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WOMEN'S INVISIBLE WORK:

The Case of the Philippines

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ABSTRACT

In spite of the fact that the Philippine economy has shown an increasing trend on its Gross National Product (GNP) growth rate in the last decade, people's basic needs remains unmet. The number of people in the country considered to be living below the poverty threshold was estimated at 15.4 million in 1975, 17.7 million in 1985 and 17.5 million in 1995. In a recent study conducted by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), results show that three out of five Filipinos feel that the Asian financial crises had made them poorer and less confident in finding a job. It was also found that compared to other countries in East Asia, the Philippines have been faring poorly in the fight to reduce poverty.

Poverty affects women directly because women are responsible for meeting the basic needs of the family on a daily basis. Cutbacks on social services mean that women have to provide the difference in care, expenditure or both. Women have to make trade-offs among different needs in the use of resources such as their labour time, land, cash income and other resources over which they have some control. But often, women's labour time becomes the only resource over which they have any control. This means that in order to cope with poverty, women have to extend their working day thus increasing their work burden.

Although the Filipino women have a high participation rate in the formal sector, still a significant number of the women are working in the informal sector or at home. The women population in the informal sector continues to expand either as a result of increased prices of commodities or as a result of a deterioration of real income. Much of the work carried out by women in the informal sector are not recorded or recognized. Likewise, unpaid work done by women has no market value. The productive contributions of these women are not included in the national accounts and are therefore "invisible".

In the Philippines, no national survey has been undertaken to determine the distribution of work between paid and unpaid work by gender. Thus as women NGOs have pointed out, the lack of data on women's contribution to economic activities have led the government to ignore women issues in most of its reform policies. Furthermore, the Philippine government official data and surveys are biased towards male activities. These data become the basis of state policies and programs and if not corrected will continue to contribute not only to the increasing differences between women and men but also exacerbating their differential access to resources.

This paper therefore seeks to examine the nature of women's invisible work. The paper aims to (i) document women's invisible work using representative women in Barangay Balabago, Iloilo, Philippines, (ii) compare husband and wives hours of paid and unpaid work, and (iii) compare women's "invisible" work between two groups of women living in the same Barangay.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview of the Philippine Economy

The Philippines has suffered from low growth and high unemployment rate in the 1980s, but the economy has expanded at reasonable steady rates in the early 1990s. Table 1 lists some of the economic indicators for the Philippines. The table shows that Gross National Product (GNP) growth rate was over 5 percent between the period 1995-1997. The economy appeared to have sustained the momentum that started in 1992. From Table 1 we could also note that the Philippines' GNP growth rate was at its highest in 1996 at 7.2 percent. The year 1996 was an important year, with major fiscal, trade, investment and regulatory reforms, consolidation of political support for reform with the success of the APEC leaders' meeting and faster incomes and employment growth (*Development Outlook 1997*).

Table 1: ***Selected Economic Indicator: Philippines, 1995-1999***

Item	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999[a]
Real GNP growth rate	5.0%	7.2%	5.3%	0.1%	2.0%
Real GDP growth rate	4.8%	5.8%	5.2%	-0.5%	1.2%
Inflation rate	9.5%	8.5%	5.1%	9.6%	9.6%
Unemployment rate	8.1%	8.5%	8.7%	9.7%	9.0%
Labour productivity[b] (constant 1985)	7818.0	7806.0	8053.0	7952.0	7641.0
Gross Domestic Saving	18.4%	18.4%	19.0%	17.0%	17.0%

[a] projected values
[b] measured as gross value added at constant 1985 prices divided by number of people employed
Source: ***National Statistical Coordination Board***

The Philippine economy performed satisfactorily in 1997 despite the disruptions caused by the regional currency turmoil. In 1998 however, the country's GNP growth rate slowed down considerably to 0.1 percent, and was accompanied by a significant rise in unemployment rate (from 8.7% to 9.7%). In the same year, real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) recorded a negative growth rate of 0.5 percent. The full impact of the

monetary expansion, the peso depreciation, and the El Niño weather phenomenon was felt with a lag in 1998. Likewise, labour productivity decreased from P8, 053.00 in 1997 to P7, 952.00 in 1998. High liquidity growth and rising import costs were also evident in 1998 and these factors partly contributed to the substantial increase in the inflation rate from 8.5 percent to 9.6 percent

The saving rate fell in 1998 as higher debt service cost and inflation affect the saving capability of both the public and the private sectors. The Philippines is still working with a saving rate that is low by East Asian (although not by other international) standards. This is one reason why output growth, while high by Philippine experience, is still below neighboring and comparable Southeast Asian economies (*Asia Pacific Profiles, 1997*).

The Philippine government's ability to maintain public investment levels will be an important determinant of the country's economic performance in 1999. With conditions stabilizing in the rest of the region, recovery is expected to begin in 1999 (*Development Outlook 1999*).

1.2 Poverty Estimates

In spite of the fact that the Philippine economy has shown an increasing trend on its GNP growth rate in the last decade, the people's basic needs remain unmet. The annual per capita poverty threshold figure indicates that a person should have at least P11, 388 to meet his/her annual food and non–food basic needs. Poverty incidence is defined as the proportion of families whose income cannot provide for the basic food and non-food requirements called the poverty threshold to the total number of families (*NSCB 1998*). Poverty incidence for the country was estimated at 32.1 percent or 3 percentage points lower than the 1994 incidence of 35.5 percent. In terms of number of families however, the figures reveal that there were 22,217 more families below the poverty threshold compared to 1994. The number of poor families in the rural areas increased by 297,927. On the other hand, there was an actual reduction of poor families in the urban areas by 275,709.

The number of poor families in Western Visayas (the study area) increased by approximately 32,638. But as a proportion of the total number of families, there was a slight decline from 43 percent to 41.6 percent.

Table 2: ***Poverty Estimates, Philippines 1994 & 1997***

Location	*Poverty Threshold (Pesos)*		*Poverty Incidence (%) Families*		*Poverty Incidence (%) Population*	
	1994	*1997*	*1994*	*1997*	*1994*	*1997*
Philippines	8 885.00	11 388	35.50 (4,531,170)	32.10 (4,553,387)	40.60	37.50
Western Visayas	8 197.00	10 800	43.00	41.6	49.90	48.20
Location	*Subsistence Level (Pesos)*		*Subsistence Incidence (%) Families*		*Subsistence Incidence (%) Population*	
	1994	*1997*	*1994*	*1997*	*1994*	*1997*
Philippines	6 022.00	7 724.00	18.10 (2,303,785)	16.50 (2,336,977)	21.80	20.40
Western Visayas	5 687.00	7 459.00	22.20	20.40	28.00	24.90

Source: ***National Statistical Coordination Board***

Subsistence incidence at the national level was placed at 16.5 percent down from 18.1 percent in 1994. Subsistence incidence represents the number of families whose income cannot provide for the basic food requirements called subsistence threshold to the total number of families (*NSCB 1998*). Food subsistence threshold for the country was P7,724. Table 2 reveals that there were 2,336,997 families below the food threshold or 33,192 families more than the 1994. Subsistence incidence for Western Visayas fell from 22.2 percent to 20.40 percent.

The number of people estimated to be living below poverty threshold based on census data was estimated at 15.4 million in 1975, 17.7 million in 1985 and 17.5 million in 1995 (*National Statistics Office, 1998*). Three out of five Filipinos feel that the Asian financial crises had made them poorer and less confident in finding a job (*Lim 1998*). The Filipinos are in the midst of many crises (*Eviota 1992*). Eviota argued that although the Green Revolution was able to increase the total food production for several years, it did not address the inequalities of distribution among the poor regions, classes or income groups. Likewise, the agricultural sectors' contribution to total GDP has been falling in the last decade. The fall in agricultural production can partly be due to the El Niño

effect and the fall in export prices of agricultural exports. Stagnation in food production and supply coupled with an increased population and an accelerated demand for food by urban workers has led to increases in prices. The failure of agriculture has also led to the deterioration of living standards not only of the rural sector but that of the urban sector as well. In addition, the fall in export prices and the rise in the country's foreign debt has led to the adoption of the structural adjustment programs designed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Word Bank. Structural adjustment packages have a devastating impact on the lives of the poor and laboring class, particularly that of women (*Eviota 1992*).

1.3 ***Why invisible and why is it important?***

The crises discussed earlier affect women directly because women are responsible for meeting the basic needs of the family on a daily basis. Structural adjustments brought about cutbacks in the imports of consumer goods, in domestic subsidies for items like food and fuel, and in expenditure on health and education. Reduction in social services means that women have to provide the difference in care or expenditure. Women has to make trade-offs among different needs in the use of resources such as their labour time, cash income, and land or other resources over which they have some control. But oftentimes, labour time is the only resource in which women have any control. This implies that in order to cope with poverty, women has to extend their working day thus increasing their work burden. In many cases, women work outside the home to augment the family's income. Although the Filipino women have a high participation rate in the formal sector, still, a significant number of women are working in the informal sector or at home. The women population in the informal sector continues to expand either as a result of increased prices of commodities or as result of the deterioration of real income.

Unfortunately, much of the work done by women in the informal sector as well as that at home are not recorded or recognized. Unpaid work is considered work because it is an activity which combines labour with raw materials to produce goods and services with enhanced economic value. Since most unpaid work consists of women producing goods and services for their own consumption and no cash changes hands, these unpaid work activities are not captured by conventional measure of economic activity, such as the System of National Accounts, which are designed to measure market activity (*Chadeau*,

1992; Ironmorger 1993). The productive contributions of these women then are not included in the national accounts and are therefore "invisible". These "invisible" work are oftentimes not reported in economic statistics that is used by policy makers to plan, implement and evaluate structural adjustment programs such as the one suggested by the IMF.

Statistics that seem to indicate an increase in the country's economic efficiency may overlook a transfer of costs from the paid economy to the unpaid, "invisible" economy. Reducing health expenditure, for example, may result in women spending more time caring for sick relatives and friends. The added pressure of longer and harder working day may take their toll not only on the women's health but may also affect their capacity to the economy as producers (*Siar and Caneba 1998*).

To date, there has been no national survey has been carried out to determine the distribution of paid and unpaid work by gender. Several of the Philippine Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) have emphasised, in their submissions to the government legislators, that the lack of data on women's contribution to economic activities have led the government to ignore women issues in most of its reform policies. Moreover, the Philippine government data and surveys are biased towards male activities (*Eviota 1992*). These data and surveys become the basis of state policies and programs and if not corrected will continue to contribute not only the increasing differences between men and women but also exacerbating their differential access to resources.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the nature of women's "invisible " work. The specific objectives of this paper are threefold, namely to:

- document women's invisible work using representative women in Barangay Balabago, Western Visayas, Philippines.
- compare husbands and wives paid and unpaid work in both the formal and informal sectors.
- To compare women's "invisible" work between two groups of women living in the same Barangay.

The research also aims to impute for the value of unpaid work and leisure using the intrafamily allocation approach by Apps and Rees (1995). However, the analysis is still in its preliminary stages and thus will not be discussed in this paper.

2.0 THE STUDY AREA

2.1 Location

The study was conducted in Barangay Balabago, Iloilo City, Philippines. Iloilo Province is in the Visayas Region in the centre of the Philippine archipelago. It is strategically located 283 statute miles from Manila and serves as a gateway to the flourishing region of Western Visayas. The province comprises the southeastern part of Panay Island. Iloilo is composed of one city, 46 municipalities and five congressional districts. Iloilo province has 1,920 barangays. The capital of Iloilo is Iloilo City.

Barangay Balabago is situated approximately 6 kilometers from Iloilo City Hall Compound (seat of government). It has a total land area of 135.05 hectares, 70 percent of which is residential land. Almost half of the barangay's population resides at the Alta Tierra Village, a government housing project designed for government employees. The other half of the population is located in the Barangay Balabago proper. Two primary schools, a public and a private one service the barangay. The private school is situated at the Jaro-Leganes entrance of the subdivision and the public school is situated at the heart of the barangay. The barangay has its own catholic, protestant and 5 other churches.

The study area was chosen because of its uniqueness. It is one of a very few barangays in the city of Iloilo where farm workers and urban workers live together. Majority of homeowners in Alta Tierra are government employees, with most women working in the formal sector. On the other hand, a greater number of Barangay Balabago's residents are agricultural workers, with most women working in the informal sector.

2.2 Sample and Instrumentation

The data was collected from 100 households, 50 households from Alta Tierra Village and 50 from Barangay Balabago proper. Sampling, pre-testing and interviewing were conducted by Filipino researchers and interviewers. Respondents were selected using stratified random sampling method. The list of the households was taken from the office of the barangay captain. The barangay captain was the key informant in this study. The data were collected with two types of schedules. The first schedule was the time-use diary. The respondents were asked to keep a household diary for three weeks. An interview schedule was also used to collect recall data and to validate entries in the diary. The data was collected in April to May 1998.

3.0 RESULTS

3.1 Household Structure

A good place to begin an empirical exploration of the socioeconomic status of women is the family and the household. There are two reasons for doing this. Firstly, there is the fundamental societal institution in most societies and oftentimes the outside world is viewed as an extension of the family. An examination of the family structure thus provides a useful starting point for understanding the larger economic structure within which women's welfare is determined (*Chant and McIlwaine 1995*). Secondly, in developing countries, a large part of economic and social interaction takes place within the household. Individual welfare to a large extent is determined by the economic well being of the household and the intra-household bargaining and resource allocation.

During the survey, every household was asked to identify one person in the household as household head. The results show 88 percent of the households interviewed in Alta Tierra Village nominated the husband as the household head. It is interesting to note however that when the household were asked who normally makes decision with regards to the everyday running of the household, 70 percent of the households identified a woman member of the family (wife, grandmother, daughter).

Table 3: ***Household Structure, Barangay Balabago, 1998***

Description	**Household Head**	Description	**Household Composition**	**Household Size (Ave)**
Alta Tierra		**Alta Tierra**		**5.33**
Husband	44(88%)	**Nuclear**	35(70%)	4.3
Wife	5(10%)	**Extended**	15(30%)	6.5
Both	1(2%)			
Bgy. Balabago		**Bgy. Balabago**		**5.88**
Husband	35(70%)	**Nuclear**	26(52%)	4.8
Wife	12(24%)	**Extended**	24(48%)	7.2
Both	3(6%)			
Total		**Total**		
Husband	79(79%)	**Nuclear**	61(61%)	
Wife	17(17%)	**Extended**	39(39%)	
Both	4(4%)			

Table 3 shows that women are nominated as head of the household in approximately 24 percent of the households in Barangay Balabago proper. A number of this household have husbands or sons working in other provinces or are working abroad as a contract worker or sailors. Only three of the households had enumerated a woman household head that was widowed. Like in Alta Tierra, when the household were asked to identify a member who makes the everyday decisions in the home, a majority of the respondents (86%) responded the wife (or woman member of the household).

Most Filipinos held the view that Filipino women are the real power in the home because they control the family purse and make the decisions. This notion is an attempt to compensate a gender which has been marginalised in production. Women are generally closely associated with the collective aspects of household consumption and their obligation to meet children's needs is regarded as stronger than men's because of their childbearing roles Men's obligation is limited to providing some of the cash or productive assets required by women to carry out their household-management tasks. Since women are held responsible for the maintenance of the household, it is their task to determine where household resources should go (*Banzon-Bautista 1977).* As part of this responsibility, women must meet their family needs by stretching their husbands' cash contribution with good housekeeping (producing food and clothing themselves), and if this contribution is inadequate, the women members must earn additional income

by engaging in servicing, petty trade or other work. It is the women who must cope and devise survival strategies when household incomes fall and prices rises.

The results also reveal that a considerable number of households (39%) are extended. The impact of the pattern of household structure on women has both positive and negative outcomes. On the negative side, extended households offer women lesser role in household decision making especially when older parents or in-laws are living in the same households. On the positive side, extended households imply a stronger set-up in case of marital disruptions. It is normally difficult for husbands and wives to go separate ways when there are other people (especially older members of the household) to consider.

The average household size were 5.33 and 5.88 for Alta Tierra Village and Barangay Balabago proper respectively. Around 80 percent of the households had five or more people living together.

3.2 Employment, Expenditures and Earnings

Rapid population growth continues to be a constraint to raising incomes per person in the Philippines. The 1995 census of households places the population at 60.7 million, growing at the rate of 2.4 percent per year. With this growth rate, population would double in 30 years. A large population impedes economic growth, since large families cannot raise enough savings to bequeath adequate amounts of human, financial, and physical capital to their children

Table 4 reveals that in 1998, men had a higher participation rate at 82.2 percent compared to women (48.5%). Women employment is relatively high in the Philippines, with women forming over a third of the total labour force in 1998. Approximately half of the economically active Filipino population are engaged in rural employment, but while women make up 29 percent of the rural labour force , they account for only 8 percent of the total rural employment (Chant *et.al* 1994). In urban areas, women comprise 39 percent of total employed (NSO 1998). While many female workers, especially in towns and cities are young, employment is by no means uncommon among older age groups. Filipino women's labour force participation tends to be characterised

by “double peak”: the first occurs when women are in their early 20s and the second when they return to work in their early 40s, after the care of infants is over (*Chant 1994*).

Table 4: ***Work and Economic Participation of Men and Women in the Philippines, 1998***

Indicator	**Men**	**Women**
Labor Force Participation Rate (%)	82.2	48.5
Unemployment Rate(%)	8.9	9.0
Average Household Annual Income by Sex Of Household Head	P 81,491	P 92,526
Average Household Expenditure by Sex Of Household Head	P 32,309	P 33,924
Proportion of Poor Households by Sex of Household Head	23.7	39.8

The unemployment rate is slightly higher for women at 9.0 percent compared to men’s 8.9 percent. In 1998, the average annual income of female-headed households were considerably higher by P 11 035 to that of a male-headed households. Table 4 reveals that households headed by women had more savings (P58 602) compared to those headed by men (P49 182). However, if we look at the incidence of poverty, there were more households headed by women that were earning below the poverty threshold. This can partly be explained by the fact that these households were single-income households with young children and an unskilled household head.

From Table 5, we could note that a majority of residents at Alta Tierra Village were employed in the formal sector. Most of the residents were either a government employee or government schoolteachers. Most of the households had more than one member working full-time. Most residents of Barangay Balabago, on the other hand,

were working in the informal sector. The men were employed in the agricultural sector as casual workers or were farming their own land. A number of men were also involved in fish farming. Approximately 45 percent of the households work in the agricultural or fishing sectors as casual help or vendors. A majority of the farmlands were tenanted with owners either living abroad or were residing in Manila. The interview also revealed that a majority of the households that owned their lands had the land as a part of the wife's inheritance.

Table 5: ***Work and Economic Participation of Men and Women in Barangay Balabago, Iloilo City, Philippines1998***

Indicator	***Alta Tierra Village***		***Barangay Balabago Proper***	
	Men[a]	***Women[b]***	***Men[a]***	***Women[b]***
Employment				
Formal	49	44	32	20
Informal	0	8	41	40
Most Common Occupation				
Formal	Gov't Employee Overseas Worker	Teacher	Self-employed Agricultural Worker Overseas Worker	Dressmaker Bagmaking Sales Lady
Informal		Retail(clothes/ cosmetics)		Fish Vendor/ Vegetable Vendor Agricultural Worker
Average Household Annual Income by Sex of Household Head	P 120,000	P 105,000	P 35,800	P 55,200
Average Household Expenditure by Sex of Household Head	P 37,596	P33,996	P 12,584	P 16,300
Proportion of Poor Households by Sex of Household Head (%)	None	None	(15/35)=43%	(4/12)=18%
Activity Done Most of the Time by out of School Youth	Working	Housekeeping	Working	Housekeeping

Women in the Balabago proper were involved in subsistence vending or small-scale trading involving one or few commodities (from fish to vegetables, sweepstake tickets, cigarettes, peanuts, cooked duck-eggs and leis). A majority of the vendors would sell their commodities (vegetables and fishes) in Alta Tierra Village or will sell them at the

Alta Tierra small informal wet market (at the entrance of the Village near the public transport stop). Most of the money the women earned from sale of items was used at the end of the day to purchase the commodities that will then be sold the following day. It is a cycle, which goes on from day to day. Hardly any profit was made from these sales because trading was on a very small scale. The labour used varied with the different degrees of control over the means of livelihood ranging from owner-operators to the commoditised labour exchanges embodied in waged work or in hired dependent selling.

The results also show that male-headed household in Alta Tierra earned more and spend more compared to female-headed households. In Barangay Balabago proper however, the opposite holds true. Female heads of household, women on their own and /or women residing with other women were usually more able than their counterparts in male-headed units to explain why they worked and what particular benefits accrue from their jobs. Many for example, took pleasure in itemising what percentage of their income went to where (saving , remittances or so on), in demonstrating the sensible, strategically planned (and usually altruistic) nature of their earnings.

With regards to out of school youth, the men were either working in the informal or formal sector as apprentices or casual help while the women were mostly involved with housekeeping.

Table 6: ***Average Income and Expenditure***

Area	1994		1997	
	Average Income	*Average Expenditures*	*Average Income*	*Average Expenditure*
Philippines	P 55,019	P 47, 378	P 73,940	P 65,856
Western Visayas	P 44,088	P 42,404	P 56,045	P 56,636
Alta Tierra[a]			P 115,500	P 36, 516
Balabago[a]			P 45,500	P 14,440

[a]values from the 1998 survey.

From Table 6 we could note that the average household income for Alta Tierra was way above the average for Western Visayas while that of Balabago is slightly lower than the average at P45,500. However both had lower average household expenditure compared

to the Western Visayas average thus results for both places show a net saving of P78,984 and P31,060 for Alta Tierra and Balabago proper respectively. The expenditure figures for Alta Tierra did not include the amortisation payment, salary of househelpers and school tuition paid by the homeowners. If included, net saving would greatly be reduced to P15,500.

3.3 The Use of Time

In this section, time allocation patterns of respondents are described in some detail.

The average allocation of time by men and women in four age groups are shown in Tables 7a and 7b. It is evident from the table that the time of most household members is fully occupied.

Table 7a shows that both men and women in the 25-54 age group spent more than 60 hours per week in non-leisure activities. In the case of men, 40 hours was spent on production. Overall, women were more involved compared with men in production at 45.92 hours. Most women (mostly schoolteachers) were involved in small-scale trading in order to increase their take home pay. Most women interviewed used their extra income to purchase items such as clothes, jewelry and other things that they would normally not buy.

Women do a considerable amount of household work compared to men. The amount of housework done by both men and women in these area were less because 92 percent of the households had a lived-in domestic helper(s). Most families with more than one child had two domestic helpers, thus a majority of the housework and the childcare was done by the domestic helper(s). All domestic helpers at the time of the interview were women. Domestic work is waged work for women although it bears little resemblance to any other such work. It has no set working hours, that is, there is unlimited appropriation of women's labour; domestics are on call for most of the day and into the night. The domestic helper's typical day starts at 5 am and ends when the family goes to bed (often at 10 pm). The average hours spent by the domestic helpers were 40 and 24 hours in a week for domestic work and childcare respectively. Work is not covered by

the minimum wage, provides no labour benefits and is not subject to contracts. It is basically reproductive work but paid a wage (*Eviota 1992*).

Adult men and women (55+) were mostly government employees and were still actively involved with their work. There was however more male retirees than women thus a low value recorded on work for men aged 55 and above. From the table we could also note that in all age groups, men were enjoying more leisure time than women were.

Table 7a: ***Time Allocation by Age Group and Gender, Alta Tierra Village[a], Iloilo City, Philippines, 1998***

Activity	Man				Woman			
	5-14	15-24	25-54	55+	5-14	15-24	25-54	55+
Work								
Formal Sector (Wage Employment)	0.00	19.55	40.00	25.67	0.00	1063	40.00	32.50
Informal Sector								
Retail (eg.Clothing/ Cosmetics/Jewelry)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.52	4.56	3.77
Commission Basis(Life & Car Insurance/Memorial Plans	0.00	0.00	0.36	0.17	0.00	2.86	1.36	2.93
Sub-total Work	*0.00*	*19.55*	*40.36*	*25.84*	*0.00*	*17.01*	*45.92*	*39.20*
Leisure	*40.27*	*38.56*	*35.12*	*61.97*	*39.25*	*26.12*	*25.85*	*33.98*
Unpaid Work								
Household Work	0.50	2.35	1.86	1.18	0.75	5.52	8.65	8.29
Child Care/Minding	0.00	1.03	1.12	0.75	0.00	1.36	6.00	3.45
Purchasing Goods	0.00	0.09	1.35	0.85	0.00	3.65	4.00	5.75
Subtotal	*0.50*	*3.47*	*4.33*	*3.78*	*0.75*	*10.53*	*18.65*	*17.49*
Personal Activities								
Community/Religious	4.23	6.17	5.66	6.11	5.37	6.84	6.08	9.83
School/Study	50.00	25.25	12.50	0.30	50.00	37.5	2.50	0.50
Personal Care, eating and Sleeping	73.00	73.00	70.00	70.00	73.00	70.00	69.00	67.00
Subtotal	*127.23*	*104.42*	*88.16*	*76.41*	*128.37*	*114.34*	*77.58*	*77.33*
TOTAL	**168**	**168**	**168**	**168**	**168**	**168**	**168**	**168**

[a]Excludes the data on household help.

Similarly, the average allocation of non-leisure time by males and females for Barangay Balabago (Table 7b) shows that all members of the household were fully occupied. Men and women belonging to the 25-54 age group spent more than 60 hours per week in non-leisure activities. In the case of men, more than 40 hours was spent in production,

particularly in agriculture. Overall, women were less involved in production than men, although they devote up to 30 hours peer week to vending and other services. School age children, particularly boys, also had some involvement in agriculture and other productive work.

Women do the bulk of the household work. In a more detailed analysis other than that shown in Table 7b, it was found that women aged 25-34 spent more time on household chores than any other age groups. This may be explained by the fact that young women are likely to have children needing attention and not old enough to contribute to housework.

Table 7b: ***Time Allocation by Age Group and Gender, Barangay Balabago Proper,Iloilo City, Philippines, 1998 (hours per week)***

Activity	**Man**				**Woman**			
	5-14	15-24	25-54	55+	5-14	15-24	25-54	55+
Work								
Formal Sector (Wage Employment)	1.22	6.93	9.77	8.29	0.0	5.83	6.71	0.0
Informal Sector								
Vending Agricultural Products	9.25	16.85	20.77	19.74	2.24	14.90	10.96	14.79
Fish Vending	1.10	1.31	5.89	1.06	0.27	3.66	6.45	3.65
Dressmaking	0.05	0.35	0.45	0.11	0.83	0.26	1.21	0.00
Other Production (washing clothes/ironing)	0.93	2.34	3.81	2.53	0.53	4.25	6.52	3.25
Sub-total Work	*12.55*	*27.78*	*40.69*	*31.73*	*3.87*	*23.07*	*30.14*	*21.69*
Leisure	*37.48*	*34.02*	*35.44*	*47.17*	*31.12*	*11.81*	*10.71*	*49.32*
Unpaid Work								
Household Work	8.06	9.85	9.42	9.62	12.17	25.85	30.93	15.77
Child Care/Minding	0.0	1.03	0.74	0.35	2.50	10.35	10.75	3.57
Purchase of Goods	0.0	0.0	0.35	0.75	0.50	3.08	5.28	0.75
Subtotal	*8.06*	*10.88*	*10.51*	*10.72*	*15.17*	*39.28*	*46.96*	*20.09*
Personal Activities								
Community/Religious	4.74	8.48	10.99	10.11	9.37	11.84	12.14	11.87
School/Study	32.17	15.84	0.38	0.27	35.47	12.00	0.05	0.03
Personal Care, eating and Sleeping	73.00	71.00	70.00	68.00	73.00	70.00	68.00	65.00
Subtotal	*109.91*	*95.32*	*82.37*	*78.38*	*117.84*	*93.84*	*80.19*	*76.90*
TOTAL	**168**	**168**	**168**	**168**	**168**	**168**	**168**	**168**

Boys aged 5-15 also helped with household chores such as collection of firewood and water, while girls assist with all domestic duties performed by older women.

The importance of religious activities and barangay events (such as Fiesta, basketball league, cockfighting, *etc.*) is evident from the table. Adult women devote around 12 hours per week to such activities, while the participation of men is slightly lower.

Most of the adult women of Barangay Balabago Proper were working in the informal sector. On the average, the earnings of women from the informal sector amounted to P20,000 a year. This represents more than 50 percent of the household income of most households. Approximately 60 percent of the women sold their products in Alta Tierra Village with some going as far as Leganes (next municipality) to sell their goods.

Overall, women in all age groups (other than 55+) enjoyed less leisure hours than men did.

Comparing Tables 7a and 7b highlights differences in time allocation between the Alta Tierra Village and Balabago women. Participation in wage labour is considerably greater in Alta Village than in Barangay Balabago Proper. Women in Barangay Balabago Proper appear to spend more time in housework than the women in Alta Tiera. Overall, women in Barangay Balabago Proper have less leisure time than Alta Tierra Village.

The survey also reveals that wives engaged in vending and other informal occupation in the study often see employment as adding stress, time and effort to the already onerous responsibility of running a household. More specific factors accounting for half-heartened or negative views of labour force participation among female spouses in male-headed households include their frequently greater burdens of reproductive work compared with women in other domestic positions, such as daughters and female heads. This is partly because the majority of women in male-headed households have children, but also because husbands place extra demands on their time and labour (such as cooking, cleaning and so on). While men may assist with the childcare or housework, their piecemeal efforts rarely counterbalance the additional work involved. In this manner, the dual toll of women's paid and unpaid work is often heavier in male-headed households.

4.0 CONCLUSIONS

State policies and programmes are framed in terms of a specific gender-based organization of daily life. The state sees women and men in terms of their roles, that is, as individuals who perform certain functions within the collective. For adult women, this role is primarily doing housework. The policy implication of large proportions of women classified as housekeepers is that the majority of women are considered inactive. But this inactivity is seen by the government as voluntary and is hardly a subject of policy intervention.

The results reveal that women spend less time in leisure than men do. This implies that their contribution to total production is very significant. State policies and programmes should count women's work as part of the production process. This would also mean that women should be provided access to skills and productive resources comparable to that of men.

Women more than men are involved in the informal sector. In the study area, a majority of women were traders, thus in order to get out of poverty, women need to increase their income from trade. However increased trading is directly dependent on money capital which can only be obtained through wages or sale of marketable goods. This capital is not generally available to women. In addition, the wages of men barely meet subsistence needs of the family and would not be a source of excess capita needed to finance vending or trading. Furthermore women's trade is also determined by the household as a unit of consumption, that is, whatever they may earn from goes directly towards the day-to-day consumption needs of the family members. Thus, women's vending/trading activity will remain at subsistence level unless the government will have policies which will enable women to access capital and credit. Women may also need access to a broader market base.

In economies such as the Philippines, the informal sector has been an important source of survival for the poor and the labouring classes, particularly in times of economic crises and government cutbacks. When neither the economy nor the state are able to provide for the basic need, the casual or self-employed work of women from poor and low

income households is vital not only for their own and their household's survival but also for those formal-sector worker who are inadequately paid.

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