



# **Making Invisible Work MORE VISIBLE:**

**Gender and Time Use Surveys  
with a focus on the Pacific and  
Unpaid Care Work**

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## Abbreviations used

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AusAID	Australian Government Overseas Aid Programme
BPA	Beijing Platform for Action
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HBC	Home Based Care
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IATUR	International Association for Time Use Research
ICATUS	International Classification of Activities for Time Use Statistics
INSTRAW	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MTUS	Multinational Time Use Study
NGO	Non Government Organisation
NZODA	New Zealand Development Assistance
PLWA	People living with AIDS
PRA	Participatory Rural Analysis
SNA	System of National Accounts
TUS	Time Use Surveys
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNSD	United Nations Statistics Division
UNSNA	United Nations System of National Accounts

## Executive summary

This report discusses how time use studies (TUS) have been used to identify the type and extent of women's work, specifically their unpaid caring work.

*Section one* gives a brief overview of the history and nature of time use.

*Section two* outlines the various methods used, commenting on their respective strengths and weaknesses.

*Section three* focuses on time use studies in the Pacific. Examples found of work done in the Pacific, from the 1970s to the present, are outlined and key findings reported. There is a scarcity of TUS in the Pacific and no National study has been done either as a stand alone or as a satellite survey. Those that have been done or data which has been taken from other surveys, such as the Household Income and Expenditure Survey (HIES), show similar patterns to other developing countries - women do most of the unpaid work, especially domestic work.

*Section four* focuses on the importance of care work, specifically on women and men's unpaid work caring for people with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) or the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS). Again there is lack of Pacific studies in this area.

*Section five* provides a series of recommendations for advancing the use and application of findings of time use surveys to policy, planning and budgeting in the Pacific Island countries.

The report concludes that women's unpaid work caring for others will increase as the prevalence of HIV increases in the Pacific. The burden of this unpaid caring work will lessen the ability of women to pursue economic and educational opportunities and endanger the achievements of the Millennium Development Goals and undermine the commitments made in the Millennium Declaration.

A key finding, which parallels global studies, is that the data on women's time use which has been gathered in the Pacific does not yet seem to have been used for policy change, except at a local level.

The report endorses earlier calls for national time use studies to be carried out in the Pacific Islands. It recommends that assistance from development partners to do so is provided in particular to train National Statistics staff. The report also suggests that any TUS be followed by policy process assistance and advocacy training for those involved. This would need to target politicians, statisticians and other bureaucrats as well as civil society groups in order to raise the profile of the usefulness and applicability of such data to policy work, and then related planning and budgeting processes.

The report notes the importance and success of time use as a community empowerment tool which could be used by NGOs and CSOs to effect change at a local level for specific local issues, as well as at the national policy level.





## SECTION ONE: INTRODUCTION TO TIME USE

### What is a time use survey?

Time use surveys - sometimes called time budget surveys - aim to provide information on the activities people perform during a given period of time (usually a day or a week). They show how much time people spend on each of the different specified activities.

Time use surveys can and have been used for a wide variety of purposes, from looking at how much time teenagers in America spend on the computer to how much time is spent on subsistence agriculture in sub-Saharan Africa.

The most common aim of time use surveys in developing countries is to provide better information about the work performed by men and women. The intention of many of the surveys is to highlight the time spent on *unpaid activities*, which are often invisible in ordinary census data. This unpaid work, which includes work for others, is thought to be a major contributing factor to gender inequality and women's poverty.

*Unpaid care work*<sup>1</sup> includes tasks such as house work, cooking, and caring for children, old people, and sick people, where the person doing this work is not paid. These tasks are essential to maintain a household and maintain workers for whatever paid work is available. As the tasks of unpaid care work become more demanding, as they do with the increasing prevalence of HIV/AIDS in a community, then families experience what has been described as "time poverty"<sup>2</sup> (Blackden and Wodon 2006).

Time use surveys are a tool that can reveal clearly the extent of such unpaid care work and possible time poverty. Time use surveys can show who carries out the unpaid care work, when they do so, and how many other things the person might have to do at the same time. The information gathered then needs to be used for a clearly planned advocacy campaign to effect any real change and relief of such time burdens.

1 There is some debate about what is included and what is excluded in definitions of unpaid caring work. This paper uses the definition put forward by Elson in 2000.

2 See Blackden (2006, p 67). "The time poverty approach is recent and encompasses access to services. Women are poorer than men in terms of time because they have domestic and care duties (reproductive work) as well as market or non-market productive work. This doubling of workload makes time a resource that is more scarce for women than for men. Therefore, policies oriented toward an alleviation of female time burdens can have major impacts on resources derived from income generating activities due to an increased amount of time dedicated to them, or also on children's health thanks to an increased amount of time dedicated to care."

## History of time use

According to Robin Fleming (Fleming 1999), time use surveys emerged before the Second World War as a statistical tool for social research and the development of social indicators. As their value became more widely recognised, international comparative studies were undertaken and conventions for a consistent methodology were established. Since the 1970s, there has been a growing recognition that unpaid work in the home and community represents a large but invisible part of a country's economy, and efforts have been made to develop methods for measuring the value of this work and including unpaid production in national accounting systems. One aspect of these initiatives has been a growing awareness of the need to address gender inequality and improve the status of women worldwide.

### Box 1: The Value of Time Use as a tool for Development

It ... produced quite a revelation as communities, NGOs, government officials and others suddenly realized that women were not just "sitting at home all day" waiting for a project or government programme to come along and "involve them in development". It established a number of now widely accepted facts:

- women and men use time differently;
- women work longer hours of total time than men but shorter hours of paid time;
- women have less discretionary time;
- women typically perform multiple activities (childcare, housework, minding stock) simultaneously.

In many ways, the 24 hour day time use analysis signalled the end of the WID approach and the desire to "put" women in development as if they were not already involved, and the beginning of a gender approach that more systematically analyzed the differences between women's and men's lives and reality.

Corner, L (2002) "Time Use Data for Policy Advocacy and Analysis: A Gender Perspective and Some International Examples." National Seminar on Applications of Time Use Statistics.

The realisation that women's unpaid work was excluded from major measures of National Accounts was made clear by Marilyn Waring in 1988<sup>3</sup>. Waring found that unpaid work was one of many activities not included in the way that systems of national accounts (SNA or UNSNA) were calculated.<sup>4</sup> Time use surveys were seen as a tool to contribute to addressing

<sup>3</sup> Waring, M (1989), *Counting for Nothing: What men value and what women are worth*. Also published as Waring, M (1989), *If Women Counted: a new feminist economics*, Macmillan, London.

<sup>4</sup> The rules for SNAs were set up in 1953 and revised in 1993. They govern, among other things, how a country calculates its Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The GDP is used for internationally comparable estimates of wealth and growth, and defines what is and is not considered productive or economic work.

what Elson (Elson 2000) has described as the problem of women's activities: they are often not "counted" in statistics, not "accounted for" in representations of the economy and not "taken into account" when policies are created.

At the 1995 Conference on Women in Beijing, governments adopted a platform for action that recognised the importance of showing the differences in men and women's work. The Platform for Action calls on relevant government and United Nations agencies to develop a more comprehensive knowledge of all forms of work and employment. For example:

... suitable statistical means to recognize and to make visible the full extent of the work of women and all their contributions to the national economy including their contribution in the unremunerated and domestic sectors. (United Nations, Fourth World Conference on Women 1995: 68.b)

And more specifically:

... conduct[ing] regular time-use studies to measure, in quantitative terms, unremunerated work (United Nations, Fourth World Conference on Women 1995: 206.f)



Before the Beijing conference, some women had recognised that the burden of work women carried affected not only their lives but also their ability to participate in development projects.

## Box 2: Time Use in Pakistan

In 1992, a village in Pakistan was involved in a new forestry project. The men of the village were going to plant and tend and harvest the trees. They said that the women could look after the tree nursery. The women said they had no time to do this.

A time use study was used to look into the women's claim. A trained woman followed another woman for 48 hours, noting down everything the woman did in that time. Ten different women, of different ages and marital status and numbers of children, were followed. A trained man did the same for 10 men.

The results were put into a graphic chart and shown to the villagers. The villagers saw that women had longer days than the men, that they did lots of things at once, and that their time was fragmented. The women did not have time to look after the seedlings.

The men acknowledged this and agreed to look after the tree nursery themselves.

Stephens, Alexandra (June 1992), "Information for Empowering Rural Women", Women's Information Network for Asia and the Pacific (WINAP) newsletter no. 10 June 1992. (Stephens 1992)

Time use studies came to be seen as the most effective way to show this double burden or time poverty of women. Time use studies in the developed world have become well entrenched, often done on a national scale and producing data allowing for international comparisons.<sup>5</sup>

Although most time use studies in the Global South aim to make the contribution of women's unpaid work to the economy visible, they can also tackle issues of particular interest in local (such as in Box 2), national, or regional contexts. Pressure to do national time use studies has increased and several African, Latin American, and South Asian countries have carried them out. Little has been done in the Pacific (see section three for details), which means that there is little recorded evidence about what the burden of women's unpaid work might be. This gap needs to be addressed.

<sup>5</sup> See the web site of the International Association for Time Use Research for details of ongoing studies around the world (<http://www.smu.ca/partners/iatur/intro.htm>), the University of Oxford's Centre for time use research (<http://www.timeuse.org/>) and the Multinational Time Use Study (<http://www.timeuse.org/mtus/>) has links to studies.

## SECTION TWO: METHODOLOGIES FOR TIME USE STUDIES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

There have been many manuals developed on time use studies for different circumstances, setting out different methods that can be used. Those that relate to developing countries include:

INSTRAW (INSTRAW 1995): A glossary of terms and the different methods outlined with examples makes this an excellent, if hard to access, book. The economic model of inputs and outputs is used to evaluate methods, and the discussion of SNA and satellite accounts is very thorough.

In 1997, the United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD) produced a Trial International Classification of Activities for Time-Use Statistics (ICATUS). This has been used and critiqued in later studies. It was updated in 2000 and again in 2003. It has 15 major divisions (2 digit), 54 divisions (1 digit), 92 groups, 200 classes, and 363 sub-classes. These are grouped as SNA, non-SNA, and personal activities. While thorough, its complexity makes it hard to work with. [http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/timeuse/icatus/icatus\\_2.htm](http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/timeuse/icatus/icatus_2.htm).

ESCAP web site (2003). This web site provides a series of detailed manuals to guide a reader through collecting time use data, classifying and interpreting the data, situational analysis, policy development, and policy advocacy. The focus of the manuals is to make unpaid work visible and valued. [http://www.unescap.org/stat/meet/wipuw/unpaid\\_guide.asp](http://www.unescap.org/stat/meet/wipuw/unpaid_guide.asp).

In 2005, UNDP organised the *Unpaid Work and the Economy: Gender Poverty and the Millennium Development Goals* conference at the Levy Institute in New York. Some of the papers discussed issues of methodology in measuring time use in detail. [http://www.levy.org/undp-levy-conference/program\\_documents.asp](http://www.levy.org/undp-levy-conference/program_documents.asp)

In 2005, UNSD produced the *Guide to Producing statistics on Time Use: Measuring Paid and Unpaid work*: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/sconcerns/tuse/tu3.aspx> (Guerrero 2005). This Guide is a 400-page document that covers time use studies throughout the world, from history to current use. It gives examples of many kinds of diaries and questionnaires, and examples of compiling and verifying data and producing material that can be used for policy. It dismisses observational studies because it is concerned with national studies that can be compared. The Guide, produced after the extension of the SNA production boundary, has been critiqued by Waring (Waring 2006).

Not all time use studies in the Global South are alike. There are differences in the objectives and the methods of the surveys carried out in developing countries, from small single issue surveys to the large national studies. The latter are mostly carried out in developed countries. Although most aim to improve the visibility of women's unpaid work and its importance to the economy, they also tackle issues of particular interest in national or regional contexts. For example, some studies measure in detail the work of caring for the sick – particularly in the wake of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Africa

Methodological approaches also vary greatly. Time use studies often differ across regions and countries by type, sampling design, questionnaire design, population covered, and modes of data collection. There is no “one size fits all” approach (Esquivel, Budlender et al. 2008).



Each time use study method has advantages and disadvantages. There is still debate about whether the International Classification of Activities for Time-Use Statistics (ICATUS), developed by UNSD in 1997, can be applied in developing countries, and whether the need to perform international comparisons should take precedence over specific local needs<sup>6</sup>.

Methods need to be used that suit both the situation and the data needed to advance policy or community empowerment. Authors have expressed their concerns about three things: the slow process of building political conditions to support any time use study, the lengthy process of both doing the survey and producing the results and, finally, the limited impact such finding have had in informing public policy to date.

Budlender goes on to explain:

A personal lesson learned from being involved in the design and collection of a [time use study] is that there is no objective way of collecting time-use data (certainly a truism, since there is no objective way of collecting any data!). All questionnaires – even supposedly value-free diaries – structure respondents’ answers in different ways, and post analysis further shapes results. Lists (either exhaustive activity lists or short tasks lists) show researchers’ interests by singling out some issues and leaving out some others, and by wording activities in ways that might (or might not) sound familiar to respondents... Lastly, the way we use our time has many other dimensions that do not fit chronological measurement, which are absent from most [time use studies] (for example degrees of freedom in deciding whether or not to take up certain tasks, differing intensity in performing activities, stressing/relaxing ways of combining activities, power relations, love, and affection) (Esquivel, Budlender et al., 2008, p.127).

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<sup>6</sup> To compare internationally there needs to be an agreed activity and method classification – this is known as “international harmonization”.

Three methodological trade-offs arise when choosing a particular modular approach to time-use data collection: respondents' burden versus fieldwork burden, surveying households versus surveying individuals, and considering – or not – simultaneous activities.

First, if the respondents'<sup>7</sup> burden is to be minimized through the use of diaries (24-hour recall diaries or even stylized diaries, which are filled in by enumerators as opposed to exhaustive activity lists), fieldwork has to be carefully calibrated to correctly select households, individuals, and days to collect information on, something that might not always be guaranteed or even possible depending on the core survey characteristics the time-use module it is attached to. Second, while household surveying makes it possible to analyse intra-household time-use distribution, it may also raise non-response rates. A third trade-off arises with inclusion of simultaneous activities in questionnaire design.

All methods struggle to cope with simultaneous activities. Simultaneous activities happen when, for example, a woman looks after her child at the same time as cooking supper, or someone watches TV at the same time as eating supper. Some methods simply do not allow for multiple activities. Where methods allow for multiple activities, respondents may not always remember them. In particular, previous research suggests that women do not remember to mention all the childcare work that they do. It seems that many women assume that their children will always be with them and must be cared for – they do not see it as an 'activity'. Where simultaneous activities are remembered, analysts struggle to find ways to analyse them. In particular, they struggle with the fact that simultaneous activities suggest that more than 24 hours work is done in a 24-hour day.

The simultaneous activity problem is an important one, because most research suggests that it is women, more than men, who do simultaneous work. Ignoring simultaneous work results, once again, in an underestimation of women's work.

Other issues that need to be considered when deciding on which method to choose include the literacy level of the population, their way of measuring time and the amount of resources and time to analyse the collected data.

Issues such as situational analysis and context including "with whom" and "for whom" have been fully covered in all the manuals mentioned above. A detailed discussion of how to code data for analysis is beyond the scope of this report.

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7 Respondent refers to the people who respond to the questionnaire, fill in a diary, or are observed

# Description of time use survey methods

## Observation

The observation method involves the researcher observing what the person is doing at particular times and recording the activities. There is no direct involvement of the person being observed. The observation method has been used more by anthropologists than by statisticians, and has been regarded by practitioners as very successful for local community empowerment and change.

The main advantage of the observation method is that the person whose activities are recorded does not have to be able to read and write, nor have a western concept of time.

The disadvantage of the method is that it is very researcher-intensive, because the researcher can only follow and observe one person at a time. However, the researcher can train local volunteers supervised by educated volunteers (Mulik and Werner 2002) or use a literate younger member of the household (Waring 2006). The first is known as *non-participant observation*, and the second is known as *participant observation*.

Another disadvantage is that the person may alter their behaviour because they are aware that they are being observed. This can be overcome by observing for long periods and only using data recorded after the observer has become more 'invisible'. Cultural constraints about hospitality need to be taken into account.

The observation method is rated as very flexible, with medium validity, reliability, and usability (INSTRAW, 1995, p 89).

One alternative method used by anthropologists is to do random observations, for example coming back every hour to see what the person is doing. This method allows one researcher to monitor more than one person in a day. However, it gives an incomplete picture of activities and is not considered to be very reliable (Sillitoe 2006).

## Stylized questions

This method would normally be used in a questionnaire, among a series of other questions. It involves questions such as:

Yesterday, how much time did you spend preparing meals?  
How much time do you spend each day preparing meals?  
During the past week, how much time have you spent preparing meals?



One disadvantage of this method is that there is no way of checking whether the answers make sense. For example, the different activities prompted do not need to add up to 24 hours for a day. Also, where a person does unpaid care work intermittently – a bit early in the morning (breakfast), some late morning (lunch), some mid-afternoon (snack), some in the evening (supper), it may be difficult for them to estimate the different time slots and get an accurate total.

Meals may be fairly easy because there are standard times. Looking after children or caring for a sick relative may be more difficult. It requires a lot of cooperation and understanding from the respondent and in-depth interviewing from the researcher. It is rated as having low validity, reliability, and flexibility (INSTRAW, 1995, p 89).

## Activity log

With an activity log, the person whose activities are being studied is asked to write down on the questionnaire each time they do a particular activity. For example:

During the next three days, each time you prepare any food, or get or prepare a drink, please provide the following information:

**Time started**

**Time ended**

**Purpose (morning meal, midday meal, etc).**

This method assumes that the person is literate, and that they have a watch or clock. It also assumes that the person is motivated enough to remember and write down each time they do the activity. It requires a lot from the respondent and therefore has a high drop-out rate.

It is a useful method when looking for time spent on one particular type of activity, such as watching television, but is not as suitable for developing country situations if the aim is to show unpaid work. It is rated as having low reliability, validity, and flexibility (INSTRAW, 1995).

## Stylized activity list

This method would also usually be part of a questionnaire, or constitute a questionnaire on its own. It involves a question such as the following, with a block in which the person can write the number of hours and minutes for each activity:

What does your actual day look like? How many hours per day do you usually spend on the following activities:

- Housework and related errands
- Child care
- Occupation (include travel to work and secondary work)
- Training/education
- Handiwork/repairs in the home and car

- Garden work
- Television/video
- Hobbies and other free time activities

Ideally, the question should be asked separately for weekdays and weekend days, because the activities are likely to be different. As with the stylized questions, there is no way of checking the answers, unless you are sure that the activities listed cover every possible activity. As the list grows longer to include all possibilities, respondent and collector fatigue grows.

Such a list may prompt recall but it is hard to get the balance right for every situation. It is rated the same as the activity log - low reliability, validity, and flexibility (INSTRAW, 1995).

## Time activity matrix

This method is similar to the stylized method, in that it has an activity list. However, it adds a list of time periods. The INSTRAW example has the activities listed along the top, creating a column for each of the activities. The time periods are listed along the side, creating rows. The periods could be 10 minutes for a very detailed sub-division, or one hour for a much cruder division.

The person recording the activities marks off in each row which activity was being carried out. There must be at least one activity for every time period. This method helps the respondent to remember what they were doing. By insisting on at least one activity for every time period, it produces a comprehensive record. It does not avoid the conceptual problem whereby the respondent must be able to classify each of their activities according to the activity categories provided. It assumes that the person is able to remember all the activities undertaken and assign them to the categories. Both a good memory and good calculation skills are needed.

It does not deal with simultaneous activity at all. It is rated as having high validity, reliability, and usability, especially when administered by an interviewer.

## Time diary

INSTRAW names this method as the 'tool of preference' because it avoids some of the problems associated with the other methods described above. With the time diary, the questionnaire does not provide a list of activities. Instead, the respondent describes each activity in their own words, from the beginning of a day until the end of a day. In some cases, the diary will have time slots along the side or top against which the activities must be recorded. In other cases, the respondent just names each activity, with a beginning and ending time (but this increases the difficulty of coding activities later on).

There are two main types of time diaries. In the '*yesterday*' diary, the respondent is asked what they did for each period of the previous day. This has the advantage that it can be

filled in during an interview. It is therefore a good method if respondents are illiterate or have difficulties with writing and reading. Its main disadvantage is that the person may not remember well what they did on the previous day.

In the 'tomorrow' diary, the respondent is given a diary and asked to fill it in during the following day as they carry out each activity. The tomorrow diary has the advantage that it does not require the respondent to remember what happened. One disadvantage is that it requires commitment from the respondent to carry the diary with them and remember to write things down. In both South Africa and Mauritius, the statistical agencies found that many people did not fill in their diaries as requested. A second disadvantage is that it requires literacy skills.

## Table of Methods described

Type	Description	Possible cost	Advantages	Disadvantages	Simultaneous activity
Observation Participant or non participant	Researcher observe and records what happens	Can be expensive	Captures fragmented time and simultaneous activity well High in validity no literacy required or formal time concepts	May alter behaviour Researcher intensive	Allows
Stylized Questionnaire	General questions on TU	Cheaper	Minimizes recall bias	Requires literacy May be too complicated & not add to 24 hours	Doesn't allow
Activity list/ log	Usually focused on one activity	Cheaper	Best for measuring 1 activity	Requires literacy, motivation and good memory	Doesn't usually allow
Stylized Activity list	List of activities	Medium	Prompts recall	Requires literacy. List too complex, hard to make sense and analyse. May not fill out or lose interest	Doesn't allow
Matrix	As above with time slots	Medium	Easier to use and analyse Once understood easy to fill in	Assumes good memory and calculation skills. May not fill out or lose interest	Doesn't usually allow
Full Diary	Left and often followed up with interview	Medium	Most accurate as description in vernacular. Preferred method by INSTRAW	Harder to analyse as must be coded later	Usually allows
Activity matrix		Cheaper		Assumes good memory and good calculation skills	Doesn't allow

## Strength and weaknesses of the different methods

All methods are open to bias. All methods may not give a true picture of a 'normal' day. For example, with observation, the fact that the person knows they are being observed could result in a change in behaviour. With self-reporting, the person can decide which activities they want to report and which activities they do not want to report.

INSTRAW (1995) provides two matrices that reflect the strengths and weaknesses of the different methods of collecting information on time use. In both matrices, INSTRAW distinguishes between 'constrained' methods – where the activities must add up to 24 hours and so can be checked – and 'unconstrained' methods. Constrained methods tend to be more exact than unconstrained methods.

The first matrix looks at strengths in terms of 'inputs' – what is required from the researcher and respondents. It categorises each method in terms of respondent cooperation, respondent knowledge, cost, and how easy the data is to process. The second looks at reliability, validity, usability, and flexibility. These ratings have been used in the descriptions above.

Diaries are seen as the preferred method for National time use studies. Stephens (1992, 2008 personal communication) and Waring (2006) would argue that observation best suits community empowerment

The lament of all methods of time use is that, after the data is gathered, little of it is fed into policy changes. Budlender (2004) notes that when time use studies have been used to engender<sup>8</sup> budgets some changes have occurred in Israel, Canada, South Africa and the United Kingdom, but these have been small changes. The current consensus among prominent researchers is:

All three contributors express their concerns about the painstaking process of building political conditions that support TUS, the lengthy process by which these surveys finally come to light, and the limited impact their findings have had in informing public policy to date (Esquivel et al 2008 p.109).

Marilyn Waring (2006) points out that time-use data collection will progress only if results are locally valued and strategically used to influence concrete spheres of policy-making.

## What would suit the Pacific?

While it would be desirable to have Pacific countries embrace the notion of national time use surveys, the probability of this happening by any methodology is remote at present. Both Politicians and Government officials, specifically Statisticians, would need to be convinced that this was a useful and wise use of resources which would lead to better policy. Advocacy could play a role to get this "buy in".

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<sup>8</sup> Fiji was to be part of a pilot Commonwealth Secretariat project to engender the budget. The Coup in 2000 led to this being postponed. Commonwealth (1999). "Gender Budget Initiative: A Commonwealth Initiative to Integrate Gender into National Budgetary Processes." P.13.

If such a study did occur (as recommended by Ironmonger and Hill in 1998), pilot trials of a diary-based system could show if this is the preferred method to use.

However, for NGOs/CSOs based in the Pacific, a much more powerful tool would be to use the observation model. By building partnerships between development partners and communities, this method gives powerful feedback to the local community and makes changes more likely to happen. The Kiribati study outlined in the next section gives details on how this could be done.

Any PRA work done by NGOs/CSOs could also include the construction of a daily diary, as described by Bronson (1995) and Doorne (2004). These are Pacific examples that have already been shown to work.

It is also important to ensure that Pacific NGOs/CSOs are trained to then focus on advocacy, to ensure that the findings of any TUS surveys undertaken are fed into national and local policy development.



## SECTION THREE: TIME USE STUDIES IN THE PACIFIC

Examples of time use surveys in the Pacific are hard to find. There are others, which may have been done but are not presently retrievable. UNIFEM and FAO may have commissioned several in the 1990's but they were not sighted for this study. However, there are examples of small surveys carried out for specific purposes.

### Time use studies in the Pacific during the 1970s

Several anthropologists used time use studies as part of their work in Papua New Guinea. Paul Sillitoe (2006) reports on data he collected as a non-participant observer during a time use study in 1974 and 1977. He debates the nature of work and the imposition of western concepts of equality to the area.

David Bain (Bain 1996) reports in some detail from the Gilbert and Ellice Islands Rural Socio-economic Survey 1972-1973, reported in Kiribati national accounts:

7.3 The survey was held in five islands and recorded the hours that households worked each week on a variety of non market economic activities.

Bain notes the hours recorded for each task and converts these to monetary values with an activity co-efficient. There is no breakdown by sex and no inclusion of "housework" or women's work. This work reflects the thinking of the time, with the household as a unit without any idea of sex disaggregation or differing roles within the family.

### Time use studies in the Pacific during the 1980s

Yutaka Suzuki (Suzuki 1992) reports on a time use study he and Shigeru Yokoyama carried out in Fiji in the autumn of 1987. It was a survey of 600 people in Suva and the farming areas nearby, on a weekday, by questionnaire.

Because the survey was carried out before the television station was inaugurated, a major finding was that people listened to the radio very often. There was a considerable difference in behaviour between people of Indian descent and Fijian descent. Watching videos was a major source of leisure for those of Indian descent, while Fijians give priority to spending time with others.

While the table shown is hard to interpret, it shows that women did more housework than men and this was especially so in rural areas (54 hours for women, compared to 8 hours for men). Women in both rural and urban areas did 49 hours of laundry in a week, compared to men's 1 hour. There was a similar difference in hours of childcare, but with less done by both men and women in rural areas. There was no measurement of simultaneous activity, which may account for the difference in childcare hours.

In 1986, Vanuatu published the results of a rural census carried out in 1984 (Vanuatu 1986). The census was funded by the British government to help develop better agricultural systems. The study surveyed 640 households and used 8 different types of questionnaires. Unfortunately, the second volume of results setting out the survey's methodology was unavailable. Under "Village Economic Activity", both income and expenditure patterns of the rural households and also activity patterns or time usage of the adult rural population were examined. The time usage survey established a number of interesting features,

including marked differences in the roles of the sexes. Women spent more than 4 times as much time on housework than men and had 25% less leisure time than men. However, there was no clear definition of housework.

## Time use studies in the Pacific during the 1990s

Peggy Fairbairn-Dunlop surveyed two Samoan villages in 1991.<sup>9</sup> She carried out a census of three villages using a 24-hour recall method. Each home was visited daily over two one-week periods, one during the dry season and the other during the wet season. According to Ironmonger and Hill (1998), she commented that:

... measurement of time was particularly difficult in a society such as Samoa where 'time' is not a culturally relevant variable. There are few clocks, and radios are only turned on at certain times.

In a later publication, she commented that:

Pacific women play a major role in the small holder economies of the region. Available data demonstrate their significant contribution to food and cash cropping, informal trading and community work... Women's agricultural activities appear to be increasing... the over riding factor is that women are willing to work at any task they believe will benefit their family. This entrepreneurial spirit has become increasingly crucial in today's changing and depresses economic conditions. A question which must be asked is: Why are women seemingly bearing the brunt of these changes, while at the same time retaining responsibility for their "family roles"? (Fairbairn-Dunlop 1994 p. 74)

Another study was carried out in Vanuatu (Bronson John 1995) This small study gives details of doing PRA in the villages of Hog Harbour. It includes an outline of how to do a Daily Gender Calendar at a village meeting and then gives the results found. Men and women describe their day from waking until sleeping and form a consensus of an average day. This is then discussed by the group.

The daily gender calendar elicited discussion about sensitive issues and focused attention on the charts, not on face to face confrontations. Placing the calendars on the wall side by side, maintains attention on the results, not on individual personalities. The audience reviews them, individuals rebut calendar items and lively discussion ensues. In addition the women commented that the exercise made it easy for them to talk about the issue. By working in separate groups, they were comfortable in offering their opinions. They were able to respond more confidently because the discussion focused on the chart and not on them. This exercise seemed to motivate many women to speak up and encourages their contribution in later exercise. ( Bronson 1995 p.40)

The findings highlighted that the men's days differed significantly from the women's. The men were aware of the women's greater workload and less personal time. Yet the men endorsed these traditional roles, offering few suggestions for change.

9 Fairbairn-Dunlop (1991), *E au le inailau a tamaitai: Women Education and Development, Western Samoa*, as cited by Ironmonger and Hill (1998), 'Women's economic participation in five Pacific Island countries', International Development Issues, number 120, p 55.

During the men's and women's presentations, a lively discussion ensued. In commenting on the difference in work commitments, men said their work was perhaps not as lengthy but very strenuous. One old gentleman suggested the problem was due to traditional beliefs about men and women's roles. Others agreed. He further commented that while they wanted to revive many customs, they did not want all of them back - only the good ones. The women added that they wanted more time for personal activities. Many men said they knew women worked longer than men, but were not aware of the extent of the difference. They noted that this exercise was helpful in opening their eyes. Increasing awareness is a first step in combating the problem of gender inequities. (Bronson 1995 p.41)

Statistical profiles of men and women in Palau (1992), Kiribati (1997), and Tonga (1998) were produced, funded by New Zealand's overseas development assistance programme. These profiles use existing data to show the different roles of men and women in a number of areas, but they use existing census data and do not include a time use survey.

In Kiribati, one question in the 1996 household income and expenditure survey did ask about household activities on two islands, Onotoa and Butaritari

### **Data about household activities on Onotoa and Butaritari (sample), Kiribati, 1996**

Hours spent/week	Onotoa men	Onotoa women	Butaritari men	Butaritari women
Cleaning	19.03	108.24	8.06	61.26
Washing	2.33	46.46	6.25	106.25
Cooking	6.22	139.34	116.00	319.19
Fetching water	28.68	31.64		
Fetching firewood	27.39	53.45		
Thatch making	1.16	78.25		10.5
String making		39.46		12.75
Mat making	11.07	206.19	2	215.40

Construction and canoe-making were all male tasks. There is no analysis of what this might mean and no inclusion of child care or care for the elderly.

Ryutaro Ohutsuka (Ohtsuka, Abe et al. 1998) did a comparative time use study of two villages in Papua New Guinea and one in south China. The study was focused on time budgets and calories consumed. It is disaggregated by sex but no gender analysis is applied.



Duncan Ironmonger and Helen Hill did a detailed and full study in 1998 which aimed to:

...seek to address the issue of how to measure more accurately the contribution of women to economic activity in five countries of the South Pacific- Fiji, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Samoa and Tonga. The result will be to show both women's and men's contributions in their true proportions. (Ironmonger and Hill 1998 p.1)

The report reviews the literature relating to the participation of women in economic activities and studies done on particular industries, such as agriculture, fishing, and handicrafts. It then pulls together data from the census to show a wider view of economic activity, including village work, household work, and education as part of economic activity. This new measure shows that 91% of women and 93% of men are economically active. It looks at SNA and non-SNA boundaries as they may relate to the Pacific and makes recommendations for further work - including time use studies.

Chapter 3 of Ironmonger and Hill's work gives statistics compiled to show the percentage of those who were active in the total economy and also who carried out household work (home duties).

Country	Men	Women
Fiji	0	61%
Solomon (garden work excluded)	1%	6%
Vanuatu	1%	12%
Samoa	0%	32%
Tonga	4%	34%
Total	1%	41%

The authors do not comment on the differences in the percentage of those active in the economy and who also did household work. However they confirm that no nationwide household survey of time use has been done. Using the Beijing Platform of Action (BPA) they suggest that a diary-based time use study would provide benchmark data about the average hours each week spent by men and women in each sector of the economy, both SNA and non-SNA and unpaid work. According to Ironmonger and Hill, at least 5000 households should be included and all those over 12 should have a diary. The authors estimate that this would take about three years to complete for the five countries.

## Time use studies in the Pacific during the 2000s

In 1999 and 2000, Jenny Whyte of FSPI Consulting conducted several time use studies in five islands in Vanuatu (Whyte, Siwatibau et al. 2000). Each trained coordinator mapped the village, selected 5 sample households, and selected a family recorder responsible for completing the record sheets for each member of the household. The aim was for a daily time use record for 7 days for each person more than 10 years old. Activities were put into 12 categories, including family and household care.

According to the survey results, women took much greater responsibility for family and household care than men. Men devoted a greater proportion of time each week to economic activities (subsistence and commercial economic activities)<sup>10</sup>. Men devoted more time to social and personal pursuits than women. This survey was later repeated but results could not be accessed (Whyte 2001).

### Study in 2002, Kiribati

A detailed time use survey was completed on the Gilbert Islands of the Republic of Kiribati (Mulik and Werner 2002). It was carried out as a partnership between the Ministry of Environment and Social Development, the United States Peace Corps, and New Zealand's overseas development agency (NZODA). The study used the non-participant observer method for a 24 hour period. It is a snap shot that makes no claim to statistical significance.

A total of 226 surveys were completed for the 11 islands, seeking to answer two questions: what do people on each of the islands spend their time on and how much is spent on these activities; and is there any difference in the way that men and women spend their time?

#### Box 3: Lessons from Kiribati

Of the 22,370 females who are able to work 85% are not in a paying job. Does this mean that these women are not working? After a closer inspection, it is easy to see that 85% of women are performing home duties and another 13% village work. Much of this work remains unrecognised and undervalued. This has an impact on the status of women in society, their opportunities in public life and the gender blindness of development policy (p.1)

Some trends are clear. Men tend to have more leisure time than women and women do most of the reproductive work. Tasks are different from the northern to the southern islands, and from the outer islands in comparison with South Tarawa. In particular, the people on South Tarawa have huge amounts of leisure time. This is just one of the findings which has serious policy implications. (p.2)

In the I-Kiribati culture, women traditionally only perform household activities – such as cleaning, cooking, child rearing, etc. Alternatively, men traditionally undertake more moneymaking and physically challenging labour – fishing, clearing land, etc. Based on the data for the outer islands, it seems that this was indeed the case. (Mulik and Werner 2002, p.2)

<sup>10</sup> She reports detailed information about the difference in men and women's workload. Women spent significantly more time than men on family and household activities (27.2 hours compared to 6.6 hours per week). Men spent 2.6 hours drinking cava, women none. Women spent 2.7 hours on child care, men 0.1 of an hour. Young women did more household work - 18 hours compared to men's 6 hours. Women aged 20-39 devoted the greatest time to household care - 33.9 hours.

The authors observed that women spent more time performing family services than the men. In most cases, the time difference in this category was quite large. Only two islands had nearly equivalent time spent by males and females for this category - Nonouti and South Tarawa. The authors also noted that on all of the islands, men spent more time on household activities that are usually physically challenging. They noted that this supports the stereotype and traditional gender breakdown of work.

The non-participant observers were trained by the Peace Corps worker on the island, who had received training earlier in South Tarawa. They also collected the data sheets and sent them to be analysed.

One female data collector was contracted to follow 10 different women of different ages and marital status, for 48 hours. A male data collector did the same for 10 men in the same village.<sup>11</sup>

#### Box 4: Policy possibilities from the Kiribati study

Besides the Kiribati GAD project, several other Governmental Ministries and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) will be able to use the results of this study. Already, several different organisations have requested copies of the final report.

The Kiribati Copra Cooperative Society has requested to use the information to help them determine why the amounts of copra vary from island to island.

The Atoll Seaweed Company has also expressed interest in obtaining the results of this project in order to expand their operations to other islands.

Likewise, if a particular island is not fishing too much, perhaps an officer from the Fisheries Division could visit the island and see if there is problem with the local fish stocks.

Also, an expert in handicraft making could visit islands that spend a lot of time making handicrafts. Therefore, the study's results will be of interest to many different people in many different organisations – not just those people working for the empowerment of women. *Mulik & Werner 2002 p.103*

That same year, the Asian Development Bank in its grant to Outer Island Development said that it would do a time use study in 2002 of all the outer islands (TAR: KIR 32567). It has not been possible to determine whether the time use study took place or what the results showed.

11 Since the I-Kiribati people are so hospitable, it would not be unheard of for a person to completely alter their daily routine to accommodate the needs of a visitor. This posed a difficult challenge for the data collectors – to observe a person for 48 hours and not have that person change their activities to assist the data collector. Furthermore, a person might change their work to give a data collector something interesting to write in the survey. Both of these possibilities were nearly impossible to control. To help prevent this type of situation from happening, each data collector discussed the project with each person they were to observe

## Study in 2003, Tuvalu

In 2003, Buchan and Cosslett published their report, Social and Economic Wellbeing Survey –Tuvalu (Buchan and Cosslett 2003). The aim of the Participatory Monitoring and Evaluation (PME) project was to measure the effects of the Island Development Trust and particularly the Falekaupule Trust Fund on the quality of life in the islands over a six-year period.

Household questionnaires were used to identify, for example, water and electricity access, development priorities, and the number of people living in the dwelling. Respondents were asked about the amount and type of unpaid work that was undertaken by various household members during the previous week. Although not designed to be a time use survey, it does give some indication of time use by gender. Unfortunately, the categories are not disaggregated by sex. There is a category for “mothers”, and “fathers” and then “others” who, according to the charts, do a huge amount of the unpaid work. The reader has no way of knowing whether the “others” are male or female. For example:

... the most significant unpaid activities were cleaning house/cooking (mostly done by mothers and other members) and feeding pigs/chickens (shared fairly evenly between fathers, mothers and other members). The other most significant tasks for the average father and for “other members” were fishing and gardening for the family, and cutting today. For mothers significant amounts of time were spent washing clothes and weaving mats. (Buchan 2003 p.72)

Using the household as a unit has other methodological problems because it does not show the breakdown of intra-family labour.

## Gender audits in Fiji, 2003

Funded by the Asian Development Bank, these audits highlight important issues but do not contain any time use data. The gender audit on agriculture and land settlement states that:

Women traditionally have the caregiver role and consequently their time to engage in agricultural activities is reduced. In the Fiji Islands, where traditional family structures are still strong, women are able still to draw on community support when they are required to care for sick family members. However as families become more urbanized, these traditional supports may deteriorate and a woman's ability to look after her family and participate in agricultural production may decrease. Discussions within the community about the contribution men can make to domestic activities to improve food security could be encouraged to examine these type of issues. (Ministry of Health, 2003 p.14)

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before the survey began. This helped ensure that no cultural taboos were broken – because prior consent was obtained to observe each individual for 48 hours – and that each survey would be conducted without the data collector interfering with or altering the time of the person being observed (at 15 minute intervals). To further ensure that observed person's time would not be altered, each data collector was asked to do the following:

- provide their own food throughout the length of the study
- provide their own sleeping supplies and prepare their own sleeping place
- not to speak to or give anything to the person being observed
- not to accept anything from the person being observed
- not to help the person being observed with any task.

The health gender audit makes a comment about caring burdens where because of the expectation that women will provide care to sick household members, the burden of care for those with AIDS falls primarily upon women. It suggests that the programs for providing care to people living with AIDS, such as the International Red Cross one, should be targeting women caregivers and other family members in their homes as well as professional health-care providers.

### **Tourism Development Project in Fiji, 2004**

This study (Doorne 2004) included a workshop with stakeholders about a proposed new tourism resort. The workshop-based process took an 'indirect' approach to data collection. It mapped the daily lives of community groups in terms of land use, activities, and cultural heritage sites.

Discussions of tourism development were therefore approached from an 'inside-out' perspective, assuming that local people have the motivation, potential, and creativity to solve their own problems, and are realistic in their objectives. The workshop included a time use activity: participants were asked to write down what they did in a normal day. Similar groups, for example married women, together produced an average day outline. This was to identify daily routines, activities of particular groups within the community (women, elder men, and youth) to give insight into how proposed employment with the development might affect village life.

The workshop discussion addressed potential conflicts of responsibilities for women between their traditional roles (in food preparation, childcare, laundry, and housekeeping) and proposed employment opportunities for them at the resort. This is a good example where time use or time estimates have been used in a decision-making process for a local community.

### **Other work during the 2000s**

In 2004, the Secretariat of the South Pacific produced a two-volume report (Gender Issues in the Tuna industry – Pacific Examples). There was no time use study involved, but the Fiji case study noted the multiple workloads of women involved in fish processing and the risks of HIV/AIDS related to the men on boats. The report's recommendations included number 8:

... a more in-depth participatory study analysis be undertaken to assess the daily tasks and use of time by men and women noting the changes in work pattern and the effect of this on boys and girls (in particular their access to education). (Secretariat 2004)

In 2005, Lawrence Grossman published a paper based on work done in Papua New Guinea (Grossman 2005). He noted the difficulty in rural areas of changing work loads due to seasonal variations. Grossman is an advocate of an alternative form of time use study developed by Allen Johnson, an anthropologist who uses spatial mapping of time use, calculating average distances travelled to activities and computing time spent on

movement. The method uses numerous spot-checks of activities to provide “accurate and representative data on all activities without extraordinary effort by the field worker.” However, there is no gender comment or disaggregated information gathered because the focus is on the “household”. His only reference to gender differences is:

... married adults spent, on average, 1.46 hours per day in travel (to both work and non work activities) within the village, with women devoting more time (1.62 hours) to travel than men (1.22 hours) because women must harvest from gardens almost daily. (Grossman 2005, p.453)

A reference was found to Yamauchi, who looked at the nutritional status and physical activities of a highland population. His abstract was available but not the full paper. The abstract states that Yamauchi used an observational time use method, but more information cannot be provided without access to the full paper (Yamauchi and Umezaki 2005).



## **2007 Gender Issues in Employment, Under Employment and Incomes in Fiji**

In 2007, Warden Narsey's book *Gender Issues in Employment, Under Employment and Incomes in Fiji* was published. (Narsey 2007) It presents his analysis of the 2004-2005 Employment and Unemployment Survey carried out by the Fiji Bureau of Statistics. There was no time use study involved, but as one of his recommendations he suggests that the Bureau undertake a national “time use” survey to get a complete profile of “how the population uses its time in economic, social, sport, leisure and other activities (such as reading, video/TV, grog bowl)” [sic]. (Narsey 2007 p.v)

Narsey quotes Sally Moyle, a gender advisor from AusAID, who stated that “women are often so closely associated in our minds with care of family and home that we can forget that the way women use their time is work, and that women do a lot of it!” (Narsey 2007 p.v)

In Chapter 5, Narsey looks in detail at unpaid house work and the number of hours spent each week on cooking, washing clothes, child care, compound work, and other household chores. He says that 23 % of time is spent on child care (not defined) and 79 % of this is done by women, 21 % by men. Women did 27 % of the work done by the 'economically active' but also did 76 % of the housework.

Narsey's work is a useful and timely contribution to the literature to make unpaid work more visible and he joins a number of authors asking for time use studies to be carried out.

## Major Findings

Very few time use studies have been carried out in the Pacific, and to date no government has carried out a national time use study despite this being recommended in earlier work done in this area (Ironmonger 1998). Studies which have been done show broadly similar results to those done overseas (ie: Men have more leisure time than women, who do almost all the unpaid domestic work). There were no studies found on unpaid caring work in the Pacific, however the important issue of different work patterns during different seasons was touched on in two studies.

The translation of research into policy and practice has proved a global challenge, with time use surveys conducted in other parts of the world struggling to link systematically into policy mechanisms. The limited work carried out in the Pacific has suffered the same fate. The data that has been gathered has not lead to any policy changes, and in fact has been used mostly to be quoted in other studies. This is a global issue with time use and many other forms of data gathering. However there is no doubt that time use surveys represent an enormous untapped resource, and policy would be better able to be targeted if the true picture of unpaid care work was seen by policy makers.

This report recommends that if TUS are promoted at the national or local level, they be part of a campaign of advocacy, so that the data can be used in the policy process.

ESCAP (2003 [http://www.unescap.org/stat/meet/wipuw/unpaid\\_guide.asp](http://www.unescap.org/stat/meet/wipuw/unpaid_guide.asp).) has downloadable detailed manuals for situational analysis (Manual 3), policy development around the issues raised by time use surveys and the implications of the unequal sharing of unpaid work (Manual 4), and advocacy in policy making (Manual 5). The manuals indicate ways in which such data might be integrated into statistics, then into labour market and employment policies and finally into social welfare and protection policies.

## Advocacy

*Understanding advocacy adds value to data generation and utilization. The production of statistics becomes meaningful to the extent that they reach identified users at the time they are needed. Advocacy for data utilization in policy-making aims to promote the use of hard information on women's and men's unpaid work in a usable format for decision-making.*

*It also aims to plan, organize, monitor and evaluate timely usage of statistics for various purposes by users of data and information in expanding the support base for needed policy. Advocacy is the deliberate and strategic use of information to gain support of decision makers and influence their behaviour in a specific way. It involves organising information to influence the choices to be considered in making a decision. It promotes better understanding of the issues among those who have the power to change the environment within which changes in behaviour of people about their own lives takes place. (ESCAP 2003 p.151)*

The manual goes on to explain in details the key steps of advocacy for unpaid work. This relies on a clear understanding of the policy making process. At each step the process is matched with an advocacy intervention. (p.160-161)

PHASE	Characteristic	Key advocacy message	Activities/ events
Agenda setting	Parliament, relevant Ministers place the issue of unpaid work on the policy agenda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Unpaid workers are economically productive members of society</li> <li>*They contribute millions of \$ but it is not counted</li> <li>*More women than men do unpaid work</li> <li>* unpaid workers have no social protection or security entitlements</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Media launch of TUS data</li> <li>*Press conference with key officials and politicians</li> <li>*Media dialogue with Trade unions, civil society women's groups</li> </ul>
Policy Formulation	Parliament, politicians, officials formulate policies and draft a bill is prepared which also gives resource allocation to the issue	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*Services for unpaid workers are socially and politically a good investment</li> <li>*Ignoring unpaid workers has consequences for the economy</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Motivation of policy makers – prepare fact sheets/ info/ briefing kits for policy makers</li> <li>Build a group of CSO advocates to support friendly politicians, officials</li> <li>Media events , public submissions</li> </ul>
Policy adoption	Implementation with resource allocation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>*benefits both men and women</li> <li>*Long lasting effects on both</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Press conferences to explain policy,</li> <li>CSO forums on implementation</li> </ul>

Steps for implementation and monitoring are also outlined including the development of new indicators to monitor changes in patterns of unpaid work over time (p.146).



### Box 5: Emerging Uses of Time Allocation Data

As the debate moves more firmly toward policy analysis, the demand for sophisticated quantitative analysis of time use data increases. For example, in the Republic of Korea time use data has been used to challenge assumptions about the value of women's work in relation to pension policy, insurance claims and divorce settlements and inheritance. Countries such as Australia, Cuba, Japan, and Republic of Korea have or are developing satellite accounts of the value of unpaid work. Australia integrated the monetary value of unpaid work into the analysis of the household sector in its national accounts for the first time in 1997.

Gender analysis of budgets and the general area of performance budgeting and people's budgets are emerging areas where time allocation data has the potential to make an important contribution. Time allocation data can help to identify beneficiaries of project and programmes, as well as identifying certain aspects of the efficiency (performance) of programmes. For example, time allocation data could show the amount of time used in waiting for government services, as well as how this might differ between women and men.

Time use data also has the potential to show the interaction between government budgets and household time budgets: for example, what effect does a cut in the local health budget have on the way in which women use their time. (Corner 2002, p.13)

## SECTION FOUR: THE IMPORTANCE OF UNPAID CARE WORK

Debbie Budlender produced a document for UNIFEM: Why we should care about unpaid care work (Budlender 2004). She contends that unpaid care work has been a major contributing factor to gender inequality and women's poverty. This has come about because the assumption is often made that unpaid work is elastic and without value.

Budlender defines unpaid work as tasks such as housework, cooking, and caring from children, old people and sick people where the person doing this work does not get paid. She stresses that each word is important. "Unpaid" means for no pay, "care" means that the activity serves people and their well-being. It does not mean that the work is always done willingly, or with love. That depends on the relationship between the caregiver and the care receiver.<sup>12</sup> "Work" stresses that the activity has a cost in terms of time and energy. The activity often arises out of a social or contractual obligation, such as marriage.

Many other terms have been used to describe these activities but they are more ambiguous (terms such as domestic labour, unpaid labour, reproductive work, home or housework).

Budlender goes on to produce a manual of how to measure such work, - with time use surveys - and how this might lead into a more gendered budget process and policy change. She explains why such work should be valued in economists' terms:

*Unpaid care work brings positive externalities for employers because the care and pre-school education of children and the feeding and care of the workforce improve the quality of the labour force. The 'cost' of this work in terms of time and effort is largely borne by women. The benefit is derived by the society more generally.*

*Because there is no price tag for unpaid care work, and because society does not pay for it, policy makers often assume that there is a limitless supply – that they can have as much as they want. But there is a limit to unpaid labour. If the suppliers (mainly women) of unpaid labour are pushed too far, and if the burdens placed on them are too heavy, the quality and amount of care they can provide will deteriorate. (Budlender 2004, p.38)*

Shahra Razavi also spends time on definitions, (Razavi 2005) explaining that unpaid work, care work and unpaid care work are sometimes used interchangeably. Although they may overlap, they are separate, as some are within the SNA production boundary and others are outside it. For example, collecting firewood or water are, since 1993, inside, while services such as shopping, meal preparation, or washing clothes, and unpaid care provided for one's child, elderly parent or neighbour, are excluded from the SNA and GDP calculations.

*Direct care of persons (bathing them, feeding them, accompanying them to the doctor, taking them for walks, talking to them and so on) is often seen as separate from the other necessary activities that provide the preconditions for personal care giving such as preparing meals, shopping and cleaning sheets and clothes. But such boundaries are arbitrary, especially since the persons needing intensive care are often also unable to do such tasks themselves. (Razavi 2007, p.6)*

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<sup>12</sup> It also depends on cultural norms. Sometimes women feel forced by such social norms or in extreme cases physically forced to do this work.

In her abstract, Razavi outlines her thesis that care should be rights- or citizenship-based:

*... [We need to] see care in much larger terms, as part of the fabric of society and integral to social development. Citizenship rights, the latter argue, have omitted the need to receive and to give care. To overcome the gender bias that is deeply entrenched in systems of social protection and to make citizenship truly inclusive, care must become a dimension of citizenship with rights that are equal to those that are attached to employment. (Razavi 2007, p.1)*

There is a large body of evidence that it is women who do most of this work.<sup>13</sup> All the evidence, from time-use studies in particular, points to persistent differences and inequalities between women and men with regard to the performance of paid and unpaid work. Women spend more time than men on work overall, have fewer hours in paid work, and in general have less discretionary time than men (UNIFEM 2005). There are no known countries where men do more domestic work than women, and it has been estimated that women do two-thirds of all the domestic work in the world. Moreover, women spend more time on multiple and overlapping activities, such as caring for children, older persons and ill people, cooking and cleaning, and they are more likely than men to combine paid and unpaid work (often simultaneously).



<sup>13</sup> For example, at the 2005 UNDP Unpaid Work and the Economy: Gender Poverty, and the Millennium Development Goals. Global Conference: 54. conference at Levy in New York, Jaques Charnes provided information gathered in Africa (mainly from time use surveys). He noted that with core domestic activities (preparing meals and washing up, washing and ironing, and care of children), the gap between women and men is huge: women's contribution varies from 13 or 12 times men's (for preparing meals) and 10 or 9 times (for both meals and washing up) in Madagascar, Benin, and Mauritius, to 2 or 4 times in Ghana and South Africa respectively. Childcare takes 13 times more of the time of women than of men in South Africa, 7 times in Benin, 6 in Madagascar, 3 in Mauritius, and nearly 2 times in Ghana. Charnes' is just one of many reports in both the developed and developing world that show such pronounced gender differences.

## Shortage of time leads to poverty and reduced opportunities

One of the most important points is that doing so much unpaid care work leads to “time poverty” for women, which is often linked to actual poverty. This means that women’s chances of participating in education, for example, are limited - as are their chances of paid work. The unequal division of household and family labour and responsibilities also reduces women’s access to activities and resources outside of the home, leading to income shortages or resource inadequacies more broadly. Women’s control over resources and their chances of being autonomous are lessened. This is clearly explained in a World Bank document (Blackden and Wodon 2006) This volume also details time use surveys as a method to make such time poverty visible.

Gender analysis of structural adjustment policies by the Commonwealth Secretariat combined welfare and efficiency arguments in its view of unpaid care work. The gender analysis showed how cutbacks in public social services were forcing women to increase their own efforts in this arena (for example, by caring for sick family members who might previously have been hospitalised). The increased burden of reproductive work:

- (a) meant that women were less able to respond to economic incentives;
- (b) slowed the reallocation of resources into the traded sector; and
- (c) made economic reform less effective.<sup>14</sup>

**Box 6: The Millennium Development Goals** (MDGs), which frame global efforts at poverty reduction in developing countries, do not specifically mention care. Yet the achievement of many of the MDGs—whether universal primary education (MDG 2), the reduction of child mortality (MDG 4), or combating HIV/AIDS (MDG 6)—depends on the provision of paid and unpaid care.

For example:

How can universal primary education be achieved without providing socialization and care to young children, which prepares them for school?

How can child mortality rates be reduced without the unpaid care work provided by mothers and other carers in the home, and the paid care work of health workers in hospitals and rural clinics?

While all authors refer to time use as the preferred method to collect information about women’s unpaid care work Valerie Bryson sounds a note of caution about the construction of time and the inability of the method to capture the true nature of care:

Feminists have argued in more detail that caring work, including not only childcare but also the care of elderly or disabled people and the provision of emotional support, is particularly difficult to conceptualize or account for in terms of modern clock time, whether it involves paid care work or unpaid responsibilities within the home. Not only is the timing

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<sup>14</sup> Kabeer, 2004, page 14.

of care determined at least partly by need rather than the clock (you change the nappy because it is dirty, not because it is four o'clock), but the temporal rhythms involved are often necessarily slow and in the present, with the processes of feeding, cleaning, dressing and reassurance repeated over and over again rather than resulting in an identifiable end product.

*Such 'women's work' is often highly fragmented, and may feel more like a jumble of simultaneous and overlapping experiences or a 'state of mind' than a series of discrete and identifiable activities or events....*

*Such analysis has major implications for time-use studies. It means that even though the attempt to measure time spent on care may be intended to recognize women's experiences and needs, it actually represents a confirmation of male time which is likely to misrepresent the nature and implications of caring roles and responsibilities. It reduces care to a set of discrete and quantifiable activities. It loses sight of the emotional aspects of care and the distinction between 'caring for' and 'caring about'...*

*It cannot capture the 'being there' aspects of care. It cannot distinguish between 'childcare' as a set of tasks and activities and 'mothering' as a personal attachment, a state of mind and a constant attentiveness that is much more than the sum of its parts (and that may in principle be done by men).*

And it offers no way of recognizing the pressures and guilt that people experience around what they do not do. (Bryson 2008, p.146)

### Box 6: Ensuring care as well as gender equality

Time Use Studies show care activities, such as childcare, care of the ill, elderly or disabled family members, are performed mainly by women. By spending considerable time on unpaid care activities women are accorded a lower status at home and outside, which ultimately results in their poor access to development opportunities. **The critical question is how to maintain care in the family on a more equitable basis?** How do we ensure that women are able to enjoy equal access to opportunities for their development in the globalised world without families suffering from loss of care? This has not been adequately answered by any society. How to ensure that men share unpaid caring work in the family?<sup>15</sup> How to raise the status of such work? How to compensate unpaid care workers for the work they do? How to ensure such caring, which is the glue of any society, continues while protecting the most vulnerable in society and preventing the erosion of family and community solidarity?

### Unpaid care work and HIV/AIDS

The focus on unpaid care work becomes more critical as the impact of HIV/AIDS is felt in developing nations. There are numerous articles specifically on the impact of HIV/AIDS on the burden of care in sub-Saharan Africa. Most gender analysis of HIV/AIDS begins with vulnerability and stigma but sometimes moves on to the impact of caring for those with HIV/AIDS.

<sup>15</sup> Hence the theme of the 53<sup>rd</sup> Commission on the Status of Women <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/53sess.htm>

According to Peacock:

*As is the case with women's unpaid work in general, the contribution that women make to caring for and supporting those ill with AIDS is frequently overlooked. In the formal sector women work in the hospitals, clinics and hospices that tend to the sick and dying. In the informal sector women, too, bear the burden of AIDS care. As the epidemic progresses and as more and more people become seriously ill, the impact on women and girls in South and Southern Africa becomes more apparent and the consequences more devastating. School aged girls are increasingly pulled out of school to take care of the sick and to assume household responsibilities previously carried out by their mothers. In Swaziland, for instance, school enrolment has fallen by 36% with girls more affected than boys. At the other end of the lifespan, elderly women are often required to take care of children orphaned by AIDS, finding themselves emotionally and physically taxed by tasks usually performed by much younger women. The burden borne by women in rural areas or women living in urban areas but without access to running water is enormous. It is estimated that caring for a person sick with full blown AIDS requires 24 buckets of water-to clean up diarrhea and vomit, to prepare water for bathing several times a day and to cook...**There is a myth of coping in the development discourse on AIDS. What it really means is that women will do it** [emphasis added]. (Peacock 2003,p3)*

Rebecca Upton writes about the effects of the increasing HIV/AIDS burden on a tribe in Botswana (Upton 2003). She describes the increasing number of orphans to care for with the increase in male out-migration leading to the development of the proverb that "women have no tribe."

Similarly, Budlender (2004) links the restructuring and reduction of health care services and the introduction of user chargers to the ever increasing pressure on women's unpaid care work, which she feels will reverse the few gains that had been made for women and girls during the last few decades.

Akintola (2008) discusses 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 socio-cultural 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. In an earlier detailed study he also notes that:

*...home-based care, by creating a disproportionate burden on women, is exacerbating existing gender inequities. It is argued that a thorough understanding of how home-based care undermines the physical health and psychological wellbeing of already vulnerable women is crucial for informing policies on home-based care. Thus, there is a need to incorporate gender perspectives when planning and implementing home-based care programmes. (Akintola 2006, p.246)*

Anglewicz links the time poverty caused by the increasing burden of AIDS care to food security in Malawi (Anglewicz, Bignami-Van Assche et al. 2005) He elaborates this further in an article in the following year (Anglewicz, Bignami-van Assche et al. 2006).

In Asia, such care burdens were barely been mentioned in passing at a ministerial meeting in Melbourne 2001 (Bloom and Sevilla 2001) which probably reflects the different impact that HIV/AIDS was having on that part of the world.

However, by 2006 there was some acknowledgment of the role of women in caregiving in Asia. Basanta Pradhan coordinated a study of six states in India with a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS, and notes that 39 % of new infections are female:

A distressing finding of the study is the burden on women. When it comes to care of the people living with HIV and AIDS, women account for more than 70 percent of the care givers. More alarmingly 20 percent of these care givers are HIV-positive themselves. The role of caregiver takes a toll on women emotionally, physically and financially. These women not only need training in nutrition, hygiene, drug management, universal precautions and basic nursing skills to handle their sick relatives, but also counselling, and moral and emotional support. Home-based care programmes could be promoted to reduce the burden on women. The elderly caregivers of orphans, in particular elderly women, not only need psychological and economic support, but also access to medical care so that they could maintain their own good health.<sup>16</sup> (Pradhan 2006 p.vi)

Home-based care programmes began to be seen by many governments as a way of providing care for the growing numbers of those with HIV/AIDS. It was cheaper - especially where there was a poorly resourced or no existent formal health care system.

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<sup>16</sup> Note that some of the data in this document appears confused. No comment is made about data showing that 16.1 % of caregivers in the up-to-15-years age range are male, while only 5.5% are female. In the category for those aged 60 and above, it is 8.6% male to 3.7%female.

Governments often do not have the resources to provide all the services that are needed to care for those who are ill. Instead, most governments are promoting 'home-based care', where household members are encouraged to care for those who are ill rather than relying on clinics and hospitals. Groups in several countries have been quick to point out that home-based care is yet another form of unpaid care work. The Tanzanian Gender Network Programme includes in its campaign to 'return resources back to the people' the call for recognition that women at the household level need resources to compensate their unpaid labour, especially in looking after those who are ill with an AIDS-related disease. The Zimbabwe Women's Resource Centre Network has a research/advocacy project on HIV and AIDS, which includes a focus on home-based care (Budlender, 2004)



Razavi (2005) notes that the care burden imposed by the HIV/AIDS epidemic has brought home the point that there may not be an unlimited supply of caring labour available. It has also raised questions about care and its provision onto the policy agenda, with the solution seen as 'home care' and 'community care'. However, these concepts may conceal that it is still people living in families who do the caring, and the carers are usually women. While such home-based care is often introduced as a cost cutting measure it is, in her opinion, part of a neo-liberal regime that sees women's place as in the home.

Razavi expands on this in a later paper (Razavi 2007), explaining that the bulk of the home-based carers work without pay or for very little pay, and often even without the most basic equipment that is needed to safely perform their tasks. Often they contribute from their own resources to meet the food and other requirements of the households for which they provide care. Most of these workers are women.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> This is another example she gives of the commodification of women's unpaid work in to poorly paid domestic labour.



In a recent expert paper written for the 53rd CSW<sup>18</sup> Mary Daly notes that:

*Existing research, although inadequate, dispels the myth of home-based caring as relatively or absolutely costless. Financial costs, opportunity costs and physical and emotional costs have been identified (Mehta and Gupta 2006; Akintola 2008). A recent study in South Africa found that households that had experienced illness or death in the recent past were more than twice as likely to be poor as non-affected households, and were more likely to experience long-term poverty. The challenges extend beyond the financial aspects to the family system itself. Care-giving for an HIV/AIDS patient is just one aspect of the carer's life - usually the care-givers also have other roles: as parent, home keeper, breadwinner, and protector... The official response to HIV/AIDS has failed to explicitly recognize that women have taken the main responsibility for care-giving. There is little attention to increasing men's responsibilities in this regard in global and national responses. (Daly 2008, p.22)*

## The Pacific response to unpaid caring work and HIV/AIDS

The Pacific response is far more muted because the burden of HIV/AIDS is yet to be felt in many Pacific Island countries. The country with the highest HIV/AIDS burden –Papua New Guinea - has also focused on developing home-based care systems. In a detailed report on such systems supplied by Laurence Hammer, there is only one comment that indicates an awareness of the possible burden on women of the increasing number of people with AIDS:

*Another model or theme in HBC (home based care) that has emerged in PNG is the utilization of pastoral groups within the church. All major churches have pastoral groups (often women), whose responsibility it is to visit the sick and provide basic care. Some of the churches are now identifying, training and mobilizing these groups to care for [people living with HIV/AIDS] emphasis added (AusAID 2004, p.8)*

It would seem that the breakdown of tasks by sex has yet to be looked at closely here. Time use studies in both rural and urban areas with a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS would make this clearer and enable the development of treatment and support that better meets the needs of carers and of PLWA of both genders.

The comment in the Gender Audit of Health in Fiji, quoted earlier, relates directly to this issue and was referred to earlier:

*Because of the expectation that women will provide care to sick household members, the burden of care for those with AIDS falls primarily upon women, who may themselves become infected through their sexual contact...if they are not aware of the risks. Programs for providing care to people living with AIDS, such as one currently offered by the International Red Cross in the Fiji Islands, should not only be targeting professional health-care providers, but also women caregivers and other family members in their homes. (Ministry of Health 2003, p.14)*

<sup>18</sup> There are several excellent papers written by experts for the 53<sup>rd</sup> CSW (2009) that need to be considered by any group looking into this area of care and sharing of responsibilities ([http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/equalsharing/egm\\_equalsharing.htm](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/equalsharing/egm_equalsharing.htm)).

A study has recently been approved by the Commonwealth Secretariat to look at the time use of HIV/AIDS carers in six countries, including countries in Asia, Africa, Caribbean, and the Pacific. The study will be looking at specific ways to improve the lives of carers in each situation. The time use studies will be small and community focused. This approach appears to be the most effective way to build up data about the real cost of women's caring work in the Pacific (Waring 2008 personal communication).

### **Box 7: Challenges for the Future**

1. How to make more effective use of time use data to raise the awareness of both the public and policy makers in developing countries on women's economic roles and contributions to the national economy. Greater awareness, particularly among society at large, is a pre-requisite for incorporating women's interests and concerns into economic policy.
2. How to use time use data to improve and engender poverty reduction strategies. Although the concept of the feminisation of poverty is widely discussed, a key limitation of existing poverty data sources is their inability to probe the intra-household dimension of poverty and thus to reveal, other than in terms of output measures such as nutrition and education, the nature of feminized poverty. Because time use data is collected and analysed at the individual level, it has the potential to address this critical gap in our understanding of feminized poverty.
3. How to build effective partnerships between users and producers of time use data and, in particular, to develop the capacity of new user groups – national women's machineries, women's NGOs, women parliamentarians, women in local government – to use this relatively sophisticated type of data more effectively for both awareness raising and policy advocacy.
4. How to incorporate time use data in macro economic analysis and modelling. It is relatively easy to identify the kinds of issues that might be addressed at the micro level through time allocation surveys and the ways in which time use data can lead to marginal improvements in the gender-sensitivity of programmes and policies. However, the real challenge is how to engender macro economic policy as well as to engender national statistical systems on which macro and micro economic policy decisions are made. Again, this is a pre-requisite for gender mainstreaming and the eventual achievement of gender equity. ( Corner 2002, p.14)

## SECTION FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS

It is clear that women's unpaid work caring for others will increase as the prevalence of HIV/AIDS increases in the Pacific. The burden of this unpaid caring work will lessen the ability of women to pursue economic and educational opportunities and endanger the achievements of the Millennium Development Goals.

1. This report supports the recommendations of others - from Ironmonger in 1998 to Nasery in 2007 - for **national time use studies to be carried out in the Pacific**. These could be done in a number of ways: a) SPC as part of its regional statistics training, could begin to build such capacity within National Statistics offices and to promote this as a priority with regional governments. b) Australia and NZ, both of whom have experience in TUS could also train staff in National Statistics offices.
2. Assistance with a policy education process and advocacy training needs to follow any data gathering. This could target politicians, statisticians and other bureaucrats as well as civil society groups in order to raise the profile of the usefulness of such data to policy work

**Promoting the use of time use studies** - with the aim to integrate unpaid work into policy by using the method adapted from ESCAP 2003 (see the table below).

Questions to be answered	Actions to be taken
What is the nature of work done by women and men? Are there differences in the activities of, and time spent by, women and men in unpaid work? Which is the best approach to collecting and analysing time-use data given the availability of resources?	Collection and analysis of time-use data
What is the value of women's and men's unpaid work? Which is the best approach to valuing unpaid work in this country?	Valuation of unpaid work
What are the social, cultural, economic, political and environmental indicators and consequences relevant to difference in unpaid work? What impact does this have on development goals specifically the MDGs?	Situation assessment and analysis
What issues concerning unpaid work confront women & men? What are the policy implications of such issues? What specific measures are needed to help ensure equality in sharing unpaid work?	Policy Formulation
To what extent are agencies, institutions, and organisations participating in promoting time-use data collection, analysis, evaluation or use for decision-making? Is there a strategy for working to influence decision-making? What advocacy is planned?	Policy advocacy

3. UN agencies could also look at promoting and assisting NGOs to conduct specific focused time use studies that have been shown to be feasible in the Pacific. These would be directed at local issues such as care of HIV/AIDS, migrant workers, remittances, intra household finance or specific groups such as farmers. If these lead to change at the community level this would seem to be the most powerful way of using time use surveys.

## CONCLUSION

Time use is the clearest instrument to show fully the amount of unpaid work done, especially the amount of unpaid care work performed each day in every home and community. As this report shows, no national time use studies have yet been done in the Pacific Islands and while some data could be garnered for HIES, this does not reflect a complete picture of unpaid work done. This is resulting in unpaid work and informal sector work remaining statistically invisible and undervalued, and as such, largely ignored in national budgetary priorities and socio-economic development policies.

A focus on unpaid care work and in particular on The equal sharing of responsibilities between women and men, including caregiving in the context of HIV/AIDS -which is the Theme of the 53rd Session of the UN Commission on the Status of women (CSW)- indicate that data is needed to see who, in the Pacific is doing such caring work. It is very likely that women's unpaid work caring for others will increase as the prevalence of HIV/AIDS increases in the Pacific. The burden of this increased unpaid caring work will lessen the ability of women to pursue economic and educational opportunities and endanger the achievements of the Millennium Development Goals and undermine the commitments made in the Millennium Declaration.

Pacific Islands' Government officials, especially statisticians will need to be convinced through advocacy that Time Use Surveys are a useful and wise use of resources which would ultimately lead to better policies. Assistance from development partners could be used to develop capacities in National Statistic Offices and of NGOs and CSOs to undertake Time Use Surveys to improve the measurement and valuation of unpaid work.

Global evidence suggests that such efforts would significantly increase the visibility of women's contributions to development and wellbeing of societies in the Pacific, revealing the necessary evidence that is needed to shape more equitable macro policies to advance gender equality, meet development challenges and aspirations, while at the same time empowering people to effect change at the community level.

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