

Conference on Unpaid Work and the Economy: Gender, Poverty, and the Millennium  
Development Goals  
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## **Unpaid Work, the Millennium Development Goals, and Capital Accumulation**

Notes for a presentation

Diane Elson  
Levy Economics Institute

### *Introduction*

The MDGs themselves do not include any mention of work, neither paid or unpaid. There are, however, two MDG indicators that refer to paid work:

1. The share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector, which is an indicator for Goal 3 Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women;
2. The unemployment rate of young people aged 15-24 years, each sex, and total, which is an indicator for Goal 8 Develop Global Partnership for development.

(For a full list of goals and indicators, see Appendix 1).

The Millennium Project Taskforces have made numerous references to work, both paid and unpaid, in their assessment of what is required to achieve the goals. The references are particularly extensive in the Taskforce Report on Achieving Gender Equality and Empowering Women, but there are also references in some of the other reports, such as the report on Water and Sanitation, and on Child Health and Maternal Health

But the overall Millennium Project report to the UN Secretary General, entitled ‘Investing in Development –A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals’ (and hereafter called the Sachs report), does not integrate work, either paid or unpaid, in its overall vision of how the Goals can be achieved through a process of capital accumulation supported by overseas development assistance (oda). And there is only a brief reference to the importance of work in the Report of the UN Secretary General, ‘In larger freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all’, where para 37 mentions the importance of ‘providing decent jobs that both provide income and empower the poor, especially women and younger people’.

This paper discusses how work relates to the process of achieving the MDGs through oda-supported capital accumulation, with a particular focus on unpaid work. It does not focus on specific policy recommendations, but rather on analytical strategies that will produce a more holistic understanding of poverty, inequality and capital accumulation.

## 1. Varieties of unpaid work

Unpaid work is included within the work covered by the production boundary as defined by the system of national accounts (SNA); and within the work covered by the general production boundary, but not within the SNA production boundary.

Unpaid work within the SNA production boundary includes:

- Work done in a family enterprise or agricultural holding on an unpaid basis to produce products that are marketed;
- Work done to produce goods for household own consumption; including production of crops and livestock, basic food processing, gathering firewood and fetching water; making tools, utensil and clothes; constructing housing. This produces outputs that are non-market but within the SNA

Unpaid work that is outside the SNA boundary is all non-market and includes:

- Meal preparation, laundry and clothes care, cleaning and household maintenance, and shopping;
- Care of children, the sick, elderly and disabled within the household
- Volunteer services provided through organizations and groups

The unpaid work that is included within the production boundary of the SNA should, in principle, be counted in the GNP. It has been recommended that the unpaid work that is excluded from the SNA production boundary, but recognized as falling within the general production boundary, should be measured, valued and included in a satellite account.

Unpaid work takes place in a variety of places throughout the economy: households; not-for-profit organizations, such as NGOs and churches; public services, such as education and health; and in enterprises producing for the market (mainly small enterprises).

Unpaid work takes place through a variety of social relations, all with the characteristic of being non-market relations. (This is true even of unpaid work that produces market goods). The non-market quality of the relation is widely considered a particularly valuable aspect of unpaid care work and volunteer work. Nevertheless, it is important to note that non-market labor relations may be oppressive and exploitative, as well as consensual and egalitarian. It is important neither to demonize nor romanticize unpaid work.

Like paid work, unpaid work is organized through a gendered division of labor, in which some tasks are predominantly done by men and boys and others by women and girls. There is also a gendered division of labor between paid and unpaid work, with men doing more of the former and women of the latter. Like paid work, unpaid work has its satisfactions and dissatisfactions. The fact that much unpaid work, especially unpaid care work is done for love, does not mean that we *always* love doing it. But the fact that unpaid work is frequently burdensome, does not mean that the best policy is to reduce it to zero.

Unlike paid work, unpaid work is not immediately recognized as work. Unpaid work may have rewards, but they are not in the form of a wage or a profit; and this puts those who primarily do unpaid work at a disadvantage in a monetized world. Responsibilities for large amounts of unpaid work limit the kinds of paid work that can be undertaken to those jobs with lower pay and prospects.

Finally, it is important to note that poor people are not free to choose the amount of work they undertake. They are constrained by institutional regulations (such as the specification of contracts for paid labor) and social norms (such as obligations to provide for other family members); and by the necessity to cover their basic consumption needs for both market and non-market products.

## *2. The MDGs and oda-supported capital accumulation*

A vision of how the MDGs can be achieved is presented by the Millennium Project Director, Jeffrey Sachs, in Chp 3 of 'Investing in Development-A Practical Plan to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals':

Long -term poverty reduction requires sustained economic growth, which in turn depends on technological advance and capital accumulation. The Millennium Development Goals play two roles in the growth process. First, the goals are ends in themselves, in that reduced hunger, gender equality, improved health and education, and broader access to safe water and sanitation are direct goals of society. Second, the goals are also "capital inputs" to economic growth and further development. A healthier worker is a more productive worker, as is a better-educated worker. Improved water and sanitation infrastructure raises output per capita through various channels, such as reduced illness. So, many of the Goals are part of capital accumulation, defined broadly, as well as desirable, in their own right. (p.28)

The links between capital accumulation, economic growth and the MDGs are summarized in a diagram (reproduced in Appendix 2). The Report explains it this way:

The Goals for hunger and disease are part of the "human capital" box. The Goals for water and sanitation and slum dwellers are part of the "infrastructure" box. The Goal for technological innovation and diffusion is part of the "knowledge capital" box. And the Goal for income poverty is part of the "household income" box. (p. 28).

The idea is that a "virtuous circle" can be created in which achievement of the MDGs and generation of economic growth can be mutually supportive,

We may note the absence of Goal 3 Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women, which cannot be so neatly boxed. Indeed the capital accumulation and economic growth process is presented in the diagram without reference to any kind of inequality; and the fact that economic growth may fail to benefit poor people is not addressed in the depiction of the process of growth and capital accumulation; nor is the relation between

inequality and the productivity of investment. There is a considerable amount of research showing that greater gender equality in certain fields (especially education) would promote both the achievement of the other MDGS and higher rates of growth. This happens both through increasing the productivity of other investments, and by decreasing fertility, thus increasing the capacity to save.

These kinds of consideration could be incorporated into the diagram by adding a sphere for inequality between the sphere for capital and the sphere for economic growth; and by disaggregating the household income and consumption spheres (for instance by income quintile and by gender). But that is not the main point I want to address here. Nor do I want to say much about the role of oda, though I agree with the concerns of those who fear that countries may become locked into aid-dependency and bound by too much conditionality. I do wish to applaud the emphasis on public investment, as something that “crowds in” rather than “crowds out” growth.

I want to draw attention to the fact that the process of achieving the MDGs via oda-supported capital accumulation is envisioned in what Amartya Sen would call the ‘commodities space’, rather than the ‘capabilities space’. Or to put it another way, the process is conceptualized in terms of the money value of stocks and flows of goods and services; not in terms of activities, of what people are able to be and do (Sen’s definition of capabilities). The dimensions of all the boxes and spheres of the diagram are measured in terms of outputs and incomes, but no attention is drawn to the work of producing them. Work is both a capability in its own right, and also can both enhance and constrict other capabilities, depending on the form and conditions of work.

### *3. Extending the vision of capital accumulation, economic growth and the MDGs to incorporate outputs produced by unpaid work*

If the SNA system of measurement had been fully applied, all of the output of SNA unpaid work would already be included, both market and non-market. But much of the SNA non-market output is still left out of the measurement of both national and household income, so that the statistics of both national and household income undervalue the actual amounts of good and services produced.

If the recommendation to produce satellite accounts were fully applied, all of the output of unpaid non-SNA work, such as care work and volunteer work, would also be included, but this has only been done for a few countries.

There will be some sessions later in the conference on the complexities of measuring and valuing the outputs of unpaid work, and I do not want to get into this right now. Instead I want to address the concerns of those who worry that the full and proper accounting for the outputs of unpaid work would make poor countries and households seem better off than they really are.

It is true that a full accounting for the output of unpaid work would show higher levels of national and household income. The numbers of people with incomes of less than one

dollar a day would fall. We would seem to be much closer to achieving MDG 1 . Moreover, in so far as there is more output produced by unpaid work in poor households and in poor countries, inequality in the distribution of income, as conventionally measured, would also be reduced.

However, we would also need to recalibrate poverty lines. Poverty lines are typically set in terms that focus on the inputs of goods required to meet basic needs, not the outputs of good and services required to meet those needs. They focus on acquisition (through purchase or own- production) of food, not nourishing meals; of clothing and housing, not clothing and housing that is clean and in good repair. They ignore the basic need for care for household members. If a poor household had to buy all the meals, cleaning, repairing and care that is needed to meet its basic needs, it would require much more than a dollar a day for its members.

Taking account of the outputs of unpaid work is also sometimes argued to render many low-income households liable to a higher income tax payment, as it would give them incomes high enough to bring them into the scope of income tax, or put them in a higher tax bracket. But since households cannot pay their taxes in home baked pies and bundles of firewood, but only in money, income tax thresholds and brackets should remain linked to the income generated in the market. There are other, complex, issues about how income tax systems should recognize both the benefits and the constraints of unpaid work. They are concerned with issues of equality within and between households with different gendered divisions of labor, numbers of dependents, etc; and with the reconciliation of work and family life; and are typically dealt with through systems of tax allowances and tax credits. Further discussion of these issues is beyond the scope of this paper.

From the point of view of achieving the MDGs through oda-supported capital accumulation, the significant point about tax and unpaid work is that the larger the share of output that is produced by unpaid work, the more difficult it will be to increase tax revenues; and the greater will be dependence on oda. This is important for understanding the dynamics of the process.

Another important limitation of an economy with a large share of output produced by unpaid work is on ability to earn foreign exchange. A process of capital accumulation that will lead to accelerated growth requires imports of productivity -enhancing equipment and intermediate inputs. The diagram discussed above does not include international trade, so oda is the only source of foreign exchange, but to avoid long-run aid dependency its is vital the countries can generate export earnings to pay for their imports. This is recognized in the Sachs report discussion of how to break out of the poverty trap (pp 33-34), which calls for an increase in exports. The only form of unpaid work that can generate exports is in family enterprises and agricultural holdings that produce for export. The other forms of unpaid work produce goods that are not marketed, and therefore not internationally tradable.

Reliance on unpaid work in family enterprises and agricultural holdings to generate increased exports runs up against principal/agent incentive problems. Why should people who are not getting a direct payment increase their production? It may be that coercion or strong social norms ensure that nevertheless they do produce more goods for export; but this may reduce output of non-market goods and services, such as production of food for own consumption and care of children. Unless there are increases in productivity of non-market work, MDG goals for eradication of extreme poverty, hunger and reduction of child mortality and universal primary education will be jeopardized. The Sachs report does emphasize the importance of increasing productivity in agriculture as the first step of the accumulation and growth process, but this will not be enough unless we ensure that productivity growth takes place in non-marketed production as well as marketed production; and ensure that basic needs are fully met before discretionary consumption is increased (i.e. new shoes for children before expenditure on alcohol and tobacco). The literature on gender and agricultural development is full of case studies of increases in productivity of commercial agriculture that does not meet these conditions because not enough attention was paid to increasing the productivity of non-marketed production; and promoting a gender equitable distribution of income within households.

The Sachs report also emphasizes diversification of exports towards manufactures and services. Countries that have grown rapidly have done this, typically by increasing output of items produced for pay by women. But again, there is a potential trade-off with the levels of non-market output, especially cooking, cleaning and care services. Unless there are increases in productivity of non-market work, MDG goals for eradication of extreme poverty, hunger and reduction of child mortality and universal primary education will be jeopardized.

The basic problem is that a sustainable capital accumulation process requires an increase in marketed output to generate tax revenue and foreign exchange, but this may be at the expense of production of non-marketed output. This in turn may jeopardize MDG goals. This can be avoided if there is an increase in the productivity of non-market production. The key way to promote this in low-income countries is through investment in appropriate infrastructure. This is recommended by the Taskforce on Promoting Gender Equality and the Empowering of Women, and incorporated into the Sachs Report. However, the lack of visibility of this sector of production, and women's lack of voice and bargaining power in decision-making in both public and private investment, are strong barriers to the fulfillment of this recommendation. The outcome may be an increase in growth of marketed production, but at the expense of an increase in the total amount of time spent in work, taking into account paid and unpaid work.

Moreover, even if there is an apparent increase the productivity of some kinds of non-market production, this may be at the expense of the quality of the product. Good quality care is very labor intensive. Attempts to increase the productivity of this type of non-market production by increasing the numbers of people cared for at any one time, or within a given time interval, run the risk of reducing the quality of the output. People need time to provide good quality care.

#### *4. Reframing the vision of capital accumulation, economic growth and the MDGs to incorporate time spent in paid and unpaid work activities*

A process of capital accumulation that is successful in generating increased growth may still jeopardize the achievement of the underlying aim of the MDGs- an increase in the wellbeing of the poorest people- because that growth is generated by increasing the amount of work, paid and unpaid, that they do (including the labor of children) to such an extent that their capabilities to be healthy, educated, participate in the political life of the community, enjoy fulfilling relationships with their family, friend and neighbors etc are jeopardized.

There is a large amount of case study evidence that suggests that increases in women's labor market participation to produce for export is not matched by compensating reduction in the amount of unpaid work that is necessary for women and girls to do to meet their social obligations. There is a strong likelihood that the outcome will be an extension of the total amount of female work time, paid and unpaid (though it may be differently distributed across the generations), as well as a reduction in the quality of the output produced by unpaid work, especially through a 'squeeze on time for care'. This undermines the achievement of several MDGs, such as universal primary education and reduction of child mortality, as well as gender-equality and women's empowerment.

The working day may also be extended by government programs that mobilize households to provide unpaid work to build infrastructure and provide services; in effect to levy a labor time tax to compensate in part for the difficulty in raising tax revenue in an economy with a high share of non-market income. This strategy appears to be widely used but without much concern for the ability to pay of poor households. Just as income tax on household incomes needs to be related to how much incomes households have left over after meeting their basic needs, labor time tax needs to be related to how much time households have left over after meeting their basic needs. (As an aside, a query to the time use measurement and valuation experts: how is this kind of activity accounted for? It is not volunteer work for a not-for-profit, but a co-payment made in unpaid labor time for public infrastructure and public services.)

An extension of working time will not be visible if we look only at the outputs produced and not at the time taken to produce the output. The time taken by unpaid work is particularly invisible because it does not show up in the usual records of businesses and governments. To track what is happening to the time spent in paid and unpaid work, and the distribution of this work between different social groups, we need time use surveys at regular intervals.

Time use data needs to be presented in ways that speak more directly to the MDG goals, with time spent in paid and unpaid work disaggregated by sex, age, type of paid work, income quintile, location etc; and by activity. The latter should identify time spent in SNA non-market work, especially: food processing, collecting firewood and fuel; transportation of household goods and members; and time spent in non-SNA work, such

care of children; of the elderly; and of sick and disabled people; working as volunteers in non-for profit organizations of various kinds.

Such disaggregations will be more helpful than national averages, disaggregated only by sex, in promoting a better targeting, sequencing and design of public investment; and in understanding the constraints which prevent poor people from enjoying better pay and conditions in the paid work that they do. Heavy responsibilities for unpaid work are a key factor in limiting the amount of income that poor women can earn in the market. Women with such responsibilities are confined to low paying jobs with few prospects.

Measures of time spent on paid and unpaid work can also provide a broader understanding of the nature of poverty and inequality. Measures of household income inequality standardize for differences in household size and composition. But not for differences in the amount of work a household has to do to get a given income (such as the poverty line income). But if household A has to work twice as long as household B (which has the same size and composition) in order to get the same income, then they are not equally placed in terms of their command over resources and their well-being. The importance of relating income to the hours of work done is recognized in evaluating inequality in the labor market, where comparisons are made in terms of hourly earnings. This deflation by hours of work is not done in evaluating poverty, inter-household income distribution, or international income distribution.

A further step would be to take into account the use of human energy as well as time. Work that generates low levels of physical output often makes huge demands on human energy. It is backbreaking as well as time consuming. Unpaid work producing goods for own consumption is often of this type, because productivity –enhancing equipment is not affordable. Unpaid care work is exhausting in a different way: it breaks down any difference between work and non-work time. Caring for a child or a sick person makes demands for 24 hours of the day. A person doing this by himself or herself is always ‘on call’. The energy-using aspect of work cannot just be measured in hours of work time, and finding ways of measuring this is a big challenge.

Time use surveys taken at regular intervals can also chart the unevenness of economic growth; while some poor people are overworked, others may suffer from enforced idleness due to lack of paid employment opportunities, and be unemployed or under-employed. Work, paid and unpaid, is the critical link between the generation and the distribution of the fruits of economic growth.

It is vital to pay attention to the gender-distribution of paid and unpaid work, if poverty reduction is to take place in a way that is consistent with the promotion of gender equality and women’s empowerment.

Historically, there have been a number of different models, or regimes, through which paid and unpaid work have been distributed in processes of capital accumulation. Typically time spent on unpaid SNA work has declined, but the situation is more complex with respect to unpaid non-SNA work, especially unpaid care work which



continues to take a lot of time, especially women's time. The main regimes through which paid work and unpaid care work are articulated are:

1. male primary earner; female secondary earner, female carer;
2. male earner, female carer;
3. dual earner, female carer;
4. dual earner, dual carer.

In any particular country, there has often been a dominant ideology about which regime is the best and ought to prevail. In the lowest income groups in any country, it has generally been the first of the above regimes that prevailed, irrespective of ideology, since poor men did not earn enough to be the sole earners in the household. Social movements, especially labor movements, have often campaigned for the second type of regime, which may be called a 'male breadwinner' regime. In some countries, with strong trade unions and welfare states, this regime prevailed, especially in the 1950s and 1960s. The third type of regime was the goal in many centrally planned economies. It is also the regime being produced by globalization in an increasing number of countries, as more women enter the labor market, and men's hours of work lengthen too. The first and third regimes result in a longer total working day for women. The second regime is consistent with a more equal distribution of total work time by sex, but since women do unpaid rather than paid work, they are financially dependent on men. In my view, the fourth regime is the most desirable both from a gender equality and women's empowerment point of view, and the perspective of an improvement in overall well-being. It permits both men and women to achieve a more equal reconciliation of work and family life. It requires high investment in supportive public services, and an appropriate design of tax, social welfare and pension systems.

### *Conclusions*

More attention needs to be paid to work in policy development for the achievement of the MDGs. This is the approach that is consistent with a capabilities approach to development and poverty reduction, rather than one that focuses only on outputs and incomes.

Unpaid work needs special attention because otherwise it is invisible and taken for granted, both by policy makers and ordinary members of society. Regular time use surveys could provide the necessary data, but to be more useful as a guide for public policy, the data needs to be analyzed in a variety of disaggregations and linked more firmly to poverty.

In low- income countries, there are immediate needs for infrastructural investment to reduce the amount of SNA non-market work done by women. With respect to the unpaid work that is outside the SNA boundary, especially unpaid care work, there is need for a mix of policies to reduce, support and redistribute such work. The long run vision for the achievement of the MDGs, especially for rapidly growing, and middle-income countries, needs to go beyond this to include some thinking about the kind of regime through which paid and unpaid care work will be articulated.

## BOX 4: MDG GOALS, TARGETS AND INDICATORS

### Goal 1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people whose income is less than one dollar a day

#### Indicators

1. Proportion of population below \$1 (PPP) per day (World Bank\*)
2. Poverty gap ratio (incidence x depth of poverty) (World Bank)
3. Share of poorest quintile in national consumption (World Bank)

Halve, between 1990 and 2015, the proportion of people who suffer from hunger

#### Indicators

4. Prevalence of underweight children under five years of age (UNICEF, WHO)
5. Proportion of population below minimum level of dietary energy consumption (FAO)

### Goal 2. Achieve universal primary education

Ensure that, by 2015, children everywhere, boys and girls alike, will be able to complete a full course of primary schooling

#### Indicators (UNESCO)

6. Net enrolment ratio in primary education, girls, boys, total
7. Proportion of pupils starting grade 1 who reach grade 5 (girls, boys, total)
8. Literacy rate of 15- to 24-year-olds, women, men, total

### Goal 3. Promote gender equality and empower women

Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and to all levels of education no later than 2015

#### Indicators

9. Ratio of girls to boys in primary, secondary and tertiary education (UNESCO)
10. Ratio of literate women to men of 15- to 24-year-olds (UNESCO)
11. Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector (ILO)
12. Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament (IPU)

### Goal 4. Reduce child mortality

Reduce by two thirds, between 1990 and 2015, the under-five mortality rate

#### Indicators

13. Under-five mortality rate (UNICEF, WHO)
14. Infant mortality rate (UNICEF, WHO)
15. Proportion of 1-year-old children immunized against measles (UNICEF, WHO)

### Goal 5. Improve maternal health

Reduce by three quarters, between 1990 and 2015, the maternal mortality ratio

#### Indicators

16. Maternal mortality ratio (UNICEF, WHO)
17. Proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel (UNICEF, WHO)

### Goal 6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases

Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the spread of HIV/AIDS

#### Indicators

18. HIV prevalence among 15-to-24-year-old pregnant women (UNAIDS, UNICEF, WHO)
19. Condom use rate of the contraceptive prevalence rate (UNICEF, UN)
20. Number of children orphaned by HIV/AIDS (UNICEF, UNAIDS)

Have halted by 2015 and begun to reverse the incidence of malaria and other major diseases

#### Indicators

21. Prevalence and death rates associated with malaria (WHO)
22. Proportion of population in malaria risk areas using effective malaria prevention and treatment measures (UNICEF, WHO)
23. Prevalence and death rates associated with tuberculosis (WHO)
24. Proportion of tuberculosis cases detected and cured under directly observed treatment short course (DOTS, WHO)

### Goal 7. Ensure environmental sustainability

Integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reverse the loss of environmental resources

#### Indicators

25. Proportion of land area covered by forest (FAO)
26. Ratio of area protected to maintain biological diversity to surface area (UNEP, IUCN)
27. Energy use (kg oil equivalent) per \$1 GDP (PPP) (IEA, UNSD, World Bank)
28. Carbon dioxide emissions (per capita) (UNFCCC, UNSD) and consumption of ozone-depleting CFCs (ODP tons) (UNEP-Ozone Secretariat)
29. Proportion of population using solid fuels (WHO) (not yet available)

Halve by 2015 the proportion of people without sustainable access to safe drinking water

**Indicator**

**30.** Proportion of population with sustainable access to an improved water source, urban and rural (UNICEF, WHO)

By 2020 to have achieved a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum dwellers

**Indicators**

**31.** Proportion of urban population with access to improved sanitation (UNICEF, WHO)

**32.** Proportion of households with access to secure tenure (owned or rented) (HABITAT)

**Goal 8.** Develop a global partnership for development

[Indicators for targets 12-15 are given below in a combined list.]

Develop further an open, rule-based, predictable, non-discriminatory trading and financial system.

Includes a commitment to good governance, development, and poverty reduction — both nationally and internationally

Address the special needs of the least developed countries.

Includes: tariff and quota-free access for least-developed countries' exports; enhanced programme of debt relief for HIPC's and cancellation of official bilateral debt; and more generous ODA for countries committed to poverty reduction

Address the special needs of landlocked countries and small island developing States (through the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States and the outcome of the twenty-second special session of the General Assembly)

Deal comprehensively with the debt problems of developing countries through national and international measures in order to make debt sustainable in the long term [Some of the indicators listed below are monitored separately for the least developed countries (LDCs), Africa, landlocked countries and small island developing States]

**Indicators****Official Development Assistance (ODA)**

**33.** Net ODA, total and to LDCs, as percentage of OECD/DAC donors' gross national income (OECD)

**34.** Proportion of total bilateral, sector-allocable ODA of OECD/DAC donors to basic social services (basic education, primary health care, nutrition, safe water and sanitation) (OECD)

**35.** Proportion of bilateral ODA of OECD/DAC donors that is untied (OECD)

**36.** ODA received in landlocked countries as proportion of their GNIs (OECD)

**37.** ODA received in small island developing States as proportion of their GNIs (OECD)

**Market Access**

**38.** Proportion of total developed country imports (by value and excluding arms) from developing countries and from LDCs, admitted free of duties (UNCTAD) (not yet available)

**39.** Average tariffs imposed by developed countries on agricultural products and textiles and clothing from developing countries (UNCTAD) (not yet available)

**40.** Agricultural support estimate for OECD countries as percentage of their GDP (OECD)

**41.** Proportion of ODA provided to help build trade capacity (OECD, WTO) (not yet available)

**Debt Sustainability**

**42.** Total number of countries that have reached their HIPC decision points and number that have reached their HIPC completion points (cumulative) (IMF, World Bank) (see indicator 43 below)

**43.** Debt relief committed under HIPC initiative, US\$ (IMF, World Bank)

**44.** Debt service as a percentage of exports of goods and services (IMF, World Bank)

In cooperation with developing countries, develop and implement strategies for decent and productive work for youth

**Indicator**

**45.** Unemployment rate of 15- to 24-year-olds, each sex and total (ILO)

In cooperation with pharmaceutical companies, provide access to affordable essential drugs in developing countries

**Indicator**

**46.** Proportion of population with access to affordable essential drugs on a sustainable basis (WHO)

In cooperation with the private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies, especially information and communications

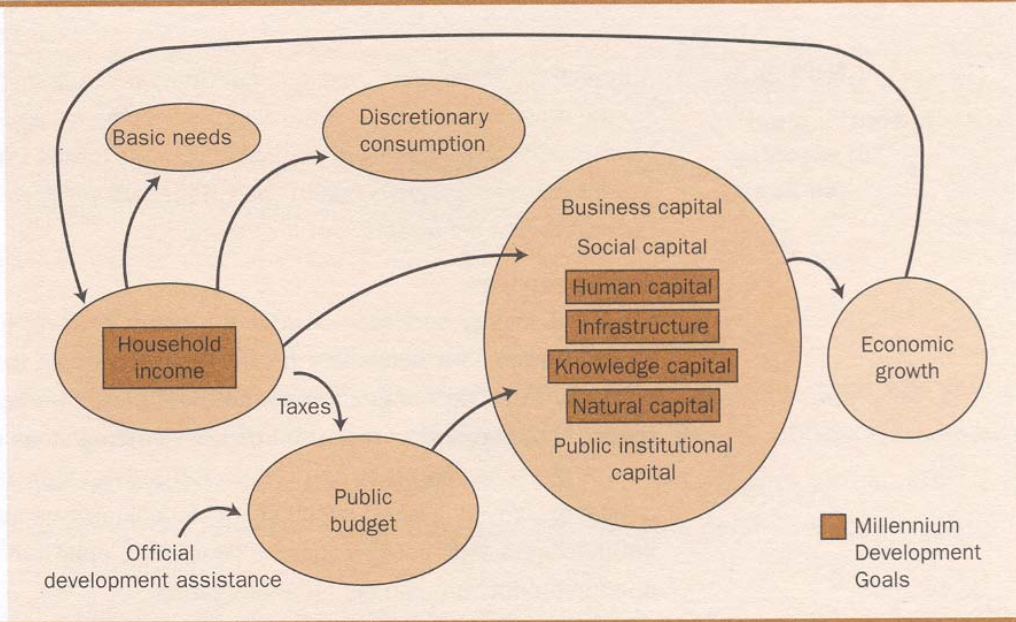
**Indicators**

**47.** Telephone lines and cellular subscribers per 100 population (ITU)

**48.** Personal computers in use per 100 population (ITU) and Internet users per 100 population (ITU)

\* Agencies and organizations listed in parentheses provided the data to the MDG database.

**Figure 3.1**  
**Capital accumulation,**  
**economic growth,**  
**and the MDGs**



*The MDGs and oda-supported capital accumulation*