-wage nexus, **focus on working samples**
  - (Bayudan (2006), Chen (2017), and Dacuycuy and Dacuycuy (2018): role of intrahousehold power and attitudes

- **Important also** to understand how housework affects **labor market participation** (e.g. how can women be economically productive?)
  - Non-participation in the labor market may be a life’s choice
  - Issues of comparative advantages
  - Intergenerational contributions
Significant advancements for women in the education front

- **The Millennium Development Goals target ratios** of girls to boys in primary, secondary, and tertiary education have been achieved.

- Commission on Higher Education data: **Higher enrollments in the tertiary education**
  - Tertiary education, female enrolments in Academic Year 2016-2017 are 57%, 62%, 47%, and 53% of total enrollees in State Universities and Colleges, Local Universities and Colleges, Other Government Schools, and Private Schools, respectively.
  - More females were enrolled in Masters (66%) and Doctorate programs (60%).

- 2013 Functional Literacy, Education and Mass Media Survey:
  - Male’s and female’s basic literacy rates, are similar.
  - **Female’s functional literacy rate is higher** across various age groups.
Labor force participation rate, % of respective sex population aged 15+, national estimate

What has been done to improve women’s LFPR?

- The lackluster improvement in the female’s LFPR is acknowledged by the Philippine government.
  - The Philippine Development Plan 2017-2022 outlines several strategies to encourage the labor force participation of women

- Executive Order No. 12 was signed in early 2017, intensify and accelerate the implementation of programs to attain zero unmet need for modern family planning by 2018.

- Responsible Parenthood and Reproductive Health Act (RH Law or RA 10354), provides for the comprehensive delivery of reproductive and health services, has been legislated in 2012
  - deemed important in harnessing the demographic dividend
  - UNFPA, 2018: Children are net consumers while the working age population are net producers and without large numbers of children to support, economies could divert more resources to capital investment, which can stimulate the productive employment for the working-age population.
  - NEDA: which recognizes the potential of the government to better allocate its resources for economic development and social services given a low dependency ratio”
  - The RH Law not only has the potential to lower teenage pregnancy but can lead to better health outcomes for women and mothers, and better education outcomes for girls.
Housework-market work: Women

1) Housework tends to be dictated by gender identity (one’s sense of belongingness to a social category that prescribes behavioral norms (Akerlof and Kranton (2000)

2) Time is a limited resource and its allocation has implications on labor market outcomes.
   ◦ Women and girls disproportionately bear the burden of the care economy, which can result in time poverty. In turn, this leads to low development outcomes that prevent them from realizing their full potential.

3) PH has one of the highest fertility rate in the region at around 2.7 children born per woman (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2018).
   ◦ Implications on women whose responsibilities include taking care of children and the elderly.
   ◦ Home production may give rise to market work intermittency and to a relatively disadvantageous position in the formal labor market.
   ◦ Partly explains why more women are entrepreneurs and are in the informal sector where work is relatively more flexible.
Housework-market work: Men

1) **Holistic perspective**, GAD framework the seeks to ensure both men and women benefit from development

2) The **market and non-market production of both men and women are necessarily interrelated.**
   - First, the Philippine society is egalitarian (Medina, 1995) and typical of egalitarian households, wives and husbands are both key decision makers on household.
   - Consultation is a key element in decision-making domains related to children, the use of family planning method, and the hiring of household help although there are domains where either the wife or spouse prevail as decision-maker.

3) There are **gains from the complementarity of spousal housework** in the Philippines. Doing housework together enhances marital relations through shared experiences and avenues that provide information necessary for a repeated game such as marriage.
Some literature

Becker’s theory of the family (1991): the division of housework is dictated by comparative advantage.

- Spouse that commands higher price in the labor market will specialize in the labor market, the other spouse will specialize in non-market work.
- Tested the effects of housework on wages Bardasi and Taylor, 2008; Hersch and Stratton, 2000; Korenman and Neumark, 1991).
- Effects of housework on LFP: attitudes on gender roles at home and in the labor market, costs, uncertainties, and family-related concerns like husband’s health status and parental care (Fortin, 2005; Fosu, 1999; Blau and Grossberg, 1991; O’Hara, 2004; Ettner, 1995).
Some literature in the PH

- Time use in the context of collective bargaining framework
  - Time allocation responds to intrahousehold indicators depending on which source the power is coming from.
  - High probability of a husbands’ control over the wives’ money, wives spend less time working outside but spend more time working at home where the flow of income can be easily monitored or controlled (Bayudan, 2006)

- Wage and attitudes to work and family life affect the time devoted to housework:
  - Attitudes towards sharing the burden of household chores and towards working mothers and family life consistently determine the way respondents allocate time to domestic production. (Dacuycuy and Dacuycuy 2017)

- Double burden
  - Women in their mid-life are engaged in high-intensity market work and substantial amount of non-market chores.
  - Some of these women experience a shift in time use by becoming high intensity caregivers or by completely leaving the labor market while the rest remains to be subjected by double burden. (Chen et al (2016))
Data

- 2012 International Social Survey Program (ISSP) module on Family and Changing Gender Roles collected by the ISSP Research Group.
- The ISSP is a collaboration among the ISSP member countries that aim to conduct annual surveys on social science topics.
- Covers countries mostly from Europe and it covers Japan, the Philippines, and Taiwan in Asia.
- Different topic each year
  - including the role of government, social networks, social inequality, family and changing gender roles, work orientations, religion, environment, national identity, citizenship, leisure time and sports, and health and health care.
- 2002 and 2012 ISSP collects data on family and changing gender roles
  - includes attitudes towards gender roles at home and in the labor market, housework, market work history, and labor market outcomes of respondents and their partners.
Earliest versions are household production models that include market work, housework, and leisure in an individual’s utility function (Gronau, 1977; Becker, 1965).

Extended by Pollak and Wachter (1975) to account for the joint production of market work and housework, which essentially improves on the assumption of the perfect substitutability of market and home-based commodities.

Housework can be affected by several factors such as attitudes to family and the labor market.

\[
\text{LFP} = f(\text{personal}_{\text{respondent}}, \text{HH chars}, Y, \text{mom's work history}, \text{HW}_{\text{respondent}}, \text{HW}_{\text{spouse}}) \tag{1}
\]

\[
\text{HW}_{\text{respondent}} = f(\text{personal}_{\text{respondent}}, \text{HH chars}, Y, \text{attitudes}, \text{personal}_{\text{spouse}}) \tag{2}
\]

\[
\text{HW}_{\text{spouse}} = f(\text{personal}_{\text{spouse}}, \text{HH chars}, Y, \text{attitudes}, \text{personal}_{\text{respondent}}) \tag{3}
\]

LFP 0/1; HW continuous variable.

The error term in each equation is assumed to be IID. LFP and HW can be combined into multiequation systems in which the error terms share a multivariate normal distribution (Roodman, 2011).

**Attitudes:** 1. When mother works, preschool child is likely to suffer? 2. When women work, family life suffers? and 3. Men’s job is to earn money while women’s job is to look after home?
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<tr>
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<th>Male respondent</th>
<th>Female respondent</th>
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<td>LFP respondent</td>
<td>HW, respondent</td>
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<td><strong>Personal attributes</strong></td>
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<td>Respondent: Age</td>
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<td>Respondent: College</td>
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<td>Married</td>
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<td>Partner: college</td>
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<td><strong>HH characteristics</strong></td>
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<td>Number of toddler</td>
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<td>Family income</td>
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<td><strong>Housework</strong></td>
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<td>Respondent</td>
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<td>Spouse</td>
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<td><strong>Work History</strong></td>
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<td>Mother worked</td>
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<td><strong>Attitudes</strong></td>
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<td>When mother works: Family life suffers (=1 disagree, =0 agree)</td>
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Prediction exercise

Benchmark:
- The respondent is a 40-year old college graduate, and married to a partner who is a college graduate as well.
- The respondent’s mother had worked when the respondent was young.
- The respondent has positive attitudes towards gender roles at home and in the labor market.
  - Respondent disagrees with the notion that preschool children and family life suffer when women work and with the dichotomy of men as earners and women as homemakers.
- The family income is around PhP20 000, household is located in the urban Luzon.

Prediction:
Probabilities of working are predicted by assuming different housework time
- 1) Each spends 10 hours (benchmark)
- 2) Respondent devotes 20 hours, spouse devotes none
- 3) Respondent devotes 0 hour, spouse devotes 20 hours
Relative to the benchmarks, the probabilities of male and female’s market participation are higher when they spend zero inputs to housework.

- The increase in the female’s probability of working relative to the benchmark is bigger compared to that of the male. (42 PP vs. 25 PP)

- Probabilities of working for both male and female respondents are lower given 20 hours of housework and their spouses devote none.
  - The decrease in the female’s probability of working is noticeably bigger. (43 PP vs 34 PP)
Takeaways

- Consistent with the GAD framework, focus on the productive and reproductive roles of both men and women to achieve equality and social justice.

- **Housework affects both men and women’s participation in market work** in the PH.

- Important to **craft policies that will help families in the home production/care economy and market work**
  - Provide support to ease the burden of home-production (e.g. affordable and accessible quality child care services in the community)
  - The elderly population is projected to reach a two-digit mark in 2020 assuming a moderate fertility and mortality decline (National Economic and Development Authority, 2017). Need to anticipate this eventuality and should look into designing systems for elderly care.
  - The potential increase in caregiving demand due to aging or health deterioration should be included in the policy space since this could affect labor market outcomes such as absenteeism and tardiness that will adversely affect labor productivity.
Issues and ways forward

1) **Women’s contribution to society, not necessarily in the labor market.** Can also be in rearing and nurturing the next generation of potential leaders and healthy and productive citizens.

**HOWEVER,**
- What happens after the children have grown-up and started to go to school?
- **For women in households facing financial constraints, market work becomes inevitable** although finding a new job or easing into it may become a challenge.
- A clear understanding of the effects of care economy and unpaid work on the **start-stop-start of market work** can help in **strengthening programs for labor market re-entrants and in strengthening policies for work-family life balance.**

2) **For some, unpaid work and care economy are life’s choices while for others, these are life’s roles that they need to assume.**

- Important: in-depth understanding of the motivations and preferences of men and women to do (or not do) market and non-market work.
- Can help in **determining what can be done to help men and women who seek to engage into the market work after (or during) the pursuit of their life’s roles.**
Issues and ways forward

3) Partly due to gender roles, men, as household providers, are expected to participate in market work. HOWEVER,

- emerging narratives show that fathers have equally (if not more) important roles to play in the increased academic test scores (Yeung 2004), reduced aggression (Chang et al 2003), and reduced criminality and substance misuse (Sarkadi et al 2008) of children.

- Research in PH should also investigate this issue so that policies can be designed to enhance the household presence of working men and strengthen their involvement in child-rearing/nurturing in the process.
Data

- This paper provides an initial assessment of the effects of housework on the men and women’s labor force participation and it has done so using a cross-section dataset.
- Use of panel data to establish the evolution of housework over the men and women’s life course.
- PSA should consider including time use questions as riders to its existing surveys such as the LFS or APIS.
  - How much time is devoted to elderly care? Child care? Other housework?
  - When do they usually do these non-market work?

Quantify the effects of double burden or second shift

Understand time poverty
THANK YOU!