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Women's Labor Participation and Economic Development in Asia

— Strategy toward 21 Century —

MARCH 1995

The Asian Population and Development Association

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THE ASIAN POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION, 1995
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Foreword

Women account for half of the population. However, in most developing regions, which contain the majority of the world's population, women are "invisible" people, serving the male population behind the scenes. At the last United Nations International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, September 1994), a strategy was formulated based on the awareness that solutions to population and development issues cannot be reached unless women, who have an important latent role to play in decisions on population control and development, become "visible".

At this conference, the epoch-making idea of the "empowerment of women" was presented. This idea aims at strengthening the comprehensive vitality of women in order to improve their status and develop their abilities. It was agreed that the empowerment of women is the only strategy for solving the crisis of survival which humankind is now facing.

Demographic transition was behind the Japan's remarkable economic growth after World War II. This miraculous demographic transition, embodied by an unprecedented success in birth control and extraordinary improvements in the infant mortality rate, was achieved entirely thanks to the contributions of women. The improvements of the status of women in Japan were truly outstanding. These included the abolition of the traditional family system, the ability of couples to marry through mutual agreement, equal rights for both spouses, women's suffrage, and more recently the establishment of the equal employment opportunity law.

Despite the remarkable improvements in the status of women, however, it is true that various inequalities still remain.

In this report, we have studied in particular the status of women in Asia from the point of view of labor force participation. The role of women within the rapid economic development of East and Southeast Asia is intimately related to the status of women in the family and in society.

1994 was the International Year of the Family. In September 1995, an International Women's Conference will be held in Beijing.

For Asian countries, which account for 60% of the world population, the voices of the Asian representatives in Beijing must enlighten the world. There is also an earnest desire for the experience and proposals of Japan to serve as innovative indicators for Asia.

We would be pleased if this report could fulfill such expectations in some way. I would like to state my gratitude for the cooperation of the many specialists who contributed to this report, and in particular to Professor Lita J. Domingo, Population Institute, University of Philippines, who completed her report despite her poor health.

Finally, allow me to express my sincere thanks to the Japan Shipbuilding Industry Foundation (Chairman, Ryoichi Sasakawa) and the United Nations Population Fund (Executive Director, Dr. Nafis Sadik) for their immense support on the preparation of this report.

March, 1995
Fukusaburo Maeda
Chairman
The Asian Population and
Development Association

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Introduction and Overview

THE FINAL CHALLENGE FOR "POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT" ISSUES -- THE RENAISSANCE OF WOMEN

Toshio Kuroda
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1 Women: Primary Manager of the Population Problems

The explosive growth of the world population which began in the second half of the 1960s is a matter concerning all of humankind, an unavoidable global issue for the shared destiny of "Spaceship Earth". As such, it has been receiving much attention by intellectuals and such international organizations as the United Nations, and population policies to deal with the situation have been discussed on many occasions over the past several decades.

The most remarkable activities in this area have been the UN-sponsored world population conferences. Representatives of governments from throughout the world have participated in these conferences, publicly debated measures, and adopted and strengthened "World Population Action Programs". The first such conference was held in 1974 in Bucharest (Rumania), the second in 1984 in Mexico City (Mexico), the third in 1994 in Cairo (Egypt).

These global population conferences held every ten years have all faced difficulties because of differences in opinions between nations and divergent ideas due to varying ethnic backgrounds, religions and ideologies. Despite these differences, however, in the final stages of the conferences general proposals have been adopted without serious modifications. This is because the basic understanding that the population explosion has global consequences, regardless of nation, ethnicity, religion or ideology, has gradually permeated among representatives of the world's governments. Though they actively argued about unessential matters, they couldn't deny the reality that the explosive growth of the population has led to such problems as the deterioration of the environment, the depletion of resources, the increase of poverty and obstacles to modernization.

In the second half of the 1960s, the world population came to grow at an annual rate of slightly over 2%. However, with the widespread diffusion of family planning and other birth control measures, today the annual growth rate of the world population has slowed down to 1.7%. Still, the decrease in the annual growth rate over the last quarter century is only 0.3 points, and the actual size of the world population is massive, so the growth of the population in numbers is extremely great, even if the growth rate is lower. For example, the world population is growing today by some 93 to 94 million persons each year. This means an increase of nearly one billion in only ten years.

In addition, according to UN population projections [1], the world population will reach 8.5 billion in 2025, 10 billion in 2050. This is based on medium variant projections which assumes the fertility rate will continue to decrease. If this is not the case, though, the projected population based on high variant will reach 12.5 billion in 2050. Thus, the difference in the population in 2050 according to medium and high variants is as much as 2.5

billion, a figure comparable to the world population in 1950.

Humankind has started taking active measures to control this never before experienced unusual growth rate and the massive increase in the size of the population. It goes without saying that these measures are centered on family planning policies. Over the past 30 years, means of contraception have made outstanding progress, and the family planning practicing rate has increased dramatically, to 51% in 1990 and an estimated 55% today.

It is true that there has been an explosive diffusion of family planning, in what is called the "reproductive revolution". Even so, the current situation still leaves some doubt for optimism. It is estimated that in developing countries, there is still a population of approximately 350 million people who do not use modern family planning, and that there are 120 million women who do not use contraceptives though would like to avoid pregnancy [2].

There are some so-called developing countries which have already succeeded in population control, achieved remarkable economic development and are on the verge of joining the ranks of developed countries. However, most countries in developing regions are suffering from widespread poverty because of their high birth rates and high population growth rates. Most countries of West Asia and Africa still have an abnormal high population growth rate of 3%. These are poor countries with low literacy rates, and it is by no means easy for family planning, which requires a revolution of value system, to spread in them. We can say that the choices of behavior concerning population reproduction, such as using contraceptives, giving birth or raising children, depend almost exclusively on the decisions of women.

Developing regions account for the majority of the world's population, and the success or failure of birth control in these regions depends on whether or not the authority and status of women, who are remarkably excluded from economic activities, social participation and political activities, can be improved to the same level as men.

The third International Conferences on Population and Development (Cairo) held in 1994 was epoch-making in that it called for achieving a balance between population growth and sustainable development, and affirmed that women are the ultimate key for accomplishing this.

2 The Biological Balance and Social Imbalance Between Men and Women

The distribution of males and females in population groups is biologically well balanced. The number of males born is approximately 5% higher than the number of females, but then the number of males and females gradually grows closer, due to excess

mortality of males and then with aging the number of males at higher age becomes less than females, so the sex ratio by higher age groups falls below 100. Thus, for the population as a whole, the sex ratio is kept at close to 100, and there is a quantitative balance between the numbers of males and females.

To take Japan as an example, in 1930 the sex ratio was over 100 in the 0-4 through the 45-49 age brackets, but afterwards fell below 100, reaching 46.5 in the 85-89 age bracket. Thus, the number of males per 100 females had fallen to 46.5. Sixty years later in 1990 the trend was basically the same. The sex ratio was over 100 up to the 40-44 age bracket, then fell continuously to 49.5 in the 85-89 age bracket. Thus, there were fewer than half as many males as females. For the population as a whole, the sex ratio was 101.0 in 1930 and 96.5 in 1990. The surplus of males in 1930 had shifted to a surplus of females in 1990.

Though biologically the number of men and women is virtually balanced, in reality the number of one gender compared to the other can become extremely high or low due to social, economic or cultural factors, or due to such exceptional conditions as wars. With wars in particular, there are many deaths among young and adult men, so the sex ratio decreases dramatically. For example, in 1950 the sex ratio in Poland in the 20-44 age bracket was 82.6, reflecting the serious effects of World War II[3].

In addition, in some cases, population migration, whether domestically or internationally, can result in irregular sex ratios in the regions of origin and the destinations of migrants in certain age and sex groups, for example the 20-30 age bracket, due to different sex selectivity of migration, in most case male, among young people.

An even more important point is the existence of sexually discriminatory customs. For example, in societies where girls require large dowries for marriage or where boys are wanted as family labor, discriminatory treatment of females becomes a social custom as a result of the strong preference for sons. With the traditional predominance of males in China, a strong preference for sons may arise under the "single child policy", particularly in rural areas where boys are wanted for labor. Such a selective desire for boys is still strong in Korea as well, particularly among the middle and upper aged people. In Taiwan, the same tendency as in mainland China was strong in the past, but in recent years the desire for children of a certain sex has become much weaker. Until World War II, Japan, a country belonging to the same Confucian cultural sphere, by custom males were favored, given that family lines were carried over by sons through inheritance system, that it was the oldest son who took care of the parents when they are aged, and that males were considered important for their labor. However, as the Japanese proverb "ichi-hime ni-taro" (meaning it is good to have a daughter before the firstborn son) shows, people in Japan did not have a particular aversion to the birth of girls. The above proverb reflects the expectations parents hold in girls for their role in helping raise children and doing household chores, given that it is not possible to choose the

sex of the child anyway. Still, one point deserving attention in Japan where the birth rate is already very low is that surveys asking people if they would prefer having a boy or girl show that the preference to give female child birth is becoming apparent. This tendency is particularly strong among women, perhaps because they hope their daughter will take care of them in their old age.

The stronger the preference to give male child birth, the greater the tendency for females to receive inferior social and economic treatment than males. This is how the custom of predominance of men over women is generated.

The biological principles that the percentage of males born is greater than that of females (sex ratio at birth) and that the mortality is higher among males than females (excess male mortality) create the mechanism by which the sex ratio of the population is kept balanced at roughly 100. However, in actual human society, this biological balance has been upset due to sociocultural reasons or by wars between groups. Social and economic discrimination between males and females is a typical example of the social imbalance caused by the conscious interference of human beings in the basic tendency for biological balance.

We all know that the status of women is inferior in most developing countries, which account for the majority of the world's population. Women are subject to harsh work, poverty, malnutrition, having many children, high mortality rates, and even prostitution, in which women are often treated as merchandise.

One excellent indicator of how inferior the status of women is or how much their status is improving is the average expectation of life at birth [4]. Because of the higher mortality of men due to biological factors, at birth the average life expectancy of women is necessarily longer. Because of this, if the expectation of life at birth for women is shorter than or equal to that of men, this indicates that the status of women is socially and economically inferior. In Bangladesh and Nepal, for example, even today the average expectation of life at birth for men is longer than that of women. This was the case in Pakistan and India as well until recently, but the situation in these countries has now improved to the point that women and men live approximately the same number of years [5]. This indicates that the status of women is gradually improving, but the fact that women still do not live longer than men indicates the need for further improvements in the status of women.

3 Changes in Japanese Women

The changes in Japan after World War II were so extraordinary as to be called miraculous. These changes were in all areas, including society, the economy, culture and

politics. Of them, however, the change in women deserves special mention. Various systems affecting women changed greatly, including the abolition of the traditional family system, equal rights for spouses, the agreement of both parties for marriage, the right of women to vote, and more recently the enactment of laws granting equality in employment for men and women. The educational level of women also improved rapidly. The percentage of women going on to high school surpassed that of men in 1970, and the percentage of women proceeding to university surpassed that of men in 1989 [6]. Their advances in social activities have also been remarkable. Currently, 27 million Japanese women are employed, including 6 million working part time. The advancement of women has been phenomenal in politics, government agencies, private corporations, and the sciences.

Women's views concerning marriage, the family and life are changing greatly. It appears that the highly educated women in post-war days are burying the idea that "men should work outside and women should stay at home", or rather the notion that "men should work in companies and women should do housework" which supported the rapid post-war economic growth, as too conservative and classical [7].

It is undeniable that the status of Japanese women has improved remarkably. For example, women are in a position of superiority from the viewpoint average expectation of life at birth. It is biologically clear that women should live longer than men. Both Japanese men and women currently have the longest average life expectancy at birth in the world, as is well known. It is interesting to note, though, that the increase in the average life expectancy has consistently been greater for women than for men, so the difference between the two is growing steadily. In pre-war 1935-1936, the difference in the average life expectancy was 2.71 years. After a post-war low of 3.40 years in 1950-1952, this difference increased steadily to 5.18 in 1965, 6.0 years in 1991, and reached 6.26 in 1993 [8]. If we assume that increases in the average life expectancy is due to improvements in the living and social environment, then the fact that while the average life expectancy of Japanese men has remained longest in the world and continued to grow, the average life expectancy of Japanese women has grown at an even faster rate than men, at the same time keeping the longest average life expectancy in the world might be interpreted as a sign that Japanese women enjoy very favorable status in the world.

It goes without saying that there are problems in assuming that the average life span as seen from the improvement of the mortality rate directly reflects a high status for women. Still, we believe it is not necessarily inappropriate to understand the fact that the gap between the life spans of Japanese women and men is increasing while both maintaining the longest life spans in the world as being due to the further improvements in the social environment of Japanese women.

On the other hand, while improvements in the status of women are being made in terms

of institutions, it goes without saying that in reality there is still much inequality and injustice in the treatment of women as compared to men.

In relation to the issue of improving the status of women in developing countries, one aspect we would like to stress concerning the role played by Japanese women is the rapid spread of family planning in post-war Japan. The high levels of education of Japanese women and their capacity of decision-making and practicing with respect to family planning were the motive forces for achieving Japan's miraculous demographic transition.

What is most needed to solve the problem of rapid population growth in developing countries, and in its turn the world's population explosion, is strong power of decision-making and practice with respect to family planning displayed by Japanese women in post-war days.

4 The Final Challenge - the Comprehensive Vitality of Women

Women are still in a subordinate, dependent relationship with men. This is true in most developing countries. They are not given educational opportunities and are subject to poverty, hard work, ill health, unwanted pregnancies, births, family care, and no say in local community. They are sometime comparable to slaves.

Their long hours at house work are not counted in the national economy. Economics has finally started to realize this unreasonableness of this omission.

The key to curbing population growth must be transferred from men to women. It is women who must understand when they want to get pregnant, how many children they need, what many children means for them.

The improvement of the status of women is the most effective strategy for curbing population growth, and this was taken up at the International Conferences on Population and Development in Cairo (September 5 to 13, 1994) as an urgent objective for the 21st century. The "State of the World Population 1994" [9] also discusses women in this sense, with the theme "choices and responsibilities".

A point which deserves special attention is that the Cairo conference stressed the strengthening of the overall powers of women (called the "empowerment of women" in UN texts). In other words, whereas until now women have been "invisible" players in the wings of society, they should become "visible" players on the same stage as men.

In conventional terms, the empowerment of women means the integrated improvement of the status of women. What is momentous about this concept, though, is that it attempts to see the abstract meaning of the improvement of the status of women as a comprehensive concept, including as a basic strategy for solving population problems.

This writer interprets the empowerment of women as consisting of three elements.

First, social empowerment: the elimination of inequalities and injustices in the status and role of women in the family and in local society. Second, economic empowerment: the elimination of inequalities in employment opportunities and disadvantageous conditions for women in companies and for self-employed women, and the generating income opportunities for women. Third, the health aspect: as we all know, there was much debate at the Cairo conference over the neologism "reproductive health".

As the term implies, reproductive health is health related to population reproduction, such health problems particular to women as pregnancy, birth, delivery and child-rearing. In developing countries, technologies and facilities are extremely out-of-date, and infant and maternal mortality rates are high.

In particular, the easy access of means of controlling pregnancy and fertility improves women's health, and improvements in education expand the range of choices for marriage, fertility employment, housing and movement. These also lead to the achievement of balanced population growth.

A continued decrease of the world's population growth rate will alleviate the pressure of environmental issues and create extra time for finding solutions.

Population problems, particularly in developing countries, can be solved if women are seen not only in their roles as wives and mothers but also as individuals. The renaissance of women is an urgent issue.

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2) United Nations Population Fund: The State of the World Population 1994, Choices and Responsibilities, p. 28.

3) United Nations: The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends, Volume 1, New York, 1973, p. 272.

4) Toshio Kuroda: The Average Expectation of Life at Birth of the Japanese, Nikkei Shinsho, 303, Nihon Keizai Shimbun-sha, 1977, pp. 44-49.

5) United Nations: World Population Prospects, The 1992 Revision, United Nations, 1993. The average life expectancy at birth in the 1985-1990 period was 51.1 years for men and 50.4 years for women in Bangladesh, 51.5 years for men and 50.3 years for women in Nepal. In India, the average life expectancy for men was longer than for women in 1980-1985, but this situation was reversed, though slightly, in 1985-1990,

to 57.8 for men, 57.9 for women. In Pakistan, the average life expectancy was longer for men until 1975-1980, but has been equal for both sexes since 1980-1985.

6) According to the "Educational Statistics Handbook" of the Ministry of Education's Statistics and Survey Division, in 1993 the percentage of those proceeding to senior high school was 94.2% for males, 96.5% for females, and the percentage of those entering university or college was 38.5% for males, 43.4% for females (Institute of Population Problems, Ministry of Health and Welfare, ed.: "Population Trends in Japan and the World - Population Statistics").

7) Toshio Kuroda: Women: the Motive Force in Changes of the Family - A Multilayered Structure Blending Traditional and Liberal Values, "National Survey on the Contemporary Family" report, The Quietly Advancing Family Revolution", Nihon University, University Research Center, September 1994, pp. 23-56.

8) Statistics and Information Department, Minister's Secretariat, Ministry of Health and Welfare: Average Life Expectancy of the Japanese, 1993 Abridged Life Table. The following table shows the average life expectancy for men and women and the difference between them for certain years.

Year	Average life expectancy			Year	Average life expectancy		
	Men	Women	Difference		Men	Women	Difference
1935 - 36	46.92	49.63	2.71	1960	65.32	70.19	4.87
1950 - 52	59.57	62.97	3.40	1965	67.74	72.92	5.18
1955	63.60	67.75	4.15	1970	69.31	74.66	5.35
1975	71.73	76.89	5.16	1991	76.11	82.11	6.00
1980	73.35	78.76	5.41	1992	76.09	82.22	6.13
1985	74.78	80.48	5.70	1993	76.25	82.51	6.26
1990	75.92	81.90	5.98				

Source : Statistics and Information Department, Minister's Secretariat, Ministry of Health and Welfare: Average Life Expectancy of the Japanese, "1993 Abridged Life Table".

9) UNFPA: The State of the World Population 1994.

Chapter One

THE FAMILY, WOMEN AND POPULATION CONTROL POLICIES IN ASIA

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1 Introduction - Population and Women in Asia

The recent rise in interest in Asian nations is not limited to Japan. The same trend can be seen in the developed countries of America and Europe. However, do we have an accurate understanding of the actual cultural and social circumstances of Asian countries? European and American social scientists who do not specialize in Asia generally have a low awareness of the current conditions in Asian nations, and seem to consider Asia within a single framework, that of the traditional society.

Currently, the Asian region is the home of some 3.2 billion people, roughly 60% of the world population. With recent decreases in birth rates, improvements in death rates and longer average life spans, Asia is expected to have a vast population of aged persons in the future. How to deal with the rapid increase in the aged population of Asia in the future is an important social and economic issue. From the perspective of population and development as well, the aging of Asian society is closely related to the status and role of women. Asia is now in a period of urbanization, industrialization and demographic transition towards the aging of the population. We have an urgent need to consider the importance of the status and role of women in Asian society, to examine the current situation and changes, and to study measures to be taken for the future.

According to the white paper on world population of 1994 issued by the United Nations Population Fund entitled "Choices and Responsibilities", the world's population is 5.66 billion as of July 1, 1994. Population growth is expected to continue to accelerate, and the population is expected to reach six billion in 1998, 8.5 billion by 2025, and 10 billion by 2050. However, should family planning succeed, it should be possible to keep the world population to 7.8 billion in 2050 (Nihon Keizai Shimbun, August 18, 1994). In addition, according to the World Bank's projections for the world population, announced prior to the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo in September, the world's population is expected to grow from 5.7 billion in 1995 to 8.474 billion in 2030. Ninety percent of this growth will be concentrated in developing countries. Thus, there is no doubt that this increase in the population will have enormous effects on the development and the improvement of the standard of living of developing nations. From 1995 to 2030, the population of China, the country with the largest population in the world, is expected to grow from approximately 1.2 billion to 1.5 billion, that of second place India from 930 million to 1.4 billion, and that of third place United States from 260 to 328 million. Over the same period, the population of Japan is expected to decrease by three million to 122.2 million (Nihon Keizai Shimbun, August 3, 1994). Both of these reports focus on the improvement of the status and the empowerment of women, important themes of the International Conference on Population and

Development. In this way, the United Nations Population Fund believes that "expanding the range of choices in life for women will eventually lead to a curbing of the population". It presents Zimbabwe and Thailand as successful examples of how population growth is curbed by giving individuals freedom of choice and responsibilities. On the other hand, the World Bank's report points out the importance of creating the environment for the peoples of developing countries to understand that "small families are the best choice". In other words, the higher the level of education of women and their knowledge of family planning, the lower the birth rate. Thus, the report goes on to say that "the key to solving demographic issues is the improvement of the status of women". Will it truly be possible to resolve Asia's population problems through "the improvement of the status and capabilities of women"? Also, is it possible for Asian women to obtain "freedom of choice and responsibilities"? The current paper attempts to analyze these points based on an anthology compiled recently by the author (*Families in Asia: Beliefs and Realities*, Kumagai, forthcoming) [1], a conference ("The Aging of the Population and Women in Asian Countries") [2], and treatises of other specialists.

When considering population, development and women in Asian nations, it is meaningful to reflect on the relationship between the family, one of the most basic institutions, and religion. This is because we can examine eight aspects which are affected by social changes. (In most cases the transition occurs from a traditional society to a modern one) (Etzioni and Etzioni-Halevy, 1973:177). These eight aspects are:

1. A demographic revolution,
2. Changes in the family,
3. An opening up of the stratification system,
4. A rise of bureaucracy,
5. A fading impact of religion,
6. Changes in education,
7. A growth of mass culture, and
8. An emergence of a market economy and industrialization

2 The Family in Asia

In discussing the population and development of Asian countries, we must analyze the family, women, religion and beliefs simultaneously. In this paper we will examine eight countries: India, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Thailand, Hong Kong, China, Taiwan and Korea. Strictly speaking it is incorrect to call Hong Kong and Taiwan "countries", but here we are considering these eight "countries" as "societies".

(1) The Family in India (Mullati, forthcoming) [3]

The current population of India is approximately 850 million. India is a multi-ethnic, multi-religion, multi-language society with great geographic diversity as well. As for religion, however, the vast majority of the population (83.5%) is Hindu. Other religions include Islam (12%), Christianity (2.5%) and Jainism (2%) [4]. Thus, social customs are based on Hinduism [5]. India has a patriarchal family system, which has three functions: ancestor worship, giving birth to the heir and the generational transfer of religious traditions and customs. Previously, the family structure was that of the joint family, but the average number of members per household has now decreased to 5.1, and large families are not common. Today, joint families are found only among the large-scale land-owners and affluent urban classes. In recent years, the advance of land reform and the urbanization of Indian society has made it extremely difficult for large families to live jointly, and the number of joint families is decreasing rapidly (Yamazaki, 1989: 57-58).

Marriage for Indian women is by no means simple. It is quite common for middle and upper class urban families to place advertisements in national newspapers in the search for the ideal husbands for their daughters. In principle, marriages are between individuals of the same caste and are arranged by elders. In recent years, dowries (dowry deaths) have become a major social issue [6]. With the (revised) marriage act inated in 1976, divorce with the agreement of both partners is recognized. However, there is a strong social stigma against divorced women, and it is difficult for them to make a living on their own. The level of education among urban Indian women in the middle and upper classes is high, and these women are extremely active in society. This is in direct contrast to women in rural areas. Currently, the percentage of aged people (65 years and older) in the Indian population is 4.09% (Institute of Population Problems, 1993:32-32), but this is expected to double to 8.53% by 2025. With the decrease in the number of joint families, elderly parents are changing their living arrangements as well. For example, though elderly parents may live with their children's families, they are passed around from the family of one child to the family of another child every few months. This closely indicates that under Hinduism religious traditions and customs concerning the family are being carried on.

(2) Bangladesh (Chowdhury, forthcoming) [7]

The population of Bangladesh is 119 million. The population density is extremely high, about 2.5 times that of Japan (825/km^2, compared to 328/km^2 for Japan) (Institute of Population Problems, Ministry of Health and Welfare: 1993:19). The vast majority of the population is Muslim (84.5%), and the remaining being Hindu (13.5%), Christian and animist. The terminology concerning the family is all in Bengali, and people of all religions use the same words. Bangladesh society is outstanding in its male supremacy, and the status

of women is constantly low from birth to death. Women's subordinate status to men is further strengthened after marriage due to arranged marriages, differences in marrying ages, and the coresidency with the husband's family. From the early childhood, women are taught ideal moral values that they are expected to acquire: patience and sacrifice.

As soon as women experience their first menstruation, they adopt the practice of the purdah (meaning curtain or veil), leave school and are prohibited from working outside the family. Whether or not women obey the purdah is closely related to their social class. Unlike women from poor rural families, women from affluent families do not need to work. Thus, they can observe the purdah strictly. Such women wear the burhah (a loose gown wrapped around the entire body), and clothing resembling the Indian sari when they go out. However, with changes in society, the family pattern in Bangladesh is changing rapidly from the joint, extended family to the nuclear family and the monogamy type. The aging of the Bangladesh population is still low. The percentage of the aged population (65 and above) is currently under 3% and expected to grow to only 4.84% by 2025. Thus, the transformation to an aged society is still some way off in Bangladesh.

(3) Malaysia (Kling, forthcoming) [8]

Malaysia is a multiethnic society with a population of 18.3 million. The population consists of Malays (61% of the total), Chinese (30%), Indians (8%) and minority groups. Thus, we may say that culturally, Malaysia is a multiethnic society. The awareness of belonging to a certain ethnic group exerts a great social impact in Malaysia, even greater than the awareness of belonging a certain social class. (Tsubouchi, 1991:161).

For this reason, it is not appropriate to discuss "the family in Malaysia" as a whole. Here we will focus our attention on the family among Malays. There are three types of cultural and social elements at the basis of the Malay family and its beliefs. First, the traditional cultural and social element called "adat" (a word of Arabic origin signifying something independent of Islamic elements). Thus, this is a traditional cultural and social element of Malay society differing from the pure Islamic elements. The second type of element consists of religious, cultural, and social elements based on Islam. The third type consists of the civil and contractual customs which permeated Malay society under British colonialism.

The major religion of Malays is Islam, a stern, exclusionist monotheism which does not permit cooperation with any god other than Allah. Thus, Malay society is a double-faceted one in which both "adat" and "Islam" coexist within these cultural and social characteristics. This dual structure is reflected in all social patterns, including politics, economy, blood relations, the family, and social class. However, Malay society and the Malay family are currently undergoing radical changes influenced by various internal and external factors:

traditional "adat", "Islam", and "Western culture" absorbed through the modern mass media. As a result, the Malay family is changing rapidly, from the traditional extended family to the nuclear family, and further to the conjugal family in which the couple is the core of the family.

Furthermore, the structural principles of the Malay family place the same weight on the husband and the wife. Thus, the Malay family is based on equal standing of a patriarchy and a matriarchy, and in principle all the children have equal rights and duties. In actuality, the Malay family is influenced by Islam which places greater stress on men. We should note, however, in all regions women have a higher status than is apparent (Tsubouchi, 1991:167). This is no doubt due to the principle of equality of the sexes in the Malay family.

Currently, the percentage of the Malaysian population aged 65 and older is 3.27%. Thus the aging of the population is not yet advanced. However, this percentage is expected to increase rapidly to 8.33% by 2025. For this reason, it is necessary to reconsider the issues of women and aging in the future in relation to Malaysia's population and development.

(4) Thailand (Limanonda, forthcoming) [9]

The word "thai" means "freedom". Thus, "Thailand" is "the land of freedom". In reality, Thailand is a nation which historically was never colonized by any Western country and has maintained political independence. Its current population is 56 million, and this is expected to increase to 72 million by 2025. The percentage of the population aged 65 and older is expected to increase rapidly from the current 4% to 11.11% by 2025. Eighty eight percent of the total population is Thai, of which over 95% is Buddhist. Most non-Buddhists are Muslims or Christians. The major minority group is the ethnic Chinese, most of whom are concentrated in metropolitan Bangkok. In all Southeast Asian countries aside from Malaysia there is a great gap in culture, society and daily life between urban and rural society, as if the country had a double-faceted nature. Thai society is no exception.

For the people of Thailand, Buddhism is both the concrete expression of culture and the root of daily life. The Buddhist doctrine of hierarchy is reflected in the "master/servant relationship", an important concept in Thai society. In addition, individualism is a marked characteristic trait of the Thai people. The tolerance and self-dependence together with passive, non-mystical, individualistic ethical values bring about the flexible Thai society. Thai Buddhism requires individuals to reach the state of enlightenment with their own efforts. This leads to the individualism and the freedom of Thailand. As a consequence Thai society and culture are loosely controlled, and result in a weak social pressure for conforming to the group. Because of this, the sex role identification between males and females is not so clear, and traditionally Thai culture is perceived as the one in which men and women are equal.

The pattern of the Thai family generally consists of three stages within an individual's life cycle. In the first stage, the family is a nuclear one, consisting of the husband, the wife

and the unmarried children. In the second stage, married children form a sub-unit and their families live with the parents. In the third stage, the family becomes an extended one. Thus, the extended family in Thai society is the final stage of an individual's life course, and this differs from the traditional family system in which the family line is carried on from generation to generation. In other words, the family in Thailand is based on the individual's life course which changes as the individual grows older. Within the family, Buddhism serves as an agent for socialization and discipline, and also carries out educational functions.

How do the lenient standards of Thai society with its lack of coercion translate within the family? This can be outlined in four points (Yamkulinfung, 1993:25) [10]:

a. There is no concept of family continuity and clans are weak, so there is no concept of head family and branch family.
b. Arranged marriages are not common, and individuals choose their own spouses.
c. Parents are lenient about disciplining their children.
d. Individuals' opinions about the number of children, contraception and abortion are respected.

Furthermore, Thai Buddhism stresses the following three ideals about family relations:

a. The importance of the relationship between the dead and the living - ceremonies related to death are conducted
b. The importance of the entrance into priesthood for sons (which has the significance of a rite of passage coming-of-age ceremony for men)
c. The importance of family ceremonies and charity (giving food to priests who come visiting from afar each morning)

Thai society and Buddhism are inseparable. Buddhism is intimately involved in the Thai way of thinking and has an immense influence on all aspects of family life and social life. However, in recent years there is an increasingly apparent gap between the teachings of Thai Buddhism and the Thai reality.

(5) Hong Kong (Chan and Lee, forthcoming) [11]

Ninety eight percent of Hong Kong's population of 5.7 million consists of ethnic Chinese, of which 90% is Cantonese. Thus, it is appropriate to think of Hong Kong as culturally a part of China. However, Hong Kong has been under British rule since 1842 following the first Opium War. Because of this, legally and normatively speaking, Hong Kong has adopted a British lifestyle. As a result, the family in Hong Kong is distinguished by

a two-tiered structure. It consists on the one hand of the traditional Chinese culture based on Confucian principles emphasizing respect for elders and unity of the family. It consists, on the other hand, of modern culture stressing the pursuit of profits, the achievement of status and goals, and personal welfare and peace. The most typical family format in Hong Kong is the nuclear family. However, children follow the traditional ethical family value of supporting their aged parents (care and financial aid).

It is rare for relatives outside the nuclear family to live together (and this is physically impossible due to the cramped living spaces). Relatives, however, maintain close contact, and marriages are decided with the agreement of a wide range of relatives. Thus, this family format can be called a "modified nuclear family". In other words, though relatives do not live together, family relations based on traditional Confucian ethics are maintained. With this "modified nuclear family", the social and economic independence stressing the rationality and appropriateness (flexibility) of the nuclear family is assured. At the same time, this format supports such traditional Confucian ideas as loyalty and respect for the family including obedience to parents and superiors, and mutual support and duties between family members in times of difficulty.

Hong Kong society has been industrialized rapidly. This along with the spread of a high level of education spurred its internationalization. When Hong Kong returns to China in 1997 it will no doubt have a major impact on China because of the demographic and developmental differences between the two. Hong Kong may promote population control in China through the cultural aspect.

(6) China (Fan Ping, forthcoming) [12]

In China, which has a massive population of 1,120 million, orthodox Confucian philosophy is a popular belief and forms the nucleus of social control. There are three distinctive characteristics of traditional Chinese society. First, the small farming society characterized by self-assistance and independence, in which the family plays a major role. Second, the vertical society which stresses vertical relations within organizations and groups of families. Third, the fact that those with a prominent status within the human relations of society have political authority. There are five characteristics of the traditional Chinese family: arranged marriages, patriarchical orientation, male dominance, polygamy, and the family as the socioeconomic unit to which individuals must give maximum priority. Today, however, the family has changed from one characterized by bilateral succession, maintaining independent relations between generations. In addition, current social reforms and modernization are contributing greatly to changing the family. Even so, a basic dual structure between urban and rural culture still exists.

Today, Chinese women are making remarkable advances in society. Even in township

enterprises, young rural women are active as producers and holders of positions of responsibility (Ishikawa, 1991:84). Under liberation policies, education for women has improved in order to develop human resources, and women have come to achieve economic and spiritual independence. However, this is also a factor in the alienation of the female work force in the form of "hunyu fuijia" (women go back home!) [13]. This is a modern, contemporary problem generated with the promotion of liberation policies (Ishikawa, 1991:85; 1103-104).

As previously stated, a dual structure exists in Chinese society separating cities from rural areas. The same applies to the status of women. The remarkable advancement of women in Chinese society is limited to urban areas. In old traditional rural society, a feudal mentality and the idea of male dominance are still strong. The "one-child policy" designed to curb population growth has been implemented quite thoroughly and successfully in urban areas. In rural areas where the concept of prioritizing male offspring strongly persists, however, there are frequent cases of abuse of mothers who have given birth to girls (Zhong, 1992), infanticiles of baby-girls, and negligence of registering baby-girls, as well as a revival of the practice of selling girls as brides (Ishikawa, 1991:86-87) [14].

Today, the literacy rate among Chinese women is quite high. However, illiteracy among aged women is extraordinarily high (95.46% for women aged 60 and over in 1982), and the percentage of illiterate and semi-illiterate young women (aged 14 to 19) is still as high as 15% (Ishikawa, 1991:94). Illiterate and semi-illiterate women live mostly in rural areas. This is a great obstacle to the promotion of population control policies in rural areas, because the number of children borne per woman is closely related to the level of education. The average number of children of women college graduate aged 40 is two, whereas the average for illiterate and semi-illiterate women is five (Zhang Ping, 1993). In addition, with the introduction of the individual responsibility system for production in rural areas, it is extremely difficult to restrict the number of children borne by women, since children are needed as laborers. In fact, while 97% of children of school age enter school, a vast number drop out (the number of drop-outs among girls is particularly high). This in itself is one factor for the high illiteracy rate among young women. At the same time it signifies the situation in China, where population, women's issues, education and labor issues are intricately interrelated one another.

(7) Taiwan (Lee and Sun) [15]

The current population of Taiwan is 21 million. Eighty five percent of the population are believers in a religion which emphasizes on profit seeking, a complex blend of various religions. It is comprised of Taoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and folk religions, and is unique to Taiwan. Another 12% of the population consists of people who do not believe in any religion, and the remaining 3.5% is Christian approximating half Catholics and half

Protestants.

Believers in the traditional Taiwanese religion tend to adhere to traditional ideas of the family, such as coresidency with elderly parents, patriarchical orientation, and a strong trend to preserve ancestor worship within the family. This leads to male dominance in the family lineage. Although the traditional family continues to exist, the situation is changing due to rapid social and demographic transformations. Thus, there emerged various changes in the family: that is an increase in the percentage of nuclear families (56%), a decrease in the number of family members (3.9), a decrease in the total fertility rate (1.8), an increase in the age at which women marry (24 years), and an increase in the divorce rate (1.36). Within the nuclear family, such traditional ideas as ancestor worship, and succession of household headship by male offsprings are weakening. With this, the rights of the husband are decreasing, the authority of the mother-in-law declining rapidly, and emotional fulfillment is becoming the most important function of family relations.

With improvements in education, women are rapidly advancing in society, and it is now possible for women to become economically independent. Along with this, women have more say within the family. Thus, the number of families in which the elderly parents live independent of their adult children to avoid stressful generational conflicts is increasing rapidly (Zong, 1986:122-123).

(8) Korea (Park and Cho) [16]

Recently, the population of Korea has increased dramatically. The current population is 44 million. Over the past 200 years, Confucian rites have become deeply rooted in family ceremonies such as marriages, funerals, and festivals, and support the basic spirit of ideas and systems centered on blood relations. Furthermore, the number of Christians (Protestants) and Buddhists has been increasing in recent years. Despite the rapid progress of modernization in Korean society, the importance of traditional family values persists. They include such characteristics as strong father-child ties and hierarchical relationships based on generations and age, along with the concept of "filial piety" based on Confucian ideology.

The relationship between parents and children is strong, regardless of the living arrangements between the parents and the family of the eldest son. This is a relationship of mutual support. When aged parents need help, the children do not hesitate to live with them. However, family conventions based on Confucian principles seem to have been changing gradually. One contributing factor is the advancement of women in society. The female labor force has reached 48%, of which 60% are married women (Suh, 1994).

Concerning families in these eight Asian countries we can summarize as follows. The reason that there is a tendency to view the family in Asia as a traditional family is perhaps because the family pattern is expressed in such terms as the "extended family", the "joint

family", the "stem family" and the "generational family". However, in reality there is a significant increase in the number of "nuclear families". One reason that Asian societies are considered traditional societies is that the major religions and beliefs in the different countries are not Christianity. The mutual relationship between the family and religion or belief results in the social characteristics of ancestor worship, succession of the family lineage by males, and the respect for religious ceremonies. However, the cultural and social characteristics of Asian countries are diverse. This is also true for religions, beliefs, family patterns and population dynamics. Thus, we can consider that the family format in Asia is supported by the different religions and beliefs.

Furthermore, with modernization, the family in Asia is changing from that of "traditional" to that of "nuclear". However, this is a quantitative matter, and in reality we cannot say that there is a true transformation to the nuclear family. For example, in Hong Kong due to the shortage in space it is impossible for the elderly parents to co-reside with the children's family. Although "nuclear families" in physical terms, both the parents' and the children's generations "co-reside" by living nearby each other. Thus this type of the family should be called a "modified nuclear family". In the same way, when we consider throughout one's entire life course it is appropriate to see the family in Japan as a "modified stem family". The same can be said of the family in Asia in general.

3 The Status of Women in Relation to Population Control Policies

(1) China's one-child policy and the status of women who do not give birth to boys

Since 1949, the Chinese government has appealed for equality of the sexes and harshly criticized the traditional subjection of women. In reality, however, there are still strong hierarchical orientations in which men and women are not equal. Therefore the value and status of women is based on these sex role identifications. In China, in rural regions in particular, the value and status of married women depends on whether or not they give birth to male offsprings (Zhong, 1992:41). Women who give birth to boys are called "Quanren" (perfect persons) and are respected, while those who give birth to girls are called "Xianren" (persons to be abhorred) and are treated as loathsome objects (Zhong, 1992:45).

The main factor in the discriminatory abuse of women who have given birth to girls, regardless of their class, is the feudal idea of the absolute importance of continuation of the family lineage by males still embraced by many Chinese, especially in rural areas. Girls are eventually married off and have extremely low chances of carrying on the family line. Couples who have no boy are called "childless". This signifies "no child and no descendants", and such families are considered "sinful persons" for ending the family line.

Thus, there exist difficulties involved in implementing the "one-child policy" as a means of population control in rural areas (Zhong, 1992:46).

Considering rural China as a whole, there is a problem of excess labor force. For an individual rural family, however, there is no such problem. With the agrarian reforms of 1978, the "seisan-sekinin-sei" (the System of Production Responsible to the Individual Family Unit) [17] was introduced. Agricultural production in China, where mechanization is lagging, is still dependent on human and livestock power. Thus, the income and standard of living of individual rural families is directly related to the number and strength of their labor force. For individual families, only boys are valued as permanent workers. Later on, when these boys marry, their wives will add to the family labor force. In addition, the excess labor force in families with many workers can be transferred from agricultural production to laborers in urban areas or to the non-agricultural rural sector of township enterprises [18]. The income gained by these workers is higher than the income from farming. Thus, households with many workers gain substantial non-agricultural income (Zhong, 1992:47; Wang and Fan, 1993:78).

The central issue of the "one-child policy" adopted by China since the latter half of the 1970's is "one couple having only one child". However, since the late 1980's, a second child is permitted under exceptional circumstances. Having a third child, though, is strictly prohibited, and couples with two children are under the obligation of taking contraceptive precautions (Zhong, 1992:48) [19]. Thus, while the "one-child policy" is contributing to population control, women who have only given birth to girls are discriminated against and abused (Zhong, 1992:48).

Socialist economy is based on planned births and planned distribution, and considers births, which is in the realm of personal liberties, within the scope of planning. However, in the economic area, the method of production by large collectives using "production crews" had the result of hindering aggressiveness and a sense of responsibility with respect to productivity among the rural people. Because of this, the previous "seisan-sekinin-sei" (the System of Production Responsible to the Individual Family Unit) was reinstated. Thus, with the liberalization of agriculture, the standard of living of the rural population increased rapidly.

On the other hand, the "one-child policy", a policy of planned births, is not in keeping with the traditional idea of unrestricted freedom of birth. Thus, it is difficult for the rural population to follow it. This is one cultural and social issue facing the promotion of the "one-child policy" in rural China.

Are boys born under the "one-child policy" considered fortunate? (Since 1993, education for all children is no longer free.) The relationship between an only-child and the family is called a "four-two-one" relationship. This refers to the overindulgence of the only

child by the entire family members. The parents of both the husband and wife (two sets of grandparents for the child) and the child's parents, a total of six people, dote on the only child in the family. Under these circumstances it is difficult to foster healthy mind among only child in the China family today. In many cases, overindulgence becomes a hindrance for the healthy growth of children. Furthermore, this is directly related to such problems in contemporary Chinese society as juvenile delinquency and the difficulties for adult males to find marriage partners (Zhang Ping, 1993; Wang Wei, 1994). This concern generates doubts concerning China's "one-child policy" as a method of population control.

(2) The status of women in Indian society - "dowry deaths" and related violence, and abuse of wives who do not give birth to baby-boys

It is well known that the average life span of women on the Indian subcontinent is short (Kono, 1994:48 and Table 2:54). The reason generally given for this is a high mortality among pregnant women due to a high number of births, poor hygiene and low nutritional levels. However, another important factor is that the feudal concept of male dominance is traditionally strong, and girls are treated in discriminatory fashion when it comes to medical care and food (Kono, 1994:48-49; Ware, 1986). In addition, the birth rate on the Indian subcontinent is still high. The reason for this is that the status of women of the middle and lower classes, and particularly of young brides, is extremely low (Prasad, 1994). Brides can only achieve the status of half-person within their new family after giving birth to a number of boys (Kono, 1994:49).

In fact, according to the official reports of the Indian government's criminal records bureau alone, there are almost 5000 "dowry deaths" each year (4,836 in 1990, 4,656 in 1991). The women involved in dowry deaths are young women in their twenties who have only been married about two years. They have a low level of education and are completely dependent on their husbands or families. The perpetrators are in the vast majority of cases the husbands, followed by the mother-in-laws and brother-in-laws. There are many cases in which abused women attempt suicide by dousing themselves in kerosene and burning themselves in the homes in which they live with their mother-in-laws (Prasad, 1994). "Dowry deaths" themselves are not related to population control policies, but they are symbolic of the low status of women in Indian society.

One of the methods used to resolve the issues of male dominance and excess population in Indian society is ultrasound, which is employed frequently by pregnant women (CBS, 1993) [20]. Ultrasound is a medical process originally designed with the purpose of checking the health of the fetus. However, it can also identify the sex of the fetus. Though ultrasound costs US$ 40, a large sum in the poor regions of India, it has now become essential to the people there. If a woman gives birth to a girl, the burden on both the girl and the family in the

future will be great, considering dowries and advertisements for husbands. Thus, giving birth to girls is considered loathsome. Women of the poorer classes only have their first ultrasound after they have given birth to two or three girls, but women of the middle classes have ultrasound beginning from their first pregnancy.

Because of male dominance and the tendency to try to avoid giving birth to girls, the number of girls per 1000 boys has dropped from 934 in 1981 to 929 in 1993. In addition, it is estimated that the number of females not known their whereabout due to abandonment, abortion and infanticide is as many as 2.2 million. Indian society may only be released from the traditional customs of male dominance and the avoidance of bearing girls once it realizes this abnormal ratio of males to females. In other words, the value of women will only be recognized once there is an insufficient number of women.

4 Conclusion

At present, 80% of the total world population lives in developing countries, and this will increase to approximately 90% by 2050. In other words, the majority of population growth will occur in developing countries. Thus, to control the population, it is essential to modify the social custom of male dominance seen in many developing countries to raise the status of women. In the 1994 State of World Population, improvements to the status of women and their empowerment are considered the main issues for solving population problems. In order to promote the empowerment of women, this report calls for achieving equality of the sexes in three fields: investments in education, economic encouragement, and reproductive health (Ogawa, 1994).

However, population control is affected by many other factors as well. It is also necessary to consider religion, culture, social customs and economic policies. In fact, the International Conference on Population and Development held in September 1994 in Cairo was based on a sense of crisis that failure to curb the world's population will lead to chronic poverty and the destruction of the global environment. The Conference adopted action programs calling for people to study family planning and aim at a suitable birth rate. For this to happen, the improvement of the status of women is essential to achieve sustainable development. Governments of all countries must make maximum efforts through education, occupational training, and expansion of employment of women so that women can become partners in all spheres of political, social or economic activities. In response, the Supreme Council, a senior organization of Islamic scholars in Saudi Arabia, criticized the Conference saying that it was "spreading crimes against religion". It pointed out that the action programs ignored the differences between men and women outlined in shari'ah (Islamic law) and was

trying to make the sexes equal in all aspects. As this shows, population and development, as well as the improvement of the status of women, are matters in which religion, culture and social customs are intricately involved and cannot be resolved easily. This is particularly evident when considering the population and status of women in Asia.

Notes

1. In 1990, I was invited to become an editor of a special issue of *The Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, published in Canada. In it, I chose a topic of "Families in Asia: Beliefs and Realities". This anthology will be published in the spring of 1995.
2. The "Workshop on Population Aging: Women in an Aging Society", commissioned by the UNFPA, was held in Singapore from March 13 to 18, 1994, under the sponsorship of the Social Welfare and Psychology Department of the National University of Singapore and the Japanese Organization of International Cooperation for Family Planning (JOICFP). A total of some 40 specialists and administrators involved in issues of aging from ten Asian countries (China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Sri Lanka and Thailand) and from other areas of the world participated. Three persons participated from Japan: Toshio Kuroda, Director Emeritus of the Nihon University Population Research Institute, Hayashi Kenji, Director of the Health Statistics and Demographics Department, the National Institute of Public Hygiene, and myself.
3. Leela Mullati, "Families in India: Beliefs and Realities."
4. Jainism (from the Sanskrit "jina" meaning holy person or victor) - Jainism is a religion originated with Mahavira in about the 6th century B.C. Like Buddhism it rejects the authority of the Vedas. It is a type of atheism, is strongly ethical, and particularly stresses asceticism. It split into two sects, Digambara and Svetambara, in about the 1st century A.D. (Izuru Shinmura ed., *Kojien*, 3rd Edition, 1990:1083).
5. Hinduism was first referred to as "Baramon", but became established as Hinduism in about the 4th century. It is a polytheistic religion, includes elements of fetishism, animism, ancestor worship, idol worship and pantheism, and is divided into many sects (Izuru Shinmura ed., *Kojien*, 3rd Edition, 1990:2066).
6. A dowry is money given to the groom's family by the bride's family at the time of marriage. There are many cases in which the bride is burned to death because the dowry was considered too small. Dowries are extremely high: in cities among middle class families they are usually between 50,000 and 100,000 rupees (20 to 50

times the monthly salary) (Karashima, 1989:64-65). Dowries are not necessarily limited to cash -- in many cases they are replaced with valuables, such as gold, scooters, motorcycles, mopeds, or assets such as land (Prasad, 1994:79).

7. Anwarullah Chowdhury, "Families in Bangladesh."
8. Zainal Kling, "The Malay Family: Beliefs and Realities."
9. Bhassorn Limanonda, "Families in Thailand: Beliefs and Realities."
10. Summary from the speech "Buddhism and Family Life in Thailand" given at the symposium "Comparative Sociology of the Family" on February 28, 1993 at Ryukoku University. (Chiken News, Ryukoku University Institute of Regional Research, No. 4, 1993)
11. Hoiman Chan and Rance P.L. Lee, "Hong Kong Families: At the Crossroads of Modernism and Traditionalism."
12. Fan Pin, "Changing Patterns of the Family in Contemporary China."
13. "With still few employment opportunities, there are proponents of 'funyu fuijia' ('Women go back home!') who shun female workers, saying they are unproductive because of menstrual and maternity leaves, and therefore should 'go home'." (Ishikawa, 1991:84-85)
14. Ishikawa explains the selling girls as brides and the negligence to register children as follows. The selling girls as brides was a wide-spread practice in old rural China, but has been prohibited by marriage laws since the new China was established. Still, as males were sought after as workers under the liberation policy, the number of males increased, many faced difficulties in finding a bride, and a situation arose in which men began buying women. As for the second phenomenon, it is estimated that there are great numbers of unregistered children.
15. Mei-Ling Lee and Te-Hsiung Sun, "The Family and Demography in Contemporary Taiwan."
16. Insook Han Park and Lee-Jay Cho, "Confucianism and the Korean Family."
17. The "production system responsible to the individual family unit" set in place at the time of agrarian reform in China establishes each farm household as the production unit in place of the previous "production crews." (Zhong, 192:47).
18. The rural work force in China consists of 450 million people. However, only 200 million of these are needed for agricultural laborers, and the remainder is surplus work force. Of the total rural work force approximately 200 million people are already employed in non-agricultural jobs in "gochin kigyo" (township enterprises) or employed in cities. The following is a breakdown of the rural labor force: those employed in rural non-agricultural organizations - 50 million; those employed as seasonal workers - 20 million; those employed in rural gochin enterprises - 123

million. In addition, some 6 million people leave farming and take employment in gochin enterprises each year, and the number of people leaving farming is increasing rapidly. Some farmers move to the city still unregistered, so there are inconsistencies between the registry statistics and the actual situation. Furthermore, according to a report issued on the first day of the 1994 Chinese new year, there continued to be a rush of farmers heading from inland to coastal areas in search of work. This great movement was expected to reach a peak on the weekend of February 26, at which time the number of users of the Guangzhou Station was expected to be 300,000 a day. (Yomiuri Shimbun, February 22 and 23, 1994, Sangyo Keizai Shimbun, March 14, 1994; "Population and Development," 1994:81-83.)

19. The "one-child policy" is a national policy in China, but is implemented by employment organizations (Zhong, 1992:51). In addition, exceptions in which a couple may have a second child include when the first child is impaired and cannot become independent, when both the husband and wife are only children, and when the first child is a girl (Zhong, 1992:52).

20. From the transcript of the documentary program "CBS 60 Minutes" by CBS, one of the three major U.S. TV networks, aired throughout the United States in 1993 and edited for international broadcasting (March, 1993). This 20-minute program entitled "The Year of the Woman" described the low status of middle and low class Indian women, the abuse of women who have given birth to girls, and ultrasound as a solution.

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Chapter Two

WOMEN AND FERTILITY IN ASIA

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1 The Cairo Population Conference and the Fertility of Asian Women

An International Conference on Population and Development was held in September 1994 in Cairo. Originally, population, environment and development were to be the central issues of the conference. However, the new concepts of reproductive health and rights emerged in meetings of the Preparatory Committee for the Cairo conference in 1993, and these became the main issues of the conference. Abortion was the center of debate at the actual conference. The dispute was whether or not to accept the basic notion of reproductive health and rights.

In the end, abortion was not recognized as a method of curbing the birthrate, but a consensus was adopted on the basic concept of reproductive health and rights, that is, that women should have control over their own bodies and reproductive hygiene, that they should be able to enjoy a healthy sex life free from the worry of venereal diseases and AIDS, that they should have the choice of whether or not to bear children, that they should be able to have as many children as they wish at the interval they wish, and that for this they should have sufficient information, education, and knowledge and means of family planning at their disposal.

The theme for this chapter is "Women and Fertility in Asia". Asia is an extremely large area. Though it only covers 29.5% of the world's land surface, its population as of 1994 is 3,434,300,000, accounting for 60.4% of the entire world population of 5,629,610,000, according to new estimates of the United Nations Population Division. Asia's population is vast, as is its land, so the United Nations Population Division divides it into four regions: East Asia, South and Central Asia, Southeast Asia and West Asia.

There are major differences in birthrates and the status and role of women within these four regions. There are also great discrepancies from country to country, comparable to the differences between the major world regions, such as between Europe and Africa. It is likely that there is no region with such marked differences within it and with such a wealth of diversity as Asia. For example, the birthrate of the group referred to as the Asian NIEs is near to that of Europe, both have a total fertility rate of under 2.0 and in both the level of education and labor rate of women are relatively high. On the other hand, such Arab countries in West Asia as Oman and Yemen have the highest fertility rates in the world.

The purpose of this chapter is to relate and discuss the status and the roles of women and birthrates. Already in the previous report "Challenge and Strategy of Asian Nations" published by the Asian Population and Development Association, I described the important relationship between the status of women and fertility [1]. In this report I shall discuss the relationship between birthrates and the level of education of women and their participation in the labor force, two important indices of the empowerment of women, as well as introduce the

research of Mauldin and his group, which elucidates the growing importance of the role of population policies in reducing in birthrates from a macro perspective. In fact, past demographic policies of developing nations are now considered to include elements incompatible with the concept of reproductive health and rights, so it will be necessary to reexamine such policies as well as research on such policies in light of the fruits of the Cairo conference.

2 Education of Women and Fertility

Many studies have been conducted in the past on the relationship between fertility and socio-economic factors in Asian countries. The importance of the relationship between fertility and socio-economic factors has been proven through analyses of the World Fertility Survey (WFS) conducted on a worldwide scale in the 1970s and the field surveys of various countries in the Demographic Health Survey (DHS), which have carried out during the 1980s and up to now on the basis of many of the good traditions of the WFS.

One classical relationship ascertained is between the level of education of women and fertility. The relationship between fertility and other socio-economic factors may be theoretically interesting, but in reality, in most cases the results of field surveys have not been able to demonstrate the expected theoretical relationships precisely, due to various particular historical or cultural circumstances. However, a virtually universally negative relationship has been confirmed between the level of education of women and fertility in each study.

As already mentioned, many studies concerning fertility and the level of education, particularly of women, had been conducted before the WFS [2]. Here we give a general summary of the findings of these studies.

Education changes the sense of value and attitude of couples concerning families with many children, but on the other hand increases the cost of raising children. The spread of education weakens traditional family values and strengthens social mobility. It also promotes the advancement of women in society and increases opportunity cost of working women (the economic and psychological losses generated when women quit their employment to give birth or raise children).

The results of the WFS clearly demonstrate a positive relationship between education and the rate of use of contraception. This is likely due to the process described below.

a) Education has the effect of spreading information about family planning.
b) Clearer communication is established between husband and wife concerning family planning and the number of children desired.
c) Education has the effect that families make plans for promoting their welfare in the

future and stop living haphazard lifestyles.

d) When both spouses have a high level of education, and particularly when they have a high income, they are able to select from a wider variety of methods of contraception.

In addition, there is also an important relationship between education and fertility on the supply side. That is:

a) Education raises the age of first marriage.

b) Education acts to shorten the breast-feeding period. This factor acts to slightly raise the birthrate as the level of education increases.

c) Education lowers both the adult and infant mortality rates. Decreases in mortality affect fertility in complex ways. A decrease in the infant mortality rate has the effect of decreasing the birthrate in the long term, but a decrease in the adult mortality rate increases the female population of reproductive age in particular. This acts to push up fertility if external conditions remain constant.

Still, there is no doubt that from the supply side as well, overall the effect of education acts in the direction of reducing fertility.

The World Fertility Survey conducted in the 1970s, and particularly in the latter half of the decade, demonstrated a gap in fertility according to the number of years of education in twelve Asian nations. When we examine the four groups of education levels shown in Table 1, there is clearly a general trend for a reduction of fertility as the number of years of education increases. However, this does not mean that fertility decreases necessarily as the number of years of education increases. In several countries we can see that fertility increases as the number of years of education increases from 0 to 1-3 years. This phenomenon is particularly striking in the Philippines. However, when the number of years of education increases from 1-3 years to 4-6 years, fertility decreases in all cases, with the exception of Bangladesh and Pakistan. (In Pakistan the birthrate actually increases here after decreasing between 0 and 1-3 years.) In any case, when the number of years of education reaches 7 and over, fertility decreases in all countries, and at a substantial rate. Finally, as shown in columns 5, 10 and 15 on Table 1, the differences in fertility between the group with 0 years of education and the group with 7 or more years of education are positive in all countries, and quite high in all countries except Bangladesh and Indonesia.

When we examine the situation in the Asian countries surveyed by the WFS, it appears that the influence of education on fertility is great, but for this influence to be effective, it is important that education spans a period of seven years or more, that is that people receive an education of secondary level or higher. The 1970s when the World Fertility Surveys were conducted, and particularly the second half of the decade, were a time when fertility finally began decreasing in developing countries. It seems that at this time fertility finally began decreasing among the group of women who had received the necessary level of education,

and that this group spurred on a decrease in overall fertility.

The Demographic Health Survey began in the second half of the 1980s. This was a time when the decreasing fertility trend in developing countries was beginning to be appreciable. Table 2 shows the past number of births by residence (urban or rural) and by level of education for women aged 15 to 49 and for women aged 40 to 49 in three Asian countries: Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand.

Table 3 shows the distribution of the level of education of women in Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand according to the DHS. According to this table, though 22.1% of women in Indonesia belong to the no schooling group, in Sri Lanka and Thailand this figure is low at 12.5% and 8.8%, respectively. We can also note the high level of education of women in Sri Lanka -- 35.2% have received secondary education, 22.0% higher education.

Returning to Table 2, when we look at the number of births in the past (we will call this fertility) by level of education for these three Asian countries, it appears that the tendency for fertility to decrease as the level of education increases is clearer than in the WFS conducted some 15 years before. For women aged 15 to 49, fertility is lower in the group with higher education than in the group with no schooling in all cases, with no exceptions.

For women aged 40 to 49, who can be considered to have virtually stopped giving birth, in Indonesia the group with primary schooling shows a higher fertility than the group with no schooling, but in Sri Lanka and Thailand fertility decreases steadily as the level of education increases, as expected. In any case, in all three countries the difference in fertility between the group with higher education and the group with no schooling is distinct.

In Indonesia, fertility in the group of women aged 15 to 49 with higher education is about half that of the group with no schooling, and this is basically the case in Sri Lanka as well. In Thailand, fertility among women with higher education (1.38) is only 35% that of women with no schooling (4.00). Age group 40 to 49 includes a cohort of women from the time before fertility began to decrease, so the difference is not as marked as for age group 15 to 49. Even so, fertility in the group with higher education is as low as about half that of the group with no schooling. Fertility of the groups of women with secondary and higher education in Thailand is far lower than in the other two countries. It is particularly low in the group with higher education, and near the population replacement level. In Thailand, even in the rural area, fertility of the group of women who have received higher education has decreased to a level comparable to that of Western Europe at the beginning of the 1960s.

Examining the differences between the urban and rural areas, the gaps according to the level of education are marked in both cases, but the differences between the urban and rural areas themselves are not that great. Actually, fertility is lower in the rural area for the group with secondary education in Indonesia and the secondary and higher education groups in Sri Lanka. In any case, the effect of education for women is extremely great, and it appears that

in all countries fertility first begins dropping in the group with higher education, and this drop later spreads to the other groups due to the influence of the first group.

3 Employment of Women and the Birthrate

Like education, employment is also closely related to fertility. Employment is known to have the effect of depressing fertility [3]. For the mother, giving birth and raising children requires time and entails a financial burden, so under normal circumstances the employment of women restricts childbearing and rearing, and vice versa. The constraining factor is particularly strong when the woman works not at home (say at farming or a home industry) but outside of the home (in an office or factory, for example). In addition, the employment of women tends to delay marriage, and late marriage indirectly reduces fertility. There are many studies and documents on these issues, and it is generally recognized that there is a negative relationship between the employment of women and fertility. This relationship is more salient in developed countries than in developing nations [4]. However, though this relationship is clear over the long run, in the short term it is not necessarily so straightforward.

In any case, we believe that along with improvements in education, the employment of women and their advancement in society are important factors for the empowerment of women and the extension of women's rights. It is already recognized that these factors have the effect of reducing fertility in developing countries.

The WFS of the 1970s and the DHS of the end of the 1980s provide various data on the employment of women. Here we will attempt a sketchy comparative study of the relationship between employment and fertility based on the results of these two surveys.

Table 4 shows the number of children borne in the past (which we will call fertility) by married women aged 40 to 49 by occupation and by region and developmental level according to the WFS. The occupations of women are divided into five categories: none, modern, transitional, mixed and traditional. The regions are divided in three: Africa, Latin America/Caribbean, and Asia/Oceania. The developmental level is divided in four stages: high, medium high, medium low and low. "Modern" occupations refer to clerical, technical, professional and administrative occupations, "transitional" to occupations outside one's own home, such as domestic help. "Mixed" occupations are mainly those related to sales and services other than domestic help, while "traditional" occupations refer to farming. On Table 4, Asia and Oceania are together, but actually the only country in Oceania included here is Fiji, so "Asia/Oceania" can be considered Asia.

According to Table 4, the birthrate is lowest among married women employed in "modern" occupations and highest among women employed in "traditional" occupations.

One would think that fertility would be highest among women with no occupation. It is higher in this group than among women employed in "modern", "traditional", and "mixed" occupations, but lower then women employed in "traditional" occupations in all regions and for all developmental levels, with only one exception. For the "low" developmental level, fertility is slightly higher among women with no occupation than among those employed in "traditional" occupations. A report on the results of the WFS does not comment on this irregularity [5], but it makes no division by urban or rural area, and there are also problems concerning the definition of employment. The WFS does not provide information on the number of working hours and the existence of any support in the family or social support for raising children, so it is difficult to make a proper evaluation. Still, when we compare the developmental levels on Table 4, it is interesting that the gaps in fertility increase as the developmental level increases. As the developmental level increases, there is a tendency for fertility of women employed in "traditional" occupations and those with no occupation to rise. We may assume that at the stage when fertility is not intentionally controlled, improved health increases natural fertility, and that on the other hand among women employed in "modern" occupations, a reduction in fertility occurs in the process of the spread of family planning, so the gaps between women using family planning and other women widen.

Table 5 shows the average age of first marriage of married women by occupation in 11 Asian countries based on the WFS. In this case, the level of education is standardized. The average age of first marriage is an important proximate determinant of fertility. It is also an index of women's autonomy, and can also be considered an expression of the powers of restraint which the traditional family and society exert on women through customs and patriarchal authority.

It is clear from Table 5 that women marry very young in many Asian countries. This is particularly the case in Bangladesh and Nepal. In general, however, and despite some exceptions, Table 5 shows a pattern, with women employed in "modern" occupations marrying latest, those with no occupation marrying earliest, and the others falling in between.

What influence does employment have on fertility among Asian women according to the Demographic Health Survey conducted some 15 years after the World Fertility Survey? Unfortunately, the DHS only classifies data by whether women are employed or not, and does not provide information by occupation like the WFS. Table 6 shows the number of children born in the past (fertility) for employed and unemployed women for the three countries discussed before: Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand. From this table we can see a clear difference in fertility according to whether women are employed or not. This difference in fertility is particularly marked in Thailand. It is especially worth noting that the number of births is low for both employed and unemployed women in the age group 15 - 49. It appears that in general when the decrease in fertility in developing nations becomes distinct, internal differences increase.

4 Relationship between Fertility and Socio-economic Factors and Population Policies

We have now attempted to provide an overview of the relationships between fertility and the level of education and employment situation of Asian women using the data of the WFS and DHS. Improved education and expanded employment are important and leading factors determining fertility, as well as important indices demonstrating the improvements in the status of women and the expansion of their roles. However, many other socio-economic factors affect fertility as well.

At the same time, however, it is also known that recently the population policies of governments and volitional national efforts such as government-led activities to spread family planning are also deeply related to reductions in fertility. For this reason, we will now introduce the most recent findings of the Population Council of the United States, which has for many years conducted studies of the reduction of fertility in developing countries using macro data based on a comprehensive index of various socio-economic factors and a comprehensive index of various factors involving population policies. Through this we will consider the role of socio-economic factors and family planning programs in reducing fertility.

The reduction of fertility in developing countries can be considered as caused by two major groups of factors. The first are socio-economic factors, the second the eagerness, degree of effort and efficiency of management of government programs to spread family planning. Until the 1960s it was thought that fertility in a country would not drop until its socio-economic conditions had fully been developed. This is the hypothesis which lies behind the "demographic transition theory". Over the past 30 years, however, it has gradually become clear that while the socio-economic development and improvements in its living standards brought about through the society's modernization -- industrialization, urbanization and secularization -- may be extremely important factors for the reduction of fertility in developing countries, these are not absolute conditions without which fertility does not decrease.

Mauldin and his associates in the Population Council attempt to explain the reduction of fertility in close to 90 developing countries through indices of the countries' economic and social development on the one hand, and through the extent of effort in and the efficiency of government family planning programs on the other hand. The Mauldin group has already issued a series of four reports, in which the reduction of fertility over a long period of 10 or 30 years is considered a dependent variable. The socio-economic indices considered as explaining this are: (1) the average life expectancy; (2) the infant mortality rate; (3) the adult

literacy rate; (4) the proportion of the non-agricultural population among the male labor force; (5) the rate of attendance at elementary and middle school; (6) the proportion of the total population who are living in cities with a population of 100,000 or greater; and (7) the average per capita income. These indices are combined into a single comprehensive index. For population policy (family planning), the Council has standardized 30 different indices and construct them into a single comprehensive index. These indices include the leadership of government leaders with respect to demographic issues, the attitude and stance of governmental organizations with respect to population and birth control, the openness of the market and availability of contraceptives, the effectiveness of family planning program guidance, the relative level of government expenditures for family planning activities, and the administrative and organizational capabilities of governmental agencies [6].

At the end, the Population Council performs a multi-variate analysis to measure the relationship between these explanatory indices and reductions in fertility in the past. But, even before employing it, the result is visibly interesting. Table 7 shows a summary table of the latest research results (1991) of the Mauldin group. This table is self-explanatory. It divides 88 developing countries into four groups, "high", "upper middle", "lower middle" and "low" according to the level of socio-economic development (the seven indices listed above), and the degree of effort, eagerness and efficiency of the government for the spread of family planning into four categories, "strong", "medium", "weak" and "very weak or none". The table thus divides developing countries into 16 stages and shows the decline in their total fertility rates from 1960-65 to 1990.

To summarize the results of this study, if the policy variable (the government's degree of effort and efficiency in family planning diffusion activities) is constant, the higher the socio-economic level, the greater the decline in fertility. In the same way, within a group with the same socio-economic level, the greater the government's effort and efficiency, the greater the decline in fertility. In particular, the reduction in fertility is maximum for countries in the highest stages of both dimensions, and inversely the reduction in fertility is near zero in the group with the lowest socio-economic level and lowest policy index. However, it also appears that, in general, the higher the socio-economic level, the greater the political effort, and inversely, the lower the socio-economic level, the weaker the political effort.

Next, through a multi-variate analysis including all the variables, the Mauldin group makes it clear that the contribution of the political variables is more important than the socio-economic level. The following diagram shows the relationship between the effect of socio-economic variables and that of political variables, taking the total fertility rate as 1.0 [7].

(1) Social setting (socio-economic level)

(2) Program efforts (strength of population policies)

(3) Total fertility rate decline

According to this diagram, the effects of population policies are at its face value greater than that of the socio-economic level. However, it should be noted that the program efforts or strength of the policies owes greatly to the socio-economic level. There is no doubt that the overall effects of the socio-economic factors whether direct or indirect, are no less substantial than those of program efforts in contributing to the reduction of total fertility rate.

Returning to Table 7, let us focus on the reduction of fertility in Asian countries. There are many Asian countries with high developmental level and strong level of governmental efforts as well. Of the ten countries in the group of "strong" program efforts, eight are Asian countries (Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Thailand, China, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and India), and reductions of fertility in these countries are marked. In addition, of the 18 countries in the "moderate" program effort group, six are in Asia, and with the exception of Nepal, all show marked reductions in fertility. It should be noted that Asian countries other than those in West Asia have implemented population policies and family planning programs with substantial national objectives and that these policies and programs have been "successful".

5 Reproductive Health and Rights and Population Policies

The Mauldins' macro research on the effect of socio-economic levels and population policies in reducing fertility in developing countries shows that a country's socio-economic level (average life expectancy, urbanization, industrialization, education level, per capita income, etc.) is a basic condition for the reduction of fertility, but at the same time quantitatively confirms that population policies and efforts to spread family planning also contribute greatly to it.

However, considering the situation in developing countries up to now, it is clear that in many countries policies for curbing fertility and related family planning activities frequently ignore the intentions, health and rights of women at the local administrative level in their attempt at achieving quotas. Also, there is frequently no range of choice in methods of contraception at the local level, and it is not infrequent for women to be virtually forced to use such contraceptive methods as subcutaneously implanted hormones, which they cannot stop using even if they do no longer want.

At the 1994 Cairo Population Conference, the concept of reproductive health and rights, the keywords of the Programme of Action adopted by the conference, was recognized internationally and its importance was greatly emphasized. Thus, in developing Asian countries, a transformation will be required when establishing and promoting population policies in the future in order to fully incorporate the position and perspective of women and to support and increase their reproductive health and rights. It is true that, as seen in Table 7,

many Asian countries have been "exemplary" in reducing fertility through the formulation and implementation of population policies, but these have been policies driven from above. Indeed, family planning has been spread with little resistance from the relatively docile and obedient people of Asia. However, if the people were asked whether there has been sufficient consideration for women's reproductive health and rights, the answer would likely be "no".

The research by Mauldin's group incorporates the energy of political conveyance from top to bottom (whether the government is making earnest efforts to spread family planning through its population policies) and the efficiency of the current organizational system in implementing these policies as measures of political effort. In the future, however, "population policies" will likely be more far-ranging and include the preparation of a strong infra-structure system of support for sufficiently achieving reproductive health and rights. For the present, it is essential to first close the gap between the unmet needs of family planning, that is between the demand and the supply of contraceptives, and next to strengthen educational and informational activities and to further stimulate the demands couples have regarding family planning.

With this expanded approach to population policies, it is necessary to add a new comprehensive index of political activity to Mauldin's research, incorporating some political variables concerning activities to spread family planning information, variables concerning activities to satisfy unmet needs, and variables concerning the improvement of the status and expansion of the role of women [8]. In addition, it is also necessary to incorporate indices concerning the empowerment of women into the index representing the social setting. To quote a favorite expression of Dr. Nafis Sadik, Executive Director of the United Nations Population Fund and Secretary-General of the United Nations Cairo Conference, "The women's empowerment itself is development".

Thus, future population policy studies must now face the issue of incorporating factors concerning the empowerment of women based on the new framework discussed above. For demographers, this is a new issue, but it is an issue they must deal with and one presenting them a great challenge. A world population strategy for the 21st century in the true sense should be established based on such research.

Notes

1) Shigemi Kono, 1994. "Women's Status and Population Issues", in Population and Development Series No. 18, *Challenge and Strategy of Asian Nations*, Asian Population and Development Association, March, 1994.

2) Susan H. Cochrane, 1979. *Fertility and Education: What Do We Really Know?*,

Baltimore, Maryland, the Johns Hopkins University Press; United Nations, 1979. *Fertility Behaviour in the Context of Development: Evidence from the World Fertility Survey*, Population Studies No. 100, New York, United Nations.

3) Sidney Goldstein, 1972. "The influence of labour force participation and education in Thailand", *Population Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 3; United Nations, 1985. *Women's Employment and Fertility: Comparative Analysis of World Fertility Survey Results for 38 Developing Countries*, Population Studies, No. 96, New York.

4) United Nations, 1987. *Fertility Behaviour in the Context of Development.* op. cit.

5) *Ibid.*

6) W. Parker Mauldin and John A. Ross, 1991. "Family planning programs: Efforts and results, 1982-89". *Working Papers*, Population Council, Inc.

7) *Ibid.*

8) Such criticism is made for example in E. Postel, 1992. "The value of women, women's autonomy, population and policy trends", International Conference on Population and Development, Expert Meeting on Population and Women, Gaborone, 22-26 June 1992. Also refer to Nathan Keyfitz and Kerstin Lindahl-Kiessling, 1994. "The world population debate: Urgency of the Problem", in Francis Graham-Smith, editor, *Population - The Complex Reality: A Report of the Population Summit of the World's Scientific Academies*, London, The Royal Society.

Table 1 Total Fertility Rate by Level of Education, Marital Total Fertility Rate, and Number of Births Ever-born in Past for Asian Women

Country (year of survey)	Total Fertility Rate by Level of Education				Difference	Marital Total Fertility Rate by Level of Education				Difference	Number of Births Ever Born in Past				Difference
	0 yrs.	1 - 3 yrs.	4 - 6 yrs.	7 yrs. or more	(1) - (4)	0 yrs.	1 - 3 yrs.	4 - 6 yrs.	7 yrs. or more	(6) - (9)	0 yrs.	1 - 3 yrs.	4 - 6 yrs.	7 yrs. or more	(11) - (14)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Bangladesh (1975)	6.1	6.4	6.7	5.0	1.1	6.1	6.3	6.9	5.9	0.2	6.9	7.0	7.6	(6.9)	0.0
Indonesia (1976)	—	—	—	—	—	5.0	5.5	5.5	5.0	0.0	5.2	6.1	5.6	4.5	0.7
Jordan (1976)	9.3	8.6	7.0	4.9	4.4	9.7	9.3	7.7	6.2	3.5	8.9	9.0	7.2	6.2	2.7
Malaysia (1974)	5.3	5.3	4.8	3.2	2.1	6.2	6.0	5.8	4.0	2.2	6.3	6.2	5.9	3.7	2.6
Nepal (1976)	—	—	—	—	—	6.0	(6.8)	(6.4)	(4.6)	2.0	5.7	.....	(3.9)	.....	—
Pakistan (1975)	6.5	5.4	6.1	3.1	3.4	7.0	6.2	7.0	5.1	1.9	6.9	(5.8)	6.5	(5.1)	1.8
Philippines (1978)	5.4	7.0	6.2	3.8	1.6	6.7	7.4	6.9	5.0	1.7	7.0	7.4	6.9	5.2	1.8
Korea (1974)	5.7	5.5	4.3	3.4	2.3	6.2	5.6	5.0	3.8	2.4	6.0	5.7	5.2	4.0	2.0
Sri Lanka (1975)	—	—	—	—	—	5.6	5.3	5.3	4.3	1.3	6.4	6.0	5.8	4.4	2.0
Syria (1978)	8.8	6.7	5.6	4.1	4.7	9.0	7.2	6.5	5.4	3.6	7.8	6.3	6.6	4.0	3.8
Thailand (1975)	—	—	—	—	—	5.5	5.7	5.4	3.2	2.3	6.4	6.6	6.5	4.0	2.4
Yemen (1979)	8.6	.....	(5.4)	.....	—	7.8	.....	8.5	.....	—	6.8	—	—	—	—

Source : United Nations, *Fertility Behaviour in the Context of Development*, Population Studies No. 100. ST/ESA/SER.A/100, New York, 1987, table 112, pp. 224-225. These figures are based on the World Fertility Survey.

Notes : The total fertility rate is for the female population aged 15 to 49, the total fertility rate for married women is for women married continuously for 0 to 24 years, and the number of births in the past is for the female population aged 40 - 49.
Figures in parentheses indicate low numbers of people surveyed.

Table 2 Number of Births in Past for Married Women Aged 15 - 49 and 40 - 49 by Urban-Rural Residence and Level of Education in Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand (according to the World Fertility Survey)

Country and age bracket	Total					Urban area					Rural area				
	No schooling	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Total	No schooling	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Total	No schooling	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Total
Indonesia															
15 - 49	4.00	3.31	2.81	2.04	3.34	3.91	3.55	2.94	2.04	3.33	4.02	3.19	2.54	2.05	3.35
40 - 49	5.13	5.77	4.86	3.32	5.35	4.98	5.80	4.86	3.26	5.25	5.17	5.75	4.85	4.00	5.40
Sri Lanka															
15 - 49	3.86	3.66	2.75	2.09	3.02	4.05	3.38	2.79	2.07	2.76	3.84	3.69	2.74	2.10	3.07
40 - 49	5.75	5.27	4.19	2.97	4.63	5.52	4.92	4.09	2.83	4.02	5.77	5.32	4.24	3.04	4.78
Thailand															
15 - 49	4.00	2.71	1.68	1.38	2.63	3.44	2.38	1.63	1.36	2.14	4.17	2.85	1.80	1.45	2.90
40 - 49	5.51	4.54	2.84	2.15	4.46	4.70	3.86	2.68	2.13	3.54	5.76	4.78	3.34	2.25	4.89

Source : Shigemi Kono and Yasuko Hayase, editors, Fertility in Developing Countries: A Comparative *Study of the Demographic and Health Surveys*, Tokyo, Institute of Developing Economies, 1994, IDE Statistical Data Series Vo. 66, pp. 296-298. These figures are from a new compilation of the results of the Demographic Health Survey conducted at the end of the 1980s.

Table 3 Distribution of Female Population by Level of Education (%)

Level of education	Indonesia	Sri Lanka	Thailand
No schooling	22.1	12.5	8.8
Primary	57.0	30.3	73.6
Secondary	18.8	35.2	11.5
Higher	2.1	22.0	6.1
No answer	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source : Same as Table 2, p. 220. These figures are based on the DHS.

Table 4 Number of Births in Past by Occupation for Married Women Aged 40 - 49 (for the 1974-1981 period)

Region and developmental level	Type of occupation				
	None	Modern	Transitional	Mixed	Traditional
Region					
Africa	6.3	4.9	5.5	5.9	6.6
Latin America/Caribbean	6.9	4.2	6.2	6.0	7.4
Asia/Oceania	6.7	4.5	5.1	6.1	6.8
Development level					
I. High	6.7	4.0	5.9	5.8	7.2
II. Medium high	7.1	4.3	6.3	6.3	7.6
III. Medium low	6.2	4.6	5.4	5.7	6.7
IV. Low	6.4	5.4	4.6	6.1	6.3

Source : Same as Table 1, p. 266. These figures are based on the WFS.

Note : "Modern" occupations refer to clerical, technical, professional and administrative occupations, "transitional" to occupations outside one's own home, such as domestic help. "Mixed" occupations are mainly those related to sales and services other than domestic help, while "traditional" occupations refer to farming.

Table 5 Mean Age of First Marriage of Married Women in Asia with Standardized Level of Education by Occupation

Country (year of survey)	Type of occupation				
	None	Modern	Transitional	Mixed	Traditional
Bangladesh (1975)	12.5	17.4	12.3	13.6	15.0
Jordan (1976)	17.4	21.1	21.2	20.0	18.1
Malaysia (1974)	17.9	21.5	21.4	21.1	18.6
Nepal (1976)	15.6	14.8	15.7	16.6	17.4
Pakistan (1975)	16.6	19.4	16.5	17.1	16.5
Philippines (1978)	19.9	23.9	21.7	21.8	19.9
Korea (1974)	20.1	21.4	21.8	21.7	20.4
Sri Lanka (1975)	19.3	23.1	22.2	21.4	19.7
Syria (1978)	18.7	21.8	23.0	20.6	19.3
Thailand (1975)	19.0	21.3	21.1	20.6	19.7
Yemen (1979)	16.3	...	14.5	18.4	16.6

Source : Same as Table 1, p. 265. These figures are based on the WFS.

Note : See note for Table 4.

Table 6 Number of Births in Past for Married Women Aged 15 - 49 and 40 - 49 in Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Thailand by Whether Employed or Not Prior to Marriage

Country and age bracket	Total	Employed	Not employed
Indonesia			
15 - 49	3.34	3.18	3.51
40 - 49	5.35	5.09	5.61
Sri Lanka			
15 - 49	3.02	2.65	3.16
40 - 49	4.63	4.08	4.85
Thailand			
15 - 49	2.63	2.08	2.94
40 - 49	4.46	3.57	4.81

Source : Same as Table 2, p. 303. These figures are based on the DHS.

Table 7 Absolute Decline in Total Fertility Rate 1960-65 to 1990, by Social Development Index and 1982-89 Degree of Governmental Effort in Family Planning Programs for 88 Developing Countries

Development index \ Government effort	Strong		Moderate		Weak		Very weak or none		Mean
	Country	Absolute decline	Country	Absolute decline	Country	Absolute decline	Country	Absolute decline	
High	Mauritius	3.8	Colombia	3.7	Costa Rica	3.8	Kuwait	3.7	
	Korea	3.7	North Korea	3.3	Brazil	2.8	Iraq	1.0	
	Taiwan	3.7	Jamaica	3.1	Lebanon	2.8			
	Mexico	3.4	Panama	2.9	Venezuela	2.8			
	Singapore	3.1	Cuba	2.8	Jordan	2.2			
			Chile	2.6					
			Trinidad and Tobago	2.2					
	Mean	**3.5**	**Mean**	**2.9**					3.0
Upper middle	Thailand	4.0	Dominican Republic	3.8	Guyana	3.6	Libya	0.4	
	China	3.6	Tunisia	3.4	Peru	3.1	Saudi Arabia	0.1	
	Sri Lanka	2.6	Malaysia	3.0	Turkey	2.6			
	Indonesia	2.1	Ecuador	2.8	Iran	2.3			
			Egypt	2.8	Paraguay	2.3			
			Philippines	2.5	Algeria	2.2			
			El Salvador	2.2	Zimbabwe	1.9			
			Botswana	0.2	Guatemala	1.3			
					Syria	1.0			
					Congo	0.3			
	Mean	**3.1**	**Mean**	**2.6**	**Mean**	**2.0**			2.2
Lower middle	India	1.6	Vietnam	2.1	Morocco	2.6	Myanmar	2.1	
					Honduras	2.1	Cambodia	1.7	
					Haiti	1.4	Bolivia	0.7	
					Kenya	1.2	Ivory Coast	- 0.1	
					Papua New Guinea	1.2	Liberia	- 0.1	
							Laos	- 0.5	
					Pakistan	0.8			
					Ghana	0.6			
					Madagascar	0.1			
					Nigeria	0.1			
					Lesotho	0.0			
					Zaire	- 0.1			
					Tanzania	- 0.2			
					Central African Republic	- 0.5			
					Zambia	- 0.6			
					Cameroon	- 1.0			
	Mean	**1.6**	**Mean**	**2.1**	**Mean**	**0.5**	**Mean**	**0.6**	0.7
Low			Bangladesh	1.4	Senegal	0.7	Sudan	0.3	
			Nepal	0.1	Afghanistan	0.2	Chad	0.2	
					Burkina Faso	0.1	Mauritania	0.0	
					Mozambique	0.1	Somalia	0.0	
					Burundi	0.0	Benin	- 0.1	
					Guinea	0.0	Ethiopia	- 0.1	
					Mali	0.0	Malawi	- 0.6	
					Nigeria	0.0			
					Togo	0.0			
					Sierra Leone	- 0.2			
					Uganda	- 0.4			
					Luanda	- 0.4			
					Guinea -Bissau	- 0.7			
			Mean	**0.7**	**Mean**	**0.0**	**Mean**	**0.0**	0.0
Mean		3.2		2.5		1.0		0.5	1.4

Note : Mean were calculated by unit weights. Mean absolute decline in total fertility rate in each cell is shown in parentheses. Negative entries indicate arise in the TFR.

Source : W. Parker Mauldin and John A. Ross, 1991. "Family Planning Programs: Efforts and Results, 1982-89". *Working Papers* (Population Council), No. 34, 1991.

Chapter Three

JAPANESE WOMEN
- THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN LABOR AND THE IMPACT ON JAPANESE SOCIETY -

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Introduction

The contemporary development of Japan's economy is without a doubt stimulating women to participate in labor. Today, the reduction in the demand for labor brought about by the recent recession is resulting in an excess supply of labor, even among new graduates. However, though this recession is a major one, eventually there will no doubt be a shift, through gradual, towards an increased demand for labor. Though with many fluctuations, the labor demand will likely increase in the long term. This will draw many women into the labor force in a variety of ways.

The demand for labor does not only increase when production expands. The logistics supporting production, that is not only such related fields as distribution, trade and stock but also the discovery and application of new materials, the development of and research on new processing methods, information and systems to treat this information, systems for managing the various aspects of commercial activity and the maintenance of these systems, and so on, all constantly generate a new demand for labor.

As we will discuss later, greater numbers of women are participating in labor in recent years, but the time required for schooling and education before they can participate in labor is growing longer. Thus, over the last 20 years, the increase in the level of education has grown at a faster rate for women. Because of this, the labor rate for younger women is not all that high. However, once they complete their education, their participation in labor, in other words their labor rate, increases abruptly. Thus, what with the stronger trend for women to receive higher levels of education in recent years, overall their labor rate is not all that high. In fact, the changes are more in the content of their work, and in many cases those who employ women are forced to respect their wishes with regard to their work. In particular, today there is a trend towards a greater diversity in forms of work and greater flexibility, and much of this is due to the need to search for new directions in order to address and rectify issues related to the employment of women.

The form of female labor participations and the effect of the supply of female labor on the labor demand seems to be changing towards diversification. If we consider that the rapid economic growth of the 1960s and early 1970s brought women onto the labor market, then it would seem that in the economy of Japan today which has undergone a globalization after the oil crises, considering such factors as adjustments to the slowdown in economic growth, we are heading towards a period in which the shape of female labor will have a substantial influence on the future of the Japanese economy. In this process, because both the supply and demand for labor are involved, while it is necessary to simplify the relationship between the supply and demand of female labor somewhat, but basically here will examine how the

function of female labor in the Japanese economy and labor market is steadily growing. However, this is also related to the shift towards a new stage of intense competition on the establishment of international market as symbolized by the WTO (World Trade Organization) as per agreement at the GATT Uruguay Round. Because of this, we should be aware that changes "at the site of labor" are not always accompanied by "improvements". However, even so, it is possible that the participation of women in social labor may proceed to the status of an independent variable which changes not only Japan's economy but also the Japanese family and the structure of Japanese society.

In this chapter we will extract several points related to certain distinctive trends in the labor market and examine the significance of the participation of women in social labor in Japan. We will start by examining the seemingly quiet trends in the female labor rate in recent years.

1 Irreversible Trends Generated Within a Stable Labor Rate

The labor rate in Japan (labor population divided by population 15 and over) has remained quite stable for about the last 30 years. It was 65.7% in 1965 and 63.8% in 1993, and seems to be decreasing slightly. However, over this period it was at its lowest of 62.6% in 1987, after which it has been increasing slightly. (See Table 1.)

There is a substantial gap in the labor rates of men and women. For men, it is decreasing slightly, falling from 81.7% in 1965 below 80% in 1980 and reaching 78.9% in 1993, but it is still far higher than for women. This change seems to be mainly due to changes in the labor rate for the 15 to 19 age group. In the 1980s in particular, it is likely that the decrease in the labor rate was caused by the increased rate of advancement to higher levels of education, thus decreasing the number of men entering the labor force. On the other hand, for women the labor rate was 50.6% in 1965. It decreased as far as 45.7% in 1975, but then rose gradually and steadily, reaching 50.3% in 1993, about the same level as in 1965. As for men, this fluctuation in the female labor rate is likely due to the change in the labor rate for the 15 to 19 age group. In other words, the female labor rate is also influenced by the increased rate of advancement of women to higher levels of education. In particular, after 1969 the percentage of girls graduating from middle school and proceeding on to high school surpassed the percentage for boys, and this is still the case today. Thus, the main reason that the labor rate for the 15 to 19 age bracket is lower for women than for men is probably that a greater percentage of women advance to higher levels of education than men.

This rise in the percentage of girls advancing to high school is also reflected in the percentage of high school graduates proceeding to higher levels of education. The percentage

of women continuing their education after high school, mostly in junior colleges, began increasing in the 1970s, and the percentage of those entering four-year colleges began rising in the 1980s. In addition, in 1989 the percentage of women entering university surpassed that of men. Japanese women now have one of the highest levels of advancement to university in the world.

The trend in the labor rate has remained relatively stable for both men and women, but it is clear that the level of education of women before entering the work force is increasing rapidly. Thus, though the labor rate does not appear to be changing much, under the surface women, and particularly young women, are receiving higher levels of education. However, one important issue arises here: the M-shaped curve in the labor rate by age bracket still remains unchanged. (See Figure 1.)

In the United States and Sweden, members of the group of developed countries, the female labor rate describes a semi-circular or trapezoidal curve, and the labor rate remains high for women between the age of 20 through the middle of the 50s. By contrast, the labor rate in Japan forms an M-shaped curve, with two peaks at the 20 to 24 and the 45 to 49 age groups and a drop at the 30 to 34 age bracket. We should note that with the increase in the age at which women marry and the decrease in the number of children they bear, this drop has shifted to the first half of the 30s and the valley is gradually growing shallower. However, it is clear that birth and child-raising have a major influence on the employment of women in Japan.

In the life cycle of female workers in Japan, from the point of view of those providing employment, it was thought that women quitting when they marry or have children was a means of keeping labor costs low, considering the system of higher salaries by seniority. However, as the level of education of women is increasing more than for men, considering changes in child-raising leave and child care systems (a shift from systems considered as "social-help" based in social security system to true "child-raising" systems entailing a certain degree of higher costs), we can say that women are marrying later and having fewer children in order to delay their retreat from the labor force. In the near future, it is very possible that this trend will be forced to change somehow.

According to the report on the "National Survey of the Contemporary Family" conducted by the University Research Center of Nihon University under the President-Grant Project (July 1994), there is a reform to a three-generation family structure among double-income households with children, for reasons of home economy, house-keeping and child-raising (Figure 2). The report points out that this revival the three-generation family structure in two-income families is based on the "legacy of high economic growth of contemporary Japan" which has made possible pension systems and housing conditions for resuscitating the bonds between parents and children, rather than being due to these bonds themselves, and that

in fact arrival time when such conditions are lost is the real crisis of the aging society [1].

To avoid this crisis, it is necessary to strive to find conditions in which women can work in a stable fashion, because the increase in the level of education of women and their participation in the labor market are "irreversible phenomena".

2 The "Feminization" of the Labor Market

The participation of women in the labor force today is very different from their participation in "family labor", that is independent, self-managed agriculture or self-managed commercial industries, of the past. Under the home labor format which was the dominant form of employment in modern Japan, the woman was an "accessory" or "supplemental worker" for the male worker who was the head of the family. This differs from the uncompensated "shadow work" [2] of housewives in Europe and North America, but is the same in that the home labor was virtually uncompensated.

Today as well there are still many women employed in family labor. Incidentally, there are 1.2 million women employed in self-employed in agriculture and forestry, 2.23 million in other fields, for a total of 3.43 million ("Labor Force Survey", Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency, 1993). In 1965 there were 4.55 million women employed in self-employed workers in agriculture and forestry, 2.37 million in other fields for a total of 6.92 million. Thus family labor is a major "employment sector" for women. Though this number has dropped in half today, there are still many women employed in family labor, so they cannot be ignored. We should remember that these family-employed women (particularly spouses of business owners) are an essential source of labor for the agricultural and self-managed commercial industries in particular.

Even so, today the vast number of working women are employees. Here we will examine these employees.

In 1993, the total number of workers in Japan was 64.5 million, an increase of 12.27 million or 23.5% over the figure of 52.23 million for 1975. Over this same period, the number of female workers was 19.53 in 1975, and reached 26.1 million in 1993. This makes for an increase of 33.6%, far higher than the growth rate for the total number of workers. To put it in other words, we can say that women accounted for more than half of the growth in the number of workers from 1975 to 1993 (6.57 million of the total of 12.27 million). From this we can surmise that the increase in the number of female workers has been a basic factor supporting economic development in terms of labor. Whereas the percentage of women in the total work force in 1975 was only 34.5%, in 1993 it has surpassed the 40% mark to reach 41.1%. Though the number of female workers decreased by 90,000 from 1992 to 1993 due to the

recent recession, we can say that potentially the percentage of female workers is higher than the actual figure for 1993.

The majority of all workers are employees. The total number of employees was 36.46 million in 1975, and increased to 52.02 million in 1993, a growth of 42.6%. Since the growth rate of all workers over this period was 23.5%, the number of employees is increasing at a far faster rate than the total number of workers. Thus, the share of employees among total workers has increased.

Of this, the number of female employees increased from 11.67 million in 1975 to 20.09 million in 1993, an increase of 72.2%, thus far exceeding the growth rate of the total number of employees (42.6%). This clearly shows how fast women have moved onto the labor market in this period.

Table 2 shows the growth of female employees by industry. As can be seen from this table, the share of female employees is increasing in such industries as wholesale, retail and eating and drinking establishments (an increase of 2.2% from 24.9% in 1975 to 27.1% in 1993) and the service industries (an increase of 5.5% from 26.7% to 32.2% over the same period). Thus most of the increase tends to be concentrated in the tertiary industries. By contrast, the share of female employees in the manufacturing industries, previously the largest, has dropped from 30.9% in 1975 to 24.3% in 1993. The total number of women employees in the manufacturing industries, however, has increased from 3.61 million in 1975 to 4.88 million in 1993, but the concentration of workers in the service industries was even larger, resulting in a decrease in the relative share of the manufacturing industries.

Table 3 shows a breakdown of female employees by occupation over the same period. As this table indicates, the share of office workers is highest, and this share is rising. The number of female office workers was 3.76 million in 1975 (32.2% of all female employees), and increased to 6.91 million in 1993, accounting for 34.4% of the all female employees. The share of sales workers also increased from 1.29 million or 11.1% of all female employees in 1975 to 2.53 million or 12.6% of all female employees in 1993. Also, as I have already pointed out, the increasing levels of education of women in contemporary Japan is also clearly reflected in the occupational composition of employment. That is, the number of women employed in specialist and technical occupations increased from 1.35 million or 11.6% of the total in 1975 to 2.83 million or 14.1% of the total in 1993. In addition to women employed in specialist and technical occupations, the number employed in managerial occupations is also increasing steadily, though the share of the whole is still small. In 1975, 110,000 women were employed in managerial occupations, only 0.9% of all employed women, but in 1993 this had increased to 200,00 or 1.0% of the total.

These trends in the employment of women by occupation indicate that the advancement of women onto the labor market is not a question of quantity alone. Along with the increase

in the number of women employed, their progress into the field of office work and other white collar positions has been a commonly observed phenomenon for some time, but some changes which have become increasingly apparent over approximately the last 20 years are the increase in the number of women employed in specialist and technical occupations, and the fact that women are beginning to enter managerial occupations as well. The appearance of female managers is a worldwide trend, and in itself is probably not very surprising. It should be noted that because of what is being called the largest recession since World War II, from 1992 to 1993 the number of people in managerial occupations decreased by 130,000 ("Labor Force Survey", Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency). However, even with this Heisei recession the number of female employees in managerial occupations is increasing, showing that the idea of women managerials class is steadily getting a certain situation.

The technological revolution which began whole-heartedly in the second half of the 1970s, and in particular the application of microelectronic technology to production and office work, acted together with the advancement of women into occupations other than office and secretarial work, which were previously considered "women's jobs", so that female workers gradually began advancing into so-called "male professional areas".

Compared to areas like the ones above, the number of women in such blue collar jobs as manufacturing and construction, 2.87 million or 24.6% of all employed women in 1975, increased in number to 3.87 million in 1993, but the percentage among all employed women decreased to 19.3%. However, the number of female labor operators has increased from 430,000 in 1975 to 1.16 million in 1993, and the percentage of total employed women also increased from 3.7% to 5.8% in the same period. Thus, there are fields of near blue-collar occupations in which the percentage of females is rising. Such fields also express the shortage of labor in the so-called "3K" fields (which are "Kitsui" (difficult), "Kitanai" (dirty) or "Kiken" (dangerous) so these are called 3D), which has been progressing since the middle of the 1970s. That is, a situation has developed in which even if there is a strong demand for labor and there are people with the desire to work seeking employment, people will not actually take jobs which do not offer a certain degree of work satisfaction with respect to contents, conditions and rewards of the job.

For female labor, these trends are expressed as a relative decrease in certain occupations in blue collar areas. However, the decrease of the percentage among total employed women in occupations in these areas should not only be interpreted negatively.

For both men and women, resolving the problem of "3K" jobs requires either improvements in job content, or mechanization and automation. If neither is possible, the only solution is an increase in wages. From a long-term perspective, generally speaking, the existence of jobs which workers avoid means that the conditions for solving this problem also

sooner or later exist, apart from whether they are realized in the near future or not. The real problems are (1) "the contempt of physical labor", or (2) "the disproportionate emphasis on intellectual labor", or (3) that the labor system and division of labor has lost an appropriate balance between physical and intellectual labor, and this needs to be corrected. This should not be ignored.

Not long ago, female workers were in many cases locked into unprotected, isolated, unorganized and on lower labor conditions occupations such as self-employed, homework, etc. due to the paternalistic family system, poverty or the lack of education. In the last few decades, however, because of the spread of education, advancement to higher levels of education, and the trend of society towards equality of the sexes in employment opportunities, there is a growing need to fundamentally reconsider the content of jobs and their meanings. Jobs for preserving the environment reemerge with the greater use of technology in the primary industries. The high level of physical ability of human beings revives in professional sports, and the high level of recognizant abilities of human beings, which holds points in common with the results of physical labor, reemerges through the analysis of "intuition" and "knack" in artisanal labor. When these points of skills and technique are fully analyzed and the labor involved in an occupation is consciously reorganized based on the different labor elements it requires and is awared, both the importance of freedom of choice of occupation and the possibility for finding the path towards the revival of jobs previously shunned increase.

In any case, the participation of women in employment labor which Japan has experienced over the last 20 years provides the opportunity to reflect on various historical and social points, such as the occupations and forms of employment from which women have been excluded due to discriminatory treatment of society of men's and women's social labor abilities according to "gender" and the wrongful biases regarding the physical and physiological "differentia specifica" between men and women with respect to for example endurance and reflex. In the same way that the treatment of the disabled also helps the healthy, the treatment of women in many ways indicates the importance of efforts to enrich the content of the work not only of men but of all humans.

3 The Increasing Domination of Part-time Jobs on the Female Labor Market

In the second half of the 1970s, the world economy entered a period of overall stagnation, and many new restrictive conditions to economic growth arose. In response, various policy attempts were made, particularly in developed countries, with respect to

economic, financial and industrial policies. Many policy changes were made in the field of labor as well. One of the major fundamental changes in the area of labor was the adoption of flexibility policies aiming at greater flexibility in employment contracts, labor standards and work restrictions.

However, when one thinks about it, many of these so-called flexibility policies were already in social demand before the restrictive conditions to economic growth arose. The intentions of these flexibility were manifold, including the promotion of competition and the recovery of market functions, but their ultimate aims were to achieve fairness in competition and reduced costs. Thus, many of these policies were not necessarily agreeable to workers. Part-time work, one of the aspects of greater flexibility in the labor market, was already on the rise before the oil crises, but has been growing ever more in recent years. Of course, on Japan's part-time labor market there are differential labor conditions which virtually isolate it from the full-time labor market. But even so, the part-time labor market continues to grow, and it is undeniable that it responds to some of the needs of workers. What is more, we can say that it has become an important form of social labor for women.

As we have seen, the advancement of women on the labor market is remarkable in numbers. However, there is another major distinctive feature in this advancement that should not be overlooked. That is in the form of employment.

The "Labor Force Survey" by Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency uses the classification "short-time employee". "Short-time employees" are employees who work less than 35 hours per week. Thus in terms of form of employment they include workers who do not fall into the category of part-time workers. In addition, part-time workers are not included in the classification of short-time employee if they work more than 35 hours per week. Considering these restrictive conditions, we will now examine the relationship of part-time and female workers among informal workers, in contrast in terms of form of employment to formal workers.

In 1970, 6.7% or 2.16 million out of a total of 32.22 million employees were short-time employees. This figure grew to 9.9% in 1975, 10.0% in 1980, 11.1% in 1985, 15.2% in 1990 and 18.0% in 1993, thus approaching the 20% mark.

Considering women alone, the percentage of short-time employees among total employees was 12.2% (1.3 million of a total of 10.68 million female employees) in 1970. After 1970, this percentage rose rapidly, to 17.4% in 1975, 19.3% in 1980, 22.0% in 1985, 27.9% in 1990, surpassing the 30% mark at 30.2% in 1992 and reaching 31.2% in 1993 (Figure 3).

Part-time employment is a form of employment present in all types of industries and in companies of all sizes. Incidentally, Table 4 shows the percentage of part-time workers by company size and industry in recent years, according to the "Survey on Employment Trends"

by the Ministry of Labor.

By company size, in 1980 the percentage of part-time workers tended to be somewhat higher for smaller companies. From the second half of the 1980s, however, this percentage increased for companies of all sizes with the exception of those with 1000 or more employees, reaching the double-digit mark overall in 1988. In 1992 this percentage had reached the double digits for companies of all sizes except those with 1000 or more employees.

By industry, the percentage of part-time workers was already in the double digits in 1980 for wholesale, retail and eating and drinking establishments. In these areas there is no doubt a strong need to adjust the number of employees flexibly, particularly at peak business times, because of the large difference in the number of customers on different days of the week. The percentage of part-time workers for wholesale, retail and eating and drinking establishments had reached as high as 23.7% in 1992. Thus, almost one out of four employees were part-time workers. The trend in the service industries is similar. For both services dealing with people and those catering to offices, the fluctuation in the amount of work is great, so there is a strong dependence on part-time workers in order to adjust the number of employees accordingly.

The area with the next highest percentage of part-time workers is the manufacturing industries, in which this percentage reached the 10% line in 1989. Wholesale, retail and eating and drinking establishments, the service industries and the manufacturing industries are the three "hotbeds" of part-time workers. Since the end of the 1980s, however, the percentage of part-time workers has also been growing in the real-estate, finance and insurance and the transportation and communications industries. One exception to this trend is the construction industry, which uses an artisanry-style group work system. In addition to the fact that most workers in this area are men, the low percentage of part-time workers in the construction industry is also a result of the facts that work sites are scattered and that the labor organization is one in which it is difficult to use part-time workers for organizational and planning reasons. However, even in the construction industry, construction sites are gradually becoming less complex due for example to the increased use of pre-cut processes. The use of ready-made furnishings and fixtures is also spreading. Considering these trends, it is possible that in the future the percentage of part-time workers will increase in the construction industry as well.

The above trends in part-time workers in Japan are a manifestation of the "background" to the participation of women in social labor, and in particular are the comprehensive result of family relations, the economic conditions of households, and suitability to types of labor. Thus, from the viewpoint of demanders for labor, employers stress the differences between part-time and full-time workers, such as lower responsibility and restrictions in the place of work (the lack of elasticity for transfer, etc.). Therefore, in many cases employers say the

lower wage levels, different work conditions (breaks and vacations), and the reduction of both legally stipulated and other welfare costs (medical expenses, etc.) of part-time workers are unavoidable. In fact, there are many cases in which these assertions are valid.

However, it is also true that those who offer their labor mainly in the form of part-time work have many reasons to select their working forms. According to the above-mentioned Nihon University "National Survey of the Contemporary Family" conducted by the University Research Center of Nihon University President-Grant Project (July 1994), in response to the question of how many hours a week are spent for housework, child care, cooking and after-meal cleanup, over 60% of male respondents answered "0". (See Table 5.) Thus, unlike Illich, the majority of men live without doing "shadow work". Something must be done about this. This is the first point.

Secondly, in some ways it is not possible for married couples to make a living on the husband's salary alone. According to the "Family Income and Expenditure Survey" by Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency, on a national average for working households, the income of the wife and other sources accounts for 11.9% of the actual household income. For young households with low incomes (for example those in Level II of the five levels of annual income), this percentage is as high as 16.9%. Considering the burden of loans and educational expenses, families are in an economic situation in which the wife must work.

Thirdly, as already stressed, the number of women obtaining higher levels of education in order to acquire work skills is now greater than men. Women have both the ability and will to work. It is natural that their desire for "self-realization" should also grow. As when women in rural areas took on work away from home in the past, the action of women all over Japan today to achieve self-realization through social labor involving an income in the form of employment labor has become a sort of "contemporary natural phenomenon".

Though not necessarily providing sufficient motivation, "part-time" work offers the opportunity to realize this goal in part.

Today, this form of labor is spreading at a steady rate. If men had the same motives, like women they would probably also be forced to choose part-time work.

Conclusion

Today, the voices critical of Japan's company-dominated society are gradually growing stronger. Of course, there is also criticism of large corporations. In many cases, this criticism is on the mark (for example, the criticism of Makoto Sataka, Hiroshi Okumura and Katsuto Uchibashi). However, from the point of view of companies, there is the criticism that since

workers are immersed in the company-dominated society, without this company-dominated society they would have fewer chances of achieving "self-realization" (for example, see Professor Masaaki Honma) [3]. From either position, it is undeniable that part of the responsibility of the general population which has "sanctioned" the phenomenon of the company-dominated society lies with portion male workers and managers, members of the "men's society".

The participation of women in labor may not immediately create the vector for resolving these problems automatically. However, even if the participation of women in social labor is in an insufficient form, if it is possible to create the conditions for expanding this participation, we believe that a social and economic structure with these conditions will promote a transition towards a new Japanese type of equal society.

One may think that movement in this direction may have a negative effect on economic development in the short term, but in the long term, as suggested by A. Marshall, this will contribute to creating a society and economy with spontaneous motivation of development" bringing about tendentious evolution, a structure in which for example it is easy to expand internal demand.

Notes

1) "National Survey of the Contemporary Family" report, University Research Center of Nihon University, President-Grant Project (July 1994, Tokyo), p. 192.
2) Illich, I., "Shadow Work", Tecno Politica, Dec. 80. 07, Man. Cuernavaca (1980)
3) Honma, Masaaki, "Proposal for a New Japanese Economic System", (TBS Britannica, May 1994), pp. 138-139.

Table 1 Trends in Labor Rates

(10,000 persons, %)

	Year	Labor rate [1]											
		Total	Age 15 - 19	Age 20 - 24	Age 25 - 29	Age 30 - 34	Age 35 - 39	Age 40 - 44	Age 45 - 49	Age 50 - 54	Age 55 - 59	Age 60 - 64	65 and over
Total men/women	1965	65.7	36.1	78.0	72.6	74.1	78.2	78.5	77.1	74.3	68.9	61.0	37.0
	1970	65.4	32.5	75.6	71.2	72.9	77.7	80.1	78.6	75.6	68.6	59.2	31.8
	1975	63.0	21.1	71.1	70.1	71.0	76.0	78.9	79.2	75.1	67.8	56.9	27.9
	1980	63.3	17.9	69.8	72.7	73.0	77.9	80.8	80.5	77.4	68.9	55.9	26.3
	1985	63.0	17.0	71.0	75.2	73.8	78.8	82.7	83.5	78.0	70.0	53.7	24.3
	1987	62.6	17.1	72.4	76.6	73.9	79.3	82.7	82.6	78.5	70.5	53.8	23.6
	1988	62.6	16.8	72.3	77.3	74.3	79.5	82.8	83.2	79.6	70.7	53.8	23.8
	1989	62.9	17.2	72.7	78.1	74.3	80.1	82.1	84.0	80.0	71.6	54.6	23.8
	1990	63.3	18.0	73.4	79.0	74.8	80.2	83.6	84.3	80.7	72.7	55.5	24.3
	1991	63.8	18.4	74.1	80.0	75.5	80.0	84.1	84.7	81.1	74.0	56.8	25.2
	1992	64.0	18.5	75.1	80.4	75.7	80.4	84.3	85.0	82.2	74.2	57.2	25.4
	1993	63.8	18.1	74.8	80.6	75.5	80.0	84.3	84.9	82.0	74.9	57.1	24.9
Men	1965	81.7	36.3	85.8	96.8	97.0	97.1	97.0	96.8	95.0	90.0	82.8	56.3
	1970	81.8	31.4	70.7	97.1	97.8	97.8	97.5	97.0	95.8	91.2	81.5	49.4
	1975	81.4	20.5	76.5	97.2	98.1	98.1	97.6	96.7	96.2	92.2	79.4	44.4
	1980	79.8	17.4	69.6	96.3	97.6	97.6	97.6	96.5	96.0	91.2	77.8	41.0
	1985	78.1	17.3	70.1	95.7	97.2	97.6	97.2	96.8	95.4	90.3	72.5	37.0
	1987	77.3	17.4	71.3	95.9	96.9	97.3	97.3	97.2	95.5	91.0	71.7	35.6
	1988	77.1	17.2	71.0	96.2	97.0	97.5	97.5	97.2	96.0	91.3	71.1	35.8
	1989	77.0	17.0	71.2	96.0	97.0	97.5	97.4	97.6	96.0	91.6	71.4	35.8
	1990	77.2	18.3	71.7	96.1	97.5	97.8	97.6	97.3	96.3	92.1	72.9	36.5
	1991	77.6	19.1	72.8	96.1	97.4	97.9	97.9	97.4	96.3	93.2	74.2	38.0
	1992	77.9	19.4	74.5	96.4	98.0	98.1	98.2	98.0	97.1	93.6	75.0	38.2
	1993	78.0	19.0	75.2	96.5	98.0	98.3	98.3	97.9	97.2	94.1	75.6	37.7
Women	1965	50.6	35.8	70.2	49.0	51.1	59.6	63.2	60.9	55.8	49.8	39.8	21.6
	1970	49.9	33.6	70.6	45.5	48.2	57.5	62.8	63.0	58.8	48.7	39.1	17.9
	1975	45.7	21.7	66.2	42.6	43.9	54.0	59.9	61.5	57.8	48.8	38.0	15.3
	1980	47.6	18.5	70.0	49.2	48.2	58.0	64.1	64.4	59.3	50.5	38.8	15.5
	1985	48.7	16.6	71.9	54.1	50.6	60.0	67.9	68.1	61.0	51.0	38.5	15.5
	1987	48.6	16.6	73.6	56.9	50.5	61.3	68.4	68.4	61.8	50.8	38.5	15.4
	1988	48.9	16.5	73.7	58.2	50.9	61.3	68.1	69.3	63.3	50.9	38.6	15.7
	1989	49.5	17.3	74.3	59.6	51.1	62.4	68.8	70.7	64.2	52.2	39.2	15.8
	1990	50.1	17.8	75.1	61.4	51.7	62.6	69.6	71.7	65.5	53.9	39.5	16.2
	1991	50.7	17.8	75.6	63.2	52.9	62.1	70.4	72.1	66.5	55.5	40.7	16.6
	1992	50.7	17.6	75.6	64.0	52.7	62.4	70.5	72.0	67.6	55.6	40.7	16.7
	1993	50.3	17.4	74.5	64.3	52.7	61.7	70.3	71.9	66.9	56.4	40.1	16.0

Source : "Labor Force Survey", Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency.

Notes : 1) Percentage of the population 15 old and over with employment, including the fully unemployed.

2) Labor rate = (working population ÷ population of 15 old and over)

Table 2 Employment of Women by Industry

Classification	1975		1985		1993	
	(in 10,000s)	%	(in 10,000s)	%	(in 10,000s)	%
Total	1,167	100.0	1,548	100.0	2,009	100.0
Agriculture and forestry	8	0.7	9	0.6	12	0.6
Fishery	1	0.1	3	0.2	2	0.1
Mining	1	0.1	1	0.1	1	0.0
Construction	49	4.2	57	3.6	84	4.2
Manufacturing	361	30.9	435	28.1	488	24.3
Electricity, gas, heating and waterworks	4	0.3	4	0.3	5	0.2
Transportation and communications	38	3.3	41	2.6	61	3.0
Wholesale, retail and eating and drinking establishments	290	24.9	408	26.4	544	27.1
Finance, insurance and real-estate	71	6.1	90	5.8	123	6.1
Services	312	26.7	464	30.0	646	32.2
Public service	31	2.7	35	2.3	39	1.9

Source : "Labor Force Survey", Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency.

Table 3 Employment of Women by Occupation

Classification	1975		1985		1993	
	(in 10,000s)	%	(in 10,000s)	%	(in 10,000s)	%
Total	1,167	100.0	1,548	100.0	2,009	100.0
Specialist and technical occupations	135	11.6	211	13.6	283	14.1
Managerial occupations	11	0.9	14	0.9	20	1.0
Office workers	376	32.2	507	32.8	691	34.4
Sales	129	11.1	183	11.8	253	12.6
Agriculture, forestry and fishery workers	9	0.8	10	0.6	12	0.6
Mining	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Transport and communications workers	17	1.5	11	0.7	11	0.5
Skilled, manufacturing and construction workers	287	24.6	352	22.7	387	19.3
Labor operators	43	3.7	86	5.6	116	5.8
Security and service workers	160	13.7	174	11.2	232	11.5

Source : "Labor Force Survey", Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency.

Table 4 Trends in Percentage of Part-time Workers by Company Size and Industry

(%, 1000 persons)

Industry/Company size	Percentage of part-time workers among total workers							
	1981	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Total surveyed industries [2]	5.8	8.6	9.0	10.2	11.5	11.1	12.6	12.4
1000 or more	3.8	5.7	6.7	6.2	6.7	6.7	8.9	6.8
300 to 999	6.3	7.3	7.8	9.4	11.0	11.7	12.1	12.8
100 to 299	6.8	8.9	7.6	10.7	10.8	9.1	12.6	13.5
30 to 99	6.7	11.3	10.5	11.4	14.7	14.2	13.6	13.7
5 - 29	7.9	11.4	12.8	14.6	16.1	14.6	15.8	15.4
Mining	0.2	0.4	2.2	1.9	0.3	0.4	0.9	1.2
Construction	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.5	1.8
Manufacturing	5.3	8.5	8.4	9.0	10.2	10.1	10.4	10.2
Electricity, gas, heating and waterworks	0.1	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.9	0.9	2.1	1.5
Transportation and communications	1.0	2.9	2.6	2.4	2.6	2.7	4.5	4.4
Wholesale, retail and eating and drinking establishments	11.2	14.6	16.1	18.0	20.4	18.1	25.5	23.7
Finance and insurance	0.7	1.7	3.7	2.9	4.1	5.4	3.4	4.3
Real-estate	1.6	4.0	3.8	4.7	6.9	7.3	7.4	6.9
Services	5.3	7.2	6.6	9.4	9.9	10.0	11.7	12.9

Source : "Survey on Employment Trends", Ministry of Labor

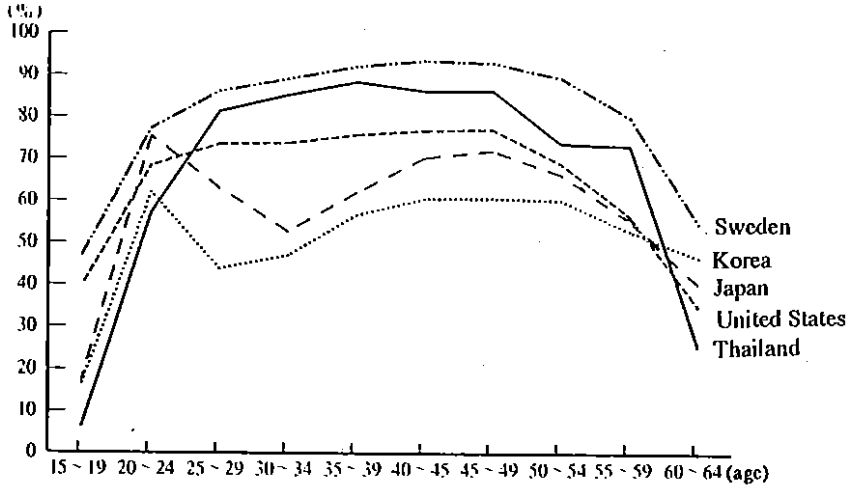
Notes : 1) Numbers in parentheses are the number of part-time workers.
2) Total surveyed industries includes construction from 1991.

Table 5 Hours of Household Work by Family Members (per week)

(Units: persons, %)

			Total	0 hrs.	1 hrs.	2 hrs.	3 - 6 hrs.	7 - 13 hrs.	14 - 20 hrs.	21 or more	Does not apply	No answer	Average (hours)
Person surveyed	a) Cleaning and washing	Total	2,447	31.5	11.4	6.2	11.1	21.0	12.4	5.1	-	1.3	5.79
		Men	1,205	60.7	18.9	7.9	6.6	3.1	0.7	0.4	-	1.7	1.08
		Women	1,242	3.1	4.1	4.6	15.4	38.3	23.7	9.7	-	1.0	10.33
	b) Cooking and after-meal cleanup	Total	2,447	33.7	9.4	4.5	8.3	16.3	15.7	10.8	-	1.3	7.24
		Men	1,205	64.6	16.2	5.6	7.2	3.2	1.3	0.4	-	1.4	1.12
		Women	1,242	3.7	2.9	3.4	9.4	28.9	29.5	20.9	-	1.2	13.16
	c) Shopping for food and daily necessities	Total	2,447	27.6	13.2	11.8	25.8	16.4	2.9	0.9	-	1.4	3.42
		Men	1,205	49.5	20.2	13.1	12.0	2.8	0.7	0.1	-	1.4	1.30
		Women	1,242	6.3	6.4	10.5	39.2	29.5	5.1	1.6	-	1.4	5.48
	d) Caring for children	Total	2,447	48.8	5.7	2.9	7.5	8.6	4.7	7.9	-	14.0	6.71
		Men	1,205	57.8	6.9	3.1	8.0	7.2	3.4	2.0	-	11.5	2.65
		Women	1,242	39.9	4.5	2.7	6.9	9.9	6.0	13.6	-	16.4	10.87
Spouse	a) Cleaning and washing	Total	2,447	27.2	4.3	2.5	7.5	14.8	12.3	4.5	24.9	2.0	6.55
		Men	1,205	1.1	0.6	1.4	11.0	27.8	24.8	9.0	22.8	1.6	12.13
		Women	1,242	52.6	7.9	3.5	4.2	2.1	0.2	0.2	27.0	2.3	0.75
	b) Cooking and after-meal cleanup	Total	2,447	27.9	4.3	1.8	4.0	12.4	12.5	10.3	24.9	1.9	8.25
		Men	1,205	0.9	0.4	1.0	3.9	23.6	25.1	20.7	22.8	1.7	15.54
		Women	1,242	54.1	8.0	2.5	4.2	1.6	0.2	0.2	27.0	2.2	0.72
	c) Shopping for food and daily necessities	Total	2,447	22.6	7.4	7.8	17.4	14.4	2.9	0.7	24.9	1.9	3.72
		Men	1,205	1.7	2.6	7.6	28.6	28.0	5.7	1.3	22.8	1.5	6.43
		Women	1,242	42.8	12.1	8.1	6.5	1.1	0.1	0.1	27.0	2.3	0.91
	d) Caring for children	Total	2,447	32.0	4.1	3.0	7.3	7.6	4.7	7.9	24.9	8.5	8.09
		Men	1,205	22.6	3.5	3.6	8.5	9.5	6.1	13.7	22.8	9.7	12.96
		Women	1,242	41.1	4.8	2.4	6.0	5.7	3.3	2.3	27.0	7.4	3.22
Parent	a) Cleaning and washing	Total	2,447	8.8	1.8	1.6	6.5	12.0	5.3	2.7	58.7	2.6	7.27
	b) Cooking and after-meal cleanup	Total	2,447	9.6	1.6	1.2	4.8	10.0	7.3	4.1	58.7	2.6	8.63
	c) Shopping for food and daily necessities	Total	2,447	14.0	3.4	3.1	8.8	7.1	1.8	0.3	58.7	2.8	3.55
	d) Caring for children	Total	2,447	21.9	1.9	1.4	2.3	3.3	1.3	2.3	58.7	6.9	4.81
Child	a) Cleaning and washing	Total	2,447	38.5	10.6	4.4	4.3	1.9	0.4	0.1	35.7	4.0	0.97
	b) Cooking and after-meal cleanup	Total	2,447	35.0	12.5	4.1	5.3	2.3	0.6	0.2	35.7	4.3	1.22
	c) Shopping for food and daily necessities	Total	2,447	42.6	8.4	3.9	3.5	0.9	0.2	0.0	35.7	4.7	0.67

Figure 1 Female Labor Rates (International Comparison)



Note : For Sweden, the "15 - 19" figure is for ages 16 to 19.
Source : ILO, "Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1992"

Figure 2 Dependence on Parents

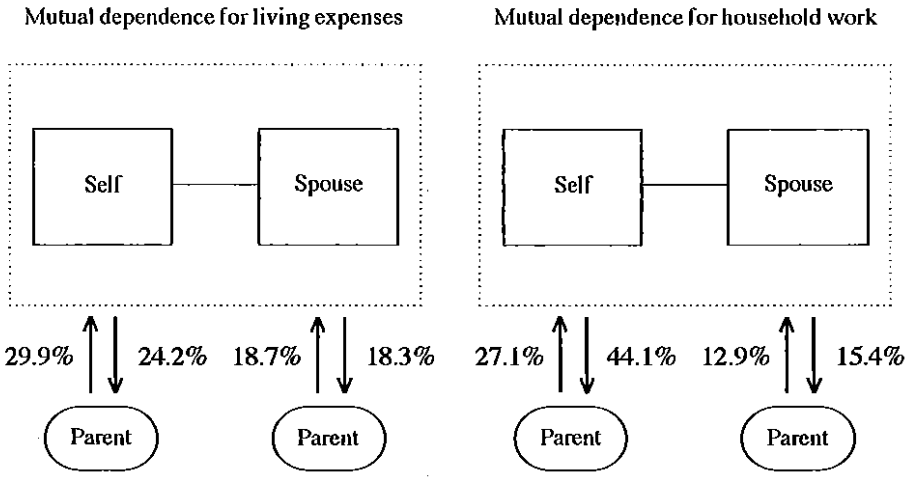
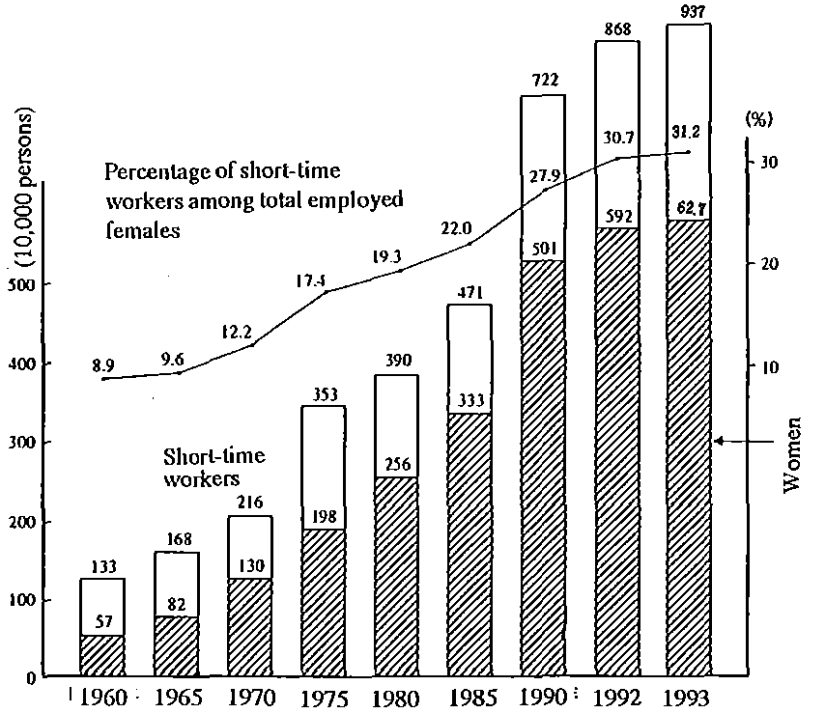


Figure 3 Trends in Numbers of Short-time Employees



Source : "Labor Force Survey", Statistics Bureau, Management and Coordination Agency.

Chapter Four

WOMEN, WORK AND FAMILY IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

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1 Introduction

In the past three decades, the Southeast Asian countries experienced rapid demographic transformation, continued shift from agricultural to the more modern industries and registered impressive economic growth rates. Except for the Philippines, the countries in this region had growth rates of more than 3 percent a year. The highest annual growth rate was 7.6% in Singapore recorded between the period 1965-1988. The latest estimates between 1980-1991 reflect a sustained economic progress, the Philippines remaining the exception with its negative growth rate (Table 2).

Lim (1993) observes that in the early 1960s and early 1970s, not only did the Southeast Asian countries and the rest of the Asia-Pacific countries grow faster than most other regions in the world, they also experienced rapid mobilization of female labor. The countries with the fastest rates of economic growth were also the ones with the most rapid industrial growth, and it was in export-oriented, labour-intensive, light, foreign investment- dominated manufacturing that female employment expanded fastest. The female proportion of productive low-wage workers rose significantly in those countries that set up large export processing zones (Anker and Hein, 1986). The author emphasizes that what is important is not that rapid economic growth based on dynamic export-oriented industrialization led to large increases in female participation, but that female participation contributed to the successful industrialization and growth efforts in these countries.

2 Women's Participation in the Work Force

The growth in the women's labor force participation in the ASEAN countries is reflected by the steady increase in the rates of participation of women in these countries from the 1960s to 1990. Marked increase can be noted for Indonesia in the last decade. From a rate of 38% in 1980, it sharply increased to 53% in 1989. Singapore and the Philippines also registered perceptible increases in their participation rates, reaching 55 % and 49 %, respectively, in 1992. As for Malaysia, the trend has been a gradual increase. In contrast, the labor force participation of Thai women had been declining until the 1980's. Nevertheless, even with this declining trend, the Thai women have consistently had the highest worker participation rates in the ASEAN region (Table 2).

The latest estimates reveal that about half or more than half of women in the working ages are active participants in the workforce in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Singapore. Thailand exhibits an even higher rate of participation with 76% of the women forming part of

the Thai workforce. Malaysia on the other hand, lags slightly with a rate of 45%. By international developing countries standard, however, this level of participation is considered high.

The significance of the female component of the total manpower in the ASEAN is depicted by their proportionate share shown in Table 3. In the ASEAN, women account for over 35 % of the total economically active population. In Thailand and Singapore, the share is even greater at 47% and 40%, respectively, in 1990.

The structural changes in the ASEAN economies are evident in Table 4. One pattern that clearly emerges is the decline in the relative importance of the agricultural sector. For example, in Malaysia and Indonesia where in the seventies agricultural workers comprise about two-thirds of the female workforce, latest estimates show that the proportion had gone down to just about a quarter of the workforce for the former and slightly more than half for the latter. For Thailand, the corresponding change is from 84% to 65% while the shift for the Philippines is more gradual given a relatively lower agricultural participation of women.

The service sector constitutes the largest group for the Singapore women although through the years, the percentage share decreased. From more than 90% in 1970, the share went down to 68% in 1992. On the other hand, the industrial sector registered a significant increase in 1980. The service sector likewise accounts for the second largest group in Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand but unlike in Singapore, the proportion of service workers suggest a growing importance of the sector in these countries including in the Philippines.

Relatively few women are engaged in the professional, technical and managerial occupational groups, except in Malaysia and the Philippines where more than 10% are in such categories (Table 5). Majority are employed as agricultural workers many of whom may actually be working as unpaid family workers. Production workers comprise more than a third of Singapore workers and a quarter of the Malaysians, while sales occupies more than a fifth of the Indonesians and Filipinas.

Undercounting Women's Participation in the Economy

The actual number of women engaged in market production activities is certain to be substantially higher than what statistics portend. Official figures are known to underestimate substantially the number of economically active women as they fail to account for income earning activities that women do at home, or seasonal, part-time or casual work. Furthermore, because in many cases, the income of husbands alone are inadequate to support a family, many women join the labor force out of economic necessity with a large number of them working outside the formal labor market. Many ambiguities arise in applying the concept of

work to these activities which borders between subsistence production and housework. Consequently, women's contribution to economic production is generally undervalued.

Recognizing the important role of women in the household economy, women - development oriented researches have looked closely into this issue of undervaluing women's unpaid work. Poverty-oriented researches on women's work, in particular, have investigated the extent of undercounting of women's work by conventional measures (Buvinic, 1983). Time-use surveys, which provide direct information on how household members use their time, have served as an alternative approach (Birdsall, 1980). In such researches, production activities are defined and measured, and economic values are assigned. Determinants of women's allocation between home production and market production, and leisure are examined (Buvinic, 1983).

The time budgets for men and women for selected Asian countries shown in Table 6.1 reveal that if home production (housework and child care) activities were added to market production, females actually work longer hours than their male counterparts (King and Evenson, 1983; Domingo et al., 1994).

A similar pattern emerges even in the more developed settings of Japan and Korea. Women's share in home production, particularly housekeeping and child care, is much greater than that of men -- women account for 90% of the time spent in the total domestic work in Japan in 1990 compared to only 10% for the men. The corresponding estimates for Korea are 88% and 12%, respectively (Table 6.2; Tsuya and Choe, 1992).

3 Maternal Employment and its Effect on the Family

Another phenomenal change over the past decades is the rapidly growing number of married women joining the labor force in Southeast Asia. This has given rise to "dual career" families which is gaining dominance in Southeast Asia. In Singapore, the labor force participation rates (LFPR) of both single and married women have been noted to increase consistently throughout. The LFPR for single females rose from 25 percent in 1957 to 36 percent in 1970 and further to 53 percent in 1980. In the same periods, the LFPRs of married females rose from 14 percent to 15 percent and further to 30 percent. Divorced women also show rising rates over time however, widowed women show declining rates (Yue, 1987).

Single women likewise show higher rates of labor force participation than their married counterparts in Malaysia. But just like Singapore, there has been some improvement in their involvement in recent years. In 1967/68, 39% of the married women were in the labor force. This increased slightly to 43% in 1979 (Yue, 1987).

The differential between the never-married and the married Filipino women is not as

distinct as that depicted by the Singapore and Malaysian experience. In 1968, married Filipino women closely approximated the rate of participation of their never-married counterparts (46% versus 48%). However, in 1975, the reverse was recorded with the married women exceeding the level of participation of the never married (48% versus 46%; NCSO, 1968, 1975). The availability of household help or surrogates such as grandparents, aunts, cousins and older siblings who could provide substitute care for the family help facilitate the participation of the Filipino women in the labor market (Medina, 1991).

This increasing labor force participation of married women is attributed to several factors including the declining birth rates, increasing aspirations of women, and more favorable policies towards women's employment. The increasing postponement of childbearing within marriage may be another factor for increasing participation of women in the labor force.

While there are clear economic, social and psychic gains from women's participation in the workforce, the fact that the time allotted for household task is necessarily reduced as they engage in gainful work raises the possibility that the welfare of the family could be sacrificed in the process. In the next section, we shall examine some studies done in the ASEAN countries which deal directly or indirectly with the issue of the impact of maternal employment on various aspects of the family such as on the quality of care for family members and on the relationship between the spouses.

(1) The effect of maternal employment on child welfare

The literature exploring the impact of maternal employment on child welfare has been controversial. The negative implications of women's labor force participation on child welfare derives from the widespread belief that maternal employment means reduced time for child care and truncated breastfeeding, which in turn adversely affects child survival and nutritional status. On the other hand, it can also be argued that paid employment improves the economic position of families and enables them to better provide for children's needs. We shall examine the effect of mother's work on three indices of child welfare, namely, infant mortality, breastfeeding and child nutrition.

① Maternal employment and infant mortality

Consistent with the general improvements brought about by economic progress in these countries is the decline in infant mortality (Table 7). The 1991 estimates show rates ranging

from 6 per thousand live births in Singapore to 74 in Indonesia. While increasing female labor force participation may be hypothesized to be associated with increased infant mortality, the correlation cannot be readily established in view of possible interaction effects of other variables such as poverty, household size and even reduced public expenditures in maternal and child health. The results of two studies discussed below which tend to support the hypothesis should therefore be interpreted with caution.

Infant mortality differentials by mother's occupation for Thailand are presented in Table 8. In both urban and rural areas, mortality is highest among those engaged in agriculture and mining and related occupation who constitute about 85% of the population. Professional administrative and clerical workers experienced the lowest infant mortality of their children (Knodel, John and Apichat Chamratrithirong, 1978)

Adioetomo (1983), likewise, examined the infant and child mortality differentials by mother's occupation utilizing the 1980 Indonesian Census. She showed that in both the urban and rural areas infants and children whose mothers have no work have the highest chance to survive, while those whose mothers work in the agricultural sector have the lowest chance of survival (Table 9).

② Maternal employment and breastfeeding

The effect of mother's work on breastfeeding is another area of interest in the link between labor force participation and child welfare. Breastfeeding has been documented in Asia-Pacific to be associated with lower incidences of morbidity and mortality especially among infants (Shah and Khanna, 1990). There is some evidence that the initially hypothesized inverse relationship between women's work and breastfeeding is less pronounced in rural than in urban areas (Popkin, Billsborrow, and Akin 1982; Millman, 1986; Leslie and Paolisso, 1989)

The pattern of findings in Southeast Asia regarding the association between these two variables are somewhat confused due to, among others, methodological limitations in the study design as well as in data analysis (Leslie, 1989). For example, no significant differences in breastfeeding practices between working and non-working mothers was reported by Chen (1978) and Manderson (1984) for peninsular Malaysia; Paredes, Rabuco and Burgess (1977 cited in Leslie, 1989) for urban Philippines; Winikoff et al., (1986) for urban Indonesia; and Knodel and Debavalya (1980) for urban Thailand.

However, other studies also indicated reduced duration of breastfeeding among employed women in the Philippines (Popkin and Solon, 1976; Ignacio et al. 1980); and peninsular Malaysia (Pathmanathan, 1978); among women who worked away from home in

Thailand (Winikoff et al., 1988) and in Indonesia (Castle et al., 1988). This is buttressed by researches which found truncated breastfeeding and a higher probability of an earlier introduction of bottle feeding among employed women as in the Philippines (Akin, et al. 1985) and particularly for women engaged in paid employment outside the home as in Thailand (Winikoff and Castle, 1988).

Still other studies that considered a longer time frame revealed that significant changes in breastfeeding practices take place after the child reaches one year old with minimal effects on child health as reported in the Philippines (Popkin, Akin, Flieger and Wong, 1989)

③ Maternal employment and nutrition

There has been some debate on whether the child's nutritional status is adversely affected when the mother works away from home.

While there appears to be little question about working women spending lesser time for child care activities, there is no evidence to support the view that reduced child care is translated into lower nutritional status among children. In two case studies conducted by Popkin (1980, 1983) in the Philippines, children of working mothers have better energy intake than children of non-working mothers.

Reduced child care by economically active mothers does not also necessarily mean that children are less attended to. Working mothers in Southeast Asia receive assistance from extended household members enabling them to cope up with their multiple responsibilities as reported in the Philippines (Sycip, 1982; Sevilla, 1989). While no study in Southeast Asia has looked into the effect of surrogate child care by relatives, researches in other countries reported their beneficial impact on child nutrition compared to child care provided by non-relatives (Leslie and Paolisso, 1989).

Family income may turn out to be a more influential factor of child nutritional status than maternal employment. Controlling for household income an earlier study of the Philippines by Popkin and Solon (1976) found a lower incidence of xerophthalmia among children of employed women in high income households but the reverse pattern for low income households. This is corroborated by two studies undertaken by Soekirman (1983, 1985) using a sample of low wage female worker in Indonesia showing higher proportion of underweight children among employed women.

On the other hand, the income generated from women's employment contributes to household budget, augmenting the resources that can be allocated to children. An increase in the mother's income is associated with a larger share of the household's available food to the mother and the children. Women are better able to afford higher quality and appropriate foods

for their children.

However, it can be argued that the favorable impact of women's employment on child's nutritional status holds only for children beyond the weaning ages. Particularly for infants who have to take frequent nutrient meals, constant monitoring is essential to prevent malnutrition. While maternal employment in the Philippines does not determine overall child growth (Popkin, 1980, 1983; Zeitlin, et al, 1978), there is some indication of reduced physical growth among children aged 1 to 35 months of employed women (Popkin, 1980).

The relationship between maternal employment and child nutrition may have also been complicated by household size. Increasing number of children is associated with declining per capita food expenditure as reported in the Philippines and higher incidence of malnutrition as in Thailand (Ruprecht, 1970). In the absence of literature, it is difficult to ascertain the effect of maternal employment on child nutrition independent of fertility .

(2) Effect of maternal employment on fertility

The summary indicators relating work and fertility in Table 10 generally reflect a gradient which is consistent with the hypothesized negative association between these variables -- those who are not working have the highest fertility, followed by those who are working as family workers, while those who are working outside the family enterprise have the lowest fertility.

Although this pattern is consistent with findings relating women's work and fertility in developed countries, literature in Southeast Asia reveals that when examined more closely, the existence and direction of the relationship is less clear. In Malaysia, for example, Mason and Palam (1985) found no clearcut correlation between these two variables.

One possible reason why the experience in Southeast Asia cannot make a strong claim regarding the inverse relationship of employment to fertility is the lack of incompatibility in women's productive and reproductive roles.

Agriculture continues to absorb a significant segment of the female workforce in the Philippines (32 per cent in 1992), Malaysia (25 per cent in 1990), Thailand (65 per cent in 1990), and Indonesia (57 per cent in 1992). Such an economic setting enables women to combine child caring activities while engaging in agricultural field work. It is also not uncommon in Southeast Asia to find women involved in income-earning jobs within the locus of their homes such as vending or processing food, domiciliary services like washing and sewing and other household enterprises. Such types of activities negates the role incompatibility hypothesis between "mothering" and working so commonly applied in developed countries.

This argument is substantiated by researches showing that the interaction between labor force participation and fertility may vary according to the nature and location of employment. Reduced fertility is associated not so much with women's employment per se but with her participation in paid employment away from home (Concepcion, 1974; Herrin, 1980). On the other hand, fertility levels among women who worked within the environs of the home do not significantly differ from those who are unemployed.

This is reinforced further by the greater availability of other helps in child care either within the extended family or outside. Indeed, studies have shown that the better off working mothers hire domiciliary services (Guerrero 1965 cited in Sevilla, 1989; Sycip, 1982) while those who are economically disadvantaged are assisted by older children and other kins in the performance of household activities (Sevilla, 1989).

This may partly explain the stronger negative association between employment and fertility in urban compared to rural areas. Concepcion (1974) noted that in the metropolitan areas of Bangkok, Manila and Kuala Lumpur, maternal employment is associated with lower fertility compared to non-working mothers while the reverse pattern is observed in the rural areas. Moreover, with the higher standard of living urban areas, it is also more costly to bear and rear children. Whereas children are viewed as economic dependents in urban areas, they are valued as assets in agricultural production in rural areas.

Relatedly, other studies have shown that it is the level of income that women derive from work that is a more important factor in reducing fertility as it alter the economic utility of children to parents (Encarnacion, 1978). With rising income, the propensity of parents to save for their old age also increases reducing dependence on children.

Evidence of conflicting results is also demonstrated by a positive relationship between work and fertility. In less developed countries, women's participation in the cash economy is often not a matter of choice. Many women are driven to work by economic necessity for additional family income to maintain present consumption patterns. For mothers, this need intensifies with increasing family size. In many cases, this stimulative effect superintends the negative influence of fertility on women's labor force participation as is observed in the Philippines (Feranil, 1984; Domingo et al. 1994).

The lack of evidence to establish the direction of causation further confounds the issue. It is difficult to determine whether economically active women have lower fertility or women who have fewer children are more likely to participate in the labor force. Moreover, since studies of the impact of employment on fertility have largely been concerned with wife's employment, it also difficult to ascertain the relative contributions of male and female employment to reduction of fertility.

What is the implication of declining fertility to the welfare of the family? This may actually be examined from different perspectives. From the angle of economic welfare of the

family, for example, the decline may be viewed in terms of a reduction in the labor available for agricultural production, while on the other hand, it may be viewed as facilitating higher investments for education per child which will eventually enhance their earning capacities. From the point of view of the woman herself, it would be interesting to find out how her status and position in the household is affected by her fertility. Will a decline in her reproductive role lead to a lowering of her status in settings where the reproductive function of women is highly valued? For the aged parents, the issue can be focused on security in old age and the extent to which the reduction in the number of potential sources of support affect the wellbeing of the elderly parents.

On the implications of declining fertility on old age security, Asis and others (1994) observe, based on qualitative data, that in Thailand and the Philippines, family size is not a particularly important determinant of care and support that the elderly receive and thus the smaller families of today's generation of reproductive age couples do not seriously jeopardize support from children during the elderly years. The Malays in Singapore likewise see little conflict between having fewer children and being cared for in old age. Having fewer but well educated children was seen as better than having many but less educated children in terms of the consequences of support in latter years.

(3) Effect of female employment on marital timing, stability and power

① Womens' work and marital timing

The trend towards delayed entry to marriage was clearly established in the ASEAN in the seventies (Table 11). Several authors agree that underlying this change are the improved opportunities for education and work for women (Chamratrithirong, 1978; Duza and Baldwin, 1977; Smith, 1975; Von Elm, 1978). The non-familial roles of "student" and "worker" served as viable alternatives to early marriage (Bumpass, 1969).

King and others (1986) examined the effect of the level of completed schooling on age at marriage and labor force participation in Indonesia and the Philippines. They found that among poor urban and rural families in Java, education increased the chances that women would enter the labor market and that they would marry later.

Domingo (1982) found that women who had non-agricultural work prior to marriage especially those who work as professionals, administrators or clerical workers show the strongest propensity to delay their marriage relative to other groups of women.

Among the common themes discussed by the authors in the attempt to understand the relationship between employment and age at marriage, is that female employment

particularly in monetized production generates movement towards autonomy and generate new views of a desirable life style that includes the new desirability of late marriage (Germain, 1975; Sklar, 1974).

② Women's work and marital satisfaction

Not only does increasing participation in the labor force reduce the time allocated for child care and housework, it may also impinge negatively on time spent for strengthening marital companionship and interaction. It may even be possible that as both parents strive for career advancement, marital tensions occur. There is substantial literature indicating that husbands of employed wives are less satisfied with their marriage compared to those of non-working wives (Burke and Weir, 1976; Bahr and Day, 1978; Thomson, 1980). But there are also other studies that reported no relationship between labor force participation and marital satisfaction (Staines et al., 1978; Thomson, 1980).

Some researches have indicated that full-time employment of the wife contributes slightly to more tensions and less marital happiness especially when the husband disapproves the practice (Bowman, and Spaniel, 1978). On the other hand, the wife's working, if there is an economic necessity for her to do so, may ease the financial difficulty and contribute to better adjustment. There is a dearth of empirical studies done on this topic, but the implication of such investigations are significant considering the tremendous growth of the female labor force today. In any case, it may not be the wife's employment per se and the amount of time spent with the spouse that is important for marital success, but the quality of the relationship between the spouses. Moreover, marital harmony depends not so much on what the roles of the spouses are but on whether or not they agree on their roles and play them consistently (Medina, 1991).

Herrin (1980) and Layo (1978) noted that husband's attitude towards female work may limit or stimulate the wife's participation in market production activities. There is some evidence that in the Philippines, husbands prefer their wives to stay at home than participate in the labor force if there is no economic pressure for them to do so (Sycip, 1982; Herrin, 1980). Many Filipino working wives particularly those in low-wage employment would also rather not work (Licuanan and Gonzales, 1976). However, in cases where additional income is necessary, husbands value their wife's economic contribution to family income (Porio, Lynch, and Hollsteiner, 1975). Among better educated couples, wife's employment is also looked upon more favorably by husbands and is associated with more stable and satisfactory marriages (Sycip, 1982).

③ Women's work and household decision-making

There is a growing conception that participation of women in the labor force, inculcate some sense of independence on women as they generate income for the family and wield some degree of power in household decision making. In Singapore, working married women in middle-income exercise a greater of freedom in spending for things or activities that are not provided for by their husbands, although the greater bulk of their income goes to household expenditures (Salaff, 1990). There is however, not enough evidence to support that wage-earning women have greater decision making power within the family. Miralao (1984) in her study of three regions in the Philippines found no significant difference in decision making power between working and non- working wives in regard to household expenditures or family size.

However, it is interesting to note that the same study and an earlier research by Guerero (1966) reported greater influence of employed wives on matters pertaining to household loans. This is not surprising in view of the prevailing cultural norm in the Philippines that the wife keeps the household purse and in a way takes major responsibility in making both ends meet. In general, the Filipino wife holds the money but it is still the husbands who has greater power in deciding how the money should be spent (Bautista, 1977).

In addition, working women may wield enhanced power in terms of household decision making although this is not associated with increased ability to limit their desired fertility successfully. Sevilla (1989) observes that Filipino husbands exercise greater power in decisions regarding family planning practice and family size.

(4) Effect of maternal employment on performance of family roles

Time budget analyses conducted in the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia (Buvinic, 1983) indicate that women who participate in paid employment contributed less time for domestic tasks compared to housewives or those engaged in income-earning work within the home. This reduction in time allocated for housework and child care by working wives, however, has not been accompanied by any significant accommodating change from the husbands in regard to family roles. So while the husbands spend most of their time performing their breadwinner role, the wife is faced with the double burden of combining both work and domestic roles.

Moreover, working wives have to also cut down on their time allocation for rest and leisure compared to full-time housewives in order to fully compensate for time spent earning

some income as reported in the Philippines (Domingo et al., 1994) and Malaysia (Kusnic and Da Vanzo, 1980). If home production activities are to be accounted for, data reveal that women work about 11 hours or more daily compared to 9 hours for the men in the Philippines (Domingo et al, 1994).

(5) Migration, Work and Family

Closely associated with increases in work participation is urbanward migration of labor especially in areas where there is a wide disparity between the opportunities in the countryside and the city. This is one of the most important factors that has led to the rapid urbanization in Asia. Not only has population movements in this region increased in scale and complexity, the gender selectivity of migrant has likewise been gradually changing -- more and more women in the region are migrating independently not only within the country but internationally as well (Khoo, 1982).

Rural-urban migration by young never-married women are primarily motivated by economic reasons and particularly by a promise of better employment in the urban areas. In such cases, the family and kinship network serves not only as an important source of information regarding the social and economic conditions but also as an economic security valve in the urban areas. This is true not only for local migrants but also for overseas contract workers originating from rural areas and waiting for the processing of their work documents in the capital cities.

Separating the wives from their husbands during crucial life cycle phases when couples are in their reproductive and economically active ages may be effective also in reducing their fertility. Furthermore, in a study of the determinants of successful labor migration to the Gulf region, Arcinas and Bautista (1988 in Medina, 125) found that many of the wives of migrant workers not only managed to keep the family intact but also successfully maintained and expanded the households entrepreneurial activities thereby maximizing the benefits of their husbands' overseas employment.

The high demand for domestic helpers in Hongkong and Singapore and entertainers in Japan in the early 1980s enticed a great number of women to participate in overseas employment (Asis, 1994). In Indonesia, by 1988 women accounted for 78% of registered labor migrants. In Sri Lanka, by mid-1980's, women represented some 60-70% of all Sri Lankan labor migrants (Ewalans, 1990).

Possibly the greatest benefit of labor migration to sending countries has been the remittances which have become the top foreign exchange earner in several Asian countries. However, the debate continues whether the benefits of labor migration outweigh the costs.

Non-economic consequences of labor migration have received relatively little attention so far, analysts surmise that the social and psychological effects on both the migrant and his family must be profound (Arnold, 1986).

4 Effect of Family on Maternal Employment

The number and age of children in the family may figure significantly in regulating the labor force participation of women. Past studies of the life-cycle variety have indicated that childbearing and childrearing tasks limits the participation of married women in the labor force particularly during the initial years of household formation (Layo, 1977).

The presence of children in the very young ages appears to deter mothers from joining the labor force with the inverse relationship holding out more strongly in the rural areas than in the urban areas as reported in the Philippines (Domingo et al., 1994). This inhibiting effect on the mother's working outside the home is likewise observed among mothers working as domestics abroad. Arcinas and Bautista (1988) report that many working mothers cut short their sojourn for the sake of their children.

One of the ways in which the family has accommodated the rising labor force participation of women in the past decades is by increasingly allocating its childbearing and childrearing roles to other kins, non-related members of the household and even to specialized institutions. The latter is manifested in the proliferation particularly in urban areas of day care centers, and nursery and kindergarten schools. The prevalence of extended households in Southeast also facilitates the sharing of nurturing roles of parents with grandparents and other adult relatives.

With improvements in the longevity of individuals, caring for elderly parents, parents-in-law and other members of the family has increasingly become a common task of daughters, daughters-in-law, wives and other female household members. While the norms of caregiving vary in different societies (Mason, 1992), this pattern has arisen because females are generally preferred given their more nurturing and caring qualities. This preference is either couched on tradition as in the case in Chinese and Indian patrilineal societies or on relational factors as expressed by Thai, Filipino and Malay elderly. (Domingo, 1994; Domingo and Asis, 1994; Knodel et al., 1994; Mehta et al., 1994).

While this caregiving role is gaining importance since most societies are aging, the potential caregivers of today are faced with different sets of options and opportunities for development that tend to make caregiving a less desirable choice. Clearly the demand for physical care would tend to limit the commitment of women to the labor force. It would be of interest to find out to what extent increased economic opportunities which have attracted

more and more women to the workforce will affect the provision of care for the elderly and other members of the family. As societies continue to age, it would likewise be significant to verify to what extent the aggregate manpower will be affected by the increasing demands of kin on the women.

5 Conclusion

The growth in the women's labor force participation in Southeast Asia has been recognized as a major social trend which has contributed significantly to the successful industrialization in the area. What is likewise significant is that increasingly, married women are drawn to the work force. While there are clear benefits of maternal employment to the individual, her family and ultimately the economy, there is a growing concern for its possible negative effect on the welfare of the family. This review sought to examine whether the family welfare is sacrificed with the reduction in the time for the family and household as mothers and wives pursue non-familial activities.

The welfare of the child is of the main areas of concern. Examining some studies that relate maternal work with infant mortality, duration of breastfeeding and nutritional status of children show varied and unconvincing results. While there is some evidence that suggest higher infant mortality among children of working mothers, the study is limited by its design which does not take into consideration factors that could possibly confound the observed relationship.

Breastfeeding has been associated with lower incidences of morbidity and mortality such that the expected reduction in breastfeeding practices of working mothers has been hypothesized to lead to poorer child health status and lower child survival. While some studies confirm the reduction in duration of breastfeeding among employed women, other studies do not show significant differences in the breastfeeding practices of working and non-working mothers so the assumption of change in breastfeeding practices could not be clearly established. It is instructive however, to cite the finding that the negative impact of changes in breastfeeding practices can be minimized if the change occurs after the child reaches one year old.

None of the studies reviewed showed that reduced child care results in lower nutritional status among children who are beyond weaning years. Instead, an increase in the income of the mother is associated with improved food intake for the family. In the case of infants, however, there is some indication of reduced physical growth among children of working mothers.

Women's involvement in gainful activities has often been considered a potentially

effective development intervention to bring down fertility. Studies, however, show that the reduction in fertility is mostly evident in urban settings. In the agricultural areas and other informal sectors in the economy where there is lack of incompatibility between housework and economic work, the association is not pronounced. As the countries continue to urbanize and the rural and informal sector shift towards modernity, it may be expected that the productive role of women will gain importance while their reproductive role will continue to diminish. This pattern is further reinforced by delayed entry to marriage which eventually leads to lower fertility. The implication of lower fertility on the welfare of the family can be studied from various angles including the availability of family labor, the effect of the status of the woman in the family or in terms of security in old age. Some understanding for the overall impact on the family welfare may be derived from the pooling of insights into these various aspects of family life.

Evidence is inconsistent with regard marital satisfaction and maternal employment. While some studies suggest that dual earner couples experience increased marital tension which can lead to marital dissatisfaction, other studies show that where the husband's income is insufficient, the wife's employment is valued by the husband. Furthermore, among the better educated couples, wife's employment is associated with more stable and satisfactory marriages. Working wives exercise greater freedom with regard to household expenditures but the evidence is not consistent as to whether or not they have greater decision making power within the family.

Adverse effects on the married woman's own welfare is necessarily implied by their having to face the double burden of combining both work and domestic roles. The decrease in the time allocated for housework and child care by working wives has not been accompanied by any change from the husband regarding family roles. Moreover, they have to cut down on their rest and leisure to compensate for the time spent earning some income.

Women are also observed to be taking more risks by migrating to both national and international destinations in search of better economic opportunities. These moves have proven to be financially beneficial to numerous families and the sending countries. However, social and psychological costs of labor migration on both the migrants and their families are enormous many aspects of which remain undocumented. Information on these consequences could provide some balance to the purely economic and monetary considerations of migration which underlie many government policies.

While maternal employment can impinge on the welfare of the family, the nature and level of involvement of mothers and wives is likewise affected by the structure and demands of their families. High opportunity cost is implied when women who have earning potential have to give up employment or cut down their commitments in order to respond to the needs of the young, the elderly and other family members who need caring. The use of other care

providers have proven to be helpful in facilitating their work involvement, however, the quality of care remains an issue that needs to be resolved.

This study clearly reflects the dearth of literature on the issue of effect on the welfare of the family of maternal employment. No definitive conclusions can be derived from the scattered evidences reviewed that instead, issues and areas for further exploration were identified. In some studies, the research design greatly limited the generalizability of the results. This points to the need to do more systematic analysis in order to have a better assessment of the kinds of trade-offs that occur as women increasingly participate in the development process.

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Chapter Five

HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT AND FEMALE LABOR

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1 Introduction

Attention began focusing on human resource development in the 1960s. At first, human resource development was discussed from the viewpoint of economic growth and productivity [1]. Many studies concluded that the social benefits from investment in education were equivalent to or greater than physical investment [2]. In the 1970s, with the increasing interest in the issues of inequality in the distribution of income and poverty resulting from economic growth, views of human resource development came to stress not the investment aspect but the basic human needs aspect. Subsequently, with the international economic disorder caused by the international monetary crisis and oil crises, the structural adjustment and economic stabilization of developing countries became urgent issues, and interest in human resource development began to dwindle. In the 1980s, the environmental conditions surrounding developing countries remained difficult due to such factors as debt crises, and expenditures on education and social welfare directly related to human resource development decreased due to their financial restrictions.

However, with the growing interest in sustainable economic growth in recent years, interest in human resource development has once again begun to increase. One reason for this is the growing awareness that "sound" human resource development policies contribute greatly to the economic growth and the eradication of poverty [3]. With this, the need to emphasize the role of women in development is becoming a shared opinion among those in charge of economic and social development. In many societies which have up to now considered the major role of males as "workers", men have been the principle object of human resource development, while women have received discriminatory treatment on the health, nutrition, education and socioeconomic roles. Still, if women are seen as equal partners in economic activities and in making improvements to living standard, as well as members of society with a major role in births and nursing, ways to develop their capabilities and utilize them effectively are important issues for socioeconomic development.

In this chapter we will discuss the current situation of human resource development in Asia, outline the gap between women and men in the fields of health and education, and examine the current situation of female labor in major Asian countries.

2 The Diversity of Asia

Table 1 shows basic indicators on economy, health, education and employment by region. As this table shows, in general there is a high correlation between indices

demonstrating economic development (such as income levels and industrial structure) and those demonstrating health, education, and fertility. The lower a region's income, the higher its infant mortality rate and the shorter its life expectancy at birth. In such regions, the spread of education is also slow and the illiteracy rate is high. For example, in 1992, the life expectancy at birth in high income economies was 74 for men, 80 for women, but in low income economies 61 for men and 63 for women, that is 13 years shorter for men and 17 years shorter for women. In addition, the illiterate population of high income economies is almost negligible, but as high as 40% and as high as 52% for women, in low income economies in 1990.

Table 2 shows economic indices of selected Asian countries. There is a wide diversity of income levels in Asia, with ranging per capita GNP from US$ 28,190 in Japan to only US$ 170 in Nepal in 1992. Leaving out Japan, Singapore and Hong Kong, which are classified among high income economies, we can divide Asia into two sections, the East Asia/Pacific and South Asia and compare these two sections with other regions [4]. South Asia is the region with the lowest income level in the world, and such human resource development indices as the life expectancy at birth and school enrollment rates are second lowest after sub-Saharan Africa. In contrast, while the income level in the East Asia/Pacific region ($760) is low compared to that of Latin America ($2,690) and the Middle East/North Africa region ($1,950), the health and education indices are quite similar. Reflecting the diversity in income level in Asia, the human resource development indices are also diverse. In Asia, South Asia, the poorest region in the world, suffers from the most serious conditions in human resource development.

3 Health in Asia and Gender Comparisons

Table 3 shows a comparison of average life expectancy at birth and other health and fertility indices between Japan, China, the Asian NIEs, Southeast Asia and South Asia. The countries within these different groups are listed in order of income level (refer to Table 2). As this table shows, there is a strong positive correlation between income level and improvements in the health situation, at the country level as well. Sri Lanka and China are outlier. Their health indices are near those of the Southeast Asian countries of which income level is higher than these two countries. Access to medical care and education levels in both these countries are far better than in other countries with comparable income level. Thus, as a matter of course, the health situation is not solely a function of the income, but is also strongly influenced by social and cultural elements, including the degree of a government's concern in such elements as fertility, literacy and health.

Let us examine the trends in life expectancy at birth which is a major indicator of a country's living standard and health and nutritional condition. From 1970 to 1992 the life expectancy at birth increased throughout the world for both men and women, and in all regions it increased more for women than for men (see Table 1). On a world average, the life expectancy at birth of women grew by eight years between 1970 and 1992, from 60 to 68 years (five years (75 to 80) in high income economies, nine years (62 to 71) in middle income economies, and nine years (54 to 63) in low income economies). By comparison, in the same period, the world average for the life expectancy at birth of men grew by seven years, from 57 to 64 (six years (68 to 74) in high income economies, seven years (58 to 65) in middle income economies, and eight years (53 to 61) in low income economies), thus one year less than for women. In the East Asia/Pacific region, the growth of the life expectancy at birth was nine years for women and eight years for men, approximately the same as for the world average as a whole, but in the South Asia it grew far more -- 13 years for women, ten years for men. Even so, the life expectancy at birth in South Asia is still second lowest in the world after sub-Saharan Africa for both men and women.

By country, the life expectancy at birth is over 70 years for women and over 65 years for men in Japan, the NIEs, Malaysia, Thailand, China and Sri Lanka, but only around 60 years in Indonesia, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh and Nepal. In Bangladesh and Nepal in particular it is only in the mid 50s for both men and women, some 20 to 30 years shorter than Japan.

It is generally agreed that women have the potential to live substantially longer than men, both physically and in consideration of the living environment, including such factors as working conditions and smoking and drinking habits. In fact, women live longer than men in almost all countries. The difference in the life expectancy at birth between women and men in Asia is highest in Korea at eight years, and between three and six years in other countries. However, in South Asia, with the exception of Sri Lanka, the life expectancy at birth for men and women is very close, and in Nepal is actually one year less for women [9]. One reason which can be given for the fact that the female life expectancy at birth in South Asia is relatively short is that there are many negative factors in the living environment surrounding women, such as high fecundity and the fact that nutritional conditions and access to medical treatment are better for men.

In developing countries, maternal diseases are common causes of death among adult women. Reasons for the high maternal mortality are the many problems in health management during pregnancy and hygiene management upon birth, such as the absence of trained personnel at birth and the high rate of malnutrition among pregnant women. Comparing Asian countries, the maternal mortality rate is under 10 per 100,000 live births in Hong Kong and Singapore and 26 in Korea, but high in South Asia -- 270 in Pakistan, 600 in Bangladesh and 833 in Nepal. High maternal mortality is one factor in the female's relatively

short life expectancy at birth in South Asia. Another factor is girls' higher risk of dying. Due to social and cultural factors, girls in South Asia region receive discriminatory treatments concerning health and welfare.

4 Education in Asia and Gender Comparisons

The spread of education is a major element for making improvements in health and the development of human resources. Even as of 1990, about one out of three people aged 15 and over in the world are illiterate. The percentage is even higher for women. Recent years have seen a remarkable spread of formal primary education in developing countries and improvements in literacy rates, but the extremely low literacy rates among adult women, particularly in rural area, persist. Because education for women has been lagging for so long, it will likely take several generations for literacy rates between men and women to become equal.

While the illiteracy rate is virtually nonexistent in high income economies, in low and middle income economies the average illiteracy rate is 36%, and 52% for women alone. This means that over half of the women in low and middle income economies are illiterate. Among these economies, the illiteracy rate is highest in South Asia. For women in particular it is as high as 69%. In the East Asia/Pacific region the illiteracy rate is second lowest after Latin America, and there is little difference between men and women.

When we examine literacy and the spread of education in the major countries of Asia, we see that there is a large gap between South Asian countries excluding Sri Lanka and other nations (Table 4). In Nepal, which has the highest adult illiteracy rate of 74%, and for women alone as many as 87% are illiterate. The illiteracy rate in the Philippines, Thailand and Sri Lanka has been relatively low for quite some time. For example, in 1970 it was 15.7% for men and 19.1% for women in the Philippines, 12.8% for men and 29.7% for women in Thailand, and in 1971 14.0% for men and 31.5% for women in Sri Lanka. One of the reasons for the high literacy rates in these countries lies in pre-war history -- the policies of the U.S. stressing education in the Philippines, and the education of children by monks at Buddhist temples in Thailand and Sri Lanka [6].

From about 1970 through 1990, the percentage of the illiterate population decreased greatly in almost all countries. In this process, the gap between men and women also narrowed in most countries. In South Asia, however, there was either no change in this gap or it actually grew larger. For example, from 1970 to 1990, the gap between men and women decreased in Malaysia from 22.3 percentage points (30.9% for men, 53.2% for women) to 16.1 points (13.5% for men, 29.6% for women), and in Thailand from 16.9 points (12.8% for

men, 29.7% for women) to 3.5 points (5.2% for men, 8.7% for women). On the other hand, in Pakistan it increased from 19.3 points in 1972 (70.4% for men, 89.7% for women) to 26.2 points in 1990 (52.7% for men, 78.9% for women), and in India it remained virtually unchanged, decreasingly only slightly from 28.3% in 1971 (52.3% for men, 80.6% for women) to 28.1% in 1990 (38.2% for men, 66.3% for women). In Bangladesh as well there was virtually no change over this period.

On the world average, percentage of primary school enrollment increased from 83% in 1970 to 102% in 1991. Aside from sub-Saharan Africa, the spread of primary education is virtually complete. For girls, however, there is still room for improvement in South Asia (enrollment rate is 76%) and the Middle East/North Africa region (89%). The percentage of secondary school enrollment also increased over this period, from 31% in 1970 to 52% in 1991, but still only 49% of girls, less than a majority, attend secondary schools. In high income economies, the average enrollment ratio at secondary school for boys and girls together is over 90%, and even slightly higher for girls than for boys. In middle income economies, the ratio of both sexes is 55%. This is still low compared to high income economies, but there is little difference between boys and girls. In low income economies, the secondary school enrollment ratio is 41% for boys and girls together, but 35% for girls alone. Thus, there is great room for improvement in enrollment itself and for narrowing the gap between boys and girls. By region, the secondary school enrollment ratio is a high 56% in the Middle East/North Africa, 50% in the East Asia/Pacific, 47% in Latin America, and 39% in South Asia, but only 18% in sub-Saharan Africa.

To compare the selected countries of Asia, in 1970 primary school enrollment ratio was nearly 100% in Japan, NIEs, the Philippines and Sri Lanka, but under 50% in Pakistan and Nepal. In Bangladesh it was only 54%. Since then primary education began spreading in most countries. The ratio increased dramatically in Nepal in particular, reaching 86% in 1989. Only in Pakistan, though, the spread of primary education is still low, with attendance at only 46% even as recently as 1991.

In 1991, the percentage of secondary school enrollment was over 70% in Japan, NIEs, the Philippines and Sri Lanka. In these countries there is little difference between boys and girls, or in some cases the ratio is actually higher among girls. The ratio is the lowest in Bangladesh at 19%, followed by Pakistan at 21%. In Thailand secondary school enrollment ratio is only 33%, lower than in other countries in Southeast Asia [7]. For secondary education as well, the enrollment ratio in South Asia with the exception of Sri Lanka is substantially lower for girls than for boys.

The differences in educational opportunities for boys and girls in the various countries can also be seen in the number of girls attending schools per 100 boys. Aside from Sri Lanka, in South Asia there is still a distinct gap especially in secondary education -- 41 girls per 100

boys in Pakistan, 49 in Bangladesh, 55 in India. In other countries of Asia, the situation has improved over the last 20 years, and the gap in educational opportunities as seen by this index is shrinking rapidly.

Education is an important factor in improving the level of knowledge and ability of comprehension needed to improve health, hygiene, nutrition and other aspects affecting the quality of life. Women are playing an important role in promoting the health and welfare of the family and the community. In fact, there is a strong correlation between the level of education of women in a society and that society's infant mortality rate and birth rate. In addition, when education is seen as a means of developing human resources, it is also important to improve and spread basic education for women from the perspective of increasing the participation of women in society.

Education has spread rapidly in NIEs and Southeast Asia, and the gap in educational opportunities between boys and girls is disappearing. In South Asia, however, levels of education are still low and educational opportunities are relatively limited for girls. Considering religious and cultural restrictions as well as the increase in the burden of educational expenses expected in the future due to the high population growth of the region (the burden of educational expenses will increase even if the current situation is maintained), great efforts will be needed to improve this situation.

5 Female Participation in Economic Activities in Asia

In 1992, the total world labor force consisted of approximately 2.3 billion persons, of which about 800 million or 35% were women. Though the percentage of women in the world labor force did not change from 1970 to 1992, there are differences in this percentage and in trends for different regions. The percentage is high in the East Asia/Pacific, sub-Saharan Africa and high income economies, low in the Middle East/North Africa and South Asia.

From 1970 to 1992, the percentage of women in the labor force increased from 36% to 38% in high income economies and from 30% to 32% in middle income economies, but decreased from 36% to 35% in low income economies. By geographical region, the female share increased in Latin America (from 22% to 27%) and the Middle East/North Africa (from 10% to 16%), remained basically steady in the East Asia/Pacific region (increasing slightly from 41% to 42%), and decreased in South Asia (from 26% to 22%) and sub-Saharan Africa (from 40% to 37%).

Table 5 shows a comparison of the labor force participation rates in selected Asian countries. There are great differences in the female participation rates between countries, but in almost all nations there is a substantial gap in the rate between women and men. The

female participation rate in Thailand is over 50% (for all age), approximately the same as male. It is the highest among Asian countries. Thailand is followed by China, Japan, Bangladesh and Hong Kong, in which approximately 40% of all women participate in economic activities. On the other hand, in Pakistan less than 10% of women work. The female participation rate is also low, between 20% and 30%, in India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Malaysia [8].

When we compare the female participation rates by age, we find differences in both the rates itself and age patterns due to differences in industrial structure and cultural backgrounds (Figure 1). In agricultural economies, women work at farming throughout their lives without interruption for raising children. In this case, the age pattern is nearly trapezoidal (like Thailand and Bangladesh). In Islamic countries, it is generally restricted for women to work outside the house, so the female labor force participation rate is relatively low (like Pakistan). In industrialized countries, the peak in the female participation rate is between 20 and 24 years, then it decreases (like Japan and the NIEs -- this age pattern can also be seen in Malaysia). Some of these countries show a trend for women to reenter the labor market after they have raised their children (like Japan and Korea).

The workplaces of men and women differ substantially due to various restrictions. Figure 2 shows the gender comparison in the industrial structure of employment and Figure 3 shows the gender comparison in occupational status. In Thailand, 63% of female labors work in the primary sector (mainly in agriculture), and in Pakistan the primary sector's share of female workers is also high at 55%. This percentage is 29% in the Philippines, 18% in Korea, 30% in Malaysia and 8% in Japan (the last two are not shown in Figure 3). Except for the Philippines, the percentage of women working in the primary sector is higher than the percentage of men. From worldwide observation, the share of agriculture in female labor force is decreasing and those of manufacturing and service sectors are increasing. But in many Asian countries, agriculture still remains a major source of employment opportunity for women.

Manufacturing sector also play an important role as female labor absorber in Asian countries. Especially in Southeast Asian countries and Sri Lanka, many foreign textile companies and electronics companies employ female workers. Male workers are generally dominant in manufacturing sector in the world, but in many Asian countries female workers are dominant or equivalent. For example, the share of workers in the sector is 25.6% for men and 30.1% for women in Hong Kong, 24.5% for men and 24.7% for women in Korea, 13.5% for men and 20.6% for women in Malaysia, 9.3% for men and 10.5% for women in Thailand and 7.1% for men and 11.1% for women in Pakistan. (Figure 2 shows the share of secondary industries that include not only manufacturing but mining, construction and public works that are usually employ male workers. This is the reason the share of men is larger than that of

women in the figure.)

According to work status structure, employees have the largest share of labor force in Japan and NIEs, as shown in Figure 3. In other countries, however, employers & own-account workers, who find jobs in informal sector in most cases, and family workers are dominant. It will be noted that the share of women as a family worker is substantially larger than that of men in all Asian countries. In Thailand, for example, 54.2% of women are family workers, compared to 26.3% of men.

Aside from advanced industrialized countries, employment opportunities for women are limited due to relatively low educational attainments and social, cultural and religious restrictions. As a result, female workers tend to get a job in unskilled occupations rather than skilled ones and in informal sector rather than formal sector, then they are often placed in a position of disadvantage working conditions, with lower wages and fewer chances of promotion than men. They are sometimes put even outside legal protection. Asia is no exception. To take the gap in wages between men and women in manufacturing industries as an example, the wages of women are 69% those of men in Hong Kong, 52% in Korea, 56% in Singapore and 66% in Thailand [9].

Notes

1) ADB, *Human Resource Policy and Economic Development*, 1990.

2) Shultz, T.W., "Education and Economic Growth", in *Social Forces Influencing American Education*, ed. by N.B. Henry, University of Chicago Press, 1961; Denison, E., *Why Growth Rates Differ; Post-War Experience in Nine Western Countries*, The Brookings Institute, 1967; Kreger, A.O., "Factor Endowments and Per Capita Income Differences among Countries", *Economic Journal*, vol. 78 (September 1968), etc. In addition, there are also studies concluding that the social profitability of primary education is highest in low income economies, and that the social profitability of secondary and higher education increase as economic development progresses (Psacharopoulos, G., "The Contribution of Education to Economic Growth: International Comparisons", in *International Comparisons of Productivity and Causes of Slowdown*, American Enterprises Institute/Ballinger Publishing Company, 1984, etc.).

3) The importance of human resource development centered on education is pointed out based on the experiences of East Asian countries such as Japan, Korea and Taiwan,

which have accomplished remarkable economic growth and improvement on of income distribution. See the World Bank, *The East Asian Miracle - Economic Growth and Public Policy*, 1993.

4) The World Bank divided economies according to 1992 GNP per capita: low-income economies, US$ 675 or less; middle-income economies, US$ 676 - 8,355, and high-income, US$ 8,356 or more. The World Bank's regional classifications for Asian countries are as follows:

East Asia/Pacific region:

Low income economies	- Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Lao PDR, Myanmar, Vietnam
Middle income economies	- Fiji, Kiribati, Korea, Dem. Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Mongolia, Mariana Islands, Papua New Guinea, Philippines, Solomon Islands, Thailand, Tonga, Vanuatu, Western Samoa, American Samoa, Guam, Korea, Rep. Macao, Malaysia, New Caledonia
High income economies	- Australia, Japan, New Zealand, Brunei, French Polynesia, Hong Kong, Singapore, (Taiwan)

South Asia region:

Low income economies	- Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka
Middle and high income economies	- none

5) In South Asian countries excluding Sri Lanka, the life expectancy at birth of women was shorter than men until the first half of the 1980s. From 1950 to 1975, the difference between men and women was one or two years. After 1975 the life expectancy at birth of women increased more than men. In the first half of the 1980s the gap narrowed to 0.1 years, and in the second half of the decade the women live longer than men in all countries but Nepal.

6) Oshima, H.T., 1991, Strategic Process in Monsoon Asia's Economic Development, Chapter 8. Discussion Paper Series B No. 9, Institute of Economic Research, Hitotsubashi University.

7) One possible reason for the relatively low secondary school attendance in Thailand is her industrial structure of employment. In Thailand, alone with rapid

industrialization in the 1980s, the share of agricultural value added in GNP fell to under 20%, but agriculture still accounts for 60% in employment. The educational requirements for traditional farming and industry is limited. When such industries are dominant in employment, people are not willing to go to higher education than the primary level. However, nowadays in Thailand, due to rapid economic growth the shortage of human resources for middle management and technicians is becoming an obstacle to economic growth. The spread of secondary and higher education is essential for further economic development. The school enrollment rate of secondary and higher education will increase rapidly along with changes in the industrial structure of employment.

8) When using statistics, it is necessary to note the gap between the actual situation of the female labor force and what labor statistics describe. Particularly when a country is a traditional agricultural society, women are involved along with men in productive activities. However, much of the work done by women, including caring for livestock, weaving and other manual work, is for family consumption and does not result in income, and this is not reflected in labor statistics. Thus, it is possible that the official female participation rate is far lower than in reality in some countries and regions, and particularly in rural areas.

9) There is very little data on wages and other labor conditions. These figures are from ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1993.*

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Table 1 Basic Indicators

			World	High income economies	Low and middle income economies	Low income economies	Low income economies*	Middle income economies	Sub-Saharan Africa	East Asia/ Pacific	South Asia	Europe/ Central Asia	Middle East/ North Africa	Latin America and Carribean
Population (millions, 1992)			5,438	828	4,610	3,191	1,146	1,419	543	1,689	1,178	495	253	453
Age 15-64 (%, 1992)			61.8	67.0	60.9	60.6	55.1	61.5	52.9	65.2	57.9	65.9	53.4	60.9
GNP per capita ($, 1992)			4,280	22,160	1,040	390	370	2,490	530	760	310	2,080	1,950	2,690
Average annual growth rate (%, 1980-1992)			1.2	2.3	0.9	3.9	1.2	- 0.1	- 0.8	6.1	3.0	n.a.	- 2.3	- 0.2
Life expectancy at birth (years)														
	Female	(1970)	60	75	56	54	47	62	46	60	48	69	54	63
		(1992)	68	80	66	63	57	71	53	69	61	74	66	71
	Male	(1970)	57	68	54	53	46	58	43	58	50	64	52	58
		(1992)	64	74	62	61	55	65	50	66	60	66	63	65
Infant mortality rate		(1970)	97	20	n.a.	114	139	n.a.	142	84	138	n.a.	139	85
(per 1000 live births)		(1992)	60	7	65	73	91	43	99	39	85	30	58	44
Under-5 mortality rate		Female	81	8	99	102	137	51	160	43	111	34	72	52
(per 1000 live births, 1992)		Male	92	11	88	114	154	61	179	55	122	41	84	61
TFR		(1970)	4.9	2.4	5.6	6.0	6.3	4.6	6.5	5.7	6.0	2.5	6.8	5.2
		(1992)	3.1	1.7	3.3	3.4	4.9	3.0	6.1	2.3	4.0	2.2	4.9	3.0
		(2000)	2.9	1.8	3.0	3.1	4.4	2.7	5.6	2.2	3.3	2.1	4.2	2.5
Adult illiteracy rate (1990)		Female	45	*	46	52	56	n.a.	62	34	69	n.a.	57	18
(population over 15, %)		Total	35	*	36	40	45	n.a.	50	24	55	n.a.	45	15
School enrollment rate (% of population of schooling age)														
Primary	Female	(1970)	71	106	63	n.a.	44	87	41	n.a.	50	n.a.	50	94
		(1991)	96	103	94	93	71	99	58	115	76	n.a.	89	105
	Total	(1970)	83	106	79	74	55	93	50	88	67	n.a.	68	95
		(1991)	102	104	102	101	79	104	66	119	89	n.a.	98	106
Secondary	Female	(1970)	28	71	17	n.a.	8	26	5	n.a.	14	n.a.	15	26
		(1991)	49	95	39	35	25	56	16	47	29	n.a.	51	54
	Total	(1970)	31	73	24	21	13	32	7	24	25	n.a.	24	28
		(1991)	52	93	45	41	28	55	18	50	39	n.a.	56	47
Females per 100 males														
Primary		(1970)	77	96	69	n.a.	61	86	63	n.a.	55	n.a.	54	96
		(1991)	84	95	81	78	77	91	77	88	69	n.a.	79	97
Secondary		(1970)	67	95	59	n.a.	44	92	44	n.a.	38	n.a.	41	101
		(1991)	78	98	74	65	66	106	67	76	54	n.a.	72	114
Female share of		(1970)	35	36	35	36	32	30	40	41	26	n.a.	10	22
labor force (%)		(1992)	35	38	35	35	31	32	37	42	22	n.a.	16	27

Source : World Bank, *World Development Report*, 1994

Notes : "Low income economies*" are "Low income economies" excluding China and India.

Table 2 Economic Indicators of Selected Asian Countries

	Population (millions, 1992)	GNP per capita		Industrial structure (% of GDP)							
		US$ (1992)	Annual growth rate (%) (1980 - 92)	Primary industries		Secondary industries		(Manufacturing)		Tertiary industries	
				1970	1992	1970	1992	1970	1992	1970	1992
Japan	124.5	28,190	3.6	6	2	47	42	36	26	47	56
China	1,162.2	470	7.6	38	27	35	34	28	38	27	38
NIEs											
Singapore	2.8	15,730	5.3	2	0	30	38	20	28	68	62
Hong Kong	5.8	15,360	5.5	2	0	36	23	29	16	62	77
Taiwan	22.4	9,060	6.5		4		42		34		54
Korea	43.7	6,790	8.5	26	8	29	45	21	26	45	47
Southeast Asia											
Malaysia	18.6	2,790	3.2	29	17	25	44	12	29	46	39
Thailand	58.0	1,840	6.0	26	12	25	39	16	28	49	49
Philippines	64.3	770	- 1.0	30	22	32	33	25	24	39	45
Indonesia	184.3	670	4.0	45	19	19	40	10	21	36	40
South Asia											
Sri Lanka	17.4	540	2.6	28	26	24	25	17	15	48	49
Pakistan	119.3	420	3.1	37	27	22	27	16	18	41	46
India	883.6	310	3.1	45	32	22	27	15	17	33	40
Bangladesh	114.4	220	1.8	55	34	9	17	6	9	37	49
Nepal	19.9	170	2.0	67	52	12	18	4	8	21	30

Source: World Bank, *World Development Report*, 1994

Notes : 1) Data for Malaysia's industrial structure refer to 1991 (at 1987 fixed rates, from ADB, *Key Indicators of Developing Asian and Pacific Countries*, 1992).

2) Data for China's industrial structure in the 1970 column refer to 1965, and data for manufacturing industries refer to 1965 and 1990 (World Bank, *World Development Report*, 1992).

3) Data for Taiwan refer to 1991 (from ADB, *Key Indicators of Developing Asian and Pacific Countries*, 1992).

Table 3 Health and Fertility Indicators for Selected Asian Countries

	Life expectancy at birth (years)				Population per physician (in persons)		Maternal mortality (per 100,000 live births)	Infant mortality rate (per 1000 live births)		Under-5 mortality rate (1992) (per 1000 live births)		TFR		
	Female		Male											
	1970	1992	1970	1992	1970	1990	1988	1970	1992	Female	Male	1970	1992	2000
Japan	75	82	69	76	890	610	n.a.	13	5	5	7	2.1	1.5	1.5
China	63	71	61	68	1,500	1,010	115	69	31	32	43	5.8	2.0	1.9
NIEs														
Singapore	70	77	65	72	1,370	820	10	20	5	6	7	3.1	1.8	1.8
Hong Kong	73	81	67	75	1,510	1,070	4	19	6	7	9	3.3	1.4	1.4
Korea	62	75	58	67	2,220	1,070	26	51	13	13	18	4.3	1.8	1.8
Southeast Asia														
Malaysia	63	73	60	69	4,310	2,590	26	45	14	14	20	5.5	3.5	2.8
Thailand	61	72	56	67	8,290	4,360	37	73	26	26	36	5.5	2.2	2.2
Philippines	59	67	56	63	9,270	8,120	74	66	40	44	56	6.4	4.1	3.5
Indonesia	49	62	46	59	26,820	7,030	450	118	66	82	98	5.5	2.9	2.4
South Asia														
Sri Lanka	66	74	64	70	5,900	5,520	80	53	18	19	24	4.3	2.5	2.1
Pakistan	47	59	49	59	4,310	2,940	270	142	95	129	142	7.0	5.6	4.6
India	49	62	50	61	4,890	2,460	n.a.	137	79	108	104	5.8	3.7	3.1
Bangladesh	44	56	46	55	8,450	6,390	600	140	91	132	127	7.0	4.0	3.1
Nepal	42	53	43	54	51,360	16,830	833	157	99	145	139	6.4	5.5	4.8

Source : World Bank, *World Development Report*, 1994

Note : 1990 figures for "Population per physician" in China, Hong Kong, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh refer to 1984 .

Table 4 Educational Indicators in Selected Asian Countries

	Adult illiteracy rate (%) (1990)		Average years of schooling (above 25 years of age) (1990)		Percentage of age group enrolled in education											
					Primary (%)				Secondary (%)				Females per 100 males			
					Total		Female		Total		Female		Primary		Secondary	
	Female	Total	Female	Male	1970	1991	1970	1991	1970	1991	1970	1991	1970	1991	1970	1991
Japan	*	*	10.6	10.8	99	102	99	102	86	97	86	98	96	95	101	99
China	38	27	3.6	6.0	89	123	n.a.	118	24	51	n.a.	45	n.a.	86	n.a.	72
NIEs																
Singapore	n.a.	n.a.	3.1	4.7	105	108	101	107	46	70	45	71	88	90	103	100
Hong Kong	n.a.	n.a.	5.4	8.6	117	108	115	104	36	73	31	75	90	n.a.	74	n.a.
Korea	7	4	6.7	11.0	103	107	103	109	42	88	32	88	92	94	98	103
Southeast Asia																
Malaysia	30	22	5.0	5.6	87	93	84	93	34	58	28	59	88	95	69	104
Thailand	10	7	3.3	4.3	83	113	79	88	17	33	15	32	88	95	69	97
Philippines	11	10	7.0	7.8	108	110	111	111	46	74	40	75	n.a.	94	n.a.	99
Indonesia	32	23	2.9	5.0	80	116	73	114	16	45	11	41	84	93	59	82
South Asia																
Sri Lanka	17	12	6.1	7.7	99	108	94	106	47	74	48	77	89	93	101	105
Pakistan	79	65	0.7	3.0	40	46	22	31	13	21	5	13	36	52	25	41
India	66	52	1.2	3.5	73	98	56	84	26	44	15	32	60	71	39	55
Bangladesh	78	65	0.9	3.1	54	77	35	71	13	19	3	12	47	81	n.a.	49
Nepal	87	74	1.0	3.2	26	86	8	57	10	30	3	17	18	47	16	n.a.

Source : World Bank, *World Development Report*, 1994

Notes : 1) The adult illiteracy rate is for the population aged 15 and above. "*" indicates less than 5%.

2) 1991 figures for "Primary - Female" and "Secondary" for Hong Kong refer to 1989. 1970 figures for "Female" for the Philippines refer to 1965.

3) The figures for the average years of schooling for Singapore seem low, but we have kept the figures indicated in the source.

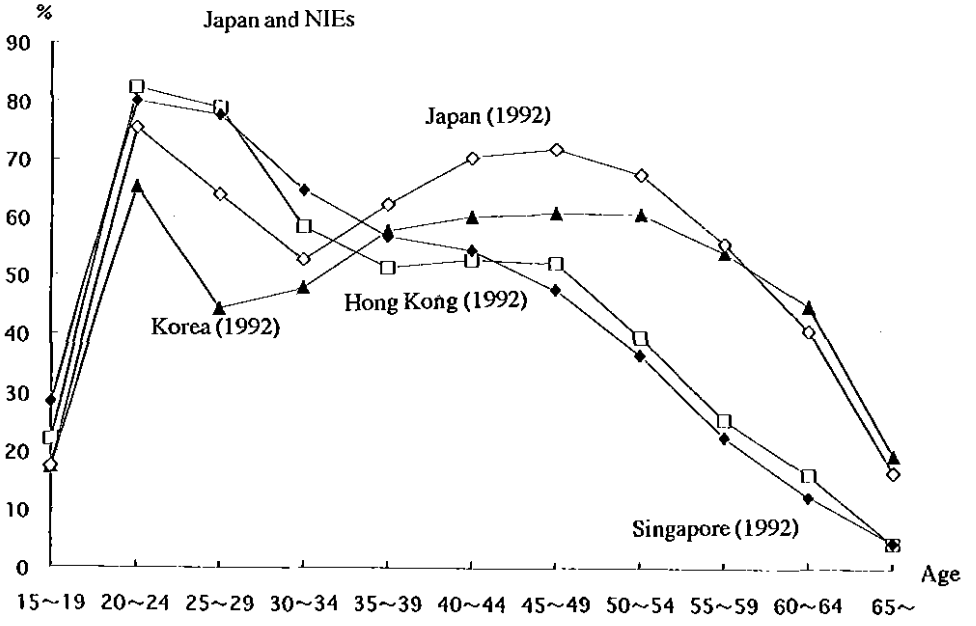
Table 5 Indicators of Participation in Economic Activities for Selected Asian Countries

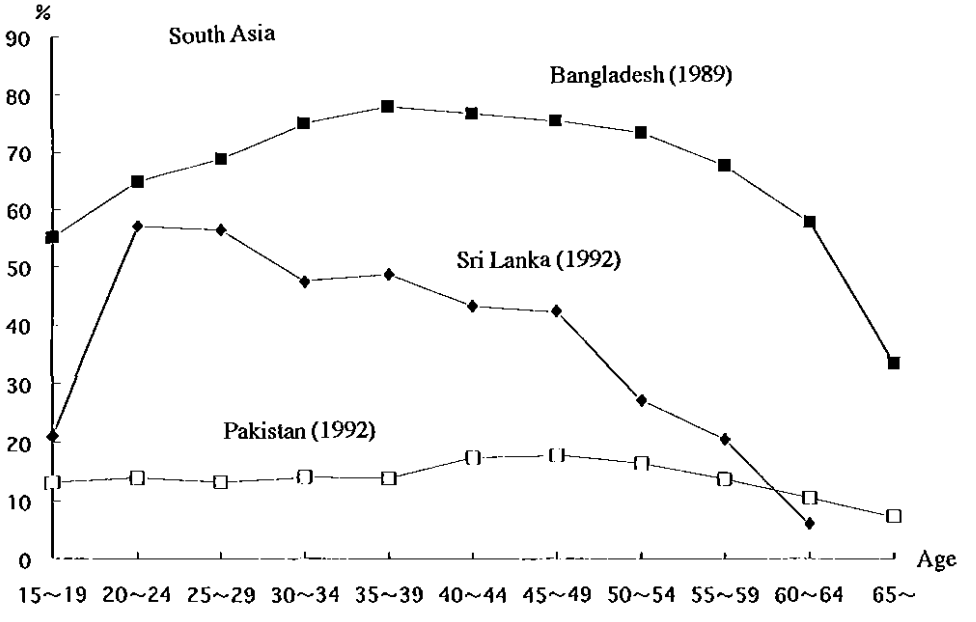
	Survey year / age	Participation rate (all ages)			Participation rate (15 and older)			Females per 100 males
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	
Japan	1992 / 15 ~	52.9	63.9	42.3	64.0	78.0	50.7	68.7
China	1982 / 15 ~	52.3	57.3	47.0	78.7	86.5	70.6	77.8
NIEs								
Singapore	1992 / 15 ~				65.3	79.9	51.3	66.8
Hong Kong	1992 / 15 ~	49.5	61.6	36.9	62.3	78.0	46.2	58.1
Korea	1992 / 15 ~				60.9	75.3	47.3	66.9
Southeast Asia								
Malaysia	1990 / 15 - 64	37.6	48.2	26.9	59.6	77.1	42.2	55.1
Thailand	1990 / 13 ~	56.3	59.7	52.8	81.9	87.7	76.3	87.9
Philippines	1992 / 10 ~				65.0	82.6	47.8	59.1
Indonesia	1980 / 10 ~	35.7	48.1	23.5	58.1	80.4	37.1	48.7
South Asia								
Sri Lanka	1992 / 10 ~	40.9	55.3	26.6	56.6	76.4	36.9	48.4
Pakistan	1992/93 / 10 ~	28.0	46.4	8.2	49.7	83.5	14.0	15.8
India	1991	37.6	51.5	22.7				40.9
Bangladesh	1989 / 10 ~	46.9	53.2	40.2	78.6	89.1	67.4	70.8

Source : ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1993* and *Yearbook of Labour Statistics* 1945-1989.

Note : "Females per 100 males" are calculated based on population aged 15 and over.

Figure 1 Comparison of Female Participation Rates by Age for Selected Asian Countries





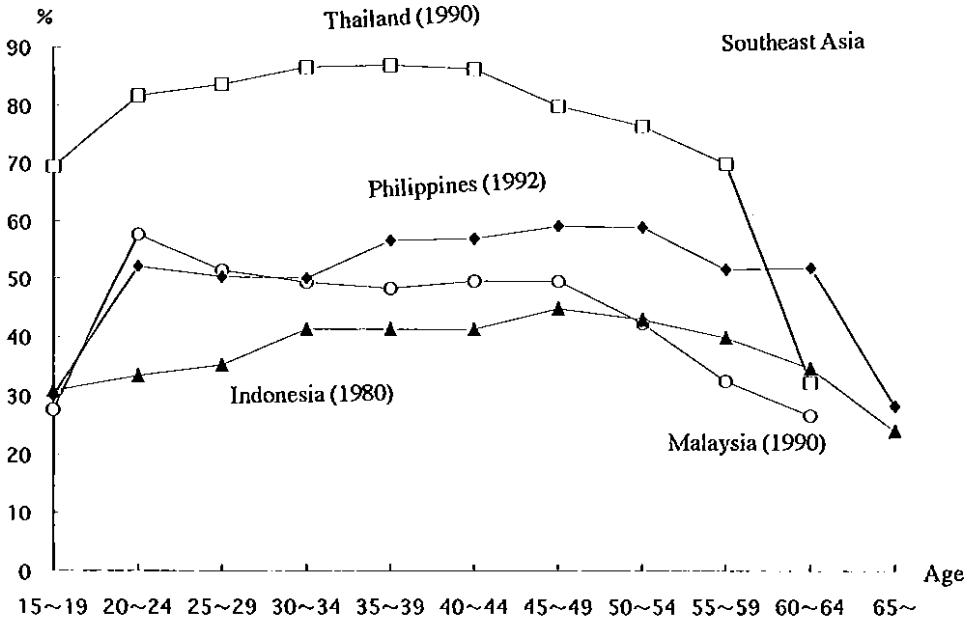

%
Thailand (1990)
Southeast Asia
90
80
70
Philippines (1992)
60
50
40
30
Indonesia (1980)
Malaysia (1990)
20
10
0
Age
15~19 20~24 25~29 30~34 35~39 40~44 45~49 50~54 55~59 60~64 65~

Figure 2 Industrial Structure of Employment

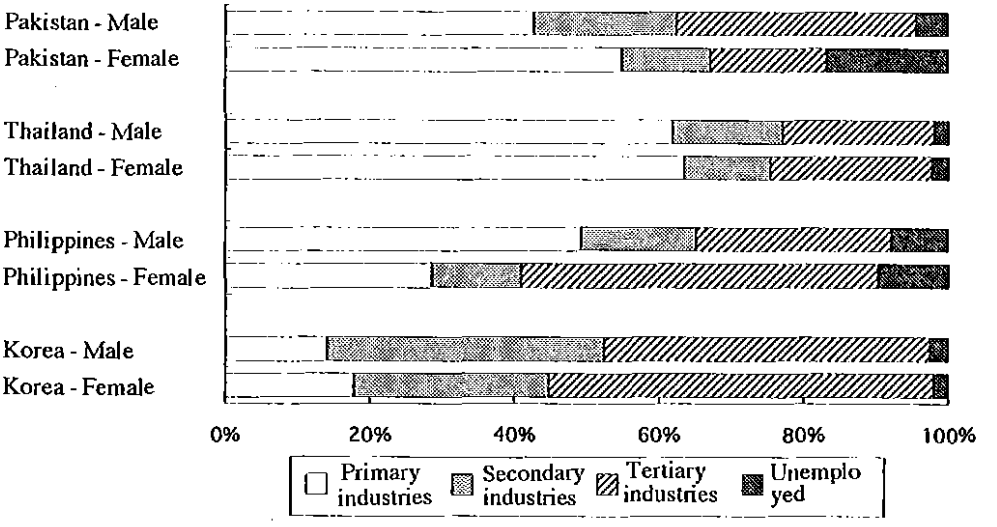


Figure 3 Occupational Position