





Conference Proceedings

Global Conference on

UNPAID WORK AND THE ECONOMY:
GENDER, POVERTY, AND THE MILLENNIUM
DEVELOPMENT GOALS

October 1–3, 2005 Annandale-on-Hudson, New York

CONTENTS

Welcome Letter to Conference Participants	1
Foreword: A Note from the Conference Organizers	3
Program	4
Keynote Speakers	
REBECA GRYNSPAN	8
NANCY FOLBRE	12
Sessions	
Welcome and Introductory Remarks	16
1. Why Is Unpaid Work Important for Development Policy?	16
2. Unpaid Work, the Care Economy, and the MDGs	19
3. Unpaid Work, Poverty, and Well-Being	20
4. Unpaid Work, the Care Economy, and HIV/AIDS	22
5. Unpaid Work and Employment Strategies	23
6. Unpaid Work, the Care Economy, and Investment in Infrastructure	25
7. Issues in Time-Use Measurement I	26
8. Issues in Time-Use Measurement II	28
9. Issues in Accounting for Unpaid Work	29
10. Including Unpaid Work in Economic Modeling	31
Parallel Roundtable Sessions	32
Concluding Remarks: Recommendations and Next Steps	34
Participants	36
Appendix	
Full Text of Introductory Remarks	48
DIMITRI B. PAPADIMITRIOU	
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The proceedings consist of edited transcripts of the speakers' remarks and synopses of session participants' presentations.



Global Conference on "Unpaid Work and the Economy: Gender, Poverty, and the Millennium Development Goals"



October 1–3, 2005

It is our great pleasure to welcome you to this conference on *Unpaid Work and the Economy: Gender, Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals.*The conference is organized by the Bureau for Development Policy in UNDP, in partnership with The Levy Economics Institute.

The purpose of this conference is to share experiences and methodologies from around the world on women's unpaid work in the context of achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). During the last decade, time allocated to unpaid work has received increased attention, and as a result, several countries have collected time-use data and developed Satellite Accounts. These efforts notwithstanding, nonmarket activities have not been taken sufficiently into account in the formulation of public policies and pro-poor alternative macroeconomic strategies.

In most developing countries, efforts to reduce poverty and reach the MDGs provide a timely opportunity to draw attention to the contribution of unpaid work to economic and social development. The search for new methodologies to cost the MDGs and for policy alternatives that are pro-poor opens spaces for serious dialogue on the significance of unpaid work, including unpaid care work. During this conference, there will be discussion of the growing body of research on unpaid work and its application to pro-poor economics; and of tested tools such as time-use surveys and economic modeling that includes unpaid work, and their use in policy analysis.

We trust you will enjoy the conference and that it will help you in your future work.

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Best Regards,

Shoji Nishimoto

Assistant Administrator and Director of the Bureau for Development Policy UNDP

Dimitri B. Papadimitriou President and Senior Scholar The Levy Economics Institute

FOREWORD

Dear Colleagues,

The conference on "Unpaid Work and the Economy: Gender, Poverty, and the Millennium Development Goals" brought together researchers, policy advocates, and practitioners, who gathered to discuss the significance of unpaid work to pro-poor economic development policies and to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This event was organized by the Bureau for Development Policy, United Nations Development Programme, under the auspices of Senior Gender Advisor Aster Zaoude and in partnership with The Levy Economics Institute of Bard College.

Unpaid work consists of time spent on activities that provide care for family and community members. These activities, predominantly the responsibility of women and girls in most parts of the world, take up large amounts of time in areas with poor infrastructure and inadequate public services. Cooking, cleaning, caring for children and the elderly, food production, and preparation for own consumption, caring for the sick and the permanently ill, and collecting water and firewood are examples of these activities. In analyzing how unpaid work is linked to the paid economy, information on time use is of paramount importance. Although an increasing number of countries have collected time-use data, and some have even developed satellite accounts in order to measure the economic contributions of unpaid work, a lot more remains to be done.

In particular, recognition of the burdens and constraints of unpaid work has not been sufficiently integrated in the formulation of public investment policies and pro-poor alternative macroeconomic strategies. This is primarily due to the following four reasons: (a) reluctance to use existing data, (b) lack of longitudinal data, (c) slow dissemination of analytical work that makes evident the connections of women's unpaid work to poverty and to economic development policies, and (d) insufficient utilization of computable models that include unpaid work as well as paid work. In most developing countries, efforts to reduce poverty and reach the MDGs provide a timely and unique opportunity to draw attention to the linkages between unpaid work on the one hand, and economic and social development on the other.

During the conference, presentations addressed how women's unpaid work relates to the achievement of the MDGs, inequality and poverty, employment generation policies, HIV/AIDS, the deterioration of economic well-being, and trade impact evaluation. There were also up-to-date assessments of the state of the art in the areas of conducting time-use surveys and constructing satellite accounts, and presentations of empirical economic models that include unpaid work. Recommendations for future work and regional coordination efforts concluded the meeting.

The three-day conference was held October 1–3, 2005, at the Levy Institute's research and conference center at Blithewood on the campus of Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York. For wider dissemination purposes, an open access, full audio version of the conference as well as PowerPoint presentations, abstracts, and submitted papers are on permanent display at www.levy.org/undp-levy-conference.

We hope you find the proceedings of the conference stimulating, thought provoking, and of practical use to your future work.

Diane Elson

Gender Equality and the Economy Program

Rania Antonopoulos

Gender Equality and the Economy Program

PROGRAM

Friday, September 30

6:30–8:45 p.m. REGISTRATION AND DINNER

WELCOME

Dimitri B. Papadimitriou, The Levy Economics Institute

Saturday, October 1

8:30–9:00 a.m. Breakfast and registration

9:00–9:30 a.m. WELCOME AND INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Aster Zaoude, United Nations Development Programme

Diane Elson, The Levy Economics Institute

9:30–11:15 a.m. SESSION 1

Why Is Unpaid Work Important for Development Policy?

CHAIR: **Aster Zaoude**, *United Nations Development Programme* SPEAKERS: **Indira Hirway**, *Centre for Development Alternatives*

Alfred Latigo, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

Rebeca Grynspan, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

DISCUSSANT: Cecilia Valdivieso, United Nations Development Programme

11:15–11:30 a.m. COFFEE BREAK

11:30 a.m – 12:45 p.m. SESSION 2

Unpaid Work, the Care Economy, and the MDGs

CHAIR: Meena Acharya, Tanka Prasad Acharya Memorial Foundation

SPEAKERS: Diane Elson, The Levy Economics Institute
Caren Grown, The Levy Economics Institute

DISCUSSANT: Rathin Roy, United Nations Development Programme

12:45–2:15 p.m. LUNCH

2:15–4:00 p.m. SESSION 3

Unpaid Work, Poverty, and Well-Being

CHAIR: Christine Musisi, United Nations Development Programme SPEAKERS: Marcelo Medeiros, United Nations Development Programme

Ajit Zacharias, The Levy Economics Institute

Shahra Razavi, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

DISCUSSANT: Nilüfer Çağatay, University of Utah, GEM-IWG

4:00–4:15 p.m. Tea break

4:15–5:45 p.m. SESSION 4

Unpaid Work, the Care Economy, and HIV/AIDS

CHAIR: Coumba Mar Gadio, United Nations Development Programme

 ${\tt SPEAKERS:} \ {\bf Olagoke} \ {\bf Akintola,} \ {\it University} \ of \ {\it KwaZulu-Natal}$

Tony Barnett, London School of Economics

DISCUSSANT: Stephanie Urdang, Development Connections, Inc.

5:45–8:45 p.m. RECEPTION AND DINNER

Keynote Speaker: Rebeca Grynspan, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

Sunday, October 2

9:00–9.30 a.m. BREAKFAST

9:30–11:00 a.m. SESSION 5

Unpaid Work and Employment Strategies

CHAIR: **Bharati Silawal,** United Nations Development Programme SPEAKERS: **Naomi Cassirer,** International Labour Organization **Imraan Valodia,** University of KwaZulu-Natal

Nanak Kakwani, United Nations Development Programme DISCUSSANT: Dimitri B. Papadimitriou, The Levy Economics Institute

11:00–11:15 a.m. COFFEE BREAK

11:15 a.m. – 12:45 p.m. SESSION 6

Unpaid Work, the Care Economy, and Investment in Infrastructure

CHAIR: Maria S. Floro, American University, GEM-IWG

SPEAKERS: Nalini Burn, Consultant on Unpaid Work, Poverty, and Gender Budgeting

Aslihan Kes, International Center for Research on Women

Lekha Chakraborty, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, GEM-IWG

DISCUSSANT: Mark Blackden, World Bank

12:45–2:00 p.m. LUNCH

2:00–3:30 p.m. SESSION 7

Issues in Time-Use Measurement I

CHAIR: Nanak Kakwani, United Nations Development Programme SPEAKERS: Indira Hirway, Centre for Development Alternatives

Jacques Charmes, *Institut de Recherche pour le Développement* **Meena Acharya,** *Tanka Prasad Acharya Memorial Foundation*

DISCUSSANT: Joann Vanek, Women in the Informal Economy: Globalizing and Organizing

3:30–3:45 p.m. TEA BREAK

3:45–5:15 p.m. SESSION 8

Issues in Time-Use Measurement II

CHAIR: Marijke Velzeboer-Salcedo, United Nations Development Fund for Women Speakers: Valeria Esquivel, Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, GEM-IWG

Hrachya Petrosyan, State Council on Statistics, Armenia

Maria S. Floro, American University, GEM-IWG DISCUSSANT: Hyunsub Kum, The Levy Economics Institute

5:15–5:30 p.m. Break

5:30–6:30 p.m. KEYNOTE SPEAKER

Nancy Folbre, University of Massachusetts Amherst

6:30–8:45 p.m. RECEPTION AND DINNER

Monday, October 3

9:00–9:30 a.m. BREAKFAST

9:30–11:00 a.m. SESSION 9

Issues in Accounting for Unpaid Work

CHAIR: Caren Grown, The Levy Economics Institute

SPEAKERS: Barbara Fraumeni, University of Southern Maine

Monica Orozco, Ministry of Social Development, Mexico

Eugenia Gomez Luna, Instituto Nacional de Estadistica, Geografia e Informatica

DISCUSSANT: Ajit Zacharias, The Levy Economics Institute

11:00–11:15 a.m. COFFEE BREAK

11:15–11:30 a.m. Presentation of Projects by Students From Columbia University,

New York, and the Institute of Political Science, Paris

Introduction by **Aster Zaoude**, *United Nations Development Programme* CHAIR: **Alfred Latigo**, *United Nations Economic Commission for Africa*

11:30 a.m. – 1:00 p.m. SESSION 10

Including Unpaid Work in Economic Modeling

CHAIR: Martha Melesse, International Development Research Centre
SPEAKERS: Rania Antonopoulos, The Levy Economics Institute
Marzia Fontana, University of Sussex

DISCUSSANT: Hamidou Poufon, Ministry of Economy and Finance, Cameroon

1:00–2:15 p.m. LUNCH

2:15–3:30 p.m. PARALLEL ROUNDTABLE SESSIONS

Group 1: Unpaid Work and Economic Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean

DISCUSSION LEADER: **Rebeca Grynspan**, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

Group 2: Unpaid Work and Economic Policy in Africa

DISCUSSION LEADERS: Alfred Latigo, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa

Hamidou Poufon, Ministry of Economy and Finance, Cameroon

Group 3: Unpaid Work and Economic Policy in Asia and the Pacific

DISCUSSION LEADERS: Indira Hirway, Centre for Development Alternatives

Meena Acharya, Tanka Prasad Acharya Memorial Foundation

3:30–3:45 p.m. TEA BREAK

3:45–5:15 p.m. CLOSING REMARKS AND WRAP-UP SESSION

Reporting of the Parallel Sessions

Roundtable: The Way Forward: Policy and Research Agenda

CHAIR: Diane Elson, The Levy Economics Institute

DISCUSSANTS: Indira Hirway, Centre for Development Alternatives

Jacques Charmes, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement **Aster Zaoude,** United Nations Development Programme

Rebeca Grynspan, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

5:15 – CLOSING RECEPTION AND DINNER

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

Rebeca Grynspan

Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

Following is an edited transcript of Rebeca Grynspan's keynote address.

Diane Elson, Moderator:

We have all had a chance to meet Rebeca Grynspan, our keynote speaker, but I want to remind you that Rebeca is director of the subregional headquarters in Mexico of the UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. She's been a member of Task Force One on Poverty and Economic Development in the UN Millennium Project, and a member of the UN High-Level Panel for Financing for Development.

Before Rebeca joined the UN, she was vice president of Costa Rica. Among the many things she did in that position was to take responsibility for the national economic adjustment, poverty reduction, and pension systems reform. Rebeca is the ideal person to talk to us about how to develop a national agenda that is gender-sensitive.

Rebeca Grynspan:

Thank you, Diane. I want to talk a little bit about my worries—not desperation, but worries, about Latin America and how to get a national agenda from a gender perspective. I think that there is more room for dialogue and heterodox policies today than there was two decades ago. We have had two decades of very close orthodox economics in the region, and I think that a space, a window of opportunity, has now been opened up for the region. My worry is that we will lose the possibility of influencing the national agenda now that we have an opportunity to do so.

This opportunity exists because the results of the Washington Consensus were disappointing for Latin America. Even those who wrote the Washington Consensus have recognized that, and many are saying that we have to go back to experience the rate of growth of "the golden era of Latin America" of the '60s and '70s when we were growing at 6 percent a year. In a way this is a recognition that the new model didn't provide the results that were expected from it.

The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean has called the last decade a period of light and shadows, and I think you can see that in Latin America: growth was resumed after the debt crisis of the '80s. Price stability was achieved—I won't say stability at large, but price stability. We were able to attract more foreign investment. And we were able to increase exports in a significant way. We did all that. But the results that should have accompanied those outcomes did not. Growth was recovered but at a much lower rate than the historical growth rate of Latin America, and much less than in other areas of the world. The growth rate of Latin America since the '80s has been on average around 2 percent per year—only 2 percent. And if you exclude the '80s, it rises to an average of 3 percent for the last 15 years, very far from the 6 or 7 percent growth rate that we expected from the reforms.

The other characteristic worth underscoring is that the growth we got was not only mediocre but also volatile, with a volatility during this period that was at least as high as in the past. It's not the same to grow at 3 or 2 percent every year, as to grow at 6 percent one year, at -2 percent another year, at 3 percent the next one, and so on. The rate-of-growth volatility in Latin America is double that of the developed world. Moreover, private consumption's volatility is much higher than GDP volatility, which in itself is an important characteristic of the quality of growth that the region is experiencing. In the developed world, the volatility of consumption is much less than the volatility of production, because you have social security systems in place, with a large part of the population covered, and a real and effective social safety net. In Latin America we don't have that, so the volatility of consumption is much higher than the volatility of production. Families and individuals have to deal with all the impact of economic cycles.

During a downturn in Latin America, poverty and inequality grow very fast; when we recover, poverty recovers very slowly and inequality does not recover, ever. Volatility of growth and consumption puts us in a cycle of more poverty and more inequality as time goes by, because we don't have the instruments to counteract volatility and smooth the cycles for individuals and families as much as for the productive sectors of the economy.

The other feature of the region is that its productive structure became more heterogeneous than previously. We used to talk about dual economies in the '60s; maybe we cannot use that term now, but a heterogeneous productive sector can explain in part why, even if exports grow quickly, GDP does not. It has to do with the fact that there are very weak linkages in the economy. We have export sectors that are very modern: they are linked to the global economy and very efficient, but they have no backward linkages to the rest of the economy. They cannot take all the economy on their shoulders and make it grow as fast as we need it to. As a result, national value added is very low, and even when we were successful in attracting foreign investment and spur exports, we didn't get dynamic and fast-growing economies.

In the employment part of the story, two things happened: first, 70 percent of the jobs created in Latin America in the last decade were in the informal sector. Seventy percent. Only three out of every 10 jobs created in the region were in the formal sector. So we ended up with a more precarious labor market, with very weak workers' organizations, low social security coverage, and most workers with no contracts and job stability. This whole issue about making labor more flexible for the economy has already happened in Latin America. Labor is flexible there, but it's flexible without social protection for the worker. That's the issue in the region: not flexibility but social protection.

My last point deals with the issue of institution building. In a paradox, we experienced a weakening of public institutions at the same time democracy was spreading and flourishing in almost all countries of Latin America. The return of democracy was probably the most important thing that happened to Latin America in the last two decades: we went from dictatorship and upheavals that were not dealt with in a democratic framework, to democratically elected governments and much more concern for the respect of human rights. The paradox is, though people really care about this outcome, at the same time they are disappointed with what democracy has given them in return. They want the system to work within the framework of democracy, but they are disappointed that it's not happening for the region. The disappointment rests not primarily with the poor people but with the middle class. The impoverishment of the middle class is raising the questions about the ability of democracy to work for the majority of the people in the region.

Saying that, I would like to turn to a reflection on gender issues. There will be a second round of reforms, and we have to be prepared to discuss the right policies to follow. We recognize that the reforms implemented did not provide the expected

results, but on the ground, policies continue to be the same. We don't see a new paradigm emerging and changing policies, programs, and actions in the region. There is a need for this discussion and for a dialogue; we cannot wait for a policy to be defined and then try to introduce "gender" as an addition at the end.

Let me give an example in terms of pension reform. When we were starting to discuss this reform in Costa Rica, a World Bank mission came to work with us on the reform's financial sustainability. In our first meeting we didn't agree. We had a design of our own; we knew what we wanted, and the World Bank wanted something else. So we didn't agree, but we went our way. We had the room to do that. Sometimes there is more room for national policies than politicians recognize. Sometimes we put the entire burden on the international organizations (the IMF, World Bank), taking away from national governments their own responsibility. There is more room to maneuver when you know what you want to do and have a national project backing you, rather than having nothing to propose.

We had a strategy for the pension reform that we were able to follow, but I can't say that I had a clear vision of what a gender perspective meant when dealing with the pension system. Nonetheless, I did a good thing for gender because I believed strongly in solidarity and in a universal pension system for all citizens of Costa Rica. This feeling is strengthened when I look at the Latin American spectrum and see reforms that were carried out without this commitment to equity and universal access. Our commitment was not only to the poor; it was also to the middle class. We did not want poor services for the poor, we wanted the poor to have access to the quality services the middle class demanded. In terms of political economy, we wanted to maintain the alliance between the middle class and the poor.

I didn't have a gender perspective then; I know much more now. But defending equality in the design of the reform ended up protecting women (though not enough), more than the alternative reforms that went for individual accounts with no elements of solidarity, and which are only now looking at the gender perspective and what to do with the consequences.

One of my messages today is that we must enter into the discussion of the national framework and the national agenda. We cannot wait for the agenda to be defined, and only then look at how gender would be included in its reforms. Gender is not the same in an individual-accounts pension system as it

is in a pay-as-you-go pension regime. We can look for examples of how difficult it is to cope afterward with the consequences of a social policy that didn't take into account from the beginning universality, equality, or specific measures for affected groups.

One thought I want to share with you is that in my view, we have to put forward a national (and regional) agenda that is gender informed, gender aware so to speak, but which at the same time is much broader than one that concentrates explicitly on a women's agenda.

Specifically, I often wonder if we can continue to make improvements in gender equality within societies that are becoming more and more unequal. I don't have the answer, but I feel we have to look into this issue. Equality has to be at the center of our concern, not only for gender, but also for society at large. This agenda probably has consequences, not only for policymaking, but also in our research, to understand what has happened and how equality for all segments of society and gender equality relate. We need more research that will allow us to have more knowledge and understanding of these issues.

Second, what other areas of discussion have been opened up? One is in the macroeconomics dimension, where several areas of concern are being discussed. First, there is no agreement on the objectives of the central banks. Is it only price stability? Or do we have to push for employment and growth, too? When I was a student (a long time ago), the term "stability" related to prices, growth, and full employment. Without question, that was the equation we were looking for. Suddenly, employment and growth went out of the equation, and now a central banker is considered successful (especially by the financial sector) if inflation is under control. To be successful, a central banker doesn't have to look at the real economy. He doesn't have to look at employment or growth. But that's not nearly enough to answer people's expectations. One of the questions being discussed today is whether or not the real economy still matters. Is the structure and dynamics of production worth looking at? Does stability of the real sectors matter? Or is it a result of monetary policies? There are many examples in the region. Mexico has monetary and financial stability (which is important) but with a bad record on growth and employment. Unfortunately, Mexico is not an exception.

Should we be interested in this macroeconomic debate from a gender perspective? I would say yes, and argue that it is central to our discussions. The laws that we will try to push forward to deal with the trade-offs between the productive and the domestic spheres have the potential for a negative impact on women in the labor market if unemployment is high. If volatility in the real economy is high, we need to implement policies that will make growth more stable, which means having social protection systems and anticyclical fiscal policies to counteract the effects of volatility on women and on welfare. Remember, in my region poverty goes up dramatically during downturns of the economic cycle. We have learned that countries that have opened up their economies and at the same time, rank very high in the human development index, are those countries that combine openness with social protection—not the opposite.

In Latin America we went the opposite way. When we opened up the economies, we thought we had to lower social protection payments in order to increase employment. We were so wrong. It is the opposite, because when you open up an economy, you have more volatility, more imported volatility. We opened up the economies and our capital accounts, and at the same time many countries (not all, fortunately) decided to go for systems like the Chilean, which reproduces the inequalities and risks of the labor market. Because when you have individual accounts, those who have a good salary will do well, and those that are poor will do very badly. On top of that, the system is expensive to implement, in terms of public money, so costs for society remain high. Why is that?

Let's go back and remember how these reforms were sold to us. They said, our pay-as-you-go system has a large deficit. But if we change to an individual accounts system, each person will save for his/her own pension. What you save is what you get. There is no fiscal obligation and no public money involved.

In practice, what happened? When you change from a pay-as-you-go system to individual accounts, you have to pay the cost of the transition with public money. In Chile's case, that meant between 2 and 3 percent of GDP for eight to ten years. And that's not the end of the story, because the law establishes a minimum pension for survival, and therefore there will be a future cost to assist those whose savings did not reach that minimum. Again in Chile's case, several studies suggest that they will be paying around 2 percent of GDP to maintain minimum pensions for those not able to save enough toward the minimum retirement pension. One estimate puts around 50 percent of the working population in this category.

In the end, those reforms were expensive and distracted resources from education, gender-sensitive programs, or infrastructure.

Third, I want to note how a gender perspective relates to the whole issue of education. In the region we are pushing for more education, which we believe is central to achieving greater equality in the future. From a gender perspective, what is the agenda within education? It has two parts: quality and early education. What does quality mean for us, apart from changes in study programs and teacher training? It means longer hours in school! That should be part of our agenda.

If we look at the numbers, women's access to education is not the main problem. We have more women in higher education, and in secondary and primary schools, than men. So what's our problem? Quality. We have segregated education: public education is very bad, and private education is very good. We need to close the gap, if we care about equality. We need longer days in school and an extended preschool coverage, an agenda that coincides with the needs of women for integration into the labor market. Our support for more education is very important but should include the above specifications, if we are to formulate policy that is equitable from a gender perspective.

My next point deals with labor market reform. Do we want flexibility, or not? I think we do. The problem is that the reforms trying to put forward flexibility into the labor market are not the ones that we want. But I also think we have a good chance to negotiate. We have to take the risk of supporting reforms in the labor law, because the present law was not done in consultation with us, so there are a lot of things we want to change there.

We want to change the rigidity of the labor market, but with protection. We do want flexibility—at this stage we want part-time jobs, but we want part-time jobs with social security. We have wound up coping with the actual rigidities of the labor market by "choosing" the informal sector. The informal sector is a result not only of bad economic policy, but also the lack of family-friendly policies to articulate the household (domestic) and market productive spheres. That's the way in which we can reconcile both spheres. The lack of choices has led to jobs with no social protection and less income, but women follow that path because at the moment it enables them to cope with the two types of jobs women have to perform, unpaid care work and paid work.

I think there is a large space for political negotiation of labor laws and reform from a general as well as from a specific gender perspective. I know this is difficult, because the experience in Latin America has been so bad. All the laws that sought flexibility resulted in a more insecure and degrading labor market. The risk of not being able to have both sides—protection and flexibility—is very high. But I want to stress the fact that the risk will become reality if we don't get into the negotiation table. It will happen, because pressure is building up in the region for that.

The problem I see is that civil society in Latin America is frequently more defensive than proactive. Civil society is saying no, without saying what the desired alternative is. The position taken ends up prohibiting change. In a way, there is a civil society movement that is very conservative. It wants things as they are because it fears what will happen if it doesn't defend what it has now. But this cannot go on forever. One of the sides will impose its will, unless a constructive dialogue is built between civil society and governments in the region. We cannot give up the idea of building a common agenda, a national project. If we cannot do it, the outcome will be a result of power and impositions, not dialogue and democracy.

Finally, I want to refer to two institutional reforms. One is reform of the justice sector, and I don't think I have to elaborate further to explain that a lot needs to be done in this area, not only in the common law decisions, but also in the rights agenda. What are the necessary institutions to have in place, where you can go as an individual and demand your rights? We have done a lot of work and have had positive developments in terms of laws defending and recognizing women's rights, but in many areas they don't have a place to go to demand those rights. In justice reform, this is a main point that we have to look at.

The other institutional reform is political reform. I'm worried about that because we made a great effort in some of the countries to be able to influence parties. Now parties have to put women in eligible places, for congress, and for senate. Yet now that we are there, another idea is emerging, to limit parties' power to choose the candidates. The idea is to vote for individual candidates, not for a party's list of candidates. When you go for individual-candidate elections, without changing the way campaigns are financed, then women are out. A lot of political reforms are being discussed in the region that sound very nice; for example, "we want every citizen to be able to elect every person they want, not a list from the parties. In this way citizens' choices widen and their power is increased." In fact, nobody will know about you as a candidate if you don't have money to make them know you. And if you don't change the way in which campaigns are financed, women will again be the ones not in the public eye for elected office.

It's more important for us to go through political reform within the parties at this moment than to disrupt the party system more than it's already been disrupted in the region, and go for this panacea that in the end will make money the big election factor.

My whole point is: an agenda is being discussed in the region, and if we don't join the discussion to make constructive points from the gender perspective, if we wait until the framework is decided and then see how gender fits, we won't get results different from the ones we already got in the last two decades.

Nancy Folbre

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Following is an edited transcript of Nancy Folbre's keynote address.

Rania Antonopoulos, Moderator:

... It is with extreme pleasure that I am now introducing to you Nancy Folbre, as she was the one who introduced me to this field of study some 20 years ago, when I was a student at The New School. Her research focuses on the interface between feminist theory and political economy, with a particular focus on unpaid care work, which is the topic that brings us all here for this conference. Nancy is a recipient of the prestigious fiveyear fellowship award from the MacArthur Foundation. She also works with the Center for Popular Economics and is an associate editor of The Journal of Feminist Economics. And she is a member of the National Research Council of the National Academies Panel to Study the Design of Nonmarket Accounts for the United States. Last but not least, she is the author of The Invisible Heart: Economics and Family Values; Who Pays for the Kids? Gender and the Structures of Constraint; and Family Time: The Social Organization of Care. Let us all welcome Nancy Folbre.

Nancy Folbre:

Thank you so much. It's such a great pleasure to be here and to see a new generation of scholars doing such terrific research on time use. I feel inspired and heartened by the work that's been presented at this conference.

I used to be a development economist, but I changed direction as a result of welfare "reform" in the United States in 1996. This reform represented the epitome of a neoliberal restructuring of the welfare state. I was offended that policymakers who pretended to care about family values would stigmatize women's unpaid work as mothers. So I changed course, and have, for the last nine years, been focusing on the care economy in the United States.

I believe that the U.S. experience holds some interesting lessons for developing countries. I situate my work within the theoretical tradition of work on "social reproduction" initiated by Diane Elson and Lourdes Beneria. I emphasize that care represents an important sector of the economy as a whole. Care is more than labor time. In addition to time, care involves money, capital, technology and emotion. We need to understand how all these factors of social reproduction work together.

It is important to situate nonmarket work within the circular flow of the macro economy as a whole. I emphasize externalities (or "spillovers" from market exchanges) and "cook pot" effects (or synergies) that reflect the ways in which a soup—or an economic output—is often more than the sum of its parts. It is not accidental that both of these terms are often used by environmental economists.

Macroeconomics always starts with a circular flow of the economy as a whole, and there are three sectors that are usually pictured in this circular flow: households, businesses, and government. Government is a part of the circular flow and is contributing to GDP to the extent that it's actually purchasing goods and services; but transfer payments are not counted as part of government spending. Households are selling labor to businesses, and then businesses are selling products to households. Governments are collecting taxes and they're providing services in return as a part of the circular flow.

National income accounts treat welfare state transfers like they treat interfamily transfers, as though they are just gifts that have no relevance to the actual organization of the economy as a whole. But these are not just gifts—they are investments. Parents devote substantial amounts of time and money to raising the next generation of workers and taxpayers. They are producing human capabilities that probably could never be produced in the market but are indispensable to the successful performance of the market economy. Many forms of so-called "unproductive" government spending are aimed to help parents with this task.

Women are providing much of the time that is devoted to children within the household sector, but men are also providing a fair amount. Both mothers and fathers are spending considerable amounts of money on their children, who grow up to contribute to the economy as a whole as well as to the care of their own parents. This life-cycle dimension is often elided in cross-sectional analysis. It is the longitudinal process we need to understand. It is impossible to understand the family and the care economy without bringing the life cycle into the picture.

Two analogies are useful in making this point. The first analogy offers a way of visualizing a point that many of the classical economists made about human labor as a process that can create value. Imagine an economy in which capitalists do not hire workers, but simply buy androids. They pay for the androids as a piece of capital equipment, and then they buy batteries to operate the androids. The batteries, in this instance, are like "wages."

The price of an android must be at least equal to the cost of producing it. But what if there were some people who were willing to produce androids for free? Then capitalists would only need to pay for the batteries. In our economy, the willingness of parents to pay most of the costs of raising children represents an implicit subsidy to capitalists who later employ those children. This is the sense in which the hidden economy of social reproduction underlies the more visible process of production. Frankly, we're not that far away from an android economy, so it's worth thinking a little bit about what the consequences would be.

The second analogy builds more directly on environmental and ecological economics. Child rearing is not an activity that is motivated by profit or personal gain. In this respect, it resembles the services of Mother Nature. A stable climate, an ample water supply, breathable air—all these features of our physical environment represent natural assets. These assets yield a flow of services, which, if impaired or threatened, are costly to replace. A more specific example is pollination. About 20 percent of all agricultural output in the United States is pollinated by honeybees. One could argue that these bees are just trying to maximize their own utility. But they are certainly not trying to maximize our utility. Nonetheless, we benefit enormously from their efforts, which represent a positive "spillover." Unfortunately, excessive reliance on pesticides is now threatening the viability of the honeybee population. As a result, crop productivity in many areas is declining, and farmers are forced to pay special beekeepers to move hives into their fields to improve pollination. The cost of replacing natural pollination represents an estimate of the value of the spillovers once provided. Similarly, the cost of replacing the services that parents provide represents an estimate of their contribution to the market economy.

Here is a more accurate picture of the circular flow of the economy as a whole, informed by this environmental metaphor. Imagine the three sectors there as before: households, businesses, and government. But place all three of those sectors within a circle or "ocean" that represents the physical and social ecosystem in which we operate. All three sectors are pulling some resources out of that ocean, putting some resources back into it (positive spillovers), and also dumping some waste products into it (negative spillovers).

This emphasis on investments in social reproduction calls attention to inequalities between parents and nonparents as well as between women and men. Most top female executives in the United States who have children have a stay-at-home husband who can provide the care services that they need in order to devote their energies to paid work. Fortune magazine once featured a famous cover making a "stay-at-home" dad look rather pathetic and dowdy in an apron, surrounded by his kids.

Reversing gender roles doesn't solve the problem. Care work is not penalized simply because women do it. It is penalized because it takes place outside the market. Instead of having a "mommy track" and a "daddy track" that is more lucrative, we may simply end up with a "parent track" and a "nonparent track" that is more lucrative.

In the U.S. economy, an increasing share of care work is being performed by immigrants—a way of outsourcing care responsibilities. One of my favorite cartoons pictures an affluent mother arguing with her child, who is in the process of being shipped overseas with a nanny dressed like a peasant. The mother explains that it is not "cost-effective" to raise children in this country. Of course, children are not being literally shipped to Mexico, but immigration to the United States is being encouraged for precisely this purpose. Immigrants are a cheap substitute for policies like paid family leaves from work or public child care that would otherwise make demands on the public purse.

Time-use surveys offer invaluable tools for analyzing the flow of resources in the care sector. Much of the discussion at this conference has emphasized this point. The limitations of existing surveys have also been acknowledged. One of these limitations—the tendency to underestimate time devoted to care work—is beautifully illustrated by the new American Time Use Survey, which the Bureau of Labor Statistics began implementing in 2003.

Most time-use surveys collect information on *activities*. They ask people what they are *doing*. This was true of the first time-use surveys developed by Alexander Szalai in the 1960s, and it remains true today.

But care is not always an activity; it's often a responsibility, a constraint on the alternative deployment of time. When a baby is sleeping, no one is actively engaged in a care activity with it. But someone must be nearby, on call. Furthermore, care responsibilities often entail indirect as well as direct forms of work.

This came through in discussions at this conference regarding the demands of caring for household members suffering from HIV/AIDS. The activity of actual care is complicated by the additional indirect care responsibilities of carrying the water and collecting the fuel and providing the household services that are necessary inputs into care. And the actual feeding and bathing of a sick person is compounded by the necessity of being on call, being available to help someone when they need it, even in the middle of the night.

Many paid jobs also involve responsibility rather than merely activity. Can you imagine paying a firefighter only for the time actually spent fighting fires? No. Firefighters spend most of their time *on call*.

In the new American Time Use Survey, it is possible to compare the time that individuals report spending in activities of child care with their answers to a broader question: "During the period of time between when the first child in your household woke up and when the last child went to bed, how much time was a child 'in your care'"? Answers to the broader question are more than twice—in many cases more than three times—as high.

We need to devote much more attention to the effect of the wording of questions regarding child care. It's not enough to simply measure primary activities of care, because respondents may not accurately report time that they were performing care as a "secondary" activity unless they are urged to do so. Moreover, there should be explicit efforts to go beyond the measurement of activity to the measurement of constraints on the allocation of time.

We also need to carefully analyze the intensity of care efforts. As Maria Floro has pointed out, multitasking is stressful. Yet time-use surveys tend to assume that an hour is just an hour, whether it involves one task or ten. When one adult cares for four children, both the inputs and the outputs are fundamentally different than when two adults care for one child. The ratio of adults to children, or of healthy adults to needy adults, is an important indicator of care "density."

Like others at this conference, I want to encourage efforts to calibrate quantitative and qualitative surveys. We need a better sense of how respondents in different countries interpret questions about their use of time, how they conceptualize care work and the demands it imposes upon them. Economists should work with anthropologists to develop a truly interdisciplinary approach.

Let me end with implications for measuring poverty, because we began the conference by talking about the Millennium Development Goals and elimination of poverty. Consider three households, all with a market income of \$30 a month. The first household consists of two adults and one child, with both adults employed full-time. The second household has the same demographic composition, but only one of the adults is employed. The third household consists of one adult in full-time employment and two children.

Using a standard per capita measure, all three households are equally well-off. Using conventional equivalence scales, the third is better off than the second, because children cost less to feed and clothe than adults do. But my analysis of nonmarket work and care costs leads me to a different ranking.

If we assume that an adult household member who does not work for pay devotes considerable time to nonmarket work, which is normally the case, the second household has the highest standard of living. In addition to its market income, it enjoys the nonmarket services of an adult. It is therefore better off than either single-earner household.

The third household is worse off than a consideration of food and clothing expenses alone would suggest because it has only one adult supporting two dependents, and—unless it enjoys assistance from another household—it must purchase care services for those dependents.

Valuation of care services improves the relative standard of living of households with a full-time caregiver, but it lowers the relative standard of living of households with many individuals who need care. This is why we need to think harder about how to value care.

Remember, valuing care is not the same as "commodifying" it, or suggesting that it could be produced in the market. Valuing care is simply a way of emphasizing how important it is to consider its replacement cost. We need to think about the well-being of our social and family environment in the same way that we think about the well-being and sustainability of our natural environment.

Please consider attending the meetings of the International Association for Feminist Economics, which will be happening next July in Sydney, Australia. This association has become a useful forum for efforts to think about the care sector of the economy. Thank you.

SESSIONS

Welcome and Introductory Remarks

Levy Institute President Dimitri B. Papadimitriou opened the first full day's events by recognizing Aster Zaoude, whose inspiration resulted in the convening of this conference. He proceeded to thank Diane Elson and Rania Antonopoulos, organizers of the event and members of the Gender Equality and the Economy Program of the Institute, before turning the floor over to Zaoude.

ASTER ZAOUDE of the Bureau for Development Policy, United Nations Development Programme, outlined the reasons for convening the conference. In order to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), it is vital to bring to bear a gender perspective on economic policy, she said. Such a perspective recognizes not only paid work, but also unpaid work. She also noted that the integration of the gender perspective into economic analysis and policy is difficult using existing frameworks.

Zaoude further noted her frustration regarding the costing of the MDGs, which include a long list of women's needs and concerns but neglect the gender transformation of overall policy. As an example of the costs of this neglect, she cited a report on southern Africa by Steven Lewis, Special Advisor to the UN Secretary General on HIV/AIDS, which showed the shift of costs from public services to women who cared for HIV/AIDS patients in their families and communities. We need to bring women's unpaid work to the attention of policymakers, she said. It is important to make consideration of the burdens of unpaid work a part of public expenditure policies and policies for transport and employment.

Zaoude called for policymakers to recognize and use the existing body of knowledge on time use and unpaid work. She encouraged the participants to share their time-use surveys and methodologies, and most importantly, to strategize on how to influence policies. The recognition of the links among unpaid work, gender, and poverty is extremely important for the UNDP, she said, since its business is to help the millions of people—more than half of the world's population—that live in poverty.

Senior Scholar DIANE ELSON of the Levy Institute explained that the conference was part of the Institute's new

Gender Equality and the Economy Program. One purpose of the program is to develop a dialogue between researchers and policy analysts. Time use and unpaid work are important dimensions of this program, together with gender and public finance, macroeconomic policy, and international trade.

Elson explained that the conference was designed to promote discussion between three groups: experts in the collection of time-use data, researchers who utilize time-use data to investigate unpaid work, and policy analysts and advisors in international development organizations. She suggested that a key challenge before the conference was to identify ways of enabling time-use data to "speak" more effectively in the policy process. It is vital to ensure that the time-use data being produced by national statistical offices does not just stay in their databases, but is used to show the extent of unpaid work and time poverty, and to inform policies on gender, poverty, and development. (For full text, see Appendix.)

Session 1

Why Is Unpaid Work Important for Development Policy?

The chair for this session was ASTER ZAOUDE, Bureau for Development Policy, UNDP. The speakers were Research Associate INDIRA HIRWAY, Centre for Development Alternatives, Ahmedabad, India; ALFRED LATIGO, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; and REBECA GRYNSPAN, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Mexico City. The discussant was CECILIA VALDIVIESO, UNDP Regional Centre, Colombo, Sri Lanka.

HIRWAY'S presentation focused on integrating unpaid work into development policy. She divided unpaid work into two parts: (1) the unpaid work that is included in the United Nations System of National Accounts (SNA), which is within the production boundary, as defined by the SNA; and (2) the unpaid work that falls outside the SNA production boundary (which divides economic work from noneconomic work) but within the general production boundary dividing work from nonwork activities. She argued that this type of unpaid work could be considered as within an Extended System of National Accounts (ESNA).

Hirway noted that the first category of unpaid work includes household production of goods for self-consumption and owner-occupied dwelling services, and was included in the SNA production boundary in 1993. It should be counted as part of GDP, alongside paid work. The inclusion of this unpaid work in the SNA leads to better estimation of macroeconomic aggregates, such as the workforce and total GDP, which in turn leads to a better understanding of the macro economy and better policies related to employment and the labor market.

The ESNA unpaid work includes providing services to other household members and voluntary work. This unpaid work is currently excluded from the measurement of the national economy on the grounds that it has limited repercussions for the rest of the economy, cannot easily be given a monetary value, and would undermine the usefulness of aggregates like GDP if included. Hirway questioned the validity of these arguments and stated that defining the scope of the SNA was an ongoing process.

SNA and ESNA activities are interlinked, and macro policies do not impact equally on them. Responsibility for ESNA work constrains the extent of women's labor market participation. It is important to expand the paradigm of national statistical systems to include ESNA activities in order to have a comprehensive view of the economy and include the full extent of unpaid work in policymaking and policy monitoring, she said. Time-use studies enable statisticians to measure both paid and unpaid work.

Hirway noted that there are hierarchies of paid and unpaid work, with unpaid work lacking not only pay, but also constraining opportunities for upward mobility, access to retirement pensions, and social protection. Unpaid work is unequally distributed between women and men, between poor and nonpoor people, and between regions. Policymakers should ensure that those who perform a large amount of unpaid work are not disadvantaged because of this.

Hirway was concerned about the impact of economic reforms on vulnerable groups in developing countries. A major limitation of previous studies was the failure to account for the impact of reforms on unpaid work. One example of misjudgment is fiscal policy that reduces fiscal deficits to meet targets but increases ESNA unpaid work related to health, education, and social welfare, as public services are cut. These issues are neglected because no data is collected on unpaid ESNA work. Economic adjustment policies increase women's burden of unpaid work as well as their paid work in economic activities. Three approaches that promote gender equality in the labor market are family-friendly work policies, financial compensation for child care, and policies that promote women's skills and productivity.

Children, as well as women, do a large amount of unpaid work. Time-use data on children in India have helped our understanding of the child labor problem by showing that children are engaged in unpaid household work and that this work may be a factor responsible for their absence from school.

Addressing unpaid work can help policymakers understand intrahousehold inequalities and formulate policies to break the vicious cycle of unpaid work and poverty. Analysis of Indian time-use data shows that poor people depend extensively on unpaid work (both unpaid SNA work and unpaid ESNA work). Because of this, they have less time for skill formation and cannot participate in the labor market on an equal basis with those who are not poor. Unpaid work has cycles just like paid work, but these cycles are the reverse of business cycles. So anticyclical policy needs to take this into account and protect people against excessive burdens of unpaid work in the downswing of the business cycle. Time-use data helps to establish that people engaged exclusively in unpaid work have a claim on national resources, so there should be budget allocation to improve the well-being of unpaid workers, including expenditure on social protection (e.g., retirement benefits to housewives); investment to reduce the drudgery of long hours spent collecting fuel, water and fodder; and support for the care of children, sick people, and the elderly.

It is vital to give visibility to unpaid work by conducting periodic time-use surveys and using the data in national policy formulation. Although a growing number of countries collect time-use data, many do not use the data when formulating policy. There is a need to continue to develop standardized concepts, methods, and analysis, including the classification of time-use activities. Organizations such as the International Labour Organization (ILO), United Nations Statistical Division (UNSD), and UNDP can take the lead in developing training materials and organizing capacity building programs. Hirway concluded that although a beginning has been made in including unpaid work in economic analysis, there is still a long way to go to secure its full integration.

Based on a coauthored paper with Mohammed Neijwa, LATIGO argued that time-use data has important implications for policy in terms of reforming statistical systems, promoting gender equality, enhancing women's employment and income, reducing gender bias in macroeconomic policies, and monitoring the impact of policies on household production and poverty. Latigo encouraged African development stakeholders to change their thinking about what constitutes "work" and "economic activity." He also recommended that governments introduce time-use studies as part of normal official data collection and harmonize labor-force and time-use surveys.

Women enter the labor force with a huge burden of unpaid work, so policies should be introduced that provide time- and labor-saving technologies, skills upgrading, and gender-sensitive infrastructure investments. Latigo warned that unpaid work of care providers could intensify as a result of government cutbacks in education, health, and social services, so there should be gender-responsive budgeting initiatives. Policy analysis and the design of poverty-reduction strategies often fail to recognize the distinct circumstances of men and women.

Latigo described a new round of harmonized annual time-use surveys to be introduced in Africa, and the application of these surveys in national time accounts and national satellite accounts of household production. The ultimate objective is to integrate gender perspectives and household production in national accounts, budgets, and policies, using gender-aware microsimulation and macroeconomic models.

Latigo noted that regular time-use studies enhance estimates of the size of the labor force and make possible estimates of the extent of unpaid work. However, the lack of time-use surveys is a significant data gap in statistical systems. To date, only six African countries have conducted time-use surveys, and they have not conducted them on a regular, ongoing basis. The authors reviewed the results of time-use surveys in Benin, Madagascar, Morocco, and South Africa. Taking account of unpaid work as well as paid work, they found that women work more than men in terms of total production. These results led to upward revisions in the estimates of participation rates of women in paid work and women's share in the labor market as well as an appreciation of the extent of their unpaid work. Latigo noted, however, that women lack equal access (compared to men) to time, health, education, finance, and other resources. He noted that in countries for which estimates exist, the value of unpaid household work as a proportion of GDP varies between 33 and 55 percent.

The new round of time-use surveys introduced by the ECA in six African countries recognizes the importance of unpaid work and uses a representative sample of up to 5,000 house-

holds. Cooperation among African statistical offices will allow economies of scale regarding coding, editing, tabulating, publishing, and preparing unit record files for research. The ECA has also produced a new Africa-specific guidebook on mainstreaming gender perspective in national accounts and budget policies, with an emphasis on unpaid household production.

Latigo explained that the time-use data would be used to derive a measure of gross household production (GHP) to set alongside the conventional measure of GDP. The goal is to create a common framework for market and household economies, and to measure the contribution of unpaid household production in the national economy.

The creation of national satellite accounts of household production in turn makes possible the building of genderaware models of a national economy. This enables governments to assess the comparative impact of their policies on women and men, taking account of both paid and unpaid work. The ECA is assisting governments to evaluate the impact of policies, using such models. This analysis has shown that the elimination of import tariffs in South Africa would reduce real wages for women by more than double that for men. It would also reduce labor market participation for women while increasing participation for men.

GRYNSPAN focused on the relevance of unpaid domestic work to economic and social policies. She noted that the economy is more than just the market, as households produce and distribute goods and services, and supply labor. The preferences of any society about what goods and services to produce imply an underlying distribution of paid and unpaid work. In the course of development, there is a decrease in the amount of unpaid work and an increase in the amount of paid work that people do.

Grynspan observed that poverty in middle-income countries in Latin America (such as Costa Rica, Panama, and Argentina) is increasing in households headed by women and that it would be 10 points higher without the contribution of women's income from paid work. She noted that men's participation in the labor market in Latin America is falling, while women's participation is rising.

Grynspan discussed the factors that determine the amount of unpaid work that is undertaken and how that work is combined with paid work. She differentiated between individual and collective strategies. Individuals make decisions on participation in the labor market depending on factors such as

the extent of their unpaid work, the structure of wages and employment, the distribution of resources within families, and the public policy on social protection and provision of public services. This tends to result in women being segregated into the informal sector of the labor market and the persistence of a gender wage gap, despite an increase in women's education. Indeed, in Latin America the gender wage gap is higher for women who are educated than for those who have very little education. Individual women struggle to reconcile the competing demands of paid and unpaid work using a variety of strategies, including reducing their goals for achievement in the workplace and as parents.

But the context for individual strategies can be improved by collective strategies that increase the provision of public services and social protections for people who undertake unpaid work. Policies that promote a better reconciliation of paid work and unpaid work depend on changes in social preferences, as articulated in political decision making.

Unfortunately, women are not well represented in the processes through which collective preferences are articulated. The only countries in Latin America that have been able to sustain political representation of women in parliament and the senate are countries that have pursued affirmative action. A lasting and egalitarian reconciliation of participation in the labor market and contribution to family life depends upon the construction of a new form of welfare state that builds gender equality into its architecture. This would support autonomy for women and the participation of men in unpaid work, and provide more extensive public services.

Session 2

Unpaid Work, the Care Economy, and the MDGs

The chair for this session was MEENA ACHARYA, Tanka Prasad Acharya Memorial Foundation. The speakers were Senior Scholar DIANE ELSON, Levy Institute and University of Essex, Great Britain; and Senior Scholar CAREN A. GROWN, Levy Institute. The discussant was RATHIN ROY, Bureau for Development Policy, UNDP.

ELSON'S presentation focused on unpaid work within the context of the MDGs and on analytical strategies to produce a more holistic understanding of poverty, inequality, and capital accumulation. She noted that the MDGs themselves mention neither paid nor unpaid work, though there are numerous references to both in several of the Millennium Project Task Force Reports. In addition, the report by Jeffrey Sachs, Director of the Millennium Project, does not address work in its vision of how the MDGs can be achieved. She clarified that the unpaid work included in the production boundary of the SNA should be counted in the GNP, and that remaining unpaid work, which falls within the general production boundary, should be included in a satellite account. Examples of the first type of unpaid work (SNA unpaid work) are unpaid work in family farms and enterprises to produce goods that are marketed; and unpaid work to produce goods for household consumption, including food, fuel, and water. Examples of the second type of unpaid work (called ESNA unpaid work by some analysts and non-SNA unpaid work by others) are services to other household members and to community members. These include housework services such as laundry, cleaning, and meal preparation; and also provision of care for children, the sick, and the elderly. With the exception of unpaid work in family farms and enterprises to produce marketed goods, unpaid work is nonmarket work.

Elson noted that the division of labor between paid and unpaid work and among varieties of unpaid work was organized by gender, and that people engaged primarily in unpaid work are at a disadvantage in a monetized world. The poor, in particular, are not free to choose their workload; and they are constrained by institutional regulations, social norms, and the necessity to cover basic consumption needs for both market and nonmarket products.

Elson described the links between capital accumulation, economic growth, and the MDGs in the vision of MDG achievement put forward in the Sachs report. This vision focuses on outputs, but not on the work that is done to produce outputs.

Since a full accounting of unpaid work would show higher levels of national and household income, Elson saw a need to recalibrate existing poverty lines to account for the nonmarket goods and services required to meet basic needs as well as for market goods and services. That is, poverty lines should take into account the fact that households do not just need to buy food, they also need to do unpaid work to turn the food into nourishing meals. She argued that without increases in the productivity of nonmarket work, MDG goals to eradicate extreme poverty, hunger, and child mortality, and to realize universal primary education are jeopardized.

The basic problem is that a sustainable capital accumulation process that generates increased tax revenues and increased foreign exchange to pay for MDG realization requires an increase in marketed output. But this either reduces the output and quality of nonmarketed output, or overburdens women and girls, requiring them to do more paid work while maintaining their unpaid work. The key solution is investment in appropriate infrastructure to reduce women's burdens; however, there are strong barriers to this approach, such as the lack of visibility of the nonmarket sector and the lack of voice and bargaining power of women.

Elson argued that it is vital to bring work, both paid and unpaid, into the discussion of strategies to realize the MDGs. The full picture of the amount of work being done in a country is only revealed by time-use surveys. Time-use data needs to be analyzed to show the distribution of paid and unpaid work by variables such as gender, age, income, activity, and location, in order to target, sequence, and design better public investments; to understand the constraints affecting poor people; to chart the unevenness of economic growth; and to broaden our understanding of poverty and inequality.

Elson outlined the various regimes under which paid and unpaid work are typically distributed between women and men during the process of capital accumulation. From the perspective of gender equality, women's empowerment, and overall well-being, the most desirable regime engages both men and women in earning and unpaid caring activities. This dual-earner, dual-care regime permits the reconciliation of work and family life, but it requires high investment in supportive public services and an appropriate design of tax, social welfare, and pension systems.

GROWN reviewed unpaid work and the MDGs, drawing upon the work of the Millennium Project Task Force, national MDG reports, and MDG costing exercises in selected countries. She introduced the seven strategic priorities for achieving MDG Goal 3, gender equality and women's empowerment, as identified by the Task Force. The Task Force report particularly focused on unpaid work in relation to investment in infrastructure (to reduce women's and girls' time burdens) and measures to eliminate gender inequality in employment. Indicators to track the success of initiatives in these areas include the number of hours per day that males and females spend fetching water and collecting fuel; the share of women in both wage and selfemployment by type; and gender gaps in earnings by type.

Grown noted that there was little recognition of unpaid work in country-level MDG reports: few countries among the 78 that have reports include unpaid work in their diagnostics or use data from time-use surveys, even when such data is available. Of the needs assessments that are carried out as the first stage of MDG costing exercises, only two of the countries that have conducted such assessments mention unpaid work (India and Ethiopia). This is far from satisfactory. She called for more efforts to produce and analyze time-use data in ways that are relevant to the MDGs, including time use as it relates to poverty status. The national-level MDG reports that did refer to time use often referred to time poverty but lacked a clear definition of time poverty.

Grown concluded with an illustration of how time-use data can throw light on what kinds of policies are required to achieve the MDGs. A study in Morocco showed that an investment critical to boosting the school enrollment rates of girls in a particular region was not, in fact, an investment in the education sector, but rather an investment in transport, which reduced the time it took girls to get to school. When girls no longer had to walk two hours to get to school, parents were less concerned about their safety and much more willing for their daughters to go to school.

Session 3

Unpaid Work, Poverty, and Well-Being

The chair for this session was CHRISTINE MUSISI, UNDP Regional Service Centre, Johannesburg, South Africa. The speakers were MARCELO MEDEIROS, UNDP, International Poverty Centre, Brasilia, Brazil; Research Scholar AJIT ZACHARIAS, Levy Institute; and SHAHRA RAZAVI, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), Geneva, Switzerland. The discussant was Research Associate NILÜFER ÇAĞATAY, University of Utah and The International Working Group on Gender, Macroeconomics, and International Economics (GEM-IWG).

Based on a paper coauthored with Joanna Costa, MEDEIROS presented the results of an analysis of time-use inequalities among urban adults in Brazil (2003) and Bolivia (2001), comparing the distribution of time spent in paid (market) work and in unpaid work in domestic tasks in households. The data are not from a special time-use survey, but from general household surveys that included some questions on time spent on paid and unpaid work.

Medeiros found that time allocation is strongly differentiated by gender. For example, women in Brazil spend just over half of their work time in unpaid work compared to only about one-tenth for men. Moreover, the distribution of time spent in both paid and unpaid work is unequal, with greater disparities in time allocated to paid work than unpaid work. In Bolivia, for example, more than one-quarter of the urban adult population does not engage in paid work, and 21 percent of men and 10 percent of women do not engage in unpaid household work.

Using Lorenz curves, Medeiros found that half of the urban adult population of Bolivia accounts for 10 percent of total paid work time, while less than 20 percent accounts for half of all unpaid household work time. He also found that age is less relevant than gender in explaining inequality in time distribution. Unpaid household work is distributed unequally between women and men, but the inequalities among men are higher than among women; 10 percent of men account for 40 percent of male unpaid household work time.

Using regression models, Medeiros analyzed the substitution effect on the allocation of time spent in unpaid household work in Brazil. Women's unpaid domestic work is negatively correlated to the time they spend in market work and positively correlated to the time their husbands spend in both domestic work and market work. An increase in women's labor market participation is associated with a sharp reduction in time they spend for personal and social activities, but with only a small decrease in the time they spend in unpaid domestic work.

As expected, children reinforce the allocation of time according to gender roles, so any measure that aims to reduce gender inequalities in time use must address the issue of child care. Higher education reduces engagement in household work for both men and women and increases female participation in the labor market. Medeiros suggested that highly educated women employ other women to substitute for them in domestic work.

Using U.S. census data from 1989 and 2000, ZACHARIAS explained how unpaid household labor is integrated into the Levy Institute's Measure of Economic Well-Being (LIMEW). He distinguished two types of unpaid household work: the work that produces new goods and services (such as meals and child care) and the work that consists of shopping and making payments ("procurement"). In his analysis, time spent in procurement work is not included in the measurement of household production. As a result, the aggregate value of household production and the relative contribution of population subgroups will likely differ in the LIMEW approach from the standard (official) approach to the evaluation of household production.

Zacharias outlined how the LIMEW model values household production by using a variant of the replacement-cost approach and adjusting for productivity differences between specialists performing the tasks for pay and household members doing the same tasks on an unpaid basis. The model uses the University of Maryland time-use surveys for 1985 and 1998-99 in combination with the Annual Demographic Supplement of the U.S. Census Bureau.

Zacharias compared unpaid household labor between 1989 and 2000 by family type and by the intrahousehold division of labor. He found that household labor increased by two hours over this period and that wives contributed much more time to this activity than husbands (although the ratio of wives' time to husbands' time declined during the period). The contribution of household labor to economic well-being fell for all family households without children, but rose for those with children. However, household labor in poor households with children contributed less to economic well-being in 2000 than in 1989.

Zacharias concluded by recommending the creation of satellite accounts for household labor and further investigation of the relationship between poverty and household labor.

RAZAVI discussed the relevance of women's unpaid work to social policy in developing countries. She supported a major rethinking of social policy because the current agenda of socialsector restructuring will likely entrench gender inequalities (in accessing social services and income supports) and do little to enhance capacities to provide care, both paid and unpaid.

Although the post-Washington Consensus seems to embrace concerns such as poverty reduction and social protection, Razavi questioned the assumption at the heart of the "embedded liberalism" model—that the deleterious effects of macroeconomic policies can be redressed through social policies. Within this framework, it is assumed that care work will shift to the formal (paid) sector, but this assumption does not reflect social realities. Unpaid care continues to be significant and mainly done by women, even in industrialized countries.

Razavi also critiqued the approach of "developmental" social policy. This approach, put forward in East Asia and South Africa, is built on "productivist logic," which does not acknowledge the importance of unpaid labor. It prioritizes those social expenditures that increase economic growth and employment, but does not include income transfers, such as child allowances, family benefits, and pensions. Razavi noted several issues that are forcing unpaid work onto the policy agenda: HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, and fertility decline and aging populations in Japan (and, to some extent, in South Korea). She noted that the lack of health and social infrastructure for HIV/AIDS patients in sub-Saharan Africa inflicts a "time famine" on women who provide unpaid care and limits their possibilities to engage in productive work. It is important, therefore, to reduce women's unpaid work burdens. Razavi highlighted a proposal from South Africa for community care work to be included in an expanded public works program so that caregivers are paid a wage. In Japan and South Korea, where there are concerns about who is going to care for the aging population, publicly financed care services for the elderly and for children have been expanded.

Razavi considered three examples of social policy reforms, the first being health sector reform. She contrasted mutual health insurance and social health insurance. Mutual health insurance schemes have tried to include the poor by pooling risks and providing exemptions, but most schemes have low participation rates and lack adequate financial backing without significant government subsidies. Contributory social insurance linked to employment is an alternative, but this tends to cover only workers in the formal sector of paid employment. It excludes those women who work in informal employment and those women who do not have paid work. However, in South Korea, social insurance has been reformed to be more inclusive. The South Korean National Health Insurance plan includes women who are not in the formal labor force, even those who are full-time housewives. The plan has achieved more equitable burden sharing. Lower income groups pay less than before while the highest income groups pay more than before.

Razavi next considered pension reform. She suggested that privatization has exacerbated gender-based exclusions and inequalities in pensions. She found many disadvantageous factors for women in Chile's private pension system because it is based on a contributory scheme in which benefits depend upon at least 20 years of full-time labor market participation. In comparison, South Africa's noncontributory, means-tested scheme (funded from general revenue) is well targeted in terms of race, gender, and location. Because they live longer and are poorer, three times as many women as men receive this pension. Those who have done a lot of unpaid work have a guarantee of partial economic security in old age.

The third reform considered by Razavi is family and child benefit programs. She discussed programs such as Oportunidades in Mexico, which provides a cash transfer to poor mothers who comply with program requirements on educating their children and improving their health. Such programs have increased school attendance and improved child nutrition. Critics point to problems associated with targeted interventions (e.g., community divisions), and to the fact that cash stipends do not resolve problems of inadequate public services or of women's access to income and economic security. Rather, stipends tend to reinforce gender stereotypes. In contrast, South Africa's "child support grant" program recognizes the great diversity of households in the country, and the grant is paid to the primary caregiver on behalf of the child, irrespective of whether the primary caregiver is the child's mother or not. More than half of all children aged 6 years or younger, including 71 percent of poor children, benefit from the grant. Unlike programs such as Oportunidades, no unpaid work is required from recipients of the grant.

Session 4

Unpaid Work, the Care Economy, and HIV/AIDS

The chair for this session was COUMBA MAR GADIO, UNDP, West Africa. The speakers were OLAGOKE AKINTOLA, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa; and TONY BARNETT, London School of Economics, Great Britain. The discussant was STEPHANIE URDANG, Development Connections, Inc.

Home-based care has become a national policy response to the HIV/AIDS crisis in many countries in southern Africa, noted AKINTOLA, but there is a lack of recognition of the burdens on caregivers.

The data sources used for his presentation are primarily from South Africa and include qualitative ethnographic studies of semirural communities near Durban, assessments of HIV/AIDS care programs in KwaZulu-Natal, and discussions with key players in southern Africa. The data indicate, among other things, that there has been an increase in caring for sick people at home (e.g., 50 percent of HIV/AIDS patients die at home in South Africa) and that primary caregivers are mainly women with a low level of education who have had to reduce their time spent in production, in spite of living in abject poverty. In many of the affected households, the water and sanitation infrastructure was poor and there was no food. In addition to family members, volunteers organized by a variety of groups (churches, NGOs, retired nurses, etc.) also provide care.

Akintola discussed the burden of home care on caregivers, including the psychological and emotional aspects, as well as the reluctance of caregivers to report stress due to sociocultural values. Many caregivers are at risk of infection since they lack protective devices. Caregivers also have to cope with an increased cost of living, a decrease in income from a loss of job opportunities, and funeral costs. There are greater physical and psychological burdens for children, and girls are typically withdrawn from school to care for the sick and dying.

Akintola stated a need to recognize that home-based care may be entrenching gender inequalities, and that limited male involvement in provision of care in the home is a major problem. He also noted that caring for people living with HIV/AIDS both undermines the well-being of family members and volunteers and exacerbates their poverty. Therefore, there is a need for resources, including financial resources, to provide for people providing unpaid care. Social development institutions and international development agencies should provide funding to pay volunteers and create career paths in care giving. Girls should be protected from providing home care because it jeopardizes their education. Patients should not be discharged to home care before there is an assessment of the ability of families to care for them. Currently, home-based care is often seen as a cheap alternative, but in reality, it shifts the costs of care from hospitals to caregivers.

BARNETT outlined the virus life cycle and the typical course of HIV infection leading to AIDS. He predicted that there would be 18 million orphans in Africa by 2010. He argued that HIV/AIDS is having a profoundly destructive effect on the social bonds that maintain societies.

Barnett criticized the way economists typically assess the costs of HIV/AIDS, which is by focusing only on the paid economy. As an example, he cited a study of the impact of HIV/AIDS on labor productivity at tea estates in Kenya. The study ignored the impact on the unpaid household economy, in which tea workers and other family members produce food for their own consumption (in the process, subsidizing the commercial sector). The costs that the study omitted included the costs of dying, the costs of orphan care, and the costs of weakening social bonds.

Economists suggest that the AIDS-related reduction of GDP per capita in sub-Saharan Africa is in the range of 1 to 2 percent per year. Standard economic methods largely exclude the nonmoney economy and the "noneconomic" work of reproducing societies. This understates the full costs of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Barnett called for an exploration of a wider approach to understanding costs, including contributions from the new literature on happiness and economics, and from analysis of time budgets. It is also important to focus on social reproduction—the social structures that keep a community going. The answers have important operational implications for the allocation of HIV/AIDS resources as well as the rationing and distribution of antiretroviral drugs. Barnett concluded that we must consider nonmarket costs and benefits because we are dealing with the valuation of other people's lives.

Session 5

Unpaid Work and Employment Strategies

The chair for this session was BHARATI SILAWAL, UNDP, Nepal. The speakers were NAOMI CASSIRER, Program on Conditions of Work and Employment, International Labour Organization (ILO); Research Associate IMRAAN VALODIA, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa; and NANAK KAKWANI, Director of the International Poverty Centre, UNDP, Brasilia, Brazil. The discussant was Levy Institute President DIMITRI B. PAPADIMITRIOU.

CASSIRER discussed the promotion of gender equality through "decent work," that is, work that recognizes responsibilities for unpaid work. Such responsibilities determine participation and time spent in paid work as well as the type and location of paid work. The policy challenge is how to reduce the constraints of unpaid work to improve women's employment opportunities and allow them to be financially independent. She noted that women's earnings are often essential for raising families out of poverty.

Cassirer outlined recommendations from the 1981 ILO Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, in conjunction with other ILO standards. The Convention calls for governments to take measures that enable workers to engage in employment without suffering discrimination on account of their family responsibilities, and to reconcile family and work responsibilities. The measures should also take into account the needs of workers with family responsibilities, in terms of working conditions, social security, community planning, and the development of public and private community services, such as child care. Additional measures should include vocational guidance and training to enable reentry to the labor force, education and information to promote public awareness, and guarantees that family responsibilities are not a valid reason for termination of employment.

The focus of the convention was not just on making the workplace family friendly, but also on treating family responsibilities as collective responsibilities, not just individual responsibilities. The collective responsibility implies lightening the unpaid work load, recognizing men's role in providing care for other family members, and promoting more equal sharing of family responsibilities between men and women.

The low value placed on unpaid work spills over into low pay for similar work done on a paid basis (e.g., child care, health services, cleaning). Women are concentrated in these forms of employment, which are characterized by high turnover, poor working conditions, and few social protections. The ILO addresses all of these problems through the idea of "decent work," which includes maintaining dignity and rights in the workplace, social protection, and voice and representation.

Cassirer concluded that it was necessary to complement time-use surveys with the development of policy frameworks. She observed that one could not assume that policymakers are aware of the significance of unpaid work and the interrelationships between paid and unpaid work.

Based on a coauthored paper with Richard Devey, VALODIA presented the results of a preliminary analysis of how time spent on paid work is affected by time spent on unpaid work. The analysis was based on a time-use survey in South Africa in 2000, which was representative of the total population and included 8,564 households (14,553 respondents). Activities were divided into 30-minute time slots and coded according to a trial UN classification system that was appropriate for developing countries yet consistent with the United Nations SNA. Ten broad duction, and nonproductive activities (e.g., leisure and personal care).

Valodia explained that his study used data from a subsample of the national survey comprising households in which there was data for two employed members of the household, one male and one female. Employment was classified as formal or informal, and household income was classified in three categories: ultrapoor, poor, and nonpoor. The analysis showed that time-use patterns are linked to both gender and type of paid employment. Women spend more time on unpaid work and less time on paid work than men, irrespective of the employment combinations and income category the household falls into. However, women tend to spend less time on unpaid work in nonpoor households, probably because they employ domestic workers. Men's time use also differs by income category. Men in informal employment in ultrapoor and poor households spend the highest amount of time (compared to both men and women) on nonwork activities and the smallest amount of time (compared to men) on paid work. Lack of access to paid work did not result in men undertaking relatively more unpaid work; rather, their wives carried the high burdens of unpaid work.

The study also investigated the constraints that lack of infrastructure places on participation in paid work. It found that women, particularly those living in rural areas, spend a significant amount of time collecting fuel and water (up to 4.6 hours per day). Women living in poor rural households, however, are able to dramatically increase their time spent on paid work if they do not have to collect fuel and water.

Valodia concluded that time-use surveys are important for probing issues of gender and employment in developing countries. His subsequent work will explore the causal relationships between gender, employment, and time use.

Based on a coauthored work with Hyun H. Son, KAKWANI presented an analysis of gender discrimination and segregation in the labor markets (paid work) of Vietnam (2004), Thailand (2002), and South Africa (2002). The determinants of earnings are hours of work, education, work experience, location, and ethnicity. In all three countries, males undertook more hours of paid work per week, but the gap was not large in Vietnam and Thailand. In almost all cases in the three countries, the hourly earnings of men were higher than those of women with the same level of education.

Using Atkinson's welfare function (which allows for different weights to be given to different incomes) and comparing welfare enjoyed by men and women, Kakwani measured the extent to which welfare is lost because of inequality. He decomposed the loss into that attributable to occupational segregation and that attributable to labor market discrimination.

He found that segregation is less important than discrimination in all three countries but relatively more significant in South Africa than in Vietnam or Thailand. Kakwani plans to

apply his methodology to other countries for comparative purposes and to formulate policies that reduce gender disparity.

Session 6

Unpaid Work, the Care Economy, and Investment in Infrastructure

The chair for this session was Research Associate MARIA S. FLORO, American University and GEM-IWG. The speakers were NALINI BURN, UN consultant on unpaid work, poverty, and gender budgeting; ASLIHAN KES, International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), Washington, D.C.; and LEKHA CHAKRABORTY, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy (NIPFP), India, and GEM-IWG. The discussant was MARK BLACKDEN, Poverty Reduction and Economic Management, Africa Region, World Bank.

Burn addressed the interconnections between the use of human time and energy and access to energy resources. She described the Multifunctional Platform (MFP), a simple diesel engine with a range of tools that can be used in a variety of ways to improve the productivity of unpaid work and reduce women's time burdens. MFPs are being introduced in West Africa and set up as small-scale energy enterprises. Owned by a women's association and managed by a remunerated committee, the MFPs are providing a flow of services at the village level. The introduction of an MFP is preceded by a participatory feasibility study of the ability and willingness of women and men to buy the end-use equipment and pay for energy services. The women who run an MFP are trained in record keeping and bookkeeping as well as in the operation of the equipment.

Burn discussed how MFPs address the gendered energy poverty trap (i.e., the fact that you need money to access modern energy services to stop depletion of your own time and energy, but you need to find time and energy to get the money in the first place). She outlined strategies for showing policymakers why investment in facilities like MFPs is important. These strategies included exercises to analyze the full cost to poor people of producing meals, including time spent fetching water and firewood; grinding, pounding, and de-husking basic foods; collecting wild ingredients; and cooking, serving, and cleaning up. Through such exercises, they could understand that the total cost per meal is high, with low productivity. This information can then be used to examine gendered poverty and equality within state budgets in order to promote investment that addresses infrastructure deficits and produces genderresponsive results. She outlined the many challenges in making state budgets gender-responsive, including input-driven budgeting systems and the division between capital and recurrent budgets; inadequate monitoring and auditing systems; and a supply-driven, rather than user-driven, approach to investment in infrastructure.

Work in progress to overcome some of these challenges includes budgetary reforms (enlarging macroeconomic frameworks and shifting to result-based budgeting) and decentralization (including adaptation of localized MDGs and community-based monitoring systems). Additional measures include the introduction of time-use surveys and other data quality improvements (e.g., the measurement of the energy intensity of activities). Burn recommended that designing a strategy to invest in MFPs should involve local planners and policymakers, and that the strategy should ensure a strong data-policy-action linkage.

Based on a coauthored paper with Hema Swaminathan, KES discussed gender and time poverty in sub-Saharan Africa. She noted that competing claims on an individual's time require trade-offs between time spent in unpaid work and other activities. Using national time-use surveys for Benin (1998), South Africa (2000), Madagascar (2001), and Mauritius (2003), and a Living Standards Survey from Ghana (1998–99), Kes reported that women work longer per day and spend more time on care activities than men. For instance, women spend thirteen times more time on child care in South Africa then do men, seven times more in Benin, six times more in Madagascar, three times more in Mauritius, and twice as much time in Ghana. In South Africa, women spend three times longer than women in the other countries on unpaid caring for adults, the handicapped, and elderly people, which is probably a reflection of the higher prevalence of HIV/AIDS in South Africa than in the other countries under discussion. Inadequate infrastructure for transport, water, sanitation, and energy contribute to women's time poverty. Women spend more time than men on collecting water and firewood, except in Madagascar, where boys do more firewood collection. Children spend more time than adults in collecting water.

Kes gave two examples of the benefits of investment in a better infrastructure. In Mbade in eastern Uganda, a study showed that if wood lots were within 30 minutes of the homestead and the water source within 400 meters, women and girls would save more than 900 hours per year. The introduction of MFPs in Mali saved women's time and allowed them to do more income-generating activities, increasing their incomes by a daily average of \$0.47.

Kes recommended that women should be involved in the planning and implementation of infrastructure projects and that poor women should have better access to affordable infrastructure.

CHAKRABORTY reviewed the implications of time-use data for public investment. She noted that unpaid work and leisure are not affected by changes in socioeconomic variables in the same way. Therefore, it is important to move from a twofold classification of time into work and leisure to a three-fold classification: work in the market, unpaid work, and leisure. This disaggregation has important implications when integrating the unpaid economy into economic modeling and formulating macropolicy. Time-use statistics can be used to identify complementary public expenditure. For example, a study in Madagascar found that 83 percent of the girls who did not go to school spent their time collecting water, while only 58 percent of the girls who attended school spent time collecting water. Thus, investing in the water supply infrastructure is likely to improve the educational enrollment rate of girls.

Data on time allocation across selected developed and developing countries show that non-SNA work (referred to by some analysts as ESNA work) takes up almost as much time as SNA work in many countries, but it takes up a much larger share of women's total work time than of men's.

A time-use survey in six states in India (1998–99) revealed that men spend about 41.9 hours per week in SNA work compared to 18.7 hours by women. The corresponding hours per week for non-SNA work are 3.6 and 34.6, respectively. The survey showed that, on average, rural males spend virtually no time collecting water. Changes in the availability of water infrastructure could lessen women's and girls' burdens in fetching water and increase their time in the market economy or in education.

Chakraborty reported on the results of a study that valued time spent on non-SNA work, using the cost of hiring someone to carry out these tasks. The value of time spent on non-SNA work by women ranges from 41 percent of the state domestic product (SDP) in Madhya Pradesh to almost 23 percent in Tamil Nadu. The value of non-SNA work undertaken by men, as a proportion of SDP, was 6 percent in Madhya Pradesh and 3.5 percent in Tamil Nadu.

Chakraborty concluded that efforts to produce gendersensitive budgets should include lifting the veil of statistical invisibility from unpaid work and integrating it into macropolicies. Fiscal policy, especially capital expenditures for infrastructure, can redress the time burden of women. Allocations of finance in the budget need to be tracked to see what impact they actually have on women's time use.

Session 7

Issues in Time-Use Measurement I

The chair for this session was NANAK KAKWANI, UNDP, Brasilia, Brazil. The speakers were Research Associate Indirahirway, Centre for Development Alternatives, Ahmedabad, India; JACQUES CHARMES, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD), France; and MEENA ACHARYA, Tanka Prasad Acharya Memorial Foundation, Nepal. The discussant was JOANN VANEK, Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO).

HIRWAY discussed how time-use data could be used to more accurately estimate GDP, prepare national time accounts, and develop social indicators. She outlined production, expenditure, and income approaches to measuring GDP, and noted that national account compilations are often a patchwork of approaches. They also tend to undercount the informal economy, she noted. The informal economy covers a large variety of economic activities and is not captured adequately by conventional labor force surveys. Rather than add supplementary questions to labor force surveys, Hirway recommended the use of time-use surveys, which have a clear advantage in accounting for workers in the informal economy. Better measurement of the numbers of people in informal work can improve the GDP estimates in countries in which output of the informal economy is calculated by multiplying an estimate of average productivity by number of workers in the informal economy.

Hirway noted that the revision to the SNA in 1993 added several nonmarket activities (such as collecting fuel and water) but that most developing countries have yet to include these activities in the calculation of their national income because of data problems and unresolved questions about the valuation of time spent in unpaid work. She outlined the input and output methods for valuing unpaid work. The output method seems to be more acceptable conceptually because it fits the output-based approach of the national accounts, but data on output

are lacking. Most countries that have valued unpaid work have used the input method, valuing the inputs of unpaid time at the wage rate that would have to be paid for these inputs in the labor market. Using this approach, decisions have to be made about whether to use the generalist wage rate or a specialist wage rate, and whether to adjust for differences between the productivity of market and nonmarket work.

Time-use data are the starting point for creating a satellite account to measure unpaid work that is outside the SNA (labeled ESNA work by Hirway). A few countries have produced satellite accounts, which show that ESNA activities are comparable in value with those counted in the GDP.

Another useful instrument is a national time account that provides information on how individuals, households, and the country as a whole allocate time among SNA activities, ESNA activities, and non-SNA activities (personal care, leisure, sleep, education). However, Hirway noted that as of yet, there is no internationally agreed list of activities, so the structure of national time accounts is not standardized. Hirway called for the analysis of the distribution of time disaggregated by socioeconomic group and location. Social indicators can be developed from time-use data in terms of time poverty and time stress, human development, and gender equality.

Hirway concluded that time-use data have immense possibilities, but that only a few of these have been tapped so far. She suggested that the United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD), ILO, and UNDP take leading roles by promoting networking among time-use experts in developed and developing countries.

CHARMES presented some key findings from six national time-use surveys that have been conducted in Africa in recent years. He explained that the African Centre for Gender and Development at the UN Economic Commission for Africa would soon launch a program of continuous time-use household surveys in South Africa, Uganda, Cameroon, and Djibouti. He discussed some of the technical issues related to surveying time use among populations with no clocks, as well as seasonality, sampling procedures (e.g., survey timing and frequency), and ways to account for overlapping and simultaneous activities. He noted, for example, that caring for children often takes place at the same time as other activities, such as paid work, preparing meals, or socializing. The time spent caring for children is very often underreported as a result.

Charmes found that time-use surveys were not effectively used for analytical purposes. It was rare to find analysis of time use by socioeconomic status of household head, by household income categories, by education and health status of the individuals, or by proximity to infrastructure. Moreover, policymakers did not use the available data. He expressed a need to improve national institutional awareness of the significance of time-use surveys and to conduct more frequent time-use surveys.

ACHARYA outlined the process of designing the 2001 Nepal Census to ensure that it covered all the activities, both paid and unpaid, included in the 1993 United Nations SNA. The design sought to redress previous deficiencies (e.g., women's work not counted due to cultural biases). Making the census gender sensitive is part of a larger exercise by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) to improve the quality of census data. The project also includes the establishment of an interagency group involving the UNDP, UNIFEM, the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), and UNICEF. The questionnaire includes new definitions and categories that are designed to make women's work more visible. For example, full-time students and housewives fall in the economically active category if they work at least one hour per day for 15 days during the reference year. In terms of capturing unpaid economic activities and accounting for multiple economic activities (which are characteristic of subsistence economies), the reforms are positive from a gender perspective, observed Acharya.

Accounting for multiple activities in the 2001 census resulted in the inclusion of an additional 1.5 million people who performed some economic activity. Women's economic activity rates increased by 18 percentage points, and men's by 8 percentage points. Taking into account all work, both paid and unpaid, a larger proportion of women work than men (72.4) versus 66.5 percent) and more girls work than boys (22 versus 12 percent). A realistic evaluation of women's work requires more detailed questions about total work rather than focusing only on work included in the SNA, suggested Acharya.

Acharya noted that the 2001 census improved data on women's share of employment and made women's work more visible. Women's share in the labor force increased from 34.6 percent to 43.2 percent in the period from 1981 to 2001. The census also revealed that women are concentrated in agriculture (48.1 percent) and have a low share of administrative, technical, professional, and clerical occupations. The census showed that women constitute 22.4 percent of workers with wages and 50.2 percent of nonwage workers (employers, the self-employed, and family workers). Unfortunately, Acharya's recommendation to collect separate data for the different categories of nonwage workers was not followed.

Acharya noted that the recall method was preferred over the diary method when conducting time-use studies in developing countries with low levels of literacy and education. She also noted that regular conduct of large-scale time-use surveys is beyond the finances and infrastructure of the CBS in Nepal. The country, however, has experience in collecting and analyzing time-budget information in small-scale case studies and as part of labor force surveys. She concluded that much can be done to improve the coverage provided by census data of the total amount of work, both paid and unpaid, done by women and children.

Session 8

Issues in Time-Use Measurement II

The chair for this session was MARIJKE VALZEBOER-SALCEDO, United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). The speakers were VALERIA ESQUIVEL, Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento, Buenos Aires, Argentina, and GEM-IWG; HRACHYA PETROSYAN, State Council on Statistics, Republic of Armenia; and Research Associate MARIA S. FLORO, American University, Washington, D.C., and GEM-IWG. The discussant was Research Scholar HYUNSUB KUM, Levy Institute.

ESQUIVEL discussed the issues involved in designing a time-use survey for Buenos Aires. She outlined the approaches and methods of existing time-use surveys in Latin America. The task survey method had been used for all time-use surveys to date, with the exception of Cuba, which used the activity diary method. She noted that self-administered questionnaires are extremely demanding on respondents and tend to produce high nonresponse rates. She also noted that all surveys (except Cuba's) were ad hoc modules attached to household or labor market surveys. The ad hoc modules facilitate making links between time-use data and data on socioeconomic status.

Esquival outlined the objectives, characteristics, advantages, and weaknesses of the task survey and diary methods as options for the design of the forthcoming Buenos Aires Time-Use Study (BATUS). The objectives of the task survey method include making women's unpaid domestic work visible and measuring time use in the home production of goods and services consumed by household members. An advantage of

this method is the simplicity of a yes/no questionnaire, as well as its comparability with other Latin American surveys. The weaknesses include results for time use that do not add up to—or exceed—24 hours; an inability to differentiate simultaneous activities or account for repetitive tasks; and results that are sensitive to the way activities are listed.

In terms of the diary method (completed through an interview), the objectives include gathering information on the division of paid and unpaid work between women and men, an understanding of the dynamics of (invisible) productive activities (e.g., subsistence or informal work), and the use of time by different individuals on different days. The advantages of an interview rather than a self-administered diary include a diminished workload for respondents, a lower non-response rate, the capture of simultaneous activities and the relationship between paid and unpaid work, and compliance with UN recommendations. The weaknesses include a greater demand on sample design and fieldwork, as well as the loss of intrahousehold information.

The 2005 BATUS aims to have the lowest possible nonresponse rate, to be representative of the Buenos Aires population, and to follow UN recommendations. Prospective tasks include fieldwork training and adapting the classification of activities to Buenos Aires.

PETROSYAN presented an account of unpaid work and gender inequality in Armenia. He noted that the constitution gives women equal rights, but in reality, women's rights are violated in terms of decision making, labor and employment, business, and the family.

In 2003, the National Statistical Service of Armenia conducted a time-use survey of women and men between the ages of 15 and 80. The survey found that more men are involved in paid employment than women (65 versus 34 percent) and that men spend about three hours more per day in paid employment than women. When also accounting for unpaid work, however, women work more hours than men (by almost 1.5 hours per day) because they do almost all of the housework and child care. Shopping and travel related to housework is evenly divided between women and men.

Armenian women spend five times more time than men on unpaid work. Men have more free time than women during the week and on the weekend, and they are able to make a clear distinction between work and free time. The statistics indicate that a redistribution of housework in terms of responsibility and time is necessary because housework is a barrier to equal employment opportunities for women, stated Petrosyan. In most sectors of the market economy, women earn only 50-55 percent of what men earn.

Based on a coauthored paper with Marjorie Miles, FLORO discussed the significance of overlapping activities in time-use studies. Floro used a subsample of 1,983 two-adult households (3,966 individuals) from the 1992 Australian Time-Use Survey. In this survey, respondents were asked to keep time diaries for randomly chosen 24-hour periods, and to record not only their main activity, but also any other activities undertaken simultaneously; where they were; and who was with them.

As shown in other time-use studies, Australian women engage in labor market activities to a lesser extent than men, both in terms of the participation rate and average time spent. Women spend more time in child care, domestic work, and shopping.

Floro's analysis showed that the extent of overlapping activities in time use was significant, and that women are more likely to overlap activities than men (e.g., child care is often combined with other activities). Overlapping work activities contribute, on average, about 32 percent of the total working time (paid and unpaid) of the individuals in the subsample. Overlapping means that people can perform more work in a given time. For women, overlapping allowed them to stretch their time by between 8 and 15 percent; for men, time was stretched from between 3 and 7 percent. Nearly twice the proportion of women to men performs additional domestic chores as overlapping or secondary activities (30 versus 18 percent).

The presence and significance of overlapping activities imply that time-allocation decisions are more complicated than normally assumed in existing models. Demographic factors, educational attainment, cultural norms, individual earnings, and employment influence the length and intensity of overlapping. A surprising result is that part-time or unemployed workers overlap more work activities than fully employed workers.

Floro concluded that omitting overlapping activities seriously underestimates the contributions of individuals, especially in nonmarket production. It is important to accurately measure time use, since overlapping activities can intensify work and affect individual stress levels. A more informed understanding of how individuals organize their daily lives can provide a better assessment of the effects of economic and social policies on labor markets, consumption patterns, and individual well-being.

Session 9

Issues in Accounting for Unpaid Work

The chair for this session was Senior Scholar CAREN A. GROWN, Levy Institute. The speakers were BARBARA FRAUMENI, University of Southern Maine; MÓNICA OROZCO, Ministry of Social Development, Mexico; and EUGENIA GOMEZ LUNA, Instituto Nacional de Estadistica, Geografia e Informatica (INEGI), Mexico. The discussant was Research Scholar AJIT ZACHARIAS, Levy Institute.

FRAUMENI focused on the importance of nonmarket accounts when examining the sources of economic growth and the role of women in the economy. Considering both market and nonmarket activities is critical to achieving the MDGs, she said. The division between what is included in market and nonmarket accounts can be arbitrary (e.g., imputing the value of owner-occupied housing and including it in the market account [6 percent of U.S. GDP] but omitting the value of consumer-durable services, which would amount to about 8 percent of U.S. GDP). In addition, movements of activities from nonmarket to market accounts lead to an overstatement of the GDP growth rate. The female participation rate in the U.S. labor force almost doubled between 1950 and 2000, and this shift is associated with a change of several activities from the nonmarket to market sector (e.g., child care), rather than a real increase in output.

Ideally, nonmarket accounts should include all unpaid activities, not just unpaid work. Household production accounts do not include education, health care, or childbearing activities that represent human capital formation. These activities should be included in nonmarket accounts, which are wider in scope than household production accounts.

The key to the construction of nonmarket accounts is information on time use, such as the American Time Use Survey. The central problem is valuing nonmarket activities, since there are no monetary transactions and indirect and proxy monetary measures have shortcomings. Fraumeni outlined commonly used valuation methods for labor inputs that use market-wage proxies—the generalist, specialist, and opportunity-cost approaches. She noted that all approaches use average wages, which can overstate the value of time. She also noted that a U.S. Committee on National Statistics (CNSTAT) panel recommended a productivity-adjusted replacement wage method to value time spent in household production, time spent by parents educating their children, and volunteer work. An opportunity-cost wage is recommended for time spent in education by students and by individuals in maintaining or improving their health.

Fraumeni suggested that nonlabor inputs to nonmarket activities should be included in nonmarket accounts (e.g., capital services and energy), and that these accounts should be comparable with market accounts and constructed to avoid double counting. She presented various options to determine output values for three sets of accounts—household production, education accounts, and health accounts—described in the book *Beyond the Market: Designing Nonmarket Accounts for the United States.* Fraumeni recommended the addition of a human capital account, which would include bearing children, to the menu of nonmarket accounts.

OROZCO studied the economic contribution of women in Mexico using a subsample of the 2002 National Income and Expenditure Survey in association with a module for time use. The data sources allowed her to integrate socioeconomic information, especially income distribution and poverty, with time-use analysis. The focus of her research was identifying the kind of activities that overburden women with domestic work and the ways differences among women are related to income and poverty.

Orozco found that women spend most of their working time on unpaid domestic work, while men are engaged in the labor market. Children increase a woman's time, but not a man's time, in unpaid household activities by 11 hours per week, or 24 percent, for households with three children under the age of 12. Poor women spend twice the amount of time in food preparation as nonpoor women. Lack of infrastructure increases women's unpaid work. For example, no running water increases women's unpaid household work by 3 hours per day, while a stove, microwave, and freezer can save 7 hours per week. Many poor households lack even basic infrastructure. She also found that women who participate in the labor market continue to do a significant amount of unpaid domestic work (6 hours per day), which results in a total working day of 14 hours. Men enjoy an additional four hours per week in leisure activities compared to women.

An important government program against poverty is *Oportunidades*, which includes an educational component that seeks to increase school participation and reduce the gender gap in school attendance. The time-use survey showed that the receipt of an educational scholarship by a poor student results

in a doubling of study hours (from 17 to 32 hours per week), a closing of the study hours gap between girls and boys, and a reduction in time spent on household activities, particularly for girls (by 8 hours per week, on average).

Orozco explained that the usual way to measure the economic value of unpaid domestic work in Mexico is to use average salaries for each kind of work, based on the National Employment Survey, as a proxy for the value of unpaid household work. Since there is selection bias using this approach to measure the opportunity cost of time spent in household work, she corrected the bias using the Heckman specification. She estimated that the annual value of unpaid domestic activities by women, using an opportunity-cost approach, amounted to approximately 17 percent of GDP. Caring for children and the sick amounted to another 5 percent of GDP.

Orozco concluded that good policy design, which includes incentives and effective implementation, produces results. She surmised that policymakers are unaware that the lack of household infrastructure significantly affects women's unpaid domestic work but not men's. While labor force participation requires child care support today, it will require more elder care support in the future (the 70+ population group will increase from 3.8 percent in 2005 to 8 percent in 2050).

GOMEZ LUNA described a methodology to create a satellite account of unpaid work using the results of time-use surveys for Mexico. The reasons for measuring unpaid work include the need to measure the total economy and reconcile the social and economic spheres, and to link reproductive activity and economic production. For example, it is important that policy-makers know what services are being transferred from the public sector to the household sector as a result of the fiscal policies adopted in response to globalization.

Gomez Luna also described the economy from a woman's viewpoint, showing how unpaid domestic work in households and unpaid volunteer work in NGOs contributes to the circular flow of income. She noted, however, that unpaid work is not able to cushion households completely in times of economic crisis or make up for the loss of public services.

In order to construct a satellite account for Mexico, Gomez Luna used time-use surveys for 1996 and 2002 and the National Survey on Household Income and Expenditure. Voluntary work was not included in the time-use surveys, and so could not be included in the satellite account. She found that women spend more time than men in most unpaid services (with the

exception of water and fuel collection and keeping domestic animals). The value of unpaid household services represented 19.5 percent of GDP in 2002 and was comparable in value to the contributions of manufacturing and commerce (the percentage is different from that shown in Orozco's paper—17 percent because Gomez Luna used a somewhat different definition of unpaid domestic work). Gomez Luna also found that women contributed 82.5 percent of the total value of unpaid work. She noted that the relative value of unpaid services was higher in 1996 (22.7 percent of GDP) because the market economy was in a poor state and unemployment was high.

Gomez Luna concluded that satellite accounts are an important tool for designing and analyzing economic and social policies in Mexico. The national budget is incomplete if it does not consider indicators linked to unpaid work. Only this will provide a total picture of the economy.

Session 10

Including Unpaid Work in Economic Modeling

The chair for this session was MARTHA MELESSE, International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Canada. The speakers were Research Scholar RANIA ANTONOPOULOS, Levy Institute and New York University; and Research Associate MARZIA FONTANA, University of Sussex, Great Britain. The discussant was HAMIDOU POUFON, Ministry of Economy and Finance, Cameroon.

ANTONOPOULOS outlined the importance of gender-aware modeling in macroeconomic analysis. The standard macroeconomic models consist of three types of markets (goods and services, labor inputs, and financial assets) and three types of economic agents (households, firms, and government). The purpose of gender-aware macroeconomic analysis is to show how macroeconomic policy impacts differentially on women and men, as well as to show how gender differences impact macroeconomic outcomes. This kind of analysis requires extending the scope of the economy to include the unpaid household economy in addition to the monetized (paid) economy.

Antonopoulos introduced three types of gender-aware macroeconomic modeling strategies. The first is the genderdisaggregation method, which highlights differences in behavior between women and men in investment, savings, and consumption. The gender-variable method recognizes existing patterns of gender biases (e.g., discrimination in the labor, credit, and

goods markets). A third method divides the economy into two sectors: (1) productive (traditional macroeconomic variables) and (2) reproductive (unpaid labor, nonmonetized goods and services, and human resource production). Antonopoulos noted that these three methods have been used in articles in the 1995 and 2000 World Development special issues on "Gender, Macroeconomics, and Globalisation" and "Gender, Adjustment, and Macroeconomics," edited by Çağatay, Elson, and Grown. She also noted that it is important to complement analytical models with empirical models. An important step is to introduce gender into the social accounting matrix (SAM).

A social accounting matrix has the advantage of capturing income distribution and consumption relationships, as well as the production relationships of standard input-output models, in an internally consistent manner. The process of gendersensitizing a SAM includes the disaggregation of labor by gender and skill level, and the inclusion of unpaid care work (identified through time-use studies). Household classifications in the SAM should be carried out in a way that highlights the distinctive economic and social characteristics of women and men.

Antonopoulos noted that the Levy Institute Measure of Economic Well-Being (LIMEW) uses a social accounting matrix methodology that includes unpaid household production as well as goods and services supplied by businesses and the state. She suggested two principle ways to enhance the usefulness of the LIMEW and other SAMS: (1) incorporate the possibility of depletion of human capabilities within the household sector by gender; and (2) keep track of gender inequalities in household production time allocation.

FONTANA focused on the ways in which computable general equilibrium (CGE) models can be made gender-aware. These models emphasize the interactions and feedback effects among sectors and are effective tools for making time-use data "speak." A gender-aware CGE model shows how the time of men and women is allocated between work in the market, social reproduction (i.e., non-SNA work in the household), and leisure.

She noted some of the limitations of CGE models, but suggested that they can nevertheless be used to generate important insights into how economies function. Unpaid non-SNA household production and leisure time can be incorporated into CGE models as additional sectors that respond to price incentives in a similar way to market sectors of production. The gender division of labor can be included in the model by incorporating constraints on the substitutability of male and female labor.

Fontana presented the results of the application of a genderaware CGE model to Bangladesh. The model was used to calculate the impact of a threefold increase in female-intensive manufactured exports. The effect on women's time use was an increase in time spent in market activities (8.9 percent) and a decrease in time spent in social reproduction (-3.6 percent) and leisure (-6.4 percent). In terms of output, this corresponded to an increase in market output of 2.9 percent, a decrease in non-SNA household output of 2.8 percent, and a decrease in "output" of leisure of 8.7 percent. The model also indicated a reduction in the gender wage gap.

Fontana noted that the model indicated that the market outcomes were good for women, but that these outcomes were obtained at the cost of a decline in women's leisure and of the production of care and other services in households. In other words, the impact on overall well-being is more complex than is revealed by market outcomes alone.

Fontana made a number of suggestions on how to improve gender-aware CGE models. These included the incorporation of a detailed breakdown of the activities of the unpaid sector, a more explicit link between care and labor force productivity, and a distinction between leisure time and idleness due to lack of employment. It is important to model the effects of maternal care on children's nutritional status and performance at school, and the implications of the effects for labor force productivity. CGE models should also take into account the growing evidence of inequality in intrahousehold resource allocation and incorporate bargaining rather than unitary models of the household.

Presentation of Projects by Students from Columbia University, New York, and the Institute of **Political Science, Paris**

In association with UNDP, students from Columbia University compiled a database and manual of time-use studies in order to map unpaid work. Time-use studies were identified by country and recommendations were made to improve the methodologies, statistics, and applications of time-use data.

The team from Sciences Po in Paris presented a case study of the 1998 Time-Use Survey in Benin. They found that policy analysts and policymakers had made little use of this data, and recommended ways to improve knowledge of and use of the data.

Roundtable Sessions

Group 1. Unpaid Work and Economic Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean

The discussion leader was REBECA GRYNSPAN, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Mexico City.

The Latin American group noted that they will continue their institutional support and participation in the annual meetings of time-use statisticians in Latin America. In addition, the group decided to make a presentation about time-use statistics at the November meeting of Latin American statistics officers. A key objective is to make results of time-use research public and use them in policy processes.

The group noted that the German Technical Cooperation Agency GTZ is supporting a project on policies to reconcile responsibilities for paid and unpaid work that includes four case studies in Latin America—Mexico, Costa Rica, Panama, and Chile. The results of these studies were to be presented at an international conference of technical analysts and politicians in Mexico at the end of October. An additional four national case studies were to be conducted in the next year.

Group 2. Unpaid Work and Economic Policy in Africa

The discussion leaders were ALFRED LATIGO, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), Addis Ababa, Ethiopia; and HAMIDOU POUFON, Ministry of Economy and Finance, Cameroon.

The group identified several important issues for the region, including strengthening capacities to make better use of timeuse surveys in policymaking and advocacy, and more research on the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic on paid and unpaid work.

It is important to identify future surveys, especially household surveys, to which modules on time use could be added. There is also a need to improve coordination between development agencies in Africa. An initial step is to start with this meeting and disseminate the conference's recommendations to the UN organizations that the participants represent as well as to relevant ministries in African governments.

Group 3. Unpaid Work and Economic Policy in Asia and the Pacific

The discussion leaders were Research Associate INDIRA HIRWAY, Centre for Development Alternatives, Ahmedabad, India; and MEENA ACHARYA, Tanka Prasad Acharya Memorial Foundation, Nepal.

The future action of the Asia group is twofold: improving time-use surveys (TUS) and using the results. The questions are how to standardize and harmonize TUS methodologies, how to develop a paradigm of the macroeconomy that includes unpaid work, and how to address poverty and time use.

The group outlined a five-step program: (1) a status report and analysis of TUS in the region; (2) harmonization of TUS methodologies; (3) analysis of time-use data; (4) integration of the results of the analysis into policymaking; and (5) capacity building. The group recommended the publication of conference papers and proposed a collaboration between the UNDP International Poverty Centre and the Levy Institute. A further recommendation was to strengthen the initiatives on time use and modeling by the GEM-IWG network.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: RECOMMENDATIONS AND NEXT STEPS

Concluding remarks, recommendations, and suggestions for next steps were made by Rebeca Grynspan, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC); Jacques Charmes, Institut de Recherche pour le Développement (IRD); Research Associate Indira Hirway, Centre for Development Alternatives; Senior Scholar Diane Elson, Levy Institute and University of Essex; and Aster Zaoude, United Nations Development Programme.

Grynspan noted the importance of building upon the analysis presented in the conference, especially as it relates to policy recommendations. She stated that she would like to work toward a similar conference to be held in Latin America next year. It was important, she argued, to develop analysis that links unpaid work to four key issues: (1) the development of labor market policies, (2) the design of pro-poor development programs within the MDG framework, (3) Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, and (4) the design of new development financing mechanisms that take into account the distinct needs and specificities of rural and urban areas.

Charmes reminded the audience that the 1993 revision of the system of national accounts was a landmark, as it included several types of unpaid work in the measurement of GDP; in doing so, it extended the concept of production to include unpaid household services in the general production boundary. He then warned that so far there is nothing comparable on the agenda for the next round of international revisions of the SNA. His message was that we must recommend, and place on the agenda of this meeting, the preparation of satellite accounts of household production for as many countries as possible. This will require the standardization of definitions, categories, and classifications of activities so as to construct satellite accounts of household production that are consistent with the SNA.

Hirway concurred with the recommendation for standardizing concepts and methods for the collection of time-use data. She suggested that the UN Statistics Office as well as UNDP, ESCAP, ECA, ECLAC, and organizations such as GEM-IWG should work toward that goal. She proceeded with three further recommendations, urging that (1) researchers make wider use of existing time-use data to analyze poverty in all its various dimensions, including time poverty; (2) unpaid work must be integrated into poverty reduction policies; and (3) the impact of macroeconomic polices on unpaid work be taken into account. She also expressed the view that wider dissemination of research outcomes should become a priority, so as to make the information available to various development constituencies.

Elson began her comments by directing the attention of statisticians and researchers in the audience to the conceptual distinction between "free time" and "enforced idleness," the latter being the result of unemployment and underemployment. Some poor people, she noted, have a lot of free time left after doing paid and/or unpaid work, but this was the result of a lack of employment opportunities, and not of choosing leisure. She then proceeded to summarize for the participants the implications of the contributions of the working groups and panelists. She recommended that the statisticians strategize on the next revisions of the SNA, the harmonization of time-use surveys, and the preparation of satellite accounts. She also requested that they assist in improving the access of researchers to time-use data. Researchers were charged with analyzing time use in conjunction with income poverty, and to clarify and measure "time poverty." In addition, Elson summarized the suggestions that had been made about unpaid work and policy analysis. These required policy analysts to consider unpaid work in PRSP and MDG policy processes, and in the development of pro-poor and gender-sensitive fiscal policy.

Zaoude thanked the organizers, presenters, observers, and members of the various UN organizations and other international development agencies for their participation and valuable contributions. Her recommendations were focused on the policy agenda that lies ahead. She identified recently emerged opportunities within pro-poor development for including women's unpaid work. These opportunities must not be missed, she warned; it is of utmost urgency to translate research findings into specific policy recommendations through a process that encourages dialogue between international development organizations and includes the full participation of people on the ground as well as of constituencies that represent the views of women, particularly poor women. Zaoude promised that the findings of the conference would be taken back to UNDP and presented at the executive board meeting in January 2006. She encouraged all participants at the conference to continue to work together to insure that unpaid work is fully recognized in strategies to achieve the MDGs.

Summary of Recommendations from Working Groups and Concluding Panel

I. Collection and Dissemination of Time-Use Data

- National statistical offices should conduct time-use surveys on a regular basis to establish longitudinal data that permits monitoring changes over time.
- · For cost efficiency, national statistical offices should consider attaching time-use modules to regular surveys, such as household surveys.
- UN agencies—including UNDP regional and country offices should find appropriate channels to improve coordination of their support for collection of time-use data.
- Development of time-use statistics should be on the agenda of periodic meetings of national and regional statistical officers.
- · International cooperation is required to standardize and harmonize time-use survey methods. The UN Statistical Office is called upon to continue its leadership role in this effort, in cooperation with other UN organizations, including UNDP, UNIFEM, ECA, ECAFE, and ECLAC.
- National time-use data need to be made more accessible to researchers and policy analysts. Consideration should be given to creating a depository institution for all developing country-level time-use survey data. This might be done at a regional level through ECA, ECLAC, and ECAFE. The UN Statistical Office is urged to provide time-use data, regularly updated, on its website.

II. Future Research Agenda on Unpaid Work, Poverty, and Gender

- Support should be given to construction of computable models that include unpaid work, as well as paid work.
- Research on the impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic on paid and unpaid work should be supported.
- · The concept of time poverty needs further clarification and suitable indicators developed.
- Time-use data should be disaggregated and analyzed by gender, income group, and location.
- · Analysis of time-use data should take into account unemployment and underemployment and distinguish between leisure and enforced idleness.
- Construction of satellite accounts of household production should be supported.

III. Building Capacity to Utilize Time-Use Data in **Policy Analysis**

- · Regional- and country-level capacities to make use of existing time-use data in policymaking and advocacy should be strengthened.
- The conference proceedings should be widely disseminated to UN organizations, as well as to relevant government ministries.
- The GEM-IWG network should include an expanded module on time use and modeling that incorporates women's unpaid work, in its Knowledge Networking Program on Gender, Macroeconomics, and International Economics.

IV. Unpaid Work and the Policy Agenda

- · Investment should be made in infrastructure that will reduce the time burdens of women and girls, as recommended by the Millennium Project Task Force on Gender Equality.
- · Unpaid work should be taken into account in MDG costing exercises.
- · Strategies for achieving the MDGs should take account of work, both paid and unpaid.
- Minimum Employment Guarantee Schemes (also known as Employer of Last Resort programs) should recognize the burdens of unpaid work, and should include provision of care services as part of the employment they provide.
- · Unpaid work should be taken into account in the development of labor market polices, and polices that support men and women in reconciling their participation in paid work and their family responsibilities.

V. Future Collaboration

- UNDP International Poverty Centre and The Levy Economics Institute should explore collaboration on research on time use and poverty and inequality.
- ILO, UNDP, and The Levy Economics Institute should explore collaboration on unpaid work and Minimum Employment Guarantee Schemes.
- UNDP and The Levy Economics Institute should explore collaboration on integration of unpaid work in policy analysis for achieving the MDGs.

PARTICIPANTS

Dr. Meena Acharya is the general secretary of a research/ advocacy NGO, Tanka Prasad Acharya Memorial Foundation. She is also senior advisor and trustee of SAHAVAGI, an actionoriented NGO, and serves as a board member of several research institutions in Nepal. She has contributed nationally and internationally to measurement of women's work since the late 1980s. She has worked with the World Bank; various UN organizations, including UNIFEM; and ADB/Manila, both inside and outside her country. Her paper on time use in the World Bank LSMS series (1982), the methodological chapter on measurement of women's work published by INSTRAW (1995), and the case study on Nepal in the UN handbook on the household sector are some of her important contributions in this area. As an activist, she is continually engaged in various engendering exercises. Her most recent contributions are engendering Nepal's 2001 Census, Tenth Plan, and gender budget exercises for the finance and other ministries. She was also one of the 2004–2005 awardees under the Fulbright New Century Scholars Program. Currently, she is also involved as a resource person to the firstever regular women's studies program in Nepal, at Padma Kanya College. She has a Ph.D. in development studies from the University of Wisconsin (1987), an M.S. in economic cybernetics from Moscow State University (1966), and a B.A. (Honors) in economics from Delhi University (1960).

Olagoke Akintola is a Senior Lecturer in health promotion in the School of Psychology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. He serves as a research consultant to the Health Economics and HIV/AIDS Research Division (HEARD) and is a member of the training and opportunities committee of the Canadian Coalition for Global Health Research. He is also a project associate with the African Health Research Forum, an umbrella organization for health researchers in Africa based at Kenya Methodist University, Meru, Kenya. Akintola has worked in the field of HIV/AIDS prevention and care for 10 years. His research interests include gender and informal/unpaid care for people living with HIV/AIDS; the general impact of HIV/AIDS on communities and households/ families and on the private/public sector; gender and health risk behavior; and health research for development. He has published papers and reports on sexual and reproductive health, HIV/AIDS caregiving, and community responses to HIV/AIDS. Recent research topics include informal caregiving for People Living With HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) in Uganda and South Africa, community impact of and responses to HIV/AIDS in semirural communities in KwaZulu Natal, the impact of HIV/AIDS on the forestry sector in South Africa, and the role of volunteering in HIV/AIDS responses. Akintola received a B.S. (with honors) from the University of Ilorin, Nigeria, and an M.B.A. in marketing and finance from the same university. He then proceeded to the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, where he obtained an M.Phil. in public health, specializing in health promotion and education. He obtained his Ph.D. from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa.

Rania Antonopoulos, was the conference organizer of the UNDP-LEVY conference "Unpaid Work: Gender, Poverty, and the Millennium Development Goals," October 1-3, 2005, together with Diane Elson. She is on leave of absence from New York University and for the past two years has been a Research Scholar of the Levy Institute's program on Gender Equality and the Economy, a program she helped initiate as an advisor during 2004-2005. She specializes in gender and economics, international competition and globalization, and long-run determinants of foreign exchange rates. Her publications include "Asset Ownership along Gender Lines: Evidence from Thailand," forthcoming in Journal of Income Distribution (coauthored); "A Classical Political Economy Approach to Exchange Rates Analysis," Review of Radical Political Economics, Vol. 31, No. 3; "What Is Wrong with Employment Statistics? The Case of Greece," Oikonomikos Tahidromos; and "Empirical Testing of an Alternative Exchange Rate Model for 12 OECD Countries," Levy Institute Working Paper No. 240 (coauthored). Antonopoulos has been a consultant for UNDP and since 2002 a co-principal investigator for the Knowledge Networking and Capacity Building on Gender, Macroeconomics, and International Economics Program (GEM-IWG). Her current research interests are focused on gender-aware, employer of last resort policies and economic modeling that includes unpaid work. Antonopoulos received a Ph.D. in economics from the New School for Social Research.

Anthony Barnett is an ESRC Professorial Research Fellow at the Development Studies Institute, London School of Economics. He is an interdisciplinary social scientist and researches the impacts of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. His current research is concerned with problems of costing the effects of a long-wave event such as the HIV/AIDS epidemic. In 1992, together with Piers Blaikie, he wrote AIDS in Africa: Its Present and Future Impact (Guilford Press, New York). More recently, Barnett is author, coauthor, or editor of the UNAIDS Best Practice volume Guidelines for Studies of the Social and Economic Impact of HIV/AIDS (2000) (with A. Whiteside); Debswana—A Global Benchmark in Corporate HIV/AIDS Practice (UNAIDS, Best Practice Collection, November 2002, with A. Whiteside and others); AIDS in the 21st Century: Disease and Globalisation (Palgrave Macmillan, London, May 2002, with A. Whiteside); Economics of AIDS and Access to Care in Developing Countries (ANRS, Paris, July 2003, Moatti, Barnett, et al., eds.); and lead author and editor of HIV/AIDS in Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States: Reversing the Epidemic, Facts and Policy Options (UNDP, Bratislava, New York, and Moscow, February 2004). In 2003, in recognition of his services to anthropology and its use for humane ends, he was awarded the Lucy Mair Medal by the Royal Anthropological Institute. In October 2004, he was appointed a member of the advisory committee of the United Kingdom's Foresight Project on the Detection and Identification of Infectious Diseases.

Mark Blackden is Lead Specialist in the Office of the Sector Director for Poverty Reduction and Economic Management, Africa Region, World Bank. He has more than 24 years of experience in Anglophone and Francophone Africa. His work has focused on public sector management; project development and supervision; poverty analysis; building donor and other partnerships; and gender, participation, and the design and delivery of learning activities. He is a member of the Uganda Poverty Reduction Support Credit 4 and 5 preparation and appraisal teams. He also contributed to country-led work to address gender issues in the revision of the Poverty Eradication Action Plan. He served as team leader for the Strategic Country Gender Assessment, "From Periphery to Center," published in 2005. He was coauthor of the "Gender" chapter in A Sourcebook for Poverty Reduction Strategies (2002). He supported a wide range of country-level interactions and regional learning activities, and worked on integrating gender into Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers. He acted

as team leader for the 1998 Special Program of Assistance for Africa poverty status report on Gender, Growth and Poverty Reduction in SSA, which was published as World Bank Technical Paper No. 428. He was principal author of Paradigm Postponed: Gender and Economic Adjustment in Sub-Saharan Africa (1993). He holds a B.A. in German and French from the University of Kent and an M.Sc. in international relations from Georgetown University.

Gabriel Bonnet Brunnich graduated in June 2005 from the Institute of Political Studies of Paris (Sciences Po) with a master's degree in international development. While a student at Sciences Po, she spent a semester in León, Nicaragua, working as Advocacy Intern for the NGO Project Minnesota/León. During this internship she wrote articles demonstrating the links between local and international social justice issues and provided suggestions for taking action. She also supported a group of adolescent girls in their efforts to increase opportunities for girls and young women in their community. Prior to her studies at Sciences Po, Brunnich worked as a preschool teacher for the NGO Neighborhood Youth and Family Services, based in the South Bronx, New York. Her interests include promoting gender-sensitive policy, advocating for empowerment opportunities for women, and promoting investment in early childhood development programs.

Nalini Burn was born in Mauritius, where she completed her secondary education. She has a B.Sc. in economics from the London School of Economics and an M.Sc. in economics from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. She was one of the founding members of the Women's Liberation Movement in Mauritius. She has worked as a lecturer in economics at Brighton University, United Kingdom, and attended seminars of the subordination of women cluster at the University of Sussex. She then joined the University of Mauritius as senior lecturer in economics, engaging in socioeconomic research and collaborating in the development of the Women's Studies Programme. She has been active in founding two NGOs, one on combating violence against women and the other on the environment. Since 1992, she has been working as a freelance consultant for a number of UN agencies and the World Bank in the fields of pro-poor energy policy, planning, and delivery; HIV/AIDS; gender mainstreaming; and genderresponsive budgeting. She has worked in a range of countries

in Africa, the Indian Ocean islands, Morocco, Mongolia, the Philippines, and Iran. She has published papers in UNDP publications on sustainable energy, contributed a chapter to a book on gender and industrialization in Mauritius, and is the author of two UNIFEM publications on Mongolia. Her particular focus is engaging with policymakers and development practitioners in linking research to policy, particularly regarding unpaid work and time/energy use.

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Joann Vanek is the director of the statistics program of Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO). She worked for 20 years with the United Nations Statistics Division, where she led the development of the gender statistics program and coordinated production of three issues of the global report The World's Women: Trends and Statistics. At the UN she also coordinated work on the development of a classification of time-use statistics that can be adapted for developing and developed countries. Her most recent publications include UNIFEM's Progress of the World's Women 2005: Women, Work and Poverty (coauthored with M. Chen, F. Lund, and J. Heintz, with R. Jhabvala and C. Bonner); the 2004 Commonwealth Secretariat publication Mainstreaming Informal Employment and Gender in Poverty Reduction (coauthored with M. Chen and M. Carr); and the 2002 International Labour Organization (ILO) publication Women and Men in the Informal Economy: A Statistical Picture. She serves on the ILO Advisory Panel for Child Labor Statistics.

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APPENDIX

Full Text of Welcome and Introductory Remarks

DIMITRI B. PAPADIMITRIOU, The Levy Economics Institute ASTER ZAOUDE, United Nations Development Programme DIANE ELSON, The Levy Economics Institute

Following is an edited transcript of the welcome and introductory remarks by Dimitri Papadimitriou, Aster Zaoude, and Diane Elson.

Dimitri B. Papadimitriou:

Good morning. First, I want to welcome all of you and recognize the leadership and vision of Aster Zaoude, who had the idea for this conference. I also wish to thank my colleagues here at the Institute, Diane Elson and Rania Antonopoulos, who put the program together and convinced all of you to come from far away places.

The main issue of this conference is unpaid work, including unpaid care work, and whether we should care about unpaid care work, especially as we deal with the major challenges of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The presentations and the discussions that will take place over the next three days should give us a better understanding of what we need to do to convince policymakers to finally recognize the research contributions that we may make in this area.

Without further ado, I want to formally introduce Aster Zaoude, who is with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), specifically the Bureau for Development Policy. The next to speak will be Diane Elson, who is a Senior Scholar and the codirector of the Gender Equality and the Economy Program here at the Levy Economics Institute, as well as a professor of economics at the University of Essex. Please welcome them.

Aster Zaoude:

Good morning, and thank you very much, Dimitri. You are not only the host of the conference, but you yourself are a great inspiration. I would like to first thank you for inviting us to come to your wonderful premises. Also, congratulations to the Levy Institute for bringing in the best brains to work on the Gender Equality and the Economy Program. I am very

happy to have worked with Rania Antonopolous. This conference would not have been possible without Rania and her team working relentlessly to bring everyone here.

We have many experts from around the world working on this issue of unpaid care. We made sure we had a good balance between experts who have been working on this for a long time and others of us who want to take the findings we discuss here and use them in our organizations as we work on policy issues. We have some colleagues here from the Bureau of Development Policy at the United Nations Development Programme, but also colleagues from the International Labour Organization (ILO), World Bank (WB), and other institutions. I think it is a wonderful mix of people that we have managed to bring together.

I would also like to acknowledge Caren Grown and, especially, Diane Elson. We have all wanted her to be at the center of this effort, and initially we didn't realize that the Levy had already brought her on board. So as soon as she did come on board, we managed to put a team together and organize this so that it really is a top conference. There are powerful brains here, and I am very happy to be here and have the chance to listen to you. We are going to be learning a lot about your work and the tools that you have been using.

I think it is very important that we also have some of our colleagues here from the International Poverty Centre of the United Nations Development Programme. I am delighted to welcome the director of the International Poverty Centre, Nanak Kakwani. I know you have a huge and busy schedule, but you managed to come and join us. I think it is important that we carry forth this work and make the links between the work that is being done on gender and macroeconomic policy and the wonderful work that the Poverty Centre is doing on global policies. I would also like to acknowledge our colleague from UNIFEM, Marikje Velzeboer. I know there is quite a lot of work going on in Latin America, and we have a large crowd from that region, including Rebeca Grynspan, who is the most powerful speaker I know on these issues.

How did we get here? Dimitri, you think it was my inspiration. It is more my frustration at seeing a lot of disturbing things happening around us. There was the whole process of costing the Millennium Development Goals, as many of you know. There is a lot of work happening on the issue that we thought we had a goal for: gender equality and women's empowerment in the MDGs. It was a very powerful goal that

would help us bring the body of knowledge that all of you people have generated for years into the work on the MDGs. Not just on education and health, but also the hardcore economic issues that we are dealing with. It hasn't always been easy to bring together this body of knowledge with the kind of policy that we are developing, because sometimes the frameworks that we use are not conducive to that. The frameworks are not always open enough for that to happen. Therefore, we sometimes have to question the kinds of frameworks that we use. Again, I think it is a very important and powerful area for us as we look at poor women and the macroeconomic policies that the MDGs are involved in developing.

It was also frustrating for me to see the costing exercises of the MDGs that were taking place. It was, as my colleague Rathin Roy can tell you, quite a challenge. Sometimes it becomes mechanical. Sometimes it becomes a very long shopping list of what women need and what their concerns are. It doesn't look at the transformation that is required once you bring this dimension into the debate. One thing that inspired me was some of the work that was done on South Africa, particularly the report that was presented to the Secretary General on the challenges of the South African region by Stephen Lewis, who is the special advisor to the Secretary General on HIV/AIDS. It showed very clearly that a lot of the social services and a lot of the costs involved with trying to cope with the HIV/AIDS crisis, as well as with disasters and poverty and food insecurity in African countries, had literally shifted to women. And nobody cared. As Dimitri said yesterday, "If you don't care about care, we are in big trouble."

Finally, at the Beijing Plus 10 Conference in Africa, I was sitting with the South African delegation. They were saying that we really have to move to a different level of discussion. We have to look at the institutions that provide the kinds of services that will help bring unpaid work to the attention of policymakers, that will make it part of public expenditures and part of the kinds of policies that need to be designed around transport, fiscal, and employment policies.

We are tired of small fixes. We need to look at the broader issues. In Africa, the collapse of some social services is becoming a huge problem. Of course, women are taking on the burden. These are some of the things that need to change. The work you have done around target surveys and the methodologies you have developed may seem to be targeted around one country, one particular sector, or only some of the dimensions, but cumulatively they form a powerful set of methodologies that we need to match with policies that will move us forward.

For the UNDP, this kind of work is extremely important. If our business is to help more than half the people of the world, we must have our policy straight. That has huge implications for the work that we do and for the way we respond to the challenges before us.

When we started looking at these constraints, the question was how to move forward. The first thing that came to my mind was to work with a wonderful team at Columbia University. I don't know if Graziano Graziussi, one of the Columbia team, is in the room. We had 10 students from Columbia University who got together and said that they wanted to do a project for the UNDP. It was free of charge. It was a wonderful project; they developed a database that compiled documents, methodologies, expertise, and existing research. Stephanie Urdang, who is here, and who was formerly our colleague at UNIFEM, is working on HIV/AIDS. We got together, and I said, "Let's do something about this. Even though everyone has been working on various aspects of unpaid care work, how do we bring it together?"

Then we went to Sciences Po in Paris. Jacques Charmes volunteered to supervise another team of young researchers from the Institution of Political Science in Paris to look at country cases. He is going to talk about it. But, of course, the last phase is you being here, and we really have an impressive group of experts. I can't begin to go through the list of participants and the kinds of expertise that we have. Joann Vanek, for example, just walked in the door. I was about to talk about the guide for producing target surveys and measuring paid and unpaid work that is fresh off the press from the statistical office. Joann has been gone from the statistical office for almost two years now, but this is the product of her work.

It is coming together. I think we need to acknowledge that. We are here to share our experiences and methodologies, and to begin to network. I was talking to Rania earlier and I said that maybe one of the recommendations coming out of this will be to have some kind of collaboration between the International Poverty Centre and the Levy Institute, in order to take advantage of the expertise you have at the Institute. We also need to recognize the body of knowledge that exists and try to see what we can do with it. Diane was telling me yesterday that one of the frustrations for a person like her, who has been working on these issues for so long, is that the data just sit on the shelf, including in the countries where the time-use data collection has been done. We really need to see what we can do about this. How do we move forward? What kind of research needs to be done? Is there anything that needs to be done to further develop the methodologies? But most importantly, how do we take this into policy work? How do we make that link happen?

I look forward to the discussions and presentations. I personally am going to be in the back of the room learning and listening attentively. I know that what is going to come out of this conference and all the papers that you have presented will be very widely circulated. We hope that more people working on the policy side will be inspired by this work. Let me just also say that Nanak has brought *In Focus*, a publication by the International Poverty Centre. I urge you to read it, as it contains some excellent pieces. Thank you.

Diane Elson:

Good morning. I just wanted to add a few words to what Aster has said, although I think she has comprehensively put before us the issues that we will be considering in this conference. I want to say what a pleasure it is that the first conference I have some responsibility for at the Levy Institute as part of our new program on Gender Equality and the Economy should be a conference done in conjunction with Aster and with UNDP. Also, it gives me a chance to meet many UNDP friends from around the world and to meet some UNDP people that are new to me. That is a great pleasure for me. I also want to say that it is a pleasure for me to be doing this in conjunction with the International Working Group on Gender and Macroeconomics, led by Nilüfer Çağatay from the University of Utah and several members of the International Working Group on Gender and Macroeconomics, who will be giving presentations here.

We organized this conference as a way to promote dialogue between those of you who are experts on time use and those of you who have designed the manuals, who have struggled over how the activities should be classified, over what methods to use, and what methods are viable in countries where there are high rural populations and people who don't have watches. How do you struggle with all of that?

Then there are also people like me who are potential users of these statistics in our research. We are concerned about how we can get better access to them. How can we start to analyze them and bring them together with a wide range of concerns

to make the data speak? In particular, how can we make the data speak to policy concerns?

The third constituency, besides the time-use experts and the researchers, are those of you who are policy analysts and policy advisors working at the UNDP and other international organizations. The UN Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, UN Economic Commission for Africa, and UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Pacific are all working at the interface with national policymakers. I do think that the big challenge for us, as Aster has said, is how can we make this data speak more effectively in the policy process. It will also help us with the issue of how to get more money and more expertise in national statistical offices so that we get the data on a more regular and timely basis for a wider range of countries. If we can show people the usefulness of the data and how it throws light on a range of policy issues, then I think we will have a better case for saying that we need to have more of this data on a more timely basis. I do think that is the big challenge before us.

I would like to say a few words about how that fits into the new Gender Equality and the Economy Program. I think we could see this program as developing this interface between those of us who are researchers and those of us who are working in the policy processes. The Levy Institute has a strong reputation for wanting its research to be out there in the world influencing policymakers and not simply in the confines of this beautiful campus. That is one reason why the proceedings today are being recorded and placed on the Levy Institute website. There will be a CD published after the conference with everyone's biographies, papers, and so forth. We are very concerned about how the research gets disseminated and how our discussions get disseminated. The area that this conference is focusing on fits very well into the program of research that we are developing in the Gender Equality and the Economy Program. Caren Grown, Rania Antonopoulos, and I are developing the program here together with advice from our research associates, including three people who are here today, Nilufer Cagatay, Maria Floro, and Indira Hirway.

The issue of time use as it relates to unpaid work and gender equality is one of the important dimensions of our research program. Others are public finance and gender equality, the gender dimensions of macroeconomic policy, and international trade and gender equality. We hope to be able to have discussions with some of you about how to take these other issues forward as well. We have a series of working papers now, and we hope that some of you will be interested in publishing your conference papers as part of this series.

Let me end by saying that I am really looking forward to our three days of discussion. I hope that at the end of it we will be able to throw more light on questions such as "What do we mean by time poverty?" and "How can we measure it?" How can we make sure that the data that is being produced by national statistical offices doesn't just stay in their databases, but instead is made widely available to researchers and actually used in policy processes? If we can make some progress on these things, this will be a very important and worthwhile conference.

The Levy Economics Institute of Bard College, founded in 1986, is a nonprofit, nonpartisan research organization devoted to public service. Through scholarship and economic research it generates viable, effective public policy responses to important economic problems that profoundly affect the quality of life in the United States and abroad.

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