

CARE WORK AND THE ECONOMY

Advancing policy solutions with gender-aware macroeconomic models

2021 CWE Annual Meeting Day 1- May 12, 2021

8-8:30am: Introduction, Maria Floro

Opening Remarks:

Welcome all to final annual meeting of CWE project. Everyone joins us from all over the world to take stock in what the project has accomplished in the final year, to listen to the research finding conducted, to reflect on challenges faced and lessons learned, and find out more about next steps that will be taken in other countries. As this project comes to a close, I want to acknowledge the generous support of our funders: The Flora and William Hewlett Foundation and the Open Society Foundations. I want to give special mention to the Hewlett Foundation Global Development and Population Director, Dana Hovig, and his predecessor, Ruth Levine, and the GDP Program Officer, Althea Anderson. I also want to give special mention to the Open Society Foundation's Women's Rights Program Director, Kavita Ramdas, and Senior Program Director, Marina Durano. Althea Anderson and Marina Durano will share their reflection on the final day of this meeting, May 14th. An additional special mention to my co-PI, Elizabeth King. She contributed tremendously to this project. Thank you to the advisory board, the project working group coordinators for their leadership, 40+ project scholars from 12 countries. Also, to mention our partner institutions: The Center for Transmigration and Social Inclusion (CTMS) at Seoul National University and Levi Economics Institute. Finally, our Project Manager Shirin Arslan and her predecessor, Charlotte Prior, who undertook the daily management tasks with the Communications team. They oversaw and managed the project activities.

Overview of the project and its journey in the last 4 years:

- CWE project started in 2017 to produce new innovative research that incorporates the care economy and gender explicitly in policy tools, to demonstrate the importance of economic and social implications of care work, to promote public investment in care provisioning, reduce gender gaps in economic outcomes, advance gender equality, and promote sustainable development.
- The project was broken into 3 working groups and a fourth component was added halfway through to examine the global dimensions of care needs. There have also been independent care initiatives that have been undertaken and incorporated into the project.
- Our work is based on the premise that reducing gender gaps in economic outcomes promoting gender equality and inclusive growth requires that countries implement a comprehensive policy agenda to address care needs. The underlying framework situates the macroeconomy within the broader social system which dictates social norms and institutions. In our framework, we make the paid care sector visible in the whole market economy.

- The goals and vision of the project were strikingly relevant during the COVID-19 pandemic, showing the major role of care work. Starting out with research by Working Group 2: they examine the nature and significance of care in South Korea and the impact on the wellbeing of caregivers and recipients. Scholars in Working Group 1 develop empirical and theoretical macroeconomic models that integrate the links paid and unpaid care, labor supply, demographic change, and their role in the macro economy. They combine feminist economic methodologies with conventional macroeconomic models and bring us closer to gender equality. Working Group 3 developed behavioral, social, and macroeconomic policy tools provided to the larger policymaking world to promote gender aware policies. They develop a methodology for examining labor market decisions and a methodology for integrating the care economy. With new information about paid and unpaid care work and the development of innovative gender-aware policy tools, we hope to contribute to the conversations by highlighting the centrality of quality care provisioning to achieve gender equality, inclusive growth and caring societies.

Key features of the project:

- This project is interdisciplinary, and involves the collaboration of researchers in economics, time use research, sociology, demography, and many others.
 - o It follows pluralism in perspective and method. The scholars use tools from different schools of thought: heterodox, feminist, political economy, structural and mainstream economics. The project emphasized open-mindedness in the project methods. Ongoing debates are vital in sharpening one's analysis and broaden an individual's mindset.
 - o Frequent communications were important in ensuring steady exchange of ideas, information, and preliminary results among teams.
 - o Engagement with stakeholders like care workers, academics, advocacy groups, and policy makers allowed us to be aware of key policy questions and debates to sharpen the focus of the project.
 - o We followed democratic governance. The project adopted a code of Conduct to share the values and principles researchers are meant to follow. Meetings, accountability and monitoring were used to ensure smooth implementation in order to achieve project goals.

Project Timeline:

- The planning workshop kicked off the development of a research plan and proposal in late 2016. There was an organization meeting in 2017 which gathered key researchers united around a vision and research strategy. There were 2 annual meetings in 2018 and 2019 in Berlin and Glasgow for researchers to share their progress and obtain feedback. Throughout the pandemic, they adjusted and used working paper webinars virtually to continue to foster the connection between researchers. Our project uses Korea as our case study of care work. They have rapid economic growth but are experiencing a crisis in their care provisioning due to ageing society and diminishing fertility rates. In 2018, the SNU team supervised a survey/interviews for paid and unpaid elder and child care workers in Korea and it included aspects not found in standard household and labor force surveys. The project had two international conferences with Korean advocacy groups to hear the experiences and concerns of care workers in South Korea. There was a validation workshop in Seoul in 2019 involving Korean economists and government officials. They reviewed two tools the project developed. Online, you can find the 33 working papers, special issues in Feminist Economics and Work Development, policy briefs and blog.
- Forthcoming, June 2-4 (Korea) 1-3 (EST): 2021 International Conference on The Care Economy in Korea: Beyond Covid-19 and towards a Sustainable Caring Society. This will be held both online and live for in-person and worldwide attendance.

- The final activity of the project is a three-week Intensive Virtual Course in Gender-Sensitive Macroeconomic Modelling for Policy Analysis: June 28- July 17. This is coordinated by the Levi Institute and our project. This plan for the course is quite complex. There are 10 core instructors and 10 facilitators will hold this course in 3 different time zones. The virtual format allowed over 70 fellows to join the course. The participants are majority women, and they represent 26 countries.

Concluding Statement:

Quality research and rigorous policy analysis are necessary to build evidence-based recommendations and inform policy makers. The role of advocacy groups is important in the mobilization and public campaigns for public goods and global commons and to the remaking of social contracts between governments and their citizens. Our communications team was established in the third year to translate the research outputs into policy briefs and think pieces that can be disseminated to policy makers, civil society groups, the press, and the media. Thank you and Shirin will introduce next session.

8:30-10am: Understanding the Present and Future of Family Caregiving

Chair:Ki-Soo Eun

Hello everyone, glad to see everyone. It was a long journey to reach today's concluding meeting. We can see the presentations from this project. We are expected 3 great presentations in this session. 20 minutes per speaker and we will leave time to discuss at the end.

The toll and rewards of family caregiving: Eldercare in South Korea, Catherine Hensly

Background and Motivation:

- In rapidly ageing society of South Korea, brings every growing caregiving responsibilities. Median age is estimated to keep rising and is predicted to be 57 in 2050. Structural change in care provisioning is necessary.
- Maintaining the quality of life of informal caregivers is important- it has been shown to affect the level and quality of provided care, the ability to return to previous employment, and mental health of caregivers.
- This paper focuses on mental and physical burden and the opportunity costs of caregiving relative to rewards related to the satisfaction of being a provider.
- There are stressors for the caregiver which lead to the toll on the caregiver. But, there are expected rewards to caregiving like appreciation by the family.

Conceptual framework:

- the quality of life of the caregiver is a function of the toll (mental and physical burden, and opportunity cost- financial and time) and reward of caregiving and controls.
- They used the 2018 Care Work Family Survey in South Korea and there are corresponding questions to each of these aspects of the tolls and rewards.

Estimation Strategy:

- Estimate a Generalized Structural Equations Model which relies on Maximum Likelihood estimation. There is an equation estimating the each of the 4 tolls and the reward of caregiving determined by the characteristics of the elderly care recipient.
- Multivariate Ordered Probit is used for the description of quality of life. It is regressed on the vector of the 4 types of tolls equations(SUR), the reward equation (LPM), and controls.

- They had 501 informal eldercare provider respondents who were primary caregivers (co-resident/at least 3x/week visits) of elderly (aged 65+).

Summary stats/Preliminary Results:

- Caregivers: average age 57, predominantly female, 46 percent were the child to the recipient, 16% had dependent children, 1/3 also use professional care for the elderly recipient.
- Elderly: average age 81, and characteristics focus on mental status (dementia score) and physical status (how many tasks to perform).
- Preliminary Results:
 - o The elderly having dementia has positive effect on mental toll, and more physical ability lessened mental toll.
 - o Dementia increased physical burden, physical ability had negative impact on physical burden of caregiver, and hours of care each week was positively related to physical burden.
 - o If the care recipient lives with someone else, there is a negative impact on psychic reward of caregiving. If the caregiver is a biological child, there is a positive psychic reward.
 - o Psychic toll, physical burden, and financial opportunity costs have a negative impact on quality of life. The reward has a positive effect on quality of life.
 - o Kinship ties produce effective care but incur a heavy toll. Caregivers require care and support which means we should be promoting training programs for family caregivers, establish psychosocial support and post-caregiving support for the possible transition back into formal labor market.

COVID-19 and Work-Family Balance in South Korea, Ito Peng

An initial survey and paper were conducted and published in 2020. A second survey has been conducted since previous article to compare the data collected but this is very preliminary.

Introduction:

- COVID-19 shown the extensive dependence on care, with parents managing work and care, and facilities with long-term labor shortages. It highlighted neglect of care work in the market economy and shown the socioeconomic, gender and racial inequalities in the society.
- Studies have shown that lockdown affects 81% of global workforce and it is referred to the “She-cession” because it disproportionately impacted women because of the female dominated service sector which had large cuts and will be slow to recover.
- Families experienced increased unpaid childcare responsibilities, but the burden fell on women who spend more time caring and schooling the children.
- In Canada- 74% of parents were very or extremely concerned with balancing childcare with work and almost as high with managing child’s behaviors, stress, and emotions.
 - o Children’s mental state has also been impacted.

Work Family Balance during COVID-19 Social Distancing Survey in South Korea:

- This survey was conducted by CTMS and is a nationally representative sample of parents with at least one child aged 0-12 in June 2020 in South Korea. Socially distancing measures were in effect March- May 2020. But childcare and school closures forced most parents to stay home to work.
 - o 1st online survey: June 2020- asked about experiences during social distancing period and 1,252 respondents (not married to each other)
 - Found similar results to other countries in terms of the impacts on caregiving responsibilities.

- o 2nd online survey: April 2021 after 2nd social distancing period in Dec. 2020- Feb 2021. – increased sample size to 2,016 and included 50 in-depth interviews.

Preliminary Observations:

- In 1st survey, more mothers worked at home than fathers and in 2nd survey, slightly more fathers worked from home (mothers used up their work time earlier)
- In second survey, there were more mothers who took more than a month time off than fathers, but they became more similar in the shorter amounts of time from home.
- Similar pattern of concerns for work at home and childcare between mothers and fathers. Women generally more concerned (work related punishments)
- In both surveys, mothers were the main caregivers for their children (they were more likely to take leave, vacation, or work from home). But, in the 2nd survey, use of grandparents declined, and use of spouse was slightly more equal.
- Estimate on average time spent on childcare before and during social distance period: stay at home mothers increased time more than dual earner mothers (majority of the burden).
- In 2nd survey, new questions show that working and caring for children at same time was very difficult. Parents report being more tired, stressed, and depressed than usual.
 - o Satisfaction with share of care responsibilities: mothers less satisfied across the board than fathers.

Summary:

- Mothers still hit harder than fathers, work, and care for children at home brought difficulties and increased stressors (greater for mothers). Dual Earner and stay at home mothers were less satisfied with share of care responsibilities
- Policy recommendations:
 - o 1. Rethink social distancing measures to harmonize childcare/school closing with business closing, daycares, and schools not main sites of COVID transmission.
 - o 2. Develop and enhance care and support systems like financial and mental counseling support,
 - o 3. Develop robust gender equality policies: unequal treatment of women in the labor market sets the tone for unpaid care responsibilities. Higher public awareness of gender equality and culture could help make unpaid care more equal.
 - o 4. More investment in social and care infrastructure.

Unmet demand for care: family caregivers' perspectives, Seung-Eun Cha

Introduction:

- Care Conundrum: families provide a high amount of care but there is a growing supply of paid care workers. Is it a preference for family care or a constraint in care availability?
- The unmet demand for childcare and eldercare is left unexplored. There is a relationship between paid care and family care but how does it work? There is a changing trend in Korean family structure and expansion of public care. So, there are signs of change, but women are still proving so much care to their family informally.

Approach and Methods:

- This paper takes a primary caregiver perspective approach and it compares preferred care time to actual care time and estimates the gap. This is also collected for the spouse and based on the respondent's preference for their spouse's care work time contribution. So they can estimate a shortfall of the household.

- Used the 2018 Care Work Family Survey in South Korea with 1,001 households with either elderly or children.
- Estimation of the Perceived care gap (PCG) at the caregiver and household level:
 - o positive PCG shows they would refer to allocate more time to their spouses or paid professional. Primary caregivers are overworking 26 hours weekly for elderly and 20 hours weekly for children on average.
 - o PCG is negative on average for the spouse for both elder and childcare so it shows that the caregiver would prefer their spouse to do more hours on care than they actually do.
 - o The perceived shortfall in care provision at the household level (PCGH) is ~23 hours/week for eldercare and ~12 hours/week for childcare.
 - Target this by increasing hours of paid care services as a substitute for unpaid care or a shift to the spouse.
- What factors impact size of the PCG and PCGH:
 - o Low income families have higher PCG and PCGH
 - o Respondents with higher education have higher PCG and PCGH
 - o Rural areas have larger problem with perceived gaps.

Summary:

- Income plays a role in unmet demand: middle- and low-income families for eldercare and middle-income families have an issue with childcare. But we need to be cautious about the solution of professional paid work in childcare and there is evidence that parental care balance is important and preferred.
- There are geographical differences in the gaps in care for elderly and children. There is a regional disadvantage for rural areas and put a greater care burden on families.
- No evidence of gender norm effect on unmet demand for care.

Discussion Questions:

Maria Floro: On the 1st presentation: what are the results for the control variables? Any interesting results of their characteristics based on the satisfied/dissatisfied? Employment aspects?

- Catherine Hensly: No story of interest with regards to income quantiles but employed people had more negative reports of the burden because of the dual stress.

Nancy Folbre/Elizabeth King: Unmet demand- does measuring the gap really capture the unmet care needs? Do the actual hours capture some of the hours that they do not want to be doing? And what about supervisory care? We might be underestimating the unmet care gap.

- Seung-Eun Cha: We cannot discriminate supervisory care and we do not know if the hours reported include supervisory activities. Given the high hours, they might have interpreted the question to include supervisory care.
- Ito Peng: The questionnaire used had to be cut down so some of the questions had to be more general. But understanding type of care would be very important and could be included in future research.

Susan Himmelweit: We know that attitudes towards care change a lot. So, with preference of hours of care, it would depend on what their alternative care provider is.

- Seung-Eun Cha: Controlled for age of recipient and other adults in household. There are other factors that might be missing for control.

Bernard Decaluwe: On the 2nd presentation, what can we conclude for policy relevance? Since it was so unexpected, what can governments do for the future and how can we support women? Role of employers?

- Ito Peng: there is a damaging effect for workers and families. Governments need to forward think and be prepared to understand the value of care, invest in care and try to resolve the tension between working and caring for future crises. The research has shown that we have ignored and marginalized care. It needs to be brought into policy and economic conversations leading to a change in mindset.
- Elizabeth King: We all tend to say we have to increase supply of care provision from government or private market. The pandemic was a natural experiment for the shutdown of outside care services. The change in family care sharing between shutdowns or before and during should be analyzed as the effect of making paid care provision expanded/constricted. There is an adjustment period of the crisis so how does the family learn to adjust to changes? In future surveys, how do roles shift over time in crisis?
- Ito Peng: Between surveys you can see preliminary shifts, but this is interesting for ongoing research. Another observation is that younger fathers seem to be different than older fathers. They are more conscious of sharing and wanting to but are constrained by their work. So, there could be generational shifts in the way Korean fathers are viewing care responsibilities.