Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
United Nations Development Programme
International Labour Organization

PROMOTING DIVERSIFIED SKILL DEVELOPMENT FOR WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

Volume II



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FOREWORD

This volume contains the findings of the four surveys carried out by ESCAP in cooperation with ILO (International Labour Organization)/ARTEP (Asian Regional Team for Employment Promotion) in the metropolitan cities of Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Manila and Seoul. These surveys were conducted under the ESCAP project on promoting diversified skill development for women in industry, as part of the implementation of the Jakarta Plan of Action on Human Resources Development in the ESCAP Region.

The surveys have considerably improved the state of knowledge about the participation and occupational mobility of industrial women workers at the enterprise level. The micro-level studies confirm that a large number of women have been drawn into the manufacturing sector primarily as a consequence of the export-led industrialization strategy. In general, the resulting increase in women's employment took place in a narrow range of low-skilled manufacturing activities. The majority of the surveyed women workers were young, unmarried, fresh migrants from the rural areas. They faced limited inter-industry mobility with restricted opportunities to upgrade their skills and improve the terms and conditions of their employment.

The surveys revealed instances in which women have successfully pursued non-traditional avenues of employment, thereby improving their earnings and working conditions. In most of these cases, education and training in appropriate skills acquisition have been a determining factor. Industrial enterprises in the metropolitan cities of Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, Manila and Seoul have adopted new and emerging technologies effectively; their experience contains important lessons for other cities in the region.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation and thanks to the United Nations Development Programme for their generous financial support, which enabled the secretariat to prepare and publish these survey studies. I also wish to thank ILO/ARTEP for its cooperation in conducting the surveys and organizing the regional workshop to discuss the findings.



Rafeeuddin Ahmed
Executive Secretary

5 May, 1994

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PART ONE

SYNTHESIS REPORT ON EMPLOYMENT AND MOBILITY IN THE URBAN LABOUR MARKETS OF SEOUL, KUALA LUMPUR, BANGKOK AND MANILA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WOMEN IN THE MANUFACTURING SECTOR

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This report presents the findings of four detailed labour market studies, with special reference to women workers in the manufacturing industry, which were funded by UNDP and conducted by ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP in four metropolitan cities of Asia. The cities selected for a detailed survey-cum-study were Seoul in the Republic of Korea, Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia, Bangkok in Thailand, and Manila in the Philippines.

The main purpose of the surveys in the four cities, using the same questionnaire designed by ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP, was to strengthen the knowledge base concerning the structure of employment, methods of skill acquisition and pattern of upward mobility among women employed in the manufacturing sector of urban labour markets. The studies aimed at the preparation of guidelines for policy makers in the region with a view to designing and implementing measures to promote women's employment and their occupational mobility.

The surveys were carried out during the year 1991. In Seoul 701 male and 689 female workers; in Kuala Lumpur 739 male and 706 female workers; in Manila, 784 male and 786 female workers; and in Bangkok 633 male and 706 female workers were surveyed.

The approach adopted in this study is to analyse the comparative data from each city separately for male and female workers. This report focuses on five major topics concerning employment and mobility with special reference to the female labour force in the afore-mentioned four cities of Asia.

The employment structure of workers is the first topic, dealt with in Chapter 2. It will be argued that female workers are mainly employed in low-wage firms and industries. The mobility of such workers from low-wage industry to high-wage industry will be discussed in Chapter 5. Whether an upward mobility of female workers comparable with that of male workers exists or not will be inferred from the past history of industry-specific labour mobility through change of jobs.

The second topic is concerned with evaluation of the economic status of female workers in the urban manufacturing industries compared with that of male workers. This will be the issue discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. In Chapter 3 we review job search methods, type of contract, hours of work, job training, promotion, wages and fringe benefits of female workers in comparison with those of male workers. Chapter 4 provides an econometric analysis of promotion probability and wage differential between male and female workers by examining determinants of promotion and wage level. Mobility in the labour market comes up for discussion in section 6 of Chapter 4 and section 3 of Chapter 5. The assumption is that promotion and wage increase accompany occupational changes. The methodology followed is to compare pre-promotion occupations with post-promotion occupations by tracing the direction of occupational mobility.

As a third topic we pose the question whether female workers in the urban labour market raised their productivity and reward for work in terms of inter-industry, inter-occupation, inter-firm and employment status mobility. This aspect will be dealt with in detail in Chapter 5. The same chapter not only examines the pattern of labour mobility but also performs a comparative study of the economic status of female workers before and after they moved into the urban area. The analysis enables us to conjecture a possible relationship between regional and occupational mobility of female workers.

The fourth topic relates to married women workers whose domestic duties have imposed a double burden on them, which will be the main subject of discussion in Chapter 6.

Finally, in Chapter 7 we set out our proposals for improving the economic status of female workers. In this chapter, policies and programmes for accelerating the upward mobility of female workers will be discussed on the basis of the data from the four Asian cities.

CHAPTER 2

MAJOR FEATURES OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE FOUR CITIES SURVEYED

2.1 Some Indicators of the Countries of the Surveyed Cities

Major indicators of the four Asian countries investigated are shown in table 2.1. The Republic of Korea has a land area of 99,143 square kilometres; Malaysia 329,749; Thailand 542,373; and the Philippines 300,000. In 1989 the Republic of Korea had a population of 42.9 million; Malaysia 17.4 million; Thailand 55.5 million; and the Philippines 60.1 million.

The Republic of Korea's per capita GNP in 1989 was $US 4,994; Malaysia's $US 2,052; Thailand's $US 1,230; and the Philippines's $US 736. When the per capita GNP of the Philippines is set to be 100, the per capita GNP of Thailand is 167, the per capita GNP of Malaysia is 279 and the per capita GNP of the Republic of Korea is 679.

When we compare the total amount of trade (export and import) with GNP, the ratio is 67.3 per cent in the Republic of Korea, 133.4 per cent in Malaysia, 67.3 per cent in Thailand and 41.8 per cent in the Philippines. These figures indicate that the economies of the four countries depend greatly on foreign trade.

Table 2.1. Major indicators of the four countries of the surveyed cities, 1989

	Land area Km^2	Population million persons	GNP billion $US	Per capita GNP $US	Exports (f.o.b.) billion $US	Imports (c.i.f.) billion $US
Republic of Korea	99,143	42.87	221.2	4,994	62.3	61.5
Malaysia	329,749	17.35	35.6	2,052	25.0	22.5
Thailand	542,373	55.45	68.2	1,230	20.1	25.8
Philippines	300,000	60.10	44.0	736	7.7	10.7

2.2 Economic Growth and Industrial Structure

Next we examine some features of economic growth and industrial structure in the countries of the cities chosen for this study.

(a) Acceleration of High Economic Growth

Industrialization in the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines ensured a high economic growth during the 1980s. As shown in table 2.2, the annual average economic growth rate over the 6-year period between 1985 and 1990 was 10.2 per cent in the Republic of Korea, 3.8 per cent in Malaysia, 8.9 per cent in Thailand, and 3.1 per cent in the Philippines. The growth rate for the period between 1980 and 1984 was 6.3 per cent in the Republic of Korea, 6.9 per cent in Malaysia and 5.9 per cent in Thailand. It was only 1.4 per cent in the Philippines because of the large amount of accumulated foreign debts and political instability. Among the four countries the Republic of Korea and Thailand showed remarkable economic growth during 1985-1990.

(b) Changes in the Structure of Industry and Employment

Industrialization causes considerable changes in the structure of the economy. Such changes are generally measured by changes in the sectoral composition of GDP. Table 2.3 shows the relative shift in the sectoral composition of GDP experienced by the four countries for the period between 1965 and 1985. The share of agriculture in the Republic of Korea decreased from 39 per cent of GDP in 1965 to 14 per cent in 1985; in

Table 2.2. Economic growth rates of the countries of the four surveyed cities, 1985-1990

	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1970-1979	1975-1979	1980-1984	1985-1990
Republic of Korea[a]	7.0	12.9	13.0	12.4	6.8	9.0	8.5	9.3	6.3	10.2
Malaysia[b]	-1.0	1.2	5.3	8.7	8.5	9.40	7.8	7.2	6.9	3.8
Thailand[b]	3.5	4.9	9.5	13.2	12.2	10.00	6.1	8.5	5.9	8.9
Philippines[a]	-4.4	1.9	5.8	6.7	5.7	3.1	5.6	6.4	1.4	3.1

Notes: [a] GNP
[b] GDP

Table 2.3. Industrial structures of selected Asian and Pacific countries, 1965 and 1985

	Share in GDP (per cent)							
	Agriculture		Industry		Manufacturing		Services	
	1965	1985	1965	1985	1965	1985	1965	1985
Republic of Korea	39	14	26	44	19	31	35	42
Malaysia	28	21	25	37	9	20	47	42
Thailand	35	17	23	30	14	20	42	53
Philippines	26	27	28	32	20	25	46	41
World average								
Low-income countries	42	36	28	35	14	15	30	29
Middle-income countries	21	14	31	37	20	22	48	49
Advanced countries	5	3	39	35	29	25	56	62

Source: World Bank, *World Development Report, 1987.*
Asian Development Bank, *Key Indicators of Developing Member Countries of ADB, 1987.*

Malaysia from 28 per cent in 1965 to 21 per cent in 1985; and in Thailand from 35 per cent in 1965 to 17 per cent in 1985. In the Philippines, however, the share of agriculture increased slightly from 26 per cent in 1965 to 27 per cent in 1985. This is probably due to the country's low economic growth during 1980-1985.

Another indicator of industrialization is the rise in the share of the manufacturing industry in GDP. The share of manufacturing industry in the Republic of Korea increased from 19 per cent of GDP in 1965 to 31 per cent in 1985; in Malaysia from 9 per cent in 1965 to 20 per cent in 1985; in Thailand from 14 per cent in 1965 to 20 per cent in 1985; in the Philippines from 20 per cent of GDP in 1965 to 25 per cent in 1985. If we compare these figures with the average world figures as of 1985 in table 2.3, the Republic of Korea, among the four Asian countries, greatly exceeds the level of the middle-income countries, while Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines are about the same as the middle-income countries in terms of the share of the manufacturing industry in GDP.

Industrialization is accompanied by changes in the employment structure as well. We briefly examine below the changes in the employment structure during 1980-1989 rather than during 1965-1985 on account of data availability.

In the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines, the proportion of employment in agriculture decreased while the proportion of employment in the services and manufacturing industries greatly increased during 1980-1989 (table 2.4). In the Republic of Korea, Malaysia and Thailand, the proportion of employment in the manufacturing industry increased, but in the Philippines the proportion shows virtually no appreciable change. According to table 2.5, the percentage share of female workers in the manufacturing industry in the Republic of Korea increased by 3.4 per cent points between 1980 and 1989, in Malaysia by 7.9 per cent and in Thailand by 3.2 per cent. The corresponding increase in the services industry was 4.3 per cent in the Republic of Korea, 5.1 per cent in Malaysia and 1.2 per cent in Thailand. This shows that in Malaysia

Table 2.4. Changes in the structure of employment in the countries of the four surveyed cities, 1980 and 1989

	1980					1989				
	Agriculture	Mining, Manufacturing	Manufacturing	Services	Total	Agriculture	Mining, Manufacturing	Manufacturing	Services	Total
Republic of Korea	34.0	22.6	21.6	43.4	100.0	19.5	28.2	27.6	52.3	100.0
Malaysia	37.2	17.0	16.0	45.8	100.0	30.9	16.1	15.5	53.1	100.0
Thailand	70.8	8.1	7.9	21.1	100.0	63.7	9.4	9.1	26.9	100.0
Philippines	51.8	11.5	10.8	36.6	100.0	45.1	11.2	10.5	43.7	100.0

Table 2.5. Share of female workers in different industries in the countries of the four surveyed cities, 1980 and 1989

	1980					1989				
	Agriculture	Mining, Manufacturing	Manufacturing	Services	Total	Agriculture	Mining, Manufacturing	Manufacturing	Services	Total
Republic of Korea	43.7	37.6	39.1	34.1	38.2	45.1	41.9	42.5	38.4	40.7
Malaysia	39.4	36.8	38.2	27.4	33.5	35.3	44.9	46.1	32.5	35.4
Thailand	49.5	41.7	42.0	42.1	47.3	45.3	44.8	45.2	43.3	44.7
Philippines	25.5	44.6	47.1	46.5	35.4	24.9	44.6	46.8	45.9	36.3

and Thailand the absorption of women was higher in the manufacturing industry while in the Republic of Korea it was the services industry that absorbed more women. The Seoul city study under this project reports that in Seoul during the 1970s the absorption of women in the manufacturing industry was higher than in the services industry. We may conjecture that, in the case of Seoul, the earlier phase of industrialization absorbed a larger number of female workers into the manufacturing industry.

(c) Dependence on Japan

One of the major features of industry in the four Asian countries concerned is the excessive dependence on Japan, as pointed out by Furukawa (1986). There are strong complementary relations in industrial production between Japan and other Asian countries particularly in the areas of intermediate and capital goods industries. Japan, indeed, has strong structural linkages in production and intermediate goods with Asian NIEs and ASEAN. In other words, Asian NIEs and ASEAN are heavily based on "borrowed technology" and capital goods from Japan.[1]

(d) Concentration of Economic Power in the Capital City

The economic power of the four Asian countries concerned is concentrated in their capital cities. According to the study in Manila city,[2] Metro Manila accounted for 31 per cent of GDP in 1989; according to the study in Kuala Lumpur, Selangor and Kuala Lumpur accounted for 33 per cent of GDP in 1988.[3] The Bangkok study reported that 50 per cent of the total number of firms and 70 per cent of total manufacturing employment in Thailand are concentrated in Bangkok and its vicinity.[4] In the case of the Republic of Korea,

[1] See Fu-chen Lo *et al.* (1988).

[2] Institute of Labour Studies (1991).

[3] Lee and Sivananthiran (1991). According to George Cho (1990, p. 24) Selangor and Kuala Lumpur occupied 30 per cent of GDP in 1985.

[4] Tonguthai and Pattaravanich (1992).

Seoul and near-by Kyongki Province accounted for 46 per cent of the country's GDP in 1987, 56 per cent of the total number of firms and 49 per cent of the total number of employees.[5]

2.3 Employment Structure in Manufacturing

Industrialization in developing countries seems to begin with the development of the textile, clothing, leather, shoes and fabricated metals assembly industries. Exports of these products to overseas markets greatly expand the employment of workers in these industries. The most outstanding feature of this industrialization process is that the majority of female workers tend to be employed in textile, garments, leather, shoe (henceforth referred to as textile industry), and fabricated metals assembly industries.

According to the results of the surveys reported in table 2.6, the textile and fabricated metals assembly industries in the four cities are dominated by female workers. In Manila and Bangkok, a larger number of workers are employed in the textile industry than in the fabricated metals assembly industry. In Kuala Lumpur, the fabricated metals assembly industry employs a larger number of female workers than the textile industry.[6] In Seoul, both industries have almost the same proportion of female workers, which together account for 72 per cent of the total number of workers.

Table 2.6. Distribution of surveyed workers by industry (Number of persons and percentage)

Industry	Male		Female		Industry	Male		Female	
Seoul					**Bangkok**				
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	29	(4.1)	31	(4.5)	Food, Beverages, Tobacco	90	(14.2)	71	(10.1)
Textiles, Garments, Leather	106	(15.1)	261	(37.9)	Textiles, Garments, Leather	153	(24.2)	372	(52.7)
Wood, Wood Products	8	(1.1)	1	(0.2)	Wood, Wood Products	21	(3.3)	9	(1.3)
Paper, Printing	91	(13.0)	31	(4.5)	Paper, Printing	27	(4.3)	16	(2.3)
Chemicals, Plastics	101	(14.4)	78	(11.3)	Chemicals, Plastics	73	(11.5)	93	(13.2)
Non-metallic Mineral Products	14	(2.0)	9	(1.3)	Non-metallic Mineral Products	75	(11.9)	34	(4.8)
Basic Metals	13	(1.9)	2	(0.3)	Basic Metals	12	(1.9)	4	(0.6)
Fabricated Metal Products	316	(45.1)	232	(33.7)	Fabricated Metal Products	180	(28.4)	97	(13.7)
Other manufactures	23	(3.3)	44	(6.4)	Other manufactures	2	(0.3)	10	(1.4)
Total	701	(100.0)	689	(100.0)	Total	633	(100.0)	706	(100.0)
Kuala Lumpur					**Manila**				
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	150	(20.3)	68	(9.6)	Food, Beverages, Tobacco	105	(13.4)	105	(13.4)
Textiles, Garments, Leather	10	(1.4)	20	(2.8)	Textiles, Garments, Leather	246	(31.4)	330	(42.0)
Wood, Wood Products	14	(1.9)	11	(1.6)	Wood, Wood Products	51	(6.5)	22	(2.8)
Paper, Printing	159	(21.5)	154	(21.8)	Paper, Printing	44	(5.6)	35	(4.5)
Chemicals, Plastics	79	(10.7)	51	(7.2)	Chemicals, Plastics	79	(10.1)	71	(9.0)
Non-metallic Mineral Products	19	(2.6)	3	(0.4)	Non-metallic Mineral Products	54	(6.9)	31	(3.9)
Basic Metals	9	(1.2)	2	(0.3)	Basic Metals	42	(5.4)	20	(2.5)
Fabricated Metal Products	268	(36.3)	373	(52.8)	Fabricated Metal Products	129	(16.5)	139	(17.7)
Other manufactures	31	(4.2)	24	(3.4)	Other manufactures	34	(4.3)	33	(4.2)
Total	739	(100.0)	706	(100.0)	Total	784	(100.0)	786	(100.0)

One common characteristic of these two industries is that they are both low-wage industries. Table 2.7 gives the standard per-hour wage rates derived from monthly wages appearing in Appendix table A.2.1 and daily working hours reported in Appendix table A.2.2.[7] In the case of Manila, the textile industry accounts for 42 per cent of female workers. Their wage rate per hour is $US 0.79 which amounts to 77 per cent of the average wage rate of female workers ($US 1.02) and 63 per cent of the average wage rate of male workers ($US 1.26).

[5] Economic Planning Board Report on Mining and Manufacturing Census, Republic of Korea, 1987.

[6] In Kuala Lumpur, the average share of female workers employed in the fabricated metals industry is 72 per cent. See Lee and Sivananthiran (1991).

[7] Hourly rate of pay = monthly earnings/(working hours per day x number of days worked per work x 4.345).

Table 2.7. Standard hourly rates of pay in the four surveyed cities

Industry	Seoul		Kuala Lumpur		Bangkok		Manila	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	4.12	2.59	2.93	2.21	1.64	1.04	1.38	1.13
Textiles, Garments, Leather	3.97	2.27	1.47	1.30	1.44	1.00	1.00	0.79
Wood, Wood Products	3.44	1.90	1.43	0.95	0.70	0.50	0.89	1.23
Paper, Printing	4.12	2.79	2.67	2.16	1.61	1.38	0.83	0.75
Chemicals, Plastics	5.46	3.18	1.53	1.14	0.89	1.08	2.08	1.57
Non-metallic Mineral Products	2.61	1.95	2.66	2.05	1.35	1.30	1.44	1.23
Basic Metals	4.48	2.71	3.38	1.67	0.65	1.33	1.46	1.70
Fabricated Metal Products	4.12	2.53	2.89	1.86	1.53	0.91	1.38	1.12
Other Manufactures	3.33	2.27	2.85	2.12	5.75	0.65	0.92	1.03
Total	4.23	2.49	2.66	1.88	1.40	1.01	1.26	1.02

The fabricated metals industry in Manila employs 18 per cent of the total number of female workers. Their average wage is $US 1.12 per hour, which is slightly higher than the average hourly wage of total female workers in the city. It should be noted, however, that the majority of female workers in Manila are reportedly skilled and semi-skilled workers (the percentage of unskilled female workers is only 13 per cent). It is possible that female workers in the fabricated metals industry are employed in unskilled production jobs. The average wage of unskilled female workers in the fabricated metals industry is estimated to be $US 0.67 per hour (table 2.8), which amounts to 66 per cent of the average per-hour wage of total female workers in Manila, ($US 1.02). Therefore, the textile and fabricated metals industries in Manila, employing 43 per cent and 18 per cent of female workers, respectively, can be categorized as low-wage industries.

Table 2.8. Standard hourly rates of pay of unskilled production workers in the four surveyed cities

Industry	Seoul		Kuala Lumpur		Bangkok		Manila	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	–	2.46	1.65	1.30	0.61	0.61	0.92	0.64
Textiles, Garments, Leather	2.22	1.76	–	0.94	0.97	1.07	0.61	0.57
Wood, Wood Products	2.99	1.90	0.42	0.94	0.54	–	0.46	0.78
Paper, Printing	2.62	2.48	1.03	0.89	0.65	1.08	0.77	0.51
Chemicals, Plastics	2.41	1.89	1.00	0.62	0.39	0.81	0.55	1.48
Non-metallic Mineral Products	–	–	1.67	–	0.61	0.62	0.50	0.32
Basic Metals	–	–	–	–	0.48	0.52	0.68	0.91
Fabricated Metal Products	2.99	1.94	1.13	0.72	0.52	0.64	0.68	0.67
Other Manufactures	1.79	2.08	1.24	1.38	–	0.54	0.61	0.54
Total	2.68	1.97	1.34	0.93	0.62	0.85	0.64	0.65

The textile industry in Bangkok accounts for 53 per cent of female workers. They are paid an average per-hour wage of $US 1.00, which is identical with the average per-hour wage of total female workers and 71 per cent of the average per-hour wage of male workers in the city ($US 1.40). The average hourly wage of female workers in the fabricated metals industry, where 14 per cent of Bangkok female workers are employed, is $US 0.91 equivalent to 90 per cent of the average wage of the total female workers and 65 per cent of the average wage of male workers.

In Kuala Lumpur, 53 per cent of female workers are employed in the fabricated metals assembly industry. Their average per-hour wage is $US 1.86, an almost identical figure with the average per-hour wage paid to the total female workers. However, it falls short of the average wage paid to male workers, i.e., $US 2.66, and 70 per cent of that of male workers.

The distribution of surveyed workers by high-wage/low-wage firms in Seoul is given in Appendix table A.2.3. As regards wages, the textile industry in Seoul which accounts for 38 per cent of female workers, pays an average wage of $US 2.27 per hour. This is equivalent to 91 per cent and 54 per cent of the average wage of total female and male workers, respectively. In the case of the fabricated metals industry where 34 per cent of female workers are employed, the hourly wage of female workers maintains the 60 per cent level of the average per-hour wage of total male workers.

It follows from the above analysis that in the four major Asian cities surveyed, Manila, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and Seoul, the majority of female workers are employed in the textile and fabricated metals industries. An important characteristic of women's employment is that they tend to be concentrated in low-wage industries and establishments.[8]

[8] On the basis of the survey data for Seoul city Bai and Cho (1992) argue that a majority of women workers are employed in low-wage industries and firms. They also argue that female workers are driven into the low-wage firm though they have the same personal attributes as the male workers. Their analysis of the data demonstrates the existence of sex discrimination at the port of entry of the firm.

CHAPTER 3

TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

The purpose of this chapter is to review the terms and conditions of women's employment, in relation to those of male workers. We shall specifically examine the following aspects of employment, namely, (1) mode of recruitment, (2) type of contract, (3) hours of working, (4) training, (5) promotion, (6) wages, mode of wage payment, and (7) fringe benefits.

3.1 Mode of Recruitment

In the labour market surveys the means by which workers obtained their present jobs was inquired under the following seven categories (1) newspaper advertisements, (2) other advertisements, (3) public employment, (4) recruitment drive by firms, (5) labour contractors, (6) introduction by friends or relatives, and (7) others. Table 3.1 shows the results of the investigation.

Table 3.1. Job search methods used by surveyed male and female workers (Percentage)

	Male	Female		Male	Female
Seoul			**Bangkok**		
Newspaper Advertisements	16.2	4.1	Newspaper Advertisements	9.0	3.3
Other Advertisements	12.6	13.3	Other Advertisements	8.2	5.0
Public Employment Agencies	2.0	3.2	Public Employment Agencies	2.4	2.2
Recruitment Drive by Firms	8.3	4.7	Recruitment Drive by Firms	6.1	3.4
Labour Contractors	1.0	0.6	Labour Contractors	0.3	0.4
Friends or Relatives	38.3	54.4	Friends or Relatives	69.2	82.1
Other	21.6	19.8	Other	5.0	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	Total	100.0	100.0
Kuala Lumpur			**Bangkok**		
Newspaper Advertisements	26.0	26.4	Newspaper Advertisements	8.2	9.8
Other Advertisements	1.6	2.3	Other Advertisements	4.6	5.2
Public Employment Agencies	5.6	3.0	Public Employment Agencies	1.4	1.2
Recruitment Drive by Firms	4.3	9.5	Recruitment Drive by Firms	9.3	5.1
Labour Contractors	0.5	1.1	Labour Contractors	0.5	0.1
Friends or Relatives	52.4	43.8	Friends or Relatives	71.3	74.8
Private Employment Agencies	1.5	2.0	Other	4.5	3.8
Other	7.7	11.8	Total	100.0	100.0
Total	100.0	100.0			

In Manila, newspaper and other advertisements (such as wall posting) led 13 per cent of male workers and 15 per cent of female workers to their present jobs. Friends and relatives were the dominant source of information on job vacancies, their share representing 72 per cent for male workers and 75 per cent for female workers. Similar figures appear in the case of Bangkok where newspaper and other advertisements accounted for 17 per cent and 8 per cent for male and female workers, respectively, while friends and relatives accounted for 69 per cent and 82 per cent respectively. In Kuala Lumpur, 28 per cent of male and female workers were employed through the medium of newspaper and other advertisements, and 52 per cent of male workers and 44 per cent of female workers through friends and relatives. In Seoul, 29 per cent of male workers and 17 per cent of female workers were recruited through the medium of newspaper and other advertisements, and 38 per cent and 54 per cent respectively through friends or relatives. It thus appears that friends and relatives are the main channel through which employment is secured in all these four cities. It also follows that the lower the degree of economic development in each city, the greater is the reliance on these channels. An important observation is that in all the cities surveyed the role of public employment agencies in the recruitment of workers was negligible.

3.2 Type of Labour Contract

The signing of an employment contract is an important index of the stability of employment. Workers were categorized according to whether they had a written contract, an unwritten contract or no labour contract. The results of the investigation are furnished in table 3.2. In Manila, 56 per cent of men and 54 per cent of women were hired with no labour contract, while 50 per cent of men and 60 per cent of women were employed with no labour contract in Bangkok. The corresponding shares in Kuala Lumpur, were only 9 per cent for men and 7 per cent for women; and 20 per cent for men and 34 per cent for women in Seoul. The proportion of women who had no labour contract was larger than that of men in Bangkok and Seoul, implying that the employment of women is less stable in these two cities. Also in the case of Manila, both men and women were faced with unstable employment opportunities.

Table 3.2. Types of labour contract issued to surveyed workers (Percentage)

Type of contract	Male	Female	Type of contract	Male	Female
Seoul			**Bangkok**		
Written	74.5	59.5	Written	46.1	35.6
Unwritten	6.2	6.8	Unwritten	3.8	4.1
None	19.4	33.6	None	50.1	60.3
Total	100.0	100.0	Total	100.0	100.0
Kuala Lumpur			**Manila**		
Written	88.0	83.1	Written	39.8	42.3
Unwritten	3.5	9.5	Unwritten	3.7	3.3
None	8.5	7.4	None	56.3	54.4
Total	100.0	100.0	Total	100.0	100.0

3.3 Hours of Work

The survey made inquiries regarding the average number of hours worked per day in the previous month as well as the number of days worked per week. The multiplication of these two variables then yields the weekly working hours. The weekly working hours in the manufacturing sector, reported in the ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1989-90, are presented in table 3.3 along with the working hours in the four cities surveyed in 1991.

Table 3.3. International comparison of average weekly working hours in manufacturing in selected countries and in the four cities surveyed

Country/area	Hours of work	Country/area	Hours of work	City[c]	Hours of work
Chile	43.2	Peru	46.7	**Male**	
Canada	38.6	United States	41.0		
South Africa[a]	47.3	Hong Kong	44.8	Seoul	58.5
Ireland	38.8	Japan	41.4	Kuala Lumpur	51.4
Republic of Korea	50.7	Sri Lanka[a]	49.1	Bangkok	57.4
Czechoslovania	40.7	USSR[b]	40.3	Manila	53.7
Denmark	32.0	Spain	36.8		
France	38.7	West Germany	39.9	**Female**	
Greece[a]	41.1	Ireland	41.3		
Luxembuourg[a]	41.2	Netherlands	39.8	Seoul	57.5
Norway	37.9	Switzerland	41.7	Kuala Lumpur	51.2
Sweden	38.5	United Kingdom	42.2	Bangkok	57.6
Australia	38.7	New Zealand	40.5	Manila	52.9

Source: ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1989-1990.

Notes: [a] 1988
[b] 1983
[c] 1991 (ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP Survey)

The working hours in the four Asian cities exceed 50 hours per week for both men and women, implying that they tend to be exploited by having to work excessively long hours compared with workers in the developed countries where working hours are around 40 hours per week.

Table 3.4 displays daily working hours in terms of industry, occupation, establishment size, export-orientation of firms and educational level of workers. Female workers in the textile industry and the fabricated metals industry of Manila (where the majority of female workers are employed) were found to work 9.05 and 9.10 hours per day, respectively, which exceeded the average daily working hours of women workers i.e., 9.02. The daily working hours of women in the textile industry and metal assembly industry of Bangkok were 10.35 and 10.0 hours, respectively, which also exceeded the average working hours of 9.97 for all women. In the case of Kuala Lumpur, the per-day working hours of female workers in metal assembly industry were 9.11 hours, which is the same as the average female per-day working hours. In Seoul, however, female workers in the textile industry worked 9.92 hours per day, more than the average working hours of 9.57, whereas the per-day working hours of female workers in the fabricated metals industry were 9.23. In general, the data suggest that low wages and long working hours are the main characteristics of women's employment in all four cities.

Firms with high export ratios did not imply long working hours for workers employed by them. Rather, in Manila, Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur, firms with high export ratios were correlated with low working hours.

In all four cities surveyed, those employed in the subcontracting firms worked longer hours than those in the non-subcontracting or partly subcontracting firms. Those in production occupations had longer working

Table 3.4. Average daily working hours of surveyed workers by industry, firm, size, ratio of export, occupation and education

Average working hours	Seoul		Kuala Lumpur		Bangkok		Manila	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Industry								
Food, Beverage, Tobacco	9.55	9.45	9.65	9.31	9.29	9.01	9.44	9.19
Textiles, Garments, Leather	9.85	9.92	9.20	8.75	9.99	10.35	9.09	9.05
Wood, Wood Products	9.50	10.00	8.57	8.64	11.14	12.33	9.00	8.18
Paper, Printing	9.69	9.48	8.92	9.07	11.78	11.06	9.34	8.97
Chemicals, Plastics	10.29	9.27	8.99	8.80	9.68	9.90	9.66	9.10
Non-mettalic Mineral Products	9.93	10.11	9.58	10.00	9.55	9.24	8.94	8.39
Basic Metals	9.54	8.00	10.44	9.00	12.00	10.00	9.67	9.50
Fabricated Metal Products	9.79	9.23	9.29	9.11	9.31	9.14	9.29	9.10
Other Manufactures	9.96	9.77	10.10	10.04	8.50	9.50	8.76	8.52
Size of Firm (Workers)								
30	8.57	9.87	8.79	8.82	9.83	10.54	8.94	9.42
30-99	9.89	9.79	9.16	9.05	10.20	10.29	8.88	8.30
100-299	9.58	9.20	9.36	9.42	9.68	9.91	9.01	8.98
300-499	11.11	9.51	9.44	9.43	9.14	9.27	9.54	9.33
500	9.79	9.77	9.28	9.03	9.92	9.97	9.54	9.04
Ratio of Export (per cent)								
0-24	9.84	9.47	9.44	9.38	9.99	10.11	9.26	9.23
25-49	9.55	9.49	–	–	–	–	–	–
50-74	9.61	8.93	9.20	8.86	9.55	9.69	9.21	8.77
75-100	10.26	10.22	–	–	–	–	–	–
Characteristics of Firm								
Independent	9.85	9.62	9.23	9.08	9.79	10.05	9.21	8.97
Subcontract	9.50	10.08	10.31	10.38	9.78	10.00	9.70	9.80
Independent and Sub-contract	9.85	9.20	9.89	9.21	9.63	9.62	9.26	8.87
High/Low Wage Firms								
High-Wage	10.02	9.48	–	–	–	–	–	–
Low-Wage	9.70	9.58	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	9.84	9.57	9.29	9.11	9.76	9.97	9.23	9.02

hours than those in white-collar occupations. The years of education were inversely related to the number of working hours. However, no significant differences could be identified between the number of working hours and the size of the establishment.

3.4 Job Training

In Manila, the share of workers having undergone on-the-job training was 45 per cent for both male and female workers. In Bangkok, 41 per cent of male workers and 83 per cent of female workers had had some on-the-job training. In Seoul, 34 per cent of male workers and 21 per cent of female workers experienced job trainings. These percentages being the lowest among the four cities. The results that emerge from this survey are similar to those of 15 years ago (Bai and Cho, 1991), implying that not much progress has been made meanwhile.

As the proportion of workers with job training differs among the cities, an examination of the content of training and duration as well as the mode of financing of such training assumes significance in this context. Unfortunately, relevant information on the content of training could not be collected. The results of investigation the into the length of training contain very interesting information. In Manila, workers who took training for less than one day constituted 15 per cent of male workers and 19 per cent of female workers. In Bangkok, 29 per cent of male workers and 40 per cent of female workers and in Seoul 28 per cent of female workers received training that lasted less than one day. It can be inferred that such training can have provided only an extremely low level of skills to the concerned workers.

In Manila 53 per cent of male workers and 51 per cent of female workers received less than seven days' training; 78 per cent and 89 per cent respectively in Bangkok; and 65 per cent and 83 per cent respectively in Seoul. In Kuala Lumpur 66 per cent of male workers and 68 per cent of female workers received training that lasted less than 30 days. The main point is that the majority of both male and female workers in the four cities had had on-the-job training for low-level skills and that women workers, in particular, were disadvantaged in this respect.

The low-level skills possessed by workers can also be inferred from the content of formal, technical or vocational training which workers received prior to their employment. Table 3.6 shows that in Manila the proportion of workers who received technical or vocational training with formal qualifications was 30 per cent for both male and female workers; 17 per cent of male workers and 9 per cent of female workers in Bangkok; 16 per cent of male workers and 11 per cent of female workers in Kuala Lumpur; and 24 per cent of male workers and 7 per cent of female workers in Seoul. Compared with male workers, the percentage of female workers who had undergone technical or vocational training was uniformally low in Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and Seoul.

3.5 Promotion Opportunities

Once the workers are hired by a firm, there exist possibilities for them to improve their skills or techniques while they are working. As they accumulate human capital through learning on the job, they are able to move upward to jobs that require more knowledge/higher skills. The workers demand job advancement or promotion as they improve their skills and techniques during their working career. Consequently, promotion opportunities are of a vital concern to the workers.

Table 3.7 indicates that 79 per cent of men and 78 per cent of women in Manila responded that they had a promotion system in their firms; 67 per cent of men and 61 per cent of women in Bangkok; 88 per cent of men and 84 per cent of women in Kuala Lumpur; 79 per cent of men and 57 per cent of women in Seoul responded likewise. However, a promotion system does not necessarily guarantee actual promotion to a higher position or rank. Only 57 per cent of male workers and 50 per cent of female workers in Manila; 51 per cent of both male and female workers in Bangkok; 50 per cent of male workers and 49 per cent of female workers in Kuala Lumpur had received any promotion. On an average, half of the workers surveyed had had no promotion. In Seoul, however, only 38 per cent of male workers and 11 per cent of female workers had been promoted, which indicates that there are few opportunities for promotion among women notwithstanding the existence of a promotion system.

Table 3.5. Training received by surveyed workers during current employment (Percentage)

	Seoul		Kuala Lumpur		Bangkok		Manila	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Number of Workers with on-the-job training	33.7	20.9	78.1	83.4	41.3	28.4	45.3	45.4
Frequency of training once	–	–	41.5	47.3	9.6	9.0	24.1	27.2
More than twice	–	–	36.6	35.7	31.8	19.2	21.2	18.2
Timing of Training								
Pre-Employment	5.6	12.1	11.3	9.7	7.7	15.7	11.0	11.2
In-Service	64.7	71.4	76.8	72.3	83.8	78.8	83.9	85.1
Both	29.7	16.4	11.8	18.0	8.5	5.6	5.1	3.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Organization of Training								
Within Firm	38.2	56.8	79.2	82.7	60.2	70.6	73.8	78.7
Public Institution	30.5	31.7	3.0	3.2	21.2	15.2	6.0	3.4
Private Institution	31.3	11.5	17.9	14.1	18.5	14.2	20.3	18.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Duration of Training								
Less than a Day	7.4	27.9	6.1	7.1	29.0	40.0	14.7	19.4
Less than a Week	57.6	55.7	35.7	33.8	48.7	49.0	38.6	31.5
Less than a Month	18.2	7.1	30.0	34.7	13.9	6.6	23.7	23.9
Less than 3 Months	13.0	7.9	14.4	14.1	5.8	3.5	14.4	17.1
Less than a Year	3.0	1.4	7.8	8.5	1.5	1.0	7.3	7.9
More than a Year	0.9	–	6.1	1.7	1.2	–	1.4	0.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Source of Finance for Training								
Self	3.0	3.6	0.7	0.3	2.3	2.0	2.5	1.7
Family	0.4	3.6	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.1
Employer	89.6	69.1	85.4	84.7	81.5	68.2	87.9	86.5
Others	–	0.7	0.7	0.2	0.4	0.5	2.8	3.7
No. Fee Charged	6.9	23.0	13.1	14.6	15.8	29.3	6.5	7.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3.6. Distribution of surveyed workers by technical or vocational training

Nature of training	Male		Female		Nature of training	Male		Female	
Seoul					**Bangkok**				
With Formal Qualifications	165	(23.6)	45	(6.6)	With Formal Qualifications	105	(16.6)	64	(9.1)
With No. Formal Qualifications	86	(12.3)	27	(3.9)	With No. Formal Qualifications	119	(18.8)	95	(13.5)
No. Technical/Vocational Training	448	(64.1)	612	(89.5)	No. Technical/Vocational Training	409	(64.6)	547	(77.5)
Total	699	(100.0)	684	(100.0)	Total	633	(100.0)	706	(100.0)
Kuala Lumpur					**Manila**				
With Formal Qualifications	117	(15.8)	79	(11.2)	With Formal Qualifications	237	(30.2)	212	(30.0)
With No. Formal Qualifications	45	(6.1)	33	(4.7)	With No. Formal Qualifications	135	(17.2)	107	(13.6)
No. Technical/Vocational Training	577	(78.1)	594	(84.1)	No. Technical/Vocational Training	412	(52.6)	467	(59.4)
Total	739	(100.0)	706	(100.0)	Total	784	(100.0)	786	(100.0)

Table 3.7. Promotion of surveyed workers in current establishment

	Male	Female
Seoul		
Average Length of Service (in years)	5.16	3.53
Percentage of Workers Reporting Promotion Policy	79.20	56.80
Percentage of Workers Received Promotion	37.70	10.90
Average Number of Promotions	1.75	1.66
Kuala Lumpur		
Average Length of Service (in years)	8.55	7.63
Percentage of Workers Reporting Promotion Policy	88.20	84.10
Percentage of Workers Received Promotion	50.20	40.00
Average Number of Promotions	2.57	2.81
Bangkok		
Average Length of Service (in years)	5.90	6.00
Percentage of Workers Reporting Promotion Policy	66.70	61.20
Percentage of Workers Received Promotion	51.10	50.80
Average Number of Promotions	3.74	3.98
Manila		
Average Length of Service (in years)	10.00	9.00
Percentage of Workers Reporting Promotion Policy	78.70	77.70
Percentage of Workers Received Promotion	57.30	49.60
Average Number of Promotions	2.78	2.68

3.6 Wages and Age-Wage Profiles of Workers

According to the ILO Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1989-1990 the wages of female workers in the manufacturing sector in the Republic of Korea and Japan are about half the wages of male workers (table 3.8). In other countries, the wages of female workers are at least two-thirds and in most cases three-fourths of the wages of male workers. Monthly wages derived from the four city surveys reported in table 3.8 suggest that the wages of female workers are 80, 75, 70, and 57 per cent of those of male workers in Manila, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, and Seoul, respectively. This indicates that there are significant wage differentials between male and female workers and that the differentials are largest in Seoul.

Appendix table A.3.1 describes the wages per month and table 3.9 wages per hour, both in terms of United States dollars. If we consider wages by occupational category with reference to table 3.9, wages of female workers in production operations are lower than the average wages of female workers, but wages of female

Table 3.8. International comparison of male/female wage differentials in manufacturing in selected countries and in the four cities surveyed (Percentage: male = 100)

Country/area (1)	Ratio	Country/area (1)	Ratio	City (2)	Ratio
Kenya	68.0 (88)	Sri Lanka	68.9 (88)	Seoul	56.7 (91)
El Salvador	90.4 (87)	Japan	41.7 (89)	Kuala Lumpur	70.3 (91)
Hong Kong	73.2 (89)	Finland	76.8 (89)	Bangkok	74.9 (91)
Republic of Korea	50.5 (89)	West Germany	72.8 (89)	Manila	79.6 (91)
Denmark	84.6 (89)	Ireland	68.9 (88)		
France	79.2 (87)	Norway	85.5 (89)		
Greece	78.0 (88)	Sweden	89.5 (89)		
Netherlands	74.8 (88)	Czechoslovakia	67.9 (88)		
Switzerland	67.5 (88)	New Zealand	75.3 (89)		
United Kingdom	68.4 (89)	Singapore	57.5 (89)		
Australia	79.6 (88)				

Sources: (1) ILO, Yearbook of Labour Statistics, 1989/1990.
(2) ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP Survey, 1991.

Note: Figures in parentheses refer to the calendar year for which data are available.

Table 3.9. Standardized hourly rates of pay of surveyed workers by industry, firm/size, ratio of export, occupation and education ($US)

	Seoul		Kuala Lumpur		Bangkok		Manila	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Industry								
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	4.12	2.59	2.93	2.21	1.64	1.04	1.38	1.13
Textiles, Garments, Leather	3.97	2.27	1.47	1.30	1.44	1.00	1.00	0.79
Wood, Wood Products	3.44	1.90	1.43	0.95	0.70	0.50	0.89	1.23
Paper, Printing	4.12	2.79	2.67	2.16	1.61	1.38	0.83	0.75
Chemicals, Plastics	5.46	3.20	1.53	1.14	0.89	1.08	2.08	1.57
Non-metallic Mineral Products	2.61	1.95	2.66	2.05	1.35	1.30	1.44	1.23
Basic Metals	4.48	2.71	3.38	1.67	0.65	1.33	1.46	1.70
Fabricated Metal Products	4.12	2.53	2.89	1.86	1.53	0.91	1.38	1.12
Other Manufactures	3.33	2.27	2.85	2.12	5.75	0.65	0.92	1.03
Total	4.23	2.49	2.66	1.88	1.40	1.01	1.26	1.02
Size of Firm (workers)								
< 30	4.05	2.29	1.59	0.96	2.27	0.40	0.87	0.67
30-99	3.89	2.27	2.09	1.27	1.07	0.65	0.94	0.83
100-299	4.31	2.52	2.02	1.36	1.14	1.05	1.29	1.05
300-499	3.73	2.30	2.60	1.94	1.65	1.30	1.15	0.87
500	4.46	2.72	2.99	2.12	1.47	1.13	1.51	1.24
Ratio of Export (per cent)								
0-24	4.52	2.61	2.66	1.50	1.24	0.88	1.23	0.97
25-49	3.82	2.51	–	–	–	–	–	–
50-74 25-100	4.27	2.49	2.66	2.27	1.55	1.28	1.28	1.08
75-100	4.17	2.29	–	–	–	–	–	–
Characteristics of Firm								
Independent	4.26	2.55	2.66	1.90	1.51	0.96	1.27	1.02
Subcontract	3.25	1.81	2.58	2.14	1.18	1.12	1.08	0.78
Independent and subcontract	4.17	2.45	2.60	1.51	1.45	1.00	1.22	1.18
High/Low Wage Firms								
High-Wage	4.76	3.14	–	–	–	–	–	–
Low-Wage	3.75	2.32	–	–	–	–	–	–
Occupational category								
Professional, Technical	4.86	4.16	3.28	2.24	2.75	3.19	2.33	1.58
Managerial, Executive	5.69	4.59	6.30	4.62	4.65	3.00	3.26	2.24
Clerical and Related	4.49	2.81	2.10	1.98	1.16	1.33	1.18	1.00
Sales	4.18	3.79	3.40	2.78	–	–	1.06	0.84
Services	3.27	2.86	1.75	1.28	1.09	0.65	0.93	0.82
Skilled Production	3.84	2.21	2.48	1.54	1.35	0.95	0.87	0.78
Semi-skilled Production	3.03	2.40	1.88	1.11	1.05	0.67	0.70	0.72
Unskilled Production	2.68	1.97	1.34	0.93	0.62	0.85	0.64	0.65
Other	–	–	1.22	0.73	–	–	0.67	–
Educational Background Completed								
Middle School or Lower	3.93	2.18	1.89	1.25	0.85	0.75	0.68	0.69
Completed High School	3.82	2.47	2.47	1.83	1.23	0.86	0.82	0.74
Completed Junior College and Higher	4.86	4.07	4.68	3.30	1.81	1.53	1.75	1.32

workers in management occupations are higher than the average wages of female workers across all four cities. We can infer that the low wages of female workers result mainly from their employment in production operations in low-wage firms or industries.

We shall present below the age wage profiles of male and female workers in the four cities by occupational category. In the process, we intend to provide a clearer picture of our point of view that the low-wages of female workers in the four Asian cities surveyed can be described to their extensive deployment in the production operation. Here, white-collar workers refer to workers in professional, scientific and technical, or in managerial

and administrative occupations, while blue-collar workers refer to skilled, semi-skilled, or unskilled workers in production operations.

The age-wage table by sex for the four surveyed cities is given in the Appendix table A.3.2 while age-specific date by sex and occupation, separately for each city, are presented in Appendix tables A.3.3 to A.3.6.

(a) Manila

The age/wage table by occupation (table A.3.3) shows remarkably large wage differentials between white-collar workers and blue-collar workers in all age groups. Appreciable wage differentials are seen between male white-collar and blue-collar workers on the one hand and between female white-collar and blue-collar workers on the other.

Furthermore, large differentials are detected in the wage rates of different age groups among white-collar and blue-collar workers. While the wage movement over age groups of blue-collar workers is gradual, the wages of white-collar workers rise sharply after the age of 29, so that, with an increase in age, the wage differences among occupations tend to become larger. The differentials between male and female blue-collar workers function operations are small, but there appear to be slight but steadily widening wage differentials between men and women after the age of 39. There are no large male/female wage differentials in white-collar workers aged between 30 and 34, but the differentials become greater beginning at the age of 35. It follows that the male/female wage differentials are associated primarily with the occupational wage differentials. Secondarily, they can be attributed to the increasing male/female wage differentials after the age of 34 for female white-collar workers and after the age of 39 for female blue-collar workers.

(b) Bangkok

As shown in Appendix table A.3.4, the wage differentials between male white-collar and blue-collar workers as well as between female white-collar and blue-collar workers are large. Even among the same occupations, the wage differentials between men and women are considerable. The wage differentials between white-collar and blue-collar workers over the age of 34 become larger because of the slow increase in wages of blue-collar workers. The wages of female white-collar and blue-collar workers rise upto the age of 39 and then decline. In the case of female workers in production operations, wages rise sharply between the ages 50 to 59, which is presumably due to the bias created by the small sample size in this category.

(c) Kuala Lumpur

The age-wage table of workers in Kuala Lumpur is given in (Appendix table A.3.5). The difference between Kuala Lumpur on the one hand and Manila and Bangkok on the other consists in the fact that little wage differentials are detected in the wages of male white-collar, female white-collar and male blue-collar workers aged under 20 in Kuala Lumpur. In other age groups, noticeable wage differentials exist between male white-collar and male blue-collar workers on the one hand and between female white-collar and female blue-collar workers on the other. With an image increase, the wage rates deviate further between white-collar and blue-collar workers, yielding the wage differentials. One characteristic that Manila and Kuala Lumpur have in common is that there are no large male/female wage differentials among white-collar workers until female workers reach the ages of 30 to 34. The differentials among blue-collar workers are quite considerable. In Kuala Lumpur, the wage differentials between female and male workers in production occupations can be attributed, first, to the occupational wage difference and, second to sex discrimination existing even among the same occupations. However, Kuala Lumpur is particular to one feature that the wages rise steadily for both male and female workers until they reach the ages 40 to 49 regardless of occupation.

(d) Seoul

Appendix table A.3.6 indicates that considerable wage differentials exist between white-collar and blue-collar workers in Seoul. There are large male/female wage differentials within the same occupation. Very large wage differentials exist between male white-collar and male blue-collar workers on the one hand and between female white-collar and female blue-collar workers on the other. There is a much sharper rise in the wages of white-collar workers' compared with those of blue-collar workers.

Except for workers in production occupations aged between 20 and 24, the male/female wage differentials are extremely wide, even within the same occupation. The wage differentials between female white-collar and male blue-collar workers are not so large, in contrast to the differentials which appeared in Manila, Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur. The wages of male blue-collar workers exceed the wages of female blue-collar workers in the age group 30-39. In the case of female workers, the wages of white-collar workers decline after the age of 34 and the wages of blue-collar workers fall after the age of 29. That is, the peak wages of female workers are lower than those of male workers.

(e) Similarities and Differences

(i) The wage differentials between male white-collar and blue-collar workers and between female white-collar and blue-collar workers in the four surveyed cities of Asia are remarkably large implying that the labour market is segmented in terms of occupations.

(ii) The largest wage differential between male and female blue-collar workers appears in Seoul and in the other cities in the following order: Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok and Manila.

(iii) The largest wage differential between male and female white-collar workers exists in Seoul and in the other cities in the following order: Bangkok, Manila and Kuala Lumpur.

(iv) For female workers, the peak wages are reached at the age group 40-49 for white-collar workers and 30-34 for blue-collar workers in Manila; at the age group 35-39 for white-collar and blue-collar workers in Bangkok; at the age group 30-34 for white-collar workers and 25-29 for blue-collar workers in Seoul; and at the age group 40-49 for white-collar and blue-collar workers in Kuala Lumpur. The tendency for female workers to quit their jobs because of marriage, childbirth, child care, etc., occurs at an earlier age in Seoul, followed by Manila and Bangkok. In Kuala Lumpur, however, the tendency to withdraw from the labour market associated with marriage and childbirth appears to be weak among women workers.

3.7 Mode of Wage Payment

The mode of wage payment varies significantly across the four cities (table 3.10).

Table 3.10. Mode of wage payment to surveyed workers (Percentage)

	Seoul		Kuala Lumpur		Bangkok		Manila	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Hourly	8.3	8.7	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.1
Daily	18.1	33.0	7.3	13.6	29.7	37.3	15.3	15.4
Weekly	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.4	0.4	1.3
Monthly	71.8	56.3	90.0	85.4	69.4	56.1	31.3	35.2
Piece Rate	1.1	2.0	0.1	0.6	0.3	5.1	57.1	47.2
Others	0.6	0.0	2.3	0.4	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.8

The dominant mode of wage payment in Manila is piece rate payment, by which earnings depend on output. Fifty-seven per cent of male workers and 47 per cent of female workers were paid on a piece-rate basis; 31 per cent and 35 per cent of male and female workers, respectively, were paid on a monthly basis; and 15 per cent of male and female workers on a daily basis. Very few workers are paid on an hourly or a weekly basis. Furthermore, there seemed to be no substantial difference in the mode of wage payment between male and female workers.

Wage payments on an hourly or a weekly basis are rare in Bangkok. The dominant mode of wage payments in Bangkok is monthly wages followed by daily wages. Some 69 per cent of male workers and 56

per cent of female workers were paid on a monthly basis; and 29 per cent of male workers and 37 per cent of female workers on a daily basis.

In Kuala Lumpur, 90 per cent of male workers and 85 per cent of female workers were paid on a monthly basis; and 7 per cent of male workers and 14 per cent of female workers on a daily basis. Among the four surveyed Asian cities, the incidence of monthly wage payments was highest in Kuala Lumpur.

The main mode of wage payment was monthly wages in Seoul, where 72 per cent of the male workers and 56 per cent of female workers were paid on a monthly basis; and 18 per cent of male workers and 33 per cent of female workers on a daily basis. The proportion of female workers paid on monthly basis was lower than that of male workers, but the proportion of female workers paid on daily basis exceeded that of male workers. Also 8 per cent of male and female workers were paid on a hourly basis which is almost non-existent in Manila, Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur. A further 18 per cent of male workers and 33 per cent of female workers in Seoul were paid on a daily basis, where the earnings are entirely dependent on whether or not they show up for work. Relative to male workers, female workers in Bangkok and Seoul are disadvantaged by the insecure daily (or hourly in Seoul) wage payment system.

3.8 Fringe Benefits

The survey made inquiries regarding the availability of fringe benefits such as: cost of living allowance, accommodation or allowance in lieu, transport or transport allowance, meals or meal allowance, education allowance, paid leave, bonus, participation in pension fund and severance pay. More than 80 per cent of the surveyed workers were found to receive paid leave, bonus and severance pay in Manila; bonus in Bangkok; paid leave, bonus and participation in pension fund in Kuala Lumpur; paid leave, bonus, participation in pension fund, severance pay in Seoul (table 3.11). Less than 20 per cent of the surveyed female workers benefited from accommodation allowance and education allowance in Manila; education allowance in Bangkok; accommodation allowance and education allowance in Kuala Lumpur; accommodation allowance and cost of living allowance in Seoul. In the cases of Manila, Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur, there was no big difference between male and female workers receiving fringe benefits between the percentages of male and female workers, while in the case of Seoul it is indicated that education allowance and cost of living allowance for female workers were much lower than for male workers. In Seoul, such allowances are generally paid to male workers only since they are normally heads of households.

Table 3.11. Distribution of workers by access to various benefits (Number of persons and percentage)

	Male		Female			Male		Female	
Seoul					**Bangkok**				
Cost of living allowance	263	(37.6)	116	(16.8)	Cost of living allowance	248	(39.6)	233	(33.3)
Accommodation/allowance	50	(7.1)	68	(9.9)	Accommodation/allowance	181	(28.8)	246	(35.2)
Transport/allowance	234	(33.4)	245	(35.6)	Transport/allowance	367	(58.4)	346	(49.5)
Meals/allowance	608	(43.7)	562	(40.4)	Meals/allowance	214	(34.2)	272	(38.9)
Education allowance	296	(42.4)	156	(22.6)	Education allowance	149	(23.8)	121	(17.3)
Paid Leave	606	(86.5)	572	(83.1)	Paid Leave	508	(80.9)	484	(69.3)
Bonus	679	(96.9)	670	(97.5)	Bonus	531	(84.6)	558	(79.8)
Pension Funds	675	(96.3)	666	(96.9)	Pension Funds	267	(42.5)	227	(32.5)
Severance Pay	332	(47.4)	255	(37.1)	Severance Pay	300	(47.9)	287	(41.6)
Kuala Lumpur					**Manila**				
Cost of living allowance	257	(34.8)	256	(36.3)	Cost of living allowance	272	(34.7)	252	(32.1)
Accommodation/allowance	76	(10.3)	79	(11.2)	Accommodation/allowance	92	(11.7)	32	(4.1)
Transport/allowance	240	(32.5)	271	(38.4)	Transport/allowance	246	(31.4)	215	(27.4)
Meals/allowance	211	(28.6)	235	(33.3)	Meals/allowance	231	(29.5)	224	(28.5)
Education allowance	36	(4.9)	20	(2.8)	Education allowance	77	(9.8)	62	(7.9)
Paid Leave	735	(99.5)	703	(99.6)	Paid Leave	745	(95.0)	757	(96.3)
Bonus	703	(95.1)	675	(95.6)	Bonus	767	(97.8)	752	(95.7)
Pension Funds	732	(99.1)	697	(98.7)	Pension Funds	535	(68.3)	518	(65.9)
Severance Pay	479	(64.8)	395	(56.0)	Severance Pay	630	(80.4)	639	(81.3)

CHAPTER 4

FACTORS INFLUENCING WAGES AND PROMOTION PROBABILITY

In this chapter we discuss some of the factors that influence wages and the mobility of women workers in urban manufacturing industries. We shall analyse the wages and promotion probability of the surveyed workers to determine the differences between male and female workers in this respect. Such an analysis will help us to propose labour market measures for the improvement of women's employment and upward mobility.

Section 1 explains why we need to estimate the wage determination process and the promotion probabilities, followed by section 2 in which the actual estimation of the determinants of wages is made using the multiple regression model. In section 3, the determinants of promotion probabilities are estimated by means of a logit model. Section 4 discusses the effect of labour unionization on wages and promotion, while section 5 examines whether wages and promotion are influenced by the export-orientation of firms. Since promotion is closely related to occupational mobility, section 6 deals with the direction of occupational mobility within a given firm, comparing the first and current occupation of workers who have had at least one promotion. By combining the logit analysis in section 3 and the cross-tabulation analysis on mobility in section 6, we obtain a clearer picture of the factors influencing the mobility of women workers.

4.1 Jobs as "Investment Opportunities"

Human capital stock comprises skill and knowledge, which are acquired by learning and represent investment.

Investment in human capital does not cease with the completion of schooling. Evidence shows that the pattern of life-time earnings growth differs among persons with a similar educational background. A large part of human capital stock possessed by individuals is not acquired from formal schooling, but rather from work experience. When young workers are hired at the port of entry, they enter jobs that generally require little skill. Inexperienced young workers normally learn from their work experiences, accumulate learning and enhance their human capital stock, because most skills or job-related knowledge can best be taught in conjunction with the job being performed. Job skills, general or specific, are acquired either formally or informally through on-the-job-training (or learning) after a worker has found an entry job. Our presumption is that "a learning environment is implicit in every assignment of work routine and each job is associated with a definite amount of learning opportunity and work activity".[1] Stated briefly, learning and work are complementary products. Jobs are therefore seen as offering a variety of investment opportunities.

The current job may be seen as a stepping stone to the next rank or higher position. Workers may progress through a hierarchy of jobs over time as they accumulate skills. Firms may or may not provide a great variety of learning opportunities. Those with a larger number of activities or jobs, arranged in ascending order with respect to learning required to perform the job, will offer greater job opportunities at the next or higher rank.

However, if more workers are hired at the junior job level than there are vacancies higher up the hierarchy, some workers will not be promoted even if they have acquired substantial skills or learning. Consequently they will seek jobs offering the desired position elsewhere.

It goes without saying that individual workers have a vital interest in wage increase and promotion (Parsons and Cho, 1989). Since longitudinal data on individual workers' wage increase and promotion are unavailable, an alternative way to examine their prospects in this respect is to estimate the determinants of wages and promotion using cross-sectional information.

[1] Rosen (1975), p. 206.

4.2 Wage Determination Process

In this section, we shall identify the determinants of wage diversity using a standard earnings function. The availability of data on hourly rates of pay and the individual workers' characteristics as well as the employers' characteristics make it possible to fit the following earnings function:

$$LN\ WAGEi = XiB + ui \quad \text{..... equation (4.1)}$$

WAGEi is the respondent's gross hourly rate of pay in U.S. dollars and Xi is specified as follows:

Xi = (EDUCATION DUMMIES, TEN, TENSQ, EX, EXSQ, TRAINING DUMMY, OCCUPATIONAL DUMMIES, INDUSTRY DUMMIES, FIRMSIZE DUMMIES, EXPORT DUMMY, UNION DUMMY, SEX DUMMY)

Table 4.1. Definitions of variables

Dependent Variables	
LNWAGE	The natural log of the respondent's gross rate of pay per hour at the current job (in 1990 U.S. dollars). The gross rate of pay = monthly earning/(hours per day x number of days worked per week x 4.345).
PROMOT	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent actually has had promotions or merit increments in his/her present establishment, zero otherwise.
Independent Variables	
ED12	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent completed primary school or his highest education level is below primary school, zero otherwise.
ED30	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent completed lower secondary school, zero otherwise.
ED50	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent has some college education or completed junior college, zero otherwise.
ED60	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent has college degree or more, zero otherwise.
EXPER	Actual number of years passed excluding current job tenure since the respondent reports having completed the schooling as of the date of the interview (measure of experience). EXPER = Age – Years of Education – 6 – Tenure
EXPSQ	$(EXPER)^2$
TEN	The number of years that the respondent has been with his current employer.
TENSQ	$(TEN)^2$
MAR	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent is married, zero otherwise.
MIGR	Dummy equal to 1 if the place of usual residence when the respondent was aged 12 years is outside the city surveyed, zero otherwise.
OJT	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent received or availed himself of training facilities for skill improvement either on the current job or during the previous job or during the first employment in the city surveyed, zero otherwise.
JOB1	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent is a professional, techincal or administrator, zero otherwise.
JOB2	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent is a clerical worker, zero otherwise.
JOB3	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent is a sales or service worker, zero otherwise.
JOB4	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent is a semi-skilled production labourer, zero otherwise.
JOB5	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent is an unskilled production worker, zero otherwise.
LIGHT1	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent is employed in light industries other than textile, garments and leather industries, zero otherwise.
HEAVY1	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent is employed in manufacture of fabricated metal products, zero otherwise.
HEAVY2	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent is employed in other heavy industries other than fabricated metals, zero otherwise.
FD13	Dummy equal to 1 if the number of employees at the respondent's workplace is greater than or equal to 100, but less than 300, zero otherwise.
FD35	Dummy equal to 1 if the number of employees at the respondent's workplace is greater than or equal to 300, but less than 500, zero otherwise.
FD50	Dummy equal to 1 if the number of employees at the respondent's workplace is greater than or equal to 500, zero otherwise.
EXPD2	Dummy equal to 1 if at least 25 per cent of the main product during the preceding year was for the export market, zero otherwise. For Seoul, Republic of Korea, the share of exports out of total sales categorized into 0-24 per cent, 25-49 per cent, 50-74 per cent and 75-100 per cent. EXPD2, EXPD3 and EXPD4 are dummies representing the export ratio of 25-49 per cent, 50-74 per cent and 75-100 per cent, respectively.
UNION	Dummy equal to 1 if the respondent's workplace is unionized, zero otherwise.

The education, tenure, experience and OJT variables are proxies for the individual's investment in productivity-augmenting human capital. The coefficients of education dummies can be interpreted as the systematic differences in terms of percentages between the wage of the ith education group and the wage of the reference group, say, high school graduate, all other factors being held constant. The signs of coefficients of the labour market experience and job tenure are expected to be positive and the signs of coefficients of TENSQ and EXPSQ are expected to be negative, reflecting diminishing rates of return on human capital investment over the life cycle.

MAR and MIGR are variables controlling for the individual's demographic characteristics. The other control variables are industrial dummies, occupational dummies and dummies capturing establishment characteristics such as firm size, the export ratio and the union/non-union firm.

The estimated coefficients are reported in table 4.2. The central explanatory variable of interest is the sex dummy variable. The wage differential between male and female workers in Manila is estimated at 8 per cent; in Bangkok 13 per cent; in Kuala Lumpur 25 per cent; and in Seoul 23 per cent.

Table 4.2. Least squares estimates of the earnings function

	Seoul		Kuala Lumpur		Bangkok		Manila	
CONSTANT	0.602	(15.40)	–0.383	(5.42)	–0.847	(11.27)	–3.321	(62.86)
ED12	–0.231	(4.88)	–0.449	(8.77)	–0.283	(6.02)	–0.230	(4.50)
ED30	–0.109	(4.16)	–0.271	(7.91)	–0.224	(3.33)	–0.145	(3.35)
ED50	0.039	(1.13)	0.233	(5.84)	0.146	(3.58)	0.060	(1.76)
ED60	0.156	(5.56)	0.839	(15.37)	0.692	(8.18)	0.301	(8.32)
TEN	0.045	(8.03)	0.055	(10.23)	0.048	(6.72)	0.031	(6.14)
TENSQ	–0.0008	(2.80)	–0.0007	(3.82)	–0.0003	(1.07)	–0.0007	(3.78)
EX	0.011	(3.50)	0.046	(9.20)	0.025	(3.85)	0.016	(3.61)
EXSQ	–0.0002	(2.67)	–0.001	(6.07)	–0.0004	(1.89)	–0.0002	(1.42)
MAR	0.113	(5.05)	0.077	(2.84)	–0.004	(0.12)	0.093	(3.57)
MIGR	0.003	(0.19)	–0.073	(3.02)	–0.087	(2.96)	–0.013	(0.61)
OJT	0.058	(3.30)	0.056	(1.68)	0.092	(3.03)	0.141	(5.92)
JOB1	0.270	(8.96)	0.290	(6.05)	0.607	(7.40)	0.623	(14.45)
JOB2	0.167	(7.09)	0.186	(4.16)	0.141	(2.82)	0.107	(3.40)
JOB3	–		–0.205	(3.84)	–0.101	(1.37)	–	
JOB5	0.022	(0.93)	–0.194	(4.43)	–0.064	(1.40)	0.002	(0.07)
JOB6	–0.028	(0.89)	–0.273	(5.68)	–0.116	(2.80)	–0.067	(1.46)
LIGHT1	–0.040	(1.42)	–0.029	(0.35)	–0.050	(1.13)	–0.040	(1.33)
HEAVY1	0.056	(2.17)	0.123	(3.87)	0.087	(1.89)	0.170	(4.68)
HEAVY2	0.065	(2.30)	–0.079	(1.85)	–0.045	(1.03)	0.268	(7.96)
FD13	0.117	(4.57)	0.059	(1.20)	0.140	(3.18)	0.199	(5.60)
FD35	–0.010	(0.31)	0.263	(5.23)	0.373	(7.16)	0.210	(4.86)
FD50	0.137	(4.81)	0.187	(4.41)	0.246	(5.65)	0.304	(8.10)
EXPD2	–0.121	(4.12)	–		–		–	
EXPD3	0.007	(0.26)	–0.021	(0.66)	–0.037	(1.18)	–0.031	(1.26)
EXPD4	–0.139	(5.89)						
UNION	–0.098	(4.22)	0.097	(2.78)	0.029	(0.87)	–0.0008	(0.02)
SEXD	–0.234	(11.87)	0.245	(10.26)	0.129	(4.41)	0.084	(3.71)
R2	0.63		0.63		0.60		0.50	
N	1,279		1,433		1,322		1,544	
Mean[a]	1.109		0.549		–0.263		–2.432	

Notes: 1. Computed from ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP Survey (1991) data.
2. Figures in parentheses, indicate the absolute values of the t-ratios.

[a] Mean of dependent variable.

Recognition that the wage determination process differs between male and female workers leads to the sample separation for each sex, and the regression results are reported in table 4.3 to table 4.6.

The major findings are summarized as follow:

Table 4.3. Least squares estimates of the earnings function by sex (Seoul)

	Male		Female			Male		Female	
CONSTANT	0.745	(12.56)	0.552	(10.29)	JOB6	–0.009	(0.16)	0.033	(0.85)
ED12	–0.235	(2.51)	–0.154	(2.68)	LIGHT1	0.012	(0.28)	–0.024	(0.64)
ED30	–0.040	(0.93)	–0.123	(3.75)	HEAVY1	0.080	(2.27)	0.067	(1.74)
ED50	–0.054	(1.19)	0.196	(3.53)	HEAVY2	0.071	(1.88)	0.052	(1.25)
ED60	0.131	(3.81)	0.364	(4.57)	FD13	0.132	(3.30)	0.151	(4.45)
TEN	0.041	(5.38)	0.055	(6.09)	FD35	0.043	(0.81)	–0.003	(0.07)
TENSQ	–0.0008	(2.08)	–0.001	(2.41)	FD50	0.146	(3.49)	0.165	(4.30)
EX	0.026	(4.75)	0.0005	(0.14)	EXPD2	–0.165	(4.21)	–0.065	(1.46)
EXSQ	–0.0006	(3.51)	–0.00005	(0.49)	EXPD3	0.024	(0.59)	–0.030	(0.76)
MAR	0.127	(4.18)	0.118	(3.41)	EXPD4	–0.199	(5.19)	–0.127	(4.16)
MIGR	0.014	(0.61)	–0.013	(0.56)	UNION	–0.103	(2.88)	–0.078	(2.52)
OJT	0.073	(3.06)	0.052	(2.06)					
JOB1	0.260	(6.84)	0.354	(5.60)	R2	0.52		0.44	
JOB2	0.190	(5.17)	0.165	(5.42)	N	649		629	
JOB3	–		–		Mean[a]	1.361		0.851	
JOB5	–0.016	(0.38)	-0.094	(3.20)					

Notes: 1. Computed from ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP Survey (1991) data.
2. Figures in parentheses indicate the absolute values of the t-ratios.

[a] Mean of dependent variable.

Table 4.4. Least squares estimates of the earnings function by sex (Kuala Lumpur)

	Male		Female			Male		Female	
CONSTANT	–0.285	(2.83)	–0.351	(3.58)	JOB5	–0.087	(1.43)	–0.160	(2.41)
ED12	–0.495	(7.00)	–0.372	(4.96)	JOB6	–0.271	(4.15)	–0.218	(3.07)
ED30	–0.293	(6.19)	–0.223	(4.54)	LIGHT1	-0.050	(0.34)	–0.024	(0.24)
ED50	0.294	(4.97)	0.177	(3.41)	HEAVY1	0.155	(3.47)	0.099	(2.19)
ED60	0.902	(11.60)	0.817	(10.90)	HEAVY2	–0.096	(1.68)	–0.094	(1.43)
TEN	0.073	(9.24)	0.041	(5.50)	FD13	0.081	(1.14)	0.077	(1.18)
TENSQ	–0.001	(4.52)	–0.0003	(1.10)	FD35	0.213	(3.09)	0.306	(4.17)
EX	0.056	(8.34)	0.026	(3.09)	FD50	0.217	(3.63)	0.229	(3.79)
EXSQ	–0.001	(6.24)	–0.0002	(0.85)	EXPD	0.082	(1.85)	–0.131	(2.76)
MAR	0.100	(2.37)	0.069	(2.01)	UNION	0.064	(1.30)	0.101	(2.07)
MIGR	–0.059	(1.67)	–0.077	(2.41)					
OJT	0.051	(1.08)	0.106	(2.21)	R2	0.61		0.65	
JOB1	0.168	(2.56)	0.415	(5.85)	N	732		700	
JOB2	0.073	(1.20)	0.341	(5.07)	Mean[a]	0.714		0.377	
JOB3	–0.200	(2.87)	–0.157	(1.85)					

Notes: 1. Computed from ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP Survey (1991) data.
2. Figures in parentheses indicate the absolute values of the t-ratios.

[a] Mean of dependent variable.

(i) Education

The estimated coefficient of education dummy represents the percentage of wage difference between high school graduates and ith education group. The per-hour wage of female college graduates is higher than that of female high school graduates by 24 per cent, 64 per cent, 82 per cent and 36 per cent in Manila, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and Seoul, respectively. Female high school graduates receive higher per-hour wages than female middle school graduates by 20 per cent, 22 per cent and 12 per cent in Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and Seoul, respectively. But little wage difference is detected in Manila between these two educational groups. The estimation results in general show that investment in education yields high returns. In particular, investment in college education produced very high returns in Kuala Lumpur and Bangkok. Therefore, it can be inferred from our estimation that the upgrading of women's economic status is directly linked to their educational level.

Table 4.5. Least squares estimates of the earnings function by sex (Bangkok)

	Male		Female			Male		Female	
CONSTANT	-0.370	(3.63)	-1.167	(11.00)	JOB5	-0.173	(2.62)	0.057	(0.87)
ED12	-0.270	(4.03)	-0.254	(3.85)	JOB6	-0.341	(5.49)	0.045	(0.78)
ED30	-0.219	(2.01)	-0.201	(2.30)	LIGHT1	-0.023	(0.35)	-0.010	(0.17)
ED50	0.136	(2.44)	0.147	(2.41)	HEAVY1	0.033	(0.56)	0.122	(1.66)
ED60	0.692	(5.87)	0.639	(5.24)	HEAVY2	-0.120	(2.12)	0.076	(1.13)
TEN	0.040	(3.87)	0.055	(5.49)	FD13	-0.023	(0.35)	0.247	(4.19)
TENSQ	-0.00004	(0.11)	-0.0005	(1.27)	FD35	0.217	(2.99)	0.473	(6.26)
EX	0.019	(2.06)	0.026	(2.88)	FD50	0.056	(0.85)	0.382	(6.49)
EXSQ	0.0001	(0.52)	-0.0005	(2.16)	EXPD	-0.047	(1.00)	-0.045	(1.03)
MAR	-0.055	(1.16)	0.024	(0.58)	UNION	-0.002	(0.05)	0.034	(0.73)
MIGR	-0.103	(2.55)	-0.052	(1.24)					
OJT	0.066	(1.56)	0.122	(2.84)	R2	0.64		0.55	
JOB1	0.574	(5.23)	0.659	(5.22)	N	623		698	
JOB2	0.029	(0.40)	0.282	(3.82)	Mean[a]	-0.095		-0.413	
JOB3	-0.199	(2.02)	0.035	(0.32)					

Notes: 1. Computed from ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP Survey (1991) data.

2. Figures in parentheses indicate the absolute values of the t-ratios.

[a] Mean of dependent variable.

Table 4.6. Least squares estimates of the earnings function by sex (Manila)

	Male		Female			Male		Female	
CONSTANT	-3.292	(46.20)	-3.245	(42.69)	JOB5	0.037	(0.65)	0.043	(0.76)
ED12	-0.313	(4.39)	-0.128	(1.72)	JOB6	-0.088	(1.29)	-0.048	(0.77)
ED30	-0.228	(3.78)	-0.053	(0.85)	LIGHT1	-0.035	(0.82)	-0.039	(0.92)
ED50	0.128	(2.79)	-0.016	(0.31)	HEAVY1	0.171	(3.40)	0.175	(3.32)
ED60	0.385	(7.51)	0.236	(4.62)	HEAVY2	0.256	(5.76)	0.284	(5.51)
TEN	0.049	(6.64)	0.016	(2.29)	FD13	0.193	(3.90)	0.185	(3.60)
TENSQ	-0.001	(4.73)	-0.0002	(0.96)	FD35	0.156	(2.53)	0.233	(3.82)
EX	0.016	(2.74)	0.015	(2.33)	FD50	0.275	(5.16)	0.330	(6.21)
EXSQ	-0.0001	(0.66)	-0.0003	(1.43)	EXPD	0.040	(1.13)	-0.108	(3.05)
MAR	0.063	(1.54)	0.111	(3.27)	UNION	-0.045	(1.07)	0.016	(0.38)
MIGR	-0.034	(1.07)	0.017	(0.55)					
OJT	0.136	(4.07)	0.151	(4.49)	R2	0.54		0.46	
JOB1	0.592	(9.88)	0.652	(10.50)	N	765		778	
JOB2	0.064	(1.50)	0.144	(3.05)	Mean[a]	-2.371		-2.493	
JOB3	-		-						

Notes: 1. Computed from ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP Survey (1991) data.

2. Figures in parentheses indicate the absolute values of the t-ratios.

[a] Mean of dependent variable.

Recent information of enrolment rates of primary, secondary and tertiary schools in the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia and the Republic of Korea is tabulated in table 4.7. The enrolment rate in tertiary school was 38 per cent (in 1989) in the Philippines, 13 per cent (in 1989) in Thailand, 7 per cent (in 1988) in Malaysia and 39 per cent (1990) in the Pepublic of Korea. Expansion of college education for women is needed in Thailand and Malaysia. The enrolment rate in secondary school was 73 per cent in the Philippines, 51 per cent in Thailand, 57 per cent in Malaysia and 87 per cent in the Republic of Korea. Therefore, the Philippines, Thailand and Malaysia need to strengthen secondary education. Owing to the non-availability of information on the enrolment rates by sex, the distribution of the educational levels of the survey respondents in the four Asian cities will be examined instead. Table 4.8, shows that the manufacturing sector in Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur employed 51 and 41 per cent of female workers with less than middle school education, respectively. Those with more than a high school education accounted for 30, 18, 38 and 64 per cent of female workers in Manila, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and Seoul, respectively. The statistics quoted above demonstrate that the

Table 4.7. School enrolment ratios in the countries of the surveyed cities, Japan and the United States of America

	Year	Primary			Secondary			Tertiary		
		Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
Republic of Korea	1990	108	107	110	87	88	85	39.2	51.4	25.9
Malaysia	1988	99	99	99	57	56	58	6.6	7.1	6.2
Thailand	1989	112	117	108	51	63	39	12.7	16.2	8.9
Philippines	1989	111	111	110	73	72	75	38.0[a]	35.5	40.3
Japan	1989	102	102	102	96	94	97	30.7	36.8	24.2
U.S.A.	1986	100	101	100	98	98	99	59.6	55.5	63.7

Source: *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1990.*

Note: [a] Figure for 1985.

Table 4.8. Distribution of surveyed workers by educational level (Number of persons and percentage)

Educational level	Male		Female		Educational level	Male		Female	
Seoul					**Bangkok**				
No. Schooling	1	(0.1)	10	(1.5)	No. Schooling	1	(0.2)	6	(0.9)
Completed Primary School	12	(1.7)	58	(8.4)	Completed Primary School	162	(25.6)	300	(42.5)
Completed Middle School	80	(11.4)	132	(19.2)	Completed Lower Secondary	24	(3.8)	56	(7.4)
Completed High School	345	(49.3)	441	(64.2)	Completed Middle Secondary	127	(20.1)	124	(17.6)
Junior College	56	(8.0)	29	(4.2)	Vocational School	6	(1.0)	4	(0.6)
University Graduate	200	(28.6)	16	(2.3)	Junior College/Higher Secondary	253	(40.0)	180	(25.5)
Other	6	(0.9)	1	(0.2)	University Graduate	60	(0.5)	40	(5.7)
Total	700	(100.0)	687	(100.0)	Total	633	(100.0)	706	(100.0)
Kuala Lumpur					**Manila**				
No. Schooling	2	(0.3)	6	(0.9)	No Schooling	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Not Completed Primary	22	(3.0)	21	(3.0)	Grades 1-4	6	(0.8)	0	(0.0)
Completed Primary	87	(11.8)	80	(11.3)	Grades 5-6	49	(6.3)	51	(6.5)
Completed Lower Secondary	215	(29.1)	180	(25.5)	Some Years of Secondary	69	(8.8)	67	(8.5)
Completed Upper Secondary	239	(32.3)	269	(38.1)	Completed Secondary	211	(26.9)	212	(30.0)
Vocational/Technical School	26	(3.5)	9	(1.3)	Vocational Education	60	(7.7)	61	(7.8)
Junior College/Sixth Form	30	(4.1)	35	(5.0)	Some Years of College	153	(19.5)	108	(13.7)
Certificate/Diploma	64	(8.7)	63	(8.9)	Completed College/ Post-Graduate	236	(30.1)	287	(36.5)
University Graduate/Professional	54	(7.3)	43	(6.1)	Total	784	(100.0)	786	(100.0)
Total	739	(100.0)	706	(100.0)					

Philippines, Thailand and Malaysia need to put strong emphasis on secondary education in order to improve the economic status of female workers, as the returns on investment in secondary and tertiary education are extremely high in these countries. Notwithstanding the high gains from college education as well as the high college enrolment rate of female workers (40 per cent as of 1990) in the Republic of Korea, the fact that an extremely small number of female college graduates are employed in the manufacturing sector suggests the existence of sex discrimination in the labour market. It follows that any upgradation of the economic status of women workers in the Republic of Korea could not be achieved without relaxation of the existing discriminatory practices.

(ii) Tenure and Years of Job Experience

Since tenure is a continuous variable, the percentage rate of wage increase associated with one year increase in tenure is written as follows:

$$\frac{\partial LNWAGE}{\partial TENURE} = \frac{(\partial WAGE/\partial TENURE)}{WAGE}$$

= estimated coefficient of TEN + 2 x (estimated coefficient of TENSQ)

In the same manner, the percentage rate of wage increase with respect to one year increase in job experience (EXPER) is measured by estimated coefficient of EXPER/2 x (estimated coefficient of EXPSQ). Table 4.9 summarizes the effects of tenure and years of job experience on wage increase.

Table 4.9. Tenure effect and experience effect on rate of wage increase of surveyed workers (Percentage)

Tenure/experience effect	Male	Female	Tenure/experience effect	Male	Female
Seoul			**Bangkok**		
Tenure	4.0	5.2	Tenure	4.0	5.5
Experience	2.5	-	Experience	2.0	2.5
Kuala Lumpur			**Manila**		
Tenure	7.0	4.1	Tenure	4.7	1.7
Experience	5.4	2.6	Experience	1.7	1.5

The female wage increase associated with one year rise in tenure is estimated 1.7 per cent in Manila, 5.5 per cent in Bangkok, 4.1 per cent in Kuala Lumpur and 5.2 per cent in Seoul. A large difference in returns on one year increase in tenure between male and female workers occurs in Kuala Lumpur and Manila where returns on one year increase in tenure for male workers are 1.7 times and 2.8 times as high as returns for female workers, respectively.

The wage increase on account of one year increase in job experience is marked by 1.5 per cent in Manila, 2.5 per cent in Bangkok and 2.6 per cent in Kuala Lumpur, but no statistically significant relation exists in Seoul. In Kuala Lumpur, returns associated with years of job experience for female workers deviate from those for male workers by a large magnitude.

The fact that the effect of tenure is greater than the that of years of job experience implies that withdrawal by female workers from the labour market for reasons of marriage, childbirth and childcare places them at a substantial disadvantage. In Seoul, as shown in table 3.7, the average years of tenure of female workers was 3.5 years, which is half the average in Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur. Thus, measures at the firm level to promote long-term tenure of female workers are urgently needed in the case of Seoul.

(iii) On-the-Job Training (OJT)

OJT is treated as a dummy variable indicating whether or not workers in the four surveyed cities underwent job training to enhance their proficiency during their first employment, prior to the present one or their present employment.

Training of women workers for skill improvement has a decisive effect on wage determination. The wage premium for female workers who received on-the-job training is 15 per cent higher in Manila, 12 per cent in Bangkok, 11 per cent in Kuala Lumpur and 5 per cent in Seoul compared with those who did not receive on-the-job training. In addition to education, on-the-job training for female workers is closely associated with their wage increase as is seen in all four cities serveyed.

The proportion of workers having received on-the-job training in the first job or the job prior to the present one or the present job is presented in table 4.10. The ratios are comparatively lower in Manila and Seoul which underlines the need for further extension of the on-the-job training programme in the above cities.

Table 4.10. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers having received on-the-job training

	Seoul	Kuala Lumpur	Bangkok	Manila
Male	48.5	81.7	81.7	48.1
Female	42.4	86.0	86.0	32.7

(iv) Occupational Wage Differentials

In Kuala Lumpur and Bangkok, the dummy variables associated with types of occupation are represented by JOB1 for professional and managerial occupations, JOB2 for clerical occupations, JOB3 for sales and services, JOB4 for semi-skilled production occupations, JOB5 for unskilled production occupations and a reference group for skilled production occupations. In case of Seoul and Manila, sales and services are included in JOB2 owing to the lack of an adequate number of samples. Other variables and the reference group are the same as the cases of Kuala Lumpur and Bangkok.

The estimation results presented in table 4.3 to table 4.6 show marked occupational wage differentials. Relative to the wage paid to skilled female production workers, in Manila, the wage premium attached to the professional female managers and the white-collar female workers excluding the professional managers is 65 per cent and 14 per cent, respectively. In Bangkok, the wage premium given to the professional female managers and the clerical female white-collar workers is 66 per cent and 28 per cent, respectively, relative to the wage of skilled female production workers. In Kuala Lumpur, the comparable premium is 42 per cent and 34 per cent, respectively. In Seoul, the wage premium for the professional female managers is 35 per cent while a 17 per cent premium is given to other female white-collar workers excluding professional managers.

The distribution of workers in terms of occupations in table 4.11 indicates a lower share of professional managerial female workers relative to their male counterparts, in Bangkok and Seoul. If a high premium were

Table 4.11. Distribution of surveyed workers by occupation
(Numbers of persons and percentage)

Occupation	Male		Female		Occupation	Male		Female	
Seoul					**Bangkok**				
Professional/Technical	62	(8.8)	21	(3.1)	Professional/Technical	13	(2.1)	9	(1.3)
Managerial	106	(15.1)	10	(1.5)	Managerial	58	(9.2)	30	(4.3)
Clerical	166	(23.7)	186	(27.0)	Clerical	58	(9.2)	98	(13.9)
Sales	19	(2.7)	1	(0.2)	Sales	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Services	7	(1.0)	3	(0.4)	Services	29	(4.6)	30	(4.3)
Skilled Production	222	(31.7)	195	(28.3)	Skilled Production	206	(32.5)	151	(21.4)
Semi-skilled Production	78	(11.1)	180	(26.1)	Semi-skilled Production	90	(14.2)	131	(18.6)
Unskilled Production	41	(5.9)	93	(13.5)	Unskilled Production	179	(28.3)	257	(36.4)
Total	701	(100.0)	689	(100.0)	Total	633	(100.0)	706	(100.0)
Kuala Lumpur					**Manila**				
Professional/Technical	100	(13.5)	97	(13.7)	Professional/Technical	16	(2.0)	16	(2.0)
Managerial	72	(9.7)	73	(10.3)	Managerial	103	(13.1)	102	(13.0)
Clerical	68	(9.2)	99	(14.0)	Clerical	170	(21.7)	190	(24.2)
Sales	75	(10.2)	47	(6.7)	Sales	11	(1.4)	3	(0.4)
Services	78	(10.6)	43	(6.1)	Services	24	(3.1)	7	(0.9)
Skilled Production	117	(15.8)	65	(9.2)	Skilled Production	341	(43.5)	332	(42.2)
Semi-skilled Production	105	(14.2)	192	(27.2)	Semi-skilled Production	71	(9.1)	77	(9.8)
Unskilled Production	78	(10.6)	79	(11.2)	Unskilled Production	47	(6.0)	59	(7.5)
Other	46	(6.2)	11	(1.6)	Other	1	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Total	739	(100.0)	706	(100.0)	Total	783	(100.0)	786	(100.0)

Note: Skilled production workers are defined as those with 5 years of occupational experience or more, semi-skilled as those with 1 to 4 years of occupational experience, and unskilled as those with less than 1 year of occupational experience.

given to workers in the higher skilled occupations, the economic status of women workers in Bangkok and Seoul would improve provided that entry into such occupations were facilitated.

(v) Wage Differentials in Terms of Size of Firm and Industry

The dummy variables representing the size of firms are defined as FD13 for firms with 100-300 workers; FD35 for firms with 300-500 workers; and a reference group of firms with less than 100 workers.

Wage differentials by size of firm are common phenomena in the four cities surveyed. In the case of female workers in Manila, the wage premiums of firms with 300-500 workers and firms with more than 500 workers are 23 per cent and 33 per cent, respectively, higher than the wages paid by firms with less than 100 workers, in Manila; the comparable figures are 47 per cent and 38 per cent, respectively, in Bangkok; and 31 per cent and 23 per cent in Kuala Lumpur. The wage premium of firms with more than 500 workers in Seoul is 17 per cent.

The industry dummy variables are as follows: LIGHT1 (textile industry) HEAVY1 (fabricated metal industry), HEAVY2 (heavy and chemicals industry excluding fabricated metals industry); the light industries, excluding the textile industry, are a reference group.

In contrast to the practice in the light industries excluding the textile industry, no wage premiums are given to workers employed in the textile industry. That is, all other conditions being equal, the wage of female workers in the light industry is equalized. But the fabricated metals industry pays higher wages than the light industries excluding the textile industry. The wage premium given by the fabricated metals industry relative to the light industries, excluding the textile industry, is 18 per cent in Manila, 12 per cent in Bangkok, 10 per cent in Kuala Lumpur and 7 per cent in Seoul.

The effects of unionized firms and export-oriented firms on wages will be discussed in sections 4 and 5 of this chapter, and the effects of migrant status will be discussed in section 6 of Chapter 5.

4.3 Determinants of Promotion Probability – Logit Analysis

Let us assume that the promotion probability, P (PROMOT = 1), can be described by the logit function:

$$P(PROMOT = 1 \mid Zi) = \frac{\exp^{Zi\gamma}}{1 + \exp^{Zi\gamma}} \quad \text{equation (4.2)}$$

where γ is a parameter vector and Zi is the matrix consisting of the values taken by each of m explanatory variables by each individual.

The dependent variable in equation (4.2) is the promotion probability variable, which measures dichotomously ex-post observations on whether the worker actually had promotions or merits increments in his/her present establishment or not.

As the explanatory variables determining the worker's promotion probability, education, tenure, years of job experience and OJT are considered, all of them represent the accumulation of human capital stock. In addition, control variables are dummy variables which represent occupation, industry, size of firm, export ratio and labour union. The definitions of variables are given in table 4.1.

The estimation of equation (4.2) is performed after transforming it into equation (4.3) or equation (4.4).

$$\log_e \frac{P(PROMOT = 1 \mid Zi)}{1 - P(PROMOT = 1 \mid Zi)} = Zi\gamma \quad \text{equation (4.3)}$$

or

$$\log_e \frac{P(PROMOT = 1 \mid Zi)}{P(PROMOT = 0 \mid Zi)} = Zi\gamma \quad \text{equation (4.4)}$$

The Maximum Likelihood Estimation Method is used to estimate equation (4.4); the results are reported in table 4.12.

In table 4.12, an asterisk(*) is attached to the estimated coefficient which is statistically significant at a significance level of 10 per cent. Two asterisks(**) indicate the estimated coefficient significant at 5 per cent and three asterisks(***) significant at 1 per cent. Table 4.12 shows that workers with higher education or longer tenure turn out to have a higher promotion probability. With no exception, OJT exerts an important influence on the promotion probability of workers in Manila, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and Seoul.

The impact of industrial affiliations is as follows: Manila is statistically significant only in HEAVY1; Bangkok is statistically significant only in HEAVY2; Kuala Lumpur is statistically significant only in HEAVY1; Seoul is statistically significant in LIGHT1, HEAVY1 and HEAVY2.

The promotion probability is significantly influenced by FD13 and FD35 in Manila, FD13, FD35 and FD50 in Bangkok, and FD35 and FD50 in Kuala Lumpur, indicating that promotion probability is positively correlated with the size of the firms. FD13, FD35 and FD50 in Seoul, however, have no systematic influence on promotion probability.

The impact of occupational affiliation is as follows: In Manila and Seoul, the promotion probability of workers in the professional and managerial occupations is shown to be higher than that of workers in the skilled production occupation. In Manila, the promotion probability of workers in the clerical occupation is also higher than that of workers in the skilled production occupation. Such phenomenon, however, does not appear in our estimation results for Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur. Especially in Kuala Lumpur, the promotion probability of

Table 4.12. The logit estimates of the determinants of promotion probability

	Seoul		Kuala Lumpur		Bangkok		Manila	
CONSTANT	-4.213	(0.45)***	-2.237	(0.41)***	-1.448	(0.34)***	-2.153	(0.27)***
ED12	-1.447	(0.71)**	-0.793	(0.30)***	0.515	(0.21)**	-0.113	(0.25)
ED30	-0.375	(0.27)	-0.375	(0.20)*	-0.035	(0.30)	-0.121	(0.21)
ED50	0.416	(0.33)	-0.157	(0.22)	-0.347	(0.18)*	-0.010	(0.17)
ED60	0.395	(0.26)	-0.332	(0.29)	0.456	(0.37)	0.117	(0.18)
TEN	0.488	(0.06)***	0.314	(0.03)***	0.198	(0.03)***	0.169	(0.03)***
TENSQ	-0.015	(0.003)***	-0.007	(0.001)***	-0.006	(0.001)***	-0.004	(0.001)***
EX	0.030	(0.40)	-0.068	(0.55)**	-0.045	(0.03)	-0.027	(0.02)
EXSQ	-0.003	(0.002)*	0.001	(0.001)	0.001	(0.001)	0.001	(0.001)
MAR	0.379	(0.22)*	0.108	(0.15)	0.123	(0.14)	-0.043	(0.13)
MIGR	0.143	(0.17)	0.073	(0.14)	0.096	(0.13)	0.048	(0.11)
OJT	0.497	(0.17)***	0.750	(0.20)***	0.336	(0.13)**	0.629	(0.12)***
JOB1	0.793	(0.28)***	0.091	(0.28)	0.665	(0.36)*	1.101	(0.23)***
JOB2	0.185	(0.23)	-0.447	(0.25)*	0.134	(0.22)	0.648	(0.16)***
JOB3		-	-1.505	(0.31)***	0.490	(0.33)		-
JOB5	-0.027	(0.27)	-0.608	(0.25)**	0.194	(0.20)	0.521	(0.20)**
JOB6	-0.498	(0.57)	-1.377	(0.29)***	-0.242	(0.18)	-0.376	(0.24)
LIGHT1	0.936	(0.32)***	-0.332	(0.52)	-0.435	(0.20)**	-0.196	(0.15)
HEAVY1	0.544	(0.27)**	0.403	(0.19)**	-0.290	(0.21)	0.204	(0.18)
HEAVY2	0.605	(0.29)**	-0.0005	(0.27)	-0.764	(0.20)***	0.361	(0.17)**
FD13	0.133	(0.26)	0.079	(0.30)	0.955	(0.20)***	0.678	(0.18)***
FD35	0.076	(0.37)	1.156	(0.30)***	0.713	(0.24)***	0.741	(0.22)***
FD50	-0.426	(0.30)	0.782	(0.25)***	0.407	(0.20)**	0.315	(0.19)*
ESPD2	0.432	(0.28)		-		-		-
ESPD3	0.313	(0.30)	0.087	(0.19)	0.423	(0.14)***	0.270	(0.13)**
EXPD4	-0.369	(0.26)		-		-		-
UNION	-0.564	(0.25)**	-0.235	(0.21)	0.076	(0.15)	-0.056	(0.15)
SEXD	0.971	(0.22)***	0.246	(0.14)*	-0.034	(0.13)	0.334	(0.11)***

Notes: 1. Computed from ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP Survey (1991) data.
2. Figures in parentheses indicate the estimated standard errors.

* Indicates significance at 10 per cent.
** Indicates significance at 5 per cent.
*** Indicates significance at 1 per cent.

workers in the skilled production occupation is higher than that of workers in the clerical occupation and sales and services.

The estimation results regarding the effects of dummy variables representing export ratios and labour unions will be discussed separately in sections 4 and 5 of this chapter, while those of dummy variables representing migrant status are provided in section 6 of Chapter 5.

We are particularly interested in whether sex discrimination exists in promotion probability and, if it exists, the extent to which it affects promotion probability. As expected, the promotion probabilities of female workers are indeed lower than those of male workers, in Seoul, Kuala Lumpur and Manila. But in Bangkok the estimated coefficient of SEXD is not statistically significant.

To interpret the effect of a change in SEXD variable on the probability of promotion, we need to solve for the change in probability ΔP as follows:

$$\Delta \log \frac{Pi}{1-Pi} = \text{the estimated coefficient x } \Delta SEXD$$

To simplify, we utilize the approximation that $\Delta \log x \sim \Delta x/x$ and the fact that $\log(x/y) = \log x - \log y$. Then

$$\Delta \log \frac{Pi}{1-Pi} \simeq \left[\frac{1}{Pi} + \frac{1}{(1-Pi)} \right] \Delta Pi = \frac{1}{Pi\ (1-Pi)} \Delta Pi$$

Since we have chosen ΔSEXD = 1, it follows that

$\Delta Pi \simeq$ the estimated coefficient of SEXD x [Pi(1-Pi)]

We find that the change in probability is a function of the probability itself. If Pi were equal to 0.5, for example, Pi would equal the estimated coefficient multiplied by 0.25.[2] The male/female promotion probability with special reference to average value is shown in table 4.13. The promotion probability of female workers is 6 per cent, 9 per cent and 24 per cent lower than that of male workers in Kuala Lumpur, Manila and Seoul, respectively.

Table 4.13. Male-female differential in promotion probability

	Estimated coefficient of SEXD	Male-female differential
Seoul	0.9706	0.2426
Kuala Lumpur	0.2458	0.0615
Bangkok	(insignificant)	-
Manila	0.339	0.0848

Note: Computed from ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP Survey (1991) data.

4.4 Effect of Unions on Wages and Promotion

We shall review some of the influences on wage payments by firms with labour union and firms without labour union in order to ascertain the impact of labour unions in the four cities surveyed. Male workers in Manila, Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur employed in firms with labour union have no wage premium. Workers in Seoul receive 10 per cent lower wages when they are employed in firms without labour union. As for female

[2] Pindyck and Rubinfeld (1981).

workers, firms with labour union have 10 per cent wage premium in Kuala Lumpur; firms with labour union in Manila and Bangkok have no wage premium; in Seoul, firms with labour union have 8 per cent lower wages than those without labour union.

The influence of a labour union on the promotion probability of workers is statistically insignificant at a significance level of 10 per cent in Manila, Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur. The promotion probability in Seoul is negatively influenced at a significance level of 5 per cent. It can be concluded from the observation thus far that the role of labour unions in the four surveyed cities is insignificant and that labour unions in Seoul have a negative influence on wages and promotion as they are organized in low-wage firms with poor working conditions.

One general conclusion which emerges from the above analysis is that not only in labour-surplus economies such as the Philippines and Thailand, but also in a labour-scarce economy such as the Republic of Korea, labour is in a disadvantageous position in relation to capital. It also follows that the role of government to ensure that labour unions have a negotiating power comparable with that of the employer will be very important to enhance the economic status of workers.

4.5 Effect of Firm's Export-Orientation on Wages and Promotion

As industrialization becomes more and more export-oriented, the industrial structure of the economy undergoes considerable changes, which in turn exert an immediate influence on the labour market. How does export-led economic development affect wages and promotion possibilities in the labour market? In this section, we decompose the type of firms into export-oriented and domestic market oriented firms, and through the cross-sectional analysis on the effect of export-oriented firms on wages and promotion prospects we figure out changes in wages associated with change in exports. Here, the term export-oriented firms refers to those whose share of exports in total sales or output is more than 25 per cent, and the term domestic-oriented firms to those with a share of exports below 25 per cent. Since the share of exports of firms in Seoul is measured as a continuous variable, these are categorized into four groups according to their share: 0 to 24 per cent, 25 to 49 per cent, 50 to 74 per cent, and 75 to 100 per cent.

In Manila, the women workers employed in the export-oriented firms were paid less than those in the domestic-oriented firms by as much as 11 per cent. In the case of Kuala Lumpur, the women's wages in the export-oriented firms were 13 per cent lower than those of their counterparts in the domestic-oriented firms. In Seoul, women's wages in firms with a share of exports in the range of 75 to 100 per cent were 13 per cent lower than those in firms with share of exports equal to 0 to 24 per cent. In Bangkok, however, the export-orientation of the firm was statistically insignificant as a factor determining individual wages.

In the determination of promotion probability, the null hypothesis that the export-oriented firms have no impact on promotion probability fails to be rejected at a 5 per cent significance level in Bangkok and Manila, but rejected at all significance levels in Kuala Lumpur and Seoul.

Interestingly, no significant wage differentials between the firms with share of exports of 50 to 75 per cent and the domestic-oriented firms were detected for either male or female workers in Seoul. This is also consistent with the results reported by Woo Hyun Cho (1989), which showed that, using the data for 1987 the wages paid by the firms with share of exports of 50 to 75 per cent were either identical with or higher than the wages paid by the domestic-oriented firms. In the Republic of Korea, the firms with share of exports between 50 and 75 per cent belong to the heavy and chemicals industries including the electronics and automobile industries, while the firms with share of exports exceeding 75 per cent are currently categorized into the textile industry.[3]

This implies that the industrialization in the Republic of Korea has triggered a change in the industrial structure, placing emphasis on the heavy and chemical industries. As these industries become export-oriented a wage increase follows immediately. A labour-abundant country has the comparative advantage in terms of either the labour-intensive type of light industrial products or the labour-intensive type of assembled and

[3] Cho (1989), Cho (1991).

processed, heavy and chemical products. One can thus infer from the Seoul case that investment in the latter type of industry is more effective in facilitating wage increases as well as in ensuring better working conditions for labour.

4.6 Upward Occupational Mobility within a Firm

In this section we shall examine occupational mobility by comparing the occupation at the port of entry of current employment with the current occupation. The sample drawn for this analysis consists of those workers who had been promoted in their current firm as occupational change tends to occur after promotion. Although occupational change can take place either through inter- firm job mobility or through promotion within a firm, this section will focus on change in occupation arising from promotion within the same firm. This approach aims to give a clearer presentation of the occupational upward mobility of male and female workers. In section 3 of Chapter 5, we also examine labour mobility by comparing occupation at first employment with that at current employment for those who experienced at least one job change. This is an alternative way of looking at occupational mobility.

(a) Seoul

Table 4.14,a and table 4.14,b illustrate the occupational changes of male and female workers who were promoted at least once between their occupation at the entry level and their current occupation. The occupational change for male workers who had at least one promotion is featured as follows:

(i) A total of 262 male workers and 73 female workers, had received promotions. The number of female workers with promotions amounted to only one-fourth of the male workers.

(ii) Among the male clerical workers at the entry level, 89 workers experienced promotions, of whom 39 were promoted to the managerial occupation. There were 36 male workers promoted from the managerial occupation at the entry level, of whom 31 remained in the same occupation. It seems that a systematic promotion system exists in regard to managerial occupations and that the white-collar workers progress through a hierarchy of jobs over time.

(iii) While 169 male white-collar workers were promoted, only 92 male blue-collar workers were promoted. Promotion takes place mainly in the white-collar occupations. It is highly unlikely for production workers to be promoted to white-collar occupations, and the promotion path for blue-collar workers is from unskilled occupation to semi-skilled occupation and then to skilled occupation. There were only 8 male production workers who were promoted to a white-collar occupation.

Table 4.14, a. Occupational change of surveyed male workers after promotion (Seoul)
(Number of persons and percentage)

Before promotion \ Current job	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	16	4	4	2	0	0	0	0	26	(9.9)
(2)	1	31	3	0	0	1	0	0	36	(13.7)
(3)	2	39	48	0	0	0	0	0	89	(34.0)
(4)	1	2	4	8	1	0	0	0	16	(6.1)
(5)	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	(0.8)
(6)	0	2	0	0	0	35	0	0	37	(14.1)
(7)	0	1	0	0	0	11	4	0	16	(6.1)
(8)	0	1	2	1	1	26	7	1	39	(14.9)
Other	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	(0.4)
Total	20	81	63	11	2	73	11	1	262	(100.0)
	(7.6)	(30.9)	(24.1)	(4.2)	(0.8)	(27.9)	(4.2)	(0.4)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] (1) Professional, Technical.
(2) Managerial, Executive.
(3) Clerical and Related.
(4) Sales.
(5) Services.
(6) Skilled Production.
(7) Semi-skilled Production.
(8) Unskilled Production.

Table 4.14, b. Occupational change of surveyed female workers after promotion (Seoul)
(Number of persons and percentage)

Current job / Before promotion	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	(4.1)
(2)	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	(2.7)
(3)	1	1	14	0	0	1	2	0	19	(26.0)
(4)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	(1.4)
(5)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	(0.0)
(6)	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	2	8	(11.0)
(7)	0	0	0	0	0	3	7	0	10	(13.7)
(8)	0	0	1	1	1	19	7	1	30	(41.1)
Total	3	2	15	1	1	31	17	3	73	(100.0)
	(4.1)	(2.7)	(20.6)	(1.4)	(1.4)	(42.5)	(23.3)	(4.1)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] Same as table 4.14, a.

The female workers' occupational changes can be described as follows:

(i) There were hardly any female workers in the managerial occupation both before and after promotion.

(ii) The female clerical workers did not move upward to managerial jobs; a very large proportion remained in clerical occupation even after promotion.

(iii) There were a total of 48 female blue-collar workers and 25 female white-collar workers who were promoted. Considering the fact that the sample contained 468 female blue-collar workers (68 per cent of female employees) and 221 female white-collar workers (32 per cent of female employees), only 10 per cent of the female blue-collar workers and 11 per cent of the female white-collar workers received any promotion.

(iv) Similar to the male blue-collar workers, the female blue-collar workers followed the route of promotion from unskilled occupation to semi-skilled occupation and then to skilled occupation. Among the total of 48 female production workers who were promoted at least once, only 1 worker was promoted to the clerical occupation.

The lack of promotion opportunities for female workers in the internal labour market as well as discrimination against female white-collar workers relative to male white-collar workers are seen as important aspects of the employment situation in Seoul.

(b) Kuala Lumpur

Table 4.15,a and table 4.15, b illustrate the occupational changes of workers who received promotions in their present establishment in Kuala Lumpur.

In contrast to Seoul, 105 male workers and 104 female workers reported promotion with no marked difference between men and women. The occupational changes of male workers promotioned in their current firm had the following characteristics:

(i) Among the male clerical workers at the entry level, 14 had been promoted, of whom only 3 were promoted to the managerial occupation, while among the male production workers at the entry level, 57 had been promoted, of whom only 3 were promoted to the managerial occupation. This means that promotion from production occupation to managerial occupation is relatively more difficult than promotion to clerical occupations. However, there were a few cases of workers moving from a production occupation to a clerical occupation. Among the workers in production occupations who had had a promotion, only 5 moved to clerical occupations. The movement of workers from production occupation to clerical occupation seems at first sight to be very limited, but it is not really

Table 4.15, a. Occupational change of surveyed male workers after promotion (Kuala Lumpur) (Number of persons and percentage)

Current job / Before promotion	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Other	Total	
(1)	7	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	11	(10.5)
(2)	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	(2.9)
(3)	2	3	5	2	0	0	1	0	1	14	(13.3)
(4)	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	9	(8.6)
(5)	0	2	1	0	2	0	1	1	0	7	(6.7)
(6)	1	2	0	1	1	6	0	0	0	11	(10.5)
(7)	1	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	0	7	(6.7)
(8)	2	1	5	0	2	12	12	5	0	39	(37.1)
Other	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	4	(3.8)
Total	14 (13.3)	13 (12.4)	11 (10.5)	13 (12.4)	8 (7.6)	22 (21.0)	17 (16.2)	6 (5.7)	1 (1.0)	105 (100.0)	(100.0) –

Note: [a] Same as table 4.14, a.

Table 4.15, b. Occupational change of surveyed female workers after promotion (Kuala Lumpur) (Number of persons and percentage)

Current job / Before promotion	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	9	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	12	(11.5)
(2)	0	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	6	(5.8)
(3)	3	9	13	1	1	1	1	1	29	(27.9)
(4)	1	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	5	(4.8)
(5)	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	4	(3.9)
(6)	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	(1.9)
(7)	2	0	1	0	0	6	16	0	27	(26.0)
(8)	0	0	3	1	0	2	10	1	16	(15.4)
Other	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	3	(2.9)
Total	15 (14.4)	17 (16.4)	21 (20.2)	6 (5.8)	2 (1.9)	11 (10.6)	30 (28.9)	2 (1.9)	104 –	(100.0) –

Note: [a] Same as table 4.14, a.

so when we take into account that, among the 11 workers who were currently in clerical occupations, 5 had moved from production occupations. The fact that the movement of workers from production occupations to the clerical occupation is not so restricted as in Seoul corresponds to the results of the analysis of job changers which will be discussed in section 3 of Chapter 5. It is evident from the analysis so far that the percentage of workers who got promoted from production occupations to the managerial occupation in comparison with the workers in clerical occupation is quite low, but the promotion of workers from production occupations to the managerial occupation is, unlike in the case of Seoul, not completely blocked. At this point, we should note that some occupational changes of production workers to clerical or managerial occupations do occur.

(ii) Among the male workers who got promotions, 17 were in the managerial or clerical occupations and 57 in production occupations. Taking into account that, among the surveyed male workers, 140 workers were in managerial or clerical occupations and 300 workers in production occupations, the percentage of male workers with a promotion to managerial or clerical occupations was 12 and the percentage of male workers with a promotion with in the production occupations was 19. That is, the promotion probability of workers in production occupations is much higher than that of workers in managerial or clerical occupations.

Some characteristics of the occupational changes of the female workers who were given promotions in their current firms are as follows:

(i) Among the female clerical workers at the entry level, 29 got promoted, of whom 9 were promoted to the managerial occupation, while among the female production workers at the entry level, 45 got promotions, of whom none was promoted to the managerial occupation. This shows that it is almost impossible for female workers to get promoted from the production occupations to the managerial occupation. Only 6 workers (13 per cent) moved from production occupations to the clerical occupation and, among the 21 female clerical workers, only 6 workers got promoted from the production occupations. This indicates that the upward mobility of female workers is restricted in comparison with that of male workers in Kuala Lumpur. That is, female workers in Kuala Lumpur had two different paths of promotion: promotion from clerical occupation to managerial occupation; and promotion within the production occupations. This phenomenon is similar to the occupational segmentation of workers in Seoul.

(ii) Among the female workers who got promoted, 35 were in the managerial occupation and 45 in production occupations. Taking into account that, among the surveyed female workers, 172 were in managerial and clerical occupations and 336 in production occupations, the share of female workers who got promoted was 20 per cent in managerial and clerical occupations, and 13 per cent in production occupations. These figures show that the promotion probability of female workers in production occupations is lower than that of workers in managerial and clerical occupations.

(c) Bangkok

Table 4.16,a and table 4.16,b indicate the occupational changes of workers who got promoted in their present establishments in Bangkok. There were 156 male and 191 female workers who received promotions. Since the sample of male workers was 633 and the sample of female workers 706, the promotion probability of the former was 25 per cent and that of the latter 27 per cent. This shows that, unlike in the case of Seoul, there was no big difference between male and female workers in terms of promotion.

The occupational changes of male workers who got promoted in their present firms have the following characteristics:

(i) Among the male clerical workers at the entry level, 23 got promoted, of whom only 2 were promoted to the managerial occupation, while, among the male production workers at the entry level, 117 got promoted, of whom only 2 were promoted to the managerial occupation. This indicates that it is extremely difficult for workers to get promoted from production occupation to managerial occupation. In the case of the clerical occupation, it is not so easy to get promoted to the managerial occupations, either. In other words, the promotion probability of workers from either production

Table 4.16, a. Occupational change of surveyed male workers after promotion (Bangkok) (Number of persons and percentage)

Current job / Before promotion	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	(3.2)
(2)	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	(3.2)
(3)	0	2	19	0	0	2	0	0	23	(14.7)
(4)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	(0.0)
(5)	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	6	(3.9)
(6)	0	1	0	0	1	37	0	0	39	(25.0)
(7)	0	0	1	0	0	5	7	0	14	(9.0)
(8)	0	1	1	0	1	20	11	0	64	(41.0)
Total	3	11	21	0	8	64	18	31	156	(100.0)
	(1.9)	(7.0)	(13.5)	(0.0)	(5.1)	(41.0)	(11.5)	(19.9)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] Same as table 4.14, a.

Table 4.16, b. Occupational change of surveyed female workers after promotion (Bangkok)
(Number of persons and percentage)

Current job / Before promotion	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	(1.1)
(2)	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	(1.1)
(3)	1	2	18	0	0	0	0	0	21	(11.0)
(4)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	(0.0)
(5)	0	2	1	0	4	0	0	0	7	(3.7)
(6)	0	0	0	0	0	18	0	0	18	(9.4)
(7)	0	0	0	0	1	6	14	1	22	(11.5)
(8)	0	0	6	0	1	38	16	58	119	(62.3)
Total	2	7	25	0	6	62	30	59	191	(100.0)
	(1.0)	(3.7)	(13.1)	(0.0)	(3.4)	(32.5)	(15.7)	(30.9)	–	–

Note: [a] Same as table 4.14, a.

occupations or the clerical occupation to the managerial occupation is very low. One interesting point is that, in contrast with Seoul, Kuala Lumpur and Manila, there were few cases of workers' being promoted from clerical occupation to managerial occupation. Also in Bangkok, as in Kuala Lumpur and Manila, there were few cases of workers moving from the production occupations to the clerical occupation. Here, among 117 male production workers who got promoted in their current employment, only 2 workers moved into the clerical occupation.

(ii) Among the promoted male workers, 28 were employed in the managerial or clerical occupations and 117 workers in the production occupations. Taking into account that, among the surveyed male workers, 116 were employed in managerial or clerical occupations and 475 in production occupations, the percentage of male workers who got promoted in managerial or clerical occupations was 24 per cent and that of male workers in the production occupations was 25 per cent. These figures show that there is not much difference in the promotion probability of workers in managerial or clerical occupations and in production occupations.

The occupational changes of female workers who got promoted have the following characteristics:

(i) Among the female clerical workers at the entry level, 21 got promoted, of whom 2 were promoted further to the managerial occupation while, among the female production workers at the entry level, 159 got promoted, of whom none was promoted further to the managerial occupation. This shows that it is very rare for workers to get promoted from production occupations to managerial occupation. As can be observed from the analysis of occupational changes of inter-firm movers in section 3 of Chapter 5, in Bangkok the mobility of female workers from production occupations to the clerical occupation and further to the managerial occupation is relatively more frequent than in Seoul and other cities. This means that, in the case of female workers as well as male workers, the occupations are not strictly segmented.

(ii) Among the female workers who got promotion, 23 were currently employed in managerial or clerical occupations and 159 in production occupations. Taking into account that, among the surveyed female workers, 128 were in managerial or clerical occupations and 539 in production occupations, the percentage of female workers who got promoted and employed in managerial or clerical occupations was 18 per cent and that of female workers in production occupations 30 per cent. Thus, the promotion probability of female workers in production occupations is higher than that of female workers in managerial or clerical occupations.

(a) Manila

Table 4.17,a and table 4.17,b illustrate the occupational changes of workers who were promoted in their present establishments in Manila.

Table 4.17, a. Occupational change of surveyed male workers after promotion (Manila) (Number of persons and percentage)

Current job / Before promotion	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	3	4	2	0	0	1	0	0	10	(8.5)
(2)	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	(3.4)
(3)	0	6	12	0	0	0	1	0	19	(16.1)
(4)	0	3	5	0	0	1	0	0	9	(7.6)
(5)	0	0	4	0	1	12	0	0	17	(14.4)
(6)	0	1	4	0	1	15	1	0	22	(18.6)
(7)	0	0	4	0	1	6	1	0	12	(10.2)
(8)	0	0	2	0	0	16	1	1	20	(17.0)
Other	0	0	2	0	1	1	0	1	5	(4.2)
Total	3	17	36	0	4	52	4	2	118	(100.0)
	(2.5)	(14.4)	(30.5)	(0.0)	(3.4)	(44.1)	(3.4)	(1.7)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] Same as table 4.14, a.

Table 4.17, b. Occupational change of surveyed female workers after promotion (Manila) (Number of persons and percentage)

Current job / Before promotion	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	2	8	1	0	0	1	0	0	12	(10.1)
(2)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	(0.8)
(3)	1	13	17	0	0	3	0	0	35	(29.4)
(4)	0	3	5	0	0	5	2	3	13	(10.9)
(5)	0	1	2	0	0	7	1	1	11	(9.2)
(6)	0	1	0	1	0	12	2	1	17	(14.3)
(7)	0	1	3	0	0	12	3	0	19	(16.0)
(8)	0	0	2	0	0	2	3	3	10	(8.4)
Other	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	(0.8)
Total	3	26	26	2	0	42	11	9	119	(100.0)
	(2.5)	(21.9)	(21.9)	(1.7)	(0.0)	(35.3)	(9.2)	(7.6)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] Same as table 4.14, a.

There were 118 male and 119 female workers who had received promotions. Unlike in the case of Seoul, there was no big difference between men and women in promotion possibilities. The mobility pattern of male workers within their present establishment has the following characteristics:

(i) Among the male clerical workers at the entry level, 19 got promotions, 6 of whom were promoted to the managerial occupation while, among the male production workers at the entry level, 54 were promoted, of whom only one was further promoted to the managerial occupation. It seems to be extremely rare for a male worker to get promoted from production occupations to the managerial occupation. In Manila, however, the mobility from production occupations to the clerical occupation was not infrequent. Among the production workers who had had promotion in their present establishment 10 (19 per cent) were promoted to the clerical occupation.

(ii) Among the promoted workers, 23 were employed in managerial and clerical occupations and 54 in production occupations. Taking into account that, among the surveyed male workers, 273 were in the managerial and clerical occupations and 459 in production occupations, the percentage of male managerial and clerical workers who got promotion was 8 per cent and that of male production workers 12 per cent. This shows that the promotion probability of male production workers is slightly higher than that of male managerial and clerical workers.

The occupational changes of female workers who were promoted have the following characteristics.

(i) Among the female clerical workers at the entry level, 35 had promotions, of whom 13 were further promoted to the managerial occupation while, among the female production workers, 46 received promotions, of whom only 2 were further promoted to the managerial occupation. This means that it is almost impossible for female workers to get promoted from production occupations to the managerial occupation. On the other hand, only 5 female workers (11 per cent) got promoted from production occupations to the clerical occupation which compared with the promotion of male workers, is relatively restricted.

(ii) Among the female workers who had had promotions, 36 were employed in managerial or clerical occupations and 46 in production occupations. Taking into account that, among the surveyed female workers, 292 were in managerial or clerical occupations and 468 were in production occupations, the percentage of the female white-collar workers who had had promotion was 12 per cent and that of the female blue-collar workers 10 per cent. Thus, the promotion probability of female blue-collar workers was slightly lower than that of female white-collar workers.

(e) Summary

Looking at the occupational mobility of male production workers who were promoted in their present establishments, we seldom find occupational upward mobility from production occupations to the managerial occupation in Bangkok and Seoul. We therefore conclude that there exists strict occupational segmentation within firms in Bangkok and Seoul. In Kuala Lumpur the net wage differential between production workers and clerical workers is not significant and the occupational mobility from production occupations to the clerical occupation is not so restricted as in Seoul. Consequently, in Kuala Lumpur, there seems to be no occupational segmentation between the production occupations and the clerical occupation.

As for female production workers, occupational mobility from production to clerical occupation seldom occurs in Seoul, Kuala Lumpur and Manila notwithstanding the wide wage differentials. We may infer that occupational segmentation exists within firms in Seoul, Kuala Lumpur and Manila. In Bangkok, the occupational segmentation between production occupations and the clerical occupation of female workers is not clear-cut.

In sum, we observe that occupational segmentation within firms exists both for male and female workers in Seoul, for female workers in Kuala Lumpur and for male workers in Bangkok and Manila. Discriminatory personnel management practices affecting women at the work place are prevalent in Seoul, Kuala Lumpur and Manila. Discriminatory action against female workers takes the form of occupational segmentation and/or wage discrimination in Seoul, Kuala Lumpur and Manila. Elimination of such discrimination is a precondition for enhancing the promotion prospects of women workers.

CHAPTER 5

ASPECTS OF LABOUR MOBILITY

When the female labour force is employed mainly in low-paid industries or in low-paid occupations, the issues which come up for discussion are the following; first, whether female workers can achieve upward mobility in terms of industry or occupation by advancing to high-wage industries or high-wage occupations; and second, whether female workers can achieve inter-industry or occupational mobility by moving within low-wage industries or low-wage occupations. In sections 2 and 3 of this chapter we examine the inter-industry and occupational mobility pattern of female workers by comparing the industry or occupation of their first job with the industry or occupation of their current job for those who have changed their jobs at least once in the four surveyed cities. In other words, we examine inter-industry and occupational mobility in relation to labour turnover or job change of the workers.

In sections 4 and 5, we examine labour mobility in terms of the surveyed workers' changes in employment status and the size of the firms in which they were employed.

Whether the rural labour force flowing into the urban labour market along with the industrialization process has achieved upward mobility will be discussed in section 6 of this chapter.

5.1 An Overview of Labour Turnover

(a) Seoul

The high rate of labour turnover appears to be a way of life in the labour market of the Republic of Korea. Among the survey respondents, 49 per cent of male and 39 per cent of female workers changed their jobs at least once, suggesting that female workers change less frequently than male workers. In terms of average number of job changes, the female workers' turnover rate was 1.31, while that of male workers was 0.93. This shows that women are less mobile than men (tables 5.1 and 5.2).

Table 5.1. Number of job changes of surveyed male female workers (Number of persons and percentage)

Job changes	Male		Female		Job changes	Male		Female	
Seoul					**Bangkok**				
None	355	(51.3)	416	(60.9)	None	266	(42.0)	355	(50.3)
One	129	(18.6)	121	(17.7)	One	184	(29.1)	191	(27.1)
Two	50	(7.2)	41	(6.0)	Two	90	(14.2)	87	(12.3)
Three	78	(11.3)	59	(8.6)	Three	48	(7.6)	46	(6.5)
Four and over	80	(11.6)	46	(6.7)	Four and over	45	(7.1)	27	(3.8)
Total	692	(100.0)	683	(100.0)	Total	633	(100.0)	706	(100.0)
Average	1.31		0.93		Average	1.14		0.93	
Kuala Lumpur					**Manila**				
None	289	(39.2)	351	(49.9)	None	372	(47.5)	410	(52.2)
One	198	(26.8)	121	(17.7)	One	205	(26.2)	219	(27.9)
Two	107	(14.5)	65	(9.2)	Two	82	(10.5)	67	(8.5)
Three	71	(9.6)	41	(5.8)	Three	59	(7.5)	56	(7.1)
Four and over	73	(9.9)	36	(5.1)	Four and over	66	(8.4)	34	(4.3)
Total	738	(100.0)	704	(100.0)	Total	784	(100.0)	786	(100.0)
Average	1.36		0.89		Average	1.28		0.95	

Table 5.2. Average number of job changes per surveyed worker having changed jobs at least once

1991	Male	Female	Both
Seoul	2.7	2.5	2.6
Kuala Lumpur	2.2	1.8	2.0
Bangkok	2.0	1.8	1.9
Manila	2.4	2.0	2.2

In order to discover the underlying causes of the high rate of turnover, our survey inquired into the reasons for changing jobs. These can be grouped under two categories, voluntary and involuntary. Table 5.3 indicates that, among the respondents who changed their jobs at least once, 93 per cent of male workers and 94 per cent of female workers had quit their first job for voluntary reasons. Forty per cent of male workers and 33 per cent of female workers changed their first job in pursuit of higher pay as well as better working conditions, and 37 per cent of the male workers and 20 per cent of the female workers had quit their first job in search of better career advancement prospects. This suggests that the pursuit of higher pay and better working conditions is the main factor in voluntary labour turnover. A firms' practice of offering opportunities to their employees for improvement of skills and knowledge can play an important role in determining voluntary labour turnover, as the acquisition of skills and knowledge are closely related to the improvement of wages and working conditions.

Table 5.3. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by reason for changing first job (Number of persons and percentage)

	Male		Female			Male		Female	
Seoul					**Bangkok**				
Wage/Working Conditions	124	(40.1)	80	(32.5)	Wage/Working Conditions	136	(37.2)	144	(40.7)
Future Prospects	113	(36.6)	50	(20.3)	Future Prospects	83	(22.7)	53	(15.0)
Less Commuting	6	(1.9)	18	(7.3)	Less Commuting	18	(4.9)	26	(7.3)
Domestic Responsibilities	8	(2.6)	35	(14.2)	Domestic Responsibilities	10	(2.7)	42	(11.9)
Ill Health	9	(2.9)	19	(7.7)	Ill Health	13	(3.6)	13	(3.7)
Dislike of Work	19	(6.2)	18	(7.3)	Dislike of Work	18	(4.9)	23	(6.5)
Trouble with Supervisor	8	(2.6)	12	(4.9)	Trouble with Supervisor	15	(4.1)	11	(3.1)
Unit Closed	17	(5.5)	14	(5.7)	Unit Closed	16	(4.4)	17	(4.8)
Services Terminated/ Retrenched	5	(1.6)	0	(0.0)	Services Terminated/ Retrenched	11	(3.0)	6	(1.7)
					Other	46	(12.6)	19	(5.4)
Total	309	(100.0)	246	(100.0)	Total	366	(100.0)	354	(100.0)
Kuala Lumpur					**Manila**				
Wage/Working Conditions	201	(38.1)	156	(33.6)	Wage/Working Conditions	132	(32.0)	125	(33.2)
Future Prospects	134	(25.4)	102	(22.0)	Future Prospects	91	(22.0)	57	(15.2)
Less Commuting	5	(1.0)	12	(2.6)	Less Commuting	13	(3.2)	11	(2.9)
Domestic Responsibilities	6	(1.1)	9	(1.9)	Domestic Responsibilities	7	(1.7)	13	(3.5)
Ill Health	6	(1.1)	4	(0.9)	Ill Health	3	(0.7)	11	(2.9)
Dislike of Work	22	(4.2)	20	(4.3)	Dislike of Work	22	(5.3)	16	(4.3)
Trouble with Supervisor	13	(2.4)	13	(2.8)	Trouble with Supervisor	17	(4.1)	24	(6.4)
Unit Closed	20	(3.8)	14	(3.0)	Unit Closed	42	(10.2)	42	(11.7)
Services Terminated/ Retrenched	35	(6.6)	13	(2.8)	Services Terminated/ Retrenched	64	(15.5)	52	(13.8)
Other	86	(16.3)	121	(26.8)	Other	22	(5.3)	25	(6.7)
Total	528	(100.0)	464	(100.0)	Total	413	(100.0)	376	(100.0)

An alternative approach in examining the underlying reasons of frequent job changes is to inquire about the workers' potential mobility. Our survey asked if the respondents intended to change their jobs. The questionnaire provided the following five choices; (1) pursue promotion in the current firm, (2) pursue promotion in other firms, (3) continue to work in the current firm even without promotion, (4) change to other job, and (5) undecided. In the case of the male respondents, 37 per cent selected (1) and 16 per cent chose (3). In contrast, only 10 per cent of female respondents chose (1) and 31 per cent selected (3) as their choice. Unlike the male respondents who showed great interest in promotion, the female workers' satisfaction with the current situation and the weak desire for promotion may be attributed to the infrequent and insufficient training as well as the low probability of promotion offered to them. As for the intention to change jobs, 27 per cent of male and 31 per cent of female workers expressed such intention. These high percentages representing one quarter of the male workers and one third of the female workers imply that a high rate of labour turnover can be expected in the future (table 5.4).

(b) Kuala Lumpur

Among the survey respondents, 61 per cent of the men and 38 per cent of the women changed their jobs at least once. These figures are slightly higher than those for Manila and almost the same as for Bangkok, which indicates that the labour market is highly fluid in Kuala Lumpur. The average number of job changes of the male workers was 1.4 and that of the female workers 0.9 (table 5.1).

The majority of the workers had quit their first job for voluntary reasons. Involuntary termination for such reasons as close down of work place, expiry of job contract and temporary lay-off accounted for 10 per cent of male workers and 6 per cent of female workers. Furthermore, 38 per cent of the male workers and 34 per cent of the female workers changed jobs for higher wages and better working conditions; 25 per cent of the male and 22 per cent of the female workers secured new jobs with better career prospects (table 5.3).

The surveyed workers' plans for the future are shown in table 5.4. The majority of workers expressed the intention to stay in their present job. As reported, 65 per cent of the male workers and 66 per cent of the female workers intended to pursue promotion in the present job and 11 per cent of male workers and 10 per cent of female workers would stay in their present job even without promotion. A large proportion of workers intended to pursue promotion in their present job. We can infer from the above answers that Kuala

Table 5.4. Distribution of surveyed workers by career propsects (Number of persons and percentage)

	Male		Female			Male		Female	
Seoul					**Bangkok**				
Upward Mobility in Present Firm	258	(36.9)	65	(9.5)	Upward Mobility in Present Firm	213	(33.8)	197	(28.2)
Upward Mobility in Other Firm	37	(5.3)	33	(4.8)	Upward Mobility in Other Firm	57	(9.0)	52	(7.5)
Carry on with no Upward Mobility	109	(15.6)	211	(30.9)	Carry on with no Upward Mobility	316	(50.1)	373	(53.4)
Quit the Present Job	149	(21.3)	179	(26.2)	Quit the Present Job	31	(4.9)	44	(6.3)
Do Not Know	146	(20.9)	195	(28.6)	Do Not Know	14	(2.2)	32	(4.6)
Total	699	(100.0)	683	(100.0)	Total	631	(100.0)	698	(100.0)
Kuala Lumpur					**Manila**				
Upward Mobility in Present Firm	480	(65.4)	466	(66.4)	Upward Mobility in Present Firm	166	(21.2)	116	(14.8)
Upward Mobility in Other Firm	111	(15.1)	108	(15.4)	Upward Mobility in Other Firm	107	(13.7)	110	(14.0)
Carry on with no Upward Mobility	78	(10.6)	72	(10.3)	Carry on with no Upward Mobility	424	(54.2)	469	(59.7)
Quit the Present Job	24	(3.3)	9	(1.3)	Quit the Present Job	53	(6.8)	61	(7.8)
Do Not Know	41	(5.6)	47	(6.7)	Do Not Know	32	(4.1)	30	(3.8)
Total	734	(100.0)	702	(100.0)	Total	782	(100.0)	786	(100.0)

Lumpur offers more favourable prospects for promotion within a firm compared with other cities. Kuala Lumpur shows no marked difference in promotion prospects between male and female workers. Furthermore, 18 per cent of the male and 17 per cent of the female workers expressed no intention of changing their jobs.

(c) Bangkok

Among the respondents, 58 per cent of the male workers and 50 per cent of the female workers changed their jobs at least once implying a high degree of mobility in the labour market. The average frequency of job turnover was 1.1 in the case of male workers and 0.9 in the case of female workers (table 5.1).

Most of the workers had quit their first job for voluntary reasons. Only 7 per cent of male and female workers changed their first job for involuntary reasons such as close down of work place, expiry of contract and temporary lay-off. Some 37 per cent of the men and 41 per cent of the women moved to new jobs for higher wages and better working conditions; 23 per cent and 15 per cent respectively changed their jobs for better future prospects (table 5.3). It may be concluded that, to a large extent, job turnover was due to workers seeking improved benefits in the labour market.

The future plans of the surveyed workers are shown in table 5.4. The workers who expressed the intention to remain in the present job outnumber those who wanted to change their job. Thirty-four per cent of the male workers and 28 per cent of the female workers expressed the intention to pursue promotion in their present job, while 50 per cent of male workers and 53 per cent of female workers were ready to continue in their present job even without any promotion prospects. Female workers are relatively more sceptical about future promotion than male workers. Meanwhile, 14 per cent of both the male and female workers mentioned their intention to change jobs, which is somewhat lower than the figure for Manila.

(d) Manila

Among the surveyed workers, the percentage of those who changed their jobs at least once was 53 per cent among men and 48 per cent among women. It can be inferred that job turnover is a common occurrence in the Manila labour market. The average number of job changes was 1.3 for male and 0.9 for female workers. (table 5.1).

The reasons for which the surveyed workers changed their first job are shown in table 5.3. The data confirm that, on the whole, there is no big difference between the male and female workers in the reasons for changing jobs. Some 32 per cent of the male workers and 33 per cent of the female workers had quit their job for higher wages and better working conditions. Twenty-two per cent of the male workers and 15 per cent of the female workers changed their job for better future prospects. One should bear in mind, however, that not a small proportion of the workers changed jobs for involuntary reasons. Specifically, 16 per cent of the male and 14 per cent of the female workers had quit their first job for reasons such as expiry of contract or lay-off. Also 10 per cent of the male workers and 12 per cent of the female workers changed their first job owing to the closure of their work place. This means that, regardless of sex, one out of four workers had changed jobs involuntarily.

As for the surveyed workers' future plans, 75 per cent of the male and female workers expressed the intention to stay in their present job. Among the workers who wanted to remain in their present job, however, the number of workers who had promotion prospects in the near future was far smaller than that of workers who had no promotion prospects. In the case of the female workers, there was a very large difference. As for the male workers, 21 per cent responded that they would pursue promotion while staying in their present job and 54 per cent responded that they would remain in their present job even without promotion. The corresponding proportions among women workers were 15 per cent and 59 per cent respectively. Regardless of sex, one out of five workers expressed the intention to change their job (table 5.4).

(e) Summary

In the four Asian cities surveyed there is less labour mobility among women than among men. Almost half the male workers in each firm changed jobs at least once.

The relatively low average frequency of job changes among women in all the cities surveyed cannot be attributed solely to their being satisfied with their present jobs. Rather, since female workers have fewer opportunities of getting employed than male workers, the high risk associated with job changes would discourage them from quitting a job once they are employed.

In general, workers' job attachments are not strong and life-time commitment to the same employer is not commonly observed. Workers seem to change jobs in pursuit of higher pay and better advancement prospects. In terms of potential mobility, Kuala Lumpur is exceptional in that a large proportion of both male and female workers have the intention to remain in their present firm and pursue promotion in their present jobs.

5.2 Inter-Industry Labour Mobility

(a) Seoul

Taking the group of survey respondents who changed jobs at least once, we now examine inter-industry mobility. Table 5.5,a and table 5.5,b give the distribution of male and female workers by first and current industry in the form of a (99) matrix. These tables show that 40 per cent of male workers and 41 per cent of female workers arrived in the current industry through intra-industry mobility rather than inter-industry mobility. The male and female workers show similar patterns in terms of inter-industry labour mobility. In the case of the textile and fabricated metals industries where the majority of female workers were employed, 71 out of 105 female respondents had remained in the same industry since their first employment, and 21 female respondents had moved out into the fabricated metals industry. Meanwhile, among the total of 42 female workers whose first employment was in the fabricated metals industry, 28 workers had stayed in the same industry, while 9 workers had changed their jobs to the textile industry. The sectors in the fabricated metals industry where female workers are concentrated are characterized by short daily working hours and a clean working environment, compared with the long working hours and sweated labour environment of the textile, garments and shoe industries. Although the female workers in the latter industries are paid higher monthly average total wages than those in the fabricated metals industry, there is a tendency for women to move from the textile, garments and shoe industries to the fabricated metals industry. It seems that female workers seek shorter daily working hours and a better working environment.

Table 5.5,a and table 5.5,b also illustrate how the job vacancies in the textile, garments and shoe industries caused by the outflow of the female labour into the fabricated metals industry were filled. There were 117 female workers currently employed in the textile, garments and shoe industries who changed jobs at least once, among

Table 5.5, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by industry of first and current job (Seoul) (Number of persons and percentage)

Current job / First job	Industry[a] (31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	Total	
(31)	1	2	0	1	2	2	0	3	0	11	(3.2)
(32)	0	33	0	4	5	0	0	12	0	54	(15.8)
(33)	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	3	0	7	(2.1)
(34)	0	2	0	23	2	0	0	4	0	31	(9.1)
(35)	1	3	0	5	12	0	0	9	1	31	(9.1)
(36)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	5	(1.5)
(37)	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	6	(1.8)
(38)	0	10	1	3	7	2	1	62	6	92	(27.0)
(39)	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	2	2	7	(2.1)
Non-manufacturing	2	10	2	14	12	1	2	53	1	97	(28.5)
Total	4	62	7	52	42	6	3	155	10	341	(100.0)
	(1.2)	(18.2)	(2.1)	(15.3)	(12.3)	(1.8)	(0.9)	(45.5)	(2.9)	(100.0)	-

Note: (31) Food, Beverages, Tobacco.
(32) Textiles, Garments, Leather.
(33) Wood, Wood Products.
(34) Paper, Printing.
(35) Chemicals, Plastics.
(36) Non-mettalic Mineral Products.
(37) Basic Metals.
(38) Fabricated Metal Products.
(39) Other Manufactures.

Table 5.5, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by industry of first and current job (Seoul) (Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Industry[a] (31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	Total	
(31)	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	7	0	12	(4.4)
(32)	0	71	1	2	6	0	0	21	4	105	(38.9)
(33)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	(0.4)
(34)	0	2	0	2	0	8	0	1	0	6	(2.2)
(35)	1	2	0	1	3	0	0	8	0	15	(5.6)
(36)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	(0.7)
(37)	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	(1.1)
(38)	0	9	0	1	3	0	0	28	1	42	(15.6)
(39)	0	4	0	1	1	0	0	3	6	15	(5.6)
Non-manufacturing	2	25	0	3	7	0	0	30	2	69	(25.6)
Total	3	117	1	13	22	1	0	99	14	270	(100.0)
	(1.1)	(43.3)	(0.4)	(4.8)	(8.2)	(0.4)	(0.0)	(36.7)	(5.2)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] Same as table 5.5, a.

whom 71 workers (61 per cent) moved to their current employment within the same industry and 25 workers (21 per cent) came from the non-manufacturing sector. Therefore, the female workers' inter-industry mobility takes either of the following two paths: inter-industry change in employment from the non-manufacturing sector to the textile, garments and shoe industries and then to the fabricated metals industry, or inter-industry change from the non-manufacturing sector to the textile industry, followed by intra-industry mobility within that industry.

Among the female respondents having changed jobs at least once, 99 workers were currently employed in the fabricated metals industry, of whom only 22 workers were in the fabricated metals industry through an intra-industry job change, 30 from the non-manufacturing sector, and 21 from the textile industry. Thus, female labour mobility in the fabricated metals industry shows a pattern of inter-industry change from the non-manufacturing sector to the fabricated metals industry or of intra-industry job mobility.

(b) Kuala Lumpur

Table 5.6,a table 5.6,b describe the inter-industry labour mobility from the first job to the present job for male and female workers who changed their jobs at least once. The figures show that 49 per cent of male

Table 5.6, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by industry of first and current job (Kuala Lumpur) (Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Industry[a] (31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	Total	
(31)	51	1	0	6	3	0	0	11	1	73	(9.9)
(32)	0	4	0	2	5	0	1	2	0	14	(1.9)
(33)	3	0	11	3	4	0	0	3	2	26	(3.5)
(34)	3	1	0	96	1	0	1	5	2	109	(14.8)
(35)	11	0	0	3	39	1	0	8	2	64	(8.7)
(36)	1	1	0	1	4	11	0	1	0	19	(2.6)
(37)	3	0	1	1	0	1	1	4	1	12	(1.7)
(38)	20	0	0	5	5	2	1	133	1	167	(22.6)
(39)	14	0	0	0	3	0	1	10	15	43	(5.8)
Non-manufacturing	44	3	2	42	15	4	4	91	7	212	(28.7)
Total	150	10	14	159	79	19	9	268	31	739	(100.0)
	(20.3)	(1.4)	(1.9)	(21.5)	(10.7)	(2.6)	(1.2)	(36.3)	(4.2)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] Same as table 5.5, a.

Table 5.6, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by industry of first and current job (Kuala Lumpur) (Number of persons and percentage)

Current job / First job	Industry[a] (31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	Total	
(31)	34	0	0	0	2	0	0	14	1	51	(7.2)
(32)	3	14	0	3	3	0	0	11	1	35	(5.0)
(33)	0	0	8	2	0	0	0	3	0	13	(1.8)
(34)	0	1	0	90	1	0	0	3	0	95	(13.5)
(35)	6	0	1	6	32	1	0	5	1	52	(7.4)
(36)	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	5	(0.7)
(37)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	(0.1)
(38)	7	0	0	8	3	1	0	264	1	284	(40.2)
(39)	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	6	14	24	(3.4)
Non-manufacturing	16	3	2	44	10	0	1	64	6	146	(20.7)
Total	68	20	11	154	51	3	2	373	14	706	(100.0)
	(9.6)	(2.8)	(1.6)	(21.8)	(7.2)	(0.4)	(0.3)	(52.8)	(5.2)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] Same as table 5.5, a.

workers and 65 per cent of female workers had moved to new jobs within the same industry; and some 20 to 30 per cent of workers currently in the manufacturing sector had moved from non-manufacturing industries. Whereas intra-industry labour mobility occurs fairly frequently in Kuala Lumpur compared with Seoul and Manila, there is little mobility from the non-manufacturing industry to the manufacturing industry.

Since, in Kuala Lumpur, an overwhelming majority of female workers are employed in the fabricated metals assembly industry, we will discuss the respondents' inter-industry labour mobility with special reference to this industry. Among the 373 female workers who were currently employed in the fabricated metals assembly industry and who had changed job at least once, 264 workers (71 per cent) had come in through intra-industry mobility and 64 workers (17 per cent) had moved from a non-manufacturing industry. Among the 284 female workers who started their first job in the fabricated metals assembly industry, 264 workers were still in the same industry. In short, inter-industry labour mobility within the manufacturing sector rarely occurs and mobility from the non-manufacturing sector to the manufacturing sector is insignificant, suggesting that, in general, labour mobility takes the form of intra-industry mobility.

(c) Bangkok

The inter-industry mobility of the male and female workers who changed jobs more than once is displayed in table 5.7,a and table 5.7,b. Fifty-four per cent of male workers and 67 per cent of female workers had changed their jobs within the same industry while 20 to 30 per cent of workers currently in the manufacturing industry had come in from a non-manufacturing industry.

In the textile, garments and shoe industries where the majority of female workers were employed, among the currently employed 373 workers, 290 workers (78 per cent) had moved within the same industry and 55 workers (19 per cent) came from a non-manufacturing industry. Among the 334 female workers whose first job started in the textile, garments and shoe industries, 290 workers (87 per cent) were still in the same industries and only 12 workers moved to the fabricated metals assembly industry. Likewise, among the 53 female workers whose first job was in the fabricated metals assembly industry, 48 workers still held jobs in the same industry and only one worker moved to the textile, garments and shoe industries. To summarize, inter-industry labour mobility within the manufacturing sector rarely takes place and mobility from the non-manufacturing sector to the manufacturing sector is insignificant; thus labour mobility is in the form of intra-industry mobility.

(d) Manila

Table 5.8,a table 5.8,b show the inter-industry mobility of male and female workers who changed jobs at least once. Only 24 per cent of the male workers and 30 per cent of the female workers had changed their jobs within the same industry, showing that labour mobility generally took the form of inter-industry mobility.

Table 5.7, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by industry of first and current job (Bangkok) (Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Industry[a] (31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	Total	
(31)	50	8	0	2	1	1	0	2	0	64	(10.1)
(32)	2	80	1	1	3	1	1	6	0	94	(15.1)
(33)	2	3	11	0	2	1	0	3	0	22	(3.5)
(34)	0	0	1	15	0	1	0	3	0	20	(3.2)
(35)	2	4	0	0	42	4	0	8	0	60	(9.5)
(36)	0	3	0	1	0	39	0	4	0	48	(7.6)
(37)	2	4	2	1	5	1	6	5	0	24	(3.8)
(38)	5	14	2	1	5	5	1	3	0	128	(20.3)
(39)	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	95	2	5	(0.8)
Non-manufacturing	27	35	3	5	15	21	4	1		165	(26.2)
Total	90	153	21	26	73	75	12	537	2	631	(100.0)
	(14.3)	(24.3)	(3.3)	(4.1)	(11.6)	(11.9)	(1.9)	(28.4)	(0.3)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] Same as table 5.5, a.

Table 5.7, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by industry of first and current job (Bangkok) (Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Industry[a] (31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	Total	
(31)	48	9	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	61	(8.7)
(32)	5	290	4	1	18	3	0	12	1	334	(47.4)
(33)	1	1	3	0	1	0	0	1	0	7	(1.0)
(34)	0	1	0	10	0	1	0	2	0	14	(2.0)
(35)	1	7	0	0	53	1	0	4	1	67	(9.5)
(36)	1	1	0	1	0	17	0	0	1	21	(3.0)
(37)	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	6	(0.9)
(38)	0	1	0	1	2	1	0	48	0	53	(7.5)
(39)	0	5	0	0	1	1	0	2	2	11	(1.6)
Non-manufacturing	15	55	2	3	15	10	2	24	5	131	(18.6)
Total	71	372	9	16	92	34	4	97	10	705	(100.0)
	(10.1)	(52.8)	(1.3)	(2.3)	(13.1)	(4.8)	(0.6)	(13.8)	(1.4)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] Same as table 5.5, a.

Table 5.8, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by industry of first and current job (Manila) (Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Industry[a] (31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	Total	
(31)	7	8	3	1	2	0	4	3	0	28	(6.8)
(32)	3	47	2	2	4	1	1	5	4	69	(16.8)
(33)	3	2	5	1	1	0	1	2	2	17	(4.1)
(34)	0	4	1	9	2	1	3	5	0	25	(6.1)
(35)	5	15	1	0	8	1	1	2	2	35	(8.5)
(36)	1	1	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	7	(1.7)
(37)	1	1	1	2	4	0	3	2	0	14	(3.4)
(38)	1	5	2	0	4	3	2	15	2	34	(8.3)
(39)	3	2	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	10	(2.4)
Non-manufacturing	30	38	8	9	19	15	11	29	12	171	(41.7)
Total	54	123	24	25	45	24	26	66	23	410	(100.0)
	(13.2)	(30.0)	(5.6)	(6.1)	(11.0)	(5.9)	(6.3)	(16.1)	(5.6)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] Same as table 5.5, a.

Table 5.8, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by industry of first and current job (Manila) (Number of persons and percentage)

Current job / First job	Industry[a] (31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	Total	
(31)	16	8	0	0	2	0	0	6	0	32	(8.6)
(32)	5	63	2	1	2	4	1	10	2	90	(24.2)
(33)	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	(1.3)
(34)	1	4	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	10	(2.7)
(35)	1	7	0	3	8	1	0	1	3	24	(6.5)
(36)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	(1.3)
(37)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	(0.5)
(38)	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	16	0	21	(5.7)
(39)	2	5	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	9	(2.4)
Non-manufacturing	21	66	8	10	11	13	5	30	13	174	(46.8)
Total	50	157	12	16	26	19	8	65	19	372	(100.0)
	(13.4)	(42.2)	(3.2)	(4.3)	(7.0)	(5.1)	(2.2)	(17.5)	(5.1)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] Same as table 5.5, a.

We will confine our discussion to the labour mobility in the textile, garments and shoe industries, and the fabricated metals assembly industry which employ the majority of women workers. Among the 157 female workers currently employed in the textile, garments and shoe industries and having changed jobs at least once, 66 workers (42 per cent) had come from a non-manufacturing industry and 63 workers (40 per cent) had changed jobs within the same industry. Among the 65 female workers employed in the fabricated metals assembly industry, 30 workers came from non-manufacturing industries and 16 workers moved within the same industry. Among the 90 female workers whose first job was in the textile, garments and shoe industries, 70 moved to other firms within the same industry and only 10 moved to the fabricated metals industry. In conclusion, we can say that the non-manufacturing sector was a major source of labour supply. However, the labour force of the textile industry and the fabricated metals industry, once settled, has a strong tendency to switch jobs within the same industry.

(e) Summary

Inter-industry mobility of female workers in the textile industry in Manila takes the form of mobility from the non-manufacturing sector to the manufacturing sector, which indicates that the major source of labour supply for the manufacturing sector in Manila is a non-manufacturing industry such as agriculture and services. In the case of industries in Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and Seoul with a larger concentration of women workers, much of the labour mobility takes the form of intra-industry mobility rather than inter-industry mobility. Female unskilled workers generally find jobs in labour-intensive industries where the work required of them is standardized, simple and repetitive and then seek jobs within the same industry offering higher wages and better working conditions. Exceptionally in Seoul, we find fairly frequent inter-industry mobility of female workers between the textile industry and the fabricated metals assembly industry. It should, however, be noted, that the nature of work in both industry is simple and repetitive, and requires a low level of skills.

5.3 Occupational Mobility

(a) Seoul

Table 5.9,a and table 5.9,b show the changes in occupation of the men and women who changed jobs at least once between their first and their current occupation. Both tables are in the form of a (88) matrix giving the distribution of workers by their first and their current occupation. Among the male respondents who indicated at least one job change, 37 per cent had never changed their first occupation and 63 per cent had had occupational changes. In the case of the female workers, 43 per cent indicated no change from their first occupation.

The occupational mobility of the male workers who had changed jobs at least once can be summarized as follows (table 5.9,a):

Table 5.9, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by industry of first and current job (Seoul)
(Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	17	7	5	2	0	28	6	1	66	(20.4)
(2)	0	22	11	0	1	4	2	1	41	(12.7)
(3)	1	14	16	0	0	3	2	0	36	(11.1)
(4)	0	1	5	3	0	1	0	2	12	(3.7)
(5)	1	0	1	0	1	6	1	0	10	(3.1)
(6)	1	0	0	1	1	35	12	1	51	(15.7)
(7)	2	1	2	0	0	20	10	2	37	(11.4)
(8)	2	3	1	0	2	37	13	5	63	(19.4)
Others	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	2	8	(2.5)
Total	26	49	42	6	5	136	46	14	324	(100.0)
	(8.0)	(15.1)	(13.0)	(1.9)	(1.5)	(42.0)	(14.2)	(4.3)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] (1) Professional, Technical.
(2) Managerial, Executive.
(3) Clerical and Related.
(4) Sales.
(5) Services.
(6) Skilled Production.
(7) Semi-skilled Production.
(8) Unskilled Production.

Table 5.9, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by industry of first and current job (Seoul)
(Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	10	1	6	0	0	5	5	2	29	(11.2)
(2)	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	1	5	(1.9)
(3)	1	1	34	1	0	13	13	3	66	(25.5)
(4)	0	0	3	0	0	1	5	1	10	(3.9)
(5)	1	0	0	0	1	3	4	3	12	(4.6)
(6)	2	0	0	0	0	29	11	4	46	(17.8)
(7)	0	0	2	0	0	6	17	4	29	(11.2)
(8)	1	0	0	0	0	25	17	19	62	(23.9)
Total	15	2	48	1	1	83	72	37	259	(100.0)
	(5.8)	(0.8)	(18.5)	(0.4)	(0.4)	(32.1)	(27.8)	(14.3)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] Same as table 5.9, a.

(i) The current managerial position was an outcome of promotion from a clerical or professional and technical occupation. Promotion from production occupation to managerial position occurred very rarely.

(ii) The skilled male workers whose first employment was in production tended to remain in the same occupation. It is unlikely for them to be promoted to a clerical or managerial occupation.

(iii) The unskilled or semi-skilled male workers tended to move to a skilled production occupation.

The above trends imply the existence of occupational segregation between production and clerical/ managerial occupations. In other words, the promotion route taken by white-collar workers is different from the route open to blue-collar workers. Occupational mobility displays a pattern of promotion within the managerial occupation, from clerical to managerial jobs or promotion within the blue-collar occupations from unskilled or semi-skilled to skilled production jobs.

The occupational labour mobility of the female workers who had changed jobs at least once is briefly as follows (table 5.9,b):

(i) Female workers were seldom found in managerial jobs, either in their first or their current employment.

(ii) The female clerical workers in their first employment were seldom given a promotion to the managerial position; they either stayed in the same clerical occupation or changed to a production occupation.

(iii) In regard to the female production workers, the findings were similar to those relating to the male production workers. That is, the unskilled or semi-skilled female workers in production tended to move to the skilled production occupation.

The number of female workers hired at the managerial level was extremely small, presumably on account of the employers' discriminatory practices. Job segregation in the internal labour market has resulted in limited opportunities for promotion of female workers to higher positions. The existence of occupational segregation between female white-collar and blue-collar workers is identical in the case of male workers. Few women who changed jobs rose in the occupational hierarchy.

(b) Kuala Lumpur

The occupational changes of the workers who changed jobs at least once between their first and their present job are displayed in table 5.10,a and table 5.10,b. As can be seen in the tables, 52 per cent of male and 56 per cent of female workers stayed on in their first occupation.

Table 5.10, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by occupation of first and current job (Kuala Lumpur) (Number of persons and percentage)

Current job / First job	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Others	Total	
(1)	69	4	2	3	1	4	0	0	0	83	(11.2)
(2)	3	26	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	31	(4.2)
(3)	7	19	44	8	2	1	4	0	3	88	(11.9)
(4)	3	6	0	38	2	0	0	0	1	50	(6.8)
(5)	5	4	7	8	35	6	13	6	8	92	(12.5)
(6)	4	3	1	1	2	37	11	0	0	49	(6.6)
(7)	3	2	4	4	6	16	39	1	1	76	(10.3)
(8)	6	4	9	9	21	47	43	68	8	215	(29.1)
Others	0	4	1	2	9	6	5	3	25	55	(7.4)
Total	100	72	68	75	78	117	78	78	46	739	(100.0)
	(13.5)	(9.7)	(9.2)	(10.2)	(10.6)	(15.8)	(14.2)	(10.6)	(6.2)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] Same as table 5.9, a.

Table 5.10, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by occupation of first and current job (Kuala Lumpur) (Number of persons and percentage)

Current job / First job	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Others	Total	
(1)	64	5	0	4	1	1	0	0	0	75	(10.6)
(2)	1	28	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	30	(4.3)
(3)	13	35	71	71	5	3	2	0	0	143	(20.3)
(4)	3	2	2	2	0	5	1	0	0	37	(5.2)
(5)	1	0	7	7	27	1	13	6	0	47	(6.7)
(6)	3	2	1	1	0	12	10	0	0	18	(2.6)
(7)	6	0	8	8	1	16	93	4	0	128	(18.1)
(8)	6	0	8	8	8	26	88	66	2	207	(29.3)
Others	0	1	2	2	1	1	4	3	9	21	(3.0)
Total	97	73	99	47	43	65	192	79	11	706	(100.0)
	(13.7)	(10.3)	(14.0)	(6.7)	(6.1)	(9.2)	(27.2)	(11.2)	(1.6)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] Same as table 5.9, a.

The characteristics of occupational mobility among the male workers can be summarized as follows:

(i) Most of the workers currently in managerial positions were promoted from the professional and technical, clerical and managerial occupations. Some 13 per cent of workers were promoted from production operations to managerial jobs, which is similar to the pattern seen in Manila and Bangkok. Also 21 per cent of the clerical workers had been promoted from production jobs.

(ii) Many of the skilled production workers stayed in the same occupation. However, 16 per cent of them were promoted to either administrative or managerial jobs, which is too large a percentage to be ignored.

(iii) About 21 per cent of the production workers who were semi-skilled in their first employment moved to skilled production jobs. However, many of the semi-skilled workers remained in the same category which was not the case in Seoul and Manila. About 42 per cent of the production workers who were unskilled in their first employment moved up the ladder to either skilled or semi-skilled jobs, while 32 per cent of the unskilled production workers remained in the same category.

As in Bangkok or Manila, the occupational division of male workers in Kuala Lumpur, is not so clear-cut. Moreover, the speed of promotion within production occupations through skill acquisition is slower than in Seoul or Manila.

The characteristics of occupational mobility among the female workers can be summarized as follows:

(i) A large number of female managerial workers remained in the same occupations. Most of the managerial workers had been promoted mainly from clerical or professional and technical occupations and a few workers had been promoted from production occupations.

(ii) Skilled production workers in their first employment tended to remain skilled production workers in their current employment.

(iii) Among the semi-skilled and unskilled production workers in their first employment, only 13 per cent of each category became skilled production workers in their current employment. The rest continued to remain in their original occupational categories.

To summarize, the promotion pattern of female workers in Kuala Lumpur is similar to that of male workers in Seoul. That is, they tend to be promoted either from the managerial, administrative and professional and technical occupations to managerial jobs, or through acquisition of skills within the production occupations. Moreover, there exists a strict division between these two routes of promotion. The slow promotion of male workers within the production occupations which was seen in Kuala Lumpur applies to male and female workers alike in Bangkok.

(c) Bangkok

Examining the occupational mobility among the workers who changed jobs at least once, we find that 54 per cent of male workers and 51 per cent of female workers had remained in the occupation of their first employment (table 5.11,a and table 5.11,b).

The main features of the male workers' occupational mobility can be summarized as follows:

(i) The majority of the managerial workers were originally in managerial, professional and technical and clerical jobs before they moved to their present occupation. About 12 per cent of the managerial workers came from production occupations, a proportion similar to that in Kuala Lumpur and Manila. Also 33 per cent of the clerical workers came from production occupations.

(ii) The skilled production workers at first employment tended to stay in the same occupation during their current employment. However, 9 per cent of them experienced upward mobility into administrative and managerial jobs.

(iii) Some 38 per cent of semi-skilled production workers at first employment moved up the ladder to skilled production jobs. But in constrast to Seoul and Manila, many remained semi-skilled

Table 5.11, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by occupation of first and current job (Bangkok) (Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	8	12	0	0	1	0	0	21	(3.4)
(2)	1	24	10	0	0	1	0	26	(4.2)
(3)	1	8	34	0	11	3	3	60	(9.6)
(4)	0	2	1	1	3	2	3	12	(1.9)
(5)	1	5	4	17	7	7	22	63	(10.1)
(6)	1	5	5	2	101	2	3	119	(19.0)
(7)	1	0	6	2	20	17	7	53	(8.5)
(8)	0	2	8	7	60	57	138	272	(43.5)
Total	13	58	58	29	203	89	176	626	(100.0)
	(2.1)	(9.3)	(9.3)	(4.6)	(32.4)	(14.2)	(28.1)	(100.0)	–

Note: [a] Same as table 5.9, a.

Table 5.11, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by occupation of first and current job (Bangkok) (Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	4	3	4	1	0	1	0	13	(1.9)
(2)	1	6	0	0	0	1	0	8	(1.9)
(3)	1	10	58	0	16	17	5	87	(12.4)
(4)	2	0	6	3	7	6	6	30	(4.3)
(5)	0	4	10	12	7	9	20	62	(8.8)
(6)	1	4	1	2	28	11	2	39	(5.6)
(7)	0	1	0	3	19	39	8	70	(10.0)
(8)	0	2	18	9	84	67	212	392	(55.9)
Total	9	30	97	30	151	131	253	701	(100.0)
	(1.3)	(4.3)	(13.8)	(4.3)	(21.5)	(18.7)	(36.1)	(100.0)	–

Note: [a] Same as table 5.9, a.

production workers. As for unskilled production workers at first employment, 43 per cent moved to semi-skilled and skilled production jobs; nonetheless 51 per cent remained unskilled production workers.

From the above discussion it follows that in Bangkok, as in other cities, the main pattern of male workers' promotion is either from managerial, professional and technical and clerical occupations to managerial jobs, or upward mobility to production occupations that require higher skills. In contrast with Seoul, there is no clear-cut segmentation between the two paths. There is a good deal of upward mobility of workers from production occupations to managerial and especially to clerical occupations, which corresponds to the situation in Manila. However, what distinguishes Bangkok from Seoul and Manila is that, though upward mobility through skill acquisition within production occupations does take place, the speed of such mobility is relatively slow in comparison with that reported for Seoul or Manila.

The characteristics of occupational mobility among the female workers can be summarized as follows:

(i) The percentage of managerial workers in current employment was much lower than in Manila but higher than in Seoul. Some 19 out of 30 managerial workers came from managerial, clerical, or professional and technical occupations. Also 7 workers were promoted from production occupations, which is much higher number than found in Manila, not to mention Seoul. It should, however, be noted that the absolute number of female workers employed in the managerial occupation is far

smaller than reported for Manila. Furthermore 20 per cent of administrative workers in their present employment were promoted from production occupations.

(ii) The skilled production workers at first employment tended to remain in the same occupation. However, 13 per cent of them were promoted to clerical and managerial occupations, which is worth noting.

(iii) A large number of semi-skilled and unskilled production workers in their first employment moved to skilled production jobs. However, almost half of them remained semi-skilled or unskilled workers.

(d) Manila

The occupational changes of workers with at least one job change between their first and current employment are shown in table 5.12,a and table 5.12,b. Some 30 per cent of male workers and 38 per cent of female workers were still working in their first occupation.

The characteristics of occupational mobility of the male workers can be summarized as follows:

(i) The majority of male managerial workers were promoted from the professional and technical, clerical and managerial occupations. Some 13 per cent of male workers were promoted from

Table 5.12, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by occupation of first and current job (Manila) (Number of persons and percentage)

Current job / First job	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Others	Total	
(1)	3	19	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	26	(6.3)
(2)	2	10	4	0	0	3	0	0	0	19	(4.6)
(3)	0	17	29	0	1	3	2	0	0	52	(12.6)
(4)	0	8	10	2	0	2	2	1	0	25	(6.1)
(5)	0	3	14	0	6	38	4	0	0	65	(15.7)
(6)	1	7	13	1	2	58	5	3	0	90	(21.8)
(7)	0	1	10	0	2	29	10	4	0	56	(13.6)
(8)	1	1	6	1	1	44	9	6	1	70	(17.0)
Others	0	2	3	0	1	1	1	2	0	10	(2.4)
Total	7	68	91	4	13	180	33	16	1	413	(100.0)
	(1.7)	(16.5)	(22.0)	(1.0)	(3.2)	(43.6)	(8.0)	(3.9)	(0.2)	(100.0)	

Note: [a] Same as table 5.9, a.

Table 5.12, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by occupation of first and current job (Manila) (Number of persons and percentage)

Current job / First job	Occupational category[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	6	24	2	0	2	2	0	36	(9.6)
(2)	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	4	(1.1)
(3)	1	34	55	0	8	2	3	103	(27.4)
(4)	0	5	13	1	19	5	5	48	(12.8)
(5)	0	3	4	0	15	3	2	27	(7.2)
(6)	0	4	5	1	63	6	2	81	(21.5)
(7)	1	2	6	0	33	7	5	54	(14.4)
(8)	0	1	2	0	6	4	7	20	(5.3)
Others	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	3	(0.8)
Total	8	76	88	3	147	29	25	376	(100.0)
	(2.1)	(20.2)	(23.4)	(0.8)	(39.1)	(7.7)	(6.7)	(100.0)	-

Note: [a] Same as table 5.9, a.

production occupations, which is slightly higher than that in Kuala Lumpur, and Bangkok, while 32 per cent of the clerical workers in their current employment had been promoted from production occupations.

(ii) The skilled production workers at first employment tended to have remained in the same occupational category. However, 22 per cent of them had been promoted to clerical or managerial occupations, which is a relatively high percentage.

(iii) Quite a large proportion of semi-skilled or unskilled production workers at first employment had been promoted to skilled production jobs. Some 20 per cent of semi-skilled workers and 10 per cent of unskilled workers had been promoted to managerial or clerical occupations.

The above analysis shows that there are two promotion paths: one from the managerial, clerical, or professional and technical occupations to the managerial occupation; the other, through acquisition of skills, within the production occupations. In contrast with Seoul, there is no clear-cut segmentation between these two promotion paths. Rather, there are cases of upward mobility from production occupations to managerial, especially clerical occupations.

The characteristics of occupational mobility of the female workers can be summarized as follows:

(i) Quite a large number of female workers were currently employed in managerial jobs. Most of them had been promoted mainly from the clerical or professional and technical occupations and a few had come from production occupations.

(ii) The skilled production workers at first employment tended to remain in the production occupations.

(iii) A large proportion of semi-skilled or unskilled production workers at first employment moved up to skilled production occupations.

As for female workers, we conclude from the above discussion that there are two promotion paths: one from managerial, clerical, or professional and technical occupations to the managerial occupation; the other is dependent upon skill formation within the production occupations. In contrast to Seoul, a relatively large number of female workers had been promoted to the managerial occupations. One noteworthy feature is that, in the case of male workers in Manila, the segmentation between the production occupations and the managerial and administrative occupations was not strict, whereas in the case of female workers there was a clear-cut segmentation.

(e) Summary

We find that female workers in Seoul, Kuala Lumpur and Manila are constrained by occupational segmentation. This is consistent with the constraint on occupational mobility facing female workers, which was discussed in section 6 of Chapter 4. In the case of male workers, there was no strict occupational segmentation in Kuala Lumpur and Manila, while the opposite applied to female workers. In Seoul, however, the male workers as well as female workers were constrained by strict occupational segmentation. In Bangkok, the occupational segmentation of female workers was not so clear-cut as in Seoul but somewhat stricter than that of male workers in Bangkok.

5.4 Change in Employment Status

Part-time (or temporary) workers, contract workers and family workers form a group with unstable employment status. Irrespective of sex, workers in these unstable status groups tend to become regular full-time workers. In the four Asian cities surveyed it was commonly observed that workers tended to make their employment status stable by changing their jobs. The relevant figures are furnished in Appendix tables A.5.1 to A.5.4.

5.5 Job Changes by Size of Establishment

(a) Seoul

One can examine labour mobility in terms of establishment size by looking at the size of the firms in which the workers who had changed jobs at least once between their first and their current employment were employed.

Irrespective of sex, workers who were employed in firms with less than 30 workers, between 30 and 99 workers and between 100 and 299 workers showed a tendency to move into larger sized firms; but those who started in firms of size 300 to 499 workers and more than 500 workers tended to end up in small- or medium-sized firms (Appendix tables A.5.5,a and A.5.5,b). This tendency was also observed in a study by Moo Ki Bai and Jae Yoon Park (1976). Since many of the large-sized firms in the manufacturing sector, especially in the textile, garments, shoe, other manufactures, pottery, glass and fabricated metals assembly industries are characterized by low wages with low per capita value-added, workers employed in these large-sized firms are likely to be attracted to the small- or medium-sized firms. The fact that labour mobility frequently occurs in both directions between large-sized and small- or medium-sized firms is consistent with the non-existence of segmentation by firm size in the labour market.

(b) Kuala Lumpur

As can be seen in Appendix tables A.5.6,a and A.5.6,b, labour mobility by size of firm in Kuala Lumpur differs slightly from that of Seoul, Manila, or Bangkok. It is a common phenomenon in other cities that workers in small/medium-sized firms with less than 300 workers show a tendency to move to large-sized firms with more than 300 workers. However, few workers in large-sized firms with more than 300 workers moved to small/medium-sized firms with less than 300 workers. That is, the workers in large-sized firms are likely to move to firms of almost the same size. However, since the labour mobility from small/medium-sized firms to large-sized firms is very active, it is hard to claim that the labour market is segmented according to the size of the firm.

(c) Bangkok

As is clear from Appendix tables A.5.7,a and A.5.7,b, the workers in small/medium-sized firms with less than 300 workers tended to move to large-sized firms with more than 300 workers, especially to large-sized firms with more than 500 workers. In addition, it appears that the workers in large-sized firms with more than 300 workers tended to move to small/medium-sized firms with less than 300 workers. One feature that distinguishes Bangkok, Seoul and Manila is that the workers who were first employed in large-sized firms with more than 500 workers changed their jobs mainly to firms of the same size. Nevertheless, the labour market in Bangkok cannot be treated as segmented in terms of size of firm.

(d) Manila

Appendix tables A.5.8,a and A.5.8,b show the distribution of workers who changed jobs at least once between their first and current employment in terms of firm size. It indicates that both male and female workers moved from small/medium-sized firms with less than 300 workers to large-sized firms with more than 500 workers. In addition, workers in large-sized firms with more than 300 workers also moved to small/medium-sized firms with less than 300 workers. In short, the labour market in Manila is not segmented according to size of firm.

5.6 Economic Status of Women Migrant Workers

(a) Purpose of Migration

Table 5.13 shows that, among the surveyed workers 55 per cent of the men and 50 per cent of the women in Manila, were migrants from other areas; 58 per cent of the men and 64 per cent of the women in Bangkok; 67 per cent of men and 64 per cent of women in Kuala Lumpur; and 60 per cent of men and 70 per cent of women in Seoul. In short, more than half the surveyed workers in all four cities were migrants.

The migration of workers was motivated predominantly by employment prospects (table 5.14). Appendix table A.5.9 indicates that migration took place generally at the ages of 19 or 20, and that the majority of migrants

Table 5.13. Distribution of surveyed workers by place of origin (Number of persons and percentage)

Place of origin	Male		Female		Place of origin	Male		Female	
Seoul					**Bangkok**				
This City	264	(38.3)	204	(29.9)	This City	265	(41.9)	256	(36.3)
5 Large Cities	57	(8.3)	42	(6.2)	Other Cities/Towns	112	(17.7)	119	(16.9)
Other Cities	91	(13.2)	78	(11.4)	Rural Areas	255	(40.3)	331	(46.9)
Rural Areas	277	(40.2)	359	(52.6)	Outside the country	1	(0.2)	0	(0.0)
Total	689	(100.0)	683	(100.0)	Total	633	(100.0)	683	(100.0)
Kuala Lumpur					**Manila**				
This City[a]	247	(33.4)	254	(36.0)	Metro Manila	353	(45.0)	389	(49.5)
Other Cities/Towns	352	(47.6)	308	(43.7)	Other Cities/Towns	166	(21.2)	156	(19.9)
Rural Areas	130	(17.6)	140	(19.9)	Rural Areas	264	(33.7)	240	(30.5)
Outside the country	10	(1.4)	3	(0.4)	Outside the country	1	(0.1)	1	(0.1)
Total	739	(100.0)	705	(100.0)	Total	784	(100.0)	786	(100.0)

Note: [a] Includes Petaling Jaya and Shah Alam.

Table 5.14. Distribution of surveyed migrant workers by purpose of migrant (Number of persons and percentage)

Purpose	Male		Female		Purpose	Male		Female	
Seoul					**Bangkok**				
Employment	305	(70.9)	289	(59.7)	Employment	266	(74.5)	333	(75.0)
Training/Apprenticeship	4	(0.9)	12	(2.5)	Training/Apprenticeship	10	(2.8)	8	(1.8)
Education	63	(14.7)	56	(11.6)	Education	66	(18.5)	52	(11.7)
Accompany the Spouse	2	(0.5)	44	(9.1)	Accompany the Spouse	1	(0.3)	5	(1.1)
Accompany the Family	41	(9.5)	75	(15.5)	Accompany the Family	7	(2.0)	26	(5.9)
Others	15	(3.5)	8	(1.7)	Others	7	(2.0)	20	(4.5)
Total	430	(100.0)	484	(100.0)	Total	357	(100.0)	444	(100.0)
Kuala Lumpur					**Manila**				
Employment	385	(78.3)	311	(69.1)	Employment	256	(65.0)	221	(60.0)
Training/Apprenticeship	17	(3.5)	13	(2.9)	Training/Apprenticeship	2	(0.5)	0	(0.0)
Education	55	(11.2)	47	(10.4)	Education	107	(27.2)	105	(28.5)
Accompany the Spouse	2	(0.4)	37	(8.2)	Accompany the Spouse	1	(0.3)	9	(2.4)
Accompany the Family	25	(5.1)	36	(8.0)	Accompany the Family	22	(5.6)	28	(7.6)
Others	8	(1.6)	6	(1.3)	Others	6	(1.5)	6	(1.6)
Total	492	(100.0)	450	(100.0)	Total	394	(100.0)	369	(100.0)

were single when they moved to the city. Prior to migration, most of them were either unemployed or out of the labour force, Bangkok being an exception in this respect (Appendix table A.5.9,a to Appendix table A.5.9,d).

Accordingly, it can be argued that unemployed or economically inactive workers in other areas are the main source of labour supply for the manufacturing industries of the four Asian cities. One might even conjecture that regional migration has enhanced the economic status of otherwise unemployed or economically inactive workers.

(b) Economic Status before Migration

To determine whether the economic status of migrants improved after migration we examine the type of industries and the occupations of the migrants before they moved. Table 5.15 gives the distribution by industry of the workers who were employed before migration. It shows that only 21 per cent of male workers and 11 per cent of female workers had jobs before they moved into Manila. The male workers were employed mainly

Table 5.15. Distribution of surveyed migrant workers by pre-migration industry (Number of persons and percentage)

	Male		Female			Male		Female	
Seoul					**Bangkok**				
Agriculture	32	(34.4)	23	(42.6)	Agriculture	89	(49.7)	140	(62.0)
Mining	3	(3.2)	0	(0.0)	Mining	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Manufacturing	41	(44.1)	26	(48.2)	Manufacturing	26	(14.5)	38	(16.8)
Electricity, Gas, Water	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	Electricity, Gas, Water	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Construction	2	(2.2)	0	(0.0)	Construction	14	(7.8)	5	(2.2)
Wholesale and Retail Trade	2	(2.2)	4	(7.4)	Wholesale and Retail Trade	18	(10.1)	28	(12.4)
Transport, Storage, Communications	4	(4.3)	0	(0.0)	Transport, Storage, Communications	3	(1.7)	1	(0.4)
Finance, Business Services	6	(6.5)	0	(0.0)	Finance, Business Services	2	(1.1)	1	(0.4)
Social, Personal, Services	3	(3.2)	1	(1.9)	Social, Personal, Services	27	(15.1)	13	(5.8)
Total	93	(100.0)	54	(100.0)	Total	179	(100.0)	226	(100.0)
Kuala Lumpur					**Manila**				
Agriculture	61	(35.7)	29	(24.8)	Agriculture	31	(39.2)	4	(9.8)
Mining	5	(2.9)	4	(3.4)	Mining	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Manufacturing	46	(26.9)	40	(34.2)	Manufacturing	25	(31.7)	12	(29.3)
Electricity, Gas, Water	2	(1.2)	0	(0.0)	Electricity, Gas, Water	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Construction	12	(7.0)	2	(1.7)	Construction	7	(8.9)	0	(0.0)
Wholesale and Retail Trade	15	(8.8)	17	(14.5)	Wholesale and Retail Trade	4	(5.1)	7	(17.1)
Transport, Storage, Communications	6	(3.5)	2	(1.7)	Transport, Storage, Communications	1	(1.3)	0	(0.0)
Finance, Business Services	9	(5.3)	9	(7.7)	Finance, Business Services	1	(1.3)	7	(17.1)
Social, Personal, Services	15	(8.8)	14	(12.0)	Social, Personal, Services	10	(12.7)	11	(26.8)
Total	171	(100.0)	117	(100.0)	Total	79	(100.0)	41	(100.0)

Table 5.16. Distribution of surveyed migrant workers by pre-migration employment status (Number of persons and percentage)

Employment status	Male		Female		Employment status	Male		Female	
Seoul					**Bangkok**				
Employer/Self-employed	4	(4.1)	0	(0.0)	Employer/Self-employed	4	(2.2)	10	(4.4)
Regular Worker	46	(46.9)	22	(38.6)	Regular Worker	32	(17.8)	32	(14.2)
Casual Worker	8	(8.2)	6	(10.5)	Casual Worker	48	(26.7)	42	(18.6)
Contract Worker	4	(4.1)	1	(1.8)	Contract Worker	0	(0.0)	3	(1.3)
Apprentice	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	Apprentice	2	(1.1)	0	(0.0)
Family Worker	36	(36.7)	28	(49.1)	Family Worker	94	(52.2)	139	(61.5)
Total	98	(100.0)	57	(100.0)	Total	180	(100.0)	226	(100.0)
Kuala Lumpur					**Manila**				
Employer/Self-employed	9	(5.3)	15	(12.7)	Employer/Self-employed	17	(20.7)	5	(11.9)
Regular Worker	109	(63.7)	84	(71.2)	Regular Worker	15	(18.3)	17	(40.5)
Casual Worker	23	(13.5)	12	(10.2)	Casual Worker	20	(24.4)	15	(35.7)
Contract Worker	12	(7.0)	3	(2.5)	Contract Worker	12	(14.6)	1	(2.4)
Apprentice	3	(1.8)	0	(0.0)	Apprentice	2	(2.4)	2	(4.8)
Family Worker	15	(8.8)	4	(3.4)	Family Worker	16	(19.5)	2	(4.8)
Total	171	(100.0)	118	(100.0)	Total	82	(100.0)	42	(100.0)

in the agricultural sector and the tertiary industry, while the female workers mainly in the tertiary industry. Table 5.16 indicates that the employment status of both male and female workers before migration was generally unstable, as only 18 per cent of male workers and 40 per cent of female workers were hired on a full-time basis.

In Bangkok, 51 per cent of male workers and 50 per cent of female workers were employed before migration. Their employment was predominantly in the agricultural sector followed by the services sector.

Before migration, only 18 per cent of male workers and 14 per cent of female workers were employed on a full-time basis. The majority were family workers followed by part-time workers.

In Kuala Lumpur, 34 per cent of male workers and 26 per cent of female workers were employed before migration. Again, the male workers were employed mainly in the agricultural sector followed by the services sector. The services sector was the major source of female employment with the agricultural sector coming next. Among the workers who were employed before migration, 64 per cent of male workers and 71 per cent of female workers worked on a full-time basis.

In Seoul, 23 per cent of male workers and 12 per cent of female workers had jobs before migration. The fact that 44 per cent of male workers and 48 per cent of female workers were employed in the manufacturing sector before they migrated into the Seoul area reveals that the manufacturing sector in that area relies heavily on migrants from the rural areas in meeting the demand for labour. Also 47 per cent of male migrants and 39 per cent of female migrants were employed on a full-time basis, while 37 per cent of male migrants and 49 per cent of female migrants were family workers.

To summarize, migrants were the major source of labour supply in the manufacturing sector of the four Asian cities surveyed. Most of them were either unemployed or economically inactive before migration. There were only a small number of female workers who had had jobs before they moved to the cities. They had been employed mainly in the services sector in the case of Manila and Kuala Lumpur; the agricultural sector in the case of Bangkok; and the manufacturing sector in the case of Seoul. As for the male migrants, they were primarily in the agricultural sector before they moved to Bangkok and Manila, and in the services sector and the manufacturing sector before migration to Kuala Lumpur and Seoul, respectively. In all four cities, the migrants experienced an improvement in their occupational status. Therefore, one can conclude that the wages and employment status of migrants improved by their moving from low productivity areas to a high productivity area.

(c) Occupational Status of Migrant Workers in Relation to Native Urban Workers

What are the differences between the economic activities of migrant workers and those of native urban workers? We shall review below the proportion of migrant workers by industry, occupation, size of firm and export ratio as well as the differences in educational levels between migrant and non-migrant workers.

The proportions of migrant workers by industry, occupation, size of firm and export ratio are shown in Appendix table A.5.10,a to Appendix table A.5.10,d. In Manila, Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur there were large proportions in low-wage industries. Among the women workers in Manila, migrants constituted 51 per cent, their share in the textile industry being 60 per cent. In Bangkok, the corresponding figures were 64 per cent and 71 per cent. Among women workers in Kuala Lumpur, 64 per cent were migrants and, among workers in the fabricated metals industry, 70 per cent were migrants. In Seoul, the proportion of migrant female workers was 76 per cent in the textile industry and 72 per cent in the fabricated metals industry. The male workers in the four cities showed a similar pattern of distribution.

In regard to occupational categories, Manila may have a sampling problem, as 71 per cent of the 468 surveyed female workers in the production occupations were reported as skilled workers. Among the production workers, 51 per cent of the women were migrants, of whom 58 per cent were skilled production workers. In Bangkok, 64 per cent of women workers were migrants with 61 per cent of skilled production workers, 79 per cent of semi-skilled production workers and 71 per cent of unskilled production workers. Among the 336 female production workers in Kuala Lumpur, migrants accounted for 54 per cent skilled, 72 per cent semi-skilled and 57 per cent unskilled production workers. The share of migrant workers in skilled and unskilled production occupations was lower than the share of migrant workers among total female workers. In Seoul, the percentage of migrants among the unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled female production workers was higher than that of migrants among total female workers.

By size of firm, the percentage of migrant women workers in Bangkok, was high in firms with less than 30 workers and firms with 30-100 workers, while in Manila, Kuala Lumpur and Seoul their percentage share

was not so high even in small- and medium-sized firms. In Seoul, the percentage of migrant workers was high in firms with high export ratios, while in Manila, Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur the percentage share was low in export-oriented industries. Although the female workers who flowed into urban labour markets were in general employed in low-wage industries, they were not necessarily employed in small- or medium-sized firms or firms with high export ratios.

Appendix table A.5.11 shows the differences in terms of years of schooling between migrant and non-migrant workers. In Manila, Bangkok and Seoul, the non-migrants had had more years of schooling than the migrants. In Kuala Lumpur, however, the migrant had a higher educational level. It is common to all four cities that the migrant workers had improved their level of education since they moved to the urban labour markets. Appendix table A.5.12 illustrates the distribution of the migrant workers in the four cities by educational level. It shows that the proportion of workers with low-level education fell and the proportion of workers with high-level education rose, and that the educational level of the female workers rose after migration.

(d) Wages and Promotion Prospects of Migrant Workers in Relation to Non-migrant Workers

Since wages depend on the personal attributes of workers as well as on the demand for labour, one must examine the wage difference between migrant and non-migrant workers after controlling for the personal attributes and the characteristics of demand for labour, as has been done in the regression analysis performed in Chapter 4. If no statistically significant wage difference is detected between migrants and non-migrants after controlling for personal attributes and demand characteristics, this means that the labour market does not segregate migrant from non-migrants workers. If any statistically significant wage difference exists, it implies that the market discriminates against either of the two categories.

Our estimation results show that there is no wage difference between migrant and non-migrant workers, male and female, at a 5 per cent significance level in Seoul and Manila, and female workers in Bangkok. However, male migrant workers in Bangkok as well as male and female migrant workers in Kuala Lumpur appear to be discriminated against in favour of non-migrants at a 5 per cent significance level. The wage premium given to non-migrant workers is 6 per cent in the case of men and 8 per cent in the case of women in Kuala Lumpur and 10 per cent in the case of men in Bangkok. It seems that the migrant male workers in Bangkok and the migrant male and female workers in Kuala Lumpur need assistance from employment agencies to match them with jobs suited to their personal attributes.

The effects of differences in personal attributes of migrant and non-migrant workers on promotion probability are illustrated in table 4.12. It shows that there is no statistically significant relation between migrant or non-migrant status and promotion probability in all the four cities surveyed.

5.7 Summary

The labour market in all four cities can be described as competitive in the sense that workers change their jobs in pursuit of personal benefits, with women being more mobile than male workers.

Manila has the highest frequency of inter-industry labour mobility followed by Seoul, Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur. In other words, intra-industry labour mobility occurs most frequently in Kuala Lumpur and Bangkok followed by Seoul and Manila. Inter-industry mobility takes primarily the form of flows from the non-manufacturing sector into the manufacturing sector. If inter-industry mobility from non-manufacturing sector into manufacturing sector is removed from the sample, the female labour force in all four cities is characterized by intra-industry mobility. But Seoul shows some pattern of mobility from the textile industry to the fabricated metals industry. Therefore, it can be argued that the female labour force first moves into a labour-intensive industry from the non-manufacturing sector, and then moves around within labour intensive industries. This type of mobility reflects the existence of segmentation across industries with respect to women's employment.

When occupational mobility among female workers who changed their jobs is examined, one can observe occupational segmentation in Seoul, Manila and Kuala Lumpur, which is consistent with the conclusions in section 6 of Chapter 4. As for occupational mobility among male workers, there is no strict segmentation in Manila as exists for female workers. In Seoul, however, the male workers are faced with strict occupational

segmentation within a firm. In Bangkok, both male and female workers are constrained by occupational segmentation, but appear to achieve mobility from the production occupations to the clerical or managerial occupations through change of jobs.

The distribution by employment status of the workers who changed their jobs shows that the unstable, part-time workers tend to become stable full-time workers.

In terms of firm size, labour market segmentation is not detected as the labour force tends to move in either direction towards large-sized firms or towards small- or medium-sized firms.

The majority of urban migrants were either under-employed, unemployed, or economically inactive before they moved into the urban labour markets; thus, it can be argued that migration into urban areas has raised the wage level and productivity of migrant workers. In addition, no significant wage differentials were detected between the migrant and non-migrant female workers.

CHAPTER 6

WOMEN, WORK AND MARRIAGE

This chapter deals briefly, with issues concerning married women workers. We shall examine aspects such as the withdrawal of women from the labour force after marriage and their return to work after childbirth as well as the experience of married women at work in terms of employment status and career opportunities. This chapter also presents the information gathered from respondents, regarding the attitude of spouse and family towards employment of married women and discusses the main factors which in the opinion of the married female workers, would increase the employment probability of married women.

It should be noted that the survey questionnaire was not comprehensive enough to enable us to fully understand the reasons why female workers encountered career interruptions on getting married and why they returned to work after childbirth. The survey dealt primarily with married workers in the labour force and excluded, those who remained permanently out of the labour force after marriage. Inclusion of the latter is, however crucial, if a full examineation is to be carried out on the extent of career interruption by marriage, childbirth or child care and the extent of reinstatement of women in their former position after childbirth or child care. The analysis in this chapter is, therefore, limited to the married working women in our sample.

6.1 Withdrawal from Labour Force after Marriage and Re-employment

(a) Seoul

Among the married women workers in our sample, 113 workers had had job experience before their marriage. That is, they were re-entrants into the labour market after marriage. Among the married workers who had a job before marriage, 48 responded that they had quit their job after marriage. They mentioned pregnancy and childbirth (40 per cent), and domestic responsibilities (38 per cent) as the main reasons for quitting. Their re-employment became possible only when the burden arising from child care and housework was considerably reduced (table 6.1).

Table 6.1. Distribution of women who discontinued work during married life by the reason for the discontinuance

Reason for the discontinuance	Number	Percentage	Reason for the discontinuance	Number	Percentage
Seoul			**Bangkok**		
Change of Residence	6	12.5	Change of Residence	5	10.2
Pregnancy and Childbirth	19	39.6	Pregnancy and Childbirth	23	46.9
Domestic Responsibilities	18	37.5	Domestic Responsibilities	9	18.4
Disapproval from Family	2	4.2	Disapproval from Family	1	2.0
Services Terminated	–	–	Services Terminated	1	2.0
Others	3	6.3	Others	10	20.4
Total	48	100.0	Total	49	100.0
Kuala Lumpur			**Manila**		
Change of Residence	4	13.0	Change of Residence	2	2.3
Pregnancy and Childbirth	18	58.1	Pregnancy and Childbirth	47	53.4
Domestic Responsibilities	3	9.7	Domestic Responsibilities	18	20.5
Disapproval from Family	2	6.5	Disapproval from Family	3	9.1
Services Terminated	2	6.5	Services Terminated	10	3.4
Others	2	6.5	Others	3	11.4
Total	31	100.0	Total	88	100.0

The change in employment status of such women workers after marriage is reported in table 6.2. As indicated by the threefold increase in the number of casual and contract workers after marriage the re-employment after marriage shows a downward trend in terms of job status.

In addition, the married female workers generally indicated that their qualifications for employment did not improve after marriage (table 6.3). Only 12 per cent of them responded positively regarding any improvement in qualifications for employment after marriage, which is significantly lower than the 31 per cent who reported an improvement in their husband's qualifications for employment.

By way of improving their qualifications, married women workers availed themselves of in-plant training (24 per cent) and other training (48 per cent).

The responsibility of supporting the family after their husband's death or lay off is probably the most important reason that led married female workers to rejoin the labour force. The fact that many married female workers support a family must be borne in mind. Out of the total of 202 married female workers surveyed there were 52 women whose husband had died or been laid off. Among these, 62 per cent and 23 per cent were distributed in the textile industry and the fabricated metals industry, respectively. The average monthly wage paid to them was reported to be 436,000 won. Furthermore, they received fewer fringe benefits than married male workers. Only 31 per cent and 29 per cent of married female workers received cost of living allowances and education allowances, respectively.

Married female workers were often obliged to participate in the labour market for economic reasons. Although we did not inquire directly into the reasons for rejoining the labour market, we have some indirect evidence supporting our argument. We checked house ownership and average monthly wage by classifying the households into those where both husband and wife supported the family and those where only the husband worked to support the family (table 6.4). In the former case, 34 per cent of respondents owned their house, 54 per cent rented a house on a long-term lump-sum deposit basis, and 8 per cent rented a house on a monthly basis. In the case where the husband was the sole bread-winner, a larger proportion of households owned a house as indicated by 40 per cent being house owners and 51 per cent long-term renters with lump-sum deposits. Moreover, the average monthly wage of a male bread-winner household was higher than that of a husband in a double-earner household. It follows that married women workers seek employment in order to make up the deficiency in the family's financial resources.

Table 6.2. Percentage of women workers who discontinued work during married life by employment status before and after break

	Before break		After break			Before break		After break	
Seoul					**Bangkok**				
Employer/Self-employed	3	(6.7)	1	(2.2)	Employer/Self-employed	1	(2.3)	1	(2.3)
Regular	28	(62.2)	34	(75.6)	Regular	25	(56.8)	26	(59.1)
Casual	2	(4.4)	5	(11.1)	Casual	11	(25.0)	14	(31.8)
Contract	1	(2.2)	3	(6.7)	Contract	–	(0.0)	–	(0.0)
Apprentice	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)	Apprentice	1	(2.3)	–	(0.0)
Family Workers	11	(24.4)	2	(4.4)	Family Workers	6	(13.6)	3	(6.8)
Total	45	(100.0)	45	(100.0)	Total	44	(100.0)	44	(100.0)
Kuala Lumpur					**Manila**				
Employer/Self-employed	2	(7.4)	–	(0.0)	Employer/Self-employed	–	(0.0)	2	(2.3)
Regular	20	(74.1)	29	(90.6)	Regular	59	(85.5)	53	(60.2)
Casual	3	(11.1)	2	(6.3)	Casual	6	(8.7)	23	(26.1)
Contract	2	(7.4)	1	(3.1)	Contract	1	(1.4)	7	(8.0)
Apprentice	–	(0.0)	–	(0.0)	Apprentice	–	(0.0)	2	(2.3)
Family Workers	–	(0.0)	–	(0.0)	Family Workers	3	(4.3)	1	(1.1)
Total	27	(100.0)	32	(100.0)	Total	69	(100.0)	88	(100.0)

Table 6.3. Percentage distribution of women workers and their spouses who improved qualifications after marriage by type of qualification

	Before break		After break			Before break		After break	
Seoul					**Bangkok**				
Those who Reported Improved Qualification after Marriage (per cent)	12.1		30.7		Those who Reported Improved Qualification after Marriage (per cent)	18.1		30.9	
Type of Qualification					Type of Qualification				
University Degree	1	(4.8)	2	(3.5)	University Degree	2	(4.1)	6	(7.0)
Technical Diploma/ Certificate	4	(19.1)	17	(29.8)	Technical Diploma/ Certificate	5	(10.2)	15	(17.4)
Non-Technical Diploma/ Certificate	1	(4.8)	5	(8.8)	Non-Technical Diploma/ Certificate	2	(4.1)	2	(2.3)
In-Planting Training	5	(23.8)	10	(17.5)	In-Planting Training	33	(67.3)	44	(51.2)
Other Training	10	(47.6)	23	(40.4)	Other Training	7	(14.3)	19	(22.1)
Total	21	(100.0)	57	(100.0)	Total	49	(100.0)	86	(100.0)
Kuala Lumpur					**Manila**				
Those who Reported Improved Qualification after Marriage (per cent)	27.6		29.2		Those who Reported Improved Qualification after Marriage (per cent)	33.3		29.7	
Type of Qualification					Type of Qualification				
University Degree	–	(0.0)	3	(3.1)	University Degree	15	(10.3)	15	(11.5)
Technical Diploma/ Certificate	4	(4.3)	8	(8.3)	Technical Diploma/ Certificate	8	(5.5)	11	(8.5)
Non-Technical Diploma/ Certificate	12	(13.0)	13	(13.5)	Non-Technical Diploma/ Certificate	7	(4.8)	10	(7.7)
In-Planting Training	64	(69.6)	26	(27.1)	In-Planting Training	106	(72.6)	86	(66.2)
Other Training	12	(13.0)	46	(47.9)	Other Training	10	(6.8)	8	(6.2)
Total	92	(100.0)	96	(100.0)	Total	146	(100.0)	130	(100.0)

(b) Kuala Lumpur

Among the 335 married female workers who responded, 298 were found to have worked during the six months preceding their marriage. Out of the 298, only 33 (11 per cent) withdrew from the labour market after marriage. In Kuala Lumpur, marriage does not seem to hamper women's career seriously, which is in sharp contrast with Seoul. As shown in table 6.1, the major reasons for quitting a job are pregnancy and childbirth, which accounted for 58 per cent of the cases.

As for changes in their employment status presented in table 6.2, married female workers are likely to be re-employed as regular full-time workers rather than as temporary or part-time workers. This indicates that their employment status, in contrast with Seoul, tends to improve with marriage. We should not, however, hasten to generalize because of the limited sample size of the workers surveyed.

The survey results indicate that 92 (28 per cent) out of 298 female workers considered that their qualifications for employment had improved after marriage. The above percentage is far higher than in Seoul. Based on the response from 29 per cent of the married female workers that their husband's employment qualifications improved after marriage, we may safely assume that married women are fairly competitive with their husbands in improving their qualifications. This also is in sharp contrast with Seoul. As for men, they generally upgrade their employment qualifications through a more formal route such as acquiring a diploma or a certificate. Comparing Kuala Lumpur and Seoul, the latter shows a higher percentage of improvement through formal qualifications (table 6.3).

We also compared the average monthly wages and house ownership of households where both husband and wife work with those where only the husband works to support the family. If the house ownership percentage or the average monthly wage of the former is lower than the latter, then it can be assumed that married

Table 6.4. Comparison of households where both husband and wife earn with households where only husband earns

	Both husband and wife working	Only husband working
Seoul		
Number of Household Members	3.7	4.0
Monthly Wage ($)		
Husband	1,207.1	1,230.4
Wife	731.9	–
Total	1,939.0	1,230.4
Nature of Entitlement to Residence (per cent)		
Independent Ownership	34.4	39.7
Joint/Family Ownership	3.5	2.8
Deposited Rent	53.7	50.9
Monthly Rent	7.7	3.7
Dormitory/Company Housing	0.8	2.0
Others	0.0	0.9
	100.0	100.0
Kuala Lumpur		
Number of Household Members	4.4	5.1
Monthly Wage ($)		
Husband	675.2	640.7
Wife	284.9	–
Total	960.1	640.7
Nature of Entitlement to Residence (per cent)		
Independent Ownership	56.4	61.9
Joint/Family Ownership	13.6	6.9
Rented	26.4	28.9
Dormitory/Company Housing	2.3	0.0
Others	1.4	2.3
	100.0	100.0
Bangkok		
Number of Family Members	4.2	4.3
Monthly Wage ($)		
Husband	339.0	372.8
Wife	191.6	–
Total	530.6	372.8
Nature of Entitlement to Residence (per cent)		
Independent Ownership	22.5	30.6
Joint/Family Ownership	22.0	18.1
Rented	24.5	18.1
Dormitory/Company Housing	13.5	15.3
Others	17.6	18.1
	100.0	100.0
Manila		
Number of Family Members	5.0	5.1
Monthly Wage ($)		
Husband	346.0	277.4
Wife	218.6	–
Total	564.6	277.4
Nature of Entitlement to Residence (per cent)		
Independent Ownership	45.3	36.7
Joint/Family Ownership	14.0	14.9
Rented	37.9	41.3
Dormitory/Company Housing	2.7	7.1
Others	0.0	0.0
	100.0	100.0

women go to work for financial reasons, that is, to supplement the husband's insufficient income. According to table 6.4, however, the wage income of a husband whose wife is also working is higher than that of a husband whose wife is not working. Furthermore, there is no significant difference in house ownership between the two. Does that mean that, in Kuala Lumpur a husband's income is sufficient to support his family? We should perhaps take into account that the households where couples are working usually have better human resources and qualifications than those where only the husband is working and thus receive higher wages. In the case of Kuala Lumpur, well-qualified women are likely to be employed, since there seem to be discriminatory practices in regard to hiring married women.

(c) Bangkok

In the Bangkok sample, there were 234 married women workers who worked prior to their marriage and 45 who did not work. The percentage of withdrawals from the labour market after marriage was 21 per cent, which was slightly higher than in Kuala Lumpur but significantly lower than in Seoul. As shown in table 6.1, the main reasons for withdrawal were pregnancy and childbirth and domestic responsibilities. Table 6.1 which gives data on the employment status of women before and after marriage shows no significant difference between the two statuses.

About 18 per cent of the married women responded that their qualifications for employment had improved after marriage. This percentage is lower than in Kuala Lumpur but higher than in Seoul. As for their husband's employment qualifications 31 per cent of the women answered that they had improved after marriage. This indicates that in Bangkok as in Seoul men have far better opportunities than women at work. Table 6.3, indicates that men's employment qualifications were upgraded through more formal educations. It also shows that married female workers in Seoul improved their qualifications through more formal education than those in Bangkok.

Once again, it is of interest to compare households where both husband and wife were working with those where only the husband was working, in terms of average monthly income and house ownership. As shown in table 6.4, the average monthly wage of a husband in a double-earner household was higher than that of a husband in a household where the wife was not working. As for house ownership, the former tended to rent a house rather than own one. This indicates that the women in Bangkok seek employment in order either to help in purchasing a house or to supplement the spouse's income.

(d) Manila

In Manila, 375 respondents reported that they were working prior to marriage, while only 63 reported that they were not. Among the former, 88 left their jobs after marriage. Their percentage share (24 per cent) was higher than in Kuala Lumpur, lower than in Seoul, and similar to that in Bangkok. Table 6.2 shows that pregnancy and childbirth (53 per cent), and domestic responsibilities (21 per cent) were the main reasons for quitting the job.

Table 6.2 indicating the changes in employment status shows that the percentage of regular workers was sharply reduced from 86 per cent before marriage to 60 per cent after marriage. On the other hand, the share of casual and contract workers tended to increase. In other words, married women workers in Manila face uncertainty as to their employment, status which would seriously discourage them from re-entering the labor market.

As shown in table 6.3, 33 per cent of female workers and 30 per cent of male workers responded that their employment qualifications improved after marriage. This is similar to the situation in Kuala Lumpur. Again, table 6.3 indicates that male workers seek to improve their employment qualifications by more formal means than female workers, such as getting a diploma or a certificate.

Comparing the average monthly wages of husbands from a double-earner and a single-earner household, we notice that the earnings of the former are higher than those of the latter. As for house ownership, the former tended to own a house rather than rent one.

6.2 Problems Facing Married Women Workers

(a) Seoul

In this section we shall point out that the problems facing married women workers arise from the burden of housework and lack of child care facilities. A majority of married women workers, amounting to 93 per cent, responded that they performed household work without any outside help. Among the workers having children aged less than 10, about 40 per cent indicated that their children were looked after by parents or relatives. Only 8 per cent appeared to take advantage of child care centres. Surprisingly, 39 per cent reported that they left their children alone in the house while they were at work. Among a total of 10 married female workers who used child care facility, only one worker left her children at a government-financed child care facility and five workers at a child care centres funded by private organizations or groups, and the rest at a facility offered by their firm.

To a question concerning the husband's or family's attitude towards employment of married women, 73 per cent responded that they received cooperation or encouragement. (table 6.5). A shortcoming of the survey is that the question was put to the currently employed workers only and excluded married women who were obliged to quit their jobs. Nonetheless, the attitude towards employment of married women appears in general to be positive. It should also be noted that 11 per cent of married women faced strong opposition to their employment while 16 per cent experienced moderately unwilling consent, either by way of being tolerant or indifferent. This confirms that employment of married women still lacks wide social acceptability.

Table 6.5. Attitude of spouse and family towards the employment of married women (Number of persons and percentages)

	Seoul		Kuala Lumpur		Bangkok		Manila	
Encouraging	24	(12.2)	192	(59.3)	100	(36.1)	117	(27.7)
Cooperative	119	(60.7)	95	(29.3)	63	(22.7)	241	(55.0)
Tolerant	19	(9.7)	22	(6.8)	56	(20.2)	53	(12.1)
Indifferent	12	(6.1)	15	(4.6)	45	(16.2)	6	(1.4)
Against	22	(11.2)	0	(0.0)	13	(4.7)	15	(3.4)
Others	-		-		-		6	(1.4)
Total	196	(100.0)	324	(100.0)	277	(100.0)	438	(100.0)

The married women workers were also asked about their opinions on how to increase married women workers' employment opportunities. Among the various options, 62 per cent cited "a job that enables married women to attend to housework as well as a part-time job", followed by "higher wages" (18 per cent), "expansion of child care centres" (9 per cent), "information on job availability" (6 per cent), and finally "job training" (5 per cent) (see table 6.6). In general, respondents agreed on the need for more jobs that are suitable for married workers. The younger married workers opted primarily for more child care centres as well as for job training and information on employment opportunities. The older working women, however, gave preference to higher wages over other options.

These survey results imply that women do not consider the sharing of household chores as a means to enhance their employment opportunities. Rather, they perceive jobs which would enable them to attend to their household responsibilities as being the best means. This highlights the need to provide more part-time or flexible work as well as to create more jobs suitable for married women on a priority basis.

(b) Kuala Lumpur

Regarding the husband's or family's attitude towards employment of married women, 89 per cent responded that their husband and family members were understanding and supportive. This rate is higher than that for Seoul. Moreover, according to the survey, results showed that no woman encountered any objection

from either husband or family to her being employed. This suggests that there is virtually no social prejudice against employment of married women in Kuala Lumpur.

Apart from social prejudice, other factors such as child care or housework that impose a constraint on the employment of married women workers. In order to relieve women's burden, it is important to expand child care facilities and for household work to be shared among family members. Surprisingly, 81 per cent of women reported that they were in sole charge of housework without any outside help. Only 5 per cent of the workers responded that they took advantage of child care centres, all of which were privately owned. This indicates that, although married women in Kuala Lumpur have better job and career opportunities than their counterparts in Seoul, they still face difficulties combining professional and household duties.

The measures suggested by married women in Kuala Lumpur for enhancing their employment opportunities were of the following order: Expansion of child care facilities (26 per cent), creation of jobs suitable for married women (17 per cent) and part-time work and flexible working hours (16 per cent), while 27 per cent gave preference to higher wages (table 6.6).

Table 6.6. Opinions about important factors which will increase employment opportunities of married women

Factors	Number (per cent)		Factors	Number (per cent)	
Seoul			**Bangkok**		
Provide More Vocational Training	9	(4.5)	Provide More Vocational Training	52	(21.2)
Create More Jobs Suitable for Married Women	55	(27.6)	Create More Jobs Suitable for Married Women	53	(21.6)
Provide More Information on Job Availability	12	(6.0)	Provide More Information on Job Availability	16	(6.5)
Give Higher Wages to Married Women Workers	36	(18.1)	Give Higher Wages to Married Women Workers	53	(21.6)
Provide More Part-Time of Flexible Work	69	(34.7)	Provide More Part-Time of Flexible Work	45	(18.4)
Expand Facilities for Child Care	18	(9.1)	Expand Facilities for Child Care	17	(6.9)
			Others	9	(3.7)
Total	199	(100.0)	Total	245	(100.0)
Kuala Lumpur			**Manila**		
Provide More Vocational Training	20	(6.1)	Provide More Vocational Training	26	(5.9)
Create More Jobs Suitable for Married Women	54	(16.6)	Create More Jobs Suitable for Married Women	110	(25.1)
Provide More Information on Job Availability	20	(6.1)	Provide More Information on Job Availability	15	(3.4)
Give Higher Wages to Married Women Workers	87	(26.7)	Give Higher Wages to Married Women Workers	84	(19.2)
Provide More Part-Time or Flexible Work	53	(16.3)	Provide More Part-Time or Flexible Work	65	(14.8)
Expand Facilities for Child Care	82	(25.2)	Expand Facilities for Child Care	101	(23.1)
Others	4	(1.2)	Others	26	(5.9)
Don't know	6	(1.8)	Don't know	11	(2.5)
Total	326	(100.0)	Total	438	(100.0)

(c) Bangkok

In Bangkok also, married female workers reported difficulties in doing domestic chores as well as carrying out their professional duties. The majority of respondents, amounting to 97 per cent, responded that they attended to domestic chores daily. Compounding their difficulties was the fact that only 7 (3 per cent) were taking advantage of child care facilities, 6 of whom were using private child care centres.

Regarding differences in attitude towards employment of married women, 59 per cent said that husbands and family members were supportive and co-operative. Nevertheless, 5 per cent reported that they encountered opposition from their husband or family members while 36 per cent responded that their family members were tolerant or remained indifferent to their employment. This indicates the presence of some social bias against employment of married women workers.

Among answers to the question, "What are the most important factors for enhancing the employment opportunities of married women?", the most frequent one was "more vocational training for married women" (21 per cent) which constituted only a small portion of responses in other cities. Other answers included "creation of jobs suitable for married women" (22 per cent), "implementation of flexible working-hour system", (16 per cent) and "higher wages" (22 per cent).

(d) Manila

Even where men and women have equal employment opportunities, the women remain disadvantaged because of their domestic responsibilities. About 76 per cent of married working women reported attending to household duties daily, and 65 per cent did so without any outside help. Nevertheless, a considerable proportion of married female workers (35 per cent) in Manila hired maids to lighten their domestic burden. This rate is higher than in any other city surveyed. Presumably inexpensive domestic help, which is still available in Manila, makes this possible. It also appears that no married female workers took advantage of child care facilities in Manila.

Table 6.6 shows the attitude of husbands or family members toward married women workers. The majority of them were reported to be supportive (82 per cent), with only a few (1 per cent) raising any objection. This indicates that there is no strong bias against the employment of married women in Manila, which is similar to the tendency in Kuala Lumpur but unlike that in Seoul and Bangkok.

In response to the question, "What are the most important factors for enhancing employment opportunities of married women?", 23 per cent of the married women recommended the expansion of child care facilities. Others wanted the creation of jobs suitable for married women (25 per cent), the implementation of a flexible working-hour system (15 per cent) and higher wages (15 per cent).

CHAPTER 7

PROPOSALS FOR FACILITATING EMPLOYMENT AND UPWARD MOBILITY OF WOMEN WORKERS

Does the fact that the female workers in the four Asian cities covered by the survey, employed mainly in low-wage industries, drive them further into poverty and misery? Or are they in the process of enhancing their economic status along with industrialization?

These questions were addressed in the present report. We first pointed out that industrialization brings in important changes in the size and composition of the labour force. In particular, the female labour force tends to experience regional mobility and mobility from one industry to another, from one occupation to another, and from one employment status to another. Furthermore, such mobility brings about changes in the skills of women workers. We therefore analysed the mobility of workers in terms of region, industry, occupation and unemployment status, and demonstrated that their economic status had improved as a result of industrialization.

Since female workers are hired mainly in low-wage industries or occupations requiring a low level of skills, they usually cannot escape the inequalities pertaining to wages and promotion. At the same time, the mobility of female workers into high-wage industries or occupations is severely restricted. Even the opportunity to accumulate human capital, such as formal education and on-the-job training, is not readily available to women workers. Their low level of education and low level of on-the-job training often result in lower wages and lesser promotion prospects relative to their male counterparts.

In the light of our survey findings from four major cities in Asia, some proposals which could enhance the economic status of women workers are presented below.

7.1 Implementation of a Long-term Industrial Restructuring Policy Directed in Particular to Small- and Medium-sized Firms

Women are employed primarily in low-wage industries, such as the textile industry in Bangkok, the fabricated metals industry in Kuala Lumpur, and both the textile and fabricated metals industries in Seoul. Whereas the textile industry is a low-wage industry, the fabricated metals industry, though not a low-wage industry, tends to apply wide differentials in terms of women workers' wages and promotion prospects.

Mobility of female workers often takes the intra-industry form, inter-industry mobility being seldom found except in Seoul. Even in that city, the mobility from the textile industry to the electronics industry occurs rather infrequently (see section 2 of Chapter 5). Therefore, concentration of female workers in the textile and electronics industries can be expected to continue.

A premium by way of higher wages is detected in the large-sized firms of the textile and electronics industries. Women workers employed in small- and medium-sized firms of less than 100 workers tend to be disadvantaged. Likewise female workers employed in firms with high export ratios also tend to be disadvantaged (see sections 2 and 5 of Chapter 4). It would seem that an improvement in the economic status of workers in export-led industries could be achieved more effectively by fostering the labour-intensive, assembling and processing type of heavy and chemicals industries rather than the light industries, both of which use a relatively abundant labour force. By supporting the labour-intensive, assembling and processing type of heavy and chemical industries, the development of knowledge-intensive and technology-intensive small- and medium-sized firms producing parts and raw materials would be achieved. It is precisely by this means that the economic status of workers, in particular women, would improve. The wage differentials that exist depending on firm size and industry would decline only if the industrial policy incorporates a transformation of the industrial structure and encourages the development of small- and medium-sized firms. This would help to enhance the economic status of women workers in the long run.

7.2 Emphasis on Growth of the Manufacturing Sector as a Means to Absorb the Unemployed and Under-employed Labour Force

Another measure no less important than industrial restructuring to enhance the economic status of women workers is to maintain continuous economic growth and increase the share of the manufacturing sector in GNP. This would absorb the under-employed family workers, the unemployed or the economically inactive workers in rural areas into the urban labour market (see section 5 of Chapter 5). That is, continuous economic growth centred on the manufacturing sector would enable the workers to move from low-productive to high-productive sectors, and thus lead to improvement in the wages and working conditions of workers, in addition to achieving efficient allocation of human resources.

7.3 Measures to Increase the Supply of Female Professional and Managerial Workers

The wage gap and the difference in promotion probabilities between blue-collar and white-collar occupations attracted our special attention. First, we observed in section 6 of Chapter 3 that wide differentials in wages exist between white-collar and blue-collar workers, irrespective of sex. In sections 2 and 3 of Chapter 4, we also noticed that there was a considerable gap in wages and promotion prospects between the two groups, despite the fact that educational background, duration of job and on-the-job training were identical. Second, we showed in section 6 of Chapter 3 that the wage differential between male and female workers within white-collar occupations increases after the ages of 30 to 35 in Manila, Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur and Seoul. Third, we noted in section 6 of Chapter 4 and section 3 of Chapter 6 that there was strict segmentation between the female workers in production and in managerial occupations in Manila, Kuala Lumpur and Seoul.

For women workers to perform effectively the duties pertaining to the professional, managerial or administrative positions, the following pre-conditions seem to be required: First, women should be encouraged to receive college education so that they can enter professional, managerial and other white-collar occupations. Second, in the case of Seoul where many women have completed college education, the discrimination against female workers in professional or managerial occupations in the manufacturing sector should be eliminated. Third, an institutional arrangement that guarantees continuous employment of women even after the age of 35 in the labour markets of the four cities surveyed needs to be established. Finally, and possibly the most feasible measure is the implementation of mandatory hiring of female workers by the high-wage paying government offices or high-wage paying public enterprises, so that those trained in the public sector can later join professional or managerial jobs in the private sector.

7.4 Adoption of a Job Placement System to Benefit Migrant Workers

According to our estimation results, there was no marked difference in promotion probabilities between migrant workers from rural areas and native urban workers. However, both the migrant male and female workers in Kuala Lumpur and the migrant male workers in Bangkok were seen to receive 6 to 10 per cent lower wages than the native urban workers (see section 5 of Chapter 5). For this group of workers, it is necessary to implement an employment system under which well-functioning employment agencies would help them find jobs suited to their personal attributes.

7.5 Provision of Skill Formation as a Means to Increase the Earnings of Female Blue-collar Workers

The fact that women are employed mainly in low-wage industries or low-wage firms indicates that they were unskilled or semi-skilled. If a concentration of women is detected in such occupations as weaving, shoe making and electrical assembling and electronics, it follows that occupational segregation and concentration of women in low-wage industries are closely linked to the characteristics of the industry. In section 2 of the Chapter 4, we saw that there were no statistically significant wage differentials between skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled female production workers in Manila, Bangkok and Seoul. In section 3 of Chapter 6, we noticed that in Kuala Lumpur there was almost no occupational mobility of female workers from the semi-skilled and unskilled production occupations to the skilled production occupation; though the extent of skill formation is believed to create wage differentials. This indicates that in Manila, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok and Seoul, both the textile and fabricated metals industries where the majority of female workers are concentrated should provide

the female blue-collar workers with adequate job training, so that there could be a wage increase along with promotion from unskilled or semi-skilled employment to skilled employment. The same type of measure on skill formation at the firm level is needed for male blue-collar workers in the four surveyed cities covered by this study.

The results of our analysis indicate that, in all four cities without exception, promotion prospects are positively correlated with on-the-job training and that the wage increase of female workers follows when they have undergone on-the-job training, this suggests the presence of a direct linkage between the economic status of women workers and the firm's investment in human capital. Furthermore, since on-the-job training of female workers tends to be inferior in quality to that provided to male workers, the elimination of sex discrimination in on-the-job training would definitely help to enhance the economic status of female production workers.

7.6 Expansion of Job Training Opportunities for Women Workers

Women workers who received on-the-job training earned higher wages than those who had had no such training: by 5 per cent in Seoul, 11 per cent in Kuala Lumpur, 12 per cent in Bangkok and 15 per cent in Manila (see section 2 of Chapter 5). Meanwhile, women who had completed junior college also earned higher wages than high school graduates: by 20 per cent in Seoul, 18 per cent in Kuala Lumpur, and 15 per cent in Bangkok. The female college graduates earned higher wages than the high school graduates: by 36 per cent in Seoul, 82 per cent in Kuala Lumpur, and 64 per cent in Bangkok (see section 2 of Chapter 5).

Substantially large returns on investment in human capital were recorded in the four cities surveyed. The demand for higher education and better on-the-job training for women is expected to increase significantly in the countries concerned.

The need to expand secondary and higher education in Kuala Lumpur and Bangkok, and of secondary education in Manila requires special emphasis. Since the return on investment in education is very high, the government should consider extending loans to low-income workers for educational purposes. At the same time, the government should continue to invest in secondary and higher education.

Despite the fact that firms offer their workers technical and vocational training, only a small number of women workers compared with their male counterparts completed such training with formal qualifications in Seoul, Kuala Lumpur and Bangkok (see section 3 of Chapter 4). The upgradation of vocational training for female workers assumes significance in this context. There is also a need to establish vocational or technical schools to develop the type of skills, that are suited to the characteristics of female labour and are scarce in the labour market.

7.7 Expansion of Labour Unionization for the Purpose, in Particular, of Supporting Female Labour

The principle of equal pay for equal work is gradually being given recognition as a result of competition in the labour markets. This principle can be institutionalized most effectively by labour unions.

In the four Asian cities covered in this study labour unions do not, however, seem to have enough bargaining power to improve the wages and working conditions of workers so that employers by and large remain in control of the labour markets. The market system should operate on the basis of free and fair bargaining between employers and employees. Otherwise, because of their weak position, employees are bound to be adversely affected. Government should therefore intervene in the determination of wages and working conditions to the extent reasonable as well as ensure that workers are given fair employment contracts. It should also consider setting up rules and regulations to promote parity between the two negotiating parties.

Labour union leaders may have a tendency to focus on improving the wages and working conditions of male workers, neglecting the interests of female workers. This is the case in particular in societies where perceptions of male superiority are strong. In Germany where the industrial labour union has great power, the failure to reduce the differences in wages and working conditions between male and female workers has meant

that the differences that existed in 1913 have been maintained up to the present day. (Schneider, 1991). This implies that, in strengthening the labour movements special attention should be given to the problems of women workers.

7.8 Expansion of Child Care Facilities

As enterprises produce profits, family units produce goods that confer utility. Food served at home, for instance, is a product of groceries purchases at supermarkets and a housewife's time and effort. Housewives nowadays tend to reduce time spent on household chores by purchasing services such as cooking, washing, cleaning and child care in the market, all of which they previously produced in the home. As a result, housewives's supply of working hours to the labour market has increased.

They also have fewer children and attach more importance to child care and the education of their children. In view of these changed attitudes, it is essential to have an adequate number of well-run child care centres to free women from one of their heaviest responsibilities. These centres should be run by government, with sufficient funds allocated for their support.

7.9 Further Proposals

Married women should be encouraged to contribute to the household income on an equal basis. Husband and wife should pursue joint income maximization in society and joint utility maximization in the home. There should be no gender division of work in the home and husbands should be expected to share domestic responsibilities.

As for education, women must be given equal access to education, in particular, higher education and egalitarian principles should be applied at all levels of education.

Implementation of the above proposals designed to ensure the fullest possible participation of women in the labour force is essential if the developing countries want to join the developed countries in exploiting the market economy wisely and efficiently.

APPENDIX

Table A. 2.1. Average monthly wages in the four surveyed cities by industry ($US)

Industry	Seoul		Kuala Lumpur		Bangkok		Manila	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	1,007.2	645.1	628.0	453.8	403.6	211.5	312.2	244.4
Textiles, Garments, Leather	998.1	581.7	337.5	290.1	343.1	240.4	232.2	180.2
Wood, Wood Products	856.6	494.5	314.6	210.5	194.9	162.8	191.8	243.3
Paper, Printing	1,084.3	686.8	600.1	481.3	378.2	344.1	178.8	155.4
Chemicals, Plastics	1,321.1	701.8	344.7	255.2	210.9	287.4	445.4	324.3
Non-metallic Mineral Products	669.1	514.9	579.3	456.6	297.0	260.3	312.3	260.4
Basic Metals	1,105.4	565.2	765.9	401.5	197.2	307.0	342.0	387.2
Fabricated Metal Products	1,046.9	594.6	593.3	383.5	319.2	206.8	301.4	238.2
Other Manufactures	853.3	577.0	600.1	457.1	1,226.6	147.2	193.5	127.8
Total	1,066.7	605.1	568.5	399.9	320.8	240.4	279.9	222.7

Table A. 2.2. Average daily working hours in the four surveyed cities by industry

Industry	Seoul		Kuala Lumpur		Bangkok		Manila	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	9.55	9.45	9.65	9.31	9.29	9.01	9.44	9.19
Textiles, Garments, Leather	9.85	9.92	9.20	8.75	9.99	10.35	9.07	9.05
Wood, Wood Products	9.50	10.00	8.57	8.64	11.14	12.33	9.00	8.18
Paper, Printing	9.67	9.48	8.92	9.07	11.78	11.06	9.34	8.97
Chemicals, Plastics	10.29	9.31	8.99	8.80	9.68	9.90	9.66	9.10
Non-metallic Mineral Products	9.93	10.11	9.58	10.00	9.55	9.24	8.94	8.39
Basic Metals	9.54	8.00	10.44	9.00	12.00	10.00	9.67	9.50
Fabricated Metal Products	9.79	9.23	9.29	9.11	9.31	9.14	9.29	9.10
Other Manufactures	9.96	9.77	10.10	10.04	8.50	9.50	8.76	8.52
Total	9.84	9.57	9.29	9.11	9.76	9.97	9.23	9.02

Table A. 2.3. Distribution of surveyed workers by high-wage/low-wage firms (Seoul) (Number of persons and percentage)

	Male		Female	
High-Wage Firm	325	(46.8)	150	(21.9)
Low-Wage Firm	370	(53.2)	534	(78.0)
Total	695	(100.0)	684	(100.0)

Table A. 3.1. Average monthly wages of surveyed workers by industry, size firm ratio of export, occupation and education
($US)

Industry	Seoul		Kuala Lumpur		Bangkok		Manila	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Industry								
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	1,007.2	645.1	628.0	453.8	403.6	211.5	312.2	244.4
Textiles, Garments, Leather	998.2	581.7	337.5	290.1	343.1	240.4	232.2	180.2
Wood, Wood Products	856.6	494.5	314.6	210.5	194.9	162.8	191.8	243.3
Paper, Printing	1,084.3	686.8	600.1	481.3	378.2	344.1	178.8	155.4
Chemicals, Plastics	1,321.1	701.3	344.7	255.2	210.9	287.4	445.4	324.3
Non-metallic Mineral Products	669.1	514.9	579.3	456.6	297.0	260.3	312.3	260.4
Basic Metals	1,105.4	565.2	765.9	401.5	197.2	307.0	342.0	387.2
Fabricated Metal Products	1,046.9	593.9	593.3	383.5	319.2	206.8	301.4	238.2
Other Manufactures	853.3	577.0	600.1	457.1	1,226.6	147.2	193.5	217.8
Size of Firm (workers)								
> 30	890.2	584.7	354.1	223.5	611.3	109.4	183.7	153.2
30-99	993.9	586.2	460.0	286.2	246.6	159.2	200.0	169.3
100-299	1,025.3	586.8	451.6	307.5	269.5	240.9	286.3	226.5
300-499	1,050.1	549.0	565.7	437.1	345.9	288.6	264.7	202.9
500+	1,134.4	662.7	628.2	437.5	333.3	273.7	339.4	266.0
Ratio of Export (per cent)								
0-24	1,140.1	622.5	562.7	333.0	294.3	221.3	274.9	217.0
25-49	930.1	607.8						
50-74	1,051.9	569.6	572.2	465.9	343.9	278.9	284.2	229.5
75-100	896.8	603.8						
Characteristics of Firm								
Independent	1,072.1	616.4	569.9	402.6	350.0	228.7	283.3	222.9
Subcontract	782.3	475.7	551.3	471.1	269.3	271.7	257.4	185.4
Independent and Subcontract	1,067.2	597.9	554.6	316.6	320.8	221.8	263.4	242.8
High/Low Wage Firms								
High-Wage	1,207.9	730.7						
Low-Wage	938.5	571.0						
Occupational Category								
Professional, Technical	1,202.2	976.4	673.3	478.5	621.7	641.1	487.5	360.2
Managerial, Executive	1,361.3	1,194.0	1,228.3	872.8	1,004.4	660.3	665.7	446.2
Clerical and Related	1,108.0	656.7	461.4	425.1	259.1	289.5	262.5	212.9
Sales	1,412.2	791.3	656.4	544.5			237.6	185.1
Services	800.7	685.3	400.1	286.1	251.1	143.8	232.5	183.0
Skilled Production	996.4	552.3	588.9	370.2	301.5	244.6	206.9	177.6
Semi-skilled Production	761.4	573.2	451.1	257.5	257.1	168.0	167.5	171.1
Unskilled Production	686.6	511.0	309.9	216.0	162.9	204.5	162.0	159.0
Other			263.0	147.9			174.9	
Educational Background								
Completed middle School or Lower	1,017.7	539.3	434.3	288.7	208.6	180.2	157.1	163.8
Completed High School	961.9	599.2	531.7	387.4	323.3	225.2	196.3	167.7
Completed Junior College and Higher	1,215.9	941.8	929.9	650.6	386.7	347.4	377.2	278.4
Total	1, 066.7	605.2	568.5	399.5	307.8	208.9	279.9	222.8

Table A. 3.2. Age-wage table for the four surveyed cities by sex

Age	Seoul		Kuala Lumpur		Bangkok		Manila	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under 20	2.16	1.99	1.01	0.76	0.65	0.40	0.53	0.49
20-24	2.78	2.39	1.38	1.22	0.93	1.00	0.72	0.67
25-29	3.69	2.84	2.34	1.96	1.15	0.81	0.81	0.87
30-34	4.61	3.05	2.64	2.37	1.39	1.02	1.09	1.14
35.39	5.20	2.63	3.38	2.28	2.10	1.58	1.52	1.18
40-49	5.41	2.68	3.65	2.22	2.28	1.26	1.53	1.26
50-59	4.24	2.03	4.00	1.58	3.33	1.73	1.84	0.99

Note: Computed from ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP Survey (1991) datas.

Table A. 3.3. Age-wage table by occupation and sex (Manila)

Age	Male				Female			
	Blue-collar		White-coller		Blue-collar		White-collar	
Under 20	0.52	(71)	0.58	(58)	0.48	(66)	0.59	(56)
20-24	0.62	(85)	0.91	(92)	0.59	(82)	0.85	(80)
25-29	0.73	(100)	0.99	(100)	0.72	(100)	1.06	(100)
30-34	0.84	(115)	1.53	(155)	0.90	(125)	1.52	(143
35-39	0.93	(127)	2.50	(253)	0.78	(108)	1.71	(161)
40-49	0.93	(127)	2.17	(219)	0.77	(107)	2.01	(190)
50-59	1.00	(137)	3.00	(303)	0.81	(113)	1.61	(152)

Note: Same as table A. 3.2.

Table A. 3.4. Age-wage table by occupation and sex (Bangkok)

Age	Male				Female			
	Blue-collar		White-coller		Blue-collar		White-collar	
Under 20	0.66	(74)	0.56	(29)	0.40	(68)	0.28	(18)
20-24	0.90	(101)	1.46	(77)	1.01	(171)	0.98	(62)
25-29	0.89	(100)	1.90	(100)	0.59	(100)	1.57	(100)
30-34	1.15	(129)	2.15	(113)	0.88	(149)	1.54	(98)
35-39	1.35	(152)	3.67	(193)	1.12	(190)	2.88	(183)
40-49	1.66	(187)	5.18	(273)	0.80	(136)	2.79	(178)
50-59	2.02	(227)	5.15	(271)	1.72	(292)	1.59	(101)

Note: Same as table A. 3.2.

Table A. 3.5. Age-wage table by occupation and sex (Kuala Lumpur)

Age	Male				Female			
	Blue-collar		White-coller		Blue-collar		White-collar	
Under 20	1.09	(65)	1.03	(35)	0.71	(62)	1.11	(42)
20-24	1.36	(81)	1.85	(63)	0.91	(80)	1.67	(63)
25-29	1.67	(100)	2.95	(100)	1.14	(100)	2.64	(100)
30-34	1.90	(114)	3.42	(116)	1.21	(106)	3.28	(124)
35-39	2.34	(140)	4.59	(156)	1.39	(122)	3.54	(134)
40-49	2.67	(160)	5.88	(199)	1.54	(135)	4.41	(167)
50-59	3.91	(234)	6.12	(207)	1.54	(135)	2.89	(109)

Note: Same as table A. 3.2.

Table A. 3.6. Age-wage table by occupation and sex (Seoul)

Age	Male		Female	
	Blue-collar	White-coller	Blue-collar	White-collar
Under 20	2.16 (68)	-	1.89 (77)	2.25 (68)
20-24	2.51 (79)	4.36 (108)	2.25 (91)	2.61 (78)
25-29	3.17 (100)	4.04 (100)	2.46 (100)	3.33 (100)
30-34	3.95 (125)	4.94 (122)	2.43 (99)	4.64 (139)
35-39	4.35 (137)	5.83 (144)	2.39 (97)	3.69 (111)
40-49	4.55 (144)	6.38 (158)	2.29 (93)	5.05 (152)
50-59	3.96 (125)	6.08 (150)	2.03 (83)	-

Note: Same as table A. 3.2.

Table A. 5.1, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by employment status in first and current job (Seoul) (Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Total
(1) Employer/Self-employed	1	5	0	0	6 (1.9)
(2) Regular Worker	1	241	4	1	247 (76.5)
(3) Casual Worker	1	25	10	1	37 (11.5)
(4) Contract Worker	0	15	2	9	26 (8.1)
(5) Apprentice	0	1	0	2	3 (0.9)
(6) Family Worker	0	4	0	0	4 (1.2)
Total	3 (0.9)	291 (90.1)	16 (5.0)	13 (4.0)	323 (100.0) -

Table A. 5.1, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by employment status in first and current job (Seoul) (Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	Total
(1) Employer/Self-employed	2	10	2	0	0	0	14 (5.5)
(2) Regular Worker	1	180	13	3	1	1	199 (78.0)
(3) Casual Worker	0	13	2	3	0	0	18 (7.1)
(4) Contract Worker	0	13	0	8	0	0	21 (8.2)
(5) Apprentice	0	2	0	0	0	0	2 (0.8)
(6) Family Worker	0	1	0	0	0	0	1 (0.4)
Total	3 (1.2)	219 (85.9)	17 (6.7)	14 (5.5)	1 (0.4)	1 (0.4)	255 (100.0) -

Table A. 5.2, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by employment status in first and current job (Kuala Lumpur)
(Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	Total	
(1) Employer/Self-employed	3	4	0	0	0	0	7	(1.0)
(2) Regular Worker	2	612	2	1	1	0	618	(83.6)
(3) Casual Worker	1	39	2	0	0	0	42	(5.7)
(4) Contract Worker	0	47	0	1	0	0	48	(6.5)
(5) Apprentice	0	20	0	0	0	0	20	(2.7)
(6) Family Worker	0	3	0	0	0	1	4	(0.5)
Total	6	725	4	2	1	1	739	(100.0)
	(0.8)	(98.1)	(0.5)	(0.3)	(0.1)	(0.1)	-	

Table A. 5.2, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by employment status in first and current job (Kuala Lumpur)
(Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Total	
(1) Employer/Self-employed	1	1	0	0	0	2	(0.3)
(2) Regular Worker	4	634	1	2	1	642	(90.9)
(3) Casual Worker	0	35	5	0	1	41	(5.8)
(4) Contract Worker	0	9	2	7	0	18	(2.6)
(5) Apprentice	0	3	0	0	0	3	(0.4)
Total	5	682	8	9	2	706	(100.0)
	(0.7)	(96.6)	(1.1)	(1.3)	(0.3)	-	

Table A. 5.3, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by employment status in first and current job (Bangkok)
(Number of persons and percentage)

First job - \ Current job	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	Total	
(1) Employer/Self-employed	1	7	1	0	0	9	(1.4)
(2) Regular Worker	8	351	15	0	1	375	(59.3)
(3) Casual Worker	0	163	42	0	1	206	(32.6)
(4) Contract Worker	0	3	1	2	0	6	(1.0)
(5) Apprentice	0	29	2	0	0	31	(4.9)
(6) Family Worker	0	4	1	0	0	5	(0.8)
Total	9	557	62	2	2	632	(100.0)
	(1.4)	(88.1)	(9.8)	(0.3)	(0.3)	-	

Table A. 5.3, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by employment status in first and current job (Bangkok)
(Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	Total	
(1) Employer/Self-employed	1	3	0	0	0	0	4	(0.6)
(2) Regular Worker	4	426	8	1	1	3	443	(62.8)
(3) Casual Worker	1	156	55	1	0	0	213	(30.2)
(4) Contract Worker	0	3	0	1	0	0	4	(0.6)
(5) Apprentice	0	29	3	0	2	0	34	(4.8)
(6) Family Worker	1	6	0	0	0	1	8	(1.1)
Total	7	623	66	3	3	4	706	(100.0)
	(1.0)	(88.2)	(9.4)	(0.4)	(0.4)	(0.6)	–	

Table A. 5.4, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by employment status in first and current job (Manila)
(Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Total	
(1) Employer/Self-employed	1	4	0	0	5	(1.2)
(2) Regular Worker	6	173	2	0	181	(44.0)
(3) Casual Worker	1	131	2	0	134	(32.6)
(4) Contract Worker	0	69	0	1	70	(17.0)
(5) Apprentice	0	14	0	0	14	(3.4)
(6) Family Worker	0	7	0	0	7	(1.7)
Total	8	398	4	1	411	(100.0)
	(1.9)	(96.8)	(1.0)	(0.2)	–	

Table A. 5.4, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by employment status in first and current job (Manila)
(Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	(1)	(2)	(3)	(5)	(6)	Total	
(1) Employer/Self-employed	0	3	1	0	1	5	(1.3)
(2) Regular Worker	2	180	4	1	0	187	(49.7)
(3) Casual Worker	1	119	5	2	0	127	(33.8)
(4) Contract Worker	0	41	1	0	0	42	(11.2)
(5) Apprentice	0	10	0	0	0	10	(2.7)
(6) Family Worker	0	4	0	0	1	5	(1.3)
Total	3	357	11	3	2	376	(100.0)
	(0.8)	(95.0)	(2.9)	(0.8)	(0.5)	–	

Table A. 5.5, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by size of firm of first and current job (Seoul)
(Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Size group of firm					Total	
	> 30	30-99	100-299	300-499	500+		
> 30	10	41	25	6	36	118	(34.6)
30-99	4	26	19	5	13	67	(19.7)
100-299	3	12	21	7	24	67	(19.7)
300-499	1	3	12	3	6	25	(7.3)
500+	3	9	21	4	27	64	(18.8)
Total	21	91	98	25	106	341	(100.0)
	(6.2)	(26.7)	(28.7)	(7.3)	(31.1)		

Table A. 5.5, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by size of firm of first and current job (Seoul)
(Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Size group of firm					Total	
	> 30	30-99	100-299	300-499	500+		
> 30	7	27	31	11	20	96	(35.6)
30-99	6	18	26	5	4	59	(21.9)
100-299	3	9	28	3	12	55	(20.4)
300-499	1	6	8	1	3	19	(7.0)
500+	0	10	11	7	13	41	(15.2)
Total	17	70	104	27	52	270	(100.0)
	(6.3)	(25.9)	(38.5)	(10.0)	(19.3)		

Table A. 5.6, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by size of firm of first and current job (Kuala Lumpur)
(Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Size group of firm					Total	
	> 30	30-99	100-299	300-499	500+		
> 30	23	15	17	49	100	204	(27.6)
30-99	5	45	15	22	33	120	(16.2)
100-299	0	11	31	33	53	128	(17.3)
300-499	0	2	2	37	26	67	(9.1)
500+	0	4	5	37	174	220	(29.8)
Total	28	77	70	178	386	739	(100.0)
	(3.8)	(10.4)	(9.5)	(24.1)	(52.2)		

Table A. 5.6, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by size of firm of first and current job (Kuala Lumpur)
(Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Size group of firm					Total	
	> 30	30-99	100-299	300-499	500+		
> 30	11	19	20	17	74	141	(20.0)
30-99	10	45	12	12	38	117	(16.6)
100-299	0	7	28	17	41	93	(13.2)
300-499	1	2	0	20	21	44	(6.2)
500+	0	6	16	18	271	311	(44.1)
Total	22	79	76	84	445	706	(100.0)
	(3.1)	(11.2)	(10.8)	(11.9)	(63.0)		

Table A. 5.7, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by size of firm of first and current job (Bangkok) (Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Size group of firm					Total	
	> 30	30-99	100-299	300-499	500+		
> 30	20	15	37	16	38	126	(19.9)
30-99	7	33	30	11	30	117	(17.5)
100-299	0	19	47	26	27	119	(18.8)
300-499	2	5	17	24	14	62	(9.8)
500+	0	13	26	36	140	215	(34.0)
Total	29	85	157	113	249	633	(100.0)
	(4.6)	(13.4)	(24.8)	(17.9)	(39.3)		

Table A. 5.7, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by size of firm of first and current job (Bangkok) (Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Size group of firm					Total	
	> 30	30-99	100-299	300-499	500+		
> 30	44	20	50	10	31	155	(22.0)
30-99	5	16	23	9	36	89	(12.6)
100-299	5	30	59	15	44	153	(21.7)
300-499	0	3	8	18	27	56	(7.9)
500+	2	18	25	22	186	253	(35.8)
Total	56	87	165	74	324	706	(100.0)
	(7.9)	(12.3)	(23.4)	(10.5)	(45.9)		

Table A. 5.8, a. Distribution of surveyed male workers by size of firm of first and current job (Manila) (Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Size group of firm					Total	
	> 30	30-99	100-299	300-499	500+		
> 30	41	73	155	57	151	477	(60.8)
30-99	11	12	20	13	25	81	(10.3)
100-299	3	9	24	13	20	69	(8.8)
300-499	2	2	8	6	10	28	(3.6)
500+	6	17	33	23	50	129	(16.5)
Total	63	113	240	112	256	784	(100.0)
	(8.0)	(14.4)	(30.6)	(14.3)	(32.7)		

Table A. 5.8, b. Distribution of surveyed female workers by size of firm of first and current job (Manila) (Number of persons and percentage)

First job \ Current job	Size group of firm					Total	
	> 30	30-99	100-299	300-499	500+		
> 30	42	67	150	91	175	525	(66.8)
30-99	7	17	30	12	15	81	(10.3)
100-299	5	3	24	9	17	58	(7.4)
300-499	1	2	9	9	7	28	(3.6)
500+	7	4	23	17	43	94	(12.0)
Total	62	93	236	138	257	786	(100.0)
	(7.9)	(11.8)	(30.0)	(17.6)	(32.7)		

Table A. 5.9, a. Selected characteristics of surveyed migrant workers (Seoul)

Characteristics	Male	Female
	(Average)	
Age at Migration	22.14	20.33
	(Number of percentage)	
Marital Status before Migration		
Single	378 (88.1)	412 (85.1)
Married	51 (11.9)	68 (14.1)
Others	0 (0.0)	4 (0.8)
	(100.0)	(100.0)
Employment Status before Migration		
Employed	99 (23.1)	58 (12.2)
Unemployed/Outside Labour Force	329 (76.9)	419 (87.8)
	(100.0)	(100.0)
Age at which Started Work		
Under 15	4 (4.3)	4 (7.8)
15-19	36 (38.3)	35 (68.6)
20-24	37 (39.4)	8 (15.7)
25-29	16 (17.0)	0 (0.0)
30-34	1 (1.1)	2 (3.9)
35-39	0 (0.0)	2 (3.9)
	(100.0)	(100.0)
	(Average)	
Age at which Started Work	20.34	18.65

Table A. 5.9, b. Selected characteristics of surveyed migrant workers (Kuala Lumpur)

Characteristics	Male	Female
	(Average)	
Age at Migration	20.29	19.53
	(Number of percentage)	
Marital Status before Migration		
Single	460 (93.5)	407 (90.2)
Married	32 (6.5)	44 (9.8)
	(100.0)	(100.0)
Employment Status before Migration		
Employed	171 (34.8)	119 (26.4)
Unemployed/Outside Labour Force	321 (65.2)	332 (73.6)
	(100.0)	(100.0)
Age at which Started Work		
Under 15	15 (8.8)	5 (4.2)
15-19	115 (67.3)	89 (74.8)
20-24	36 (21.1)	24 (20.2)
25-29	5 (2.9)	1 (0.8)
	(100.0)	(100.0)
	(Average)	
Age at which Started Work	17.95	18.08

Table A. 5.9, c. Selected characteristics of surveyed migrant workers (Bangkok)

Characteristics	Male	Female
	(Average)	
Age at Migration	19.50	18.86
	(Number of percentage)	
Marital Status before Migration		
Single	328 (91.8)	401 (85.1)
Married	28 (7.8)	37 (8.3)
Others	1 (0.3)	6 (1.4)
	(100.0)	(100.0)
Employment Status before Migration		
Employed	182 (51.0)	222 (50.1)
Unemployed/Outside Labour Force	175 (49.0)	221 (49.9)
	(100.0)	(100.0)
Age at which Started Work		
Under 15	63 (37.3)	119 (54.8)
15-19	84 (49.7)	78 (35.9)
20-24	20 (11.8)	17 (7.8)
25-29	2 (1.2)	3 (1.4)
	(100.0)	(100.0)
	(Average)	
Age at which Started Work	15.93	14.82

Table A. 5.9, d. Selected characteristics of surveyed migrant workers (Manila)

Characteristics	Male	Female
	(Average)	
Age at Migration	19.42	18.66
	(Number of percentage)	
Marital Status before Migration		
Single	366 (92.9)	356 (96.5)
Married	27 (6.9)	11 (3.0)
Others	1 (0.2)	2 (0.5)
	(100.0)	(100.0)
Employment Status before Migration		
Employed	82 (20.8)	42 (11.4)
Unemployed/Outside Labour Force	312 (79.2)	327 (88.6)
	(100.0)	(100.0)
Age at which Started Work		
Under 15	11 (13.4)	5 (11.9)
15-19	43 (52.4)	14 (33.3)
20-24	21 (25.6)	20 (47.6)
25-29	6 (7.3)	3 (7.1)
30-34	1 (1.2)	0 (0.0)
	(100.0)	(100.0)
	(Average)	
Age at which Started Work	18.43	19.07

Table A. 5.10, a. Percentage share of surveyed migrant workers by industry, size of firm ratio of export and occupation (Manila)

	Male		Female	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Industry				
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	57	54.3	40	38.1
Textiles, Garments, Leather	152	61.8	197	59.7
Wood, Wood Products	35	68.6	14	63.6
Paper, Printing	24	54.6	13	37.1
Chemicals, Plastics	35	44.3	34	47.9
Non-metallic Mineral Products	32	59.3	14	45.2
Basic Metals	21	50.0	7	35.0
Fabricated Metal Products	60	46.5	61	43.9
Other Manufactures	15	44.1	17	51.5
Size of Firm (Workers)				
-30	38	60.3	31	50.0
30-99	64	56.6	41	44.1
100-299	120	50.0	118	50.0
300-499	65	58.0	66	47.8
500+	144	56.3	141	54.9
Ratio of Export (Per cent)				
0-24	199	54.4	239	56.4
25-100	232	55.5	158	43.7
Occupational Category				
Professional, Technical	5	31.3	7	43.8
Managerial, Executive	42	40.8	39	38.2
Clerical and Related	92	54.1	92	48.4
Sales	3	27.3	0	0.0
Services	15	62.5	4	57.1
Skilled Production	205	60.1	193	58.1
Semi-skilled Production	36	50.7	35	45.5
Unskilled Production	32	68.1	27	45.8
Other	1	100.0	-	-

Table A. 5.10, b. Percentage share of surveyed migrant workers by industry, size of firm, export ratio and occupation (Bangkok)

	Male		Female	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Industry				
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	39	43.3	27	38.0
Textiles, Garments, Leather	96	62.8	265	71.2
Wood, Wood Products	16	76.2	6	66.7
Paper, Printing	13	48.2	5	31.3
Chemicals, Plastics	58	79.5	75	80.7
Non-metallic Mineral Products	33	44.0	10	29.4
Basic Metals	11	91.7	2	50.0
Fabricated Metal Products	102	56.7	56	57.7
Other Manufactures	0	0.0	4	40.0
Size of Firm (Workers)				
-30	19	65.5	47	83.9
30-99	61	71.8	61	70.1
100-299	98	62.4	102	61.8
300-499	63	55.8	38	51.4
500+	127	51.0	202	62.4

Table A. 5.10, b. *(Continued)*

	Male		Female	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Ratio of Export (Per cent)				
0-24	188	63.7	329	69.9
25-100	180	53.3	121	51.5
Occupational Category				
Professional, Technical	7	53.8	4	44.4
Managerial, Executive	18	31.0	11	36.7
Clerical and Related	31	53.5	42	42.9
Sales	–	–	–	–
Services	16	55.2	17	56.7
Skilled Production	108	52.4	92	60.9
Semi-skilled Production	58	64.4	103	78.6
Unskilled Production	130	72.6	181	70.4

Table A. 5.10, c. Percentage share of surveyed migrant workers by industry, size of firm export ratio and occupation (Kuala Lumpur)

	Male		Female	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Industry				
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	94	62.7	38	55.9
Textiles, Garments, Leather	6	60.0	12	60.0
Wood, Wood Products	8	57.1	7	63.6
Paper, Printing	91	57.2	89	57.8
Chemicals, Plastics	58	73.4	35	68.6
Non-metallic Mineral Products	16	84.2	1	50.0
Basic Metals	9	100.0	2	100.0
Fabricated Metal Products	193	72.0	260	69.7
Other Manufactures	17	54.8	7	29.2
Size of Firm (Workers)				
-30	17	60.7	14	63.6
30-99	56	72.7	54	68.4
100-299	40	57.1	42	56.0
300-499	115	64.6	43	51.2
500+	264	68.4	298	66.1
Ratio of Export (Per cent)				
0-24	192	67.4	237	67.7
25-100	300	66.1	214	60.3
Occupational Category				
Professional, Technical	77	77.0	67	69.1
Managerial, Executive	47	65.3	43	58.9
Clerical and Related	35	51.5	60	60.6
Sales	52	69.3	29	61.7
Services	51	65.4	26	60.5
Skilled Production	67	57.3	35	53.9
Semi-skilled Production	69	65.7	137	71.7
Unskilled Production	58	74.4	45	57.0
Other	36	78.3	9	81.8

Table A. 5.10, d. Percentage share of surveyed migrant workers by industy, size of firm export ratio and occupation (Seoul)

	Male		Female	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Industry				
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	18	62.1	17	54.8
Textiles, Garments, Leather	72	67.9	197	75.5
Wood, Wood Products	6	75.0	1	100.0
Paper, Printing	57	64.8	11	35.5
Chemicals, Plastics	60	59.4	53	68.0
Non-metallic Mineral Products	8	57.1	8	88.9
Basic Metals	11	84.6	1	50.0
Fabricated Metal Products	186	59.2	167	72.0
Other Manufactures	14	60.9	30	68.2
Size of Firm (Workers)				
> 30	14	60.9	15	65.2
30-99	93	67.4	120	76.9
100-299	93	59.6	155	68.6
300-499	39	60.0	56	76.7
500+	193	61.5	139	65.9
Ratio of Export (Per cent)				
0-24	261	63.2	195	66.3
25-49	40	58.0	42	76.4
50-74	60	59.4	106	70.2
75-100	70	62.5	142	75.1
High/Low Wage Firms				
High-Wage	200	61.5	89	58.9
Low-Wage	231	62.4	396	73.6
Occupational Category				
Professional, Technical	34	54.8	8	38.1
Managerial, Executive	72	67.9	3	30.0
Clerical and Related	95	57.2	94	50.5
Sales	11	57.9	1	100.0
Services	4	66.7	3	100.0
Skilled Production	154	70.3	164	84.1
Semi-skilled Production	47	61.0	143	79.4
Unskilled Production	15	36.6	69	74.2

Table A. 5.11. Difference in years of schooling completed between surveyed migrant and non-migrant workers

	Seoul		Kuala Lumpur		Bangkok		Manila	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Years of Schooling Completed	12.87	10.92	10.67	10.71	11.51	9.86	12.89	13.09
Non-migrants								
Years of Schooling Completed	13.11	11.58	10.44	10.37	12.13	10.83	13.33	13.15
Migrants								
Years of Schooling before	11.74	10.09	10.33	10.55	10.53	9.00	11.13	11.42
Migration	12.74	10.64	10.78	10.91	11.06	9.31	12.52	13.04

Table A. 5.12. Distribution of surveyed migrant workers by educational level (Percentage)

	Male		Female	
	Before migration	Current	Before migration	Current
Seoul				
No Schooling	0.2	0.2	1.7	1.5
Completed Primary School	6.9	2.3	12.6	10.7
Completed Middle School	19.4	13.8	32.9	21.3
Completed High School	51.4	47.0	51.0	63.0
Junior College	4.6	6.9	1.0	2.1
University Graduate	16.6	28.3	0.4	1.5
Other	0.9	1.4	0.4	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Kuala Lumpur				
No Schooling	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.4
Not Completed Primary	4.1	3.7	4.0	3.3
Completed Primary	14.0	11.6	10.2	9.5
Completed Lower Secondary	26.6	26.4	26.6	23.3
Completed Upper Secondary	39.6	31.5	43.5	41.0
Vocational/Technical School	2.9	3.9	1.1	1.6
Junior College/Sixth Form	4.7	4.5	6.2	5.3
Certificate/Diploma	2.6	10.0	5.1	9.8
University Graduate/Professional	5.3	8.3	3.1	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Bangkok				
No Schooling	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.7
Completed Primary School	33.1	30.8	53.2	50.7
Completed Lower Secondary	6.7	3.1	6.3	5.9
Completed Middle Secondary	26.1	20.5	18.9	15.8
Vocational School	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.7
Junior College/Higher Secondary	32.8	38.1	20.7	23.4
University Graduate	1.4	5.9	0.5	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Manila				
No Schooling	0.8	0.0	0.5	0.0
Grades 1-4	1.2	1.5	0.3	0.0
Grades 5-6	12.4	8.6	12.7	6.0
Some Years of Secondary	14.7	10.4	11.4	8.1
Completed Secondary	48.2	26.9	52.6	29.8
Vocational Education	5.1	6.9	4.1	8.4
Some Years of College	8.9	19.3	6.2	11.7
Completed College/Post-graduate	8.6	26.4	12.2	36.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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PART TWO

SURVEY REPORTS ON THE METROPOLITAN CITIES OF

- BANGKOK
- KUALA LUMPUR
- MANILA
- SEOUL

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EMPLOYMENT AND MOBILITY IN THE BANGKOK LABOUR MARKET WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WOMEN IN THE MANUFACTURING SECTOR

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Industrial Development in Thailand: An Overview

Thailand's economic structure has undergone important changes over the past three decades. The Thai economy was founded upon agriculture until about 1960 when the government decided to use industrialization as a means to achieving economic growth. The Investment Promotion Act of 1960 was widely considered to be the first step of Thailand's industrial development process. Since then the share of the manufacturing sector in gross domestic product (GDP) has increased from 11 per cent in 1960 to 25 per cent in 1990 (see table 1.1).

Table 1.1. Sectoral distribution of GDP in Thailand
(Percentage)

Sector	1960	1970	1980	1990
Agriculture	37.4	27.0	20.6	14.8
Transportation	17.8	6.5	6.7	7.3
Construction	0.3	5.3	4.5	4.7
Trade	2.3	17.4	16.9	16.5
Services	6.2	11.5	12.2	14.1
Manufacturing	10.7	16.0	21.7	24.8
Other	25.3	16.3	17.4	17.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: 1. *Report on National Income of Thailand*, 1964 Edition.
2. Report of Bank of Thailand, "Getting to know the Thai Economy", 1991.

During the first decade of industrial development, the emphasis was put on import substitution because of the desire of economic planners to reduce the import of industrial goods. It was also hoped that employment would be created for the country's surplus labour. The domestic market was at that time thought to be large enough to support manufacturing industries with small investment and simple technology.

It soon became apparent that Thailand would not be able to rely on import substitution measures. The measures taken to protect domestic industries from import competition inevitably resulted in numerous high-cost and inefficient firms. Therefore, around 1972, the industrial development strategy was switched to export promotion. The government granted firms producing for the export market exemption from import duties and business taxes on raw materials, necessary supplies and other items. Five years later, with the promulgation of a new Investment Promotion Act, several bureaucratic procedures which hindered the export process were eliminated. Additional tax incentives and other privileges as well as guarantees were given to investors.

One aspect of Thailand's industrialization has been its concentration in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region despite various efforts at decentralization. Table 1.2 shows that between 1986 and 1990, the number of establishments in Bangkok and vicinity almost doubled, that is, an increase from 50,977 to 99,858; their share of the country's total rose from 40 to 50 per cent during the same five-year period, while the share of establishments in the Northeast and the South, dropped by four and two percentage points respectively. In terms of manufacturing employment, Bangkok's share rose from 66 per cent in 1986 to 70 per cent in 1990 with 2.2 million employees out of the total 3.2 million for the entire country.

Focusing on industrial workers in Bangkok, table 1.3 shows the increased participation of women in industry and particularly in manufacturing. The proportion of women in all industries rose from 42 to 45 per

Table 1.2. Distribution of establishments and employees by region in 1986 and 1990

Region	1986		1990	
	Establishments	Employees	Establishments	Employees
Bangkok and vicinity	50,977	1,160,620	99,858	2,245,165
(Per cent)	(40.4)	(65.5)	(49.8)	(69.8)
Central	18,246	173,726	26,538	357,027
(Per cent)	(14.5)	(9.8)	(13.2)	(11.1)
North	18,096	167,593	23,859	215,382
(Per cent)	(14.3)	(9.5)	(11.9)	(6.7)
North East	22,990	125,555	28,578	187,264
(Per cent)	(18.2)	(7.1)	(14.3)	(5.8)
South	15,845	145,273	21,543	212,897
(Per cent)	(12.6)	(8.2)	(10.8)	(6.6)
Total	126,154	1,772,767	200,376	3,217,735
(Per cent)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)	(100.0)

Source: *Labour Studies*, Department of Labour.

Table 1.3. Industrial workers in Bangkok by sex, 1978 and 1989
(In thousands)

Year/sex	All industries		Manufacturing		Year/sex	All industries		Manufacturing	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent		Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1978					**1989**				
Male	1,187.1	58.4	344.7	60.4	Male	1,648.8	55.0	424.7	54.7
Female	840.3	41.6	226.4	39.0	Female	1,349.1	45.0	352.2	45.3
Total	2,018.4	100.0	571.1	100.0	Total	2,997.9	100.0	776.9	100.0

Source: National Statistical Office, *Report of the Labour Force Survey Whole Kingdom* (Round 1) January-March 1978, (Round 2) May 1989.

cent during 1978-1989, and the proportion in manufacturing rose from 39 to 45 per cent in the same period. The role of women in the industrial development of Thailand is thus crucial.

1.2 Thai Women in the Work-Force

Thai women both in the urban and rural areas have always had one of the highest rates of labour force participation in the world. Among the countries in the Asian and Pacific region, Thai women's economic participation ranks second, coming right after China. From 1971 onwards, female labour force participation in Thailand has been about 67 per cent.

Since the reign of King Rama V, who was very much committed to the modernization of Thailand, the opening up of educational opportunities has enabled women from upper and middle class families to join the paid labour force. Most of the chosen employments are concentrated in traditional female work such as teaching, nursing and general government jobs. Out of the total female population of 27.6 million in 1989, 13.7 million or 49.6 per cent were classified as being in the labour force (table 1.4). Among this group, 11.9 million or 87 per cent were working in some form of employment while 0.7 million or 5.2 per cent were unemployed and the remaining 7.7 per cent were "seasonally inactive" i.e. waiting for the start of the agricultural season. The growth of female employment increased continually at about 5 per cent per year while unemployment among females fluctuated depending on the prevailing economic and social conditions.

Among those who are willing to work, women have fewer opportunities as indicated by the higher unemployment rate (5.3 per cent compared with 3.9 per cent for males). One of the reasons why women stay

Table 1.4. Labour force participation in Thailand, 1989
(In thousands)

Labour force participation	Male		Female	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Total Population	27,673.8	100.0	27,614.1	100.0
Total Labour Force	16,488.7	59.5	13,684.0	49.6
Employed	15,363.5	93.2	11,909.0	87.0
Unemployed	636.6	2.3	719.3	5.3
Seasonally inactive labour force	488.4	3.0	1,055.4	7.7
Not in Labour Force (13 years or more)	2,884.7	10.4	5,846.6	21.2
Persons under 13 years of age	8,300.1	30.0	8,083.3	29.3

Source: Ntional Statistical Office, *Report of the Labour Force Survey. Whole Kingdom* (Round 2), May 1989.

out of the labour force is the necessity to take on the burden of household duties, a reason which applies to very few men.

One-third of the female labour force is between 15 and 24 years of age, younger than the male work-force, of which about one-third is in the 20-24 age group. Women's educational attainment, however, is quite low, with just over one-half (52 per cent) having completed four years of schooling. The proportion of those having completed six years of schooling, lower secondary and university levels is 23 per cent, 4 per cent and 3 per cent respectively while the proportion with 1 to 3 years of education is about 4 per cent. Seven per cent of the female labour force have never had any formal schooling.

Agriculture remained the most important sector in terms of absorption of women workers, employing 56 per cent of the total in 1989. Craftsmen, production process workers and labourers took up 16 per cent, followed by sales workers with 15 per cent. Male agricultural workers represented roughly the same proportion of the total as women (58 per cent). The second largest category consisted of production process workers and labourers (19 per cent), followed by sales workers (8 per cent).

The lack of cash employment opportunities in agriculture and the low income from off-farm employment have made industrial and service jobs in the cities particularly attractive for women. Considering Bangkok alone, there are more women than men in the migration stream. Six out of 10 women migrants are under 25 years of age. Some of them find employment in the informal sector such as domestic service or street vending. Another large group of young female workers are absorbed into service establishments including gas stations, restaurants, nightclubs and brothels.

1.3 Economic Development and the Changing Role of Women

When industrialization efforts started in 1960, based on manufacturing industries, the role and opportunities of Thai women began to change significantly. Factories established during the initial period were those producing goods using female labour such as textiles and electrical equipment. Textile production was the type of activity widely believed to be women's specialization as it is a task women have always been responsible for as one of their traditional household duties. Production of electrical equipment and parts was seen to require patience, careful attention to detail and nimble fingers which are qualities thought to be found in women more than in men.

Export-oriented industrialization since the 1970s has drawn an even larger number of women into manufacturing activities as entrepreneurs seem to be bent on taking full advantage of the large pool of inexpensive female labour force. In 1989, women constituted 49.7 per cent of the 3.37 million workers in this sector. The role and significance of women are clearly shown if we consider the top export items for the past five years: textiles and garments, frozen and canned foods, integrated circuits and electrical goods, gems and jewelry, and leather goods. These items which earned Thailand more than $US 10 billion in 1991 are mainly the products of women's labour.

Within the Bangkok Metropolitan Region where most of the firms are located, women workers in the above industries outnumber men by four to one. The increasing use of subcontracting arrangements in garments and jewelry means that there is an unrecorded number of women workers whose income and working conditions should be of concern to planners and women development proponents.

Why do employers prefer to choose female labour for those jobs? There are several possible reasons, for example, women are thought to tolerate boring tasks better than men and are less likely to make aggressive demands in regard to wages and working conditions. Women's participation in labour unions is also known to be much lower than that of men because of their domestic responsibilities.

Formerly, women's status in the labour force was that of a family worker, toiling almost all day long without pay or for just a few baht an hour. Such hardship in rural areas makes factory work very attractive. Women do not expect to receive very much in their factory jobs and are content as long as the gain is higher than what they were receiving in their rural jobs. They are not eager for promotion, and accept being in the same position for several years. They also accept wages lower than those of men for the same task.

Employers choose to use women in industries with a high degree of competition or where market situation can fluctuate drastically because when there is a slack women workers are likely to accept being laid off passively. The reason is that since they are not the major breadwinner in the families, their unemployment does not threaten the family's welfare as seriously as men's unemployment would.

Several factories choose to employ only women who are single because this group has a higher degree of flexibility in working in shifts which require them to be rotated round the clock every couple of weeks. Married workers have to divide their time between working and looking after their husbands and children while single workers can devote more time to their jobs.

All of the above-mentioned reasons have played an important role in stimulating the large demand for women in manufacturing industries. Judging from the sharp increase in the number of female factory workers in the past five years, women and manufacturing work seem to go together quite well. In their hiring practices, employers in many industries give preference to women. The most obvious example is in the textile and garments industries where there are four times more women than men workers. The ratio of women to men among workers in the electronics industry is even higher.

However, if we look deeper into wages, positions, welfare, opportunities for training and skill improvement and job security, it becomes obvious that a significant difference exists between male and female workers. Women tend to get jobs in lower positions, where not much education is required, neither are skills and experience.

The main purpose of this research project is to investigate and analyse the structure of employment and earnings, methods of skill acquisition, and pattern of mobility among women workers employed in the manufacturing sector of the Bangkok urban labour market. The information obtained should provide the basis for improving the economic position of women workers and assist them in diversifying into new forms of manufacturing employment. Education, training opportunities and job changes are among the factors that will be given special consideration. The study which is part of a comparative research project covering Malaysia, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea and Thailand was conducted under a project implemented by ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP and funded by UNDP.

This study on employment and mobility of women workers in the urban manufacturing sector highlights an important aspect of Thailand's development strategy. The outstanding achievements of the Thai economy in terms of foreign investment attraction, manufacturing exports expansion and diversification, and most recently the double-digit growth rate have been acknowledged world-wide. The newly industrializing country status seems to be within easy reach. A pertinent question to raise in this context is whether women in manufactures have been receiving a fair share of the benefits in return for their efforts and sacrifices. More importantly, for the next stage of Thailand's development, are these women ready and able to move along at the same pace as all the other groups in the economy? Or are they going to be left behind to struggle for survival all on their own?

CHAPTER 2

SURVEY PROCEDURES

2.1 The Setting

This survey of Thailand's urban labour market covers the Bangkok Metropolitan Region which includes six provinces: Bangkok, Nonthaburi, Pathumthani, Samutprakan, Samutsakhon and Nakhonpathom. The total area is 6,236 square kilometres with a population of about 8.4 million in 1990.

2.2 Sampling Methodology

Our sampling plan was to select 1280 workers with an equal size of male and female workers from 80 manufacturing establishments. The sampled workers would then be proportionally distributed by manufacturing industries, establishment size, sex and occupational structure.

We needed to know the proportion of Bangkok's labour force in each of the above categories. The two most useful data sources were the Census of Establishments conducted by the Department of Labour, and the Labour Force Survey conducted by the National Statistical Office. The former provided the important characteristics of all manufacturing establishments including composition of the workforce while the latter provided information on the occupational structure of workers.

The sampling was then carried out in six stages, as follows:

First, we used the relative proportion of male and female workers in the manufacturing industries to allocate the sample of male and female workers in the respective industries. The details are shown in table 2.1.

Table 2.1. Number of sample workers by industry

Manufacturing industry[a]	Total	Male	Female
31	171	90	81
32	421	111	310
33	60	41	19
34	64	41	23
35	156	78	78
36	86	62	24
37	32	27	5
38	271	181	90
39	19	9	10
Total	1,280	640	640

Note: [a] 31 – Food, Beverages and Tobacco
32 – Textiles, Garments, Leather, Leather Products
33 – Wood, Wood Products, including Furniture
34 – Paper, Paper Products, Printing, Publishing
35 – Chemicals, Chemical Products, Petroleum, Coal, Rubber, Plastic Products
36 – Non-metallic Mineral Products such as pottery Glass
37 – Basic metals
38 – Fabricated Metal Products, Machinery, Equipment
39 – Other Manufactures

Second, we divided the manufacturing establishments into three broad categories according to their size by number of employees:

(a) Small: 20 to 99 workers;
(b) Medium: 100 to 499 workers;
(c) Large: 500 workers and over.

Workers to be sampled were then allocated by industry and establishment size according to the proportion of the work-force in each category. The sample thus reflected the relative share of employment in the three broad establishment sizes in each industry. The details of the selection are shown in table 2.2.

Third, we allocated an appropriate number of manufacturing firms within any given industry among the three establishment sizes, proportionate to the relative size of employment, as shown in table 2.3.

Fourth, we allocated the sample size of 640 male and 640 female workers in nine manufacturing industries to reflect the occupational structure of the labour force. The results are shown in table 2.4.

Table 2.2. Number of sample workers by industry and establishment size (Number of Workers)

Industry[a]	20-99	100-500	500 and over	Total
31	32	78	61	171
32	58	99	264	421
33	23	29	8	60
34	20	27	17	64
35	52	74	30	156
36	13	28	45	86
37	15	12	5	32
38	70	116	85	271
39	7	10	2	19
Total	290	473	517	1,280

Note: [a] Same as table 2.1.

Table 2.3. Number of sample establishments by industry and by size (Number of Workers)

Industry[a]	20-99	100-500	500 and over	Total
31	2	4	3	9
32	6	10	25	41
33	0	1	0	1
34	1	1	0	2
35	2	2	1	5
36	1	3	4	8
37	1	0	0	1
38	3	5	4	12
39	0	1	0	1

Note: [a] Same as table 2.1.

Table 2.4. Percentage distribution of sample workers by occupation and by sex

Industry[a]	Professional, technical and related, administrative, managerial		Clerical, sales and services		Labourers	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
31	6.7	2.2	17.0	7.9	79.3	89.9
32	7.3	1.7	13.2	4.1	79.5	94.1
33	2.4	0.7	5.4	4.8	92.2	94.5
34	23.6	8.0	18.1	19.0	58.3	73.0
35	9.5	5.5	20.9	12.6	69.5	82.0
36	8.1	5.1	16.6	13.5	75.3	81.4
37	10.9	7.2	6.0	16.2	83.1	76.6
38	8.9	3.7	3.1	28.1	88.0	69.7
39	8.5	0.8	7.6	5.7	83.9	93.5
All industries	8.1	2.4	10.3	7.8	81.5	89.8

Note: [a] Same as table 2.1.

Fifth, based on the information in tables 2.1 to 2.4, we were then able to allocate the number of workers to be surveyed classified by industry, firm size, sex, and occupational structure as shown in table 2.5. This table includes the actual number interviewed which was slightly different from the original plan for the reason discussed in the next section.

Table 2.5. Distribution of workers by industry, establishment size, sex and occupation: Planned/actual sample

Industry code[a]	Sampled establishments			Sex		Planned sample			Actual sample			
	Number	Size				Occupational Category[c] (1)	(2)	(3)	Occupational Category[c] (1)	(2)	(3)	Total
31	2	Size 1	40	M	21	1	4	16	1	2	15	18
				F	19	–	2	17	1	6	10	17
	4	Size 2	80	M	42	3	7	32	4	10	26	40
				F	38	1	3	34	2	6	24	32
	3	Size 3	60	M	32	2	5	25	3	5	24	32
				F	28	1	2	25	3	7	12	22
		Sub-total	180	M	95	6	16	73	8	17	65	90
				F	85	2	7	76	6	19	46	71
32	6	Size 1	66	M	17	1	2	14	2	1	–	3
				F	49	1	2	46	3	1	49	53
	10	Size 2	110	M	29	2	4	23	4	2	38	44
				F	81	1	3	75	7	15	68	90
	25	Size 3	275	M	73	6	10	58	15	22	69	106
				F	202	4	9	190	7	34	186	229
		Sub-total	451	M	119	9	16	94	21	25	107	153
				F	332	6	14	312	17	50	305	372
33	–	Size 1	0	M	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
				F	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1	Size 2	29	M	20	1	1	18	1	3	17	21
				F	9	–	–	9	–	2	7	9
	–	Size 3	0	M	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
				F	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
		Sub-total	29	M	20	1	1	18	1	3	17	21
				F	9	0	0	9	–	2	7	9
34	1	Size 1	24	M	15	4	3	9	1	1	11	13
				F	9	1	2	7	–	4	2	6
	1	Size 2	24	M	15	4	2	9	2	3	9	14
				F	9	1	2	7	2	3	5	10
	–	Size 3	0	M	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
				F	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
		Sub-total	48	M	30	7	5	18	3	4	20	27
				F	18	1	4	13	2	7	7	16
35	2	Size 1	68	M	34	3	7	24	2	1	22	25
				F	34	2	4	28	2	4	34	40
	2	Size 2	68	M	34	3	7	24	3	8	19	30
				F	34	2	4	28	2	6	26	34
	1	Size 3	34	M	17	2	4	12	3	3	12	18
				F	17	1	1	14	3	3	13	19
		Sub-total	170	M	85	8	18	59	8	12	53	73
				F	85	5	10	70	7	13	73	93
36	1	Size 1	13	M	9	1	1	7	1	–	7	8
				F	4	–	1	3	1	1	3	5
	3	Size 2	39	M	28	2	5	21	4	5	22	31
				F	11	1	1	9	–	3	9	12
	4	Size 3	52	M	37	3	6	28	5	6	25	36
				F	15	1	2	12	1	6	10	17
		Sub-total	104	M	74	6	12	56	10	11	54	75
				F	30	2	4	24	2	10	22	34

Table 2.5. *(Continued)*

Industry code[a]	Sampled establishments: Number	Size		Sex		Planned sample: Occupational (1)	(2)	Category[c] (3)	Actual sample: Occupational (1)	(2)	Category[c] (3)	Total
37	–	Size 1	0	M	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
				F	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1	Size 2	15	M	13	1	1	11	1	–	11	12
				F	2	–	–	2	1	1	2	4
	–	Size 3	0	M	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
				F	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
		Sub-total	15	M	13	1	1	11	1	–	11	12
				F	2	0	0	2	1	1	2	4
38	3	Size 1	69	M	46	4	1	41	4	2	41	47
				F	23	1	7	16	1	5	16	22
	5	Size 2	115	M	77	7	2	68	7	7	62	76
				F	38	1	10	26	1	11	26	38
	4	Size 3	92	M	62	5	2	55	7	5	45	57
				F	30	1	9	21	1	10	26	37
		Sub-total	276	M	185	16	6	163	18	14	148	180
				F	91	3	25	63	3	26	68	97
39	–	Size 1	0	M	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
				F	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1	Size 2	10	M	5	1	–	4	1	1	–	2
				F	5	–	–	5	1	–	9	10
	–	Size 3	0	M	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
				F	0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
		Sub-total	10	M	5	1	0	4	1	1	–	2
				F	5	0	0	5	1	–	9	10
Total			1,283	M	624	55	75	497	71	87	475	633
				F	659	19	64	574	39	128	539	706

Notes: [a] Same as table 2.1.
[b] Size 1: 20-99 workers.
Size 2: 100-499 workers.
Size 3: 500 workers and over.
[c] (1) Professional, Technical and Related Workers, Administrative and Managerial Workers.
(2) Clerical, Sales and Services Workers.
(3) Labourers.

Finally, we systematically conducted a random sampling of 80 firms from the establishment list obtained from the Department of Labour.

From past experiences, the research team was well aware of the difficulties that might be encountered in obtaining cooperation from factory owners. To ensure that the survey covered the planned number of 1,280 workers or as close to that number as possible, additional factories of equal number were selected to be used as replacement in case the original sample factories were not accessible.

2.3 Administration of the Survey

A team of 19 investigators took part in the field work, consisting of 15 interviewers, 2 supervisors and 1 project manager. They were divided into three groups, each group consisting of 5 interviewers and a supervisor who arranged for advance contacts with the management, solved on-the-spot problems and helped out with some interviews if time was running short and workers had to return to their production line. The project manager and the principal investigator also joined the survey teams on several occasions and took part in many interviews.

The final questionnaire used was a modified version of the original one prepared by ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP. It consisted of seven main sections: particulars of establishments; characteristics of employees, their spouses and households; information on current employment such as work status, benefits received, wages, work hours,

availability of training; aspects of migration; mobility across industries and occupations; characteristics of job-changers and non-changers; and characteristics of married women workers.

The actual data collection took almost four months, beginning in May 1991 and continued through August 1991. Some of the difficulties encountered during the interviews were as follows:

(a) Obtaining cooperation from the management. Only 10 per cent of the originally selected factories allowed the research team to interview their employees. We had to select more factories from our replacement list. The small- and medium-sized factories, in particular, were very sensitive about any survey involving questions on income and working conditions.

(b) Insufficient samples in some categories. Some factories had fewer employees in some categories of employment than specified in the selection process. For example, there are very few male workers in small textile factories and very few female workers in metal product factories. An owner of a small factory may serve in both an administrative position and as an office worker.

(c) Obtaining Information on fringe benefits. Some managers would not allow our interviewers to ask workers directly whether they were receiving benefits such as bonus and paid leave. However, they usually offered to provide the required information themselves. None the less, the interviewers would try to ask the questions on benefits from at least two or three workers in the factory to check for accuracy. They usually found the information obtained consistent enough to believe that it applied also to the rest of the workers in that factory.

(d) Intervention from factory personnel. During the interview, the management in some factories tried to stay around to observe the interviewing process. Their presence might have caused workers to avoid answering some questions or to answer in favour of their employer.

(e) Selection of the respondents. Once the research team was admitted to the factories, it would brief the management on the purpose of the survey and inform them about the distribution of workers it would like to interview. The ideal situation would have been to gain access to the list of workers on the firm's pay-roll and conduct a random selection from that list. But in practice, that selection process was never allowed. In most cases, the management agreed with the planned distribution among a given category of workers but insisted on selecting the respondents itself. In other cases, the management had already selected the workers and had them waiting for the team in a specially arranged room. This procedure is understandable as workers often cannot leave the production line for any length of time, in this case 30 minutes or so required for the interview.

In a few large factories operating on the shift system or with many workers living in dormitories located within the factory compound, personnel managers allowed the research team to wander into the cafeteria where several workers were having their meals or just relaxing. On those occasions, the principal investigator talked to some of them at length, asking detailed questions about their working conditions, their social and economic background, and their attitudes towards their work and their lives.

Such in-depth qualitative information proved to be very helpful in interpreting the tabulated data from the structured questionnaire. The knowledge obtained during those conversations has been incorporated in this report.

Although the interviews covered the exact number of factories as specified in the original selection (80 factories), the actual number of workers was higher than the planned number of 1,280 cases. The final number of workers interviewed by sex and occupations was 633 male and 706 female workers, totalling 1,339 workers.

2.4 Data Processing

Every day after the interviews were over, the supervisors checked all the answers for consistency and completeness. The questionnaire was then sent to the project manager for further editing and checking. Data entry was completed about three weeks after the end of the survey. The project manager than spent one more month in editing and cleaning the data tape. All tabulations and multivariate analyses were conducted by the SPSS computer programme.

CHAPTER 3

PROFILE OF MANUFACTURING WORKERS

This chapter describes the general characteristics of the 1,339 workers who were interviewed during the survey. The purpose is to provide basic information to serve as a background for the understanding of the workers' behaviour and their choice of occupations, access to training and other benefits, and mobility decisions. Comparison is made between male and female workers wherever possible and appropriate. The workers' characteristics described in this chapter include age structure, educational attainment, marital status, migration status, and the characteristics of their households.

3.1 Age Structure

Respondents in the survey were mostly young, 65 per cent being between 15 and 30 years of age at the time of the survey (table 3.1). A further one-third was in the 31-55 age group. The age distribution for both male and female workers is remarkably similar. The mean age of the male and female workers was 29 and 28 years, respectively. The youngest group of workers, both male and female, were in the "new" industries of chemicals, petroleum and plastics products and basic metals (see table 3.2). The average age of the workers in these industries was 25 years.

An issue of continuing controversy in Thailand is that of child labour which is currently defined as working children below 15 years old. The Labour Law prohibits employment of children under the age of 13 while light work is permitted for children between 13 and 15 years. About 2 per cent (13 persons) of the female respondents were under 15 years; the corresponding figure among the male respondents was less than half of one per cent.

Most of the factories employing child labour were illegal, the owners never having registered with the Department of Industrial Works. The listing we obtained from the Department of Labour was supposed to have included some of the unregistered factories but even if illegal factories had been selected, the owners would have been extremely reluctant to allow the interviewers to enter the premises, let alone ask their workers about wages and working conditions.

Retirement age for production workers at most manufacturing firms has been set at 55 or 60 years. That partly explains the extremely small proportion of the sample (about one per cent) in the age group 56 and above. Recently, retirement age for women workers in some factories has been pushed increasingly downwards to 45 or even 40 years. For men, it remains unchanged. This has caused considerable hardship to women who were not prepared for alternative employment. With no training, little education and being over 40 years of age, they can hardly expect to be recruited into any manufacturing jobs.

A common choice for these women is self-employment, using the severance pay and whatever savings they have been able to accumulate as initial capital. In many cases, they set up their stalls or vending carts outside the factory gates, selling food to their former co-workers. For others who were originally from other provinces and have been maintaining close ties with their rural families, they return home. But women with no family to

Table 3.1. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by age and by sex

Age group	Male	Female
Under 15	0.3	1.8
15-30	64.5	65.2
31-55	34.1	32.2
56 and over	1.1	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(633)	(706)

Table 3.2. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by industry, and age and sex

Age group	Industry[a]									
	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	Total
Male										
Under 15	–	–	–	–	–	1.3	–	0.6	–	0.3
15-30	61.6	65.4	81.0	48.1	87.7	45.3	91.7	62.8	50.0	64.5
31-55	33.3	34.6	19.0	51.9	12.3	52.0	8.3	36.1	50.0	34.1
56 and over	5.6	–	–	–	–	1.3	–	0.6	–	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(90)	(153)	(21)	(27)	(73)	(75)	(12)	(180)	(2)	(633)
Mean	31.3	28.5	27.6	31.2	24.9	31.6	23.6	29.1	36.5	29.0
Female										
Under 15	5.6	2.2	–	–	1.1	–	–	–	–	1.8
15-30	63.4	60.8	66.7	43.8	79.6	44.1	100.0	79.4	60.0	65.2
31-55	25.4	36.8	33.3	56.3	19.4	55.9	–	19.6	40.0	32.2
56 and over	5.6	0.3	–	–	–	–	–	1.0	–	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(71)	(372)	(9)	(16)	(93)	(34)	(4)	(97)	(10)	(706)
Mean	30.0	28.3	29.9	31.2	25.5	31.5	27.0	26.3	30.5	28.1

Note: [a] (31) Food, Beverages, Tobacco.
(32) Textiles, Garments, Leather, Leather Products.
(33) Wood, Wood Products, including Furniture.
(34) Paper, Paper Products, Printing, Publishing.
(35) Chemicals, Chemical Products, Petroleum, Coal, Rubber, Plastic Products.
(36) Non-metallic Mineral Products such as Pottery, Glass.
(37) Basic Metals.
(38) Fabricated Metal Products, Machinery and Equipment.
(39) Other Manufactures (Gemstone, Sporting and Athletic Goods).

support them or no entrepreneurial talent to start their own business might have to take whatever odd jobs the firm can offer such as cleaning the factory or offices for a mere 60 to 70 baht a day.

3.2 Marital Status

Because of the predominance of young workers in the sample about half of them were still single (table 3.3). We find a higher proportion of single workers among women. This is partly attributable to the preference of manufacturing employers to hire young, single women because the unattached workers are more likely to devote their time and energy to their jobs instead of being distracted by family duties.

Single women are also less of a financial burden to employers. No working time is lost for such reasons as maternity leave. Single women are known to be more flexible in adjusting their working hours under the shift system which requires them to keep changing their eight-hour schedule every two weeks or so. Married women

Table 3.3. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by marital status

Age group	Male	Female
Single	47.2	54.2
Married	49.8	39.7
Widowed/Divorced/Separated	3.0	6.1
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(633)	(706)
Mean	25.2	22.5

would find such arrangement more awkward as it would conflict with their home duties, or would require their families to adjust to their schedule.

The proportion of married workers was significantly lower among the women than among the men, being four in ten compared with one in two, indicating the social expectation of women's role in the home. Also factory workers are less likely to be able to afford domestic help. Only a small number of daycare centres were available either at the work place or elsewhere. Although there is no social sanction against women working after marriage, other factors have probably forced many women to quit their jobs after marriage (see Chapter 7).

3.3 Educational Attainment

The overall literacy rate of the Thai population is high, being about 93 per cent and may be even higher among those in the labour force. This is clearly indicated by the fact that almost all respondents had had at least four years of schooling. Less than one per cent of both men and women workers had had no schooling at all (table 3.4).

Table 3.4. Percentage distribution of workers by educational attainment of respondents and their spouses

Education	Male	Female	Education	Male	Female
A. Education of Respondent			**B. Education of Spouse**		
No schooling	0.2	0.8	No schooling	1.9	0.4
Lower primary	25.6	42.5	Lower primary	34.2	28.9
Upper primary	3.8	7.4	Upper primary	14.7	13.4
Lower secondary	20.1	17.6	Lower secondary	15.0	16.5
Upper secondary/vocational	40.0	25.5	Upper secondary/vocational	25.9	30.3
Vocational training	0.9	0.6	Vocational training	0.3	1.4
University graduate	9.5	5.7	University graduate	8.0	9.2
Total	100.0	100.0	Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(633)	(706)	(N)	(313)	(284)

The men were relatively more educated than the women, with 70 per cent having received schooling beyond the primary level of 4 to 6 years, compared with 50 per cent of the women. When a child is born, Thai parents may be equally pleased whatever the sex of the baby. However, sons and daughters are raised differently. When parents in poor families have to make a decision which one of their many children should continue schooling after the compulsory level, it is the sons who receive priority in most cases.

Workers with upper secondary education and vocational education, whether or not with certificates or diplomas, were again mostly male, being four in ten compared to about one in four for women. Only a small number of workers had technical qualifications. The gender difference is distinct with 35 per cent of male workers and 23 per cent of female workers having had some form of vocational education (table 3.5). Among this group, above one in two men had formal qualifications but only four in ten of the women had similar achievement.

Table 3.5. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by technical qualification

Qualifications	Male	Female
Formal qualifications	16.6	9.1
No formal qualifications	18.8	13.5
No qualifications	64.6	77.5
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(633)	(706)

3.4 Migration

The establishment and continuing expansion of manufacturing industries which are concentrated in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region have caused an inflow of migrants from other provinces of Thailand. The largest and cheapest source of supply has been found in the low-income farming sector. Migrants from rural areas constituted 40 per cent of all male respondents and 47 per cent of female respondents (table 3.6,a).

The proportion of migrants among the respondents was 58 per cent for male and 64 per cent for female workers. The high percentage among women was due to many urban manufacturing jobs requiring dexterity such as electronics and watch-making, or being jobs normally thought to be suitable for women, as an extension of what women have been doing at home, for example, work in the clothing and food industries.

Among male migrants, 62 per cent came from the northeastern region, 35 per cent from the Central region and 4 per cent from the southern region. The distribution among female migrants was similar, with 64 per cent from the northeast, 32 per cent and 4 per cent from the Central and the southern regions respectively. None of our respondents came from the northern region (table 3.6,b).

The average age at migration for both men and women was 19 years (table 3.7). Half of the men came to Bangkok while they were between 15 and 19 years of age and 40 per cent came between the age of 20-29. Fifty-seven per cent of women migrants came to Bangkok between the ages of 15-19 and one-third came when they were between 20 and 29 years of age.

Table 3.6, a. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by place of birth

Place of birth	Male	Female
Bangkok Metropolitan Region	41.9	36.3
Other cities/towns	17.7	16.9
Rural areas	40.3	46.9
Outside the country	0.2	–
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(633)	(706)

Table 3.6, b. Percentage distribution of surveyed migrant workers by region of birth

Region	Male	Female
Northeast	61.6	64.0
Central	34.6	32.4
South	3.8	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(367)	(450)

Table 3.7. Percentage distribution of surveyed migrant workers by age at time of migration

Age group	Male	Female
Under 15	6.4	7.7
15-19	51.3	57.0
20-24	34.5	28.7
25-29	5.6	4.8
30 and over	2.2	1.8
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(357)[a]	(442)[a]
Mean	19.1	18.9

Note: [a] Exclude missing case.

Being quite young, an overwhelming majority of migrants were single, i.e. about 9 out of ten for both men and women, while only 8 per cent were married (table 3.8). At the time of migration, men were noticeably more educated than women with six out of ten male migrants having completed higher than primary education and four out of ten women being in the same category (table 3.9). No respondent, neither male nor female, had ever received any form of vocational training before his/her arrival in Bangkok.

Table 3.8. Percentage distribution of surveyed migrant workers by marital status before migration

Marital status	Male	Female
Single	91.9	90.3
Married	7.8	8.3
Widowed/Divorced/Separated	0.3	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(357)[a]	(444)[a]

Note: [a] Excludes missing case.

Table 3.9. Percentage distribution of surveyed migrant workers by level of education before migration

Education	Male	Female
No schooling	–	0.5
Lower primary	33.1	53.2
Upper primary	6.7	6.3
Lower secondary	26.1	18.9
Upper secondary/vocation	32.8	20.7
Vocational training	–	–
University graduate	1.4	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(357)[a]	(444)[a]

Note: [a] Excludes missing case.

3.5 Spouses and Households

A large majority of the workers' spouses were employed, that is, 97 per cent of the husbands and 77 per cent of the wives. The percentage of working wives was about ten points higher than the overall female labour force participation rate. Furthermore, women tend to marry men of a higher educational status than themselves. Among the women workers, 6 per cent had had university education whereas 9 per cent of the husbands had attained that level (table 3.4). At the other end of the educational scale, 43 per cent of the women workers had had a primary level of education, their husbands ten percentage points less. For the men, 10 per cent were university graduates and 26 per cent with primary level of education while the corresponding figures among the wives were 8 per cent and 34 per cent. About half (51 per cent) of the spouses of male workers received primary education or less, compared with 43 per cent of female workers' spouses.

Table 3.10. Characteristics of male and female respondents' households

Characteristics	MRH	FRH
Average Size of a household	3.93	3.75
Number of earners per household	2.62	2.71
Number of dependents per household	1.30	1.04
Percentage of female-headed households	–	34.00

Note: MRH – Male Respondents' Households.
FRH – Female Respondents' Households.

The gender differences in education and employment that we saw among the respondents was repeated in the information we gathered about their household members, spouses and others (table 3.10).

The average household size of male respondents is 3.93, slightly larger than the 3.75 of female respondents. This is partly due to the proportion of unmarried among women workers being larger. The presence of a large number of unmarried women in single-member households also explains the higher share of female-headed households (34 per cent) in the sample.

The number of dependents per household was larger for the male respondents' household than for the female respondent household, that is, 1.30 as compared with 1.04. The number of earners in the female respondents' household was marginally higher, being 2.71 compared with 2.62 for the male respondents' household.

Fifty-three per cent of the male earners were less than 37 years old while the corresponding percentage among the women earners was 70. Women probably also retire earlier. In the 31-55 age group only 29 per cent of women were working compared with 36 per cent for men. There was also a higher percentage of male earners over 56 years of age (see table 3.11). The percentage distribution of non-earners in respondents' households is shown in table 3.12.

Table 3.11. Percentage distribution of earners in respondents' households by age

Age group	Earners in household	
	Male	Female
Under 15	0.6	1.7
15-30	52.8	68.4
31-55	30.7	28.8
56 and over	15.9	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(1,934)	(1,916)

Table 3.12. Percentage distribution of non-earners in respondents' households by age

Age group	Non-earners	
	Male	Female
Under 15	45.5	36.4
15-30	27.3	32.8
31-55	14.4	30.9
56 and over	12.8	-
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(549)	(693)

Table 3.13. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by nature of current accommodation

Accommodation	Male	Female
Independent ownership	15.2	10.1
Joint or family ownership	14.7	16.9
Rented premises	28.9	30.0
Free accommodation	18.2	24.4
Others (parents and relatives' house)	23.1	18.7
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(633)	(706)

There were various types of living arrangements among the respondents. With a large proportion of migrants among them, it is not surprising that rented premises were the largest category of accommodation (table 3.13). Male workers were more likely to own their homes, although the proportion was not large, being 15 per cent compared with 10 per cent for the female workers. Young, single women also choose to stay with friends or relatives, more so than the men do. Whenever available, women prefer to live in a factory dormitory, because such an arrangement is convenient for working the night shifts.

Unfortunately, factory housing is quickly becoming a thing of the past. The recent spiralling land prices in and around Bangkok have made dormitories a luxury that employers can no longer afford. In fact, some factories have been knocking down the existing dormitories to make room for new warehouses. Workers are crammed into the remaining space, from 4 to 5 persons in one room to 10 to 12 persons in triple bunk beds. Others are forced to seek their own housing far from the factories, with added expenses in rent and transport.

CHAPTER 4

STRUCTURE OF EMPLOYMENT AND WORKING CONDITIONS

This chapter describes the employment situation of the respondents, pointing out gender differences in industrial and occupational distribution. Then we look into several other aspects of employment conditions such as mode of wage payments, work status, contract of employment, union membership and training opportunities.

4.1 Industrial Distribution

Slightly more than half of the female respondents were employed in textile, garments and leather goods production, followed by 14 per cent in metal products, machinery and equipment and 13 per cent in the chemicals, petroleum and plastics industry (table 4.1). For the men, the highest proportion is found in the metal products industrial group. The textile, garments and leather industry also employed a large proportion of the male respondents whose position and wages as we will see later, are higher than those of the female respondents.

Table 4.1. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by industries

Industry	Male	Female
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	14.2	10.1
Textiles, Garments, Leather	24.2	52.7
Wood, Wood Products	3.3	1.3
Paper Products, Printing, Publishing	4.3	2.3
Chemicals, Petroleum, Plastics	11.5	13.2
Non-metallic Mineral Products	11.8	4.8
Basic Metals	1.9	0.6
Fabricated Metal Products, Machinery, Equipment	28.4	13.7
Other Manufactures	0.3	1.4
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(633)	(706)

4.2 Occupational Distribution

Three-fourths of the respondents were production workers (table 4.2). Among the males, one-third were in the skilled category, and 14 per cent and 28 per cent in the semi-skilled and unskilled categories respectively. Corresponding figures for the female respondents were 21 per cent, 19 per cent and 36 per cent, showing that the women were concentrated at the lower end of the occupational structure. A very small proportion were in the scientific and technical occupational category, with about 2 per cent and 1 per cent for male and female workers respectively.

Table 4.2. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by occupation

Occupational category	Male	Female
Scientific, technical	2.1	1.3
Managerial, executive	9.2	4.2
Clerical and related	9.2	13.9
Services	4.6	4.2
Skilled production	32.5	21.4
Semi-skilled production	14.2	18.6
Unskilled production workers	28.3	36.4
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(633)	(706)

Men seem to have a better chance of attaining the managerial and executive level, the proportion among the sample being 9 per cent compared with 4 per cent for women. On the other hand, clerical and related work seems to be open to women more than to men, represented by 14 per cent and 9 per cent of the female and male respondents, respectively. The proportion of service workers was roughly the same for both sexes, that is, 4 per cent.

4.3 Size of Establishments

Four in ten men and one in three women were employed in medium-size establishments with 100-499 workers (table 4.3). The small-size firms with less than 100 workers attracted an almost equal proportion of men and women, that is, about one in five workers. The difference is more distinct in the large-size establishment of 500 and more workers where the proportion among the women was 46 per cent compared with 39 per cent among the men.

Table 4.3. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by size of establishment

Size (Number of workers)	Male	Female
Less than 100	18.0	20.3
100-499	42.7	33.9
500 and over	39.3	45.9
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(633)	(706)

4.4 Employment Status

Eighty-eight per cent of both men and women workers were regular workers and about 10 per cent were casual workers (table 4.4). A very small proportion (about 0.3 per cent for men and 0.4 per cent for women) were in the category of contract workers. A few employers were found among the respondents: 1.4 per cent and 1 per cent among the men and women respectively.

Table 4.4. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by employment status

Employment status	Male	Female
Employer	1.4	1.0
Regular worker	88.0	88.2
Casual worker	10.0	9.3
Contract worker	0.3	0.4
Apprentice	0.3	0.4
Family worker	–	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(633)	(706)

4.5 Mode of Wage Payment

Workers' benefits depend partly on the basis of their payment. Being paid on a daily basis means that their payment is entirely determined by whether or not they report for work on any particular day. If they are paid on a monthly basis they can afford to take a few days of sick leave and still have at least a guaranteed income. Thirty per cent of men and 37 per cent of women were paid on a daily basis (table 4.5). Among the employees who were paid monthly, 69 per cent were men and 56 per cent women.

The survey found only a small proportion of workers receiving payment on a piece-rate basis because of the sampling selection which excluded establishments employing less than 20 workers. These would most likely be subcontractors paying their workers on a piece-rate basis. However, a notable fact is that the proportion of women falling under this category of payment was significantly higher than the proportion of men, i.e., 5 per

Table 4.5. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by mode of wage payment

Mode of wage payment	Male	Female
Hourly	–	0.1
Daily	29.7	37.5
Weekly	0.6	1.4
Monthly	69.4	56.1
Piece rates	0.3	5.1
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(633)	(706)

cent compared with less than half a per cent for men. This is due to women being more likely to work in garment and jewelry firms which are increasingly relying on the subcontracting system in order to diversify production, reduce costs and speed up production.

4.6 Current Work Efforts and Willingness to Work Overtime

A six-day work week was a routine schedule for most respondents, with only slight variations among the different categories of workers, the longest being 6.3 days in the case of contract workers (table 4.6). Since this group of workers is normally employed on a piece rate basis or called in temporarily when a firm is under pressure to fulfil rush orders, they have to work harder than regular employees who put in 5.9 days per week on the average. Women casual workers work 6 days per week, longer than the 5.7 days average for men in the same work status.

Table 4.6. Average number of days worked per week by employment status

Employment status	Male	Female
All workers	5.9	6.0
Employer	5.8	5.9
Regular workers	5.9	5.9
Casual worker	5.7	6.0
Contract worker	6.3	6.3
Apprentice	–	6.0
Family worker	6.0	6.3

The normal legal working hours for regular employees are eight hours per day, with up to one hour's break. The low wage rate may have been the main factor causing many workers to look to overtime pay in order to supplement their regular income. Except for contract workers whose nature of employment provides no opportunity for overtime work, other workers tended to work extra hours (table 4.7).

Table 4.7. Number of hours worked per day in regular and overtime work by employment status

Employment status	Male	Female
Regular worker	9.6	9.8
– Regular work	8.0	8.2
– Overtime work	1.6	1.6
Casual worker	10.5	10.1
– Regular work	8.1	8.9
– Overtime work	2.4	1.4
Contract worker	7.5	8.3
– Regular work	7.5	8.3
– Overtime work	–	–

Regular employees worked 1.6 hours of overtime a day, making the total time spent at work almost 10 hours, marginally less than casual workers. Male casual workers spent one hour less than their female counterparts in regular work but one hour more in overtime.

Our survey, which was conducted between May and August 1991, happened to fall during a period of mild recession both in Thailand and world-wide. There had been cancellations in overseas order for manufacturing products, resulting in lay off of workers. That situation accounts, in part, for the low requirement for overtime work. However, workers had been used to working longer hours during the economic boom prior to the recession and therefore a high proportion of respondents (64 per cent of men and 59 per cent of women) expressed their readiness and willingness for more overtime work. For evening work, the current rate of pay is one and a half times the basic wage rate and for work on Sundays and official holidays, the rate is twice the basic wage rate (table 4.8).

Table 4.8. Distribution of surveyed workers willing to work overtime by employment status (Percentage and number of persons)

Employment status	Male		Female	
All workers	64.3	(401)	58.7	(410)
Regular workers	62.8	(349)	47.5	(358)
Casual workers	76.2	(48)	74.2	(49)
Contract workers	100.0	(2)	33.3	(1)

The higher proportion of male respondents who were willing to work overtime is probably a reflection of the greater flexibility of men for evening work because they are free from duties at home. Casual workers whose earnings and other benefits are lower were also found to be more willing to work additional hours than the regular employees. Among the male workers the proportions are 76 per cent for casual workers and 63 per cent for regular employees. Among the women, the corresponding proportions were 74 per cent and 48 per cent. Among the group of casual workers, the proportion wanting overtime was roughly the same for both sexes, that is, about three out of four workers. The number of cases for contract workers was too small to allow any meaningful interpretation.

Given the long hours of hard work they put in each day in addition to the possibility of overtime work in their main job, it is not surprising that few workers feel any desire to take on any supplementary jobs. Six per cent of the women workers had at least one other job against 11 per cent of the men (table 4.9). Among those who had additional jobs, the extra income was more than half that earned from the main job, being 6,548 baht per month for the men and 3,369 baht per month for the women.

Most of the supplementary jobs were casual work with no fixed hours, which may even require moving from one location to another. Thirty-one per cent of women and 26 per cent of men had mobile jobs; 46 per cent of men and 41 per cent of women had home-based jobs. The rest had jobs that required them to be stationary

Table 4.9. Distribution of surveyed workers reporting subsidiary jobs during current employment (Percentage and number of persons)

Subsidiary job	Male		Female	
All workers	100.0	(633)	100.0	(703)
One job	8.4	(53)	4.6	(3.2)
More than on job	2.5	(16)	1.1	(8)
No subsidiary job	89.1	(564)	94.3	(663)
Location of principal subsidiary job	100.0	(70)	100.0	(39)
Home based	45.7	(32)	41.0	(16)
Stationary elsewhere	28.6	(20)	28.2	(11)
Mobile	25.7	(18)	30.8	(12)

somewhere outside their homes. Examples of supplementary jobs for men are driving taxis or riding motor-cycles for hire. For women, selling cosmetics door-to-door is the most popular occupation.

4.7 Employment Contract

Women are less likely to benefit from a contract than men, with six out of ten respondents having no contract of any kind compared with one out of two men. Forty-six per cent of men and 36 per cent of women had written contracts (table 4.10). Having a contract does not necessarily imply that workers are secure in their jobs. Employers are free to enter into contracts of unspecified duration and can also choose to terminate the contract for any reason, as long as they are willing to give severance pay, and the final payment. When the duration of the contract is not specified, employment can be terminated at any time by either party, after giving prior notice which will take effect at the next payment.

Table 4.10. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by employment contract

Nature of contract	Male	Female
Written contract	46.1	35.6
No written contract	3.8	4.1
No contract whatsoever	50.1	60.3
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(629)	(705)

Since a large proportion of workers in Thailand are paid fortnightly, weekly or even on a daily basis, the law in effect allows an employer to dismiss workers immediately after settling the final wage payment and workers can be dismissed at one day's notice. In addition, employers are not required by law to show reasonable grounds for terminating employment. They can terminate the employment of their women workers on non-work related grounds such as marital status or pregnancy.

On termination of employment, workers are entitled to severance pay. However, if the employer cites misconduct as the ground for dismissal, it is legal to withhold such payment. The actual amount of severance pay is determined by the length of employment, but technically that can amount to no more than one day's wage for the reasons indicated above.

4.8 Job Information

Friends and relatives represented the main source of employment information for workers in this survey. The importance of this informal channel is especially noticeable among women, with 81 per cent relying on information about job availability by word of mouth. More importantly, friends and relatives provide personal recommendations which are often the major consideration of employers in their hiring decision (table 4.11). The percentage among the men using this source was 69 per cent, much less than among the women (81 per cent) but still quite high. It should be noted that reliance on this informal source does not just apply to the first

Table 4.11. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by mode of obtaining current job

	Male	Female
Newspaper advertisements	8.9	3.3
Other advertisements	8.1	5.0
Public employment agencies	2.4	2.1
Recruitment drive by firms	6.1	3.4
Labour contractors	0.3	0.4
Friends and relatives	69.2	81.1
Others	5.0	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(626)	(698)

entrance into the labour market but it continues even after workers have changed jobs many times. For migrant workers, they still resort to this means even after being in the city for many years.

The extent of reliance on public employment agencies was negligible, only about 2 per cent, both among the male and female workers. This percentage is about the same as that found in all other labour surveys even those dating back several years. It indicates that there has been little change in the situation of job search, despite the expansion of the labour information offices of the Labour Department.

The men were more likely than the women (9 per cent compared with 3 per cent) to turn to newspaper and other forms of advertisement as a source of job information. This can perhaps be explained by the men's higher educational level and the greater desire to vary their jobs which seems to be more prevalent among male workers. They are also more likely to respond to recruitment drives by employers.

The unskilled workers who were also the least educated workers also relied on friends and relatives as their main source of job information. White-collar workers, on the other hand, turned to other sources as well. But even among this group, reliance of women on the informal channel of job information still remained strong (table 4.12).

Table 4.12. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by job information source, occupation and sex

Source of information	Occupational category							
	White-collar workers		Skilled workers		Semi-skilled workers		Unskilled workers	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Friends and relatives	54.4	70.1	67.8	83.4	73.3	83.8	81.5	84.8
Other sources	45.6	29.9	32.2	16.6	26.7	16.2	18.5	15.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(149)	(157)	(205)	(151)	(90)	(130)	(178)	(256)

4.9 Trade Union Membership

Twenty-eight per cent of both male and female respondents were employed in establishments with trade unions (table 4.13,a). A majority of the unions are independent company unions. Among the workers, 52 per cent of male workers were trade union members. The percentage among female workers was higher, being 56 per cent (table 4.13,b). This might be the result of our sample in which half of the establishments were in textile, garments and leather goods production, known to be female-oriented and labour-intensive. The overall percentage of manufacturing workers in Thailand who are trade union members is very small, being less than 10 per cent of the total. They are concentrated in the large- and medium-sized factories in Bangkok. This largely accounts for the fact that the proportion of respondents in this survey who were members of a trade union was higher than the average.

Table 4.13, a. Distribution of surveyed workers reporting presence of trade union in their establishment (Percentage and number of persons)

	Male		Female	
Workers reporting presence of union in their establishment	28.2	(176)	284	(197)
Nature of the trade union	100.0	(176)	100.0	(197)
Independent company union	71.5	(126)	67.0	(132)
Affiliated union	19.9	(35)	21.3	(42)
Not known	8.5	(15)	11.7	(23)

Table 4.13, b. Surveyed workers reporting membership of trade union by employment status groups and by sex
(Percentage and number of persons)

Employment status	Male		Female	
All workers	51.6	(98)	56.4	(115)
Regular worker	52.9	(92)	59.2	(113)
Casual worker	35.7	(5)	15.4	(2)
Contract worker	50.0	(1)	-	

When a trade union is present in any establishment, workers' income and other benefits improve significantly regardless of whether a particular worker is a member or not because benefits that the union has successfully negotiated with the management become available to all workers. Table 4.14 shows the benefits received by workers in establishments with and without trade unions. The advantages attained by workers from the presence of a trade union in their establishment are clearly demonstrated. The proportion of workers, both male and female, receiving every available benefit was higher in firms with a trade union. The difference varied among the benefits received, being largest for participation in a pension fund, severance pay, education allowance and transport allowance. Benefits in the from of meals allowance were almost the same for the two groups while the proportion of workers receiving bonus and accommodation allowance was slightly higher in establishments with a trade union.

Table 4.14. Distribution of surveyed workers by benefits received in establishments with and without trade union
(Percentage and number of persons)

Benefits	Union		Non-union	
	M	F	M	F
Cost of living allowance	45.2 (80)	49.2 (98)	37.7 (147)	25.8 (111)
Accommodation allowance	26.6 (47)	42.7 (85)	29.4 (115)	32.7 (141)
Transport allowance	78.5 (139)	67.8 (135)	50.4 (197)	42.7 (184)
Meals allowance	33.9 (60)	39.2 (78)	34.4 (134)	39.0 (168)
Education allowance	36.7 (65)	30.7 (61)	18.7 (73)	11.1 (48)
Paid leave	84.2 (149)	78.9 (157)	81.8 (320)	67.0 (288)
Bonus	88.1 (156)	83.9 (167)	83.9 (328)	78.0 (336)
Pension fund	57.6 (102)	50.8 (101)	38.1 (149)	26.0 (112)
Severance pay	62.1 (110)	65.3 (130)	44.6 (174)	32.3 (139)

4.10 Training

Workers' chance of being trained on the job varies according to the size of the establishment in which they are employed. In firms with less than 100 workers, about 90 per cent of the workers received no training at all and less than 4 per cent had been trained more than once. On the other hand, in large firms employing 500 workers or more, we find that 40 per cent of male workers and 26 per cent of female workers had been trained more than once (table 4.15).

The instance of training may not be the most appropriate measure of the extent of skills improvement since many workers are simply given routine instructions about their tasks and not the type of instruction that would contribute to the enhancement of their skills. Therefore we looked further into the duration of training. Table 4.16 indicates that for a large majority of workers, the duration of training was less than one week. The percentage was much higher for women than for men, that is, 90 per cent compared with 78 per cent. Only 1 per cent of women were trained for at least three months compared with about 3 per cent of men.

Although a large proportion of workers in the sample had completed only the primary level of schooling, this disadvantage could be compensated to a certain extent by on-the-job training. However, as table 4.17

Table 4.15. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by training received and size of establishment

Number of times trained	Size of establishment					
	Less than 100 workers		100-499		500 and more	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Never	91.5	89.0	53.5	69.1	50.4	66.1
Once	4.7	8.1	11.2	10.6	10.1	8.1
More than once	3.8	2.9	35.3	20.3	39.5	25.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(106)	(136)	(269)	(236)	(248)	(322)

Table 4.16. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by duration of training received and level of education

Duration of training	Education							
	Primary		Lower secondary		Upper secondary/vocational		University	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Less than 1 week	88.6	91.9	86.8	97.0	80.0	86.5	53.3	8.21
1 week-less than 1 month	4.5	4.8	5.3	3.0	15.4	8.1	24.4	7.1
1 month-less than 3 months	6.8	3.2	5.3	–	3.8	4.1	11.1	7.1
3 months and more	–	–	2.6	–	0.8	1.4	11.1	3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(44)	(62)	(38)	(330)	(130)	(74)	(45)	(28)

Table 4.17. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by number of times trained and level of education

Number of times trained	Education							
	Primary		Lower secondary		Upper secondary/vocational		University	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Never	76.2	82.5	69.8	73.0	48.6	58.7	23.7	26.3
Once	8.1	7.0	4.8	7.4	13.8	12.8	6.8	13.2
More than once	15.7	10.4	25.4	19.7	37.5	28.5	69.5	60.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(185)	(355)	(126)	(122)	(253)	(179)	(59)	(38)

shows, it is the group of workers with higher education that had a better chance of receiving further training. For example, among the women with primary education, about one in ten had been trained more than once while among the women with upper secondary education, the proportion was about three times higher. Among the workers with university level education, the opportunity for training improved substantially: six in ten of the women and seven in ten of the men had been trained more than once.

Whatever their educational background, women were given fewer training opportunities than men, both in terms of number and duration. Among the university graduates, 82 per cent of the women were trained for less than one week compared with 53 per cent of the men. Less than one in twenty-five women workers with university degrees had undergone training lasting at least three months while more than one in ten of their male counterparts were given that opportunity.

CHAPTER 5

EMPLOYMENT MOBILITY

In the neoclassical model of labour market adjustment, a rational worker attempting to maximize his or her potential will search for the job that promises the best possible returns. Factors influencing such decision can be both monetary and non-monetary. Working condition, for example, can be as important as wages or probably even more.

In this chapter, information gathered in the course of the survey on job histories of workers will be analyzed to give an insight into the pattern of employment mobility. We shall examine how often the respondents changed jobs. We shall then outline the main characteristics of the changers and the non-changers.

We first look at the number of jobs held by the surveyed workers from the time they entered the Bangkok urban labour market. Then we trace their movements across industries and occupations, and the resulting change in work status. Employment mobility in terms of income will be further explored in Chapter 6.

5.1 Number of Job Changes

Table 5.1, a shows that commitment to one job or one employer was not common among the group of respondents. Men were more likely to change jobs than women, with 58 per cent reported changing jobs at least once whereas half of the women workers had had experience in at least one other job before the current one.

Among the male job-changers, 60 per cent changed only once, 30 per cent twice, and another 30 per cent three or more times. The maximum number was ten times. Among female job-changers, 54 per cent changed jobs once, one-quarter twice and 21 per cent more than three times. The maximum number of job changes among women workers was seven times. Considering their relatively young age-on the average 27 to 29 years old – the frequent number of job changes shows that there is a high degree of mobility among women workers in the Bangkok manufacturing sector (table 5.1,b).

Table 5.1, a. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by number of job changes

Number of changes	Male	Female
No change	42.0	50.3
Once	29.1	27.1
Twice	14.2	12.3
Three times and more	14.7	10.3
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(633)	(706)
Mean	1	1
Median	1	0
Minimum	0	0
Maximum	10	7

Table 5.1, b. Average age of surveyed workers by number of job changes

Sex	Average age by number of job change		
	No change	Once	More than once
Male	28.3	28.9	30.2
Female	27.9	27.8	29.3

5.2 Duration of Job Tenure

The length of time workers spent in their first job was similar for men and women. The more often they changed jobs, the shorter their stay in each one of them. Those who changed most often had spent about 20 months in the first job, those who had changed twice had spent 22 to 25 months and those who had changed only once has spent 30 to 33 months in their first job (table 5.2).

Table 5.2. Average length of time surveyed workers spent in first job by number of job changes

Number of changes	Time spent in first job (Months)	
	Male	Female
Once	30.4	32.7
Twice	25.1	21.7
Three times and more	19.5	20.7

The stay in the current job was not only longest for each group, male and female (table 5.3), but varied inversely with the number of jobs held. For men who changed jobs once, the current durations was 72 months, for those who changed jobs twice, and three times and more, the durations were 50 months and 48 months. The corresponding figures for women were 60 months, 46 months and 34 months for one time job-changers, two-time job-changers and three-time job-changers respectively.

The first job can be considered as an entry point, or a stepping-stone to the urban labour market. If workers do not plan to be in any particular job for the whole of their working life, there is little reason for them to spend time and money searching for an ideal job. Instead, they take whatever job happens to come along and stay in that job until a better offer becomes available. The survey showed that, after several job changes, the workers seemed to have settled down in their current job. The women appeared to be less stable than the men. The length of time spent by them in each job was significantly less than for the men.

Half of the workers responded that they had received some form of promotion, defined in a very broad sense according to their perception of being better off of having advanced upwards. In many cases, this simply meant that they had received an annual pay rise, while the work remained the same.

Women workers are generally less skilled than their male counterparts and thus can afford to move around without any fear of losing their accumulated knowledge. Moreover, they are in greater demand and do not lack job offers. We shall look at the periods of unemployment between changes, and the reasons given by the respondents for changing jobs.

Table 5.3. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by stay in current job

Stay in current job (Months)	Male	Female
Less than 13	23.9	21.4
13-24	18.0	18.3
25-36	11.4	12.7
37-60	10.4	11.6
61-120	16.0	14.7
121 and more	20.4	21.2
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(633)	(706)
Mean	71	72
Median	36	36
Minimum	1	1
Maximum	384	408

The surveyed workers did not simply go from one job to another; they frequently experienced a period of unemployment between jobs (table 5.4). Approximately one in three workers were temporarily unemployed after the first job change (32 per cent of the men and 36 per cent of the women). The average duration of unemployment was more than twice as long for women as it was for men, 19 months compared with 8 months. This should be interpreted cautiously because interviewers had difficulty probing whether during that time the respondents were actively searching for jobs or simply resting at home.

Table 5.4. Incidence and duration of unemployment among surveyed workers having changed jobs at least once

	Male	Female
Workers reporting unemployment after first job change (Per cent)	32.1	35.7
Average duration of unemployment (Months)	8.3	19.1
Total number of workers reporting job changes	361	347

5.3 Reasons for Changing Jobs

Workers change jobs either voluntarily or involuntarily. Reasons for voluntary changes include better pay and work conditions, better career prospects, shorter commuting time or household responsibilities. Involuntary change may be caused by ill health, dislike of the assigned work or closing down of the establishment.

Workers who had changed jobs more than twice were asked the reasons. For both sexes, the most common reason for quitting jobs was that the pay and working conditions elsewhere were better. For the first job, this reason was given by one out of three men and four out of ten women. It was an even more important factor in causing workers to quit the jobs previous to their current one, cited by 48 per cent of men and 42 per cent of women (table 5.5).

The most striking difference between male and female job changers lies in the importance that pressure from household responsibilities exerts on their decision to quit a particular job. Three per cent of men reported that factor to have influenced their decision to quit the first job while 12 per cent of women did so. Interestingly, the proportion citing this factor for leaving the previous job dropped for both sexes, to 2 per cent for men and

Table 5.5. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers having changed jobs more than twice by reasons for changing job

Reasons for changing job	Male		Female	
	First job	Previous job	First job	Previous job
Voluntary factors				
Better pay and work conditions	32.8	47.5	40.0	42.2
Better career prospects	18.6	19.8	11.3	13.6
Less commuting	3.8	4.5	7.5	3.9
Household responsibilities	3.3	2.3	11.9	6.5
Involuntary factors				
Ill health	3.3	1.1	3.1	7.1
Dislike of work	4.9	6.8	9.4	5.8
Disagreement with management	3.3	4.5	3.1	5.8
Establishment closed down	6.6	4.5	6.9	7.8
Term finished/laid off	4.9	7.9	1.3	0.6
Other	18.6	1.1	5.6	6.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(183)	(177)	(160)	(154)

to 6 per cent for women. It seems that as they get older they also become more committed to the labour market and household responsibilities take a lower priority.

Future career prospects were also given consideration in changing jobs, but these came after pay and working conditions. The proportion of respondents citing this factor was higher for men than for women, with the degree of importance increasing marginally from the first to the previous job change.

Thirty-four per cent of male workers and 28 per cent of female workers hoped for upward mobility in their present establishment, in the form of a promotion or a pay rise (table 5.6). Less than ten per cent expected that other establishments could offer them a better chance of upward mobility. Strangely enough, one-half of the men intended to continue in their present job even with no prospect of upward mobility. Among the women, the proportion with the same specified intention was higher although by only 3 percentage points.

Table 5.6. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers reporting career plans during present employment

Career plans	Male	Female
Upward mobility in present establishment	33.8	28.2
Upward mobility in other establishment	9.2	7.4
Carry on with no upward mobility	50.1	53.4
Quit the present job	4.8	6.3
Undecided	2.2	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(631)	(698)

5.4 Industrial Mobility

We first compared the industrial category of the first and current jobs for male and female workers. Table 5.7 shows that among the respondents, all of whom were manufacturing workers, the women were more likely than the men to have entered the urban labour market in this same sector. Thirty-seven per cent of the female respondents had started their urban working life in non-manufacturing sectors compared with 46 per cent of the male respondents. Later, women whose entry was into other industrial sectors, in particular community and personal services, were drawn into manufacturing.

Domestic service used to be the most popular employment for rural unskilled women looking for urban jobs. The situation has changed drastically although domestic service remains a convenient stepping-stone for newly arrived migrants to the city. But soon the long hours and lack of freedom cause them to look for less demanding work that will also provide a higher gross income. Although there are likely to be extra expenses on accommodation and food if they take manufacturing jobs, this does not seem to deter them. The gain in terms of independence compensates for these drawbacks.

Table 5.7. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers having changed jobs at least once by industry

Industry	Male workers		Female workers	
	First job	Previous job	First job	Previous job
Food, Beverage, Tobacco	7.1	14.2	6.3	9.1
Textiles, Garments, Leather	9.0	25.1	37.6	48.1
Wood, Wood Product	3.8	3.5	1.4	2.0
Paper, Printing, Publishing	1.6	3.5	1.1	1.7
Chemicals, Plastics	7.4	10.6	6.8	14.2
Non-metallic Mineral Products	4.4	11.7	1.7	5.4
Basic Metals	4.9	1.9	1.1	0.3
Fabricated Metal Products	15.0	28.9	3.7	16.2
Other manufactures	1.4	0.5	2.8	2.8
Non-manufactures	45.5	–	37.3	–
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(367)	(367)	(351)	(351)

5.5 Status Mobility

At the first entry, workers may have to start as casual workers. Table 5.8 shows that about four out of ten men and women started out that way. Both sexes however, were able to improve their employment status considerably, the proportion being employed as casual workers having dropped to one in ten in the current employment.

Table 5.8. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers having changed jobs at least once by employment status

Employment status	Male workers		Female workers	
	First job	Present job	First job	Present job
Employer	2.2	1.6	0.6	0.9
Regular	51.4	87.2	53.6	86.9
Casual worker	38.0	10.4	37.0	10.3
Contract worker	1.1	0.3	1.1	0.9
Apprentice	6.0	0.5	5.4	0.3
Family worker	1.4	-	2.3	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(366)	(367)	(351)	(351)

One negative consequence of job changing is that, in each new job, men as well as women may be required to start as casual workers regardless of their experience in other jobs. This appears clearly when we compare the status change between workers who changed jobs only once and those who changed jobs more than twice (tables 5.9 and 5.10). The percentage of female multiple job changers who started out as casual workers

Table 5.9. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers having changed jobs once only by employment status

Employment status	Male workers		Female workers	
	First job	Present job	First job	Present job
Employer	2.2	1.1	0.5	0.5
Regular worker	52.7	90.8	61.8	91.1
Casual worker	36.4	6.5	29.3	6.8
Contract worker	1.1	0.5	1.0	-
Apprentice	6.5	1.1	5.2	0.5
Family worker	1.1	-	2.1	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(184)	(184)	(191)	(191)

Table 5.10. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers having changed jobs more than twice by employment status

Employment status	Male workers			Female workers		
	First	Previous	Present	First	Previous	Present
Employer	2.2	3.9	2.2	0.6	5.2	1.3
Regular worker	50.0	54.7	83.6	43.8	47.4	81.9
Casual worker	39.6	31.3	14.2	46.3	40.9	14.4
Contract worker	1.1	3.9	-	1.3	-	1.9
Apprentice	5.5	1.1	-	5.6	0.6	-
Family worker	1.6	5.0	-	2.5	5.8	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(182)	(177)	(183)	(160)	(154)	(160)

dropped 32 percentage points, from 46 per cent to 14 per cent in the current job compared with 29 per cent and 7 per cent among those who changed jobs only once.

We tabulate the status in current job against the status in the first job in a matrix form in order to bring out the degree of mobility (table 5.11). The figures show a perceptible improvement in employment status of both male and female workers, as most of them had moved up to the status of regular employees.

Table 5.11. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers having changed jobs at least once by current and first job status

Current job status	First job status					
	Self-employed	Regular worker	Contract worker	Casual worker	Others	Total
			Male			
Self-employed	–	3.2 (6)	–	–	–	1.6 (6)
Regular worker	87.5 (7)	88.8 (167)	86.3 (120)	50.0 (2)	88.9 (24)	87.4 (320)
Contract worker	12.5 (1)	7.4 (14)	12.9 (18)	25.0 (1)	11.1 (3)	10.1 (37)
Casual worker	–	–	–	25.0 (1)	–	0.3 (1)
Others	–	0.5 (1)	0.7 (1)	–	–	0.5 (2)
Total	2.2 (8)	51.4 (188)	38.0 (139)	1.1 (4)	7.4 (27)	100.0 (366)
			Female			
Self-employed	–	1.1 (2)	–	–	3.7 (1)	0.9 (3)
Regular worker	100.0 (2)	92.6 (174)	80.0 (104)	75.0 (3)	81.5 (22)	86.9 (305)
Contract worker	–	4.3 (8)	19.2 (25)	–	11.1 (3)	10.3 (36)
Casual worker	–	0.5 (1)	0.8 (1)	25.0 (1)	–	0.9 (3)
Others	–	1.6 (3)	–	–	3.7 (1)	1.1 (4)
Total	0.6 (2)	53.6 (188)	37.0 (130)	1.1 (4)	7.7 (27)	100.0 (351)

5.6 Occupational Mobility

Workers' income and other employment benefits are determined largely by their occupational status. With their low educational background, a large proportion of the respondents, in particular women, started in the urban labour market on the lowest rung of unskilled workers. In this section we shall examine the extent to which they have been able to move upward from that starting point.

Table 5.12 shows the pattern of mobility by broad occupational category. For workers who changed jobs at least once, we tabulate the occupation in their first and current job in a matrix form. For men, the proportion of the unskilled group dropped from 39 per cent to 26 per cent and the proportion of the skilled increased from 16 per cent to 30 per cent. For women, the drop among the unskilled was from 42 per cent to 31 per cent and the rise among the skilled was from 5 per cent to 19 per cent.

For both sexes, there was a considerable degree of mobility across occupations. The highest mobility occurred among men who started as semi-skilled workers, of whom only 16 per cent remained in the same category. The lowest mobility occurred among men as shown by 94 per cent of professional and administrative workers retaining their occupational status from the first to the current job.

Professional and administrative workers generally enjoy the best working conditions, highest prestige and in most cases also the highest pay among all occupational categories. It is therefore to be expected that they would be content to remain in those occupations. This applies to 50 per cent of the female respondents who started in that occupational group.

A large proportion of the respondents had started urban employment in the unskilled category i.e., 39 per cent and 42 per cent among the men and women respectively. Among the men, 40 per cent remained in that

Table 5.12. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers having changed jobs at least once by current occupation and first occupation

Current occupation[a]	First occupation[a] (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	Total
				Male			
(1)	93.8 (30)	15.6 (15)	8.8 (5)	3.2 (1)	0.7 (1)	-	14.2 (52)
(2)	-	24.0 (23)	8.8 (5)	22.6 (7)	9.0 (13)	-	13.1 (48)
(3)	3.1 (1)	19.8 (19)	73.7 (42)	38.7 (4)	22.9 (33)	50.0 (3)	30.1 (110)
(4)	3.1 (1)	11.5 (11)	3.5 (2)	16.1 (5)	27.8 (40)	16.7 (1)	16.4 (60)
(5)	-	29.2 (28)	5.3 (3)	19.4 (6)	39.6 (57)	33.3 (2)	26.2 (96)
(6)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	8.7 (32)	26.2 (96)	15.6 (57)	8.5 (31)	39.3 (144)	1.6 (6)	100.0 (366)
				Female			
(1)	50.0 (7)	9.2 (12)	29.4 (5)	2.7 (1)	0.7 (1)	-	7.4 (26)
(2)	35.7 (5)	34.6 (45)	17.6 (3)	5.4 (2)	10.8 (16)	20.0 (1)	20.5 (72)
(3)	-	15.4 (20)	35.3 (6)	32.4 (12)	18.9 (28)	-	18.8 (66)
(4)	14.3 (2)	16.9 (22)	5.9 (1)	43.2 (16)	26.4 (39)	-	22.8 (80)
(5)	-	23.8 (31)	11.8 (2)	16.2 (6)	43.2 (64)	80.0 (4)	30.5 (107)
(6)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	4.0 (14)	37.0 (130)	4.8 (17)	10.5 (37)	42.2 (148)	1.4 (5)	100.0 (351)

Note: [a] (1) Professional, Administrative.
(2) Clerical, Sales, Services.
(3) Skilled Production.
(4) Semi-skilled Production.
(5) Unskilled Production.
(6) Other.

category, 28 per cent moved up to the semi-skilled category and 23 per cent became skilled workers. Among women, the immobile proportion was 43 per cent, with 26 per cent becoming semi-skilled and 19 per cent managing to join the skilled category. The proportion that had switched to clerical, sales and services was slightly higher among women than among men, i.e., 11 per cent compared with 9 per cent. On the whole, more men than women in this occupational group had been able to move upward.

The movement of workers who started in the semi-skilled category is more encouraging. Among men, 65 per cent had been able to move up; 39 per cent had become skilled workers, 23 per cent switched to clerical, sales and services work and 3 per cent had joined the professional category. Among the women who started out the same way, 43 per cent remained in the semi-skilled category, 32 per cent moved to the skilled category and 5 per cent to clerical, sales and services. In total, 41 per cent of the women in the semi-skilled category in their first jobs experienced upward occupational mobility, 24 percentage points below the men.

5.7 Rural-urban Mobility

Three out of four migrants, both men and women, came to Bangkok specifically to find employment. More men than women (19 per cent compared with 12 per cent) came to further their education. At the age of 19, the average age of migration for men, it is hardly to be expected that men would be moving because their spouses did so, hence the insignificant percentage of 2.0. Six per cent of the women were not moving on their own but were accompanying their spouses (table 5.13).

Before migration, the proportion of the women migrants employed in agriculture and related activities was significantly higher than that of the men, 62 per cent compared with 50 per cent. The proportion employed in manufacturing was higher for women as well but only about two percentage points (table 5.14). The table shows that 8 per cent of the men were construction workers whereas only 2 per cent of the women were so listed.

Sixty-two per cent of women were working for the family, receiving no cash payment, while only 52 per cent of the men were in that category. Very few migrants were employers or self-employed before migration, whereas the proportion of women was twice that of the men. The latter were probably engaged in sales work

Table 5.13. Percentage distribution of migrants among surveyed workers by purpose of migration

Purpose	Male	Female
Employment	74.5	75.0
Training/Apprenticeship	2.8	1.8
Education	18.5	11.7
Accompany the spouse	0.3	1.1
Accompany the family	2.0	5.9
Others	2.0	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(357)	(444)

Table 5.14. Percentage distribution of surveyed migrants employed before migration by industry

Industry	Male	Female
Agriculture and related industries	49.7	61.9
Manufacturing industry	14.5	16.8
Construction	7.8	2.2
Transport, Storage, Communications	1.7	0.4
Finance and Business services	11.2	12.8
Community, social and personal services	5.1	5.8
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(179)	(226)

Table 5.15. Percentage distribution of surveyed migrants employed before migration by employment status

Employment status	Male	Female
Employer	2.2	4.4
Regular worker	17.8	14.2
Casual worker	26.7	18.6
Apprentice	-	-
Family worker	52.2	61.5
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(180)	(226)

which has always been women's specialization. Most of the workers receiving wages were casual workers, probably in construction work (table 5.15).

Coming to Bangkok has long become a way of life for rural people. Young men and women see the time spent in Bangkok as part of their growing up experience, a transitional stage before they settle down. Therefore, during their urban stay they tend to maintain contact with friends and relatives in their area of origin by going home for a visit at least once a year during the annual religious festivals. On such occasions they generally bring money and other goods for their parents and relatives and for the local temple. This financial contribution is regarded as evidence of their good character and sets a standard by which their acceptability in the community is judged.

During the planting and harvesting seasons, migrants may be called to return home to give a hand. They normally feel reluctant to turn down the request even at the expense of losing their urban wages or job. In fact, several employers are reported to be hesitant to take in job-seekers who say their families own farmland in the village. The chances of such workers leaving their jobs and maybe never returning are stronger than for those who do not own land.

CHAPTER 6

EARNINGS AND MOBILITY

This chapter looks at the pattern and structure of earnings. We shall analyse the differences in earnings among various groups of workers, male and female, and explain the reasons for such differences. Workers are paid on different bases: monthly, daily or piece rate. For the purpose of comparison, we shall convert their payments into a common indicator and use the term "monthly earnings". Other benefits such as bonus and overtime pay are added to the basic wage.

What are the factors that can influence a worker's earnings? In the neoclassical model, it is postulated that the human capital endowed in a person plays an important role. Education, skills and training can all influence productivity and consequently wages. We have information from the survey on the respondents' personal characteristics, level of education and migration status as well as labour market related characteristics including employment status, occupational status, and the frequency of training received.

This information will first be examined separately and later combined in a multivariate analysis in order to bring out the significance of each factor in determining the earnings level after adjusting for the interrelationship among the variables.

6.1 Earnings and Work Status

A very small number (8 male and 7 female workers) of our respondents were self-employed or employers. They were the owners of the establishments where the interviews were conducted; therefore their income was very high compared with the income of the other respondents. In a later analysis of earnings we shall exclude this group in order not to distort the result. Table 6.1 gives current monthly earnings of workers in four categories of work status. Casual workers were clearly at a disadvantage compared with self-employed and regular workers. None of the male casual workers belonged to the top earnings category of 9,000 baht and above compared with one in four regular workers and three quarters of the self-employed workers. Almost half of the

Table 6.1. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by monthly earnings and employment status

Monthly earnings (Baht)	Male	Female	Monthly earnings (Baht)	Male	Female
Employer/Self-employed			**Casual worker**		
2,999 or less	–	14.3	2,999 or less	48.4	67.7
3,000-4,999	–	–	3,000-4,999	45.2	32.3
5,000-8,999	25.0	28.6	5,000-8,999	6.5	–
9,000 and more	75.0	57.1	9,000 and more	–	–
Total	100.0	100.0	Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(8)[a]	(7)	(N)	(62)[a]	(65)[a]
Regular worker			**Contract worker/Apprentice/ Family worker**		
2,999 or less	10.5	23.5			
3,000-4,999	35.3	41.5	2,999 or less	25.0	30.0
5,000-8,999	28.6	22.7	3,000-4,999	75.0	20.0
9,000 and more	25.6	12.3	5,000-8,999	–	20.0
			9,000 and more	–	30.0
Total	100.0	100.0			
(N)	(555)[a]	(620)[a]	Total	100.0	100.0
			(N)	(4)	(4)[a]

Note: [a] Excludes missing cases.

male casual workers fell in the lowest earnings group of less than 3,000 baht, compared with one in ten regular workers and none of the self-employed.

In each category of work status, the disadvantageous position of women is clear. Female casual workers did not attain the top two income brackets while two out of three were in the lowest bracket. The proportion of self-employed workers with the lowest income was 14 per cent while the proportion in the highest income bracket was 57 per cent.

The average monthly earnings of the self-employed men and women were approximately equal and were about three and a half times to six times higher than the earnings of the other groups (table 6.2). Casual workers, both male and female, are the most disadvantaged, although the gap between their earnings is slight.

The male regular employees were in a better position than their female counterparts, the female to male earnings ratio being 72 per cent whereas for earnings of women casual workers and contract workers the ratio was 87 per cent and 84 per cent of the men's earnings, respectively. Overall, women's earnings were three-quarters of those of men.

How can we explain the large sex differential in earnings among regular employees? It could be expected to be the narrowest because regular employees are working mostly in well-organized large firms and belong to labour unions. They should therefore have more protection in accordance with the labour law. We shall see later that there are other factors that can explain the differential.

Table 6.2. Average monthly earnings of surveyed workers by employment status (Baht)

Employment status	Average monthly earnings		
	Male	Female	Earnings ratio F/M
Employer/Self-employed	20,008	20,000	99.9
Regular worker	5,440	3,940	72.4
Casual worker	3,000	2,600	86.6
Contract worker	4,500	3,790	84.2
All workers	4,980	3,715	74.6

6.2 Earnings and Education

The human capital theory points out that workers' earnings differential can be explained by their different educational levels, training and experience. Table 6.3 gives the average monthly earnings of all workers by educational background. From now on we exclude the 12 high-income self-employed and look only at the employees.

Table 6.3. Average monthly earnings of surveyed workers by educational background (Baht)

Education	Male	Female
No schooling/primary	4,550	3,791
Lower secondary	5,350	5,101
Upper secondary and vocational	7,160	5,890
University	19,871	15,461

Both male and female workers with higher education enjoy increasingly higher levels of income. Having a university education clearly enables workers to make a big jump forward, for both male and female. Earnings of the male university graduates were 19,871 baht per month, three and a half times higher than the 5,350 baht per month earnings of workers with lower secondary education and more than twice the earnings of the workers with upper secondary or vocational schooling, which were 9,160 baht per month.

Among the women workers, university graduates also earned the highest income although the difference in the financial returns between having lower secondary and upper secondary/vocational education was not as significant as in the men's case (an increase of less than 800 bahts per month). Men also earned more than women in all educational categories, with the difference being the slightest among workers with a lower secondary level of education.

6.3 Earnings and Occupation

Looking at earnings by occupation, workers in scientific and managerial occupations have the highest mean earnings with 20,550 baht and 16,110 baht per month for male and female employees respectively (table 6.4). Among male production workers, earnings varied directly with the level of skill, the rate of increase being faster from semi-skilled to skilled. The semi-skilled workers earned 66 per cent of the skilled, and the unskilled workers earned 82 per cent of the semi-skilled workers' earnings.

Table 6.4. Average monthly earnings of surveyed workers by occupation (Baht)

Occupation	Male	Female
Scientific and Managerial	20,550	16,110
Clerical/Sales/Services	6,590	6,540
Skilled Production	7,740	5,610
Semi-skilled Production	4,401	3,550
Unskilled Production	3,631	3,710

Such is not the case for female production workers. There is hardly any difference between the earnings of the female unskilled and semi-skilled, the latter group's earnings being even slightly lower, by 160 baht. The skilled workers, earned more as is to be expected but the gap between the skilled and the semi-skilled was smaller than for the men.

The differences between male and female workers in different production categories become wider as the skill level goes up. Among the unskilled, the difference was about 80 bahts in favour of the women, then rose to 850 baht and 2,630 baht between the semi-skilled and the skilled respectively, but this time in favour of the men.

We look further into factors that could influence earnings, such as age, duration of employment, size of establishment, migration status, job changes and training received. The variation within each category was quite large and, in all cases, the women earned less than men (Annex, table A.11).

A comparison of earnings between workers who had changed jobs and those who had remained in the same job since they joined the urban labour market confirmed our earlier assumption that job changing seems to benefit men more than women. The earnings differential among the two groups was 8 per cent for the men but hardly noticeable for the women.

Three factors on which we shall focus are migration status, number of job changes and training received on the job. In contrast to demographic factors such as age or marital status which undoubtedly affect workers' earnings, the above-mentioned factors are amenable to policy intervention.

6.4 Earnings and Access to Training

As for training, there was a substantial improvement in earnings for workers who had given training by the firms. Almost 70 per cent of the women respondents had never received any from of training in their current employment. They earned only 3,961 baht per month compared with 5,051 baht for men who never received training and almost 2,000 baht less than women who underwent training once (table 6.5). On an average, workers without access to training earned 70 per cent of the earnings of those who received training on one occasion only.

Table 6.5. Average monthly earnings of surveyed workers by number of times training received (Baht)

Number of times training received	Male	Female
Never	5,051	3,961
Once	7,160	9,361
More than once	11,291	9,361

For workers who had had more than one instance of training there was a further improvement in earnings, i.e. an increase of 55 per cent for male workers and 58 per cent for female workers (Annex, table A.11).

Training provided by establishments takes several different forms, both in-plant and outside, formal and informal including learning-by-doing. Respondents had difficulties in giving information on the exact form and duration of the training they had received, especially on training of an informal nature. An overwhelming majority of production workers had received on-the-job training in the form of instruction from former workers, foremen, or supervisors.

Tables 4.17 and 6.6 show the number of times training was received by the men and women workers, classified by level of education and occupational category. The more education a worker has, the more he is likely to be given some form of training.

Table 6.6. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by number of times training received and by occupation

Training	Occupational category							
	White-collar worker		Skilled worker		Semi-skilled worker		Unskilled worker	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
No training	57.0	45.2	55.8	29.1	28.9	22.3	17.4	20.7
Received Training	43.0	54.8	44.2	70.9	71.1	77.7	82.6	79.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(149)	(157)	(206)	(151)	(90)	(130)	(178)	(256)

6.5 Earnings and Migration

Looking at the earnings differentials between the two groups of migrant and non-migrant workers, we find that both male and female migrants receive lower wages than the native workers, and that the women's earnings are lower than the men's. This pattern of gender differential repeats as we have already seen in every other grouping, that is, women earn about 70 to 80 per cent of the men's earnings. Migrant workers in Bangkok are mostly temporary. Their migration is considered not so much as a deliberate move but more as an adventure. They are likely to take any job that is available and if it satisfies them they may continue for some months or years. If not, they can always go back to the village and to the rural way of life.

Recognizing this behaviour among migrant workers, urban employers are reluctant to spend their time or money on training as the workers have little commitment both to the employer and to the urban job. They might decide to leave their job at any time such as when they are called home during the planting and harvesting seasons, important religious festivals, or any family events. Another reason migrants are not committed to their urban jobs is that many of them are "target workers". They left home with the intention of earning a certain sum for a specific purpose such as to build a new house, to buy a gold necklace for their prospective bride or to repay their parents' debts. They want to spend as little time as possible in the city and therefore when an employer offers them 50 to 100 baht more per month, they do not hesitate to leave their current job because they can thus reach their target sooner.

6.6 Factors Influencing Workers' Earnings

In previous sections, we have seen that earnings of workers vary according to their sex, work status, education, occupation, training, and other factors. We shall now test the significance of some of the factors that are assumed to have an influence on earnings of workers in the Bangkok labour market. Among the various factors that we have tested for their significance, we have come up with five factors that are of special interest in this study as they have important policy implications and, more importantly, are amenable to intervention within the framework of the free enterprise system. Factors such as marital status, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7, are therefore not included in the earnings function here.

The factors we have included are: sex, education, access to training, occupational status, number of job changes, and migration status. Although the first factor does not directly meet our criterion of being amenable to policy intervention, it has been included because the obvious differentials between male and female workers that we have found throughout the study warrant it to be displayed prominently again in this section.

Education is expected to have a positive effect on earnings of manufacturing workers whatever skill category they belong to, but particularly of those at the higher skill level. Employers require workers at the very least to be able to read and write. When interviewing job applicants even for the most unskilled production tasks, one of the simple tests includes arithmetic calculation: how to add and subtract. Although workers with only four to six years of education may pass the test and thus be given the job, they will be confined to the lower level tasks, with little chance for training to better their position.

Training is one means for enhancing a person's human capital endowment. Either workers invest in the training themselves or employers assume that responsibility for them. The more training workers have received, the higher will be their productivity and the more valuable they will be to the employers. We therefore expect workers' earnings to vary directly with the number of times they have availed themselves of training opportunities.

In the previous discussion on mobility, we viewed the movement of workers across the various sectors of the labour market as an attempt to maximize the utility by searching for the best possible returns, both monetary and non-monetary. Those who started in a lower category, and in insecure jobs are more likely to make a move in search of better offers. Therefore, we would expect that the number of moves would have a positive effect on workers' earnings.

Multiple Classification Analysis (MCA) is used to explain the earnings function described above. This method, which is the same as dummy variable regression analysis, presents the final result in a different form. In our view, with all variables being categorical such as those specified in our earnings function, MCA gives a much clearer presentation because all categories can be displayed. The result for the overall sample, including both male and female workers, is presented in table 6.7.

The mean earnings of the entire sample are 6,159 bahts, as shown in the first entry. The effects of each independent variable on this grand mean are then displayed in two steps. First, column (1) shows the effect of simply belonging to each category. For example, the mean earnings of female workers are 5,176 baht. This figure is displayed next to the men's earnings which are 7,250 baht. The difference in earnings by sex is thus immediately apparent.

Table 6.7. Multiple classification analysis of monthly earnings of surveyed workers

Variable category	Number of cases	Mean of monthly earnings (Baht)		
		Unadjusted	Adjusted	
		(1)	(2)	
GRAND MEAN = 6,159.12				
Sex				
Male	619	7,250.89	6,644.85	
Female	688	5,176.85	5,722.11	
Eta/Beta				.16/.07
Education				
Primary	536	4,035.78	4,514.20	
Lower secondary	245	5,227.47	5,663.38	
Upper secondary/vocational	430	6,646.12	6,318.20	
University	96	18,210.73	15,895.86	
Eta/Beta				.56/.45
Received training				
None	854	4,422.17	5,408.16	
Once	122	6,495.16	6,436.59	
More than once	331	10,516.71	7,994.37	
Eta/Beta				.41/.18
Number of job changes				
None	608	5,926.23	6,266.30	
Once or twice	538	6,220.19	6,172.29	
Three times and more	161	6,834.53	5,710.34	
Eta/Beta				.05/.03
Occupation				
White-collar	305	10,453.97	6,749.03	
Blue-collar	1,002	4,851.81	5,979.56	
Eta/Beta				.37/.05
Multiple R Square				.462
Multiple R				.680

However, women workers have several other characteristics that may be responsible for putting them in a disadvantageous position in terms of their earnings potential. Those characteristics are lower level of education, fewer opportunities for training, concentration in the blue-collar occupation, and others. Therefore, in the second step represented by the figures in column (2), the effects of all those characteristics are taken into account. The final result indicates that, although the differential between male and female workers still remains, it has declined considerably. The female/male earnings ratio that was 69 per cent now becomes 83 per cent.

The education variable performs as expected, that is, the higher a worker's educational attainment, the higher are his earnings. The gain from education was highest for university graduates. Workers in that category earned more than twice as much as workers with an upper secondary level education even after adjusting for other factors.

Access to training affects workers' earnings positively, particularly if the frequency of training is more than once. The first training is normally routine familiarization with the production process, designed simply to show new workers how the task is done. The subsequent training is more important in terms of raising the productivity of the workers and represents an investment in human capital.

The difference between white-collar and blue-collar workers is large, with the blue-collar group's earnings being a mere 46 per cent of those of the white-collar group. But when the influence of other factors is considered,

the differential narrows down considerably. Blue-collar workers' earnings now become 88 per cent of those of the white-collar workers. Thus occupational status in itself has little influence on earnings.

An interesting variable is the number of job changes. The results in column (1) of table 6.7 show that earnings increase with the number of job changes. Those who changed jobs once or twice earned 294 baht more than those who remained in one job and those who changed jobs three times or more earned 614 baht more than the latter.

However, when we take into account the influence of other factors, the results are reversed. The highest earning group of workers are those who do not changed their jobs at all. Mean earnings of those who changed jobs once or twice drop slightly by about 100 baht, but still remain higher than the grand mean. But for the frequent job changers of three times or more, moving around is no longer an advantage. In fact, it turns out to be detrimental, their earnings being 556 baht lower than those of workers who did not change jobs.

Does the number of job changes affect men and women differently? To investigate this issue, we disaggregated the sample into two groups in order to ascertain whether the number of job changes affects the two sexes differently. Table 6.8 gives the MCA results for male workers which show an obvious gain from changing jobs. The three times job changers had the highest mean earnings, higher than both the grand mean and the stable workers. The group of those who changed once or twice, however, suffered a small drop in earnings compared with those who never changed their job.

Table 6.8. Multiple classification analysis of monthly earnings of surveyed male workers

Variable category	Number of cases	Mean of monthly earning (Baht)		
		Unadjusted	Adjusted	
		(1)	(2)	
GRAND MEAN = 7,250.89				
Education				
Primary	183	6,981.49	4,975.96	
Lower secondary	124	5,351.45	5,995.65	
Upper secondary vocational	253	7,182.89	7,158.96	
University	59	19,879.32	17,339.39	
Eta/Beta				.60/.48
Received training				
Never	362	5,063.40	6,467.01	
Once	60	7,164.00	7,381.94	
More than once	197	11,297.01	8,651.40	
Eta/Beta				.40/.14
Number of job changes				
Never	260	6,947.96	7,254.82	
Once or twice	269	6,959.03	7,141.70	
Three times and more	90	8,998.33	7,565.90	
Eta/Beta				.10/.02
Occupation				
White-collar	149	12,495.57	8,076.67	
Blue-collar	470	5,588.21	6,989.10	
Eta/Beta				.42/.07
Migration				
Non-migrant	256	9,297.42	7,807.34	
Migrant	363	5,807.60	6,858.46	
Eta/Beta				.24/.07
Multiple R Square				.493
Multiple R				.702

The results relating to women workers are shown in table 6.9. The loss from frequent job changes is confirmed as seen first from column (1) where the three times job changers' mean earnings are 77 per cent of those of no job changers and 69 per cent of the one or two times job changers. Column (2) which shows mean earnings after taking into account the interaction effects of other relevant variables further confirms the futility of women searching for jobs in the hope of increasing their earnings. There is no difference in mean earnings between the group that never changed jobs and the group that changed jobs once or twice. For the women who changed jobs three times or more, their earnings suffer a decline of 73 per cent and 68 per cent compared with the first two groups.

Next we look at another variable, i.e., migration status, that has been introduced explicitly in the regression results shown in tables 6.8 and 6.9 as a main explanatory factor. This variable was taken into account in the regression results reported in table 6.7 but as a covariate and was not therefore shown in the table. The unadjusted figures in column (1) of tables 6.8 and 6.9 indicate that migrants, both male and female, earned considerably less than their native Bangkokian counterparts. But the situation is reversed when we allow for the influence of other variables as shown in column (2).

Among male workers, migrants remained in a disadvantageous position, earning 91 per cent of the earnings of the natives of Bangkok. But among female workers, migrants were in a better economic position than the non-migrants, their earnings being 121 per cent of the earning of the latter.

Table 6.9. Multiple classification analysis of monthly earnings of surveyed female workers

Variable category	Number of cases	Mean of monthly earnings (Baht)	
		Unadjusted	Adjusted
		(1)	(2)
GRAND MEAN = 5,176.85			
Education			
Primary	353	3,763.77	3,995.33
Lower secondary	121	5,100.42	5,421.43
Upper secondary/vocational	177	5,878.87	5,589.82
University	37	15,550.00	13,673.80
Eta/Beta			.49/.40
Received training			
Never	492	3,950.37	4,512.16
Once	62	5,847.91	5,536.45
More than once	134	9,369.56	7,450.99
Eta/Beta			.40/.22
Number of job changes			
None	348	5,162.88	5,347.66
Once or twice	269	5,481.34	5,346.71
Three times and more	71	4,091.69	3,696.08
Eta/Beta			.07/.09
Occupation			
White-collar	156	8,503.98	5,702.59
Blue-collar	532	4,201.27	5,022.68
Eta/Beta			.34/.05
Migration			
Non-migrant	245	6,425.07	5,028.82
Migrant	443	4,486.53	5,258.72
Eta/Beta			.17/.02
Multiple R Square			.404
Multiple R			.636

In brief, we found that among our respondents who were considered to be quite mobile, their earnings achievement from changing jobs seemed to have a particular pattern, showing a distinctive difference between the two sexes. For men, both migrants and natives of Bangkok changing jobs led them to better economic positions. The more often they moved, the more they were able to improve their earnings.

In the case of women, the evidence provides an understanding of why rural women have been migrating to the capital city in increasingly large numbers. It obviously pays for them to move from rural areas or other provinces into the Bangkok labour market. They are able to improve their economic status even beyond that of the native women workers and, although the survey did not inquire into this matter, certainly beyond their rural counterparts.

However, once they secure a job in Bangkok, it can be against their interest to move too frequently from one job to another as the men do. Having started out at the bottom of the job hierarchy as unskilled workers, each time they change their jobs, women tend to lose their seniority, the trust of the employers and whatever merits they have been accumulating. They are obliged to start all over again in the new job.

CHAPTER 7

WOMEN, WORK AND MARRIAGE

Earlier chapters of this report have pointed out the differences between male and female workers in terms of employment opportunities, work status and level of earnings. In this chapter, we focus on a group of married women whose domestic duties have imposed a double burden on them. We shall analyse whether such burden had any effect on their decision to participate in the labour market, their choice of work and their mobility. Our sample of currently married women consists of 280 workers, or 40 per cent of the female respondents.

7.1 Economic Participation of Married Women

Some societies are strongly influenced by certain religious and cultural traditions that view women's role as being mainly in the home. Single women are expected to keep their virtue and reputation intact until they are married. They are confined to the parental home and to social contact, among their relatives. After marriage, the duty falls on the husband to be a provider while the wives are supposed to stay at home and be responsible for domestic tasks.

In Thai society, the situation is different. Economic necessities have brought Thai women of all ages into the workforce. The attitude of married respondents' families towards their employment is generally favourable. The husband is expected to be the main bread-winner but any additional income brought in by the wife is welcome. Economic factors seem to account for the positive attitude of the working woman's family. Among the survey respondents, women workers' earnings constitute 40 per cent of the total household earnings, although their earnings represent less than three-quarters of their husbands' earnings (table 7.1).

Table 7.1. Average monthly earnings of surveyed workers, spouse and households (Baht)

Source of earning	Male	Female
Earnings of the workers	7,473	5,336
Earnings of the spouse	4,920	7,329
Total household earnings	16,731	13,520
– Household earnings from Wage employment	14,187	12,100
– Household earnings from other sources	2,559	1,384

Six out of ten women respondents said their family's attitude was either encouraging or cooperative (table 7.2). Only 5 per cent had encountered opposition as their families were against their employment outside their homes. The most often cited reasons for conflict were the husbands' jealousy of the wives' friendship with their male colleagues and concern about the safety of working night shifts. The remaining 16 per cent of the respondents found the family's attitude to be either tolerant or indifferent.

Table 7.2. Attitude of family/spouse towards employment of women workers

Attitude of family/spouse	Percentage	Number
Encouraging	36.0	(100)
Co-operative	23.0	(64)
Tolerant	20.1	(56)
Indifferent	16.2	(45)
Opposed	4.7	(13)
Total	100.0	(278)

7.2 Career Interruption

After marriage, 19 per cent of the women who had been working had to interrupt their career (table 7.3). Their average age at that time was 24 years. They later returned to the labour market after a break of about four years. A few respondents reported having had other interruptions in their employment but generally of a much shorter duration.

Table 7.3. Surveyed women workers having discontinued employment during married life

Particulars	
Number of women having discontinued work	51
Percentage of women having discontinued work	18.5
Average age at which work was first discontinued	24.0
Average at which rejoined work after first break	27.7

Since women's peak condition for bearing their first child is around 20 to 25 years of age, we find that the main reason causing them to temporarily stay out of the work-force was child-bearing. Four out of ten women respondents gave pregnancy and childbirth as the reason for interruption in their employment. Domestic responsibilities were cited as the main reason by 18 per cent of the respondents (table 7.4). Changing residence was mentioned as the main reason by one in ten married women. Only one woman had to quit her job because of her family's disapproval while another woman had to quit because her services were terminated by her employer.

Table 7.4. Percentage distribution of women having discontinued work during married life by reason for doing so the first time

Reasons	Percentage	Number
Change of residence	10.2	(5)
Pregnancy and child birth	40.8	(20)
Domestic responsibilities	18.4	(9)
Disapproval of family	2.0	(1)
Services terminated	2.0	(1)
Others	26.5	(13)
Total	100.0	(49)

In order to determine whether marriage plays an important role in the interruption of women's employment, a comparison should be made with information gathered from household surveys. Our survey, by the nature of its sample selection which was from the pool of currently working women, is automatically biased towards women who chose to remain or return to the labour market after marriage. A household survey, on the other hand, would have a chance to capture women who had to retire permanently.

For married women who continue working after marriage, it is still interesting to find out if they simply continue in the same way as before or if they have to make adjustments for their domestic duties by changing their work status, or by working shorter hours. The evidence we have collected in this survey is not sufficient to enable us to draw any conclusion on this particular issue.

Before stopping work, 49 per cent of the women were employed as regular employees (table 7.5). When they resumed work, the proportion increased to 61 per cent. Twenty-two per cent of the women were casual workers; after the break the proportion went up to 31 per cent. This increase comprised women who had changed their status from family worker, not from regular employee. Therefore, marriage does not have a detrimental effect on women in terms of having to accept casual work with lower benefits and pay.

Table 7.5. Percentage distribution of women having discontinued work during married life by employment status before and after break
(Percentage and number of persons)

Employment status	Before break	After break
Employer	2.0 (1)	2.0 (1)
Regular	49.0 (25)	60.8 (31)
Casual worker	21.6 (11)	31.4 (16)
Apprentice	2.0 (1)	-
Family worker	11.8 (6)	5.9 (3)
(No response)	13.7 (7)	-
Total	100.0 (51)	100.0 (51)

As this is a survey of manufacturing workers, we have no information on the self-employed. We would suggest that this be the subject of further examination in other studies. Self-employment or subcontract work at home suits women with children and household responsibilities. If women can have access to the type of jobs that can be done at home or have flexible hours at their work force, their earnings may increase considerably.

7.3 Domestic Responsibilities

In Bangkok, both public and privately run child care centres are available, but there are very few of them and the charges are high. Among the respondents, only 7 women (5 per cent) availed themselves of these facilities. Out of these 7 women, only one chose to use a public child care centre while the rest used private services.

If workers do not make more use of the public child care centres, it is not because they object to the fees charged or the quality provided, but because there are few such centres, located far from their work place. Workers cannot afford the time it takes travelling through the congested Bangkok traffic. Therefore they use the centre nearest to their accommodation or factory. None of the 80 firms in the survey provided child care facilities for their workers. In fact there is hardly any firm in Thailand that has such a facility. The Labour Department is currently experimenting with setting up child care centres in the work place with the land being provided by the employer and the cost of construction and running the centre by international organizations such as UNICEF. Labour unions have also been receiving outside financial assistance to set up child care centres in a few locations near large factories. Other centres are being set up by charitable organizations in low-income areas. The fees charged in these centres vary from 1 baht to 10 baht per day.

One-third of married workers with children under the age of ten relied on paid domestic help for child care while four out of ten preferred to leave them in the hands of the child's grandparents or other relatives (table 7.6). For migrant women, the latter practice often means sending their children back home to the villages and visiting them only a few times a year. This separation deprives the children of parental care at a crucial period of their development.

Table 7.6. Percentage distribution of women respondents with children aged less than 10 years by type of child care arrangements

Arrangements for childcare	Percentage	Number
Parents or other relatives	43.5	64
Paid domestic help	33.3	49
Child care centres run by:	4.8	7
Employing firm	-	-
Public authorities	14.3	1
Private enterprise	85.7	6
Other arrangements	18.4	27
No arrangements	-	-
Total	100.0	147

About one woman in five made other arrangements for child care such as asking neighbours to look after the children when they returned from school. This arrangement saves the time that would be required travelling from work to collect the children from child care centres or from the relatives.

Irrespective of women's work responsibilities, and the long hours outside the home, a large share of domestic duties invariably fell on them (table 7.7). More than eight out of ten women workers routinely handled domestic chores with little or no help from their husband. Among this group, only 12 per cent were able to afford domestic help to share their burden. The remaining 88 per cent had to carry the entire work-load themselves.

Table 7.7. Women workers routinely handling domestic chores with or without domestic help

	Percentage	Number
Routinely	83.3	230
With domestic help	12.0	33
Without domestic help	88.0	242

7.4 Women's Perception of Factors Promoting Employment

Women are generally taught to accept the fact that they must not only shoulder the double duty of housework and outside work but also try to do them equally well. With paid work becoming more and more of a necessity, particularly in this time of rising economic pressure where extra income is needed to maintain the family's living standard, many women have started to view domestic work as a hindrance. When asked to specify factors that may promote employment for married women, four out of ten mentioned factors such as more part-time work, flexible work hours and more jobs that fit in with women's home duties (table 7.8). Expansion of child care facilities was suggested by 7 per cent of the respondents.

Table 7.8. Factors likely to increase employment opportunities of married women[a]

Factors	Percentage	Number
More vocational training	21.1	(52)
More jobs suitable for married women	21.5	(53)
More information on job availability	6.5	(16)
Higher wages for married women workers	21.5	(53)
More part-time flexible work	18.3	(45)
Expansion of child care facilities	6.9	(17)
Others	4.1	(10)
Total	100.0	(246)[b]

Notes: [a] These factors were cited by the married women workers surveyed.
[b] Excludes missing cases.

One in five women considered higher wages to be an important factor in promoting employment. With low wage rates, it does not pay for some women to leave home since the extra costs of domestic help and child care would probably cancel out any income gains. As most women workers are paid lower wages than the men, they may have an even greater need to supplement their basic wage by working overtime. This option, however, is not convenient for married women who have to tend to other duties after work.

Marriage also imposes an additional cost on women as they have to leave the free accommodation provided in the factory's dormitory and look for rented rooms or houses. In some of the large factories, married men of the supervisory level and above are given a housing allowance if they choose to leave the dormitory. These benefits, however, are not available to women even if they work in similar positions.

Recognizing that many higher paid positions in manufacturing firms require technical knowledge, one in five women workers expressed the desire to receive more vocational training provided by the firm. When employers are selecting workers for training which would qualify them for higher positions such as foreman or supervisor, they tend to favour workers with a technical background. In order to reduce the in-house training costs, many employers resort to filling the positions of foreman and supervisor by taking in new workers with a technical diploma instead of training the workers they are already employing. In such cases, the new workers are invariably men as women with a technical diploma are extremely rare.

Only 6 per cent of the respondents thought that they had insufficient information on job availability. The rest felt satisfied with their current access to job information obtained mainly through their friends or relatives or by inquiring from the security guards at the factory front gates.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Summary

Thailand's economic development strategy places special emphasis on industrialization, relying on the manufacturing industries as the main driving force of the economy. The efforts have by and large been successful, judging from economic growth, export earnings and investments. The share of manufacturing in GDP grew from 13 per cent to 25 per cent during the period 1960 to 1990. Thailand's reliance on exports of primary commodities such as rice and rubber has also changed. Since 1985, the share of manufacturing exports has surpassed that of agricultural exports, and by 1991, it constituted as much as 70 per cent of the total value of exports.

The expansion of the manufacturing sector created an unprecedented demand for the labour of Thai women who have always actively participated in economic activities. Women from rural areas have been migrating to Bangkok in increasing numbers. Their experiences in the urban labour market vary according to factors such as: the type of jobs they work in, their educational background, and their employers' concern for workers' welfare as well as the world market situation for the products they make.

This study is part of a comparative research project covering Malaysia, the Philippines, the Republic of Korea and Thailand. The project which was conducted by ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP focuses on employment and mobility in the urban labour markets of the above mentioned four Asian countries, with special reference to women workers in the manufacturing sector.

The aim was to analyse the pattern of employment, earnings and mobility among factory workers. The analysis was based on data from a sample survey among workers in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region (Bangkok, Nakonpathom, Samutprakan, Nonthaburi, Pathumthani and Samutsakhon). The Institute of Population and social Research was responsible for the survey which was conducted during May to August, 1991.

The survey covered 80 manufacturing establishments, half of which are in the textile, garments and leather products industry, followed by the metal products, machinery and equipment industry and the food, beverages and tobacco industry. Most of these firms are locally owned, with 59 per cent exporting at least 25 per cent of their products. Half of the firms produce directly for the market while 30 per cent are subcontractors for other local companies. The firms are divided into three groups according to size of employment: small (less than 100 workers), medium (100-499 workers) and large (500 workers and more).

The total sample size of the survey was 1,339 workers, consisting of 633 male and 706 female respondents. The major findings are summarized below. Gender-based differences are discussed whenever appropriate.

8.1.1 Workers' Characteristics

The majority (65 per cent) of the survey respondents were in the prime working age of 16 to 30 years with an average age of 28 to 29 years. Among the men, the proportion of single and married workers was almost equal but, among women, the proportion of married workers was 14 percentage points less than the proportion of single women. Only a small fraction, less than 6 per cent of the workers, were widowed, divorced or separated.

The educational attainment of female respondents was concentrated at the lower end, with four in ten women having had 6 years of schooling or less while the same proportion of men achieved upper secondary level. A significantly larger proportion of male than female workers had had technical or vocational training. Ten per cent of men and 6 per cent of women respondents were university graduates.

As Bangkok is the centre of economic activities, it is the major destination chosen by persons looking for jobs. Sixty per cent of the respondents came from other provinces, with 40 per cent from rural areas. Three-quarters of them had employment as their goal although half of them were already employed before they decided to migrate. Half the number of men and six out of ten women were family workers. For women, this status invariably means that they were receiving cash in return for their labour. One in five originally came for education or were accompanying their families. Both sexes migrated at the young age of 19 years.

Nine out of ten workers were single when they migrated and some found their spouses in Bangkok. Even after several years of urban living, migrants still regard themselves as provincial people, maintaining strong ties with their parental families that most of them left behind. They visit them at least once a year, spending up to one month in total. Some married women migrants send their Bangkok-born children home to be looked after by the grandparents.

Women tend to be in the lower occupational status of unskilled and semi-skilled production workers while men are more likely to be in the skilled category. Although 88 per cent of the respondents were employed as regular workers, half of them worked with no contract of any kind.

8.1.2 Structure of Employment and Working Conditions

Traditional labour-intensive industries such as those manufacturing textile, garments and leather products employed 53 per cent of the female respondents while fabricated metal products and machinery industry employed 14 per cent. About one in four male respondents were in textiles. More men than women were employed in the more skill-intensive industries such as chemicals, plastics and basic metal.

The proportion of respondents having the status of regular employees was the same for both sexes. Piece rate and subcontracting work which carries little security and provides few benefits apart from wages is more likely to go to women. The distribution among occupational categories shows a marked difference between the sexes, with more women at the lower unskilled and semi-skilled level whatever the type of manufacturing industry.

Advancement of women workers, who are already disadvantaged by their lower level of education, is further constrained by lesser access to training.

Trade unions seem to help improve the wages and working conditions of workers. About 30 per cent of the respondents worked in establishments with union representation. The participation of workers in labour unions was found to be less than 60 per cent. The gains to workers in firms reporting union presence in terms of wages and other benefits are significantly above those in firms without trade unions, in particular with regard to participation in pension funds and severance pay. Trade union benefits seemed to have accrued more to men than women although the proportion of women who were union members was higher than that of men.

The respondents spent 6 days a week and 10 hours a day at work on the average. The low basic wage is a major factor that makes overtime work a necessity, particularly when an urgent need for cash arises since workers have very little savings. Six to 10 per cent of the interviewed workers had to supplement their income by taking on a second job. Some had worked so hard that the income earned from the second job exceeded the main one. Such income, however, fluctuates widely from month to month.

8.1.3 Earnings and Mobility

The data we collected show a considerable degree of earnings differential between the sexes. By all measures, women earn less than men. For each type of work status, women are much more likely to be in the lowest income bracket, and much less likely to reach the highest bracket. Earnings are determined by various factors such as the human capital endowments of the individual and access to the labour market. We therefore used a multivariate analysis to ascertain the influence of various factors on earnings.

We found that even after adjusting for the influence of several other factors on workers' earnings such as education, training received, occupational status, number of job changes and others, the earnings of the female workers remained substantially lower than those of the men.

Job changes occur quite often and men are more likely to change jobs than women. Among the job-changers, 30 per cent of men and 21 per cent of women had changed jobs three or more times. There was a difference between migrant and non-migrant workers, both in terms of job change behaviour and the consequences of such change. The entry point for migrants was generally a small-sized manufacturing establishment, employing less than 100 workers.

The informal channel of job information was regarded by workers as being the most convenient and reliable, and also the least expensive. This was the source they depended on when they first joined the urban labour market and no matter how often they moved or how long they had been in the labour market, they were still dependent on this source. Men, more than women relied on formal sources such as newspapers and other forms of advertisement. This is probably due to their better education, their greater need for a new challenge, and their willingness to face the unknown.

Women, on the other hand, prefer information provided by friends and relatives on whom they also rely for companionship at work since they do not have the freedom to go out and meet new friends as much as men. Women's greater concern for safety also makes them wary of using the services of private employment agencies. This applies particularly to young rural girls newly arrived in Bangkok.

Women who entered the labour market as unskilled workers have less opportunity than men to move up the occupational ladder. Women's low level of education and lack of basic technical training are often cited by employers as the main reasons for not giving them an opportunity for promotion. Although none of the employers we talked to mentioned the issue of child-bearing as a factor constraining the productivity of women workers, the women themselves felt that this placed an extra burden on them.

Only a small proportion of the female respondents left their jobs temporarily owing to pregnancy and child-bearing. They later rejoined the labour market after a period of about four years. More than 80 per cent of the women workers routinely handled domestic chores without domestic help and with little or no help from their husbands.

Although migrants started out on a lower rung of the occupational ladder, they managed to climb reasonably high, given their disadvantage in terms of educational background. Migrant women have in fact been able to reach a higher economic status than non-migrant women with similar characteristics. Compared with men migrants, they have achieved more significant upward mobility from their rural status. One reason is the high demand for women by the expanding export-oriented manufacturing sector which relies on women workers for the labour-intensive production process.

Inequality between the sexes exists in the pattern of employment in terms of occupation, industry, employment status and earnings. Women are, however, just as mobile as the men. The evidence gathered in this survey was not sufficient to conclude with confidence that there are institutional factors that operate against the advancement of women workers. Further studies on the basis of information obtained from employers should be undertaken.

8.2 Policy Recommendations

Mobility is a characteristic aspect of Thailand's urban labour market. Workers searching for the best possible rewards for their efforts have the freedom to move around from job to job. In doing so, they hope to improve their position, not always in purely monetary terms; they may be seeking for higher welfare benefits and better working conditions. Rural-urban migration into the manufacturing sector has provided a large number of Thai workers, both male and female, with an alternative to employment in the declining agricultural sector. This section of the report discusses some measures that could promote workers' mobility such as better job information, facilities to assist workers with young children, and more education and training opportunities.

8.2.1 Job Information

The respondents had no trouble finding jobs. They relied mainly on the informal channel of information from friends and relatives. Therefore, the choices of jobs were limited to certain categories, creating a surplus

in these categories with a resultant lowering of wages. Consequently, these workers were unaware of labour shortages and high wages paid in many other job categories. Unskilled workers were much more likely to rely on informal channel than skilled and white-collar workers and women more so than men.

The number of migrants arriving in Bangkok will continue to increase. It is therefore advisable to provide them with a wider range of information and job choices. Migrants, particularly the young single girls face the risk of being cheated by unscrupulous employment agents interested only in receiving a commission. Such agents are likely to deliver job seekers to any employer willing to pay the highest commission. Such persons often turn out to be operating illegal factories, low wages and forcing workers to accept appalling working conditions.

In addition, employment agents may contact the workers after a few months or even weeks and try to persuade them to accept other supposedly better jobs so that the agents themselves can earn a second commission from the same workers.

In such a case, the resulting high turnover of workers is detrimental to both the employers and the workers. Employers are deprived of workers in whom they have invested by training them so that they can be moved to more productive work. The workers, on the other hand, are deprived of the opportunity to stay in any one job long enough to be familiar with the production process and upgrade their skills. Employers have various ways of preventing such high turnover, such as making the workers pay for their own training, replacing workers by machinery, refusing to take in workers that they judge to be unstable or putting them in positions requiring no skill so that they can be easily and inexpensively replaced.

The Department of Labour should be more active in supplying job information to workers, especially to potential migrants from rural areas. At present, provincial labour officials are relatively more active than their Bangkok counterparts. Although the Department of Labour operates its own employment booths in the major train and bus terminals, these are open only during official working hours from 8.30 to 16.30 hours whereas most trains and buses from the provinces arrive at dawn. The booth should be manned around the clock to serve migrants arriving at any hour.

Lack of publicity about the services available from the Department of Labour is only one part of the problem; the other is rural people's ingrained distrust of officials. After stepping down from the train or bus after a long night trip, they will probably have more urgent things in mind than consulting Bangkok labour officials.

8.2.2 Factors Affecting Married Women's Employment

Married women workers with young children have experienced difficulties in finding inexpensive and reliable child care facilities in Bangkok. Employers in large factories with a majority of female workers should be persuaded to set up day-care facilities for their workers' children, charging reasonable fees. Labour unions should also take up this issue as one of the services provided to their members.

The Thai Government should be credited for attempting to set a standard in this respect. In February 1992, two months after extending maternity leave for female government officials from 30 to 60 days, the Government announced a plan to have child care facilities attached to all government offices.

8.2.3 Preparing Workers for a Change in Labour Demand

A dramatic change is looming ahead for manufacturing workers owing to the changing world economic climate. Thailand's manufacturing industry has become inextricably tied to the world market, particularly in the past five years. Recent achievements have resulted from a combination of marketing drives to promote Thai exports, a search for new markets and quality improvement.

Some of the leading manufacturers for export, however, are going to face a tougher situation, especially those relying on low wages and low-skilled women workers such as textiles, garments, electronics and electrical products. Their production has been expanding rapidly owing to the presence of export-oriented entrepreneurs

from Japan, Taiwan and the Republic of Korea. These foreign investors have chosen Thailand to relocate their factories in order to avoid the high wages in their own countries, the rising value of their currencies and the protectionist import policies of their western trading partners. In order to reduce production costs and thus maintain the comparative advantage of their products in the world market, they moved to a country capable of providing them with plentiful and cheap labour.

It is clear, therefore, that the entrepreneurs' choice of the production base is subject to change at any time depending on changing production costs. Meanwhile, the factories set up in Thailand have created many jobs for unskilled and semi-skilled workers who produce goods for export to markets that used to be supplied with goods manufactured in the parent countries. Thailand's export figures may improve dramatically but the market share brought in by these foreign entrepreneurs may disappear overnight if other developing countries offer a more attractive labour situation, in terms of quality or costs.

The year 1992 will also see the integration of twelve European countries into a single market, and the formation of the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA). Amidst increasing international competitiveness, the implications for Thai manufacturers are that they will have to be more conscious of quality as well as pricing.

For textiles and garments, the country's top export earners for four consecutive years, a number of problems lie ahead. Machinery and equipment are quickly becoming obsolete. In the textiles sector, advanced high speed technology has made labour cost no longer an advantage for developing countries. In the garments sector, it is the ability to respond quickly to the situation by creating new designs and produce high quality goods that would guarantee the products' share at the upper end of the market. At the lower end, competition from low-wage countries is already eroding the competitiveness of Thai products in the world market, prompting some foreign investors to turn from Thailand to Indonesia, Pakistan, China and Bangladesh where wages of unskilled workers are one-third to one-half of the level in Thailand.

How can the unskilled workers with low education adapt themselves to technological innovations and industrial restructuring in order to keep their place and not be pushed further down into the low-productivity, low-wage industries? In this survey we have seen how workers who started in the urban labour market with the major disadvantage of a low level of education faced constraints in further skill formation and upgradation. To allow these workers who have been acting as a base for Thailand's past economic advancement to participate in the next stage of the country's development, policies for upgrading workers' education and skills and for retraining should be put in place immediately before it is too late. We shall now discuss some aspects of the appropriate policies on education and skill training for manufacturing workers.

8.2.4 More Educational Opportunities for Workers

Eight out of ten workers in Thailand have completed only primary education or less. Among the female manufacturing workers the proportion was even lower. So large a share of manufacturing workers with such low educational attainment will be a major constraint on Thailand's future economic development. This situation is incompatible with the drive to attain the status of a newly industrialized country in which the expansion of skill-intensive industries, as well as the development of science and technology, will be given top priority. The proportion of Thai children going on to secondary school after completing the six-year compulsory primary level stands at a low 55 per cent. In 1990, the gross enrolment ratio in secondary schools in Thailand was only 29 per cent, a much lower level than that in the Republic of Korea, the Philippines and Malaysia a full decade earlier, their ratios being 87 per cent, 71 per cent and 57 per cent respectively.

Most manufacturing workers come from poor rural households where the chance of secondary education is about half the national average. Sending children to secondary school involves expenses on tuition, textbooks and uniforms. In most rural areas, there are additional expenses on transport and food since the schools are located far from the villages and children cannot walk to school or return home for lunch. In our sample, migrants reported that they started working when they were about 15 years old. The additional income from their children is another reason why parents do not send them for further education, apart from being unable to afford the school fees.

To overcome these obstacles and create more opportunities for village children, the Office of the National Primary Education Commission has introduced a pilot project for teaching lower secondary education in primary schools. The project has been relatively well received by villagers who are satisfied that the children can continue living with the family and helping with domestic chores.

8.2.5 Training and Upgrading Workers' Skills

No matter how successful the policy of increasing educational enrolment will be, improvement in labour quality will not be felt before a long time has elapsed. Assuming that, starting in 1992, all children having completed primary school can spend three more years in lower secondary school, the proportion of Thailand's labour force in the year 2000 with only primary education or less will still be as high as 70 per cent.

Therefore, another urgent need is to upgrade the knowledge and skills of the existing work-force through various non-formal education and training programmes. Employers who face high mobility among their work-force are reluctant to invest in training of skills that are transferrable because they stand to lose their investment if workers move to other firms that are competitors. Coordination among employers in the same industry to develop a centre for training should therefore be encouraged.

Meanwhile, the public sector should subsidize adult education at secondary level. Several of the respondents who had completed only four years of compulsory education had managed to study and qualify for the extra two years they have missed by going to free evening classes located near their work-place. They were reluctant to continue to the secondary level because of the tuition fees.

Incentives in the form of a subsidy or a reduction in workers' compensation contributions could be provided to employers to set up a training programme. Small firms should be given special encouragement as they were found to be investing in training to a much lesser extent than the large- and medium-sized firms whose high wages and other benefits together with better chances of promotion are a sufficient inducement to retain workers.

The garments industry, for example, is strongly competitive and characterized by the predominance of small firms. It is well recognized that the future of this industry lies in development of designs and better quality products along with the introduction of modern technology. With the help of international organizations, the Thai Government might set up training centres for garment workers, any way of reducing employers' training costs will help.

Most of the skills to be developed in the present state of the manufacturing industry in Thailand are general and transferrable. As there is no social sanction against the widespread practice of labour poaching, it is understandable that prudent employers are reluctant to bear the cost of investment in skill training. They can be persuaded to do so only if they are given legal entitlement to pass on a portion of the training costs to their workers. Some employers have been asking workers to deposit a large sum as a bond to be returned only after several years.

Moreover, workers from a poor background entering the Bangkok labour market have no financial resources that could be used to finance their training costs. They therefore choose to start work at the unskilled level rather than invest in training.

8.2.6 Increase Workers' Commitment to Their Jobs

Frequent urban job changes – a behaviour that helps improve men's earnings – have an opposite effect on women's earnings. Given the nature of most jobs performed by unskilled women workers, however, it is not difficult to understand their compulsive need for change. The tasks given to women in manufacturing firms are often boring, repetitive and tedious, and may be a health hazard. After a few months doing these mind-numbing tasks, it is understandable that women workers search for another job and accept at the first offer. Increase in wages is therefore not foremost in their mind; they seek better work conditions or merely an opportunity for a change.

In many manufacturing processes, boring tasks are unavoidable. Employers should try to relieve workers' boredom by rotating them. A new approach to management with emphasis on encouraging workers' participation and boosting their feeling of achievement should be practised more widely. Occasional activities including sports and week-end trips that will allow workers and management to get to know each other can have a significant effect on a firm's productivity.

This study presents information on several aspects of Thai women's participation in the manufacturing sector. The differences in the employment pattern and mobility between male and female workers have been highlighted. We have pointed out the major factors that have an influence either on facilitating or impeding women's employment in the Bangkok labour market. We have made a number of suggestions with the object of ensuring that Thai women will be better equipped to face new economic challenges. Both short-and long-term measures are proposed for implementation in order to minimize adverse effects on women from future industrial adjustments.

Although their participation in the manufacturing sector is large, women are concentrated in a narrow range of jobs, mostly with low status and low pay. Data obtained from our survey respondents have clearly indicated that women workers, particularly the unskilled and semi-skilled, are going to face a serious problem in the coming stage of industrial development unless the present employment pattern, education and skill levels are corrected, without delay.

We have also postulated that women's economic position is determined not only by the strategy of economic development which creates demand for their labour but also by socio-cultural factors such as society's attitude towards women's role which partly influences their education and training opportunities.

Women's working choices and career advancement depend partly on the way they regard their domestic responsibilities as being more important than their employment prospects. Such attitudes are a result of traditional upbringing whereby parents instill in their female offspring the notion that their role in society is primarily in the home, with work being of secondary importance.

Since the 1970s, the Thai Government has shifted its industrial development strategy to promoting export-oriented production. The manufacturing sector used to be dependent on a small group of products such as food and beverages, textiles, garments and electrical goods. These industries, which employed more than 70 per cent of the respondents, are facing intense competition in the world market, from both low wage producers in developing countries and high technology producers in advanced industrial countries.

At the same time, metal and chemical products, machinery and transport equipment have gained in importance. These new industries have already experienced labour shortages and high wages are being offered to attract workers. Unfortunately, few women have the required education or training to qualify for those jobs. The basic metal products and machinery industry, for example, requires specific skills which are traditionally known to be a male specialization.

Industrial development has brought about dramatic changes in Thai women's employment situation, particularly in the urban labour market. As Thailand continues on its path of economic progress, several structural adjustment programmes are being carried out in order to upgrade the competitiveness of its industries. In the process, innumerable employment opportunities will be created.

Women are currently the disadvantaged group in the manufacturing sector and are ill-equipped to face the new challenges. A wide range of education, training and retraining programmes are urgently needed to facilitate skill acquisition and integration into the next stage of industrial development. Social attitudes towards women's role in the economy also need to be modified if women are to venture successfully into the non-traditional economic activities that would reward them with high wages, improved working conditions and job satisfaction.

ANNEX

Table A.1. Percentage distribution of surveyed migrant workers by the number of job changes

Number of changes	Male	Female
Once	50.1	54.4
Twice	24.5	24.7
Three times and more	25.3	20.8
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(367)	(351)

Table A.2. Selected characteristics of surveyed migrant workers

Characteristics	Male	Female
	Average	
Age at migration	19.1	18.9
	Percentage (Number)	
Marital status before migration	100.0 (357)	100.0 (443)
Single	91.9 (328)	90.3 (401)
Married	7.8 (28)	8.3 (37)
Other	0.3 (1)	1.4 (6)
Employment status before migration	100.0 (357)	100.0 (443)
Employed	51.0 (182)	50.1 (222)
Unemployed/outside labour force	49.0 (175)	49.9 (221)
	Average	
Age at which started work before migration	15.8	14.8

Table A.3. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by duration of employment

Duration of employment (Years)	Male	Female
Less than 5	43.0	40.8
5-9	19.1	22.2
10-14	16.9	16.3
15 and over	21.0	20.7
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(633)	(706)
Mean	8.6	8.5
Median	6.0	6.0
Minimum	0	0
Maximum	44	42

Table A.4. Percentage share of surveyed workers by access to benefits received in current job

Benefits	Male	Female
Cost of living allowance	39.6	33.3
Accommodation allowance	28.8	35.2
Transport allowance	58.4	49.5
Meals allowance	34.2	38.9
Education allowance	23.8	17.3
Paid leave	80.9	69.3
Bonus	84.6	79.8
Pension fund	42.5	32.5
Severance pay	47.8	41.1
Membership in trade union	51.8	56.8

Table A.5. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by duration of employment in first and previous job

Duration of employment (Months)	First job		Previous job	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
12 or less	49.5	49.6	52.0	53.5
13-24	21.3	19.1	26.8	21.0
25-36	10.7	10.8	9.5	10.8
37 and over	18.6	20.5	11.7	14.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(366)	(351)	(179)	(157)
Mean	26	27	23	22
Median	14	13	12	12
Minimum	1	1	1	1
Maximum	252	182	156	120

Table A.6. Percentage distribution of surveyed migrant workers by age at which started work before migration

Age at	Male	Female
Less than 15	47.9	67.3
15-30	52.1	32.7
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(169)	(217)
Mean	15.8	14.8

Table A.7. Career mobility of all surveyed workers during current employment

	Male	Female
	Average	
Duration of current employment (In years)	5.8	6.0
	Percentage (Number)	
Workers reporting promotion policy in establishment	66.8 (416)	61.2 (425)
Workers having received promotions during the current employment	51.3 (319)	51.1 (354)
	Average	
Number of times each worker received promotions	3.7	4.0

Table A.8. Career mobility of regular workers during current employment

	Male	Female
	Average	
Duration of current employment (In years)	6.4	6.6
	Percentage (Number)	
Workers reporting promotion policy in establishment	67.4 (375)	63.0 (392)
Workers having received promotions during the current employment	53.4 (297)	51.7 (321)
	Average	
Number of times each worker received promotions	3.9	4.3

Table A.9. Average monthly earnings of surveyed workers (Baht)

	Current job	
	Male	Female
Age group		
Under 15	2,201 (2)	2,441 (13)
15-30	5,321 (404)	4,140 (454)
31-55	10,881 (210)	7,511 (223)
56 and over	10,041 (5)	7,120 (5)
Education		
No schooling/primary	4,550 (184)	3,791 (356)
Lower secondary	5,350 (124)	5,101 (122)
Upper secondary/ vocational	7,160 (254)	5,890 (178)
University	19,871 (59)	15,461 (39)
Marital status		
Single	5,971 (295)	4,421 (377)
Married	8,550 (307)	6,120 (275)
Widowed/divorced/ separated	5,440 (19)	6,320 (43)
Migration		
Non-migrant	9,240 (258)	6,481 (249)
Migrant	5,801 (363)	4,501 (446)
Change of job		
Change	7,470 (359)	5,260 (346)
No change	6,910 (252)	5,170 (349)
Industry		
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	7,081 (88)	5,220 (70)
Textiles, Garments, Leather	7,400 (149)	4,931 (366)
Wood, Paper, Others	8,601 (50)	6,191 (35)
Chemical, Plastics	5,411 (73)	5,230 (91)
Non-metallic/Metal Product	7,431 (261)	5,701 (135)
Size of establishment		
100 workers	4,621 (106)	3,330 (140)
101-499	7,390 (268)	5,110 (236)
500 and over	8,180 (247)	6,111 (319)
Duration of employment (Months)		
12 or less	5,760 (148)	3,251 (147)
13-36	5,770 (184)	4,281 (217)
37-60	6,361 (66)	5,600 (81)
61-120	8,470 (97)	5,290 (102)
121 and over	10,601 (126)	8,260 (148)
Occupation		
Scientific, Managerial	20,550 (63)	16,110 (34)
Clerical/Sales/Services	6,590 (86)	6,540 (127)
Skilled Production	7,740 (206)	5,610 (150)
Semi-skilled Production	4,401 (88)	3,550 (129)
Unskilled Production	3,631 (178)	3,710 (255)
Received training		
Once	7,160 (60)	5,841 (62)
More than once	11,291 (197)	9,361 (134)
Never	5,051 (363)	3,961 (494)

Note: Figures in brackets indicate the number of workers.

EMPLOYMENT, OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AND EARNINGS IN THE KUALA LUMPUR URBAN LABOUR MARKET WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WOMEN IN THE MANUFACTURING SECTOR

Lee Kiong Hock

and

A. Sivananthiran

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CHAPTER 1

WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT IN MALAYSIA

1.1 Introduction

Nineteen ninety-one marks a momentous year in Malaysian history. It is the year in which the Government of Malaysia not only launched its *Second Outline Perspective Plan*, a plan that marks Malaysia's move to become a developed country by the year 2020, but also devoted a whole chapter to the issue of women in Malaysia's development in the *Sixth Malaysia Plan*, 1991-1995. This represents the Government's acknowledgement of the important role that women play in Malaysia's overall development.

The contribution of women to national development has long been acknowledged but it was only in 1989 that the Government formulated a *National Policy for Women* (NPW). The principal objectives of the NPW are twofold in nature: first, to ensure equal opportunities for men and women and, second, to integrate women in all sectors of national development. How far the objectives of this policy will be realized remains to be seen.

A look at past achievements will show that although much progress has been made, more remains to be done. Section 1.2 begins with a brief examination of the progress that has been made in the area of education. This helps explain some of the changes that have taken place in terms of the employment of women because education is, in many ways, an important intervening variable. Section 1.3 discusses the changes in female labour force participation and sectoral employment; section 1.4 looks at the employment of women by occupation; section 1.5 discusses the employment and earnings of women; and section 1.6 bring out the basic purpose and objectives of the study.

1.2 Women's Education

At the advent of independence in 1957, women accounted for only 38 per cent of total primary school enrolment, and only 31 per cent of total secondary school enrolment.[1] As table 1.1 shows, by 1970 they accounted for 47 per cent and 41 per cent of total enrolment in government and government-assisted primary and secondary schools, respectively. By 1990 the percentages had increased to 49 and 51, respectively. At the sixth form, the last two years of schooling in Malaysia, women's share of total enrolment in government and government-assisted schools has increased even more dramatically. In 1957 women accounted for only 23 per cent of total enrolment.[2] By 1970 women accounted for 43 per cent of enrolment and in 1990 they outnumbered the men, accounting for over 59 per cent of total sixth form enrolment in government and government-assisted schools.

Two observations deserve highlighting. First, females now outnumber males in terms of enrolment in secondary schools and at the sixth form (or pre-university), at least in government and government-assisted schools. At the tertiary level, women have also made considerable in-roads, particularly in teacher training institutions and in the universities. In 1990 women accounted for over 56 per cent of total enrolment in teacher training institutions and over 44 per cent of domestic university enrolment. Second, at the school level females tend to predominate in the arts stream. On the other hand, although their participation has increased considerably, they are clearly under-represented in the vocational and technical streams where they account for only 22 per cent of total vocational school enrolment and 36 per cent of total technical school enrolment (see table 1.1). At the tertiary level too, women tend to be under-represented in the scientific and technical fields. For instance, they account for only 25 per cent of total enrolment in the public sector polytechnics.

[1] For 1957 data see Ministry of Education, *Educational Statistics of Malaysia, 1938-1967*. It is important to note that the bulk of primary and secondary schooling in Malaysia is provided for by the public sector through government and government-assisted schools.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 40-47.

Table 1.1. Enrolment of female students by level and stream of secondary education (Percentage)

	1970	1980	1990
Level			
Primary	46.8	48.6	48.6
Secondary	40.6	47.6	50.5
Sixth Form	42.6	45.5	59.3
University	29.1	35.5	44.3
College			
Polytechnics	13.2	21.5	25.2
Teacher Training	41.9	48.3	56.1
Stream			
Arts	47.4	61.0	64.8
Science	24.5	36.3	44.7
Vocational	24.2	30.4	22.0
Technical	4.3	27.1	35.9

Source: Sixth Malaysia Plan, 1991-1995, table 16.5.

1.3 Female Labour Force Participation and Sectoral Employment

In line with the increase in women's participation in education there has been a substantial increase in the female labour force participation rate.[3] For instance, the female labour force participation rate was only 25 per cent in 1947 (Jones, 1965) but by 1970 it had increased to 37 per cent. In 1990 although female labour force participation rate increased to 47 per cent, it still fell short of the male labour force participation rate. Over the 1970-1990 period the male labour force participation rate increased from 81 per cent to 86 per cent. In this light, the share of women in total employment has increased by only four percentage points from 31 to 35 per cent.

In line with the changes that have taken place in the economy, particularly in terms of the shifts in production away from the primary sector to the secondary and tertiary sectors, there have been significant changes in employment patterns. Of the 1.7 million 'new' jobs created over the 1970-1980 period almost 35 per cent went to women workers. Of these, over 43 per cent were in the manufacturing sector, 25 per cent in the wholesale and retail trade, hotel and restaurant sector, 15 per cent in the services sector and 13 per cent in the agricultural and forestry sector (see table 1.2). Among men, job creation was more evenly distributed across the major sectors of the economy. Twenty-five per cent of the new jobs were in the manufacturing sector, 24 per cent in services, and 17 per cent in the wholesale and retail trade, hotel and restaurant sectors, and a further 17 per cent in the construction sector.

Over the 1980-1990 period, in spite of the severe recession in 1985, over 1.8 million new jobs were created. Of these an even larger 42 per cent went to women workers. Among women the manufacturing sector continued to be the principal sector of growth in new jobs accounting for 39 per cent of the new jobs (see table 1.2). The trade, hotel and restaurant sector also became an important source of new jobs for women workers accounting for 37 per cent of the new jobs. Another important sector was the services sector (excluding finance, insurance, real estate and business services) which accounted for 30 per cent of new jobs. Among men new jobs were again more evenly distributed across sectors. The trade, hotel and restaurant sector accounted for 27 per cent of new jobs, followed by the manufacturing sector with 23 per cent, services sector (other than finance, insurance, real

[3] Kwok (1981), using the Labour Utilisation Survey data showed that, in Malaysia, education has a positive and significant impact on female labour force participation. The *Report of the Labour Force Survey, 1988*, for instance, shows that the labour force participation rate among females rose from 44 per cent for those without any formal education to 76 per cent for those with college or university education (see Malaysia, 1990, table B2.5, pp. 109-110). Chia (1987, pp. 166-168) cites other factors apart from education such as the nature of farm work, although the importance of this factor has declined over time, urbanization and industrialisation, and technological change which has reduced the demand for hard labour and increased the quality of the work environment making labour market participation more attractive to women.

Table 1.2. Distribution of new jobs by sex and sector

Industry	1970-1980		1980-1990	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture and Forestry	5.9	12.9	3.7	-14.8
Mining and Quarrying	-0.4	-0.6	-3.6	-0.4
Manufacturing	25.3	43.3	23.0	38.8
Utilities	1.1	0.2	1.3	0.1
Construction	17.2	2.5	15.1	-0.1
Wholesale, Retail Trade, Hotels and Restaurants	17.3	25.1	27.1	36.7
Transport, Storage, Communications	7.1	1.4	5.6	2.4
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate, Business Services	-	-	9.3	7.3
Other Services[a]	24.3	15.2	18.4	29.8

Sources: Calculated from Third Malaysia Plan 1976, table 4.10; Fifth Malaysia Plan, 1986, table 3.5; and Sixth Malaysia Plan, 1991, table 1.11, and table 16.1.

Note: [a] For 1970-1980 includes finance, insurance, real estate and business services; for 1980-1990 covers government, community, social and personal services.

estate and business services) with 18 per cent and the construction sector with 15 per cent. There was a substantial loss of jobs by 15 per cent among women in the agricultural and forestry sector.

The distribution of new jobs across sectors among men and women resulted in significant changes in employment patterns. In particular, although the agricultural and forestry sector continued to be a major employer of women, the proportion of women employed declined from 68 per cent in 1970 to 28 per cent in 1990 (see table 1.3). In contrast, the proportion of women workers employed in the manufacturing sector rose from only 8 per cent in 1970 to over 24 per cent in 1990 while the proportion employed in the trade, hotel and restaurant sector rose from 6 per cent to 20 per cent.

Table 1.3. Employment distribution by sector and sex

Industry	1970		1980		1990	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture and Forestry	49.6	67.9	37.5	49.3	28.9	28.2
Mining and Quarrying	2.3	0.7	1.4	0.3	0.7	0.2
Manufacturing	9.3	8.1	11.8	16.3	15.2	24.3
Utilities	1.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.9	0.1
Construction	3.1	0.5	6.4	1.0	8.7	0.7
Wholesale, Retail Trade[a]	11.6	5.8	13.1	11.2	16.9	19.7
Transport Storage[b]	5.0	0.5	5.0	0.7	5.9	1.5
Finance, Insurance[c]	-	-	1.9	1.6	4.0	3.9
Other Services[d]	18.1	16.4	22.7	19.5	18.8	21.4

Source: Sixth Malaysia Plan 1991, table 16.1.

Notes: [a] Includes hotels and restaurants.
[b] Includes communications.
[c] Includes real estate and business services.
[d] For 1970 and 1980 includes finance, insurance, real estate and business services; for 1990 covers government, community, social and personal services.

Overall, women made significant in-roads into the manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade and, to a lesser extent, transport and communications sectors. In particular, their share of total employment in the manufacturing sector rose from 28 per cent in 1970 to over 46 per cent in 1990. In the wholesale and retail trade sector their share of total employment increased from 18 per cent to 39 per cent over the same period (see table 1.4).

Table 1.4. Percentage distribution of employment by sex

Industry	1970		1980		1990	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Agriculture and Forestry	62.0	38.0	61.0	39.0	65.6	34.4
Mining and Quarrying	87.4	12.6	89.7	10.3	87.1	12.9
Manufacturing	71.9	28.1	59.9	40.1	53.6	46.4
Utilities	94.7	5.3	92.5	7.5	93.1	6.9
Construction	93.3	6.7	92.9	7.1	95.7	4.3
Wholesale, Retail Trade[a]	81.8	18.2	70.7	29.3	61.4	38.6
Transport, Storage[b]	95.7	4.3	93.7	6.3	88.9	11.1
Finance, Insurance[c]	–	–	70.5	29.5	65.8	34.2
Other Services[d]	71.1	28.9	70.6	29.4	62.1	37.9

Source: *Ibid.* table 16.1.

Notes: [a] Includes hotels and restaurants.
[b] Includes communications.
[c] Includes real estate and business services.
[d] For 1970 and 1980 includes finance, insurance, real estate and business services; for 1990 covers government, community, social and personal services.

1.4 Women's Employment by Occupation

Concurrent with the rapid changes that have taken place in education and in the economy there have also been significant changes in the employment of women across occupations. Table 1.5 shows the distribution of new jobs across occupations for men and women. Over the 1970-1980 period, out of more than 1.2 million new jobs that went to men 41 per cent were in the production and related occupations, followed by 17 per cent in agricultural occupations, 11 per cent in sales, and a further 11 per cent in service occupations. Among women, out of more than 0.5 million new jobs, 32 per cent were in production and related occupations, 25 per cent in

Table 1.5. Distribution of new jobs by sex and occupation

Occupational group	1970-1980		1980-1990	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional, Technical and Related	9.3	15.0	6.4	11.2
Administrative and Managerial	2.1	0.8	7.2	1.2
Clerical and Related	9.1	25.3	7.7	20.2
Sales and Related	11.2	11.7	14.8	19.9
Services	10.5	10.1	12.8	24.5
Agriculture	16.1	5.1	9.0	-8.9
Production and Related	41.2	32.0	42.2	31.9

Sources: Calculated from Third Malaysia Plan, 1976, table 4.10, p. 68, Fifth Malaysia Plan, 1986, table 3.5, pp. 102-103, and Sixth Malaysia Plan, 1991, table 1.11, p. 36, and table 16.2, p. 416.

clerical and related occupations, 15 per cent in the professional, technical and related occupations, 11 per cent in sales and 10 per cent in services occupations.

Over the 1980-1990 period similar changes continued to occur. Out of the 1 million new jobs that went to men 42 per cent were in production and related occupations. A further 15 per cent were in sales, 13 per cent in service occupations and 9 per cent in agricultural and related occupations. There was a substantial decline in the share of agricultural and related occupations in total new jobs, i.e. from 17 per cent over the 1970-1980 period to 9 per cent in the 1980-1990 period. Women continued to move into production and related occupations (32 per cent); service occupations showed a large increase from 10 per cent in the 1970-1980 period to 25 per cent in the 1980-1990 period; clerical and sales occupations accounted for 20 per cent each; and the increase in professional, technical and related occupations was 11 per cent.

Table 1.6 shows how the distribution of employed men and women workers across occupations has changed as a result of the above pattern of new job creation. The most dramatic change has occurred among women workers. In 1970 over two-thirds were employed in agricultural occupations but by 1990 the proportion had fallen to less than one-third. On the other hand, the proportion of women workers engaged in production and related occupations increased by over 10 percentage points, and in clerical and related occupations by 10 percentage points too. Women workers have clearly been moving out from work on the farms and estates as agricultural workers into factories and offices as production and clerical workers. It is also interesting to note that a larger proportion of women than men workers are engaged in professional, technical and related occupations. The larger proportion among women workers is undoubtedly due to their large share in professions such as primary school teachers and nurses. Chia (1987, p. 184), for instance, showed that teaching and nursing alone account for over 80 per cent of females in the professional, scientific, technical and related occupational group.[4]

Table 1.6. Distribution of employed by occupation and by sex

Occupational group	1970		1980		1990	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional, Technical and Related	4.6	5.3	6.4	8.5	6.4	9.4
Administrative and Managerial	1.0	0.1	1.4	0.3	2.8	0.6
Clerical and Related	5.4	4.1	6.8	11.1	7.0	14.1
Sales and Related	9.8	4.9	10.3	7.2	11.4	11.4
Services	8.1	8.4	9.0	9.0	9.9	14.1
Agriculture	47.6	66.8	35.9	46.3	29.4	28.1
Production and Related	23.5	10.4	30.2	17.6	33.1	22.3

Source: Sixth Malaysia Plan, 1991, table 16.2, p. 416.

1.5 Women's Employment and Earnings

Although women employment has increased to a large extent in the secondary and tertiary sectors and also in production, clerical, professional, technical and related occupations, most are still engaged in low-paid jobs. The *Survey of Manufacturing Industries, 1988*, for instance, shows that more than one-half of the women workers in the manufacturing sector were in low-paid unskilled and semi-skilled jobs.[5] The labour force surveys also show that the proportion of women workers who worked as unpaid family workers, mainly in the rural areas, rose from 16 per cent in 1980 to 18 per cent in 1988. In contrast, in 1988, only 6 per cent of men workers worked as unpaid family workers.[6]

[4] See also ESCAP, *Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women in Asia and the Pacific 1987*.

[5] Department of Statistics, *Industrial Surveys: Construction, Manufacturing, Mining and Quarrying 1988*, table 2.9.

[6] Department of Statistics, *Report of the Labour Force Survey 1980* (table P22) and *1988* (table B3.11).

Women workers are not only concentrated in the low-paying jobs; they often, for one reason or another, receive lower earnings than their male counterparts in the same occupation. Table 1.7 shows average female monthly earnings as a percentage of average male monthly earnings in selected occupations in the manufacturing sector.[7] Although earnings differentials have narrowed, and in some instances women earn more than men, women workers continue, on the whole, to earn less than men.

Table 1.7. Average female monthly earnings as percentage of male earnings in selected occupations

Occupation	1974	1980	1990
Rubber Products			
Production Supervisor and Foreman	57.9	52.5	86.2
Rubber Moulding Press Operator	45.1	53.1	72.4
Printing and Publishing			
Production Supervisor and Foreman	-	70.4	75.1
Hand Compositor	61.3	59.9	111.1
Book Binder	60.1	47.2	-
Plywood and Particle Board			
Production Supervisor and Foreman	30.8	56.6	67.0
Veneer Cutter	-	75.5	-
Textiles			
Production Supervisor and Foreman	66.2	69.7	75.2
Thread and Yarn Spinner	85.6	101.7	93.8
Fibre Rover	88.5	87.0	103.0
Machine Cloth Weaver	126.9	74.7	111.0
Electronics			
Supervisor and Foreman	55.5	62.1	82.8
Production Operator	-	97.4	82.7
Rubber Latex Processing			
Rubber Processing Worker	72.3	72.2	73.1
Sheet Rubber Maker	-	77.3	102.3
Rubber Sheet Clipper	75.3	-	-

Source: *Ibid.*, table 16.4, p. 419.

1.6 Purpose of the Study

In view of the Government of Malaysia's renewed emphasis on women in development and the current status of women in employment, especially the shift from the agricultural sector to the manufacturing sector, the study conducted by ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP, with special reference to women workers employed in the manufacturing sector, is most timely. This paper, which is a component of a larger study covering four Asian cities, reports on the findings in the Kuala Lumpur region. The actual coverage of the study extends to Petaling Jaya and Shah Alam, both in the state of Selangor, which by virtue of their proximity should be considered extensions of the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market.

The experience of the Newly Industrializing Countries (NICs) is that the influx of women into the urban labour market has been confined mainly to occupations of low skills and wages, particularly in export-oriented industries. Although some women workers have made in-roads into non-traditional avenues of employment, the majority remain in lesser skilled and unstable jobs.

[7] Care should be taken in interpreting the data over time because of changes in coverage.

The main purpose of this study is to strengthen knowledge concerning the structure of employment, methods of skill acquisition and pattern of occupational mobility among women workers in the manufacturing sector of the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market. The knowledge gained should shed light on the methods of skill development required for improving the position of women in employment, particularly in the manufacturing sector. In this respect the study will also focus on factors which promote or hinder employment and occupational diversification among women workers. Factors such as age, household composition, education and skill clearly deserve special attention. The study also looks into the earnings of women *vis-a-vis* male earnings, and seeks to explain the observed differentials.

In line with the above objectives the basic methodology adopted here is that of a reverse tracer study of men and women workers. The questionnaire for this study is the same as that adopted for the other three Asian cities, i.e. Seoul, Bangkok and Manila. The first part of the questionnaire deals with the characteristics of the households to which the respondents belong. The second concentrates on the characteristics of the respondents with special emphasis on the respondents' employment and mobility. The third part is specifically addressed to women workers with a view to assessing their problems and the prospects for their employment and mobility within the labour market.

CHAPTER 2

CONDUCT OF THE SURVEY

2.1 Introduction

As stated in the previous chapter, the survey of the urban labour market in Kuala Lumpur encompasses not only the City of Kuala Lumpur but also the townships of Petaling Jaya and Shah Alam. We refer to this as the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market or the Kuala Lumpur urban conurbation. This chapter describes the conduct of the survey using the standard questionnaire that was applied to the urban labour markets in Seoul, Bangkok and Manila. Section 2.2 describes the sampling methodology; section 2.3 the administration of the survey; section 2.4 the data processing method; and section 2.5 the weighting of the sampling.

2.2 Sampling Methodology

For both time and financial reasons, it was decided that the survey should cover only workers in manufacturing establishments operating in the city of Kuala Lumpur and the municipalities of Petaling Jaya and Shah Alam. These three urban centres are located within the Klang Valley which constitutes the industrial hub of Malaysia. By virtue of their proximity these three centres are best treated as one urban labour market. The Federal Territory, within which Kuala Lumpur is located, and the State of Selangor, within which Petaling Jaya and Shah Alam are located, together account for 33 per cent of total gross value of output, and 29 per cent of total employment of the manufacturing sector in Malaysia.[1]

As a first step in the sampling of workers nine industries were identified. These industries were:

(a) Food, beverages and tobacco industry (ISIC 31);
(b) Textile, garments and leather industry (ISIC 32);
(c) Wood and wood products industry (ISIC 33);
(d) Paper products and printing industry (ISIC 34);
(e) Rubber products industry (ISIC 355);
(f) Chemical products industry (ISIC 356);
(g) Fabricated metal products industry (ISIC 381); and
(h) Electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry, (ISIC 383).

The first three industries alone account for over 49 per cent of total manufacturing sector employment in Malaysia. Together, the eight industries to be covered in this study account for 83 per cent of employment in the manufacturing sector.[2]

The listing of manufacturing sector establishments operating in Kuala Lumpur, Petaling Jaya and Shah Alam was obtained from the Ministry of Human Resources. It provides a breakdown of employment by occupation and by sex for each establishment in the selected industries. The principal limitation is that the latest available listing is for 1988. It is therefore not as current as we would have liked. It was decided that the sample size should not exceed 1,500 workers, distributed equally between males and females. A look at the occupational distributions for each gender group shows that a proportionate sampling approach would not be appropriate. Proportionate sampling among women workers, for instance, would yield, on the one hand, a very small sample of only 9 female sales workers and, on the other hand, a rather large sample of 540 semi-skilled female workers. To overcome this problem and to ensure meaningful results, variable sampling fractions were used. The sampling fractions ranged from less than 2 per cent in the case of semi-skilled women workers to about 40 per cent in the case of women sales workers. In the case of male workers the sampling fractions ranged from 4 per cent for semi-skilled workers to 20 per cent for service workers. Table 2.2 shows the target and actual sample of workers by occupation and sex.

[1] Department of Statistics, *Report of the Labour Force Survey, 1985*, table 2.3, p. 86.

[2] Department of Statistics, *Report of the Labour Force Survey, 1985*.

Table 2.1. Distribution of sample by occupation and sex

Occupation	Male		Female	
	Target	Actual	Target	Actual
Scientific, Technical, Professional and Related	100	100	97	97
Administrative and Managerial	75	72	75	73
Clerical	75	68	100	99
Sales	75	75	50	47
Services	75	78	50	43
Skilled Production	112	117	75	65
Semi-skilled Production	113	105	200	192
Unskilled Production	75	78	75	79
Other	50	46	28	11
Total	750	739	750	7

The next stage in the sampling procedure was the distribution of the target sample across industries. For this purpose proportionate sampling was adopted. The target samples of men and women workers by occupation and industry are given in table 2.2, together with the actual number of workers reported in the Ministry's listing.

The last stage in the sampling procedure involved the selection of establishments. For this purpose a stratified random sample was chosen. The establishments were stratified by size, defined in terms of employment, and industry. In particular, following the Ministry of Human Resources' classification scheme, small establishments are those that employ less than 50 workers, medium-sized establishments are those employing between 50 to 200 workers, and large establishments those that employ more than 200 workers. For this purpose the overall sampling fraction is about 45 per cent in each case. A total of 120 establishments were selected. The sample of workers in each occupational category and industry was then distributed proportionately across the selected establishments.

2.3 Administration of the Survey

The questionnaire used was a slightly modified version of that supplied by ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP. Modifications were kept to a minimum to ensure that the survey would be in line with those conducted in the other three cities covered in the project. Modifications were made only to the classification of certain items such as education, and major mode of transport to work place.

Given the nature of the survey, and in particular the need to interview workers in their work places, it was decided that the survey should be conducted by interviewers who could gain access to the employers and therefore to the workers. For our purpose, those who met this criterion were the employment officers of the Ministry of Human Resources. A total of ten employment officers were invited to participate in the survey. All those invited had previous experience in interview techniques and had also been involved in an earlier survey of a similar nature conducted by the Economic Planning Unit, of the Prime Minister's Department.

2.4 Data Processing

As the completed questionnaires were returned they were checked to ensure that they had been adequately completed. In some instances the questionnnaires were sent back for clarification. A professional data-entry company was engaged to enter the data in the desired format. The data were subsequently cleaned using SPSS on the IBM. Cleaning took considerable time owing to the need to check and cross-check for inconsistencies overlooked during the coding process.

Table 2.2. Distribution of sample by sex, occupation and industry

Industry	Occupational category[a]																	
	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)		(6)		(7)		(8)		(9)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Food, Beverages, Tobacco (ISIC 31)	155 (10)	44 (11)	205 (14)	38 (12)	134 (14)	191 (12)	209 (24)	13 (5)	105 (21)	23 (7)	432 (19)	30 (5)	535 (22)	254 (5)	565 (35)	369 (30)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Textiles, Garments, Leather (ISIC 32)	19 (2)	1 (0)	22 (1)	2 (1)	3 (0)	24 (2)	3 (0)	0 (0)	4 (1)	1 (0)	113 (5)	21 (3)	61 (3)	415 (9)	1 (0)	27 (2)	8 (2)	11 (5)
Wood, Wood Products (ISIC 33)	13 (1)	1 (0)	25 (1)	3 (1)	17 (2)	36 (2)	12 (1)	1 (0)	9 (2)	3 (1)	116 (5)	4 (1)	158 (7)	93 (2)	58 (4)	56 (5)	2 (0)	8 (3)
Paper Products, Printing (ISIC 34)	301 (37)	120 (40)	180 (12)	35 (11)	310 (32)	398 (27)	139 (16)	47 (19)	46 (10)	34 (10)	579 (25)	267 (40)	433 (18)	299 (6)	74 (5)	19 (2)	13 (3)	5 (2)
Rubber Products (ISIC 355)	17 (1)	1 (0)	16 (1)	6 (2)	26 (3)	27 (2)	8 (1)	0 (0)	34 (7)	6 (2)	101 (4)	5 (1)	243 (10)	321 (6)	61 (4)	65 (5)	3 (1)	0 (0)
Chemical Products (ISIC 356)	18 (1)	0 (0)	48 (3)	8 (2)	10 (1)	53 (3)	13 (1)	0 (0)	29 (6)	3 (1)	75 (3)	26 (4)	170 (7)	210 (4)	148 (9)	171 (14)	39 (9)	25 (11)
Fabricated Metal Products (ISIC 381)	217 (14)	18 (4)	522 (35)	133 (40)	159 (16)	480 (31)	278 (31)	62 (24)	86 (17)	26 (8)	841 (37)	68 (10)	702 (29)	522 (10)	288 (18)	205 (17)	157 (35)	17 (7)
Electrical Machinery (ISIC 383)	523 (34)	173 (42)	114 (8)	19 (6)	71 (7)	319 (21)	0 (0)	3 (1)	56 (11)	67 (21)	300 (14)	73 (11)	404 (17)	8,181 (158)	7 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Total Number of Workers	1,263	358	1,132	244	730	1,528	662	126	369	163	2,257	494	2,706	10,295	1,202	912	222	66
Sample Size	(100)	(97)	(75)	(75)	(75)	(100)	(75)	(50)	(75)	(50)	(112)	(75)	(113)	(200)	(75)	(75)	(50)	(28)

Note: [a] (1) Scientific, technical, professional and related.
(2) Administrative and managerial.
(3) Clerical.
(4) Sales.
(5) Services.
(6) Skilled production.
(7) Semi-skilled production.
(8) Unskilled production.
(9) Other.

2.5 Sample Weights

In the selection of the sample it was necessary to over-sample some occupations and to under-sample others. The primary purpose was to ensure that each occupation for each gender group would have a reasonable sample size of at least 30 respondents.

Given the Ministry's listing it should have been possible to determine actual sampling fractions for each occupation within each establishment. However, the listing, as stated earlier, is not current and there have been numerous changes in most establishments in terms of employment. It was therefore not possible to determine actual sampling fractions for each establishment. It was decided that weighting would be better done on the basis of industry and occupation for each gender group.

Extensive weighting to compensate for under-sampling would result in the weighted number of cases exceeding by far the actual number of respondents. An artificially large weighted sample may affect some of the analyses. For instance, certain statistics will appear to be significant merely because of this artificially large number of cases. For this reason, the weighted number of cases was kept as closely as possible to the actual number of respondents. The actual weights used are shown in table 2.3.

Table 2.3. Weights adopted to compensate for over- and under-sampling

Industry	Occupational category																	
	(1)		(2)		(3)		(4)		(5)		(6)		(7)		(8)		(9)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Food, Beverages, Tobacco (ISIC 31)	0.994	0.254	0.910	0.183	0.595	0.918	0.482	0.250	0.263	0.265	1.039	0.346	1.714	2.443	0.881	0.760	–	–
Textiles, Garments, Leather (ISIC 32)	0.548	0.115	1.269	0.462	–	0.462	0.173	–	0.231	–	0.134	0.404	1.173	3.421	–	0.519	0.231	0.159
Wood, Wood Products (ISIC 33)	0.750	–	1.443	–	0.490	1.039	0.692	–	0.519	–	1.339	0.231	–	–	1.116	0.646	–	0.154
Paper Products, Printing (ISIC 34)	0.445	0.173	0.799	0.184	0.559	0.851	0.501	0.143	0.265	0.196	0.336	0.405	1.315	2.157	0.854	1.096	0.762	–
Rubber Products (ISIC 355)	–	–	0.923	0.173	0.500	1.558	0.461	–	0.280	0.173	1.456	0.288	1.557	4.630	0.703	0.938	0.173	0.058
Chemical Products (ISIC 356)	1.039	0.058	1.385	0.231	0.577	1.019	0.750	–	0.279	0.173	1.443	0.375	1.401	3.029	0.657	0.493	0.281	0.481
Fabricated Metal Products (ISIC 381)	0.894	0.346	0.814	0.187	0.765	0.866	0.535	0.149	0.248	0.375	1.155	0.440	0.964	1.882	1.108	0.657	0.266	0.981
Electrical Machinery (ISIC 383)	0.888	0.238	1.644	0.274	0.819	0.969	–	0.173	0.323	0.184	1.731	0.702	1.943	3.211	–	–	–	–

Note: [a] Same as table 2.2.

CHAPTER 3

PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses some of the characteristics of the respondents obtained from the survey. The survey generated an unweighted sample of 739 men and 706 women workers. The weighted sample, however, consisted of 609 men and 812 women workers. The ratio of men to women in the weighted sample reflects that found in the listing from the Ministry of Human Resources. The apparent bias in favour of women workers stems from the choice of industries covered by the survey. In the electronics alone women workers account for about 90 per cent of the total work-force.[1]

This discussion seeks to provide some background information on the respondents and to place the overall study in the proper perspective by highlighting differences between the men and women workers. As far as possible the discussion also pinpoints some of the biases in the sample. This chapter is organized as follows; section 3.2 gives the age structure and educational background of the respondents; section 3.3 discusses some of the important characteristics of migrant workers, i.e., those who migrated to the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market; section 3.4 provides some insight into the marital status of the respondents and the characteristics of their spouses; section 3.5 provides a description of the respondents' households; Section 3.6 summarizes the key points.

3.2 Age Structure and Education

As we shall see, not all the observed differences between the two gender groups in the sample can be explained by differences in background and personal characteristics. Table 3.1 shows that the male respondents tended to be older than the female respondents. While 43 per cent of the men were less than thirty years old, over 60 per cent of the women were less than thirty. The average age of the male respondents was 32.33 (standard deviation = 8.94) while that of the female respondents was 28.63 (standard deviation = 7.40). This difference is statistically significant at the one per cent level (t = 8.29). The overall age distribution is, however, quite similar to that of the urban labour force although there may be a slight bias in favour of younger workers (see table 3.1). This bias, if any, can be explained by the large flow of young men and women, as we shall see later, into the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market.

Table 3.1. Percentage distribution of sample by age group and by sex

Age group	Male	Female	Total	Urban labour force
15-19	4.5	7.1	6.0	8.4
20-24	14.1	30.3	23.4	20.0
25-29	24.4	22.8	23.5	18.8
30-34	21.6	13.8	17.1	15.2
35-39	13.7	18.2	16.2	12.4
40-44	12.4	5.0	8.2	9.1
45-49	4.2	2.0	2.9	7.1
50-54	3.6	0.9	2.1	5.0
55-59	1.2	neg.	0.5	2.5
60 and above	0.5	-	0.2	1.6
Number of Cases	609	812	1,420	-

Note: [a] Percentages under this heading refer to the year 1988 (see *Report of the Labour Force Survey*, tables B1.1 and B1.3, pp. 95, and 98-99).

[1] See Lim, 1978, p. 12; and Lee, 1989, p. 15.

In terms of education, it can be seen from table 3.2 that over two-thirds of the men and the women in the sample had completed either lower or upper secondary school. Sixteen per cent of the men and 4 per cent of the women had had at least college level education. In contrast, less than one-half of a per cent had had no formal schooling. Comparing this with the distribution of the employed in the labour force the sample appears to be biased in favour of the relatively more educated. The distribution is, however, quite similar to that found in another study of skilled and semi-skilled workers in the manufacturing sector in eight urban centres (Kuala Lumpur, Klang, Johor Bahru, Ipoh, Penang, Petaling Jaya and Shah Alam) in Malaysia.[2]

Table 3.2. Percentage distribution of respondents by education[a]

Level of education	Male		Female	
No Schooling	0.4	(5.2)	0.3	(16.5)
Some Primary	2.7	–	2.7	–
Completed Primary	10.5	(39.8)	10.0	(33.4)
Completed Lower Secondary	32.2	(24.5)	39.8	(17.7)
Completed Upper Secondary	30.5	(22.0)	39.0	(23.5)
Completed Vocational/Technical Schooling	4.4	–	1.5	–
Completed Sixth Form	3.1	(2.9)	2.6	(3.5)
Completed Tertiary Education at Certificate/Diploma Level	9.3	–	3.0	–
University Graduate	6.9	(5.5)	1.0	(5.5)
Number of Cases	609	–	812	–

Source: (Of figures between parentheses): *Ibid.* Table B3.9, pp. 121-122.

Note: [a] Figures in parentheses refer to percentage distribution of employed workers in the labour force in 1988.

3.3 Migrant Status

Over two-thirds of the respondents were migrants to the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market (see table 3.3). Over 44 per cent of the men and women came from other cities or towns, and a further 23 per cent came from rural areas. The largest geographic sources of migrants into the Kuala Lumpur labour market were the neighbouring states of Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan. Twenty-six per cent of male migrants and 34 per cent of female migrants originated from the state of Perak to the north of Kuala Lumpur. A further 19 per cent of the men and 23 per cent of the women came from the state of Selangor, and 13 per cent and 16 per cent, respectively, from the state of Negri Sembilan to the south of Kuala Lumpur. These neighbouring states alone account for two-thirds of the migrants to the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market. This finding is consistent with other studies.[3]

Table 3.3. Percentage distribution of respondents by place of origin

Place of origin	Male	Female
Kuala Lumpur[a]	34.7	30.8
Other Cities/Towns	46.6	42.3
Rural Area	17.2	26.7
Outside the Country	1.5	0.2
Number of Cases	609	812

Note: [a] Includes the townships of Petaling Jaya and Shah Alam.

Table 3.4 shows that the majority (80 per cent) of the migrants came for the purpose of work. The corresponding proportions for males and females are 78 per cent and 81 per cent. The major difference between

[2] See Lee, 1989, table 3.6., p. 22.

[3] See Malaysian Trade Union Congress, 1985, pp. 42-47.

men and women lies in the proportion that migrated because they were accompanying their spouse. A larger proportion of women (7.5 per cent) than men (0.4 per cent) migrated to Kuala Lumpur for this reason. One other contrast between men and women lies in the proportions that migrated for the purpose of education. Twelve per cent of the men migrated for this reason compared with only 4 per cent of the women.

One important feature of the migrants is that a substantial proportion were young single women. Almost 49 per cent of those who migrated to the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market were still single at the time of the survey. Of these, 67 per cent were women, the majority of whom were below 30 years of age. In fact 62 per cent were less than 25 years old. The median age was 23. In contrast, among the men who migrated to the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market, and were still single at the time of the survey, less than 45 per cent were below the age of 25.

Table 3.4. Percentage distribution of migrant workers among respondents by purpose of migration

Purpose	Male	Female
Employment	78.1	80.9
Training/Apprenticeship	4.0	0.9
Education	11.6	3.6
Accompanying the Spouse	0.4	7.5
Accompanying the Family	4.5	6.5
Others	1.4	0.7
Number of Cases	397	559

3.4 Marital Status and Spouse Characteristics

Regarding the marital status of the respondents we find that a large proportion (over 48 per cent) of the respondents were single (see table 3.5). The proportion of women who were single (54 per cent) was, however, larger than that of the men (40 per cent). Married workers accounted for 51 per cent of the respondents. The proportions of men and women who were either widowed, divorced or separated were about the same, i.e., a little over one per cent for both gender groups. The difference between male and female workers, particularly in terms of the large proportion of women who were single, can be explained yet again by the choice of industries by that were surveyed. In particular, the electronics industry which features heavily in the sample has a strong preference for young women workers.[4] The average age of marriage was 26.3 years for men and 23.6 years for the women workers.

Among the married males in the sample, 31 per cent of their spouses had completed upper secondary school. This is about the same percentage as that found among the men as a whole. A further 29 per cent of the spouses had completed lower secondary school and 23 per cent completed primary school. Less than one per cent of the spouses had had no formal education. At the other end, 5 per cent of the spouses had had at least a college level education. Among the married women workers, 39 per cent of the spouses had completed upper secondary school, 26 per cent lower secondary school and 13 per cent primary school. All of the spouses

Table 3.5. Percentage distribution of respondents by marital status

Marital status	Male	Female
Single	40.2	54.3
Married	58.5	44.5
Widowed	0.5	0.4
Divorced	0.8	0.3
Separated	-	0.5
Total	609	812

[4] See Lim, 1978, p. 12.

had had at least some form of formal education with 12 per cent having had at least some form of tertiary education, including 8 per cent with university education.

The percentage of married male respondents with working spouses is quite high when compared with the female labour force participation rate. Almost one-half of the spouses of male respondents were working. The percentage of married women workers with working husbands is, not surprisingly, very much higher at over 97 per cent. Almost 54 per cent of the spouses of the male respondents were working in the manufacturing sector, a further 19 per cent in the community, social and personal services sector, 12 per cent in the wholesale and retail trade, hotel and restaurant sector, and 8 per cent in the finance and business services sector. Among the married women workers 32 per cent of their spouses were also working in the manufacturing sector, 27 per cent in the community, social and personal services sector, 10 per cent in the finance and business services sector, 9 per cent in the transport, storage and communications sector and a further 8 per cent in the wholesale and retail trade, hotel and restaurant sector.

Table 3.6 shows the distribution of employed spouses by occupation. It can be seen that female spouses tend to be crowded into clerical and related occupations (37 per cent), and semi-skilled and unskilled occupations (33 per cent). In contrast, male spouses are much more evenly spread out accross occupations. Over 20 per cent are in clerical and related occupations, 19 per cent in services, 18 per cent in skilled production work, 14 per cent in professional, scientific and technical occupations and 11 per cent in managerial and executive occupations. Almost 96 per cent of the female spouses were working as regular wage employees compared with a lower 87 per cent of the male spouses. While only 3 per cent of the female spouses were themselves employers or self-employed, almost 11 per cent of the male spouses were employers or self-employed.

Table 3.6. Percentage distribution of respondents' employed spouses by occupation

Occupation	Spouses of	
	Male respondents	Female respondents
Professional, Scientific and Technical	3.8	14.2
Managerial and Executive	8.9	10.8
Clerical and Related	37.0	20.3
Sales and Related	6.4	4.5
Services	4.3	18.6
Skilled Production	6.2	18.4
Semi-skilled Production	21.8	9.6
Unskilled Production	10.8	3.6
Others	0.9	0.1

3.5 Household Characteristics

In this study a household is defined in a narrow sense to cover only members of a family to the exclusion of non-family members who may be living under the same roof. An unmarried person living together with a group of colleagues is therefore defined as a single person household. Following this definition, among the male respondents the average household size was 3.95 with a standard deviation of 2.55. In the case of female respondents the average household size was 3.60 with a standard deviation of 2.63. The average household size was significantly different between the two groups ($t = 2.63$). The smaller average household size found among women workers arises from the fact that they constitute 63 per cent of all single person households.

Table 3.7 shows a breakdown of household members by earnings status and sex for male and female respondents. Among male respondents 55 per cent of the income earners came from the 15-30 age group and the rest from the 30-55 age group. Among the female respondents the distribution of income earners in the households was similar except for the small percentage of income earners who were less than 15 years of age

Table 3.7. Percentage distribution of income earners and non earners in respondents' households by age

Age group	Male	Female	Total
Income Earners			
Under 15	-	0.3	0.2
15-29	54.6	56.5	55.7
30-54	45.4	43.1	44.0
55 and over	-	0.1	0.1
Total Number	1,126	1,673	2,799
Non-Income Earners			
Under 15	58.5	66.3	62.4
15-29	18.3	13.6	16.0
30-54	19.5	15.7	17.6
55 and over	3.8	4.4	4.1
Total Number	1,280	1,252	2,532

and those who were more than 55 year old. The average number of income earners in the households of the male respondents was 1.85 with a standard deviation of 1.27 while that of the female respondents was 2.06 with a standard deviation of 1.14. Although the difference is statistically significant (t = 3.22) the actual difference appears to be marginal.

Among non-income earners the majority (over 62 per cent) were less than 15 years of age. This is to be expected given the high enrolment ratios at the primary and lower secondary school levels in Malaysia[5] and the economic climate at the time the survey was conducted. Nevertheless, a large number of persons in the households of the respondents were not in the labour market or were unemployed. These accounted for about 34 per cent of non-income earners in the households. Perhaps an important point here is that in the 16-30 age group, 64 per cent of the non-income earners were women, and in the 31-55 age group 84 per cent were women. These percentages are not surprising given the much lower labour force participation rate among women but the point is nevertheless important because these women constitute a large pool of potential workers.

On the whole, the average number of dependents per household is larger among the male respondents (mean of 2.10 and a standard deviation of 2.04) than among the female respondents (mean of 1.54 and a standard deviation of 1.71). Again, although significantly different (t = 5.49) the actual difference appears small. These differences give rise to a higher average dependency-ratio among men (1.40) than among women (0.68). The difference in dependency-ratio is statistically significant (t = 9.85). This difference can be explained by the fact that a large proportion of single women were living in single person households.

3.6 Concluding Remarks

The above discussion of the profiles of the respondents provides some important insights into the characteristics of workers in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market. First, male workers tend to be older and more educated than the women workers. However, a more important point is that about two-thirds of these workers have had secondary schooling. They represent a relatively well-educated labour force. This carries strong implications for schools, particularly in terms of what should be taught and how.

Second, a very large proportion of the workers in the manufacturing sector in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market are migrant workers. These workers have come primarily from the neighbouring states of Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan. A large proportion of these migrant workers are young single men and women. Furthermore, most of the young single women are living apart from their immediate families. Following the definition of a household used in this study, 58 per cent of single women workers lived in single person households. Among the unmarried workers who lived in single person households 63 per cent were women. In

[5] *The Second Outline Perspective Plan*, 1991-2000 pp. 158-161.

relatively close-knit Asian societies this could have important implications in terms of family support, particularly as the majority of women workers work in job that are subject to the vagaries of world demand.[6]

Just over one-half of the respondents were married at the time of the survey. The brief discussion of the characteristics of their spouses provides some interesting insights into gender differences in employment. Among the spouses of the married respondents, husbands seem to have considerable opportunities for employment in professional, scientific, technical, managerial, executive and skilled production jobs. Wives, however, seem to be confined to clerical and semi-skilled production jobs. This is clearly an area that needs further investigation to identify the factors that seem to hinder women workers from moving into higher skilled jobs. This pattern, as we shall see later, is akin to the gender differences found among the respondents themselves.

One other important finding is that a large proportion of adult non-income earning members of households, ranging from 64 per cent to 84 per cent depending on age group, were women. Although this is easily explained in terms of the lower labour force participation rate among women, what is important is that these constitute a large pool of potential participants in the labour market.

[6] See Chia, 1987.

CHAPTER 4

EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE AND CONDITIONS

4.1 Introduction

The survey data provide important insights into the structure of employment in the selected industries and, perhaps more important, the employment conditions of workers and their differences across gender groups. Section 4.2 highlights the characteristics of the establishments in which the respondents worked, particularly in terms of major industrial divisions, establishment size and ownership. Section 4.3 looks at the occupational structure and skill composition of the respondents, with special emphasis on the relationship between education and occupation; section 4.4 provides some insight into conditions of employment with particular reference to gender differences; section 4.5 discusses briefly the extent of union participation and the possible impact that unionization brings in terms of various benefits to its members; and section 4.6 rounds off the discussion with some concluding remarks.

4.2 Establishment Characteristics

Table 4.1 shows the distribution of the weighted sample by industry and sex. The distributions are clearly very different between men and women workers. Among the men, 37 per cent were in the electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry (ISIC 38) which includes the electronics industry, a further 20 per cent in the food and beverages industry (ISIC 31), 20 per cent in the paper products and printing industries (ISIC 341-342) and 11 per cent in the chemical products (ISIC 35) industry. The distribution of the women workers was very different from that of the men. An overwhelming majority (almost 72 per cent) of the women workers were engaged in the electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry, particularly in the electronics industry. The electronics industry, as Lim (1978, pp. 12-14) has shown, has a strong preference to hire young women workers.

Table 4.2 shows the distribution of men and women workers by size of establishment. While just under one-third of the men were working in establishments with one thousand or more workers, more than two-thirds of the women in the sample were working in establishments of this size. Comparing this distribution with that of the 1988 industrial survey of the manufacturing sector, it appears that the sample may be biased towards larger establishments. The industrial survey shows that less than one-quarter of the workers in the manufacturing sector worked in establishments with one thousand or more workers.[1] However, given the concentration of larger, multi-national establishments in the Klang Valley, in which the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market is situated, the sample may be a better reflection of the actual situation. At any rate, the sample reflects the

Table 4.1. Percentage distribution of respondents by industry and sex

Industry	Male	Female	Total
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	22.2	6.9	13.4
Textiles, Garments, Leather	2.2	3.6	3.0
Wood, Wood Products	2.4	0.7	1.4
Paper Products, Printing	19.5	8.7	13.3
Rubber Products	4.7	3.1	3.7
Chemical Products	5.2	3.4	4.2
Fabricated Metal Products	30.0	10.9	19.1
Electrical Machinery	13.9	62.8	41.1
Number of Cases	609	812	1,420

[1] Department of Statistics, *Industrial Surveys: Construction, Manufacturing, Mining and Stone Quarrying, 1988*, p. 89.

Table 4.2. Percentage distribution of respondents by establishment size

Employment size (Number of workers)	Male	Female	Total
5-9	0.2	-	0.1
10-19	3.4	0.7	1.9
20-29	1.2	0.6	0.9
30-49	5.2	3.0	4.0
50-99	5.2	5.3	5.3
100-199	8.5	5.7	6.9
200-499	26.4	9.8	16.9
500-999	17.2	6.3	11.0
1000-1999	23.0	39.0	32.2
2000 and above	9.8	29.6	21.1
Number of Cases	609	812	1,420

listing provided by the Ministry of Human Resources of establishments operating in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market area.

For the purpose of this study an establishment is said to be native-owned if more than 50 per cent of its equity is held by Malaysians. If Malaysian equity holdings are less than 50 per cent, the establishment is defined as foreign-owned. Where equity ownership is split equally between Malaysians and foreigners the establishment is said to be under joint- or equal-ownership. On this basis, 64 per cent of the workers in the sample were working for foreign-owned establishments (see table 4.3). The industrial survey of the manufacturing sector shows that only 36 per cent of workers were working in foreign-owned establishments.[2] The sample appears to be biased in favour of foreign-owned establishments but if it is so the extent cannot be determined since the industrial survey covers the entire country whereas the study here is confined to the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market. In terms of gender differences, a larger proportion of the women workers (75 per cent) than the men workers (48 per cent) were working in foreign-owned establishments. Less than one per cent of the workers in the sample were working in establishments under joint-ownership; this percentage is similar to that reported in the industrial survey.

In this study, a firm is defined to be export-oriented if it exports at least 25 per cent of its main product. Gender differences are again quite sharp. Less than one-half (43 per cent) of the men were working in export-oriented establishments compared with over three-quarters of the women workers (see table 4.3). The contrast can be explained by the choice of industries in the survey, particularly the electronics industry where the majority of the establishments are offshore plants of large transnational corporations (Lim, 1978, pp. 3-6). A look at table 4.3 also shows that the majority of men (89 per cent) and women (95 per cent) workers were working in establishments that are independent producers. Only a very small number of workers (less than 2 per cent) were working in establishments that are subcontract producers.

Table 4.3. Percentage distribution of respondents by establishment characteristics

Characteristic	Male	Female	Total
Native Ownership	51.2	24.4	35.9
Foreign Ownership	48.3	74.9	63.5
Joint Ownership	0.5	0.6	0.6
Export-Oriented	43.3	76.8	62.5
Independent Producer	89.2	95.4	92.7
Subcontract Producer	2.2	1.5	1.8
Partly Subcontract Producer	8.6	3.1	5.4
Number of Cases	609	812	1,420

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 88.

4.3 Occupations and Skill Composition

Table 4.4 shows the distribution of the respondents by current occupation at the time of the survey. The basic distribution, as stated before, follows that found in the listing from the Ministry of Human Resources. At the professional, scientific, technical, managerial and executive levels the proportions are very similar to those reported in the 1988 *Industrial Survey of Manufacturing Industries.*[3] Among the male respondents 22.5 per cent fell into these categories compared with 21.5 per cent reported in the industrial survey. For the women workers the corresponding percentages were 4.3 per cent and 3.8 per cent, respectively. In terms of clerical, sales and related workers the percentages for men were 13.2 per cent and 6.3 per cent, respectively. There is therefore a possible bias in favour of this category of workers. The extent cannot be determined since this study refers to a selected number of industries only, and is confined to the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market. In the case of women workers the percentages were 11.8 and 8.7, respectively.

Where skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers are concerned there is a considerable difference between the proportions reported here and those reported in the industrial survey. For each of these categories of work the percentages among the male respondents were 24.0, 23.4 and 11.3, respectively. The industrial survey reports percentages of 22.9, 13.6 and 28.2, respectively. In the case of women workers the contrast is even greater. Among the respondents the percentages were 3.4, 72.5 and 6.5, compared with 33.4, 12.5 and 39.3 reported in the industrial survey. The problem lies with differences in definition of the various job categories. The classification of workers in the industrial survey was left to the discretion of the establishment. Definitions therefore vary greatly across establishments, making the results somewhat unreliable. It seems quite unlikely that a larger proportion of women than men would fall within the skilled worker category.

We feel more confident about the accuracy of the distributions between skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled found in this study. First, as far as possible, we have adopted a more common set of definitions for all establishments in respect of these categories of workers. In particular, we defined a skilled production worker as someone who has received formal training for at least three months in his/her specific craft or who has had more than five years of experience in a particular craft. A semi-skilled worker is defined as one who has received training for between two weeks to three months, or who has had at least one year's experience in that particular craft. An unskilled worker is defined as one with less than two weeks' training. Admittedly, there are exceptions to the rule and this is where another point must be considered. In this study the interviewer's role becomes crucial because he/she is required to determine whether a particular worker is skilled or not. Following a strict set of definitions does not allow for flexibility. A worker who does not meet the requirements, say for a skilled worker according to the above definition, can still be classified as a skilled worker if, according to the interviewer, the nature of his/her job merits such a classification.[4]

Table 4.4. Percentage distribution of respondents by current occupation and sex

Occupation	Male	Female
Professional, Scientific and Technical	11.8	2.6
Managerial and Executive	10.7	1.7
Clerical and Related	6.9	10.9
Sales and Related	6.3	0.9
Services	3.5	1.1
Skilled Production	24.0	3.4
Semi-skilled Production	23.4	72.5
Unskilled Production	11.3	6.5
Other	2.1	0.4
Number of Cases	609	812

[3] *Ibid.*, table 2.9, p. 92.

[4] This explains further our decision to engage the services of experienced labour officers to conduct the survey. These officers have had years of experience in the Malaysian labour market and are in the best position to determine how a production worker should be classified in terms of the level of his/her skill.

A look across occupations shows that the proportion of women varies considerably from a low of 16 per cent to a high of 81 per cent. In the professional, scientific, technical and related occupational category women accounted for only 22 per cent of the workers in the manufacturing sector. At the managerial and executive level the percentage was even lower at 18 per cent. Women, however, were more dominant in the clerical and related occupational category where they accounted for 68 per cent of the workers. In sales and related occupations they accounted for 16 per cent of the workers, and in services and related work 18 per cent. A more striking contrast is seen at the level of skilled production and semi-skilled production occupational categories. In the skilled category women formed only 16 per cent of the workers but in the semi-skilled category they far outnumbered the men by a ratio of four to one. In the unskilled category they formed 43 per cent of the workers. Overall, it is clear that women are concentrated in the clerical and semi-skilled occupations in the manufacturing sector. They are clearly under-represented in the managerial and executive level, sales and skilled production levels, and to a lesser extent, in professional, scientific, technical and related occupations.

An analysis of the relationship between education and occupation sheds more light on the apparent inequality between men and women in the Kuala Lumpur urban, manufacturing sector, labour market (see tables 4.5, a and 4.3, b). Among the men who had completed primary school 10 per cent were employed as services workers, a further 29 per cent were skilled workers, 18 per cent semi-skilled workers and 28 per cent unskilled workers.[5] On the other hand, among the women there was a bunching-up with 65 per cent in semi-skilled work and a further 25 per cent in unskilled occupations. The contrast widens further among those who had completed lower secondary school. Among the men 33 per cent were skilled workers, 34 per cent semi-skilled workers and 16 per cent unskilled workers. For the women workers there was again a bunching-up with 86 per cent in semi-skilled jobs.

Among those who had completed upper/secondary school, the opportunities also appear to be better for the men. Fourteen per cent were engaged in clerical and related jobs, 14 per cent in sales, 22 per cent in skilled jobs and 24 per cent in semi-skilled jobs. Among the women the bunching again appears at the semi-skilled

Table 4.5, a. Percentage distribution of male respondents by educational level, occupation and sex

Education occupation	Male								
	No schooling[a]	Some[a] primary	Completed primary	Lower secondary	Upper secondary	Vocational/ technical[a]	Sixth form	Certificate/ diploma	University degree
Professional, Scientific and Technical	-	-	2.8	1.0	9.8	14.9	43.7	37.2	39.8
Managerial and Executive	-	-	6.5	2.6	6.1	3.0	17.4	31.9	54.0
Clerical and Related	-	-	0.9	3.3	13.7	3.9	20.2	7.0	1.4
Sales and Related	-	-	-	2.3	13.8	-	18.6	4.6	4.8
Services	-	13.1	10.0	4.5	2.0	0.9	-	-	-
Skilled Production	51.0	28.1	29.3	33.2	21.5	31.7	-	14.3	-
Semi-skilled Production	-	22.7	18.0	34.4	24.3	42.7	-	5.1	-
Unskilled Production	49.0	32.8	27.5	16.4	6.4	2.4	-	-	-
Other	-	3.3	5.1	2.3	2.3	1.0	-	-	-
All (Row percentage)	0.4	2.7	10.5	32.2	30.5	4.4	3.1	9.3	6.9
Number of Cases	2	16	64	196	186	27	19	57	42

Note: [a] Unweighted sample size is 2 for 'no schooling', 22 for 'some primary', and 26 for 'vocational/technical'.

[5] We have avoided any discussion in the case of respondents without any formal schooling, incomplete primary schooling and vocational and technical (upper secondary) schooling because of the small sample sizes. The unweighted sample contained only two men and six women who had not had any formal schooling, 22 men and 26 women with incomplete primary schooling, and 26 men and 9 women with vocational and technical schooling.

Table 4.5, b. Percentage distribution of female respondents by educational level, occupation and sex

Education occupation	Female								
	No schooling[a]	Some[a] primary	Completed primary	Lower secondary	Upper secondary	Vocational/ technical[a]	Sixth form	Certificate/ diploma	University degree
Professional, Scientific and Technical	–	–	–	0.3	2.3	4.1	13.8	27.9	27.9
Managerial and Executive	–	–	0.2	0.1	1.5	–	6.2	10.2	61.1
Clerical and Related	–	–	–	2.8	20.3	7.1	4.6	50.8	5.7
Sales and Related	–	–	–	0.3	1.3	1.2	4.2	1.8	5.3
Services	6.8	2.0	3.2	0.5	1.2	–	0.9	0.7	–
Skilled Production	–	3.8	9.7	3.1	1.9	6.6	–	8.6	–
Semi-skilled Production	–	64.9	61.5	85.6	70.4	81.0	70.3	–	–
Unskilled Production	81.2	23.4	24.6	6.8	1.1	–	–	–	–
Other	12.1	5.9	0.8	0.4	–	–	–	–	–
All (Row percentage)	0.3	2.7	10.0	39.8	39.0	1.5	2.6	3.0	1.0
Number of Cases	3	22	81	323	317	12	21	25	8

Note: [a] Small unweighted sample size.

production jobs, though at this level there is a better spread across to clerical and related jobs (which account for 20 per cent of those with upper secondary schooling). A similar pattern presents itself in the case of those who had completed sixth form or pre-university education. Among the men 44 per cent were in professional, scientific, technical and related occupations, 17 per cent in managerial and executive jobs, 20 per cent in clerical and related work and 19 per cent in sales jobs. The women, though, are again bunched-up in semi-skilled jobs. Only 14 per cent were in professional, scientific, technical and related jobs.

It is only at the tertiary level that women in the manufacturing sector appear to have greater opportunities for employment in higher level jobs. Among the women with a tertiary certificate or diploma, 28 per cent were in professional, scientific, technical and related occupations, 10 per cent in managerial and executive jobs, and 51 per cent in clerical jobs. The corresponding figures for the men with similar qualifications were 37 per cent, 32 per cent and 7 per cent. Although there were more opportunities for women in the first two major occupational groups the openings still appear to be less for the women.

At the level of university graduates we find a similar distribution of employment by occupational category between the men and the women. Almost 90 per cent of the men and women graduates were engaged in professional, scientific, technical, managerial and executive jobs. None of the respondents with a university education were found in services or production jobs.

4.4 Conditions of Employment

Given the choice of industries and the apparent bias in favour of larger establishments it is not surprising to find that the majority of workers in the sample were regular employees. Around 97 per cent of the men and women were regular employees.[6] The high level of contract as opposed to casual labour can be explained by the rapid growth that has occurred in the manufacturing sector since the 1986-1987 recession, which makes casual employment less attractive to both employers and employees. It must be pointed out that the survey did not cover contract and subcontract workers who may be working in their homes. This form of employment is found, for instance, in the textile and garments industry. Perhaps a more significant point is that, although

[6] In both the weighted and unweighted samples the number of respondents who were not regular employees is rather small. In the unweighted sample only 38 respondents were not regular employees.

almost the same proportion of men (87 per cent) and women (82 per cent) had written contracts of employment, more women than men (15 per cent compared with 5 per cent) worked without any written contract. However, 9 per cent of the men reported not having any contract at all, compared with 3 per cent of the women workers (see table 4.6). It may be said that the majority of the workers in the selected industries fall into the category of protected workers of the labour market.

Given that the workers are predominantly regular employees, with a majority having written contracts of employment, it is not surprising, within the Malaysian context, to find that most of them were paid on a monthly basis. Over 88 per cent of the men and 76 per cent of the women reported being paid on a monthly basis (see table 4.7). A larger proportion of women workers than men (23 per cent compared with 8 per cent) reported being paid on a daily basis. Seventy-four per cent of the women who said they were paid daily were working in the electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry. Among the men 38 per cent were working in the chemical products industry and a further 37 per cent in the electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry. A contrasting point is that 77 per cent of daily paid women workers were working for foreign-owned establishments, whereas 87 per cent of the daily paid men were working in Malaysian-owned establishments.

At this point it should be emphasized that having a written contract and being paid monthly does not imply permanent tenure of employment. The spate of retrenchments during the recession of 1985 and 1986 which fell heavily on workers in the manufacturing sector, particularly those in the electronics industry, serves to illustrate the point (see Lee, 1988; Lim, 1978, p. 19). These authors argue that firms in the electronics industry tend to view a recession as an excuse for shedding relatively expensive long-term workers in order to re-hire cheaper new workers after the recession.

In addition to wages, of which more will be said later, workers gain entitlement to various other forms of benefits. Table 4.8 shows the proportion of employees receiving nine common forms of benefits. Almost all workers reported receiving paid leave, an annual bonus and participation in a pension fund (in particular the Employees' Provident Fund). The main difference between the gender groups arises in terms of cost of living allowance, accommodation allowance, transport allowance and meals allowance. A larger proportion of women than men workers reported receiving each of these benefits.

Table 4.6. Percentage of respondents by contract of employment

Nature of contract	Male	Female
With Written Contract	86.5	81.8
Without Written Contract	4.5	15.0
No Contract	9.0	3.2
Number of Cases	609	812

Table 4.7. Percentage distribution of respondents by mode of payment

Mode of payment	Male	Female
Hourly	0.4	–
Daily	8.2	22.8
Monthly	88.4	75.9
Piece Rate	0.2	1.0
Others	2.8	0.3
Number of Cases	609	812

A closer look at the women workers receiving cost of living allowance shows that 66 per cent of them were in the electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry. While only 38 per cent of the men workers in this industry received cost of living allowance (see table 4.8). The corresponding figures for the textile and garments rubber products and plastic products industries were 98, 90 and 59 per cent. It is important to note that these are industries employing substantial proportions of women workers in their work force. Women workers account for 86 per cent of the work force in the electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry. The corresponding proportions for the textile and garments, rubber products and plastic products industries were 69 per cent and 48 per cent each in the latter two industries.

The larger proportion of women than men receiving cost of living allowance can be attributed to the rapid growth of the manufacturing sector that has occurred over the last few years. In the competition for female labour, employers have been obliged to provide better benefits to women, particularly since a large number of them fall within the lower wage groups. Competing on the basis of benefits enables employers to keep wages down which in turn enables them to keep the cost of contributions to pension funds, particularly the Employees' Provident Fund, down to a minimum. Further, in the event of a downturn, it is easier for the employers to withdraw such benefits than to reduce wages.

Women workers in the electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry, particularly in the electronics industry, also account for the majority of women workers receiving accommodation, transport and meals allowances. They account for 75 per cent of the women workers receiving accommodation allowance, 87 per cent of those benefiting from transport allowance and 92 per cent of those with meals allowance. Some striking difference emerge when we compare this industry with all the other industries. Nineteen per cent of women workers in this industry compared with 11 per cent in the other industries received accommodation allowance. The difference is even larger in the case of transport and meals allowances. Sixty-five per cent of women workers in the electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry received transport allowance compared with only 25 per cent of women workers in other industries. The differences can be explained by the fact that, in attempting to draw women workers into the industry, "many electronics firms also provide a food allowance or subsidized canteen facilities, free or subsidized bus transport, free uniforms and free coffee and tea" (Lim, 1978, p. 22). Accommodation allowance is, however, not the norm (Lim, 1978, p. 22). Lim (1978, p. 23) maintains that the provision of these and other benefits enables multinational employers in the industry to compete for labour at a lower cost than raising wages.

Another contrast between men and women workers in the selected industries lies in the proportions who reported that they were entitled to severance pay. The responses of the workers regarding this benefit constitute a good study into workers' awareness of their rights. Severance pay is provided for in the Employment Act, 1981, in all cases of retrenchments and lay-offs. Sixty-five per cent of the men were aware that they were

Table 4.8. Percentage of workers receiving selected benefits

Type of benefit	All industries		Electrical[a]		Non-electrical	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Cost of Living Allowance	34.7	42.5	34.6	38.1	34.7	50.0
Accommodation Allowance	11.2	16.0	16.1	18.8	10.4	11.2
Transport Allowance	30.6	50.1	52.1	64.8	27.2	25.4
Meals Allowance	32.2	50.9	64.2	69.0	27.1	20.5
Education Allowance	4.7	1.4	9.4	0.9	3.9	2.2
Paid Leave	99.4	99.8	100.0	100.0	99.3	99.5
Bonus	95.6	98.9	97.7	100.0	95.3	97.1
Pension Fund	99.2	99.6	100.0	99.8	99.0	99.3
Severance pay	64.8	55.3	40.6	49.1	68.7	66.0
Number of Cases	609	812	85	510	524	302

Notes: Row percentages that do not add up to 100 reflect proportion of workers who did not know if they were receiving or entitled to receive these benefits.

[a] Electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry (ISIC 383)

entitled to severance pay compared with 55 per cent of the women workers. Table 4.9 shows the proportion of men and women reporting that they were entitled to severance pay by industry. In the major industries where the male workers were to be found (fabricated metals industry, food and beverages industry, paper products and printing industry, and the plastic products industry) the proportion of workers who were aware of their right to severance pay tended to be quite large, ranging from 67 per cent to 95 per cent. On the other hand, in the electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry, where most of the women workers were to be found, the proportion who perceived that they were entitled to severance pay was among the lowest, i.e. only 60 per cent.

On the whole there appears to be considerable ignorance on the part of the workers, particularly the women workers, as to their right to severance pay. However, it must be noted too that men in the electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry tended to be less knowledgeable in this regard compared with those in other industries. Only 53 per cent of the men in the industry perceived entitlement to severance pay compared with an average of 69 per cent of the male workers in the other industries.

A look across occupations shows that the proportion receiving cost of living allowance is lowest among workers in the managerial and executive category (see table 4.10), followed by those in the professional, scientific, technical and related work category. The proportion is highest among women workers in the skilled production category. In the case of accommodation allowance those in the sales category represent the smallest proportion. This benefit seems to be most common among women in service jobs. Those most likely to benefit from transport allowances were found in sales related work. This is not surprising given the nature of their work.

Table 4.9. Percentage of respondents by awareness of entitlement to severance pay by industry and sex[a]

Industry	Male	Female
Food, Beverages	82	59
Textiles, Garments, Leather	69	54
Wood, Wood Products	79	87
Paper Products, Printing	77	84
Rubber Products	91	98
Chemical Products	97	98
Fabricated Metals Products	83	86
Electrical and Machinery	53	60
Number of Cases	609	812

Note: [a] Excludes respondents who did not know whether they were entitled to severance pay benefit.

Table 4.10. Percentage of respondents entitled to selected benefits by occupation and sex[a]

Occupation	Cost of living		Accommodation		Transport		Severance pay	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional, Scientific and Technical	20	14	15	6	34	27	69	65
Managerial and Executive	12	16	12	11	51	36	80	70
Clerical and Related	31	37	5	6	13	14	85	73
Sales and Related	51	40	2	2	88	66	78	62
Services	37	45	9	22	22	41	80	91
Skilled Production	37	52	10	3	21	16	79	86
Semi-skilled Production	43	54	16	19	26	60	79	65
Unskilled Production	37	38	8	6	20	33	80	67

Note: [a] Excludes respondents who did not know whether they were entitled to these benefits.

However, a very large proportion of women in semi-skilled work also received this benefit. Again, these are predominantly workers in the electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry. In the case of severance pay, 80 per cent or more of the male workers in occupational categories other than professional, scientific, technical and related work were aware of their right to this benefit. As for women workers this awareness seems highest among those in service and skilled production jobs, and lowest among those in the professional, scientific, technical, semi-skilled and sales occupational categories.

4.5 Trade Union Membership

Trade unions are an essential part of collective bargaining. They provide the required background for the implementation of regulations governing the labour market. The presence of trade unions is said to have a bearing on workers' entitlement to various forms of benefits.

While 56 per cent of the male workers reported the presence of trade unions in their establishments, only 20 per cent of the women workers did so. Over 44 per cent of the men were trade union members but only 16 per cent of the women are trade union members. Among those who had some knowledge of the nature of the union in their work place, 87 per cent of the men reported that the unions operating in their establishments were affiliated unions. The corresponding figure for the women workers was 78 per cent.

Table 4.11 shows, among workers in whose establishments trade unions operate, the proportion of union and non-union members who received benefits such as cost of living allowance, accommodation allowance, and perceive their entitlement to severance pay. With the exception of paid leave, annual bonus, and participation in a pension fund which were benefits common to almost all the male respondents, a larger proportion of union members than non-union members received cost of living allowance, accommodation and meals allowances, and severance pay though in the case of the latter benefit the proportions did not differ greatly. On the other hand, a larger proportion of non-union members received transport allowance, i.e. 42 per cent compared with only 18 per cent among union members.

For the women workers the situation is similar although the union-non-union differences are smaller. In particular, almost the same proportion of union and non-union members received accommodation, meals and education allowances, paid leave, bonuses and participation in a pension fund. A proportionately larger share of union members than non-union members received cost of living allowance, and perceived their right to severance pay. On the other hand, a larger proportion of non-union members than union-members received transport allowance.

On the whole, it would seem that trade unions make workers better off at least where cost of living and meals allowances are concerned. However, if we consider at the difference between union and non-union members for all workers, that is including those in whose establishments unions do not operate, the picture is somewhat different (see table 4.11). In particular, we find that there is very little difference between the

Table 4.11. Percentage of union and non-union members obtaining selected benefits

Type of benefit	Establishments with unions				All establishments	
	Union members		Non-union members		Non-union members	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Cost of Living	34.6	42.2	8.7	22.1	34.5	42.6
Accommodation	8.2	2.6	0	2.0	13.5	18.5
Transport	18.0	18.7	41.8	28.7	40.5	56.1
Meals	34.2	24.5	14.6	20.4	30.7	56.0
Education	4.5	3.4	10.5	5.3	4.9	1.0
Paid Leave	100.0	100.0	99.6	97.0	98.9	99.8
Bonus	95.5	98.1	98.2	97.3	95.7	99.1
Pension Fund	99.8	99.8	99.6	98.7	98.7	99.6
Severance Pay	73.2	66.9	67.8	55.0	58.3	53.1
Number of Cases	267	130	72	33	342	682

proportion of union and non-union members receiving cost of living allowance, paid leave, bonus and pension fund participation. However, a larger proportion of non-union than union members receive accommodation, transport and meals allowances. On the whole, union membership does not appear to be important in this regard.

However, union members appear to be better informed of their rights particularly in relation to severance pay. However, the union-non-union differences appear to be larger among the men than among the women. In establishments where there are no trade unions 46 per cent of the employees were not aware of their right to severance pay (see table 4.12). In the case of employees in whose establishments trade unions operate only 29 per cent of the union members were not aware of this right.

As stated earlier, benefits can be a means for firms to keep wages down. Therefore, to say that union membership does not appear to be important where benefits are concerned does not imply that they are not important where wages are concerned. For both men and women respondents there were no significant differences in average monthly wage between union and non-union members in the professional, scientific, technical and related occupational group, the managerial and executive group, clerical and related work, sales and related work, and services and related work occupational groups.[7] However, for the skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled occupational categories, for both men and women, the average monthly wages of union members are significantly higher than those of non-union members.[8] It would appear that, at least at the level of the production workers, union members tend to earn more than non-union members (see table 14.3). Unfortunately, it was not possible to determine if these differences are cancelled out by differences in the value of benefits received.

Table 4.12. Percentage distribution of respondents by union membership and awareness of entitlement to serverance pay

Union membership	Aware	Not aware
No Union in Establishment	53.8	46.2
Union in Establishment:		
Non-Union Member	63.2	36.9
Union Member	71.0	29.0

4.6 Concluding Remarks

One important feature of the sample is that the women workers tend to be confined to the electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry, in particular the electrical and electronics industry, in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market. These industries tend to be dominated by large establishments which are mainly independent producers for the export market. This finding carries an important implication in terms of employment stability. These industries, in particular, are often subject to the vagaries of the international markets for semi-durable consumer goods.

Another important point that emerges is that the women workers are concentrated in semi-skilled jobs, even though they have had as much education as the men. For almost all levels of education male workers tend to be employed in a wider spectrum of occupations, even at the one-digit level at which we are studying. Women with less than sixth form schooling or a tertiary education tend to be bunched-up in semi-skilled production jobs, although a sizeable proportion with academic, upper secondary schooling are also employed in clerical and related jobs. Women with tertiary education at the certificate and diploma level have better access to

[7] Comparisons for both men and women, in the managerial and executive group and for women in the sales and services occupational groups can only be tentative because of the small number of cases for each category, both in the weighted and unweighted samples.

[8] For the men workers, the t-ratios for skilled production workers, semi-skilled production workers and unskilled production workers are 2.38, 6.32 and 4.54, respectively. For the women workers the t-ratios are 1.84, 4.13 and 3.54, respectively. The t-ratios are significant at the 10 per cent level or above. In the case of women workers, these findings must also be tentative given the small number of respondents, in the unweighted sample, who were union members in these occupational categories.

Table 4.13. Average monthly wage[a] of union and non-union members by occupation and sex ($M and Percentage)

Occupation	Male		Female	
	Union	Non-union	Union	Non-union
Professional, Scientific and Technical	1,190.13 (18)	1,427.31 (53)	1,181.32 (7)	839.27 (14)
Managerial and Executive	2,601.49 (2)	1,188.49 (70)	– (0)	1,912.14 (14)
Clerical and Related	867.72 (21)	821.60 (21)	842.05 (28)	763.61 (60)
Sales and Related	1,652.81 (21)	1,552.79 (17)	1,346.19 (3)	1,303.14 (4)
Services	778.30 (7)	619.54 (14)	733.47 (2)	557.61 (7)
Skilled Production	1,045.43 (76)	885.33 (70)	774.13 (11)	578.60 (17)
Semi-skilled Production	830.75 (78)	523.54 (64)	645.69 (51)	457.92 (530)
Unskilled Production	685.98 (39)	403.01 (29)	598.94 (19)	355.71 (34)

Note: [a] Regular wage only, excludes overtime earnings.

professional, scientific, technical, managerial, executive and clerical jobs. It is only at the level of university education that the distribution of women across occupational categories is broadly the same as that of the men.

The proportion of women who were regular employees rather than casual or contract workers was found to be almost as large as that among the men. Women in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market are therefore having as much access to regular employment as the men in the manufacturing sector. However, a larger proportion of women workers than men worked without any written contract. Furthermore, while one-quarter of women workers were paid on a daily rate basis, less than one in ten of the men were paid on the same basis.

In terms of employment benefits, almost all workers in both gender groups received paid leave, annual bonus and participation in a pension fund. However, a larger proportion of women than men enjoyed cost of living, accommodation, transport and meals allowances. This finding must, however, take into account the argument that these benefits often serve as a means to lure women into semi-skilled production work. They are apparently designed to keep wages low rather than to improve workers' welfare.

Another important finding is that union membership does not necessarily imply more benefits than non-union membership. In fact, a larger proportion of non-union members than union members received a wider variety of benefits. Whether union membership contributes to greater benefits or not remains debatable. However, union membership appears to contribute towards a better informed work force. This is true in particular as regards awareness of entitlement to severance pay.

As a final point, union members, on the average, earned more than non-union members but only at the level of the production workers. At all other occupational levels there were no significant differences in average monthly wage between the two groups.

CHAPTER 5

EMPLOYMENT AND MOBILITY

5.1 Introduction

Labour mobility plays a crucial role in the labour market because labour market efficiency requires that workers move to the most attractive jobs to eliminate wage differentials. Some studies, based on how workers evaluate their jobs and their knowledge of job opportunities and characteristics, claim that most workers do not make choice decisions based on the structure of wages but on the basis of human relations factors (see Parnes, 1954). In the classical model, workers make their decisions based on comparative total net advantages and not in terms of comparative wages. On the other hand, the neoclassical model works on the basis of comparative wages as a key factor subject to the usual *ceteris paribus* assumptions. The real world is complex, and individuals make their decisions based on diverse motivations and reasons. As Addison and Siebert (1979, pp. 181-182) argue, "the best approach seems to be to look at what workers do, rather than at what they say". This is the approach adopted in this study.

The main purpose of this chapter is to examine the structure of mobility and to identify factors which facilitate or impede such mobility. Section 5.2 discusses, very briefly, various concepts of mobility. Section 5.3 looks at the issue of geographical mobility and presents the characteristics of migrant workers; section 5.4 examines industrial mobility; section 5.5 deals with occupational mobility, highlighting differences between migrant and non-migrant workers and gender differences; section 5.6 presents a simple model of upward occupational mobility applied to women workers who started out in the electrical and electronics industry in unskilled production jobs and emphasizes the importance of establishment-based training; section 5.7 looks at the relationship between length of stay in the first job and the current job, on the one hand, and number of job changes and education, on the other; section 5.8 discusses some aspects of job search methods; and section 5.9 sums up the important points.

5.2 Concepts of Mobility

Mobility refers to workers switching jobs, both voluntarily and involuntarily. In this sense, mobility can be upwards or downwards. There are, however, various concepts of mobility.

In Chapter 4 we touched on one concept of mobility. In particular, reference was made to the fact that a large proportion of the workers in the manufacturing sector in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market originated from the surrounding states. The movement of workers from one region to another is referred to as geographical mobility. A widely accepted hypothesis is that net flows among geographical areas increase with increases in earnings differentials across regions. Regressing the rate of migration between two locations and the arithmetic difference in median incomes, Greenwood (1975) found support for this hypothesis. Bowles (1970), using a human capital framework, proposed that individuals make decisions based on a comparison between the present value of benefits and the costs of moving. Regressing the number of net out-migration against various factors including expected increase in the present value of lifetime income associated with out-migration, Bowles found support for this hypothesis.

Mobility can also refer to a change in the individual's industry of major job. In this case the idea of mobility is that of industrial mobility. One of the key factors explaining industrial mobility is differences in the level of earnings across industries. Stoikov and Raimon (1968), in their study of labour turnover by industry, found a consistently negative relationship between labour turnover and earnings levels. Gallaway (1967) has also shown that income differentials across industries are a major factor in explaining why individuals change their industry.

Another notion of mobility is that of occupational mobility. This can be considered either as a change of occupations during the life-span of the individual or the movement of offspring into occupations other than those

of their parents, i.e. intergenerational mobility. In this study we are concerned with the former. Here too, empirical studies support the argument that movement between occupations is related to differentials in income across occupations (see Aronson, 1969).

5.3 Geographical Mobility and Profile of Migrants

As stated earlier over two-thirds of the manufacturing sector workers in this sample originated from outside the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market. The majority – about four out of every five – of these migrants came for the purpose of employment. Almost 95 per cent of the men migrated when they were still single. Among the women workers 91 per cent were single when they migrated. Among those who migrated in search of employment, the majority came at a relatively young age. Seventy-one per cent of the men came when they were 21 years of age or younger. An even higher percentage of women, i.e. 89, came when they were no more than 21 years of age. A further 21 per cent of the men who migrated in search of employment were between the ages of 22 and 25 years. The corresponding figure for the women workers was 10 per cent.

An important finding is that one-third of the men who migrated in search of employment were already working prior to their migration. Among the women 28 per cent were working before migration. In fact, of all those who were working before migrating to the Kuala Lumpur conurbation in search of employment 54 per cent were women.

Table 5.1 shows the sectors of employment prior to migration. As can be seen, almost one-third of both men and women who were working prior to migration were employed in the agricultural, forestry and fishing sector. However, 28 per cent of the men were working in the manufacturing sector prior to migration. A striking fact is that 42 per cent of the women workers who were currently working in the manufacturing sector were working in that sector prior to their migration. Table 5.2 shows the employment status of these workers prior to migration. About two-thirds of the workers who were working prior to migration were regular wage employees. The main difference between men and women appears to be in the proportions of casual workers and of those who were self-employed or employers. Fifteen per cent of the men were casual workers compared with 8 per cent of the women. On the other hand, while only 5 per cent of the men were self-employed or employers, 16 per cent of the women belonged to this category. Among the men who were casual workers 51 per cent had been working in the agricultural sector while a further 31 per cent had worked in the manufacturing sector. Among the women, however, 54 per cent were in the manufacturing sector, 28 per cent in the wholesale and retail trade sector and 10 per cent in the services sector. As for the self-employed, these were probably men and women working on their own farms or small-holdings as the majority – almost all the women and 78 per cent of the men – were engaged in the agricultural sector. To sum up, most of those who were working prior to migration to the Kuala Lumpur conurbation were engaged in the manufacturing and agricultural sectors, and most of them were regular wage employees. Among those who were self-employed the bulk came from the agricultural sector.

Table 5.1. Percentage distribution of migrants by sector of employment prior to migration

Sector	Male	Female
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	35.2	31.6
Mining	3.8	6.8
Manufacturing	27.7	41.5
Construction	6.0	0.2
Wholesale and Retail, Trade, Hotels, Restaurants	8.5	6.7
Transport and Communications	1.7	2.6
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	3.5	1.7
Government Services	8.1	3.2
Other Services	1.5	5.5
Number of Cases	132	157

Table 5.2. Percentage distribution of migrants by employment status prior to migration

Employment status	Male	Female
Self-employed/Employer	4.8	16.0
Regular worker	63.6	72.3
Casual worker	15.1	8.0
Contract worker	5.6	0.8
Apprentice	2.8	-
Family worker	8.1	3.0
Number of Cases	132	157

A look at the first sector of employment into which this category of migrants went provides some interesting insights (see table 5.3). Bearing in mind that the sample consists of workers in the manufacturing sector, 82 per cent of male migrants moved into the manufacturing sector. The percentage was even higher among the women, i.e. 94 per cent. Furthermore, 27 per cent of the men and a large proportion, i.e., 63 per cent, of the women moved into the electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry, most likely into the electronics industry. These workers also improved their employment status. Prior to migration 68 per cent of them were employed as regular employees. Upon migration into the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market, 90 per cent went into regular wage employment (see table 5.4). Overall, 86 per cent of the men and 93 per cent of the women became regular workers. By looking at their work status before migration, one can safely conclude that most of them had maintained or improved on their employment status.

As for the educational background of the migrants who were working prior to migration, we find that 37 per cent of the men had completed lower secondary school, 35 per cent upper secondary school (including upper secondary vocational and technical school), and 10 per cent had at least a sixth form education. The corresponding percentages among the women were 52 per cent, 26 per cent and 2 per cent, respectively. Their educational attainment is similar to that of the sample as a whole. However, a more important point is that a large proportion of these workers first went into unskilled production jobs, i.e. 33 per cent of the men and 37 per cent of the women (see table 5.5). Among the women 45 per cent went first into semi-skilled production jobs, but less than one per cent went into skilled production jobs compared with 10 per cent for the men.

As for the migrants who had not worked prior to migration, 71 per cent of the men and 84 per cent of the women migrated in search of employment. Most of these had completed lower and upper secondary school prior

Table 5.3. Percentage distribution of migrants having worked prior to migration by first sector of employment after migration

Sector	Male	Female
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	2.2	0.6
Mining	-	0.6
Manufacturing	81.8	93.5
Construction	2.7	0.4
Wholesale and Retail, Trade Hotels, Restaurants	7.4	4.4
Transport and Communications	2.5	0.1
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	0.9	0.1
Government Services	1.2	0.6
Other Services	1.1	0.3
Number of Cases	132	157

Table 5.4 Percentage distribution of migrants having worked before migration by employment status before and after migration

Status before migration	Status in first job after migration				
	Self-employed	Regular employee	Casual employee	Contract worker	Others[a]
Self-employed	–	90.8	1.0	6.8	1.4
Regular worker	–	95.8	1.9	1.4	0.9
Casual worker	0.8	58.4	28.5	8.7	3.6
Contract worker	–	67.8	18.1	6.5	7.6
Other[a]	–	93.7	6.3	–	–
Number of Cases	neg.	259	17	8	4

Note: [a] Includes apprentices and family workers.

Table 5.5. Percentage distribution of migrants having worked prior to migration by first occupation after migration

Occupation	Male	Female
Professional, Scientific, Technical and Related	8.9	1.3
Managerial and Executive	6.5	2.5
Clerical and Related	5.9	8.6
Sales and Related	4.9	0.9
Services	9.8	4.3
Skilled Production	10.4	0.8
Semi-skilled Production	15.9	44.6
Unskilled Production	32.9	36.6
Other	4.7	0.4
Number of Cases	132	157

to migration. In particular, 25 per cent of the men had completed lower secondary school, 46 per cent upper secondary school (including vocational and technical) and 13 per cent had at least a sixth form education. The corresponding percentages for the women workers were 36, 50 and 6 per cent, respectively.

For these migrants, who were working in the manufacturing sector at the time of the survey, the most important sector of first employment was the manufacturing sector. Seventy-five per cent of the male workers started work in the manufacturing sector, of whom over one-third of whom first started in the electrical and electronics industries. A further 11 per cent first worked in the wholesale, retail trade, hotel and restaurant sector. Among the women workers, 95 per cent first started work in the manufacturing sector, of whom 74 per cent started in the electrical and electronics industry.

Among the migrant workers who started work in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market as regular wage employees, i.e. 85 per cent of the men and 92 per cent of the women, 41 per cent of the men and 49 per cent of the women started as unskilled production workers (see table 5.6). A further 13 per cent of the men first started in semi-skilled production work, 11 per cent in services jobs and 10 per cent in clerical jobs. The corresponding figures for the women are 35 per cent, 1 per cent and 8 per cent, respectively.

Table 5.6. Percentage distribution of migrants not having worked prior to migration by first occupation after migration

Occupation	Male	Female
Professional, Scientific, Technical and Related	8.5	1.3
Managerial and Executive	4.5	0.3
Clerical and Related	10.1	8.1
Sales and Related	4.7	0.9
Services	11.2	1.1
Skilled Production	2.5	0.7
Semi-skilled Production	12.6	35.3
Unskilled Production	40.8	48.6
Other	5.2	3.7

5.4 Industrial Mobility

Table 5.7 shows that 56 per cent of the men changed employers since working in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market. Among the women the percentage was marginally less, i.e. 42 per cent. These percentages are quite low and seem to imply a reasonably stable employment situation. The fact is, however, that 51 per cent of the men and 70 per cent of the women were below 30 years of age. Nevertheless, 56 per cent of the men, changed employers at least once, including 16 per cent who had changed employers at least three times. Among the women, 42 per cent had changed employers once while 5 per cent had changed employers at least three times. Generally, change of employers was higher among the men than among the women workers.

A change of employer can mean a change in sector of employment or a change in occupation while staying in the same sector. We look first at the change in sector of employment or industrial mobility. The above discussion on migrants into the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market already referred to industrial mobility. We take a more detailed look at industrial mobility among this category of workers and then among the respondents who changed employers at least once.

Among the men who changed employers at least once and were working in the manufacturing sector at the time of the survey, 57 per cent first worked in the manufacturing sector, 19 per cent in the wholesale and retail trade, hotel and restaurant sector, 7 per cent each in the construction and services sectors, and the rest in the finance, insurance, real estate and business services sector (5 per cent), the transport and communications sector (3 per cent), and the agriculture (2 per cent) and utilities sectors (1 per cent). Among the women 78 per cent first started work in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market in the manufacturing sector, 12 per cent in the wholesale and retail trade, hotel and restaurant sector, and the rest mainly in the finance, insurance, real estate and business services sector (4 per cent), services sector (4 per cent), construction (2 per cent) and agricultural (1 per cent) sector. Although 57 per cent of the men and 78 per cent of the women were still in the same sector in which they first started work, this does not imply a low level of industrial mobility, particularly among the women workers.

Table 5.7. Percentage distribution of workers by number of times changed employers

Number of changes	Male	Female
None	43.5	58.0
One	26.6	28.9
Two	13.8	8.6
Three or More	16.1	4.5

A closer look at the respondents who first started in the manufacturing sector and were still in this sector, after chnaging employers at least once, shows that there have been movements across industries within the manufacturing sector (see table 5.8). Two main features may be discerned here. First, a general movement towards the electrical and electronics industry, and second, an apparent higher tendency for women than for men to stay within the same industry.

Table 5.8. Percentage distribution of respondents by first manufacturing sector employment by current manufacturing sector employment

First industry \ Present industry	Food, beverages	Textiles	Wood products	Paper products	Chemical products	Non-metallic products	Fabricated metal products	Electrical/ electronics	Other
Food, Beverages	23.6 (3.5)	5.0	–	17.5	9.6 (3.8)	–	–	36.9 (86.7)	7.4 (5.9)
Textiles	– (4.6)	– (20.5)	–	14.1 (2.5)	45.2 (3.7)	–	8.6	32.2 (66.8)	– (1.9)
Wood Products	17.8	–	14.7 (38.3)	9.4 (4.6)	30.8	–	–	12.0 (57.1)	15.5
Paper Products	10.0	0.8 (3.3)	–	72.2 (62.2)	2.3	–	3.2	4.4 (34.5)	7.0
Chemical Products	40.3 (14.5)	–	– (2.6)	10.0 (9.7)	6.4 (20.1)	3.5	–	30.8 (52.3)	9.1 (0.7)
Non-metallic Products	19.6	5.1	–	19.0 (5.8)	36.5	–	–	19 (94.2)	–
Basic Metal Products	19.4	–	10.7	4.8	–	7.3	11.1	35.7	11.1
Fabricated Metal Products	28.3 (2.9)	–	–	5.6 (3.0)	8.3 (4.3)	4.0 (0.1)	2.0	50.0 (87.3)	1.8 (2.5)
Other	49.9 (12.2)	– (46.9)	–	–	11.4	–	1.2	33.6 (27.6)	3.9 (13.3)

Note: Figures without parentheses refer to male respondents. Figures in parentheses refer to female respondents.

At this point, we focus on the migrant workers who represent almost two-thirds of the workers in the Kuala Lumpur manufacturing sector. Looking at the migrant workers who moved into the Kuala Lumpur conurbation for the purpose of employment, we find that 60 per cent of these migrants were women. They were relatively well educated. Thirty-one per cent had completed lower secondary school and a further 59 per cent upper secondary school. They were also relatively young when they first migrated for employment, i.e., a mean age of 18.6 years. They were, at the time of migration, young school leavers and first-time job seekers. An important point where industrial mobility is concerned is that for 95 per cent of these young, well-educated women the first sector of employment was the manufacturing sector. Furthermore, within the manufacturing sector, 75 per cent went into the electrical machinery, apparatus, appliances and supplies industry and in particular into the electrical and electronics industry. When we look at their first sector of employment and present sector of employment, we find that 96 per cent of them remained in the same industry. As seen earlier, the majority of the establishments in this industry are multinational, export-oriented industries which have a deliberate policy of attracting young women workers into semi-skilled and unskilled jobs (see Lim, 1978, pp. 12-14).

5.5 Occupational Mobility

We now turn to the issue of occupational mobility, giving again more emphasis to migrant workers for the simple reason that they bring out a great deal that is important in terms of gender differences. At this point it should be emphasized that the occupational groupings used in this, and the other three studies under the larger project, are very broadly similar to a one-digit level study. Clearly, a 3-digit or higher level study would yield a clearer picture of the actual extent of occupational mobility. By using a one-digit level classification we are likely to underestimate the real extent of occupational mobility.

Taking all workers into account, 51 per cent of the men had changed occupational categories or, by the definition above, had experienced either upward or downward occupational mobility. Among the women workers the percentage was marginally lower at 48 per cent. Much of this mobility occurred among those who had changed employers at least once. For this group of workers, 66 per cent of the men and 59 per cent of the women had changed job categories. Among those who came to the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market for the purpose of employment, about one-half of both male and female workers had experienced occupational mobility. Comparing non-migrant with migrant male workers we find very little difference, i.e., 49 per cent and 50 per cent respectively. The difference is, however, larger among the women workers. While 45 per cent of the non-migrant women workers had changed occupational categories or experienced occupational mobility, over 50 per cent of the migrant women workers had done so. Gender difference in terms of the proportion that underwent occupational mobility was therefore largest among those who had changed employers at least once. We take a closer look at this group of workers.

To ascertain the extent of occupational mobility among respondents who had had at least one change of employer we examine the relationship between the worker's first job and that of his/her present job. Table 5.9 shows the relationship for both men and women. On the whole there appears to have been considerable occupational mobility among the respondents. Among the men, mobility, as defined above, appears to have been highest among those who started out in the Kuala Lumpur labour market in services and related jobs. Only ten per cent remained in this occupational category. Furthermore, those who did not remain in service jobs were able to move into all the occupational categories covered in this study. There may also have been downward mobility as 10 per cent moved into unskilled production jobs. Occupational mobility appears lowest among those who first started in professional, scientific, technical and related jobs and also among those who started in sales and related jobs. Sixty per cent of those who began in professional, scientific and technical jobs remained in these jobs. Seventy-two per cent of the men who started out in sales related occupations did not move on to other occupations.[1] Again, we must emphasize that we are discussing the issue at the one-digit level.

Table 5.9 shows that occupational mobility has been highest for women who started out in unskilled production jobs.[2] Only 11 per cent of these women remained in unskilled production jobs. Mobility has, however, been restricted, in this study of manufacturing sector workers, to a movement upwards to semi-skilled production jobs. On the other hand, occupational mobility appears lowest among those who began in professional, scientific, technical, and clerical jobs. About 63 per cent of the women who began in these jobs remained in the same occupational categories.

Overall, there appears to be a lower degree of occupational mobility among the women than among the men. If we look at those who have changed employers (see table 5.9) we see that there are only 17 empty cells in the matrix of occupational mobility for male workers. There are, however, 30 empty cells in the matrix of occupational mobility for women workers. The lower degree of occupational mobility among women workers is supported by a higher Goodman and Kruskal's tau value of 0.165, compared with a value of 0.150 for the men. In other words, there is a higher degree of association between a woman worker's first job and present job than there is between a male worker's first job and present job. The difference is, however, not very large. What is more important is that fewer occupations appear open to women, as can be seen by the number of empty cells.

As indicated above, another interesting comparison lies between those who migrated into the Kuala Lumpur conurbation for the purpose of employment and those who did not, i.e., those who originated from the Kuala Lumpur area and those who came from outside for reasons other than employment. As noted above, there appears to be very little difference as far as the men are concerned. Goodman and Kruskal's tau value, for instance is 0.252 for the non-migrant workers and 0.289 for the migrant workers. As for the women, migrant workers appear to have a higher degree of occupational mobility. Goodman and Kruskal's tau value is 0.184

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[1] Respondents whose first job was in managerial and executive, and in skilled production jobs have not been included in the above discussion because of the small sample sizes. The unweighted sample consists of only 15 workers who had changed employers once and who started out in managerial and executive jobs. The corresponding unweighted sample for skilled production workers was 21.

[2] Excluded from the discussion are women who began in managerial, executive, sales, services, and skilled production jobs because of the small sample sizes. The unweighted sample sizes for each of these categories of workers were 19, 27, 28, and 4, respectively.

Table 5.9. Percentage distribution of respondents having changed employers at least once by first job and present job

First occupation \ Present occupation	Professional, scientific, technical	Managerial, executive	Clerical and related	Sales and related	Services	Skilled production	Semi-skilled production	Unskilled production	Other
Professional, Scientific, Technical	60.3 (62.5)	14.1 (13.0)	6.4	3.2 (9.7)	1.3 (3.2)	14.5 (11.6)	–	–	–
Managerial, Executive	8.9 (2.6)	82.0 (48.3)	–	9.1	–	–	– (49.1)	–	–
Clerical and Related	9.5 (4.6)	34.1 (12.2)	30.0 (63.2)	9.1 (3.5)	1.5 (2.3)	3.9 (3.1)	9.6 (11.0)	–	2.4
Sale and Related	6.1 (8.0)	18.5 (3.9)	– (19.3)	71.9 (24.4)	2.3	– (21.5)	– (22.9)	–	1.2
Services	1.2 (0.8)	6.5	6.0 (24.3)	7.1 (1.9)	10.7 (9.8)	15.3 (1.9)	31.8 (45.5)	10.4 (15.7)	5.1
Skilled Production	8.8	8.1	2.6 (41.2)	2.3	2.4	67.7 (58.8)	8.0	–	–
Semi-skilled Production	2.8 (0.4)	–	5.9 (4.3)	6.6	5.0 (0.2)	29.7 (5.5)	46.5 (86.5)	2.8 (3.0)	0.7
Unskilled Production	2.7	1.5	4.2 (3.4)	3.0 (0.3)	4.0 (1.2)	28.7 (3.0)	28.5 (80.3)	24.8 (11.4)	1.8 (0.1)
Other	–	12.7 (1.0)	3.1 (9.8)	3.7	9.0 (1.0)	18.8 (2.5)	27.5 (72.6)	10.0 (6.6)	15.2 (6.4)

Note: Figures without parentheses refer to male respondents. Figures in parentheses refer to female respondents.

for this group of women workers compared with 0.247 for the non-migrant women workers. In other words, the association between first job and present job is weaker for the migrant workers.

Comparing migrant and non-migrant male workers we find that migrant workers, like their women counterparts, tend to start lower down the occupational ladder than the non-migrant workers. For instance, while 13 per cent of the mon-migrant male workers started in skilled production jobs only 5 per cent of male migrant workers did so. On the other hand, while 29 per cent of the non-migrant male workers started in unskilled production jobs 38 per cent of the migrant male workers did so. The apparently small difference in their extent of occupational mobility means that the migrant male workers have not progressed much more than the non-migrant male workers where job changes are concerned. Migrant women workers, on the whole, also started in lower level occupations than the non-migrant female workers. For instance, 46 per cent of the former began employment in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market as unskilled production workers compared with only 38 per cent of the non-migrant female workers. However, the migrant women workers appear to have been occupationally more mobile, showing quite the opposite tendency to that of the male workers.

In regard to these gender differences between migrant and non-migrant workers, two factors stand out. First, there was no significant difference in the age of the migrant and non-migrant male workers. Both groups had a mean age of about 32 years, with standard deviations that were about the same too. There was statistically no significant difference in the mean age of these two groups (t-ratio = 0.61). On the other hand, we found that migrant female workers were significantly younger than non-migrant female workers, i.e., mean ages 28 and 30, respectively (t-ratio = 4.63). The absolute difference is not very large but it is still a point to bear in mind. A second major factor lies in differences in educational attainment. Among the men, migrant workers were only slightly less educated than the non-migrant male workers. Over 52 per cent of migrant male workers had at least upper secondary schooling compared with 56 per cent of the non-migrant male workers. In contrast, among the women only 40 per cent of non-migrant women workers had had at least an upper secondary education compared with 53 per cent of the migrant women workers. While there is little difference in educational

attainment between migrant and non-migrant male workers, migrant women workers tend to have reached a higher educational level than non-migrant women workers. In short, while there is little difference between migrant and non-migrant male workers in terms of age and education, migrant women workers tend to be younger and better educated than their non-migrant counterparts.

5.6 Upward Occupational Mobility and Education

As we have seen, well over seven out of every ten women workers in the Kuala Lumpur manufacturing sector were employed in semi-skilled production jobs. Among these women workers almost 42 per cent began in unskilled production jobs, primarily in the electrical and electronics industry. An important question is why some of these women workers have been able to move up into semi-skilled production jobs while others have not. Similarly, one could ask why some women workers have been able to move away from semi-skilled production jobs into other jobs.

We shall try to identify factors which contributed to upward occupational mobility among these women workers. Here, we take the group of women workers who started in the fabricated metal and electrical and electronics industries as unskilled production workers and were able to move into semi-skilled production jobs. At this point a word of caution is necessary. The actual number of respondents who moved from unskilled to semi-skilled production jobs was 56 out of 69. The sample size is therefore relatively small for those who did not move up.

To identify at the factors determining upward occupational mobility we specify a simple model of occupational mobility based essentially on the human capital framework. Our model of upward occupational mobility is as follows:

$$UOM = Constant + aLS + bUS + cTR1 + dTR2 + eTRLT1 + fTRGE1 + u$$

where UOM: Is a dummy variable which takes a value of 1 if the worker moves up from a unskilled to semi-skilled production job and 0 otherwise,

LS: A dummy variable which takes the value of 1 if the worker has completed lower secondary school and 0 otherwise,

US: A dummy variable which takes unit value if the worker has completed at least upper secondary school and 0 otherwise,

TR1: A dummy variable which takes unit value if the worker has received establishment-based training on one occasion and 0 otherwise in the first job,

TR2: A dummy variable which takes unit value if the worker has received establishment-based training on more than one occasion and 0 otherwise in the first job,

TRLT1: A dummy variable which takes unit value if training received is more than one week but less than a month in duration and 0 otherwise in the first job,

TRGE1: A dummy variable which takes unit value if duration of training received is one month or more and 0 otherwise in the first job.

Using a logistic regression model, the estimated equation is as follows:

$$UOM = -0.205 + \underset{(6.235)}{2.361}LS + \underset{(11.478)}{4.925}US + \underset{(0.017)}{7.356}TR1 + \underset{(0.017)}{10.952}TR2$$

$$+ \underset{(0.0001)}{0.698}TRLT1 - \underset{(0.012)}{6.224}TRGE1$$

Model Chi-Square = 25.404

Goodness of Fit = 131.398

The goodness-of-fit statistic shows that the model fits very well. The model chi-square value of 25.404 is significant at the 1 per cent level, implying that we can reject the null hypothesis that all the coefficients of the independent variables are zero. The variables which turn out to be significant are LS and US at the 5 per cent and 1 per cent levels respectively. It would appear then that education is important for an unskilled production worker to move up into a semi-skilled production job. Following the human capital theory this would be expected. Education is important because, as a form of human capital investment, it increases the ability of the individual to learn on the job and therefore opens the door to upward occupational mobility. The training and duration of training dummy variables turn out not to be important. Two plausible explanations come to mind. First, the training variables used are inadequate measures of the nature of training received. Second, the ability to learn is more important than the training received for purposes of upward occupational mobility. The non-significance of the duration of training may lie in the fact that duration is not always a good proxy for what is actually taught or the optimal training period.[3]

Given that the training dummy variables do not add to the explanatory power of the model, the above model was re-estimated using only the educational variables. The results are as follows:

$$\begin{aligned} UOM &= -1.792 + 2.994LS + 5.375US \\ &\qquad\quad (6.255) \quad (13.167) \end{aligned}$$

Model Chi-Square = 24.288

Goodness of Fit = 68.993

Again, the model fits rather well, judging by the goodness-of-fit statistic and the model chi-quare. The coefficients of LS and US are significant at the 5 per cent and 1 per cent levels, respectively.

As an illustration of the impact of establishment education on upward occupational mobility from the above results, take the case of a worker who has completed lower secondary education. Using the estimated logistic regression results, the probability that the person will move up into a semi-skilled production job is 76 per cent. On the other hand, for a female worker with an upper secondary education the probability of moving into a semi-skilled production job increases to 97 per cent.[4]

The finding reported here is at best tentative given the small sample size. A larger sample would clearly be ideal with more detailed analysis of the nature of training received. With better data set it would be interesting to see if education maintains its importance in determining upward occupational mobility among unskilled female workers.

5.7 Length of Stay in Job and Mobility

As stated earlier, 56 per cent of the men and 42 per cent of the women workers had changed employers at least once. Table 5.10 shows the average length of time spent in the first job and current job by number of job (employer) changes. Two observations relevant here are also found in other studies (see Acharya and Jose, 1991). First, workers seemed to have stabilized in their current employment since the length of stay was longer than that in the first job. As Acharya and Jose (1991, p. 47) remarked, "this is plausible since the first job could have acted only as an entry point into the labour market. Then onwards, workers would be prepared to move in search of improved terms and conditions of employment. With age, experience and added family

[3] Discussions with some employers drew the comment that duration of training is not reflective of actual training received as some workers are slow learners requiring longer training periods while fast learners require shorter training periods (see also Lee, 1989, p. 205).

[4] The probability is calculated by first calculating the z-value. This is obtained by substituting the values of one for LS and 0 for US into the estimated logistic regression equation, in the first case, and then summing these up together with the constant term. The next step is to calculate the probability by using the following equation:

$$prob(UOM) = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-z}}$$

In the second case we substitute 0 for LS and 1 for US, and repeat the calculation.

Table 5.10. Mean length of stay in first and current job by number of times respondents changed employers

Sex	Number of times changed employers							
	Nil		Once		Twice		Three time or more	
	First	Current	First	Current	First	Current	First	Current
Male	3.29 (84)	10.12 (264)	3.44 (161)	10.09 (161)	2.09 (83)	7.59 (84)	2.05 (98)	6.45 (98)
Female	2.75 (193)	7.49 (467)	2.42 (233)	9.46 (233)	1.97 (69)	7.50 (69)	1.59 (36)	5.39 (36)

responsibilities, people tend to stabilize (in their jobs)''. Second, the mean length of time spent in each job tended to decline with the number of jobs changes. The larger the number of job changes, the greater the degree of instability. Third, the mean duration of stay in the first job was lower for women workers than for their male counterparts.

Another interesting observation pertains to the relationship between length of stay in the first and current job, on the one hand, and educational attainment, on the other. In general, the mean length of stay in the first job tends to decline with a rise in educational attainment, at least until the certificate/diploma and university levels. Those with less education appear to be less mobile than those with higher educational qualifications. This pattern was observed among both men and women (see table 5.11). This suggests that the use of a first job as a stepping-stone is more frequent among those with a higher education. There is, however, one difference between men and women in terms of the number of changes of employers. For the male respondents the mean number of changes of employers tended to increase with a rise in educational attainment. In particular, the mean number of changes was 1.14 for those with no primary schooling or less, 1.23 for those with lower secondary schooling, 1.16 for those with upper secondary schooling, 2.04 for those with a sixth form education, and 1.25 for university graduates. Among the women workers, with the exception of those with university education, the situation is reversed. The corresponding means were 0.77, 0.65, 0.52, 0.35, and 1.21, suggesting that women with lower educational qualification tend to be more unstable in employment than those with higher education. This observation merits further study to uncover the reasons for this behaviour.

Table 5.11. Mean length of stay of respondents in first and current job by educational level

Sex	Educational level											
	Primary or less		Lower secondary		Upper secondary		Sixth form		Certificate/ diploma		University	
	First	Current	First	Current	First	Current	First	Current	First	Current	First	Current
Male	3.38 (56)	15.57 (83)	3.05 (144)	10.60 (196)	2.56 (159)	7.59 (212)	2.08 (17)	5.08 (19)	2.80 (28)	6.20 (57)	2.46 (22)	3.63 (42)
Female	4.50 (73)	12.35 (106)	2.60 (215)	9.55 (323)	1.68 (214)	5.52 (329)	1.62 (7)	3.43 (21)	1.05 (17)	4.63 (25)	2.18 (5)	3.68 (8)

Note: Figures in parentheses are number of cases.

Another interesting observation is that women are less likely to change employers than men. The mean number of times workers changed employers was 1.18 for the men compared with only 0.63 for the women workers. It might be suggested that some element of dual labour market hypothesis[5] is at work here since 10 per cent of the men were employed in small establishments (with less than 50 workers) compared with only 4 per cent of the women. However, a breakdown of workers by establishment size shows that, for both men and

[5] According to dual labour market hypothesis the labour market is segmented into a primary and a secondary sector. The former is composed of large establishments characterized by stable employment, good wages and working conditions. The latter by small establishments characterized by job instability, low wages and poorer working conditions (see Doeringer and Piore, 1971).

women, workers who were currently employed in small establishments tended to have fewer changes of employers than workers in the larger establishments. Among the men in small establishments, less than 18 per cent had changed employers on two or more occasions. On the other hand, nearly one-third of those in the larger establishments had changed employers on at least two occasions. The corresponding percentages of the women workers were 10 per cent and 13 per cent. This finding does not lend much support to the dual labour market hypothesis which argues that workers in the secondary segment, consisting of small establishments, tend to display erratic job attachments.[6]

5.8 Job Search

Mobility, whether geographical, industrial or occupational, often involves a process of job search. It is therefore of interest to examine how the workers in Malaysia's dynamic manufacturing sector, particularly in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market, found their jobs.

Studies of job search generally classify methods of job search into two broad categories, i.e. formal and informal. The former, on the one hand, makes use of established channels for job information such as newspaper advertisements and registration with employment agencies, including the labour exchange. The latter, on the other hand, does not go through these institutional channels. Instead, job seekers resort to informal arrangements such as through friends and relatives, or checked gate notices at factories. According to Parnes (1954, pp. 162-165), informal channels are widely used not only by job seekers but also by employers. Bradshaw (1973) maintains that informal channels account for as much as 55 per cent of all job search. The disadvantages of informal channels are that they tend to prolong the duration of search and that they are less likely to result in maximum efficiency in deployment of workers. However, informal channels are less costly and can be beneficial to applicants as they can obtain more information on the kind of work they are interested in.

Table 5.12 shows the distribution of respondents by first occupation in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market once by method of job search. It clearly indicates the importance of informal channels such as friends and relatives which account for over 81 per cent of job search methods. Other informal channels which include queuing outside factories or checking gate notices are also frequently used. The second pattern that emerges is the rise in importance of informal channels, particularly through friends and relatives, as one moves down the occupational ladder. Newspaper advertisements become more important as one moves up the occupational ladder. At the managerial and executive level, for instance, friends and relatives made up 47 per cent of job search methods but at the level of the production workers the percentage was as high as two-thirds. Newspaper advertisements constituted 35 per cent of job search methods for managers and executives but only 6 per cent for unskilled production workers. These patterns can be explained by employers viewing high wages and high search costs as substitutes (see Stigler, 1961). One point that should be stressed is the general unimportance

Table 5.12. Percentage distribution of respondents by first occupation and by method of job search

Occupation	New-spapers	Other advertisment	Labour office	Recruitment drive	Labour office	Friends, relatives	Private agencies	Other
Professional, Scientific, Technical and Related	32.3	-	1.5	8.3	-	35.9	5.3	16.6
Managerial and Executive	35.0	2.0	1.0	9.8	-	46.9	1.0	4.3
Clerical and Related	28.9	1.1	2.8	0.5	-	52.9	9.6	4.2
Sales and Related	31.5	-	0.8	4.8	-	63.0	-	-
Services	7.6	2.4	0.7	4.5	1.3	74.6	0.7	8.2
Skilled Production	10.9	1.1	0.8	4.2	-	83.0	-	-
Semi-skilled Production	7.0	-	2.7	10.2	5.8	69.5	0.6	4.3
Unskilled Production	6.4	2.8	5.6	5.5	1.4	57.6	0.4	20.1
Other	8.0	9.2	-	-	1.2	66.7	0.6	14.4

[6] Lee (1981), in a study of upward intersegmental mobility, concluded that the case for dualism appears weak in the Malaysian context.

of the labour offices in job search. Less than two per cent of the respondents reported obtaining their first job in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market through the labour offices.

Another pattern that emerges with respect to job search is the importance of informal channels among the less educationally qualified. Among those without any formal schooling informal channels were the only channels used. As the level of education increases more use is made of formal channels. This is to be expected given the somewhat strong relationship between education and occupation. There was no obvious change in job search methods by number of times the worker had changed employers. For workers, both men and women, who had changed employers at least once, informal channels, particularly friends and relatives, remained important. As far as gender is concerned. There were differences in the method of job search. For instance, in terms of first employment in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market, a smaller proportion of women (14 per cent) than men (21 per cent) relied on formal channels. In terms of informal channels, a smaller proportion of women relied on friends and relatives (56 per cent compared with 66 per cent), but a larger proportion of women relied on recruitment drives by firms (7 per cent compared with 4 per cent) and 'other' methods (19 per cent compared with 6 per cent) which includes, as mentioned earlier, queuing in front of factories and checking gate notices.

If we take job search by the number of times the worker changed employers there is no clear difference in the methods used. Regardless of the number of times the worker changed employers, friends and relatives remained the principal method of job search. A finding of significance is that none of the workers, neither men nor women who had changed employers on two or more occasions made use of the labour offices.

5.9 Concluding Remarks

The above discussion focused on geographical, industrial and occupational mobility. In terms of the first, one important point that emerges is the very large proportion of manufacturing sector workers in the Kuala Lumpur conurbation who originated from outside the area; i.e. migrant workers. There appears to be a high degree of geographical mobility, but a more important point is that most of these migrant workers are young, relatively well educated, and first time job seekers from the surrounding states. This carries strong implications for regional development and the expansion of job opportunities taking into account the fact that rapid population growth through migration carries with it serious socio-economic consequences.

Among those who were already working prior to migration a large proportion were self-employed working in the agricultural sector. The majority, however, were regular wage employees, a large proportion of whom were already working in the manufacturing sector elsewhere. These workers came in search of better employment opportunities, which supports to the argument for a better dispersal of development efforts.

Industrial mobility appears reasonably high. Some 43 per cent of the men and 22 per cent of the women workers had changed their sectors of employment. But industrial mobility is not confined to movement across sectors. There has also been considerable mobility across industries within the manufacturing sector. On the whole, there appears to be great freedom of movement in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market, perhaps more so for men than women workers. The freedom of movement of labour across sectors and industries is important for the efficient allocation of labour. Gender differences in industrial mobility deserve more in-depth study.

One important point is that there has been virtually no industrial mobility for a particular group of workers, i.e. relatively well-educationed women workers who migrated at a young age into the Kuala Lumpur conurbation in search of employment. These women, as the study shows, moved into electrical and electronics industries, mainly large transnational corporations with deliberate policies of attracting young women workers, and remained in that industry. Furthermore, most of them entered the industry as semi-skilled and unskilled production workers and very few moved out of these occupations. Ninety-seven per cent of semi-skilled workers remained in semi-skilled production jobs, while 88 per cent of the unskilled production workers moved into semi-skilled production jobs and greater part of those not accounted for above remained in unskilled production jobs. When they first migrated their mean age was 19 compared with a mean age of 28 years at the time of the survey. On the whole, during a period of nine years, the majority of these women workers experienced hardly any industrial mobility, and for many there has been no obvious upward occupational mobility save into semi-skilled production jobs.

Although this study is likely to have underestimated the extent of occupational mobility, it has found considerable occupational mobility in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market. A change in employer is likely to be accompanied by a change in occupation, mostly upwards. This again is a favourable finding as occupational mobility is also important for the efficient allocation of scarce human resources.

There appears to be a higher degree of occupational mobility among the men than among the women, but a more important point is that mobility among women appears confined to fewer occupational categories across industrial sectors. There seems to be a link between occupational mobility and educational attainment. This appeared clearly when we looked at the differences between migrant and non-migrant workers. There appears to be little difference in the extent of occupational mobility between migrant male workers and non-migrant male workers. On the other hand, migrant women workers seem to have a higher degree of occupational mobility than non-migrant women workers. The gender difference here seems to lie in differences in education and, to some extent, age. While migrant and non-migrant male workers do not differ very much in terms of these two factors, migrant women workers tend to be better educated and younger.

With reference to women whose first sector of employment was the fabricated metals, and electrical and electronics industries in unskilled production jobs, we find that education is important for upward occupational mobility, in particular into semi-skilled production jobs. The finding concerning the importance of education must however remain tentative. A more in-depth study involving a larger sample, and taking into account the nature of establishment-based training, as well as the point in time when upward mobility occurred would be very useful. A study at the one-digit occupational level tends to conceal any upward occupational mobility that may have occurred. A larger sample would make possible a study of upward occupational mobility for women who began at other occupational levels. The present sample was too small for any meaningful estimates to be made of the probability of upward occupational mobility for women who started in semi-skilled production jobs.[7]

An important aspect which has not been covered in this study but which has strong implications for young, relatively well-educated women arises from a recent study by Rasiah (1988) of the electronics industry. In the study Rasiah points out that there have been rapid technological changes in the industry particularly since the 1980s. Production processes have become highly automated and automation will continue. As automation proceeds the demand for cheap labour with "nimble fingers" is likely to decline. The percentage of male workers in the semiconductor industry, for instance, has been on the rise with the rise in automation as the need for technicians, rather than semi-skilled production workers, increases. The important questions are why women workers are apparently 'unable' to move out of unskilled and semi-skilled production jobs, and how these changes in technology will affect employment opportunities, particularly for young, relatively well-educated women, in the manufacturing sector.

Judging from the length of stay in the first and current job it can be inferred that workers tend to use the first job as an entry point or a stepping-stone to a better job. The tendency to do so generally increases with the level of educational attainment. However, while more educated men tend to change employers more often than the less educated men, the opposite is true among the women workers: the better-educated women tend to show greater stability in employment. A more detailed study of the occupations into which women with no more than primary schooling enter would clearly be worthwhile. In particular, from a policy perspective it would be important to know the extent to which women with little education are crowded into 'undesirable' jobs.

Where job search methods are concerned, there is a heavy reliance on informal channels. This can be attributed to the nature of the jobs applied for. The lower the occupational level the more use is made of informal channels. Since women workers tend to be bunched-up in lower level jobs it is not surprising that they tend to rely mainly on informal channels. There are advantages to informal channels but there are also disadvantages. For instance, reliance on informal channels, particularly friends and relatives, may limit a job seeker's awareness of alternative opportunities. On this matter too, the role of the labour offices should be examined as they appear to be very unimportant in job search. The functions of the labour offices might be expanded to include labour market counselling directed. In particular, to school leavers by providing labour market information. Potential young women workers would thus be better informed of employment opportunities in the manufacturing sector other than in semi-skilled and unskilled production jobs in the electrical and electronics industry.

[7] For this category of workers only 5 respondents out of 87 moved from semi-skilled into skilled production jobs. Ten others moved into scientific, technical and related jobs and into clerical jobs.

CHAPTER 6

EDUCATION, TRAINING AND EARNINGS

6.1 Introduction

We have not so far touched on earnings. In this chapter we provide an account of the main characteristics of the earnings structure, focusing on differences in earnings between men and women across levels of education and occupation. For the purpose of the analysis we use monthly earnings. The reason is that the majority of the respondents, about 80 per cent, in the manufacturing sector reported being paid on a monthly basis.

In the analysis of earnings we follow the human capital framework. According to the human capital theory framework a person invests in himself/herself and the investment enhances his/her productive capacity and therefore potential earnings. The concept itself has wide applications. It covers not only education, formal and informal training, but also home investments in forms such as family care and health. In this study we restrict ourselves to investments in the form of education and training.

From social viewpoint there are two important implications. The first is to ensure that all participants in the labour market have the opportunity to realize similar returns on their investments. The second concerns equality of access to education and training which can be examined through *schooling functions*. Here, we concentrate on the first issue as the survey was not designed to cover the second. Our emphasis will be on gender differences.

In section 6.2 we examine the structure of earnings by relating these to occupations and education at levels, highlighting differences between men and women; section 6.3 briefly discusses some economic theories that seek to explain sex earnings differentials; section 6.4 examines in greater detail the earnings differentials between men and women using the standards earnings function method. We estimate earnings functions for men and women in the manufacturing sector in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market, and then use these to decompose the earnings differentials into two principal components, i.e., differentials due to differences in endowments or worker characteristics, and the differentials due to differences in earnings structures; section 6.5 sums up the principal findings.

6.2 Gender Differences in Earnings

In this analysis we define earnings as monthly salary plus overtime earnings. We exclude from the analysis the self-employed and employers who form only a small 0.5 per cent of the respondents in the sample. The actual sample size of self-employed and employers is very simple, i.e. consisting of only 11 respondents. The analysis is therefore focused on workers, irrespective of their employment status. Unless otherwise stated, reference is made to earnings derived from current employment.

Table 6.1 shows the percentage distribution of male and female workers by income intervals. As can be seen, most women workers earned between $M 400 to $M 700. On the other hand, men tended to be better spread out across different income intervals, with a modal income interval of around $M 1,000 to $M 2,000. Less than 5 per cent of the men earned less than $M 400 compared with 13 per cent of the women workers. At the other end of the earnings ladder, almost 30 per cent of the men earned at least $M 1,500 compared with only 3 per cent of the women. The difference between men and women in their distributions across income levels can, to some extent, be explained by differences in basic human capital endowments such as in educational attainment and also by differences in occupational status.

Table 6.2 shows mean earnings for each level of educational attainment. Although the relationship is not perfect, it can be clearly seen that mean earnings tend to increase with the level of education. In particular, mean monthly earnings increased from around $M 690 for those with only some primary education to a mean of around $M 2,400 for university graduates. Since women tend to be less educationally endowed than their male

Table 6.1. Percentage distribution of respondents by income intervals ($M)

Income interval	Male	Female
200-299	0.5	3.1
300-399	3.8	9.7
400-499	6.5	19.6
500-599	6.6	20.4
600-699	8.8	20.4
700-799	6.8	8.2
800-899	8.6	3.5
900-999	4.8	3.0
1000-1249	15.7	6.1
1250-1499	8.5	2.6
1500-1749	9.3	1.9
1750-1999	4.9	0.3
2000-2449	8.0	0.5
More than 2500	7.2	0.6
Number of Cases	609	812

Table 6.2. Mean monthly earnings of respondents by educational level and by sex ($M)

Education	Male	Female	All	Number of cases	
				Male	Female
Less than Completed Primary Schooling	769.61 (392.92)	629.20 (341.52)	689.98	19	25
Completed Primary	1,143.60 (612.82)	635.00 (393.47)	840.10	64	81
Completed Lower Secondary	1,033.66 (603.71)	584.79 (235.22)	754.23	196	323
Completed Upper Secondary	1,150.04 (627.17)	661.15 (326.53)	842.43	186	317
Completed Upper Secondary Vocational/Technical	1,131.99 (581.84)	598.25 (197.37)	971.30	27	12
Completed Sixth Form	1,304.52 (575.63)	739.64 (434.74)	1,006.67	19	21
Tertiary Certificate/Diploma	1,924.13 (1,794.33)	1,021.17 (411.20)	1,650.82	57	25
University	2,467.83 (1,372.64)	2,143.69 (1,220.65)	2,437.17	42	8

Note: Figures in parentheses are standard deviations.

counterparts in the manufacturing sector, it seems reasonable that they should earn less. However, looking at mean monthly earnings by educational level and by sex, we find that in all instances, although the variation in monthly earnings was larger for the men, that latter tended to earn more than the women. T-tests show that, at all levels of education, except at the level of some primary schooling and university, the women earned significantly less than the men. Differences in educational endowments alone cannot, therefore, explain all the differences in earnings between men and women in the manufacturing sector.

Another factor that may explain the differences in earnings is occupational attainment. As we have seen earlier, women tend to be bunched-up in semi-skilled production jobs, while men in the manufacturing sector tend to have greater access to other occupations. Table 6.3 shows that mean monthly earnings vary quite widely

Table 6.3. Mean monthly earnings of respondents by occupation and by sex

Occupation	Male	Female	All	Number of cases	
				Male	Female
Professional, Scientific, Technical and Related Work	1,502.59 (811.78)	1,125.93 (492.81)	1,417.33	72	21
Managerial and Executive	2,596.24 (1,740.94)	1,882.92 (1,093.75)	2,510.16	65	14
Clerical and Related Work	1,006.29 (421.90)	884.02 (343.31)	923.44	42	88
Sales and Related Work	1,639.61 (690.56)	1,345.18 (492.67)	1,592.82	38	7
Service Work	771.82 (364.00)	674.68 (475.07)	747.37	21	9
Skilled Production	1,240.37 (550.65)	773.92 (297.44)	1,168.39	146	28
Semi-skilled Production	927.95 (570.93)	570.87 (203.83)	640.57	142	589
Unskilled Production	741.49 (405.91)	547.65 (407.77)	657.57	69	53
Other	590.04 (285.30)	317.96 (79.57)	530.93	13	4

Note Figures in parentheses are standard deviations.

across occupations. At the upper end of the occupational ladder, mean monthly earnings for managerial and executive jobs were $M 2,510. However, at the other end of the scale, the mean monthly earnings for unskilled production workers were $M 657. A closer look at table 6.3, however, shows that, although there were greater variations in the monthly earnings of the male workers within each occupational category, their mean monthly earnings were higher than those of the women workers in all occupational categories. T-tests show that the mean monthly earnings were significantly different except for clerical, sales, services and related jobs. Mean monthly earnings of women workers as a proportion of the mean monthly earnings of male workers can range from a high of 0.86 in the case of sales and related occupations to a low of 0.54 in the 'other' occupational category.

There are obviously some other factors which affect earnings and which give rise to the observed differences in earning between men and women workers in the manufacturing sector in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market. For instance, as we have seen earlier, the men workers tend to be older than the women workers. They are therefore likely to have had longer labour market experience. There is at least one more factor that may be important in explaining male-female wage differentials, i.e. training.

In this study, training provided by the establishment covers not only formal, organized training but also the looser on-the-job training which is often provided on an *ad hoc* basis. This kind of training is difficult to measure as it often has no formal structure. We have defined on-the-job training as a means of learning from a superior, usually the supervisor or foreman in the case of the manufacturing sector. The duration of such training is defined as the period during which supervision is clearly necessary, i.e. the time needed before the worker is capable of working more or less independently. For the reasons mentioned earlier, the duration of training has been found to be of lesser importance than the incidence of training. For this reason we concentrate on the number of occasions training has been provided.

Table 6.4 shows the proportion of men and women who had received establishment-based training in their present occupation. As can be seen, there are some important differences between men and women in terms of the number of times training was received. The principal differences lie at the higher occupational levels. At the professional, scientific, technical and related occupational level a smaller proportion of women than men

Table 6.4. Percentage distribution of respondents by establishment-based training in current establishment

Occupation	Number of times of trained		
	Never	Once	More than once
Professional, Scientific, Technical and Related	6.3 (5.4)	39.7 (50.8)	54.0 (43.8)
Managerial and Executive	10.1 (19.0)	25.7 (33.0)	64.2 (48.0)
Clerical and Related	25.8 (29.8)	58.4 (44.6)	15.8 (25.6)
Sales and Related	14.7 (14.2)	31.7 (33.9)	53.6 (51.9)
Services	43.3 (43.5)	35.6 (33.2)	21.2 (23.2)
Skilled Production	7.9 (1.5)	44.0 (55.9)	48.1 (42.6)
Semi-skilled Production	8.1 (2.1)	55.4 (56.8)	36.4 (41.2)
Unskilled Production	63.4 (41.5)	26.0 (44.2)	10.6 (14.4)
Other	46.8 (13.3)	42.2 (82.4)	10.9 (4.4)

Note: 1. Figures without parentheses refer to male respondents. Figures in parentheses refer to female respondents.
2. For number of cases see table 6.3.

are likely to undergo establishment-based training on more than one occasion. While 54 per cent of the men had had more than one incidence of training only 44 per cent of the women, at this level, had had the benefit of additional training. At the managerial and executive level the contrast is even more striking. At this level, 64 per cent of the men had had more than one instance of training compared with only 48 per cent of the women. On the other hand, at the clerical level more women than men had had more than one incidence of training i.e. 26 per cent compared with 16 per cent. At other occupational levels the differences were not so apparent, except for the unskilled production category. At this level a much higher proportion of men indicated that they had received no training at all i.e., 63 per cent compared with 42 per cent for the women.

Overall, at the higher occupational level, the men had had the benefit of more establishment-based training than the women. However, at the clerical level and lower levels, particularly semi-skilled and unskilled production worker level, the women had had more training than the men. At this point it should be emphasized that the incidence of training is not the best indicator of the training that has actually been received. What is important is the kind of training that is provided. General discussions with those in the know point to the fact that training provided for women workers tends to be of a lower level. For instance, while men are trained to maintain machines through skill-intensive training, women are trained merely to operate the machines through induction training. Rasiah's (1988, pp. 61-63) study hints at this when he notes that as production becomes more automated, instead of training existing women workers the electronics firms tend to hire more men to enlarge their technical work-force.

6.3 Economic Theories of Sex Earnings Differentials

There are several economic theories which seek to explain earnings differentials between men and women. Becker (1971), for instance, suggests personal tastes as a factor. Becker adopts the basic optimization assumption of neoclassical economics in which the employer seeks to maximize some index of satisfaction. For instance, a discriminator against women may be willing to forego some income in order to avoid any economic transactions with women. Becker's model implies that an increase in the supply of women in the labour market will tend to widen sex earnings differentials. An increase in the relative supply of women means that women

are less likely to be able to avoid dealing with economic agents with high discrimination coefficients. To gain employment women are forced to accept lower wages. Hence, earnings differentials will widen even if there is no change in discrimination coefficients among economic agents. Such a situation may actually arise in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market, where women form more than onehalf of the migrant labour force, as female labour force participation rates increase.

Another theory is that of labour market segmentation. As Oaxaca (1987, pp. 228-229) argues, even in the absence of an inclination towards discrimination, the structure of the labour market itself can create opportunities for sex discrimination. Through tacit collusion, for instance, employers could form monopsonistic powers that restrict women to a narrow range of occupations which artificially lowers the value of services in these occupations. Sex earnings differentials can then arise, especially in male-dominated occupations because the market alternatives faced by women are less attractive (see Bergmann, 1974).

Inadequate information is another possible source of earnings differentials between men and women. Employers, not willing to spend on determining the relative productivity of women workers, adhere to preconceived notions that women are less productive in some jobs than men and therefore offer lower wages to women. Aigner and Cain (1977) refer to this as statistical discrimination.

Another explanation, which we have touched on partially, lies in sex differences in labour market skills stemming from differences in human capital investment rather than in innate sex differences in abilities. Family and maternal responsibilities of women tend to lower human capital investments in women. Disruptions in labour force participation during child-bearing years shortens the period over which women can recoup their investment in skill formation and also result in loss of prior accumulated skills. The rational behaviour is to enter occupations with fewer skill requirements or those in which skill depreciation is modest. All these factors serve to explain the concentration of women in lower skill jobs and their receiving lower wages in given jobs.

6.4 Analysis of Sex Earnings Differentials

A standard methodology used to analyse earnings differentials among men and women is to decompose these earnings differentials into three components, i.e. the differential due to differences in endowments, the differential due to differences in the wage structure (or coefficients), and an unexplained component.[1] A frequently used functional form for this analysis follows from Mincer's (1974) earnings functions:

$$lnY_j = a + \sum_k^n b_{jk} X_{jk} \quad where\ j = f,\ m$$

where f and m refer to female and male respectively, Y is monthly earnings, X_k is the sample mean value of the k^{th} explanatory variable and b_k is the corresponding coefficient. With one equation for females and one for males, earnings differentials for the two groups can be decomposed as follows:

$$Y^m - Y^f = b_o^m - b_o^f + \sum_{k=1}^n b_k^m (X_k^m - X_k^f) + \sum_{k=1}^n X_k^m (b_k^m - b_k^f)$$

where the superscripts f and m stand for 'female' and 'male', Y mean monthly earnings and X_k the mean value of the k^{th} variable. The first term on the right is the unexplained earnings differential, the second term is the value of the advantage in endowments possessed by the high earnings group, and the third term is the difference between how the high-earnings group values the endowments of the low-earnings group and how the low-earnings group actually values them. The third term is the portion of earnings differential owing to differences in their earnings structure.

[1] The unexplained component is often attributed to pure discrimination. However, care should be taken in interpreting this component as it can be affected by omitted factors which have a bearing on earnings (see Lee, 1982).

For our purpose we shall first estimate the overall earnings functions for men and women in the manufacturing sector in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market. In our earnings functions we shall take into account the usual human capital variables such as education, experience and training, and some additional variables to reflect the impact of socio-economic background, establishment characteristics and work characteristics. In particular, we control for the following:

Education:	Represented by a set of dummy variables with primary schooling or less as the control group;
Experience:	Total experience after deducting any period of unemployment which we identified in the survey;
Training:	A set of two dummy variables reflecting one incidence of establishment-based training and more than one incidence;
Firm size:	A variable reflecting the size of the establishment in terms of total work-force;
Ownership:	A dummy variable to reflect foreign ownership of the establishment;
Export-oriented:	A dummy variable to denote that the establishment manufactures for the export market;
Hours of overtime:	Number of hours of overtime worked can exert a strong positive influence on monthly earnings;
Union membership:	A dummy variable taking 1 if the worker is a union-member and zero otherwise;
Marital status:	A dummy variable for married workers since it is argued that married workers tend to be more stable in employment because of family commitments and are likely to work harder for the sake of the family; and
Migrant:	A dummy variable for those who migrated to the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market for the purpose of employment.

First, we run a regression which includes all these variables plus a dummy variable 'MALE' which takes 1 when the worker is a man and zero otherwise to show how important this variable is in explaining earnings differentials among these workers in the manufacturing sector. The estimated regression is as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}\ln Y = {} & 5.701 + \underset{(0.032)}{0.133}\ LS + \underset{(0.033)}{0.419}\ US + \underset{(0.064)}{0.478}\ VOC + \underset{(0.063)}{0.594}\ HSC \\ & + \underset{(0.050)}{0.917}\ DIP + \underset{(0.061)}{1.426}\ UNIV + \underset{(0.004)}{0.054}\ X - \underset{(0.0001)}{0.0008}\ XSQ \\ & - \underset{(0.030)}{0.061}\ TRAIN1 + \underset{(0.031)}{0.067}\ TRAIN2 + \underset{(0.00001)}{0.00004}\ SIZE \\ & + \underset{(0.026)}{0.021}\ FOREIGN - \underset{(0.025)}{0.214}\ EXPORT + \underset{(0.021)}{0.300}\ MALE \\ & + \underset{(0.023)}{0.035}\ MARRIED - \underset{(0.019)}{0.011}\ MIGRANT + \underset{(0.0004)}{0.002}\ OTIME \\ & + \underset{(0.024)}{0.095}\ UNION\end{aligned}$$

$\bar{R}^2 = 0.653$ $\quad F = 148.562$ $\quad$ Number of Cases = 1413

where

lnY:	Is natural logarithm of monthly earnings,
LS:	Dummy variable for completed lower secondary schooling,

US:	Dummy variable for completed upper secondary schooling,
VOC:	Dummy variable for completed upper secondary vocational/technical schooling,
HSC:	Dummy variable for completed sixth form schooling,
DIP:	Dummy for tertiary certificate of diploma,
UNIV:	Dummy for university degree,
X:	Length of work experience in years less any period of unemployment,
XSQ:	Square of work experience,
TRAIN1:	Dummy for one instance of establishment-based training,
TRAIN2:	Dummy for more than one instance of establishment-based training,
SIZE:	Size of establishment in terms of total work-force,
FOREIGN:	Dummy for foreign-owned establishment,
EXPORT:	Dummy for export-oriented establishment,
MALE:	Dummy for male worker,
MARRIED:	Dummy for married worker,
MIGRANT:	Dummy for migrant worker,
OTIME:	Number of hours of overtime worked per month,
UNION:	Dummy for union member.

The earnings function here yields some interesting results. First, the coefficients of all the educational dummy variables are significant at the 1 per cent level or better. The finding here shows that in the manufacturing sector there is a premium for education, and this premium increases with the level of education. One result here which should be interpreted with care is the premium for secondary vocational schooling. In the regression equation the premium for vocational schooling, or the *Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia Vokasional* (Malaysian Certificate of Vocational Education), is higher than that for the academic mainstream or the *Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia* (Malaysian Certificate of Education).[2] This finding is contrary to an earlier finding which yielded the opposite result (see Lee, 1989, pp. 192-195). The results obtained here should, with respect to vocational schooling, be taken with care since the number of respondents with vocational schooling is only 34 in this sample compared with 153 in the earlier study. Nevertheless, what is important is that the results here, like those of earlier studies, show significant positive returns on investment in education.

In terms of the other human capital variables, the coefficients of all the variables, with the exception of TRAIN1, are significant at the 5 per cent level or better. The coefficient of TRAIN1 – the dummy for one instance of establishment-based training – is negative and significant, contrary to *a priori* expectation. There is however a problem arising from multicollinearity. TRAIN1 is highly correlated with several of the key variables in the equation. It is excluded from subsequent analysis. Experience (and the square of experience), and the dummy variables representing more than one instance of establishment-based training are all significant. Having more than one instance of training raises monthly earnings by 7 per cent. Additional training provided by the establishment is clearly a very important factor in explaining earnings differentials among workers in the manufacturing sector.

Of the three variables representing various attributes of the establishment only two are significant. The coefficient of FOREIGN is not significant but that of SIZE and EXPORT are at the 1 per cent level. Working in a large establishment has a positive effect on monthly earnings, presumably because these establishments tend to be more capital intensive and therefore more productive. Working in an export-oriented establishment, however, yields a negative premium of 22 per cent in monthly earnings.

In terms of personal characteristics, the coefficients of MALE is significant at the 1 per cent level. Male workers, *ceteris paribus*, earn 30 per cent more than women workers in terms of monthly earnings. The coefficients of MARRIED and MIGRANT are insignificant. The individual's ability and willingness to work overtime is, however, an important factor. The coefficient of the variable OTIME is positive and significant at the 1 per cent level. Union membership also turns out to be a significant determinant of earnings, although the impact is a small one per cent advantage in monthly earnings.

[2] A separate equation for male workers only also shows a higher rate of return on upper secondary vocational and technical education compared with the rate of return on the academic mainstream equivalent.

Overall, the earnings function yields results that could be expected. We can rank the variables in terms of importance by using the standardized beta values. Ranking on this basis shows that experience is the most important variable in explaining differentials in monthly earnings. Next in line are the educational variables, i.e. US, DIP and UNIV. More important within the context of this study is that the variable MALE turns out to be the sixth most important. Given the significance and importance of this variable we should estimate separate equations for men and women workers.

In the analysis of separate earnings functions for men and women we have combined secondary vocational schooling with the academic mainstream because of the small number of respondents in the former category. We have also omitted the variable TRAIN1 – the dummy for one instance of establishment-based training – because of the problem of multicollinearity. This variable is highly correlated with several key variables in the model. We have also introduced another dummy variable, LOWSKILL, which takes unit value if the worker is in a semi-skilled, unskilled or 'other' occupational category. This is to control for the bunching-up of women workers in these occupations, and to see how such bunching affects their earnings relative to the men.

Table 6.5 shows the earnings function for men and women workers. The estimated earnings equation for men yields estimates that are similar to the estimated regression equation for both men and women taken together. Chow-test of equality between the coefficients yielded a F-ratio of 15.68 which is significant at the 1 per cent level. We therefore reject the null hypothesis that there is no difference between the earnings structure of men and women in the manufacturing sector in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market.

We will now consider the earnings function or wage structure for men. All the educational variables are significant at the 5 per cent level or better. Each level of education carries with it a premium although the difference between US and HSC is not very large. All other traditional human capital variables, i.e. experience and establishment-based training, are also significant at the 1 per cent level. In particular, having more than one incidence of establishment-based training carries a premium of 18 per cent. Working overtime also carries a premium in monthly earnings, as expected. Being in a low-skilled job, as expected, yields a negative premium which is also significant at the 1 per cent level. Union members, on the average, also stand to earn about 8 per cent more than non-union members. In terms of establishment characteristics, SIZE and EXPORT are both significant at the 1 per cent level but FOREIGN is not. Working for a large establishment pays but working in an export-oriented establishment does not. Among the men, being married is also a positive factor. The variable MARRIED is significant at the 1 per cent level. The variable MIGRANT is, however, not significant. Overall, the regression estimates for men working in the manufacturing sector in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market explain over 62 per cent of the variance in monthly earnings.

Turning to the earnings function for women, or their wage structure, we find that all the educational variables are also significant at the 1 per cent level. For all educational levels, save tertiary certificate or diploma level, the coefficients are larger than those found in the earnings function for men. The return on education for women are better than those for men. The lower return on a tertiary certificate or diploma can be explained by the fact that most women are likely to be engaged in clerical, bookkeeping or secretarial occupations while the men are more likely to be in technical or professional occupations. Experience is also important here, but the premium for each additional year of experience is less for women than for men. The rate of return on an additional year of experience is 7 per cent for men but for women it is 4 per cent. Establishment-based training is also important. The variable TRAIN2 is significant at the 1 per cent level. Women who have had more than one incidence of training stand to earn a premium of 6 per cent. This premium is lower than that found for the men. This difference may be due to differences in the nature of the training received. Overtime work carries about the same premium as for men, presumably because both are governed by standard labour regulations pertaining to overtime work. Being in a low-skilled job also results in lower earnings. The coefficient is, in absolute terms, larger for women than for men. In terms of establishment characteristics, SIZE is significant at the 5 per cent level while EXPORT is significant at the 1 per cent level. FOREIGN is, however, not significant. The premium for SIZE is smaller for women than for men but the negative premium for EXPORT is larger. Clearly, women do not benefit much by working in larger establishments, but they lose more than the men by working in export-oriented establishments. The two variables reflecting personal attributes, i.e.

Table 6.5. Coefficients of male and female earnings functions

Variable	Male		Female	
	Regression	Mean	Regression	Mean
Constant	5.879	-	6.024	-
LS	0.106 (0.052)	0.33	0.100 (0.037)	0.40
US[a]	0.317 (0.055)	0.35	0.303 (0.041)	0.41
HSC	0.377 (0.103)	0.03	0.479 (0.073)	0.03
DIP	0.777 (0.076)	0.09	0.581 (0.074)	0.03
UNIV	1.266 (0.086)	0.07	1.250 (0.110)	0.01
X	0.067 (0.007)	11.98	0.040 (0.005)	9.34
XSQ	-0.001 (0.0002)	216.65	-0.0005 (0.0002)	138.24
TRAIN2	0.180 (0.034)	0.40	0.069 (0.024)	0.38
OTIME	0.003 (0.0006)	28.60	0.002 (0.0004)	32.64
LOWSKILL	-0.209 (0.038)	0.37	-0.270 (0.032)	0.80
UNION	0.084 (0.036)	0.44	0.120 (0.031)	0.16
SIZE	0.00008 (0.00002)	881.35	0.00004 (0.00001)	1,480.76
FOREIGN	0.022 (0.036)	0.48	0.028 (0.037)	0.75
EXPORT	-0.157 (0.035)	0.43	-0.166 (0.037)	0.77
MARRIED	0.104 (0.040)	0.59	-0.005 (0.025)	0.44
MIGRANT	-0.006 (0.031)	0.51	0.015 (0.021)	0.56
R^2	0.617		0.557	-
F	61.606		64.620	-
Number of Cases	602		811	-

Notes: Computed from the ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP Survey (1991) data.

[a] Includes secondary vocational schooling.

MARRIED and MIGRANT, are not significant. Overall, the regression estimates explain about 56 per cent of the variance in monthly earnings.[3]

As discussed earlier, the differences in male and female monthly earnings can be decomposed into two principal components: the differential arising from their different endowments, such as differences in education and experience, and the differential arising from differences in their earnings functions or wage structures. Table 6.6 shows the decomposition of monthly earnings differentials between men and women in terms of various causal factors.

[3] The sub-samples for men and women workers include regular, casual and contract workers, apprentices and family workers. Excluding the latter four categories of workers from this study did not affect the estimates of the earnings functions to any significant extent.

Table 6.6. Decomposition of sex earnings differentials[a]

Causal factor	Total amount attributable	Amount attributable to	
		Endowments	Coefficients
Education	11.87	9.61	2.26
Experience	31.36	9.84	21.52
Training	8.04	3.60	4.44
Overtime	1.65	-1.21	2.86
Low Skill Job	11.28	8.99	2.29
Union	0.77	2.35	-1.58
Establishment Characteristics	3.86	-0.65	4.51
Personal Characteristics	6.95	1.59	5.36
Shift Differential	-12.20	-	-
Raw Differential	63.58	-	-

Note: Computed from the ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP Survey (1991) data.

[a] A positive value indicates advantage to males and a negative value advantage to women.

The raw differential implied by the regression estimates is 64 per cent in favour of men. The independent variables together account for 76 per cent of the differential. This is larger than the raw differential because of a shift differential – an unexplained differential which can be caused by omitted variables – of 12 percentage points in favour of women workers. Decomposing the explained differential of 76 per cent we find that the difference in earnings structure plays a more dominant role. It accounts for 55 per cent of the explained differential. Differences in endowments account for 45 per cent of the explained differential. This shows that 45 per cent of the explained differential in male-female monthly earnings can be accounted for or attributed to differences in their endowments, in particular the lower endowments of the women workers. Women workers, for instance, have a shorter work experience than men, e.g., a mean of 9 years compared with 12 for the men, and in education a higher proportion of men have obtained tertiary education.

Differences in their earnings structure also favour the men. With the exception of schooling at the sixth form level (HSC), the returns on education are higher for men than for women. Returns on experience are clearly higher for men. So also are the returns on establishment-based training and on working in larger establishments. Furthermore, men do not lose as much by working in low-skilled jobs or in export-oriented establishments. The crowding of women into low-skilled jobs accounts for about 15 per cent of the explained differential. They lose out to the men because more of them fall into this category of work and also because the loss from having to work in these jobs is greater for them than for the men. The earnings structure, therefore, compounds the problem of male-female earnings differential because it tends to favour the men.

6.5 Concluding Remarks

There are clearly significant differentials in monthly earnings between men and women workers in the manufacturing sector. While most women workers earn between $M 400 to $M 700 per month, men tend to earn as much as $M 1,000 to $M 2,000 per month. A simple analysis shows that education is an important factor. Earnings tend to increase with the level of education. However, this does not explain why, with the same level of education, women earn significantly less than men. A possible explanation lies in the difference in the employment structure. As we have seen earlier, women tend to be crowded in semi-skilled production work in the manufacturing sector. However, a look at earnings level by occupation also shows that women tend to earn less than men. Except in clerical, sales and service related jobs, women earn significantly less than men in all the occupational categories covered in this study. Clearly, education and occupation can only partly explain the differences between men and women in terms of monthly earnings.

Observed sex differentials in earnings have given rise to several economic theories which seek to explain these differentials in terms of preferences, labour market segmentation, inadequate information and differences in human capital endowments. The first three involve on some element of discrimination. It is not easy, in practice to prove the existence of discrimination. However a standard methodology used in studies of sex earnings differentials can be used to provide further insight into the issue.

Following the human capital framework, we estimated an earnings function for all workers in the sample. The equation serves to show that men, *ceteris paribus*, earn more than women. There is a premium for men in terms of monthly earnings. Given the importance of this factor separate earnings structures were estimated for men and women. The difference in earnings structures is sometimes used as a measure of labour market discrimination (see Oaxaca, 1987, p. 232).

The earnings functions also provide insight into the value of various forms of human capital. In particular, they show that for both men and women education is a key determinant of earnings. The returns on additional education are in fact higher for women. This can be explained by the relatively smaller supply of educated women in the labour market. This situation, however, is likely to change as women receive higher education and as their labour force participation rate increases. Women are disadvantaged in the sense that the returns on their labour market experience are less than that for men. Some of this can be explained in terms of the lower human capital investment that women make when they start working. Lower investment can result, for instance, when women withdraw from the labour market to fulfil their maternal responsibilities.

There does not appear to be any significant difference between men and women in terms of the incidence of establishment-based training, though a larger proportion of men than women are likely to receive more than one instance of establishment-based training. However, the returns on such training appear to favour men. What may be important, and therefore deserves further investigation, is the nature of the training that is provided.

Another important factor explaining sex earnings differentials in the manufacturing sector is the crowding of women in semi-skilled and unskilled production jobs. In these jobs they tend to receive lower wages than the men. A possible explanation is that in these broad occupational categories they crowded in lower segments than the men. A more detailed study at the 3-digit or higher level is clearly needed. Crowding into export-oriented establishments or industries also does not help, since these tend to pay lower wages.

A decomposition of monthly earnings differentials on the basis of the estimated earnings structures reveals that differences in the earnings structure account for a large part of the explained differentials in earnings. Differences in endowment or worker characteristics account for a smaller, but still substantial, portion of the explained differentials. If women attained a higher educational level and more experience this would clearly help reduce the existing differentials between men and women, at least in the manufacturing sector. As for education and training, women need to move into the more technical fields rather than concentrate in clerical, sales and service related occupations.

CHAPTER 7

MARRIED WOMEN WORKERS

7.1 Introduction

In earlier chapters we have seen how women workers are often placed at a disadvantage in the manufacturing sector in the sense that they are crowded in low-level occupations, with some mobility but not much beyond the semi-skilled production level. They also receive significantly lower monthly earnings than their male counterparts. The difference in monthly earnings can be attributed partly to the fact that women have a very different earnings structure from that of the men, a structure that, on the whole, places them at a disadvantage. Some economists see in this strong elements of labour market segmentation. Yet other economists explain the observed differences in terms of different levels of human capital investment.

In this chapter we devote a brief discussion to married women. It is often argued that women invest less in human capital formation because of the need to fulfil maternal and family responsibilities. Lower investment results in lower earnings potential. Our sample consists of 319 respondents. The weighted sample gives us a total of 361 cases. In some parts of the analysis the sample size becomes so small that çare must be taken in interpreting the results.

In section 7.2 we construct a separate profile in relation to married women's employment, occupational mobility, and earnings; section 7.3 examines the issue of married women who discontinued employment and subsequently rejoined the labour force; section 7.4 looks at how the married women handled their maternal and domestic responsibilities while at work, and the factors which they felt could increase the participation of married women in the labour market; and section 7.5 sums up the discussion.

7.2 Profile of Married Women

The married women ranged in age from 19 to 52. Over 30 per cent of these women were in the 30-35 age group. The overall mean age was 33. Seventy per cent of these women started work in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market before the age of 21. In terms of employment status, 89 per cent started work as regular wage employees, 7 per cent as casual workers and 3 per cent as contract workers.

In terms of educational qualifications, it must be noted that they were relatively well educated. Twenty-eight per cent had completed lower secondary schooling, while a further 36 per cent upper secondary schooling, including upper secondary vocational schooling. A further 3 per cent had completed sixth form, 7 per cent a tertiary certificate or diploma programme and 6 per cent university education. Of those who possessed a tertiary certificate or diploma 73 per cent obtained their qualifications after marriage. They, however, constitute a small proportion (just over 5 per cent) of the sample of married women. There appears to be little scope, interest or ability to pursue further education for employment after marriage.

Given their educational background it is not surprising to find that for 24 per cent of these women the first occupation was in the clerical and related fields. A further 10 per cent went into professional, scientific, technical, managerial or executive jobs. The majority, however, went into semi-skilled and unskilled production work, similar to the other women in the sample. In particular, 20 per cent went into semi-skilled production jobs while 30 per cent went into unskilled production jobs. For 69 per cent of these women the first sector of employment was the manufacturing sector. These women, after entering the manufacturing sector, remained in it. A further 8 per cent started work in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market in the wholesale and retail trade, hotel and restaurant industry, and five per cent in the services sector.

As for the mobility of these women, we find that one-third of them started in the electrical and electronics industry and stayed on. A further 12 per cent went into the paper and paper products industry and remained in it. Apart from this there has been a considerable degree of industrial mobility among the married women.

In terms of geographical mobility, some 60 per cent of them came from outside the Kuala Lumpur conurbation. Of these, 29 per cent came from the state of Perak, 18 per cent from the state of Selangor and 12 per cent from the state of Negeri Sembilan. These three border states therefore account for the bulk of the migrants among the married women. Almost two-thirds came for the purpose of employment, 17 per cent followed their spouses, and a further 10 per cent came for the purpose of study. It is interesting to note that 80 per cent of these women came when they were single. Before migration, one-third were engaged in the agricultural and mining sectors, a further 30 per cent in the manufacturing sector and 18 per cent in the wholesale and retail trade, hotel and restaurant industries. Similar to the overall profile of the migrant workers 70 per cent were engaged as regular wage workers, and a further 18 per cent were self-employed or employers, mainly in the agricultural sector.

In terms of occupational mobility, the married women appeared to be the least mobile. Among the married men 59 per cent had changed occupational categories. The corresponding percentage for the single women was 52 per cent. For the married women 43 per cent had changed occupational categories. Surprisingly, among single men only 39 per cent had changed occupational categories. They were, however, younger (mean age of 26 years) than the married women (mean age of 33 years). We must again emphasize that at the one-digit level with which we are dealing a great deal of occupational mobility will be concealed.

7.3 Married Women and Work

Given that 60 per cent of the married women were from outside the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market, that 80 per cent of them were single when they arrived, and that almost two-thirds came for the purpose of employment, it is not surprising to find that 90 per cent of the married women were working for pay, profit or family gain during the six months preceding marriage.

As stated earlier, one of the theories put forward to explain sex earnings differentials maintains that women earn less because it does not pay for them to invest as much as men in human capital formation. The reason being that "... child-bearing and traditional family responsibilities of women lead them to anticipate spending less time in the labour force over the life cycle than men" (Oaxaca, 1987, p. 230). It is therefore important to examine the incidence and extent of labour market withdrawal by married women.

Only 10 per cent of the married women reported discontinuing employment during married life. Because of this small number, the analysis that follows must be interpreted with care. The actual number of respondents who discontinued employment and subsequently rejoined the labour force was 30, which is in fact a rather small sample.

Among the women who discontinued employment 77 per cent did so on one occasion only (see table 7.1). Pregnancy and childbirth were the most important reasons for discontinuing employment for 53 per cent of these women, followed by change of residence (13 per cent) and domestic responsibilities (9 per cent). It would seem that human capital theorists might be wrong in this case since only a very small proportion of married women discontinue employment after marriage (see table 7.2). We must, however, emphasize that this survey covered women who were currently working. Women who discontinued employment and remained outside the labour force were not taken into account since they fell outside the main purpose of this study.

As regards the age of the women who discontinued employment, 26 per cent did so when they were aged 21 or 22. Ninety per cent of these women discontinued employment when they were less than thirty. Thirteen

Table 7.1. Percentage distribution of married women by number of times discontinued employment

Number of times	Percentage
Nil	90.6
Once	7.2
Twice	1.9
Three times	0.3
Number of cases	319

Table 7.2. Percentage distribution of women having discontinued employment by most important reason

Reason	Percentage
Pregnancy and Child Birth	53.1
Change of Residence	12.5
Domestic Responsibilities	9.4
Disapproval by Family	6.3
Services Terminated	6.3
Others	6.3
Number of Cases	32

per cent rejoined employment within the same year, 37 per cent did so after one year. Almost eighty per cent rejoined employment within four years. The maximum duration of employment discontinuation in the sample is 12 years. When they rejoined employment most of these women went into regular wage employment (90 per cent). So high a percentage is not surprising since regular wage employment is the most common form of employment for women.

7.4 Maternal and Household Responsibilities

Although very few married women in the sample discontinued employment, other maternal and household responsibilities may have kept women from investing in their human capital formation. The fact that very few of the married women who were in the manufacturing sector discontinued employment after marriage, and that fewer still did so because of pregnancy and childbirth, suggests that they had been able to make alternative arrangements for the care of their children.

Among the married women 25 per cent had no children below the age of 10. Among those with children less than 10 years of age the most common arrangement for child-care was through the extended family system. For 50 per cent of the women with children aged less than 10 years the children were cared for by parents and relatives. A further 18 per cent had domestic help to look after their children while they were away at work. Only 5 per cent made use of childcare centres. None of the childcare centres used by the respondents were provided for by the employer or the government. This is one area that deserves further attention if more female labour force participation is to be encouraged. The absence of childcare centres at the workplace, provided either by the employer or by some alternative agent such as trade unions or cooperative movements, may explain why where is still a large proportion of working-age female non-income earners in many of the households. Apart from caring for children, women are often also expected to handled domestic chores. Among the married women 93 per cent routinely handled domestic chores in their households. However, 17 per cent had some form of paid domestic help. The percentage is higher than the proportion of women who did not routinely handle domestic chores. This would imply that some women may be relying on part-time or casual paid domestic help which is quite common in the Malaysian context.

Apart from maternal and household responsibilities or domestic chores, women's participation in the labour market may be limited if their spouses are not supportive of their participation. The married women were asked to indicate the attitude of their husbands towards their work. Two-thirds of the married women in the sample indicated that their husbands were supportive and encouraging. Twenty-five per cent said they were cooperative, 4 per cent tolerant and 5 per cent indifferent. On the whole, it may be said that the spouses were supportive.

An important question is how employment among married women can be increased. It is particular importance Malaysia where many industries are facing a shortage of workers, both semi-skilled and skilled, as well as high level manpower. There is, as indicated earlier, a substantial pool of potential workers in the form of non-income earning women of working age. When the married women were asked to give their opinions on low to attract more married women into the labour force 32 per cent indicated that higher wages would be the most important factor (see table 7.3). The next most important factor appeared to be the provision and expansion of childcare facilities. This is followed by the provision of suitable jobs, flexible hours and information on job or employment opportunities. The provision of more vocational training was deemed

Table 7.3. Percentage distribution of married women by factors likely to increase employment of married women

Factor	Percentage
Provision of More Vocational Training	5.6
Creation of More Suitable Jobs	14.8
Provision of More Information on Employment Opportunities	10.2
Higher Wagers for Women	31.6
More Opportunities for Part-time Work and Flexible Hours	11.2
Provision of Child Care Facilities	25.1
Number of Cases	351

Note: [a] These factors were suggested by the married women surveyed.

important by less than 6 per cent of the married women which is not surprising since, with a relatively good educational background, women can easily learn on the job.

We tried to establish a relationship between these perceptions and the background of the respondents. It appeared that higher wages were given priority by those at lower educational levels. About 40 per cent of those with some primary schooling considered higher wages the most important factor. This is quite understandable since most of these women would be engaged in lower level jobs with lower earnings. On the other hand, as educational attainment increases the provision of childcare facilities becomes more important. Thirty-three per cent of those who had completed supper secondary school saw this as the most important factor compared with only 19 per cent of those with primary schooling.

Another important aspect is the relationship between the women's perceptions and their age. The proportion that considered higher wages to be the most important factor did not seem to change with age, accounting for around 30 per cent of the respondents in the respective age groups (see table 7.4). A more interesting pattern is the rise in the proportion who considered childcare facilities the most important factor. This proportion rose with a fall in age, from 45 per cent among the married women less than 25 years old to around 22 per cent among women 40 and above. This is to be expected as those in their twenties would most likely have young children. Another interesting pattern is the rise with age in the proportion who considered the provision of information important. Less than 1 per cent of those in their twenties considered this the most

Table 7.4. Percentage distribution of married women by factors likely to increase employment of married women and by age group

Factor	Age group						
	Below 25	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Above 49
Provision of More Vocational Training	7.3	3.0	13.3	0.9	0.3	22.9	-
Creation of More Suitable Jobs	9.9	10.9	26.8	19.9	12.2	8.3	-
Provision of More Information on Employment Opportunities	-	0.4	6.1	17.9	25.6	22.9	-
Higher Wages for Women	25.7	38.7	33.1	26.0	37.3	19.9	22.4
More Opportunities for Part-time Work and Flexible Hours	10.8	15.6	9.1	13.2	4.2	3.1	5.4
Provision of Child Care Facilities	44.7	29.9	18.7	21.6	18.5	22.9	72.1
Number of Cases	30	86	83	103	36	14	3

Note: These factors were suggested by the married women surveyed.

important factor. For those in their thirties the corresponding percentage was 13 and for those in their forties 25. It is possible that older workers are looking for alternative employment.

7.5 Concluding Remarks

The married women formed 45 per cent of all the women workers surveyed of the manufacturing sector of the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market. In many ways, there are similarities between them and the single women in that most of them came as migrants to Kuala Lumpur in search of employment. In that sense they were geographically mobile, at least when they were single. More important is that the married women like they single women had been able to move across industries and they had also been occupationally mobile, although less so than single women.

The majority of the women had never discontinued employment. Among the small proportion that withdraw one-half did so because of pregnancy and childbirth. Most women rejoined the labour force within two years. About one-half of the married women with children below 10 years of age placed their care in the hands of their parents or relatives while they were at work. The extended family system is clearly very important in terms of childcare. The provision of childcare centres ranks among the most important factors that could increase the participation of married women in the labour market, particularly for young mothers in their twenties and thirties. This is obviously an area that needs further examination if more women are to be drawn into the labour market. For older women workers the provision of labour market information, especially in terms of employment opportunities, could be an important factor. In this respect the 'little-uses' (in terms of job search methods) labour offices could play a major role. However, as expected, better incentives in the form of higher wages are perceived to be the most important factor in any attempt to increase participation of married women in the labour market.

CHAPTER 8

PROMOTING EMPLOYMENT AND OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AMONG WOMEN WORKERS

8.1 Introduction

Malaysia's development strategy in the 1990's will be to make the crucial transition from a developing country to a fully developed and industrialized nation. In this process, women have been recognized as constituting an important human resource component in the development of Malaysian society. Women today make up one half of the population of Malaysia but account for only one-third of the labour force. Although there have been some improvements in their employment status, there is a need to introduce measures to encourage their upward mobility in the manufacturing sector. It is also important to note that, for the purpose of policy formulation, women's increase participation in the labour force should be viewed as their right to self-enhancement rather than as a means of satisfying society's needs at certain stages of economic development. Furthermore, any policy discussion must take into consideration two fundamental constraints on employment utilization of women. The first is women's traditional responsibility for dependents particularly children and parents. The second basic constraint is discrimination. Most of the other hindrances such as low pay and occupational segregation, stem mainly from these two underlying constraints.

One of the important issues in the employment and occupational mobility study in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market pertains to the changing position of women workers in the manufacturing sector (see Standing, 1989). A number of analysts have argued that women industrial workers are a labour reserve, a source of cheap labour whose low-wage employment contributed to industrialization at its early stages; in the course of structural adjustment they will shrink into a reserve work-force for the lower level occupations and will slowly be eased out of manual jobs as automation and capital labour substitution proceed.

Another point of view is that women in the last two decades have been absorbed into the industrial work-force to the point where barriers to their employment are crumbling. These female workers have made a clean break with their rural sector and have learnt the basic skills of industrial workers. Another related hypothesis is that the changing job structure will favour feminization of employment so that women will gain increasing shares of all or many levels of jobs provided that new technologies are gender neutral. In this chapter, some of the basic facts that can be learnt from the ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP study on Employment, Occupational Mobility and Earnings in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market are discussed and some suggested policy recommendations are outlined.

8.2 The Phenomenon of Labour Mobility

The study highlights the fact that Malaysian workers are generally mobile. The general impression is that there is considerable spatial mobility of labour as well as occupational mobility in the country. By and large Malaysians have availed themselves of the opportunities provided by the market to rise to higher occupational categories and to higher income jobs. This mobility took place during the last two decades or so when the manufacturing sector was growing at about 10 per cent per annum, reflecting the dynamism, strength and potential of this sector in so far as labour mobility is concerned.

The study revealed that a very large proportion of workers in the manufacturing sector in the Kuala Lumpur labour market came from the neighbouring states of Perak, Selangor and Negeri Sembilan, indicating considerable spatial mobility of labour. In order to overcome acute shortages of labour, there have been repeated calls on the government to formulate policies to increase the general labour mobility by encouraging further migration. The findings of this study indicate that there is no need to search for policies to increase the overall propensity to migrate. The solution to the labour shortage may be found in other options such as intensifying skills training, automation and the use of migrant labour as a short-term solution in certain sectors of the economy.

The existence of considerable geographic or spatial mobility augurs well for the proposed implementation of an industrial dispersal policy to develop well-equipped industrial estates with sufficient industrial and social facilities in new growth centres along the west coast of Peninsular Malaysia.

8.3 The Growth of a Relatively Well-educated Work-force

Another interesting finding of the study is that about two-thirds of the workers surveyed had had a secondary education. This represents a relatively well-educated labour force and indicates employers' preference to recruit secondary school leavers as the manufacturing sector progresses towards a higher level of sophistication in technology, product development and production of high quality value-added products.[1] In view of the changing skill content within the manufacturing sector, and the apparent importance of education in upward occupational mobility, particularly for low-skilled workers, there are implications for schools as to the content of the curricula and reaching methods. There is a need for broad-based education emphasizing mathematics, science and communication ability as well as proficiency in English. These attributes will provide the foundation for a trainable work-force which can adapt swiftly to changing technology.

8.4 The Need to Induce Labour Participation Among Married Women

The study also reveals that a very large proportion of non-income earning members of households are women. This group can therefore be seen as constituting a large pool of potential participants in the labour market. At a time when the government is faced with the serious problem of labour shortages and new sources of labour supply must be sought, the most likely group that can increase the supply are the married women. Furthermore it is this group that is found in many countries to respond readily to economic incentives such as changes in wage and tax structures, labour market conditions, training opportunities and even child care facilities.

8.5 Vulnerable Position of Young Women Migrants

The study brings out that a majority of female workers in the survey were very young when they migrate, i.e. around 18 years of age. They were, on an average, slightly younger than male migrants and more vulnerable partly because their social conditioning may prevent them from voicing any grievances. Most of them found first-time employment in the manufacturing sector in particular the electrical and electronics sector. Policies to prevent exploitation of females should include counselling to ensure that they are fully informed of available labour market opportunities and of their rights as employees and citizens.

8.6 Migration into Large Export-oriented Establishments

Acharya and Jose (1991) noted, in their study of workers of low-income households in Bombay, that urban labour markets do hold out prospects for workers to transcend the barriers of poverty and low productivity and thereby move into occupations offering higher wages. The study revealed that a large proportion of workers in the manufacturing sector in the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market originated from the surrounding states. Over 95 per cent of the males and 91 per cent of women workers were single and the majority of them were below 21 years of age at the time of migration. An important point is that the majority of migrants who were working in the manufacturing sector, had taken up their first employment in that sector. Within the manufacturing sector, one-third of the men and two-thirds of the women were working in establishments with one thousand or more workers, mainly in export-oriented industries.

This finding differs radically from the model formulated in the 1970's which viewed urban labour markets as a two-tier institutional structure consisting of the formal or the organized wage sector and the large informal sector. In the latter sector migrants have to queue up in anticipation of employment in the formal sector (Harris and Torado, 1970). The study implies that, contrary to the conventional job seeking model, there is no waiting hall for migrant workers. The study reveals that young people can enter large export-oriented establishments as first-time employees. The study therefore suggests that the small-scale sector is not necessarily the easy entry point for workers. Interestingly, for production workers, large firms were the main attraction. It must be

[1] Data compiled by the Malaysian Industrial Development Authorities' on projects approved between 1980 and 1990 show the tendency towards capital intensity.

acknowledged that this study was confined to the manufacturing sector and left out, in particular, other avenues of informal sector employment.

8.7 Industrial Mobility of Female Production Workers

Another interesting finding of the study pertains to the changing position of women in manufacturing industries. Contrary to the "labour reserve" scenario, the industrialization strategy embarked upon by the government and the emergence of the electronics industry[2] as a dynamic growth sector have led to the absorption of women into the industrial work-force to the point where some of the barriers to their employment are crumbling.

The study also highlights that a large proportion of women workers were found in the semi-skilled category even after nine years of work experience. However, to understand the mobility of women, it is important to look beyond the broad occupational groups and consider the job content, the expanding grades within the semi-skilled category, the growth of the industry including technological changes as well as training and earnings.

The majority the women in the study came from the electrical and electronics industries where there have been rapid technological changes both in terms of product and in terms of techniques of production. These changes have also broken down the traditional demarcation between jobs leading to a blurring between job classifications. Within the industry, some of the work has changed from traditional manual skills to work of a monitoring and control nature. This also explains why more than one-third of the female workers obtained training more than once and why industry classifies these women as skilled rather than semi-skilled workers.[3] In an industry where changes in technology are being introduced so frequently, female workers have been trained on-the-job in new technologies which are gender neutral. In the past five years, many of the multinational electronic companies for example have equipped their production operators with higher skills which qualify them to be called manufacturing specialists.[4] Depending on job knowledge, manufacturing specialists must be able to operate more than one machine and "trouble shoot" in order to achieve problem free operations. They are also trained to be self-reliant and originate ideas for a smoother work flow.

To keep up with fast changing technology, the management of some electronic companies have introduced courses such as mechatronics (mechanics and electronics), computer studies and English language training. Some companies also provide education assistance programmes which enable the manufacturing specialists to get a 50 per cent subsidy on educational expenses.[5] With the industry moving away from manual operations to automation, there is no alternative for management other than equip production operators with new skills in order to keep them in step with new technology. This process was facilitated by the fact that about two-thirds of the workers surveyed had secondary education and were able to absorb the training given. It is clear that the electronics industries are likely to stay in Malaysia and they present a considerable potential for inducing women's mobility in the manufacturing sector.

Another significant point to note when discussing mobility is the earnings factor which is also the crux of the stratification issue. The study reveals that women earn significantly less than men. This could be explained by the later entry of women into manufacturing and the seniority-based wage scales prevailing in the manufacturing sector. It is also important to note that female earnings are not stagnating. With the rapid growth of the manufacturing sector, earnings have been on the rise. Standing's[6] study in 1988 revealed that "there was a strong suggestion that, in higher earnings establishments, women's wages were higher compared with men's". In fact he suggested that "women's wages had been rising more than men's". This is consistent with the rising demand for female labour.

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[2] By 1985, Malaysia had secured the position of being the world's major exporter of semiconductors; it is also the third largest producer of semiconductor devices.

[3] Department of Statistics, *Industrial Surveys: Construction, Manufacturing, Mining and Stone Quarrying, 1988*, table 2.9 p. 92.

[4] See "Upgrading skills in factories", *New Sunday Times*, 29 December 1991.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Standing (1989) noted that, in the electrical industry, a few firms reported higher wages for females than for males in the same job.

This study also revealed that, in the case of men, there seemed to be a slightly greater degree of occupational mobility but among women for whom mobility is confined to fewer occupational categories. The gender difference seems to lie in the differences in education and training. Hence, an important policy option is to ensure that female migrants have access to vocational training, adequate job counselling and appropriate on-the-job training as well. This is imperative as the manufacturing sector will undergo further automation and the number of semi-skilled production jobs is likely to decrease. The female production operators, many of whom are reasonably well educated must be provided with adequate training to enable them to move into technical jobs such as those of technicians.

8.8 Feminization and Labour Flexibility

Another interesting finding of the study relates to feminization and labour flexibility. The study reveals that the proportion of women who were regular employees is almost as large as that of men. Women, the study finds, are generally in regular employment. There is no tendency towards casualization. This can be attributed to the acute shortage of labour faced by many industries in the country. However, it must be borne in mind that the bulk of women are employed at the semi-skilled production level export-oriented industries which are likely to resort to retrenchments during times of a slack in overseas demand. Hence labour flexibility may be occurring without casualization or subcontracting.

8.9 Trade Unions and Female Mobility

In the Kuala Lumpur urban labour market, union membership does not necessarily imply better benefits. In most instances, the proportions of union and non-members receiving various forms of benefits are on the whole similar. In fact, a larger proportion of non-union members than union members receive accommodation, transport and meal allowances. However, in lower category occupations, especially in skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled jobs, union membership ensures significantly higher wages. Recent studies have depicted unions as a source of "dynamic efficiency" obliging enterprises to pay efficiency wages rather than mere "market clearing" wages and forcing management to raise productivity by inducing technological changes and cost saving practices rather than reliance on low cost labour. The study found that union members were better informed of their rights. It revealed that there was scope for extending unions as a means of creating a better informed work-force, aware of their rights and responsibilities, and of facilitating labour mobility. The small number of female workers in unions stems from the fact that the electronics sector had remained largely "union-free" until registration of the first union in the Harris Solid State Electronics Company in 1988.[7]

8.10 The Need for Labour Market Information and Job Counselling

In the urban labour market, quite apart from the problems of education, training and skill upgrading, there is also a need to improve the dissemination of labour market information to potential young women willing to enter the labour market. The study highlights the heavy reliance on informal channels where job search was concerned. The reliance on "friends and relatives" may provide an indication of a job searcher's awareness of alternative channels. In this regard, the Manpower Departments' employment officers could play a pivotal role in disseminating labour market information and at the same time intensifying labour market counselling.

8.11 Married Women and Work

The study also reveals that a fairly large portion of women in the Kuala Lumpur labour market were married and that most of them had not discontinued employment after marriage. Furthermore, about half of them entrusted the care of their children to their parents or relatives. None of the child care centres used by the respondents were provided by the employers. Yet, as the study found, the provision of childcare facilities is perceived to be an important factor in promoting married women's participation in the labour market, this perception being especially strong among the younger married women. The lack of such facilities may also explain why there is a large proportion of working-age female non-income earners in many households when the nation is facing a labour shortage. Hence, the provision of child care facilities, and labour market information will be vital in boosting the participation rate of married women. Overall, the study reveals that

[7] There are all together five unions registered in the Electronics Sector. Besides the Harris Solid State Union, there are in-house unions in SGS – Thompson, Gautronics, Mitsumi Electric, and Siemens.

an increasing number of women are spending more time in the labour force. Such continuous employment and the job experience gained will facilitate female mobility in the long term.

8.12 Recommendations

Women represent a vital and ever-increasing compoment of the industrial labour market. Future human resource policies should therefore enable them to obtain upward mobility in terms of occupation, skill content and employment status.

(i) Technical Training for Semi-skilled Production Operators

The government should support the private sector in providing basic skill upgrading for semi-skilled production workers in the manufacturing sector. Institutions for such training could be established within or near the industrial zones. The courses should offer industrial technology, mechatronics, computer technology and technician training. Short-term courses on other subjects should also be organized. One of the mechanisms for this could be the proposed Human Resource Development Fund which is a levy grant system and which is expected to be operational in 1992. Under this scheme, the government could earmark a certain percentage of funds each year to be spent on upgrading the technical skills of women. Another need is to provide scholarships to women for pursuing technician, technologist, engineering and apprenticeship courses. Yet another mechanism might be the Double Tax Incentive Scheme for Training in the manufacturing sector which could provide tax relieve for training of women in the technical/vocational field. In this connection, the government should designate the training of semi-skilled production operators as priority under the scheme.

(ii) Measures to Increase Participation of Women Engineering and Scientific Courses

Although girls reach the general educational level of boys in the school system, they are concentrated in the arts stream. Furthermore, in career counselling, government agencies such as the Ministries of Education and Human Resource have a tendency to channel women the about 30 jobs in the job market whilst men are guided to over 200 jobs. In the Engineering faculties and Polytechnics, fewer women pursue mechanical, electrical and civil engineering courses. It is important that educational authorities develop women's interest in science and technology, and guide them to a wider range of career options. Information campaigns on vocational training for girls should be launched in order to make parents aware of the importance for women to engage in careers that will meet the changing requirements of the labour market, particularly of the fast growing manufacturing and services sectors.

(iii) Key Role of Counselling

A major barrier preventing mobility of women across occupations is the inadequacy of the counselling and support services. Without the knowledge of the options available and the support services that can be used, women cannot avail themselves of the assistance they need. For many female workers, appropriate counselling in the form of "needs assessment" is the key to surmount the barriers in occupational mobility. Such counselling could provide those in need of training with information on evening or other classes tailored to their specific requirements. Several studies have indicated that proper counselling raises the self-esteem of the women workers as well as the probability of their finding better jobs.

(iv) Importance of Labour Market Information

While appropriate training programmes for women are a key element in breaking down barriers preventing mobility, such programmes cannot be implemented without proper knowledge of where employment opportunities are located, at district or state level. Access to labour market information would provide women with particulars of the nature of job vacancies. It would also make employment counselling more effective. It is therefore suggested that the labour offices increase their efforts to disseminate current labour market information.

(v) Child Care Facilities

The government should design plans for the establishment of child care facilities in the manufacturing sector. At present these facilities are provided by some employers other sectors such as plantations and mining.

The introduction of child care facilities in the manufacturing sector would act as an incentive for women to join the work-force. The child care related expenses could be considered legitimate employment related expenses and be eligible for income tax relief.

(vi) Skilled Worker Training Loan

One of the measures that could provide women virtually unobstructed access to industrial work would be the granting of a skilled worker training loan to female workers who desire training but do not have the financial resources. The government should look towards the Employees Provident Fund or the proposed Human Resources Development Fund to provide such assistance in order to allow for skill acquisition which would facilitate mobility among women.

(vii) The Role of Women's Associations in Monitoring Discrimination

The women's associations should work closely with the Ministry of Human Resources in regard to women's equal opportunities and treatment in all areas of occupational mobility. They should also work with the employers to improve personnel management so as to ensure that women are given equal opportunities in recruitment, training and job assignment.

(viii) Flexible Working Hours

The government should review the labour laws to improve the working conditions of part-time workers and the personnel management practices affecting them. Flexible working hours enable women to reconcile home and work responsibilities by giving them more control over the number and pattern of hours worked, including job-sharing and night shifts. In this regard flexible working arrangements should also provide opportunities for women to enrol in evening or night classes to further develop their skills.

(ix) Foreign Migrant Workers and Employment of Female Workers in the Manufacturing Sector

The government's recent policy to allow employment of foreign migrant workers in the manufacturing sector should make sure that only those firms genuinely in need of workers and who could offer competitive wages are permitted to recruit foreign labour. In this regard the Secretariat for Women's Affairs (HAWA) should ensure that this labour policy does not adversely affect the participation of women in the industrial sector.

(x) Promotion of a Human Resource Oriented Policy

One of the most important policy recommendation relates to the need to consider the issue of women workers' mobility with some urgency. Women represent a growing and vital component of Malaysia's industrial labour market and there is a need to adopt a human resource oriented policy to enable and encourage their upward mobility in the manufacturing sector. This policy should take into account the education and training needs of women and as well as the type, diversity and level of skills women require to move from semi-skilled to more skilled jobs. This would go a long way in eliminating stratification. Another important consideration is job rotation in the semi-skilled category so as to improve worker satisfaction, thus motivating and encouraging genuine skill development. Job rotation should be pursued with the aim of providing personal enrichment as well as greater work efficiency.

8.13 Further Studies

Based on the findings of this study, it is recommended that a detailed study be undertaken focusing attention on the labour mobility of women particularly at a more disaggregated level of the semi-skilled occupational category, for instance at the 3-digit level.

The study should focus on:

(a) The nature of the jobs performed by women workers;

(b) The varying grades within the semi-skilled production level;

(c) A detailed earnings breakdown including fringe benefits such as cost of living allowance, transport allowance and paid leave that are granted to women workers;

(d) Details of the training available to women workers, for example, training content and skills attained;

(e) The attitudes of women workers towards establishment-based and other forms of training in the scientific and technological fields

The study should also examine the available institutional support, for instance, the Human Resources Development Fund and Double Tax Deduction Scheme which could assist in strengthening women's employment and occupational diversification. Furthermore, the study should consider why fewer women are enrolling in engineering, polytechnics, and vocational and technical training programmes and why women generally fail to benefit in the same way as men from technical and vocational training.

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EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME MOBILITY OF WOMEN IN THE METRO MANILA MANUFACTURING SECTOR

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The International Women's Decade (1976-1985) focused the world's attention on the situation of women. It brought out the problems and issues confronting women in countries at various stages of development and resulted in measures being taken to improve their situation.

The Philippine response to the Women's Decade and the world-wide concern for women has been encouraging. The government has ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and committed itself to the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women, two of the most important instruments that resulted from the Decade. In 1975, the government created the National Commission on the Role of the Filipino Women (NCRFW). Its mandate is to work towards the full integration of women in the country's social, economic, political and cultural development on a basis of equality with men.

The national policy also provided a favourable atmosphere for women's development. For the first time, the 1987 Philippine Constitution explicitly stipulates fundamental equality between women and men; it cites the women's role in nation building (Art. II, Sec. 14) and recognizes women's maternal and economic role (Art. XIII, Sec. 14). Equity and access to education and training opportunities and enjoyment of their benefits is also guaranteed by law under the 1987 Constitution. These provisions on non-discrimination in national education and training policies have greatly contributed to the close parity in literacy rates between sexes.

The growing consciousness among the planners of women's potential role in economic development is also reflected in the latest Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan 1987-1992, in which specific strategies and measures for the provision of equal opportunity for women were incorporated. In particular, strategies and programmes were devised to integrate women in all spheres of economic life through sensitizing policy makers and planners to the problems and issues affecting women in various sectors. The plans were coordinated by the NCRFW, with women's units in each line department of the government.

In 1989, the Philippine Development Plan for Women (PDPW), within the framework of the Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan 1987-1992, was formulated. It is an initial effort aimed at integrating the concerns of women in the planning process, a task which requires a multi-sided approach including national commitment and political will, relevant policies and programmes, the provision of adequate resources, efficient monitoring and women's participation.

This study on employment and income mobility of women in the Metro Manila manufacturing sector is one of four detailed labour market studies based on sample surveys carried out in four Asian metropolitan cities. The three other cities were Seoul, Kuala Lumpur and Bangkok. The project was funded by the UNDP through ESCAP and conducted by ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP. General guidelines for the analysis were provided by ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP.

This survey report is composed of six chapters. In order to provide the necessary background for a proper understanding of the study, the report first gives a brief overview of the employment situation in the Philippines, highlighting figures for Metro Manila, with gender disaggregation, when possible. This is followed by a discussion of the framework of the analysis, including the objectives of the study and the methodology used in gathering the data for analysis.

Chapters 2 to 4 present the findings of the survey. Profiles of the business establishments, and the workers as well as details on their current employment are given in Chapter 2. The factors that speed up or hamper workers' upward mobility and influence income mobility are identified in Chapters 3 and 4, respectively. The

nature and direction of change, and relationships among variables are examined to get a clearer picture of how dynamic or rigid the Metro Manila labour market is.

Chapter 5 summarizes the findings of the survey and presents the conclusions.

1.1 Employment: An Overview[1]

The Philippines is geographically and politically divided into 14 regions. Metro Manila being the premier region is the centre of the economic as well as political activities of the country. It is also known as the National Capital Region (NCR), composed of four cities, including the capital city of Manila, and 13 municipalities. It is home to 20 per cent of the total number of manufacturing establishments in the country and accounts for 31 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (1989 Quarterly Report, NSCB).

(a) Population and Labour Force

In 1990, the country's population stood at 60.7 million, with a population density of 202 persons per square kilometre. Metro Manila with a population of 7.9 million is the most densely populated, registering 12,467 persons per square kilometre.

The country's working age population, i.e., those 15 years old and over, has been steadily increasing every year. The annual growth rate of this group from 1988 to 1990 averaged 3.0 per cent. This indicates that around 1.1 million are being added to the manpower pool yearly.

Of the country's 1990 population, 40 per cent or 24.2 million were in the labour force. Some 3.1 million or 13 per cent were in Metro Manila, 39 per cent of which were in the labour force. The total labour force was mostly male – 15.3 million (63 per cent), participation rates by sex being 82 per cent for males and 47 per cent for females.

In Metro Manila, there were about 1.8 million (58 per cent) males in the labour force. Females accounted for 1.3 million (42 per cent). Labour force participation rate for males was 72 per cent, while for females 46 per cent. Participation rates in Metro Manila were lower than the rates at the national level, one reason being that most of the younger members of the working age population in the city are attending schools.

(b) Employment in Industry

This section presents an overview of the country's employment profile with special reference to the manufacturing sector.

Agriculture remains the chief employer of manpower in the country with a share of 45 per cent to total employment of 22.2 million in 1990. It is followed by services (40 per cent) and, last of all, industry (15 per cent). However, with an increasing number of people migrating to urban areas, the share of agriculture to total employment is gradually diminishing. While the share of industry remains constant, the share of the services sector continues to increase. Meanwhile, employment figures in Metro Manila registered an increase of 8.3 per cent from 2.4 million in 1988 to 2.6 million in 1990. Of total employed in 1990, 1.5 million (58 per cent) were male and 1.1 million (42 per cent) were female. The unemployment rate in Metro Manila (16 per cent) was almost twice that of the national figure of 8 per cent.

In 1990, there were only 2.2 million workers in manufacturing industries. Manufacturing establishments in Metro Manila employed the largest number. Employment stood at around 550,000 (25 per cent) workers. Of the total number of persons engaged in manufacturing in the whole country, 54 per cent (1.2 million) were male, while 46 per cent (1.0 million) were female. In Metro Manila, almost the same sex distribution prevailed: some 300,000 (55 per cent) males as against 250,000 (45 per cent) females were working in the manufacturing industry.

[1] *Sources:* *Employment Report* (1990), Institute for Labour Studies; *Labour Force Survey* (1988-1990), National Statistics Office; *Yearbook of Labour Statistics* (1989), Bureau of Labour and Employment Statistics.

(c) Workers' Employment Status and Occupations

Employed persons in the Philippines may be classified into three broad categories, namely, wage and salary workers, own-account workers and unpaid family workers. In 1990, some 46 per cent were wage and salary workers, 39 per cent were own-account workers and 16 per cent were unpaid family workers.

In manufacturing, there were a total of 1.6 million wage and salary workers (61 per cent males and 40 per cent females); 499,000 own-account workers (39 per cent males and 61 per cent females); and 107,000 unpaid family workers (33 per cent males and 67 per cent females). It can be inferred from these data that, in manufacturing industries, men are more assured of their income than women. Likewise, the former earn more than the latter considering the fact that, on the average, wage workers are better paid. This is prevalent in urban areas where 53 per cent of family incomes in 1985 were sourced from wages and salaries, while only 25 per cent were accounted for by entrepreneurial activities.

Employment distribution for Metro Manila for the same year and industry was recorded as follows: 489,000 (56 per cent males and 44 per cent females) wage and salary workers; 58,000 (41 per cent males and 59 per cent females) own-account workers; and 3,000 (67 per cent males and 33 per cent females) unpaid family workers. The sex disaggregation of the unpaid workers is surprising since it is the exact opposite of the national trend.

In the Philippines, as of October 1990, about 10 million workers (45 per cent) were classified as agricultural workers. Production and related workers followed next with 4.7 million (21 per cent). However, production and related workers comprised the largest number of employed persons in Metro Manila. During the same period, 35 per cent of total employed in the region were production workers. This was followed by sales workers (19 per cent) and services workers (18 per cent).

Almost half (42 per cent) of the Metro Manila production workers were found in manufacturing. Clerical and professional workers also accounted for much of the manufacturing employment in the region.

1.2 Analytical Framework and Objectives of the Study

It is widely held that, over time, a worker's earnings and employment position will improve because of experience, more skills and/or higher productivity, which upgrade his human capital endowments. The aim of this study is to identify the factors which promote or impede the upward mobility of workers in terms of income and employment level, particularly in an urban labour market. Is the Metro Manila labour market dynamic enough to provide opportunities for workers to improve their work life? Does it have the structure that holds out prospects for workers to cross the barriers of poverty and low productivity, and thereby move into sectors and occupations offering higher wages and improved working conditions? What is the nature of the mobility experienced by workers in the labour market during their lifetime?

This study looks at two types of mobility: employment and income mobility. Hence, the work history of the workers is traced in reverse order – from the current employment to the first employment – with respect to a number of factors at various stages of their working life. Discussion in the study will be disaggregated by sex. In the process, some gender specific issues will be highlighted especially in terms of equal employment opportunities and equal pay.

(a) Employment Mobility

Employment mobility refers to the ability of workers to change jobs or transfer from one employer to another – voluntarily or involuntarily. This study describes the nature of such changes for both sexes. It examines whether men are more mobile than women, and whether gender, marriage and domestic responsibilities have affected women workers' employment mobility.

In order to get a clearer picture of the nature and direction of workers' mobility, the following issues will be investigated:

(i) Average length of time spent in each job, reasons for job changes, and mode of job search;

(ii) Mobility across industries;
(iii) Occupational mobility, which assumes mobility across skill categories;
(iv) Change in employment status;
(v) Change by size of establishment (scale mobility);
(vi) Mobility and Trade Union Membership;
(vii) Career prospects;
(viii) Mobility among married women workers; and
(ix) Mobility among migrants.

(b) Income Mobility

Income mobility refers to the ability of workers to transcend the barriers of low income and attain higher standards of living. This study examines the pattern of income mobility among workers primarily in relation to employment mobility and changes in their employment status and occupation. Special attention is given to migrant workers, as they have to strive harder than non-migrants to secure comparable positions. Access to housing is chosen as an additional indicator of their income mobility.

1.3 Methodology

The data for analysis were collected by means of a survey of workers in manufacturing establishments in Metro Manila. Data gathering took four months, from May to August 1991.

(a) Sampling Distribution

The sample size was set at 800 male and 800 female workers from at least 100 manufacturing establishments in Metro Manila. A two-staged sampling procedure was used. First, the sample establishments were drawn at random from the 1990 National Statistics Office (NSO) List of Manufacturing Establishments for Metro Manila. Establishments in the list are stratified by 2-digit industry and employment size. Second, from each sample establishment, 8 male and 8 female workers were randomly selected based on a list arranged by broad occupational categories.

(b) Selection of Sample Establishments

In 1990, there were around 3,219 manufacturing establishments in Metro Manila employing at least 20 workers each. For the purpose of the survey, these establishments were first classified by industry and employment size. Nine manufacturing industries were identified, namely:

1. Food, Beverages and Tobacco (Industry Code 31);
2. Textiles, Garments and Leather (32);
3. Wood and Wood Products, including Furniture and Fixtures (33);
4. Paper and Paper Products; Printing and Publishing (34);
5. Chemicals and Chemical Products Petroleum, Coal, Rubber and Plastics (35);
6. Non-Metallic Mineral Products, except Products of Petroleum and Coal (36);
7. Basic Metals (37);
8. Fabricated Metal Products, Machinery and Equipment (38); and
9. Other Manufactures (39).

As for size of the establishments, three categories were identified: those with 20 to 99 workers were classified as small; those with 100 to 499 workers as medium; and those with 500 or more workers as large. It was decided that 20, 30 and 50 per cent of the 100 sample establishment would be drawn from the small-sized, medium-sized and large-sized establishments respectively, because employment in manufacturing industries approximates the same distribution. Based on the above, sample establishments were randomly drawn for each stratum (industry and size), pegging the minimum number of observations to two establishments per cell (table 1.1).

Table 1.1. Distribution of manufacturing establishments by employment size and industry group, Metro Manila: 1990

Industry[a]		20-99		100-499		500 and over		Total	
		N	n	N	n	N	n	N	n
(3)	Manufacturing	2,297	20	751	30	171	50	3,219	100
(31)	Food, Beverages, Tobacco	250	2	87	3	30	9	367	14
(32)	Textiles, Garments, Leather	565	3	237	8	70	18	872	29
(33)	Wood, Wood Products, including Furniture and Fixtures	171	2	38	2	6	2	215	6
(34)	Paper and Paper Products, Printing, Publishing	274	2	47	2	7	2	328	6
(35)	Chemicals, Chemical Products, Petroleum, Coal, Rubber, Plastics	346	2	145	5	16	5	507	12
(36)	Non-metallic Mineral Products, except Products of Petroleum and Coal	75	2	16	2	8	2	99	6
(37)	Basic Metals	69	2	34	2	1	1	104	5
(38)	Fabricated Metal Products, Machinery, Equipment	465	3	118	4	31	9	614	16
(39)	Other Manufactures	82	2	29	2	2	2	113	6

Notes: N – Population.
n – Sample size.

[a] Industry

(c) Selection of Sample Workers

A total of 16 workers – 8 male and 8 female – were to be interviewed from each sample establishment regardless of establishment size. Table 1.2 summarizes the distribution of workers by employment size and industry group. For purposes of sampling, the occupations were classified into three major categories: (a) managerial and professional; (b) clerical, sales and services; and (c) production workers. From each establishment, 2 managers/professionals; 4 clerical, sales and services workers; and 10 production workers were interviewed, equally divided between the two sexes (table 1.3). The respondents were chosen randomly from the company's pay-roll, bearing in mind the above considerations.

(d) The Questionnaire

The main objective of the interviews was to collect as much information as possible on employment and working conditions of workers in manufacturing industries, with reference to three or four important points in

Table 1.2. Distribution of workers by employment size and industry group, Metro Manila: 1990

Industry[a]		20-99		100-499		500 and over		Total	
		N	n	N	n	N	n	N	n
(3)	Manufacturing	94,922	320	146,794	480	221,472	800	463,188	1,600
(31)	Food, Beverages, Tobacco	10,767	32	19,273	48	36,443	144	66,483	224
(32)	Textiles, Garments, Leather	23,307	48	46,139	128	106,322	288	175,768	464
(33)	Wood, Wood Products, including Furniture and Fixtures	7,117	32	6,397	32	5,197	32	18,711	96
(34)	Paper and Paper Products, Printing, Publishing	11,203	32	9,452	32	4,588	32	25,243	96
(35)	Chemicals, Chemical Products, Petroleum, Coal, Rubber, Plastics	14,242	32	27,361	80	22,864	80	64,467	192
(36)	Non-metallic Mineral Products, except Products of Petroleum and Coal	3,099	32	3,494	32	6,910	32	13,503	96
(37)	Basic Metals	3,054	32	6,340	32	3,553	16	12,947	80
(38)	Fabricated Metal Products, Machinery, Equipment	18,673	48	23,113	64	32,466	144	74,252	256
(39)	Other Manufactures	3,460	32	5,225	32	3,129	32	11,814	96

Notes: N – Population.
n – Sample size.

[a] Same as table 1.1.

Table 1.3. Matched sample distribution of workers by employment size, industry group, main occupation and sex

Industry[a]/occupational category		20-99		100-499		500 and over		Total	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
(3)	Managerial and Professional Clerical,	160	160	240	240	400	400	800	800
	Sales, Services Production Workers	20	20	30	30	50	50	100	100
		40	40	60	60	100	100	200	200
(31)	Managerial and Professional Clerical,	2	2	3	3	9	9	14	14
	Sales, Services Production Workers	4	4	6	6	18	18	28	28
		10	10	15	15	45	45	70	70
(32)	Managerial and Professional Clerical,	3	3	8	8	18	18	29	29
	Sales, Services Production Workers	6	6	16	16	36	36	58	58
		15	15	40	40	90	90	145	145
(33)	Managerial and Professional Clerical,	2	2	2	2	2	2	6	6
	Sales, Services Production Workers	4	4	4	4	4	4	12	12
		10	10	10	10	10	10	30	30
(34)	Managerial and Professional Clerical,	2	2	2	2	2	2	6	6
	Sales, Services Production Workers	4	4	4	4	4	4	12	12
		10	10	10	10	10	10	30	30
(35)	Managerial and Professional Clerical,	2	2	5	5	5	5	12	12
	Sales, Services Production Workers	4	4	10	10	10	10	24	24
		10	10	25	25	25	25	60	60
(36)	Managerial and Professional Clerical,	2	2	2	2	2	2	6	6
	Sales, Services Production Workers	4	4	4	4	4	4	12	12
		10	10	10	10	10	10	30	30
(37)	Managerial and Professional Clerical,	2	2	2	2	1	1	5	5
	Sales, Services Production Workers	4	4	4	4	2	2	10	10
		10	10	10	10	5	5	25	25
(38)	Managerial and Professional Clerical,	3	3	4	4	9	9	16	16
	Sales, Services Production Workers	6	6	8	8	18	18	32	32
		15	15	20	45	45	45	80	80
(39)	Managerial and Professional Clerical,	2	2	2	2	2	2	6	6
	Sales, Services Production Workers	4	4	4	4	4	4	12	12
		10	10	10	10	10	10	30	30

Note: [a] Same as table 1.1.

their career: current employment, first employment, previous employment and, in the case of migrant workers, employment before migration. Data on aspects of employment before and after marriage were gathered from married women workers. Additional questions on the establishment as well as the socio-economic profile of the workers were asked as supplementary data. The questionnaire was prepared in English, but was generally administered in Tagalog.

(e) Organization of the Field-work

Twenty enumerators were hired to undertake the interviews. They were divided into five groups: each group was given a quota of 20 establishments, and each enumerator a quota of 80 workers. Metro Manila was divided into four districts, and one group was assigned to a particular district.

Before setting out on their field-work, the enumerators were briefed on how to administer the questionnaire and on how to arrange and conduct the interviews. The supervisors accompanied the enumerators on their first two weeks of interviews and when the situation required, to ensure that the enumerators were doing their work correctly.

(f) Problems Encountered

More than 50 per cent of the first set of sample establishments were replaced because they either refused or could not receive the enumerators during the time set for the survey. This difficulty of locating cooperating establishments caused delays in the completion of the field-work so that it took four months instead of the planned two months. This is also the reason why the actual number of sample workers was only 1570 instead of 1,600.

A brief look at the methodology used for selecting the sample workers reveals an ideal plan of a "matched" sample wherein the career paths of a male and a female worker in the same occupation and establishment would be compared and studied. However, this plan did not materialize in some industries because of the absence of certain types of workers in that industry. For example, there were not enough female production workers in the basic metals industry, nor were there a sufficient number of male clerical workers in the textile industry. What was done in such cases was complete the sample from other industries where such workers predominated or could be found. For example, the required number of female production workers were drawn from the garments industry; and the required number of male clerical workers from the fabricated metals industry. Care was taken, however, to ensure that they were drawn from other establishments with similar characteristics before selecting them from other industries.

Table 1.4. Actual sample distribution of workers by employment size, industry group, main occupation and sex

Industry[a]/occupational category	20-99		100-499		500 and over		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
(3) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	176	155	352	374	256	257	784	786
Sales, Services Production Workers	22	28	54	47	43	43	119	118
	33	44	97	88	75	68	205	200
(31) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	–	1	4	4	12	12	16	17
Sales, Services Production Workers	4	4	9	7	22	18	35	29
	2	5	22	32	30	22	54	59
(32) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	2	5	23	20	12	13	37	38
Sales, Services Production Workers	1	8	35	39	23	23	59	70
	21	31	74	136	55	55	150	222
(33) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	4	3	2	3	–	–	6	6
Sales, Services Production Workers	6	4	6	6	–	–	12	10
	18	1	15	5	–	–	33	6
(34) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	2	3	2	–	1	1	5	4
Sales, Services Production Workers	4	3	2	4	2	2	8	9
	17	7	9	10	5	5	31	22
(35) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	1	5	3	5	8	5	12	15
Sales, Services Production Workers	2	4	10	7	5	7	17	18
	10	5	22	15	18	18	50	38
(36) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	3	1	5	3	–	–	8	4
Sales, Services Production Workers	7	9	11	5	–	–	18	14
	15	3	13	10	–	–	28	13
(37) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	1	–	7	4	2	1	10	5
Sales, Services Production Workers	1	2	8	6	1	3	10	11
	5	–	13	4	4	–	22	4
(38) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	5	6	7	6	8	10	20	22
Sales, Services Production Workers	4	6	14	12	20	14	38	32
	20	19	28	24	23	42	71	85
(39) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	4	4	1	2	–	1	5	7
Sales, Services Production Workers	4	4	2	2	2	1	8	7
	13	12	5	3	3	4	21	19

Note: [a] Same as table 1.1.

The actual sample distribution is presented in table 1.4, while the ideal distribution is presented in table 1.3.

It is also worth mentioning the constraint faced in freely choosing the respondents at random, that is, drawing them from the establishment's pay-roll. In some instances, management designated the persons to be interviewed, especially in regard to production workers, so as not to disrupt the production activity. In most cases, it was the workers who were actually on the premises of the establishment and available during the time the interview took place that were chosen as respondents.

In order to minimize the sampling bias created by the above-mentioned constraints, appropriate weights have been assigned to the actual sample to make the results truly representative. The weighted sample distribution is shown in table 1.5. Except for section 2.1 (Profile of Business Establishments), the data presented in this survey report are weighted.

Table 1.5. Weighted sample distribution of workers by employment size, industry group, main occupation and sex

Industry[a]/occupational category	20-99		100-499		500 and over		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
(3) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	806	425	4,455	1,992	16,214	10,022	21,475	12,439
Sales, Services Production Workers	757	602	5,662	3,946	35,012	23,391	41,431	27,939
	6,857	1,465	30,565	11,153	128,836	149,051	166,258	161,669
(31) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	–	81	651	341	3,064	1,312	3,715	1,734
Sales, Services Production Workers	115	120	1,031	887	11,850	3,995	12,996	5,002
	1,094	364	4,535	2,202	22,797	14,598	28,426	17,164
(32) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	54	50	431	289	3,186	3,511	3,671	3,850
Sales, Services Production Workers	48	57	484	615	6,160	9,126	6,692	9,798
	360	340	3,203	4,230	38,956	94,463	42,519	99,033
(33) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	39	22	183	76	–	–	222	98
Sales, Services Production Workers	23	15	337	133	–	–	360	148
	472	75	2,137	386	–	–	2,609	461
(34) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	33	14	144	–	1,618	838	1,795	852
Sales, Services Production Workers	15	31	251	197	2,785	2,075	3,051	2,303
	242	107	1,191	366	12,605	3,295	14,038	3,768
(35) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	118	43	1,050	526	4,491	2,015	5,659	2,584
Sales, Services Production Workers	131	67	1,699	929	8,947	4,636	10,777	5,632
	746	56	4,170	697	22,915	10,825	27,831	11,578
(36) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	40	21	186	93	–	–	226	114
Sales, Services Production Workers	57	24	266	171	–	–	323	195
	309	12	1,681	546	–	–	1,990	558
(37) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	39	–	230	39	386	85	655	124
Sales, Services Production Workers	52	26	197	84	693	249	942	359
	500	–	1,369	12	5,356	–	7,225	12
(38) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	411	139	1,409	512	3,469	1,830	5,289	2,481
Sales, Services Production Workers	288	237	1,268	753	4,247	2,931	5,803	3,921
	2,625	207	11,247	1,435	24,085	21,415	37,957	23,057
(39) Managerial and Professional Clerical,	72	55	171	116	–	431	243	602
Sales, Services Production Workers	28	25	129	177	330	379	487	581
	509	304	1,032	1,279	2,122	4,455	3,663	6,038

Note: [a] Same as table 1.1.

CHAPTER 2

STRUCTURE OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE METRO MANILA MANUFACTURING SECTOR

This chapter provides an overview of the manufacturing establishments and the workers covered by the study. Section 2.1 gives the establishments' profile, section 2.2 the workers' socio-economic profile, section 2.3 the workers' current employment profile, and section 2.4 the workers' current earnings profile.

2.1 Profile of the Establishments

(a) Industry Classification

A total of 114 manufacturing firms were covered by the study (table 2.1). Most of the firms (38) were textile, garments and leather goods industries. Eighteen firms manufactured metal products and heavy equipment, while 17 were food, beverages and tobacco producers.

Table 2.1. Percentage distribution of sample establishments by industry

Industry	Number	Percentage
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	17	14.9
Textiles, Garments, Leather	38	33.3
Wood, Wood Products	7	6.1
Paper, Paper Products	6	5.3
Chemicals, Petroleum, Plastics	13	11.4
Non-metallic Mineral Products	6	5.3
Basic Metals	6	5.3
Febricated Metal Products	18	15.8
Other Manufactures	3	2.6
Total	114	100.0

(b) Establishment Size

The majority of the manufacturing firms covered by the study (44 per cent) had at least 100 to 499 employees. Thirty-eight (34 per cent) had 500 workers or more. Only 26 firms belonged to the 20 to 99 size group (table 2.2).

Table 2.2. Percentage distribution of sample establishments by size

Establishment size (number of workers)	Number	Percentage
20-99	26	22.8
100-499	50	43.9
500 and over	38	33.3
Total	114	100.0

(c) Other Characteristics

More Filipino-owned companies (82 per cent) than foreign-owned (18 per cent) were covered. However, interviewers noted that most companies that were reported to be locally-owned were managed by naturalized citizens. Companies exporting at least 25 per cent of their products were comparable, percentagewise, with companies manufacturing for the local market.

Only a minimal number (10 per cent) of the firms were entirely subcontractors, producing under subcontract for other establishments. Other firms were both subcontractors and independent producers of their major products (11 per cent), while the majority of companies (81 per cent) were independent producers (table 2.3).

Table 2.3. Selected characteristics of sample establishments

Characteristics	Number	Percentage
Filipino ownership	93	81.6
Foreign ownership	21	18.4
Export-oriented	55	48.2
Independent	92	80.7
Subcontract	10	8.8
Independent and subcontract	12	10.5

2.2 Profile of the Workers

(a) Sex and Age

Of the total number of workers interviewed, 53 per cent were men and 47 per cent women (table 2.4). Most male workers (23 per cent) were between the ages of 35 and 39. The women workers were relatively younger, most of them between 25 and 29 years old (28 per cent). The majority of the workers from both sexes were between the ages of 25 and 39 (65 per cent).

Table 2.4. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by age and sex

Age group	Male	Female	Both sexes
15-19	0.5	0.6	0.6
20-24	9.4	7.4	8.5
25-29	20.0	27.6	23.6
30-34	18.0	25.5	21.5
35-39	23.1	17.1	20.3
40-44	12.2	13.3	12.7
45-49	6.8	5.2	6.1
50 and over	9.9	3.3	6.8
Total	53.1	46.9	100.0

Note: Figures are column percentages, except for those appearing after "total" which are row percentages.

(b) Education and Training

Table 2.5 shows that men have higher educational qualifications than women. Twenty-four per cent of male workers had completed college education while the percentage of female workers was one point lower. Whereas 27 per cent of the male workers had had some tertiary education, only 19 per cent of the women workers had had a similar education. The majority of both the male and female workers had completed high school.

Table 2.5. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by education

Education	Male	Female
Grades 1-4	0.1	–
Grades 5-6	2.6	2.9
Some years of secondary	7.6	6.5
Completed secondary	30.3	37.5
Vocational training	8.4	10.9
Some years of college	26.6	18.5
Completed college/post gradute	24.3	23.6

Note: Figures are column percentages.

More male workers (50 per cent) than women had availed themselves of technical or vocational training, 31 per cent of whom having received diplomas or certificates. Only 39 per cent of the female respondents attended vocational schools, 27 per cent of whom graduated with formal qualifications (table 2.6).

Table 2.6. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by technical/vocational training

Nature of training	Male	Female
With formal qualifications	30.5	27.4
With no formal qualifications	19.4	12.0
No technical/vocational training	50.1	60.6

Note: Figures are column percentages.

(c) Marital Status

Of the total number of male respondents, 77 per cent were married and 22 per cent single. The majority of the female respondents (62 per cent) were also married; 34 per cent were single while the rest were either widowed, separated or divorced (table 2.7).

Table 2.7. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by marital status

Marital status	Male	Female
Single	22.0	34.3
Married	76.9	62.0
Widowed	0.5	2.1
Divorced	–	0.5
Separated	0.7	1.5

Note: Figures are column percentages.

(d) Ownership of Residence

Table 2.8 presents the distribution of workers by type of residence and occupation. The majority of male respondents (41 per cent) rented their place of residence. Close to 70 per cent of the professional and salesmen rented their dwelling place. Likewise, a significant portion (at least 40 per cent) of clerical and production workers were renters.

Furthermore, a significant number of male workers (40 per cent) had sole ownership of their residence. By occupation, the majority of those who held managerial or administrative positions (64 per cent) or worked as service workers (56 per cent) owned their house. Also at least 40 per cent of clerical and skilled workers owned their house.

A large portion of the female respondents (45 per cent) rented their place of residence. About 50 to 60 per cent of the professional and skilled workers were renters.

Around 35 per cent owned their place of residence. By occupation, surprisingly, more service workers (85 per cent) than workers with managerial or administrative positions (67 per cent) and professionals (19 per cent) fell under this category.

(e) Aspects of Migration

The majority of the respondents (44 per cent) were from Metro Manila (table 2.9). Forty-five per cent of the male workers and 42 per cent of the female workers fell under this category. The male workers who came from the rural areas accounted for 34.3 per cent. Female workers numbered almost the same (34 per cent). A significant proportion of workers came from urban areas outside Metro Manila: 20 per cent and 24 per cent for males and females, respectively.

Table 2.8. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by type of residence and occupation

Type of residence	Occupation								
	Professional/ technical	Managerial/ administrative	Clerical	Sales	Service	Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	All occupations
Male									
Sole Owner	30.5	63.9	40.4	8.6	56.3	41.4	32.1	20.7	40.4
Joint Owner	1.8	9.6	19.6	28.5	19.4	16.2	21.0	17.5	16.6
Rented	67.7	23.8	39.4	70.9	23.9	40.9	40.5	61.5	41.2
Occupied free	-	2.7	0.7	-	0.4	1.6	6.4	0.4	1.8
Total	1.6	7.8	15.6	1.3	1.2	57.7	8.0	6.7	100.0
Female									
Sole Owner	19.2	67.3	38.6	62.9	85.2	32.6	47.6	25.9	35.8
Joint Owner	21.8	16.6	16.7	-	2.8	18.3	22.7	30.3	19.5
Rented	59.0	16.0	44.6	37.1	10.7	49.0	29.5	43.8	44.6
Occupied free	-	0.1	0.1	-	1.3	0.1	0.2	-	0.1
Total	0.9	5.3	13.2	*	0.6	62.5	7.3	10.2	100.0

Note: Figures are column percentages, except for "total" which are row percentages.

Table 2.9. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by place of origin

Place of origin	Male	Female	Both sexes
Metro Manila	45.0	42.0	43.6
Other urban areas	20.4	24.3	22.3
Rural areas	34.3	33.7	34.0
Outside the country	-	-	-
Total	53.1	46.9	100.0

Note: Figures are colum percentages, except for those appearing after "total" which are row percentages.

The average age at migration was 19 for both male and female migrants, most of whom were single and unemployed or outside the labour force prior to migration. The small number who were employed had just started working (table 2.10).

Employment was the major reason for coming to Metro Manila (table 2.11). More female (62 per cent) than male workers (59 per cent) cited this as their reason for migrating. Education was the second reason given,

Table 2.10. Selected characteristics of surveyed migrant workers

Characteristics	Male	Female
Average age at migration	19.1	18.9
Marital status before migration (per cent)		
Single	92.9	96.0
Married	7.0	4.0
Employment status before migration (per cent)		
Employed	19.8	13.7
Unemployed/Outside the labour force (per cent)	80.2	86.3
Age at which started work before migration	18	19

Table 2.11. Percentage distribution of surveyed migrant workers by purpose of migration

Purpose of migration	Male	Female	Both sexes
Employment	58.5	62.2	60.3
Training/Apprenticeship	0.2	–	0.1
Education	33.2	27.2	30.3
Accompany spouse	0.9	4.3	2.6
Accompany family	4.9	5.3	5.1
Other	2.3	1.0	1.7
Total	51.4	48.6	100.0

Note: Figures are column percentages, except for those appearing after "total" which are row percentages.

with more of the men (33 per cent) than the women workers (27 per cent) identifying education as the purpose of migration.

Table 2.12 shows that the male workers who were employed at their place of origin were engaged mainly in agriculture (40 per cent). Women, on the other hand, were found in manufacturing industries (39 per cent), and in community and personal services (30 per cent).

Table 2.12. Percentage distribution of surveyed migrants employed before migration by industry

Industry	Male	Female	Both sexes
Agriculture and related	40.0	17.5	28.7
Manufacturing	38.8	39.4	39.1
Construction	10.5	–	5.2
Transport, storage and communications	3.4	6.7	5.1
Wholesale and retail trade	0.2	–	0.1
Finance and other business services	0.9	6.7	3.8
Community, social and personal services	6.2	29.7	18.0
Total	61.4	38.6	100.0

Note: Figures are column percentages, except for those appearing after "total" which are row percentages.

Table 2.13 shows that more than half of the migrant workers arrived in Metro Manila having only a high school diploma (62 per cent and 54 per cent for male and female migrants, respectively). Less than 8 per cent had completed college before leaving, with more women graduates (8 per cent) than men graduates (7 per cent).

Table 2.13. Percentage distribution of surveyed migrant workers by education at time of migration

Education	Male	Female	Both sexes
No schooling	0.3	0.5	0.4
Grades 1-4	0.2	0.4	0.3
Grades 5-6	8.1	8.3	8.2
Some years of secondary	10.6	14.8	12.6
Secondary completed	61.8	53.9	58.0
Vocational training	5.8	3.0	4.5
Some years of college	5.8	10.9	8.3
College graduate and higher	7.4	8.3	7.8
Total	51.4	48.6	100.0

Note: Figures are column percentages, except for those appearing after "total" which are row percentages.

2.3 Profile of the Workers' Current Employment

This section provides basic data on the current employment characteristics of the respondents which reflect the employment structure and conditions in the manufacturing industries of Metro Manila.

(a) Main Occupation by Industry

Table 2.14 shows a heavy concentration of women in the garments industry where 56 per cent of the respondents were women and 23 per cent were men. On the other hand, there was a predominance of males in the wood and metals industries where, in turn, there are very few women production workers. Perhaps, the nature of work in these industries which often entails physical exertion discourages female participation. Moreover, women may not have been trained for these industries, hence, the low probability of their participation. The fabricated metals industry employs a relatively high percentage of women workers who are involved mainly in assembly (in the case of electronics parts) and packing. It is significant to note that industries where female participation rates are high (garments and fabricated metals) are labour-intensive and less skill-intensive.

Regarding main occupation, the majority (more than 50 per cent) of the respondents were skilled production workers, mostly blue-collar. Among male blue-collar or production workers, the highest concentration was in the fabricated metals industry while for female blue-collar workers it was in the garments industry. The data also show a rather high concentration of unskilled workers of both sexes in the garments industry.

Among male professional and technical workers, the highest percentage (47 per cent) was in industries manufacturing chemicals. Similarly, close to 60 per cent of women from the same occupational category were employed in these industries. The participation rate of male managerial and administrative workers was highest in fabricated metals. Male clerical workers' participation rate was highest in the food, beverages and tobacco industry while female managerial/ad ministrative and clerical workers' participation rates were highest in the garments industry.

Table 2.14. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by industry and main occupation

Industry	Profes-sional/ tech-nical	Mana-gerial/ adminis-trative	Clerical	Sales	Services	Production			Other	Total
						Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled		
Male										
(31) Food, Beverages, Tobacco	18.8	17.0	31.6	19.7	40.3	18.1	11.3	16.1	–	19.7
(32) Textiles, Garments, Leather	–	20.5	17.8	10.2	1.0	24.2	30.2	30.9	100.0	23.1
(33) Wood, Wood Products	–	1.2	0.7	1.9	2.3	1.5	2.1	1.3	–	1.4
(34) Paper, Paper Products, Printing, Publishing	–	10.0	8.5	0.4	–	10.4	1.3	0.1	–	8.2
(35) Chemicals, Coal, Rubber, Plastics	47.1	22.2	24.7	62.1	6.0	19.8	7.4	1.7	–	19.3
(36) Non-metallic Mineral Products	1.0	1.1	0.7	–	2.9	0.3	7.6	1.1	–	1.1
(37) Basic Metals	9.1	1.8	2.6	–	0.9	3.1	0.6	19.3	–	3.8
(38) Fabricated Metal Products Machinery, Equipment	23.4	24.9	13.0	–	40.9	21.6	26.6	29.2	–	21.4
(39) Other Manufactures	0.5	1.3	0.4	5.7	5.8	0.9	12.9	0.3	–	1.9
Total	1.6	7.8	15.6	1.3	1.2	57.7	8.0	6.7	0.1	100.0
Female										
(31) Food, Beverages, Tobacco	11.2	14.4	16.8	–	42.6	5.6	15.9	37.4	–	11.8
(32) Textiles, Garments, Leather	0.8	35.9	36.6	45.0	1.3	65.1	41.2	51.8	–	55.8
(33) Wood, Wood Products	–	0.9	0.6	–	–	0.2	0.5	0.4	–	0.4
(34) Paper, Paper Products, Printing, Publishing	–	8.0	8.6	–	–	2.8	1.1	0.4	–	3.4
(35) Chemicals, Coals, Rubber, Plastics	59.3	14.5	18.6	–	55.8	5.8	21.0	5.9	–	9.8
(36) Non-metallic Mineral Products	1.8	0.8	0.7	–	0.2	0.2	1.9	–	–	0.4
(37) Basic Metals	0.5	1.1	1.3	37.1	–	–	–	–	–	0.2
(38) Fabricated Metal Products Machinery, Equipment	22.3	19.6	14.7	–	16.4	10.8	3.7	–	–	14.6
(39) Other Manufactures	4.1	5.0	2.2	17.9	–	3.8	7.7	0.4	–	3.6
Total	0.9	5.3	13.2	–	0.6	62.5	7.3	10.2	–	100.0

(b) Main Occupation, Employment Status and Establishment Size

Table 2.15 shows the employment status of the respondents in their current occupation. For both sexes, the majority were regular workers (99 per cent for males and 98 per cent for females). Among the regular workers, the highest concentration was in skilled jobs (58 per cent for males and 63 per cent for females) followed by the clerical workers: 15 per cent for males and 13 per cent for females.

The employers had either managerial or professional/technical positions. Among male employers, 93 per cent had managerial positions and the remaining 7 per cent had professional or technical positions. All female employers had managerial or administrative positions.

There was not much difference between male and female regular workers in terms of occupational distribution, although a slight advantage was discerned for the males. As for casual workers, a 2:1 male-female ratio was observed among clerical workers while among skilled production workers, the female casual workers outnumbered the males (59 as against 41 per cent). Also, there were female managers and professionals who had casual status while their male counterparts all had regular status. There were even unpaid clerical workers among the staff.

Overall, while the sample had a higher percentage of skilled women than men (62 per cent and 58 per cent respectively), there were more unskilled women than men (10 per cent and 7 per cent respectively). Then, consistently in all the other higher occupational categories, a greater percentage was recorded for the male workers than for their female counterparts. This points to the rather precarious position of women workers as regards status and occupation.

Table 2.15. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by occupation and employment status

Occupation	Employment status					
	Employer	Regular worker	Casual worker	Contract worker	Family worker	All statuses
Male						
Professional/Technical	7.0	1.6	–	–	–	1.6
Managerial/Administrative	93.0	7.7	–	–	100.0	7.8
Clerical	–	15.3	46.4	100.0	–	15.6
Sales	–	1.3	0.6	–	–	1.3
Services	–	1.2	–	–	–	1.2
Skilled Production	–	58.0	40.7	–	–	57.7
Semi-skilled Production	–	8.0	7.8	–	–	8.0
Unskilled Production	–	6.8	4.6	–	–	6.7
Total	0.2	98.8	1.0	–	–	100.0
Female						
Professional/Technical	–	0.8	3.1	–	–	0.9
Managerial/Administrative	100.0	5.2	7.9	–	30.5	5.3
Clerical	–	13.1	23.7	–	69.5	13.2
Sales	–	–	–	–	–	0.0
Services	–	0.6	–	–	–	0.6
Skilled Production	–	62.8	58.7	–	–	62.5
Semi-skilled Production	–	7.4	1.6	–	–	7.3
Unskilled Production	–	10.0	5.0	100.0	–	10.2
Total	–	97.9	1.7	0.3	–	100.0

Note: Figures are column percentages, except for those appearing after "total" which are row percentages.

Table 2.16 shows the distribution of migrants by status group and establishment size. The majority of the respondents in all the establishment sizes were regular workers with the percentage share rising with the increase in establishment size. There was a relatively higher percentage of male regular workers in larger enterprises, where, on the other hand, a higher percentage of female casual workers to was found. Here again, a relatively more advantageous position for male workers was observed.

There were only a few working employers among the respondents. They were found in small establishments where, for lack of manpower, they themselves performed multiple tasks. Similarly, family workers were all found in small establishments and tended to deal with the family business.

Table 2.16. Percentage distribution of surveyed migrants by employment status and establishment

Employment status	Establishment size (number of workers)			All sizes
	20-99	100-499	500 and over	
Male				
Employer	1.4	0.2	0.1	0.2
Regular worker	92.4	98.9	99.0	98.8
Casual worker	4.8	0.8	0.8	1.0
Contract worker	-	0.3	-	-
Family worker	0.3	-	-	-
Total	3.7	17.8	78.6	100.0
Female				
Employer	1.3	-	-	0.1
Regular worker	93.5	92.7	98.5	97.9
Casual worker	2.9	6.2	1.2	1.7
Contract worker	-	0.8	0.3	0.3
Family worker	2.3	-	-	-
Total	1.2	8.4	90.3	100.0

Note Figures are column percentages, except for those appearing after "total" which are row percentages.

(c) Current Employment by Industry and Age Group

The data on table 2.17 present a picture of the respondents' current employment by industry and age group.

Table 2.17. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by age group and industry

Age group	Food	Textiles	Wood	Paper	Chemicals	Non-metallic minerals	Basic metals	Fabricated metal production	Other
Male									
15-19	1.7	0.3	-	-	-	0.8	-	0.5	-
20-24	8.6	10.5	16.1	0.8	5.7	18.8	10.8	14.6	9.5
25-29	13.7	38.6	18.0	1.8	2.3	19.0	20.2	29.8	9.4
30-34	9.3	20.4	18.2	0.3	20.8	26.3	37.2	22.9	29.1
35-39	25.6	15.9	27.8	14.4	36.4	8.3	23.8	18.4	43.2
40-44	16.3	8.6	2.2	17.0	17.7	7.2	4.5	8.5	5.0
45-49	8.2	1.2	5.3	28.9	10.0	3.1	1.5	2.2	0.2
50-54	10.0	2.8	5.3	27.5	4.1	13.9	0.4	1.4	1.8
55 and over	6.8	1.7	7.0	9.3	3.0	2.5	1.6	1.8	1.8
Total	19.7	23.1	1.4	8.2	19.3	1.1	3.8	21.4	1.9
Female									
15-19	-	0.1	-	-	-	0.5	-	3.5	-
20-24	7.7	7.0	10.9	0.7	2.1	28.2	6.3	14.9	1.2
25-29	21.8	32.2	16.7	0.1	4.8	25.1	27.6	34.3	37.8
30-34	23.2	24.1	39.0	2.4	34.5	22.5	5.9	29.0	40.0
35-39	20.9	13.6	14.3	28.5	32.6	13.6	21.5	13.8	19.5
40-44	18.4	14.9	15.5	25.6	12.4	6.6	20.1	3.6	0.3
45-49	5.6	6.4	3.7	12.8	3.9	3.6	2.0	0.8	0.2
50-54	1.3	1.7	-	19.6	8.8	-	16.8	-	0.7
55 and over	1.2	-	-	10.2	1.0	-	-	0.2	0.2
Total	11.8	55.8	0.4	3.4	9.8	0.4	0.2	14.6	3.6

The women workers were generally younger than the men. Across industries, they were younger in the food, chemicals, non-metallic mineral and fabricated metal products industries. They, however, belonged to a higher age group than their male counterparts in the basic metals and wood industries.

The paper industry had the highest share of workers belonging to the older age groups. More than 50 per cent of its male workers were 45 to 54 years old and more than 50 per cent of its female workers were between 35 and 44 years old. The younger workers, were in fabricated metals, non-metallic minerals and garments, a higher percentages of whom were women.

(d) Workers Age by Main Occupation

Table 2.18 gives the distribution of respondents by occupation and age group. The data show a young population with the modal frequency for women falling in a younger age group (25 to 29 years) compared with men (35 to 39 years).

Table 2.18. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by age group and main occupation

Age group	Profes-sional/ technical	Managerial/ admi-nistrative	Clerical	Sales	Services	Production			All occupations
						Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	
Male									
15-19	–	–	–	–	–	0.8	0.2	0.5	0.5
20-24	0.9	2.4	16.6	2.4	7.5	5.7	26.1	17.2	9.4
25-29	17.0	3.6	13.6	0.6	13.9	20.9	32.8	35.3	20.0
30-34	14.1	19.6	16.3	16.1	24.4	20.1	7.7	14.9	18.0
35-39	15.7	23.5	27.4	80.7	22.1	22.5	20.0	11.0	23.1
40-44	22.3	15.5	15.2	–	9.5	12.2	11.8	3.3	12.2
45-49	30.0	8.3	9.2	–	20.4	6.7	0.2	2.6	6.8
50-54	–	6.5	1.1	–	2.2	8.0	0.9	12.5	6.2
Column total	1.6	7.8	15.6	1.3	1.2	57.7	8.0	6.7	100.0
Female									
15-19	–	–	–	45.0	–	0.4	3.9	0.2	0.6
20-24	34.1	2.8	11.8	–	0.2	7.4	7.0	2.3	7.4
25-29	19.2	11.5	27.8	37.1	2.5	37.5	13.7	17.6	27.6
30-34	3.8	16.5	21.6	–	55.8	23.2	18.4	55.0	25.6
35-39	36.2	24.0	24.6	17.9	29.4	15.0	17.2	13.9	17.1
40-44	–	14.8	9.7	–	–	13.3	25.3	10.4	13.3
45-49	6.7	24.3	4.2	–	1.3	4.6	5.0	0.4	5.2
50-54	–	4.9	0.4	–	10.7	2.7	8.7	–	2.7
55 and over	–	1.2	–	–	–	0.8	0.8	–	0.6
Column total	0.9	5.3	13.2	–	0.6	62.5	7.3	10.2	100.0

Note: Figures are column percentage except for those appearing after "column total" which are row percentages.

The female professionals tended to be younger than the male professionals. The reverse, holds good for the female managers who were older than their male counterparts. The women clerical, sales and services workers were also relatively younger than the men in the same occupational categories. The heavy concentration of salesmen in the 35-39 age group (81 per cent), compared with the women in sales in the 15-19 and 25-29 age brackets (45 per cent and 37 per cent, respectively), is particularly interesting to note. This reflects the high preference for young female workers in sales work where good personal relations are given a higher premium than any other skill.

(e) Workers' Education by Industry

Table 2.19 shows the percentage distribution of workers by education and industry. Most industries had a higher percentage of female workers who had completed college education. These were: food, beverages and tobacco (30 per cent); paper and paper products (59 per cent); basic metals (96 per cent); fabricated metal products (36 per cent); and other manufactures (39 per cent). The non-metallic mineral products and chemicals industries were the only industries where male workers with college degrees formed a higher percentage.

Table 2.19. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by education and industry

Education	Food, beverages, tobacco	Textiles, garments, leather	Wood, wood products	Paper, paper products, printing, publishing	Chemicals, coal, rubber, plastics	Non-metallic mineral products	Basic metals	Fabricated metal products, machinery, equipment	Other manufactures	Row total
Male										
Grades 1-4	–	0.1	6.9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Grades 5-6	6.5	2.1	21.1	1.6	0.3	10.3	2.3	0.4	5.6	2.6
Some years of secondary	10.7	6.7	7.4	1.0	7.7	9.6	18.8	3.3	40.6	7.6
Secondary completed	30.1	47.9	29.1	29.5	18.5	28.7	23.4	25.8	8.8	30.3
Vocational training	5.3	5.3	5.3	1.4	8.9	1.8	2.6	18.3	8.4	8.4
Some years of college	23.0	22.1	16.5	41.9	32.7	13.1	27.1	25.0	21.3	26.6
College graduate	24.4	15.8	13.6	24.6	31.8	36.5	25.8	27.2	15.2	24.3
Column total	19.7	23.1	1.4	8.2	19.3	1.1	3.8	21.4	1.9	100.0
Female										
Grades 1-4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Grades 5-6	2.8	3.6	10.9	1.6	3.0	0.6	–	1.4	0.4	2.9
Some years of secondary	14.9	5.3	10.9	0.5	10.1	6.3	–	0.5	16.1	6.5
Secondary completed	24.9	46.8	32.8	2.8	35.7	38.2	0.6	23.8	32.6	37.5
Vocational training	7.0	13.9	1.1	15.7	4.3	5.3	0.6	8.7	0.4	10.9
Some yeras of college	20.1	14.9	13.7	20.0	22.5	23.6	3.4	29.1	15.4	18.5
College graduate	30.2	15.4	30.6	59.3	24.4	26.0	95.5	36.5	35.1	23.6
Column total	11.8	55.0	0.4	3.4	9.8	0.4	0.2	14.6	3.6	100.0

It is interesting to note that a relatively high percentage of workers with vocational education was found among males in fabricated metals (18 per cent) and among females in the paper industry (16 per cent). However, the overall participation of workers with vocational education was rather low. These figures do not speak well for vocational training. The manufacturing industry could be the ideal employer of workers with vocational education, yet actual participation of workers with this type of background is low. This may be seen as demonstrating the fact that formal education leading to white-collar jobs is given a higher premium than vocational education leading to technical blue-collar jobs.

(f) Workers' Education by Main Occupation

Relating education to the occupations of the respondents, table 2.20 shows large variations in the educational attainment of the male professional and technical workers. Whereas 94 per cent of the professional or technical male workers were college graduates, indicating a high educational level for this group, close to 6 per cent had only completed elementary school. Among the women, 94 per cent had completed college and some 6 per cent had had some college education, indicating the educational superiority of women in this occupational group. However, education was not a distinct advantage for women since the data also show that men with lower levels of education were not barred from becoming professional or technical workers. The same trend was observed for the managerial and administrative positions. All the other occupations were accessible, regardless of education. Nonetheless, the lowest educational attainment of women respondents was higher than that of men, i.e., Grade 5.

Table 2.20. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by education and main occupation

Education	Profes-sional/ technical	Mana-gerial/ adminis-trative	Clerical	Sales	Services	Production			All occu-pations
						Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	
Male									
Grades 1-4	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.1	1.1	0.1
Grades 5-6	5.6	–	–	–	2.6	4.0	1.8	1.1	2.6
Some years of secondary	–	3.2	0.8	–	1.8	9.1	9.2	18.8	7.6
Secondary graduate	0.5	0.4	3.8	9.4	28.8	36.6	63.4	43.2	30.3
Vocational	–	1.0	8.8	0.5	36.0	9.2	2.2	14.7	8.4
Some years of college	–	6.0	27.0	86.6	27.1	31.2	20.8	12.5	26.6
College graduate and higher	93.8	89.4	59.6	3.5	3.7	9.9	2.4	8.7	24.3
Total	1.6	7.8	15.6	1.3	1.2	57.7	8.0	6.7	100.0
Female									
Grades 1-4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Grades 5-6	–	–	0.1	–	10.9	3.8	5.0	1.1	2.9
Some years of secondary	–	–	–	–	13.2	6.8	11.4	12.7	6.5
Secondary graduate	–	2.8	4.2	45.7	75.9	43.0	52.8	55.1	37.5
Vocational	–	–	15.8	–	–	10.3	12.1	14.3	10.9
Some years of college	6.2	4.5	21.9	–	–	21.2	6.0	16.6	18.5
College graduate and higher	93.7	92.7	58.0	54.3	–	14.9	12.6	0.2	23.6
Total	0.9	5.3	13.2	–	–	62.5	7.3	10.2	100.0

Note: Figures are column percentages, except for those appearing after "total" which are row percentages.

(g) Work Experience by Main Occupation and Employment Status

Years of work experience is considered a good proxy for skill acquisition or endowment. Table 2.21 shows that, generally, men had longer work experience than women. This is true in particular for professional/ technical, sales and skilled production workers. The reverse trend holds for those belonging to services and semi-skilled occupations where women were found to have longer work experience. Overall, the respondents had long experience with males having an average of 20 years and females, 18 years.

As for employment status, the average years of work experience ranged widely, with males still having a higher average than the females (table 2.22). The work experience of men ranged from 5 to 25 years, and for women 7 to 20 years. Male employers had an average work experience of 25 years while the average for females was 21 years. Male regular workers also had a higher average (15 years) as against female regular workers who averaged 13 years.

The table confirms the positive relationship of employment status and job experience, which is seen to be more pronounced among male workers.

Table 2.21. Average number of years of work experience by main occupation

Main occupation	Years of experience	
	Male	Female
Professional/Technical	14.6	9.5
Managerial/Administrative	19.6	18.1
Clerical	12.6	11.0
Sales	14.4	3.6
Services	15.6	16.0
Skilled Production	15.3	12.4
Semi-skilled Production	10.3	16.0
Unskilled Production	11.9	10.3

Table 2.22. Average number of years of work experience by employment status

Employment status	Male	Female
Employer	25.4	20.6
Regular worker	14.6	12.6
Casual worker	7.1	8.5
Contractural worker	5.0	–
Apprentice	–	7.0
Family worker	25.0	10.8

(h) Employment Contract by Main Occupation

Table 2.23 shows very little difference between the percentage of men and women workers who had employment contracts. The percentage of men who had unwritten contracts, however, was higher than that of the women. Sixty-one per cent of the women and 56 per cent of the men had no contract whatsoever. The data show a general pattern of a larger percentage of men than women having written contracts across occupations except among services workers and semi-skilled and unskilled production workers where the reverse is true.

Table 2.23. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by employment contract and main occupation

Nature of contract	Profes-sional/ technical	Mana-gerial/ adminis-trative	Clerical	Sales	Services	Production			Other	Total
						Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled		
Male										
Written	93.6	36.5	48.1	63.6	28.6	37.7	28.9	25.8	100.0	38.9
Unwritten	–	7.7	0.2	0.6	–	5.6	6.2	14.4	–	5.3
None	6.4	55.9	51.6	35.8	71.4	56.6	64.9	59.8	–	55.7
Column total	1.5	7.6	15.6	1.3	1.2	57.8	8.0	6.7	0.1	100.0
Female										
Written	87.3	34.2	34.6	17.1	70.4	35.0	54.8	40.0	–	37.5
Unwritten	10.5	1.4	1.9	–	–	1.3	0.4	0.8	–	1.3
None	2.2	64.4	63.5	82.9	29.6	63.7	44.8	59.2	–	61.2
Column total	0.9	5.3	13.2	–	0.6	62.5	7.3	10.2	–	100.0

(i) Mode of Payment by Main Occupation

Table 2.24 presents a breakdown of the sample by occupation and the mode of wage payment. Those who were paid on a monthly basis were relatively better off. The minimum requirement for full wages to be paid is to be present during a given number of working days. In contrast, the workers on a piece work basis have to show tangible outputs while the casual workers, who have no leave credits, are not paid when absent. An attempt is made here to find out if there is any gender discrimination in the mode of payment.

The figures show that most of the men and women in professional or technical positions were paid on a monthly basis. This also applier to the managerial, clerical and sales categories regardless of gender. Computation of wages for white-collar workers both male and female was on a monthly basis. The main mode of payment among blue-collar workers of both sexes was on a daily basis.

Service occupations in manufacturing are characteristically blue-collar jobs. This explains why a larger proportion of the workers in this category were paid daily rather than on a monthly basis. However, this practice was more pronounced among women (89 per cent) than among men (52 per cent). Among the blue-collar workers, 60 per cent of the skilled female workers were paid on a daily basis compared with 47 per cent paid likewise among the men. On the other hand, 40 per cent of the skilled males were paid monthly while only 19 per cent of the skilled females were paid on a monthly basis. The data support the observation that blue-collar women workers are disadvantaged.

Table 2.24. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by mode of payment and main occupation

Mode of payment	Profes-sional/ technical	Mana-gerial/ adminis-trative	Clerical	Sales	Services	Production			Other	Total
						Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled		
Male										
Hourly	–	2.5	–	–	–	0.2	–	–	–	0.3
Daily	5.4	0.7	11.4	1.1	52.5	47.2	42.8	63.6	100.0	37.6
Weekly	–	3.3	5.4	0.2	7.5	12.5	24.9	24.1	–	12.0
Monthly	94.6	91.0	82.4	98.6	40.0	39.5	32.2	12.3	–	49.3
Piece rate	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.1	–	–	–
Other	–	2.5	0.8	–	–	0.7	–	–	–	0.7
Column total	1.6	7.8	15.6	1.3	1.2	57.7	8.0	6.7	0.1	100.0
Female										
Hourly	–	1.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.1
Daily	–	4.5	9.5	37.1	89.1	59.5	70.1	56.5	–	50.1
Weekly	–	1.0	5.7	–	0.2	20.9	22.4	34.4	–	19.0
Monthly	100.0	92.5	84.0	62.9	10.7	19.3	7.0	8.7	–	30.4
Piece rate	–	–	–	–	–	0.3	0.5	–	–	0.2
Other	–	1.0	0.8	–	–	–	–	0.3	–	0.2
Column total	0.9	5.3	13.2	–	0.6	62.5	7.3	10.2	–	100.0

(j) Average Hours and Days Worked by Industry, Main Occupation and Employment Status

The manufacturing industry is a predominantly private endeavour. Private companies usually have a 5 to 6-day workweek, which was the case for the majority of the respondents (table 2.25). A government-owned printing office was included in the sample for the paper industry, which explains the low working day average per week in that industry. As for working hours, the mandated number is eight hours per day. Almost all the respondents worked an average of 8 working hours; some slightly more than that. Only female workers in the wood industry had a 6-hour per day schedule.

The figures in table 2.26 show very little difference in the number of days per week worked by men and women in all occupations. Any differences were very slight. The only big difference was among service workers, the women working about half a day less than the men. On an average, both sexes in all occupational categories worked between 5 to 6 days a week. Those in the professional and technical categories worked the least number of days. Workers belonging to this category worked an average of 5.5 days a week which is slightly less than for the other occupational categories. There was also very little difference in the number of working hours per day among workers in the various occupational categories. The sample workers averaged 8 working hours a day.

Table 2.25. Average number of days worked per week and hours worked per day by industry

Industry	Days per week		Hours per day	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	5.8	5.8	8.0	8.0
Textiles, Garments Leather	5.9	5.9	8.0	8.0
Wood, Wood Products	5.9	5.9	8.1	6.0
Paper, Paper Products, Printing, Publishing	5.1	5.1	8.0	8.0
Chemicals, Petroleum, Coal, Rubber and Plastics	5.5	5.5	8.0	8.0
Non-metallic Minerals Products	6.0	6.1	8.2	8.0
Basic Metals	6.0	5.8	8.0	8.0
Fabricated Metal Products, Machinery, Equipment	5.7	5,8	8.1	8.1
Other Manufactures	6.1	6.0	8.0	7.9

Table 2.26. Average number of days worked per week and hours worked per day by main occupation

Main occupation	Days per week		Hours per day	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional/Technical	5.5	5.4	8.0	8.2
Managerial/Administrative	5.6	5.7	8.1	8.0
Clerical	5.6	5.7	8.0	8.0
Sales	5.4	5.8	8.0	8.2
Services	6.2	5.4	8.0	8.0
Skilled Production	5.7	5.8	8.0	8.0
Semi-skilled Production	5.8	5.9	8.1	8.0
Unskilled Production	6.0	5.9	8.0	8.0
Other	6.0	-	8.0	-

Finally, table 2.27 shows that workers in the different employment statuses worked an average of six working days per week except for the contract workers whose average was 5.0 working days per week. However, when it we look at working hours per day, some disparities emerge. Male employers tended to have longer working hours as they averaged 8.5 hours compared with female employers who showed an average of only 8 hours. Household responsibilities may account for the shorter working hours kept by female employers. Another important observation is that contractual workers had less working days a week but had more working hours and that female family workers had more working hours but the same number of working days per week as the males family workers.

Table 2.27. Average number of days worked per week and hours worked per day by employment status

Employment status	Days per week		Hours per day	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Employer	5.4	6.0	8.5	8.0
Regular worker	5.7	5.8	8.0	8.0
Casual worker	6.0	6.0	8.0	8.0
Contractual worker	5.0	-	8.0	-
Apprentice	-	6.0	-	8.0
Family worker	6.0	6.0	8.0	9.0

(k) Overtime by Main Occupation

Overtime work looked upon with favour by both productivity-conscious managers, and workers, specifically those who find that their earnings from their regular working hours are insufficient for their needs. Managers allow overtime only to step up production and workers generally do overtime only if they receive corresponding compensation. Willingness to do overtime work is therefore an indirect way of assessing workers' satisfaction with their compensation rate.

Table 2.28 shows that the majority of workers of both sexes were willing to work overtime and such work was available (57 per cent of the males and 54 per cent of the females). On the other hand, 32 per cent of the males and of the females were similarly inclined to work overtime but such work was not available. A minority of each of the sexes (11 per cent – males and 14 per cent females) were not available for overtime work.

As shown by the data, the males were more willing to do overtime work. Women were found to be more willing to work overtime if they occupied professional/technical, managerial/administrative and sales positions. The women seemed not be satisfied with their earnings from their regular hours of work. Overtime work was available for most of those who were willing to do it. However, the figure was still high for those who needed to augment their income and were willing to put in more working hours. The need was felt most by the male sales workers and by the female managerial and administrative workers.

Table 2.28. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers willing to work overtime by main occupation

	Profes-sional/ technical	Mana-gerial/ admi-nistrative	Clerical	Sales	Services	Production			Others	Row total
						Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled		
Male										
(a) Willing to work overtime and work is available	45.9	29.2	53.6	37.6	74.2	60.3	62.6	66.4	100.0	57.1
(b) Willing to work overtime but no work is available	38.4	38.2	37.6	62.2	12.4	31.8	26.2	20.2	–	32.2
(c) Not applicable	15.7	32.6	8.8	0.2	13.4	7.9	11.2	13.4	–	10.7
Column total	1.6	7.8	15.6	1.3	1.2	57.6	8.0	6.8	–	100.0
Female										
(a) Willing to work overtime and work is available	65.0	40.1	42.5	82.1	69.3	55.7	61.2	60.4	–	54.2
(b) Willing to work overtime but no work is available	29.2	37.5	42.1	17.9	1.3	34.1	20.8	15.8	–	32.2
(c) Not applicable	5.9	22.3	15.4	–	29.4	10.2	18.0	23.9	–	13.6
Column total	0.9	5.3	13.2	–	0.6	62.5	7.3	10.2	–	100.0

Note: (a) – Willing to work overtime and work is available.
(b) – Willing to work overtime but no work is available.
(c) – Not applicable.

(l) Non-wage Benefits by Industry

To make up for deficiencies in monetary compensation, employers generally provide non-wage benefits. Table 2.29 shows the percentage distribution of workers who received various non-wage benefits and the industry to which they belonged.

The data indicate the relatively privileged position of male workers with respect to non-wage benefits. The row total shows the percentage of males receiving the various benefits. The percentage appears to be was higher than that of the females. Close to 98 per cent of the males reported receiving paid leave and 99 per cent reported receiving a bonus. Among the females, more than 99 per cent reported access to paid leave and more than 97 per cent to bonus. In spite of the government regulations regarding payment of non-wage benefits some industries still refuse or are unable to comply.

(m) Non-wage Benefits by Main Occupation

A picture of the accessibility of non-wage benefits to the workers in various occupational categories during current employment is presented in table 2.30.

The mandated benefits which are bonus and paid leave were enjoyed by the respondents of both sexes. Close to 99 per cent of the males reported getting bonuses during current employment while close to 98 per cent benefited from paid leave. Among women, the modal percentage which was more than 99 per cent reported being entitled to paid leave and the next highest percentage more than (97 per cent) reported being entitled to bonus. The latter was also the highest reported benefit among the males in the professional and technical positions, where 100 per cent reported receiving it. This is followed by paid leave and pension, where 99 per cent reported receiving it. Among the females with the same position, 100 per cent were receiving both paid leave and bonus.

The above pattern is similar for those who had managerial/administrative positions where more than 98 per cent of the males reported receiving bonus, and 91 per cent reported being entitled to severance pay and paid leave. Among the women in coresponding positions, close to 100 per cent reported receiving bonus and 96 per cent reported benefiting from paid leave.

Table 2.29. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers reporting access to benefits by industry

Benefits	Food, beverages, tobacco	Textiles, garments, leather	Wood, wood products	Paper, paper products, printing, publishing	Chemicals, coal, rubber, plastics	Non-metallic mineral products	Basic metals	Fabricated metal products, machinery, equipment	Other manufactures	Row total
Male										
Cost of living allowance	47.7	27.8	44.9	84.6	29.9	20.4	46.0	62.8	25.7	45.1
Accommodation allowance	14.7	1.6	32.5	0.5	3.9	19.3	21.1	4.8	1.3	6.6
Transport allowance	19.4	25.9	19.2	10.0	35.3	21.3	29.0	78.8	54.2	37.0
Meals allowance	39.4	6.9	28.0	0.9	56.5	8.9	89.4	66.9	6.1	38.7
Education allowance	28.6	5.1	–	0.4	33.7	18.9	3.6	5.6	–	14.9
Paid leave	98.8	99.2	86.4	91.3	99.6	90.5	99.6	97.6	100.0	97.9
Bonus	100.0	95.6	100.0	99.9	100.0	92.5	100.0	99.6	100.0	98.8
Pension fund	73.6	50.5	79.0	98.5	81.8	73.6	61.6	83.1	73.3	73.6
Severance pay	80.9	70.8	91.1	99.7	97.8	87.1	96.9	94.3	65.4	86.8
Female										
Cost of living allowance	32.2	19.4	31.1	94.4	30.3	17.8	65.7	62.7	7.3	30.6
Accommodation allowance	5.8	0.2	3.6	0.4	2.2	13.9	–	0.7	6.5	1.4
Transport allowance	14.1	27.9	4.6	1.9	32.4	27.7	51.4	85.8	28.9	34.3
Meals allowance	25.8	4.9	12.4	12.4	43.4	16.8	83.2	76.7	22.8	22.7
Education allowance	17.0	5.1	0.9	–	29.7	36.7	18.8	5.6	5.9	9.0
Paid leave	97.4	99.6	99.0	99.9	99.9	91.8	100.0	99.9	98.9	99.4
Bonus	97.5	99.5	99.0	100.0	100.0	66.6	100.0	100.0	47.8	97.4
Pension fund	71.1	54.7	90.7	99.3	73.3	58.8	61.2	85.8	45.2	64.4
Severance pay	79.3	76.2	85.2	99.7	95.1	84.0	83.2	80.9	46.9	78.6

Table 2.30. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers reporting access to benefits by main occupation

Benefits	Professional/ technical	Managerial/ administrative	Clerical	Sales	Services	Production			Other	Total
						Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled		
Male										
Cost of living allowance	18.2	36.5	44.9	21.1	34.6	48.3	38.6	49.1	–	45.1
Accommodation/ allowance	7.1	15.0	7.2	20.6	0.7	6.5	1.7	0.4	–	6.6
Transport/allowance	77.5	66.9	23.2	70.9	45.4	35.9	35.1	28.4	–	37.0
Meals/allowance	72.6	39.8	47.4	70.8	58.7	19.5	32.8	31.8	–	38.4
Education allowance	16.2	15.3	11.5	–	1.7	99.0	98.9	97.0	100.0	97.9
Paid leave	99.1	90.7	97.0	99.9	99.7	98.9	99.2	99.8	–	98.8
Bonus	100.0	98.3	98.5	100.0	100.0	98.9	99.2	99.8	–	98.8
Pension fund	99.1	75.9	77.2	85.0	99.7	71.7	74.0	67.0	–	73.6
Severance pay	93.3	91.4	92.2	100.0	99.2	85.2	84.5	78.8	100.0	86.8
Female										
Cost of living allowance	8.3	46.6	38.2	82.1	–	32.4	6.8	22.0	–	30.6
Accommodation/ allowance	24.9	6.1	0.6	–	–	0.7	4.7	0.5	–	1.4
Transport/allowance	58.7	51.1	30.2	–	–	39.7	12.1	13.8	–	34.3
Meals/allowance	87.5	43.4	27.9	55.0	2.5	19.	30.7	14.9	–	22.7
Education allowance	12.9	15.1	10.0	–	–	8.6	1.8	12.1	–	9.0
Paid leave	100.0	96.5	99.3	100.0	99.8	99.8	99.6	98.3	–	99.4
Bonus	100.0	99.8	96.5	100.0	100.0	97.0	99.0	98.1	–	97.4
Pension fund	92.6	69.2	75.6	100.0	70.4	62.5	93.9	34.6	–	64.4
Severance pay	92.2	92.6	81.5	100.0	89.1	76.4	86.0	74.1	–	78.6

High percentages of the clerical (98 per cent), sales (100 per cent) and services (100 per cent) workers among the men reported bonus as accessible to them. Also, 100 per cent of the sales workers reported being entitled to severance pay. The most frequently reported benefit among female clerical workers was paid leave (99 per cent). Among sales workers, it was paid leave, bonus, participation in pension fund and separation pay, and for service workers, it was bonus. Among production workers of both sexes, the most frequently reported benefits were paid leave and bonus.

(n) Non-wage Benefits by Employment Status

A picture of the non-wage benefits received by the workers in their current employment by employment status is presented in table 2.31.

Table 2.31. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers reporting access to benefits by employment status

Benefits	Employer	Regular worker	Casual worker	Contractual worker	Apprentice	Family worker	Total
Male							
Cost of living allowance	80.0	45.2	31.6	–	–	100.0	45.1
Accommodation/allowance	28.5	6.6	–	–	–	100.0	6.6
Transport/allowance	94.4	36.7	50.2	–	–	100.0	37.0
Meals/allowance	35.6	38.9	17.5	–	–	100.0	38.7
Education allowance	4.0	14.8	32.7	–	–	100.0	14.9
Paid leave	100.0	98.1	81.1	–	–	100.0	97.9
Bonus	100.0	98.9	89.7	–	–	100.0	98.8
Pension fund	100.0	73.6	70.4	–	–	–	73.6
Severance pay	100.0	86.9	77.6	–	–	–	86.8
Female							
Cost of living allowance	9.0	38.9	18.9	–	–	–	30.6
Accommodation/allowance	49.3	1.4	0.1	–	–	87.1	1.4
Transport/allowance	90.1	34.2	27.5	–	78.8	87.1	34.3
Meals/allowance	49.3	22.5	26.9	–	78.8	69.5	22.7
Education allowance	–	8.9	–	–	78.8	69.5	9.0
Paid leave	90.1	99.7	85.5	–	78.8	69.5	99.4
Bonus	100.0	98.2	54.5	–	78.8	87.1	97.4
Pension fund	100.0	64.9	32.8	–	78.8	–	64.4
Severance pay	59.3	79.4	36.7	–	78.8	–	78.6

As for the regular workers, more males than females had access to all benefits except paid leave whereas more females than males reported access to this benefit. The benefits were least accessible to casual workers. Overall, more males than females had access to the various benefits whatever their employment status.

(o) Other Income Sources by Industry

A satisfactory level of earnings from a worker's employment more or less guarantees that worker will stay in his job or in the same establishment. Confronted with the difficulties of job search, workers tend to come up with coping mechanisms to compensate for their dissatisfaction from income earned in their current employment. Such coping mechanisms aim to augment their income and may include any or all of the following: overtime and bonus or other incentives earned from remaining in the company for a certain length of time as well as moonlighting or engaging in other income-earning activities outside their regular job. The means by which workers enhance their income are presented in table 2.32 by industry.

Among industries, male workers from the chemicals and plastics industry benefited most from working overtime while those from the non-metallic mineral products industry benefited least. Female workers from the garments industry benefited most from overtime while those from the basic metals industry benefited least. Male workers from the fabricated metals industry and female workers from the garments industry benefited most from bonus.

Table 2.32. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers with other income sources by industry

Sources of additional income	Food, beverages, tobacco	Textiles, garments, leather	Wood, wood products	Paper, paper products, printing, publishing	Chemicals, coal, rubber, plastics	Non-metallic mineral products	Basic metals	Fabricated metal products, machinery, equipment	Other manufactures	Row total
Male										
Overtime	21.8	17.5	1.1	8.6	22.4	0.5	6.7	20.7	0.7	-
Bonus	10.0	10.4	1.8	14.2	27.6	1.9	1.6	31.3	1.3	-
Subsidiary job										
One	10.0	13.6	0.4	8.7	17.2	7.4	0.3	8.6	5.5	11.2
More than one	0.6	0.6	-	0.1	4.5	0.8	15.6	0.4	-	1.8
None	89.5	85.8	99.6	91.2	78.3	91.8	84.2	91.0	94.5	87.0
Location										
Home-based	25.0	64.9	28.2	7.5	21.1	73.5	-	13.6	7.4	30.2
Stationary	32.0	18.4	71.8	83.7	20.4	26.5	4.1	57.0	85.1	30.6
Mobile	42.9	16.7	-	8.8	58.5	-	95.9	29.3	-	39.2
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.4	0.1
Female										
Overtime	19.7	51.0	0.2	3.6	11.0	0.2	0.1	12.4	1.7	-
Bonus	9.2	31.9	0.8	7.8	17.3	0.7	0.3	30.0	2.1	-
Subsidiary job										
One	8.5	8.3	5.7	10.2	5.6	12.7	5.3	6.9	1.5	7.7
More than one	0.3	-	-	-	0.2	0.3	-	-	-	-
None	91.5	91.7	94.3	89.8	94.2	87.0	94.7	93.1	98.5	92.3
Location										
Home-based	44.6	38.1	100.0	100.0	48.1	49.1	46.8	27.9	46.9	41.4
Stationary	46.7	56.6	-	-	51.9	48.5	53.2	49.9	-	50.9
Mobile	8.7	0.5	-	-	-	2.4	-	22.1	53.1	4.7
Other	-	4.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.9	-

As for subsidiary jobs, the table indicates that there were more men than women who had subsidiary jobs. This is true for those who had only one subsidiary job (11 per cent men and 8 per cent women) as well as for those who had more than one (1.8 per cent men and zero per cent women). Presumably, the reason for the low percentage of women is availability of time. Men are not as heavily burdened with household tasks as women.

(p) Other Income Sources by Main Occupation and Employment Status

Table 2.33 shows the percentage distribution of workers with other income sources by occupation. The skilled workers from both sexes benefited most from the extra income that they could gain from their regular job while the professional and technical workers of both sexes benefited most from other jobs outside their current employment. Thus, 62 per cent of the male skilled workers did overtime while 60 per cent reported receiving a bonus from their current employer. Likewise, the female skilled workers (66 per cent) benefited most from overtime and 57 per cent reported receiving a bonus.

There was a greater opportunity to earn extra income outside the regular job among white-collar workers. As indicated in the table, the highest percentages of workers with subsidiary jobs came from the professional/technical and managerial/administrative categories. Since overtime work is not usually available to these categories the resort to taking on another job. Moreover, the type of work they perform in their regular jobs is not physically taxing which leaves them more energy to engage in other activities. The subsidiary jobs were more often home-based in the case of the men and either home-based or stationary outside their homes in the case of the women.

Ironically, not many of the lower paid class of worker had subsidiary jobs. Only 9 per cent of the male skilled workers and 8 per cent of the female skilled workers had other jobs. It may be that their efforts to earn

Table 2.33. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers with other income sources by main occupation

Sources of additional income	Profes-sional/ technical	Mana-gerial/ adminis-trative	Clerical	Sales	Services	Production			Other	Total
						Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled		
Male										
Overtime	1.4	1.9	14.5	0.5	1.6	61.7	8.9	9.3	0.2	59.6
Bonus	2.7	7.5	15.3	1.6	0.9	59.8	8.5	3.7	–	40.4
Subsidiary job										
One	27.0	13.6	21.5	–	19.1	9.4	7.2	1.3	–	11.2
More than one	0.9	3.5	5.0	–	–	0.3	–	8.7	–	1.8
None	72.1	82.8	73.4	100.0	80.9	90.3	92.8	90.0	100.0	87.0
Location										
Home-based	76.5	28.3	19.9	–	100.0	31.4	67.8	–	–	30.2
Stationary	3.3	64.6	43.3	–	–	23.1	1.6	–	–	30.6
Mobile	20.2	6.5	36.8	–	–	45.5	30.6	100.0	–	39.2
Other	–	0.6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.1
Female										
Overtime	1.4	1.3	9.2	–	1.3	65.5	10.5	10.9	–	–
Bonus	2.0	6.4	15.3	–	0.9	56.8	11.1	7.5	–	–
Subsidiary job										
One	47.5	14.4	7.3	–	–	7.8	0.3	6.4	–	7.7
More than one	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
None	52.5	85.6	92.7	100.0	100.0	92.1	99.7	93.6	6.0	92.3
Location										
Home-based	50.4	71.2	46.9	–	–	33.9	26.1	50.1	–	41.4
Stationary	49.6	3.4	18.8	–	–	64.8	73.9	49.9	–	50.9
Mobile	–	22.7	13.2	–	–	1.3	–	–	–	4.7
Other	–	2.8	21.1	–	–	–	–	–	–	2.9

extra income are expended in their regular jobs, hence the high percentage of those doing overtime work among this particular group.

The regular workers benefited more from overtime pay and bonus than the workers in other statuses. Slightly over 99 per cent of the male regular employees received overtime pay while all of them received bonuses. Among the female regular workers, 98 per cent received both overtime pay and bonuses (table 2.34).

Male employers had more than one subsidiary job while female employers had no such jobs. Regular workers of both sexes tended to have only one subsidiary job. A small percentage of female casual workers reported having one subsidiary job.

A high percentage of the male employers had stationary jobs outside their homes while the highest percentage of regular workers had mobile subsidiary jobs. However, the percentage of home-based and stationary subsidiary jobs did not come far behind. The female regular workers had stationary and home-based subsidiary jobs. All female casual workers carried out their subsidiary jobs at home.

(q) Trade Union Membership by Main Occupation, Industry, and Employment Status

Participation in a union seems to be prevalent only in certain industries and only by certain occupational categories. Table 2.35 shows the large percentage of union membership of workers in the garments industry: 69 per cent females of the as against 30 per cent of the males.

Skilled production workers of both sexes demonstrated high involvement in union activities. The skilled garments industry workers accounted for the highest percentage of union members (29 per cent male and 76 per cent female). The next most unionized were the semi-skilled workers from the garments industry (46 per

Table 2.34. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers with other income sources by employment status

Source of additional income	Employer	Regular worker	Casual worker	Contract worker	Apprentice	Family worker	Row total
Male							
Overtime	–	99.1	–	–	–	–	59.6
Bonus	–	100.0	–	–	–	–	59.9
Subsidiary job							
One	2.1	11.3	–	–	–	–	11.2
More than one	68.7	1.7	–	–	–	–	1.8
None	29.2	87.0	100.0	100.0	–	100.0	87.0
Location							
Home-based	5.7	30.4	–	–	–	–	30.2
Stationary	94.3	29.9	–	–	–	–	30.6
Mobile	–	39.7	–	–	–	–	39.2
Other	–	0.1	–	–	–	–	0.1
Female							
Overtime	–	97.9	1.4	0.6	–	–	40.4
Bonus	–	98.5	0.9	0.6	–	–	40.1
Subsidiary job							
One	–	7.8	2.0	–	–	–	7.7
More than one	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
None	100.0	92.1	98.0	–	100.0	100.0	92.3
Location							
Home-based	–	41.2	100.0	–	–	–	41.4
Stationary	–	51.2	–	–	–	–	50.9
Mobile	–	4.7	–	–	–	–	4.7
Other	–	2.9	–	–	–	–	2.9

cent male and 48 per cent female). Since this industry is a female-dominated industry, the high percentage of women union members in the two occupational categories could be expected.

The male professional and technical workers in the fabricated metals industry represented the highest percentage of union members, while this applied to females in the same occupations in the chemicals and plastics industry.

Table 2.36 shows that the union members had an employment status of either regular or casual. The regular workers were highly unionized with 99 per cent of both male and female being union members. That there were no union members among the casual workers could be expected. Their unstable position in the company prevents them from seeking membership in a trade union.

The presence of a union in an establishment adds strength to workers' bargaining power. To get the full benefit from a union, a worker has to be a member. Close to 76 per cent of the males and 83 per cent of the females reported that they were union members. The higher percentage of women union members may be explained by the large percentage of women respondents from the highly unionized garments industry.

(r) Job Information

To find out how the respondents had entered the labour market, an investigation on the mode by which they obtained their current employment was carried out. Access to employment was categorized into six sources namely: newspaper advertisements, other advertisements, public employment agencies, employer recruitment driver, labour contractors, and friends and relatives.

The majority of both sexes identified friends and relatives as prime instruments in getting them their current job. Table 2.37 shows that nearly 73 per cent of the males and 81 per cent of the females gave this answer.

Table 2.35. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers with union membership by industry and main occupation

Industry	Profes-sional/ technical	Mana-gerial/ adminis-trative	Clerical	Sales	Services	Production			Other	Total
						Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled		
Male										
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	38.8	–	36.7	24.1	39.6	18.6	15.3	25.4	–	21.2
Textiles, Garments, Leather	–	30.9	18.5	–	1.0	29.3	44.7	51.0	100.0	29.6
Wood, Wood Products	–	–	–	–	–	1.0	1.4	1.9	–	0.9
Paper, Paper Products, Printing Publishing	–	–	–	–	–	1.1	1.6	–	–	–
Chemicals, Coal, Rubber, Plastics	–	57.3	37.3	75.9	–	23.3	13.6	–	–	23.2
Non-metalic, Mineral Products	–	–	0.3	–	4.2	0.3	2.8	–	–	0.5
Basic Metals	13.0	3.4	0.5	–	1.8	3.9	1.1	17.2	–	4.2
Fabricated Metal Products, Machinery, Equipment	48.2	8.4	6.8	–	53.5	21.8	17.3	4.5	–	18.9
Other Manufactures	–	–	–	–	–	0.6	2.1	–	–	0.6
Column Total	1.2	0.7	10.0	1.7	1.0	71.1	7.0	6.3	0.2	100.0
Female										
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	21.7	8.4	19.2	–	34.0	4.6	18.5	22.6	–	9.2
Textiles, Garments, Leather	–	62.0	39.6	–	1.5	76.2	48.3	69.0	–	68.9
Wood, Wood Products	–	1.9	0.4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Paper, Paper Products, Printing Publishing	–	–	–	–	–	0.2	0.9	0.5	–	0.3
Chemicals, Coal, Rubber, Plastics	56.8	–	28.9	–	64.5	6.9	26.0	7.9	–	11.1
Non-metalic, Mineral Products	–	–	0.6	–	–	0.2	1.8	–	–	0.3
Basic Metals	1.1	7.2	1.0	–	–	–	–	0.6	–	0.2
Fabricated Metal Products, Machinery, Equipment	20.4	20.5	7.4	–	–	8.6	4.5	–	–	7.3
Other Manufactures	–	–	3.1	–	–	3.3	–	–	–	2.6
Column Total	0.6	0.9	8.5	–	0.7	70.5	8.2	10.5	–	100.0

Table 2.36. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by union membership and employment status

Employment status	Male	Female
Employer	–	–
Regular worker	99.0	98.9
Casual worker	1.0	1.1
Contractural worker	–	–
Apprentice	–	–
Family worker	–	–
Total	75.8	83.3

Table 2.37. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by mode of obtaining current job and major occupation category

	Professional/ technical	Clerical	Production	Row total
Male				
Newspaper Advertisements	24.8	7.4	5.7	7.8
Other Advertisements	1.6	6.4	3.5	3.9
Public Employment Agency	2.0	0.5	2.5	2.1
Employer Recruitment Drive	14.6	6.4	8.5	8.7
Labour Contractor	–	–	0.6	0.4
Friends and Relatives	44.4	71.8	76.8	72.9
Other	12.6	7.4	2.5	4.3
Column Total	9.4	18.1	72.6	100.0
Female				
Newspaper Advertisements	26.8	7.0	5.5	7.1
Other Advertisements	5.0	3.4	4.0	4.0
Public Employment Agency	4.1	0.2	1.5	1.5
Employer Recruitment Drive	4.4	3.8	4.2	4.2
Labour Contractor	–	–	–	–
Friends and Relatives	55.4	79.9	82.8	80.7
Other	4.3	5.8	1.9	2.6
Column Total	6.2	13.8	80.0	100.0

The second highest frequency for males (9 per cent) was a recruitment driver by employers, and for females, (7 per cent) newspaper advertisements.

Also of interest in the data is the relative limited use made of public employment agencies. In spite of the government's efforts to assist in job placement, only a small number of workers used this them. No more than 2 per cent of both the male and the female got their jobs through these agencies.

(s) Main Occupation and Promotion Opportunities

Promotion is indicative of employment and income mobility, in particular, of increased earnings capacity. The respondents were asked if they had been promoted in their current employment. Table 2.38 shows that 59 per cent of the male and 41 per cent of the female respondents had been promoted in their current employment.

The data indicates, that both male and female white-collar workers stand the best chance of being promoted. Male professional and technical workers are more likely to get promoted over the female workers in the same position. Among managerial and administrative, and clerical employees, women are more likely to receive promotion.

The blue-collar workers of both sexes also get promoted but they have fewer chances than the white-collar workers. It is the unskilled workers of both sexes that are least likely to get promoted. The data being out the better career prospects of white-collar workers in the labour market. Better still are the prospects of the male white-collar workers. Female employees face stiff competition as employers seem to favour the male employees when promotion is due. If higher qualifications and additional training are factors in promotion, then women probably have to increase their efforts in this direction.

(t) Average Number of Promotions by Main Occupation

Table 2.39 shows the average number of times the respondents had been promoted in their current employment. It appears that the white-collar workers had the advantage as their average exceeded that of all other workers. Among those who held professional and technical positions, men had been promoted most frequently, with the males averaging 4.5 promotions and the females averaging 4.3. Among those in managerial and administrative positions, the men, again, had the advantage as they had an average of 4.1 promotions as against the 3.5 average among the women. The same trend was found among the clerical and sales workers.

Table 2.38. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by main occupation and promotion in current employment

Main occupation	Promotion	Not promotion	Total
Male			
Professional/Technical	2.4	3.0	1.6
Managerial/Administrative	9.8	5.0	7.8
Clerical	19.4	10.1	15.6
Sales	2.1	0.1	1.3
Services	1.0	1.5	1.2
Skilled Production	56.8	59.0	57.7
Semi-skilled Production	6.1	10.8	8.0
Unskilled Production	2.4	13.0	6.7
Others	–	0.3	0.1
Column Total	59.1	40.9	100.0
	(100.0)	(100.0)	–
Female			
Professional/Technical	1.7	0.3	0.9
Managerial/Administrative	10.5	1.7	5.3
Clerical	22.0	7.2	13.2
Sales	–	–	–
Services	1.0	0.3	0.6
Skilled Production	50.7	70.6	62.5
Semi-skilled Production	7.8	7.0	7.3
Unskilled Production	6.3	12.9	10.2
Column Total	40.8	59.2	100.0
	(100.0)	(100.0)	–

Table 2.39. Average number of times promoted by main occupation

Main occupation	Average number of times promoted	
	Male	Female
Professional/Technical	4.5	4.3
Managerial/Administrative	4.1	3.5
Clerical	2.7	1.9
Sales	4.6	2.4
Services	2.9	4.5
Skilled Production	2.7	1.9
Semi-skilled Production	1.4	2.8
Unskilled Production	2.0	1.0
All Occupations	2.8	2.5

Although the average number of promotions among skilled workers of both sexes was comparable with some of the lower white-collar occupational categories, the overall average for all blue-collar occupations was still low. Among the skilled workers, men got an average of 2.7 promotions while women got an average of 1.9. Among the semi-skilled, women had a higher average, i.e., 2.8 than men whose average was as low as 1.4. Similarly, a higher average for women (4.5) was registered among service workers compared with males (2.9). Among the unskilled, the males had had an average of 2 promotions while the females had had only one.

The above data show that male workers are more likely to be promoted and, promoted, to receive further promotions. Females, it would seem, take second place when it comes to promotion.

(u) Workers' Characteristics and Promotion

The significant differences between the characteristics of those workers who got promoted as against those who were not, were investigated. The workers' various attributes by gender are shown in table 2.40.

Table 2.40. Characteristics of surveyed workers promoted and those not promoted in current employment

Characteristics	Promoted		Not promoted	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
		Percentage		
Urbanites	67.8	68.7	62.0	64.0
College Graduate and Higher	28.3	32.9	18.5	17.3
Received of Training	64.9	57.3	47.2	44.8
Trade Union Member	73.9	80.0	79.0	85.7
		Average		
Average Age	36.9	34.4	33.7	32.8
Average (years) Worked in Current Establishment	12.5	11.0	10.6	9.8
		Percentage		
Currently in Managerial Position	12.2	12.2	5.3	2.0
Currently in Clerical/Sales/Services Positions	22.5	23.0	11.7	7.5
Currently in Production Work	65.3	64.8	83.0	90.5

The data indicate that workers coming from urban areas have comparatively better chances of getting promoted than rural migrants. Among the males who had been promoted, 68 per cent were urbanites compared with the 62 per cent of urbanites among the males who had not been promoted. Similarly, among the promoted females, 69 per cent were urbanites compared with 64 per cent of urbanites among those not promoted. These findings lead us to assume that workers coming from an urban environment find it easier to adjust to life in a large city. Thus previous exposure to city life may be an asset in achieving upward mobility in the Metro Manila employment market.

It also appears that workers having a high educational attainment have a better chance to be promoted. This is shown by the higher proportion of college graduates among those who had been promoted compared with those who had not been promoted. The tendency of management to promote those who have higher levels of learning is natural. Promotion entails added responsibility which, in turn, often requires broader knowledge and higher skills for tasks to be carried out efficiently. Moreover, education is a major criterion in both promotion and job placement. A significant finding was that the percentage of college graduates among the promoted women (33 per cent) was higher than among the promoted males (28 per cent). When both gender and education are taken into consideration it would appear that education comes second to gender, implying that for a female to be promoted, she has to have a higher education than a male.

The data show that there were more respondents who had availed themselves of training among those who had been promoted than among those not promoted. The data also reveal that more males availed themselves of training than females (65 per cent for males and 57 per cent for females). This trend indicates the significance of training in enhancing promotion possibilities. Furthermore, it should be noted that there were more men than women who were able to avail themselves of training. This may be suggestive of the relative worth that men have over women from the point of view of employers. If men have had more training, it follows that they are likely to be considered first for promotion.

In terms of trade union participation, the figures indicate a negative relationship between trade union membership and promotion. Although not significant, the percentage of the male trade union members who had not been promoted (79 per cent) was higher than the percentage of those who had been promoted (74 per cent). Likewise, the percentage of the female union members who had not been promoted (86 per cent) was higher than the percentage of the female union members who had been promoted (80 per cent).

As for the age factor, those who had been promoted tended to be older. The average age of those promoted was 37 among the males and 34 among the females. For those not promoted the average age for the males was 34, and 33 for the females. In terms of the duration of their jobs in the current establishment, the males had

worked longer than the females. For both sexes, those who had been promoted had been longer in the establishment than those who had not been promoted.

By occupational categorys, there was an equal percentage of both sexes among those who had been promoted and who were holding managerial positions. The same is true for the clerical/sales/services workers. Workers in these categories seemed to have had better chances of getting promoted. Conversely, the production workers tended to have fewer chances as indicated by the higher percentage of production workers among those not promoted.

(v) Training by Main Occupation

The skill endowment of a worker is deemed an important factor in determining his ability to be hired and his mobility. Investment in human capital is, thus, crucial. Apart from formal education, one other variable that constitutes a good measure of investment in human capital is the type and duration of training provided to the worker. Such training is intended to enhance the efficiency of the worker in his current job or to prepare him for more complex tasks. Either way, this is considered a good opportunity for the worker to increase his worth in the labour market.

Table 2.41 gives a picture of the training provided to the respondents in their current employment. It shows a greater percentage of males (58 per cent) than females (50 per cent) receiving some form of training during their current employment. Of those who were able to avail themselves of training, 29 per cent of the males and 30 per cent of the females were trained only once. Genderwise, a higher percentage of the males were given several opportunities to be trained.

By occupation, the probability of being trained was high for the males in professional and technical positions and females in the managerial and administrative categories. This applies not only to one short training but also for multi-training. On an average 67 per cent of the workers in these categories had been given training. Notably, the percentage of male workers who availed themselves of such training opportunities was higher than the percentage of female workers.

The percentage share of production workers who had been given training follows closely. For both males and females, the percentage share was higher among skilled workers (58 per cent for males and 51 per cent for females). It seems incongruous that the unskilled workers, who supposedly need more training, had been trained only marginally. Perhaps, the nature of the job itself indicates that minimal or no training at all is required. This notwithstanding, training should also be provided for workers in this occupational category to help them better their positions.

Across all occupations, the training provided for the workers was mainly in-service. Except for managerial workers (57 per cent male and 42 per cent female) whose training was conducted outside the establishment by private institutions, the training was generally organized within the establishment. In most cases the training was financed by the employers, with a significant percentage of training financed from other sources, including the workers themselves in particular, female production workers.

The training lasted mostly from two to six days (37 per cent for males and 30 per cent for females) followed by training lasting from 2 to 4 weeks (27 per cent for males and 24 per cent for females). Training for sales and services workers was relatively shorter than for the other occupational categories.

Genderwise, it can be seen that, as regards timing, organization, and length of training, the male workers of all categories had always had an advantage over their female counterparts.

(w) Workers' Career Prospects

The respondents were asked about their career plans for the next two years. Figures in table 2.42 show a wide preference for remaining in the current job (57 per cent). The women (63 per cent) outnumbered the men (51 per cent) in stating this preference.

Table 2.41. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by training received, characteristics of training and main occupation

Characteristics	Profes-sional/ technical	Mana-gerial/ adminis-trative	Clerical	Sales	Services	Production			Row total
						Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	
Male									
Number of times trained									
Once	35.6	20.0	22.5	45.0	2.5	32.6	40.3	22.6	30.0
More than once	5.7	48.5	22.8	17.9	55.8	18.8	12.2	13.0	19.9
Never	58.7	31.5	54.7	37.1	41.6	48.6	47.5	64.4	50.1
Timing of training									
Pre-service	–	4.3	2.9	–	95.7	8.9	3.0	2.0	7.4
In-service	100.0	84.4	93.1	100.0	4.3	88.5	89.2	98.0	89.0
Both	–	11.3	4.0	–	–	2.6	7.8	–	3.6
Organization of training									
Within establishment	92.4	42.5	79.0	100.0	100.0	92.0	93.1	40.5	83.2
Outside, public	6.4	0.4	3.5	–	–	1.1	0.1	–	1.2
Outside, private	1.2	57.1	17.5	–	–	6.9	6.8	59.5	15.5
Length of training									
One day or less	3.2	11.4	25.3	71.6	95.7	21.1	10.8	28.5	21.0
Less than one week	1.3	50.2	30.7	28.4	4.3	26.1	33.5	46.4	30.1
Less than a month	57.2	17.0	14.5	–	–	26.8	29.3	15.9	24.0
Less than 3 months	15.1	13.0	22.6	–	–	19.7	3.9	–	16.7
Less than a year	23.2	8.5	3.6	–	–	6.3	22.6	9.2	7.7
More than a year	–	–	3.3	–	–	–	–	–	0.4
Financing of training									
Self	–	0.1	–	–	–	13.2	–	–	8.5
Family	–	–	1.7	–	–	–	0.1	0.9	0.3
Employer	100.0	79.3	90.0	100.0	100.0	68.3	70.8	74.6	72.8
Others	–	12.9	0.3	–	–	8.1	6.6	23.4	8.4
No charge	–	7.7	8.0	–	–	10.4	22.5	1.1	10.0

Characteristics	Profes-sional/ technical	Mana-gerial/ adminis-trative	Clerical	Sales	Services	Production			Other	Total
						Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled		
Female										
Number of times trained										
Once	46.5	22.5	18.5	1.5	31.0	32.4	24.9	33.2	100.0	28.8
More than once	46.0	58.2	38.5	24.4	50.3	25.9	10.9	12.1	–	28.8
Never	7.5	19.3	43.0	74.1	18.7	41.7	64.1	54.7	–	42.3
Timing of training										
Pre-service	13.8	0.5	11.1	–	5.0	9.5	15.5	20.5	100.0	9.8
In-service	78.5	88.3	79.0	100.0	95.0	83.2	84.5	79.5	–	83.0
Both	7.7	11.2	9.8	–	–	7.3	–	–	–	7.2
Organization of training										
Within establishment	83.4	54.3	82.0	77.9	62.0	85.6	100.0	86.2	100.0	81.9
Outside, public	–	4.1	0.3	–	–	6.4	–	–	–	4.2
Outside, private	16.6	41.6	17.7	22.1	38.0	8.0	–	13.8	–	13.9
Length of training										
One day or less	4.9	1.9	17.2	–	0.2	12.7	21.3	11.1	–	12.0
Less than one week	33.2	58.3	35.8	94.3	65.9	32.7	43.0	36.4	–	37.6
Less than a month	36.6	20.9	15.3	3.8	18.5	31.3	21.8	32.0	–	26.9
Less than 3 months	7.7	13.1	26.8	–	15.3	12.6	13.9	–	100.0	14.3
Less than a year	17.5	5.7	1.0	1.9	–	10.7	–	10.2	–	8.0
More than a year	–	0.1	4.0	–	–	0.1	–	10.2	–	1.2
Financing of training										
Self	–	0.9	–	–	4.0	1.0	10.9	10.2	–	1.8
Family	–	–	–	–	1.1	–	–	–	–	–
Employer	94.2	80.8	95.3	100.0	95.0	80.4	58.5	78.9	100.0	82.3
Others	–	4.3	1.8	–	–	1.1	10.9	–	–	1.9
No charge	5.8	14.1	2.9	–	–	17.6	19.7	10.9	–	14.0

Table 2.42. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by career prospects

Career prospects	Male	Female	Total
Promotion within present establishment	29.9	14.8	22.8
Transfer to another job	10.9	9.9	10.4
Carry on in present job without mobility	51.3	62.9	56.7
Quit the present job	5.1	7.0	6.0
Uncertain	2.9	5.4	4.1
Total	53.1	46.9	100.0

The second most cited plan by both sexes was promotion within the establishment. Males seemed to be more ambitious careerwise as they outnumbered the females by 5 percentage points. This may indicate a reluctance on the part of the women to take on added responsibilities.

A slightly higher percentage among males expressed plans to transfer to another job. Again, the men seemed to be more adventurous than women when it comes to career improvement. Quite consistently, to stop working seemed to be more in the minds of women (7 per cent) than of men (5 per cent). The data seems to indicate that women have a compromising attitude towards their career while the men appear to be more decisive.

2.4 Profile of the Workers' Current Earnings

This section deals with the earnings profile of the respondents taking into account education, training, occupation, employment status, and size of establishment. The income brackets are classified so as to determine those receiving the statutory minimum wage and those receiving below the minimum wage. The daily minimum wage is P118 or P2,596 to P3,068 a month, computed at 22 to 26 working days a month.

(a) Income by Educational Attainment

Table 2.43 shows that more women (8 per cent) than men (5 per cent) received less than the minimum wage, while relatively more men than women are located in the higher income brackets. The modal frequency

Table 2.43. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by education and income

Education	Monthly income (pesos)					
	Less than 2,596	2,597 to 3,068	3,069 to 4,999	5,000 to 6,999	7,000 to 9,999	10,000 and over
Male						
Grades 1-4	–	20.6	79.4	–	–	–
Grades 5-6	5.2	39.1	43.1	12.5	–	–
Some years of secondary	7.3	17.0	51.8	23.2	0.6	–
Secondary completed	7.4	18.1	53.3	15.4	5.8	–
Vocational training	0.7	12.4	38.0	23.8	25.1	–
Some years of college	6.1	15.9	31.8	21.4	18.0	6.7
College graduate and higher	1.2	1.2	37.3	15.7	17.9	26.7
Total	4.9	13.4	42.1	18.3	13.3	8.3
Female						
Grades 1-4	–	–	–	–	–	–
Grades 5-6	35.9	7.2	45.1	11.8	–	–
Soem years of secondary	3.3	35.5	54.7	6.1	0.4	–
Secondary completed	8.1	30.6	53.6	3.0	4.7	–
Vocational training	2.8	17.8	64.8	9.1	5.5	–
Some years of college	11.8	16.7	48.1	16.7	5.3	1.4
College graduate and higher	3.8	7.7	43.4	17.8	13.4	13.8
Total	7.7	20.8	51.2	10.2	6.5	3.5

Note: Figures are percentages of row totals.

lies in the P3,069-P4,999 income bracket, with more than 40 per cent of the respondents earning that amount monthly. The minimum wage bracket records the second highest frequency. This suggests low or close to the borderline earnings for the majority of the respondents.

It is clearly seen that education is positively related to income. The elementary school-leaver could earn no more than P6,999; while the college graduate could earn as much as P10,000 or more. College education, however, does not guarantee high returns as there were also college-educated workers getting below the minimum wage. Noteworthy is the wage differentials between sexes. More women than men who had college education fell below the minimum, while more college-educated men than women were receiving P7,000 or more.

These observations are confirmed by table 2.44 which shows that, in general, the higher the education the higher the income. But the average income of the men was higher than that of the women at all educational levels, implying that the positive relationship between education and income is more pronounced for men than for women. It is noteworthy that, on an average, a male worker who had had vocational training could earn even more than a college-educated female and that a male worker who had had only elementary education could earn more than a female high school graduate. This could be linked to the years of experience of the individual worker.

Table 2.44. Average monthly income of surveyed workers by education (Pesos)

Education	Mean income	
	Male	Female
Grades 1-4	3,718	-
Grades 5-6	3,602	3,036
Some years of secondary	3,814	3,507
Secondary completed	4,044	3,545
Vocational training	5,361	3,728
Some years of college	5,570	4,266
College graduate and higher	9,075	6,114

(b) Income by Technical/Vocational Training

The same trend indicated by education in relation to income is suggested by table 2.45 for training, which is seen to be positively related to income. Again, the income of the men was higher than that of the women regardless of whether the former had received training or not. The data show that the average income of male workers who had had no technical or vocational training could be higher than the income of women who had undergone formal training. Women who had undergone formal technical or vocational training earned, on the average, only as little as 79 centavos per peso earned by men who had no technical or vocational training whatsoever.

Table 2.45. Average monthly income of surveyed workers by technical/vocational training (Pesos)

Nature of training	Mean income	
	Male	Female
With formal qualifications	6,292	4,437
Without formal qualifications	5,252	4,426
No technical/vocational training	5,622	4,194

Furthermore, for every peso earned by a male worker with formal training, a male worker without training got only 89 centavos. On the other hand, a female worker without training got about 94 centavos compared with one peso earned by a female worker with training. The smaller increment in the case of the female workers suggests that training could be a significant factor accounting for men's higher income but have no effect on the women's income. Moreover, training with diploma or certificate had a greater impact on earnings than training without formal qualifications.

(c) Income by Main Occupation

The main occupational categories have been grouped into managerial, clerical and production categories to distinguish between the white-collar and blue-collar jobs. Earnings were reckoned in monthly terms to make them applicable to all of the occupational categories (table 2.46). As could be expected, the managerial/ professional category received the highest average monthly earnings while the production workers received the lowest.

Table 2.46. Average monthly income of surveyed workers by major occupational category (Pesos)

Occupation	Mean income	
	Male	Female
Managerial/Professional	14,858	10,384
Clerical/Sales/Services	6,226	4,751
Production	4,461	3,739

A very large differential in earnings between the sexes is observed in the managerial and professional categories. For every peso earned by males, females got only 70 centavos. But this difference decreased progressively down the occupational ladder. Among the clerical/sales/services workers, women received 76 centavos for every peso earned by their male counterparts. And for production work, women earned around 84 centavos for every peso received by men.

The data show the higher overall earnings of men in all occupational categories. The difference is more pronounced in the white-collar jobs than in the blue-collar jobs. Since white-collar workers tend to get paid on the basis of their qualifications or for what their achievements are worth (as perceived by the hiring institution), it appears that male white-collar workers are valued much more than their female counterparts. Among the production workers, on the other hand, where employees are paid according to output and quality of service, the disparity is not so pronounced. This small wage differential between the sexes among the production workers may be explained by the existence of the minimum wage legislation which sets wage floors in the labour market. Thus, production workers are likely to be given the minimum wage regardless of sex.

The higher income earned by workers with white-collar occupations in contrast with the blue-collar jobs shows that employers are more flexible in wage setting for the first category. This flexibility is applied, as far as gender is concerned, in favour of the males.

The issue of sex-based discrimination against women as regards is universal and perennial. As cited in the 1989-1992 Philippine Development Plan for Women, studies have shown that in the Philippines the average income of women is generally lower than that of men, even for the same type of work. It was noted that, at the lowest income level, there were three females for every male; while at the highest income level there was one female for every four males.

Furthermore, the findings of this survey compare favourably with those of previous studies. On an average, for every peso earned by a male worker, a female received 37 centavos. The highest earnings were those of female workers in professional and technical occupations but still men in this category received higher earnings. Taking absolute differences alone, the biggest income differential between men and women was in

the administrative, executive and managerial occupations where, for each peso earned by the male executive, the female executive earned only 15.4 centavos.

The income disparity by sex implies a need to enhance the marketability and worth of women in the labour market. This is, however, much easier said than done. Women face formidable constraints in the labour market which stem from the traditional notion of their "supporting role". Thus their contribution to production has remained largely invisible to the public eye or at best been considered only marginal. Women and men generally do different types of work. Even when women do "women's work" that requires more education, more training and more responsibility than that done by men, their work in many cases, has been undervalued and underpaid. Undervaluation of women's work has to a considerable measure been the cause of the wide wage gap.

(d) Income by Educational Attainment and Occupational Category

Managers and professionals with at least college degrees were generally the highest paid, earning about P15,000 to 16,000 monthly, in the case of males; and about P7,000 to P11,000 in the case of females (table 2.47). Given more or less identical levels of education and occupation, the same big wage gap prevails between the sexes. College-educated women managers got only 71 centavos for every peso earned by their male counterparts. Moreover, college-educated women professionals receive even less i.e., 51 centavos for every peso earned by men.

The table again confirms the dominance of the male sex in most of the occupations, in terms of income relative to educational attainment.

Table 2.47. Average monthly income of surveyed workers by education and main occupation (Pesos)

Education	Main occupation							
	Managerial	Professional	Clerical	Sales	Services	Production		
						Skilled	Semi-skilled	Unskilled
Male								
Grades 1-4	–	–	4,160	–	–	3,094	4,210	3,826
Grades 5-6	3,286	3,000	3,400	–	3,259	3,665	3,411	2,929
Some years of secondary	3,287	–	3,583	–	4,413	3,723	3,090	4,732
Secondary graduate	3,794	3,500	4,497	4,963	5,590	4,201	3,421	3,717
Vocational training	4,757	–	6,203	3,400	4,631	5,616	3,447	3,553
Some years of college	9,796	–	7,059	7,811	6,795	5,271	3,382	3,123
College graduate and higher	15,795	15,527	5,948	2,675	5,291	5,141	2,989	3,580
Female								
Grades 1-4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Grades 5-6	–	–	1,890	–	3,058	2,687	5,095	3,817
Some years of secondary	–	–	–	–	3,636	3,474	4,550	2,933
Secondary graduate	5,921	–	3,102	3,000	6,847	3,058	3,440	3,513
Vocational training	–	–	4,378	–	–	3,807	2,983	2,900
Some years of college	3,940	8,000	4,392	–	–	4,239	5,412	3,891
College graduate and higher	11,263	7,926	5,018	4,325	–	4,362	4,018	2,900

(e) Income by Establishment Size

Wage levels of workers are based partly on the establishment's capacity to pay. Generally, the larger establishments are better organized, have higher profits and therefore have more flexibility in wage setting and are more capable of paying higher wages.

Among the small establishments, males earned a monthly average of P4,161 while females earned an average of only P3,815 (table 2.48). The average monthly income of both sexes in the medium-sized

Table 2.48. Average monthly incomes of surveyed workers by establishment size (Pesos)

Establishment size (number of workers)	Mean income	
	Male	Female
20-99	4,161	3,815
100-499	5,268	4,702
500 and over	5,939	4,256

establishments was higher. Males earned an average of P5,268 a month while females earned P4,702. The workers in the large-sized establishments got the highest monthly income. Men averaged P5,939 a month while women averaged P4,256. It is noteworthy that, with an increase in the size of the establishment, the wage gap between sexes rose. This indicates that wage discrimination is more prevalent among the larger firms.

(f) Income, by Main Occupation and Establishment Size

Workers from large establishments are often privileged in terms of wages and salaries. Especially workers in higher positions earn comparably better incomes than their counterparts in smaller companies. This can be seen from table 2.49 which shows the monthly income of workers relative to establishment size and occupation.

Table 2.49. Average monthly income of surveyed workers by main occupation and establishment size (Pesos)

Main occupation	Establishment size (number of workers)		
	20-99	100-499	500 and over
Male			
Managerial	11,142	14,671	15,154
Professional	3,500	5,120	9,879
Clerical	4,989	5,313	6,372
Sales	3,721	2,360	7,542
Services	3,320	4,909	5,673
Skilled production	3,347	4,279	4,848
Semi-skilled production	3,213	3,676	3,306
Unskilled production	3,109	3,650	3,864
Total	4,161	5,268	5,939
Female			
Managerial	7,552	11,841	10,730
Professional	2,661	7,457	8,305
Clerical	3,629	5,023	4,669
Sales	4,325	3,000	–
Services	2,929	3,494	6,898
Skilled production	3,102	3,576	3,802
Semi-skilled production	2,940	3,418	3,860
Unskilled production	2,656	3,178	3,438
Total	3,815	4,702	4,256

The highest earners among the males were managers belonging to establishments with employment size of 500 and more workers. For every peso earned by this group of worker, their counterparts in small establishments earned only 74 centavos. But the wage gap was largest among the professionals, where those in small establishments got only 35 centavos for every peso received by their counterparts in large firms.

As for female managers, those in larger firms with at least 100 workers earned the highest income, that is P10,730 to 11,841 monthly as against the P7,552 monthly wage of managers in small establishments. This translates into a P1:64-70 centavos ratio favouring managers in bigger firms.

The biggest wage differences, in regard to both, men and women in the same occupation, were registered in the professional category. Women professionals in small establishments got only 32 centavos for every peso paid to their counterparts in large companies.

The table also reveals a wage gap between sexes in the same occupation and establishment size. This is true in particular for white-collar occupations. But it is worth noting that the income gap narrowed in the case of workers from different establishment sizes in lower occupations, in particular, production workers. Their monthly earnings were similar and approximated the minimum wage, indicating that employers, whether of big companies or otherwise, are endeavourily to comply with the statutory minimum wage for workers.

(g) Income by Main Occupation and Work Experience

Considered as another determinant of worker's income is the length of experience in the labour market. Workers who joined the labour market earlier can be expected to receive higher earnings than the later entrants. This is confirmed by the figures in table 2.50.

The table shows the average earnings per month of workers classified according to the number of years they had been working and their current occupation. Overall, workers with at least 20 years of work experience were the highest paid (P6,772 for men and P5,018 for women) followed by those who had been in the labour market for 10 to 19 years (P6,382 for men and P4,549 for women). Comprising the lowest paid group were those with less than 10 years in the labour market (P4,264 for men and P3,703 for women). This is not surprising since work experience has a direct bearing on skill acquisition and, consequently, on the worker's income.

Table 2.50. Average monthly income of surveyed workers by occupation and number of years in the labour market
(Pesos)

Occupation	Number of years in the labour market		
	Less than 10	10-19	20 and over
Male			
Managerial	8,443	14,254	17,666
Professional	7,656	*	13,372
Clerical	4,475	7,731	6,455
Sales	2,761	7,538	2,120
Services	5,429	5,756	5,262
Skilled production	4,385	4,753	5,008
Semi-skilled production	3,140	2,878	4,714
Unskilled production	3,297	3,950	4,899
Total	4,264	6,382	6,772
Female			
Managerial	8,003	11,601	11,293
Professional	8,851	6,609	6,960
Clerical	4,627	4,811	4,597
Sales	3,452	5,000	-
Services	2,929	7,050	4,055
Skilled production	3,326	4,372	3,739
Semi-skilled production	2,755	3,656	4,492
Unskilled production	3,060	1,728	3,701
Total	3,703	4,549	5,018

Not: * Very small sample.

CHAPTER 3

EMPLOYMENT MOBILITY

This section deals with the employment history of the workers. Their employment mobility is traced from their first and previous jobs to their present job in the Metro Manila labour market, with respect to (a) industry, (b) occupation, (c) employment status, (d) size of establishment, and (e) trade union membership. Their length of experience in the labour market and mode of job search as well as their career prospects are also investigated. Special attention is given to the mobility of married women workers.

3.1 Mobility as Change in Employment

For the purpose of this study, job change means a move from one employer to another. It is assumed that the reason for change is generally positive rather than negative, the movement being a "pull" rather than a "push". A worker decides to change his job because of a better offer from another establishment, and not because he is terminated and has no choice but to find another job.

Table 3.1 shows that, in general, Filipinos are not mobile. Only 50.3 per cent of the men, and 43.6 per cent of the women respondents changed jobs. Furthermore, over a quarter of both sexes had changed jobs only once. This does not show flexibility in the labour market. It is likely that a worker remains in his job not because he is contented with his work, but because there are no other job opportunities. Seldom is he able to find a job offering better conditions, as can be expected in a developing, labour-surplus economy. This general lack of mobility could also be interpreted in the context of the socio-economic developments in the country during the 1980s. Given the economic recession and political instability, when business establishments were closing down, unemployment rates soaring, and investments at a standstill, workers had no choice but to stay in their jobs.

Table 3.1. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by number of jobs changes

Job changes	Male	Female
None	49.6	56.4
One	26.3	25.9
Two	10.8	6.0
Two and over	13.2	11.7
Total	100.0	100.0

A closer look at the table reveals that the males were more mobile than the females. Philippine society is still patriarchal, where the father expected to be the primary bread-winner. This social pressure on men to earn more presumbly compels them to be in constant search of better paid work, thereby increasing their mobility behaviour.

Table 3.2 gives some indication of workers' motivation to change jobs. The job changers reported that the prospective employer's promise of higher wages and occupational mobility was the most important consideration although the degree of importance differed between sexes.

Women changers generally put a higher premium on wages than on the prospects of career advancement. The trend was the same for the men except for those who had changed jobs three or more times. When wage earners are barely able to make ends meet, as in the Philippines, the promise of a higher income is a sufficient incentive to move. This is true, in particular, of the Filipino women, who are generally regarded as supplementary earners. Many of them work solely to augment the household's income.

The table shows that, relatively more women than men changed jobs on account of household responsibilities, ill health or to reduce commuting time. These reasons indicate that Filipino women, even the career-oriented ones, still regard their traditional role in the home as important.

Table 3.2. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by reason for job change and by number of changes

Reason for job change	More than 2 job changers		2 job changers		1 job changers
	First job	Previous job	First job	Second job	First job
Male					
Higher pay/better working conditions	14.5	21.0	51.2	49.9	31.2
Better career prospects	36.8	30.8	12.2	9.8	24.4
Less commuting	2.6	0.1	0.2	1.7	1.0
Household responsibilities	1.2	0.8	–	–	0.5
Health ill	0.7	0.1	–	0.1	2.4
Dislike of work	7.3	4.5	2.4	9.4	7.3
Disagreement with management/colleagues	1.5	4.2	0.2	4.4	4.0
Establishment closed down	7.8	10.7	10.4	10.2	7.7
Term finished/laid off	22.8	26.0	22.7	12.7	14.8
Other	4.8	1.8	0.7	1.8	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Female					
Higher pay/better working conditions	31.3	44.9	21.0	41.2	33.5
Better career prospects	21.0	10.5	13.1	4.3	17.4
Less commuting	14.9	1.5	–	–	4.7
Household responsibilities	0.1	7.7	15.5	1.2	3.6
Health ill	0.8	7.7	5.5	1.0	0.1
Dislike of work	5.9	2.0	1.4	13.8	1.5
Disagreement with management/colleagues	1.6	1.1	15.1	7.4	5.5
Establishment closed down	12.7	4.7	19.4	16.6	10.1
Term finished/laid off	8.8	11.1	7.1	13.0	18.5
Other	2.9	8.8	1.9	1.5	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The sluggish economy and very tight labour market were reflected by the significant proportion of workers changing jobs because either the establishment closed down, their term had finished or they were laid off. All three combined, the percentage of men ranged from 23 per cent to 37 per cent; while that of women, ranged from 16 per cent to 30 per cent.

A breakdown of these "push" reasons reveals that relatively more men changed jobs because their term had finished or they were laid off; whereas more women changed jobs because the establishment closed down. Could it be that men are likely to be employed in less stable jobs, and women in less stable industries? This is one area that needs further study.

3.2 Job Duration and Mode of Job Search

The data reveal that the respondents had been working in the Metro Manila labour market between 5 and 25 years (table 3.3). In general, the men had been longer in the labour market than the women. Likewise, the men had stayed longer in their current job than the women.

By employment status, employers had been working longest. It is disturbing to note that some casual workers had remained in the same status even after three years of service in the company.

On the average, job-changers had been working longer than non-changers (table 3.4). Non-changers had been working for their present employers for 11 to 12 years. On the other hand, it was reported that job-changers had been employed in their present establishment for around 6 to 13 years, while they had stayed with their first employer for around 1.5 to 2.5 years. The respondents' long years of service in their current jobs imply one of two possibilities: either they were happy with their work, who or, because of the tight labour market, they had no choice but to stay in their current job. Would-be changers may have found it more difficult to find other jobs in recent years.

Table 3.3. Average number of years of work experience of surveyed workers in labour market and in current job by employment status

Employment status	Average number of years[a]			
	In labour market		In current job	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Employer	25.4	20.6	19.9	16.2
Regular worker	14.6	12.6	11.8	10.4
Casual worker	7.1	8.5	6.5	3.1
Contractual worker	5.0	–	0.25	–
Apprentice	–	7.0	–	0.4
Family worker	0.0[b]	10.8	0.0[b]	4.7

Notes: [a] Estimated figures.
[b] One respondent only.

Table 3.4. Average number of years of work experience of surveyed workers by number of job changes

Sex	More than 2 job changers			2 job changers			1 job changers		Non-changers
	First job	Previous job	Current job	First job	Second job	Current job	First job	Current job	
Male	1.7	1.5	7.7	1.6	2.1	9.7	2.6	13.0	12.5
Female	2.6	1.6	8.4	1.5	1.7	6.1	2.1	10.3	11.0

Market segmentation is often attributed to unequal information. Some people secure better jobs not because they are more qualified but because they have better access to information. Access to information is therefore, a determinant of mobility. The respondents were asked how they learned about a job opening. Table 3.5 shows that information was obtained mainly through informal channels.

Table 3.5. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by mode of obtaining job and number of job changes

	More than 2 job changers		2 job changers		1 job changers		Non-changers
	First job	Current job	First job	Current job	First job	Current job	
Male							
Newspaper advertisements	14.6	22.1	5.4	3.3	6.5	8.6	4.5
Other advertisements	3.5	3.7	6.9	–	1.9	5.7	3.8
Public employment agencies	0.9	1.3	9.3	–	1.8	0.2	3.7
Employer recruitment drive	10.9	7.4	7.5	12.8	4.3	5.7	10.0
Labour contractors	–	0.3	–	–	–	1.3	0.1
Friends and relatives	69.3	61.6	70.8	83.2	80.0	68.7	75.6
Other	0.9	3.9	0.1	0.6	5.5	9.7	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Female							
Newspaper advertisements	8.8	11.2	8.7	5.6	18.4	12.2	4.0
Other advertisements	1.8	9.1	0.1	1.4	11.0	6.9	1.9
Public employment agencies	1.2	1.9	–	–	0.1	0.4	2.0
Employer recruitment drive	4.1	7.7	4.0	1.6	3.9	2.8	4.3
Labour contractors	7.3	0.3	–	–	–	–	–
Friends and relatives	71.1	67.7	85.3	89.5	63.6	76.3	84.5
Other	5.7	2.1	1.9	1.9	3.1	1.3	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Respondents who found jobs through friends or relatives. Generally, more men than women were recruited directly by employers. Conversely accounted for percentages as high as 89 in the case of female two-time job-changers the data show the very limited use made of the government's job facilitation programme. A minimal portion, of those employed had found work through public employment agencies, with the exception of the male two-time job-changers, 9 per cent of whom found their first job through public agencies. Interestingly, these did not avail themselves of government assistance in looking for their current jobs.

It is normally assumed that the bigger the company, the more formal the recruitment policies are and that recruitment is based on merit rather than on having the right connections. The survey proved, however, that among Filipinos, the kinship system still prevails. Irrespective of the employment size of the company, workers seeking employment were most often referred by friends or relatives. It is a known recruitment practice not only in the public sector but also in the private sector.

3.3 Mobility Across Industries

Bearing in mind that all the respondents were currently engaged in manufacturing industries, table 3.6 implies a rather restricted mobility accross industries since more than half of the job changers entered the labour market through the manufacturing industry. The remainder came from various other sectors.

Table 3.6. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by broad industrial categories and number of job changes

Industry	More than 2 job changers		2 job changers		1 job changers
	First job	Previous job	First job	Second	First job
Male					
Agriculture	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.1	0.4
Mining, quarrying	-	1.5	-	-	0.3
Manufacturing	54.1	63.6	66.3	61.7	54.5
Electricity, gas, water	2.6	0.8	0.1	-	1.8
Construction	9.5	4.8	12.6	6.7	13.6
Wholesale and retail trade	15.1	5.3	11.6	7.1	5.4
Transport, communications	5.4	9.0	0.8	5.1	2.3
Financing, insurance, real estate, business services	1.7	3.0	0.8	2.1	6.5
Community, social and personal services	10.9	11.2	7.1	17.3	15.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Female					
Agriculture	-	-	-	1.1	-
Mining, quarrying	0.9	0.5	-	0.1	-
Manufacturing	55.3	55.2	64.8	56.6	67.1
Electricity, gas, water	-	-	-	1.8	0.8
Construction	-	0.8	1.9	-	-
Wholesale, and retail trade	22.8	25.4	17.4	18.0	9.2
Transport, communications	1.1	7.4	0.9	3.7	1.6
Financing, insurance, real estate, business services	5.6	4.8	2.6	1.4	2.1
Community, social and personal service	14.3	6.0	12.4	17.2	19.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Apart from manufacturing, the main entry points for men were construction, community, social and personal services, and trade. For women, these were trade and services, as can be expected since these industries are characterized by easy entry because of the "informal" nature of their activities. "Informal" may imply low capitalization and low skill requirements for some jobs in these industries. The data in the table, should, however, be interpreted with caution. They lead one to believe that labour absorption in manufacturing is

increasing. This is the trend shown in the table and can be explained by all the respondents being currently employed in manufacturing industries. But the fact is that, in the Philippines labour absorption in manufacturing, and in the industrial sector as a whole, is very disappointing. In the last four decades, this sector has been able to account at most, for only 15 per cent of total employment. Thus, agricultural employment has remained close to 50 per cent, while employment in the services sector has been rising, with a small number of agricultural workers taking up low status jobs in the latter sector.

Table 3.7 shows the movements of workers across industries by first and current job. The largest proportion of men who were in construction and community services joined the food and chemicals industries, while those in trade went to the food and fabricated metals industries. On the other hand, women who were in the trade and community services sectors found employment in the food, textiles, and fabricated metals industries. It is interesting to note that most of the industries of destination, i.e., food, textiles and fabricated metals, are labour-intensive.

Table 3.7. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by industry of first and current job

Industry of current job	Industry of first job									
	Agriculture	Mining, quarrying	Manufacturing	Electricity, gas, water	Construction	Wholesale, retail trade	Transport, storage, communications	Financing, insurance	Community, personal services	Total
Male										
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	33.9	–	14.7	40.2	20.8	33.2	20.5	11.8	41.5	21.0
Textiles, Garments, Leather	2.3	–	24.6	33.6	10.0	8.9	20.1	7.2	16.7	19.1
Wood, Wood Products	4.3	–	1.9	–	1.4	1.7	–	–	0.2	1.5
Paper, Paper, Products, Printing, Publishing	21.8	–	7.3	–	0.1	–	0.4	55.7	11.0	7.8
Chemicals, Petroleum, Coal, Rubber, Plastics	31.2	–	18.1	–	31.6	1.3	36.4	5.2	16.4	18.0
Non-metallic Mineral Products	–	–	0.6	–	2.9	0.2	1.3	0.3	0.4	0.8
Basic Metals	–	–	6.4	–	13.0	13.1	1.5	2.3	–	6.7
Fabricated Metal Products, Machinery and Equipment	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other Manufactures	6.4	–	3.2	–	5.0	7.8	–	0.4	0.7	3.3
Total	0.5	0.1	56.8	1.6	12.2	9.2	3.3	4.0	12.2	100.0
Female										
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	–	–	7.0	–	–	14.7	55.9	48.2	7.3	10.3
Textiles, Garments, Leather	–	–	65.0	–	–	56.9	30.7	20.6	54.2	60.1
Wood, Wood Products	–	–	0.3	–	–	0.7	–	0.8	1.2	0.5
Paper, Paper, Products, Printing, Publishing	–	–	0.3	–	–	0.5	–	0.6	13.0	2.5
Chemicals, Petroleum, Coal, Rubber, Plastics	–	–	7.3	–	–	10.4	–	1.7	9.4	7.7
Non-metallic Mineral Products	–	–	0.6	–	–	0.3	0.2	2.2	1.0	0.7
Basic Metals	–	–	0.1	–	–	0.8	–	–	0.2	8.2
Fabricated Metal Products, Machinery and Equipment	–	–	16.2	–	–	15.1	13.2	23.7	7.1	14.8
Other Manufactures	–	–	3.1	–	–	0.6	–	2.4	6.6	3.3
Total	–	0.1	63.6	0.5	0.3	13.9	1.3	3.1	17.0	100.0

It is also note worthy that only 34 per cent transferred from the agricultural sector. This may be due to rigidities in moving from agricultural to manufacturing jobs which explains the trend from agriculture to services rather than from agriculture to manufacturing.

To investigate further mobility within the manufacturing sector, table 3.8 traces the movements of workers who started their career in manufacturing industries. The table shows that the textile industry employed more first-timers than any other industry in regard to both sexes. About 22 per cent of the male workers and 48 per cent of the female workers got their first job in this industry, indicating the dominance of the textile industry. Other favourite entry points for males were the chemicals and fabricated metals industries. The same industries still accounted for significant shares of male employment. For women, industries of origin were paper and fabricated metals.

On the other hand, the industries which employed the smallest number of first-timers were the non-metallic minerals for males, and the basic metals for females. The former employed only about 2.1 per cent of the male workers while the latter only 0.3 per cent of the female workers.

Table 3.8. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers in manufacturing industries by first and current job

Manufacturing industry of current job	Manufacturing industry of first job									
	Food	Textiles	Wood	Paper	Chemicals	Non-metallic	Basic metals	Fabricated metals	Other manufactures	All industries
Male										
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	26.2	7.6	32.5	–	20.9	19.1	14.8	2.2	27.7	14.7
Textiles, Garments, Leather	28.2	40.4	4.5	3.1	37.4	53.5	7.3	14.8	3.0	24.6
Wood, Wood Products	4.8	1.2	5.1	0.2	0.5	–	3.9	0.7	1.4	1.9
Paper, Paper Products, Printing, Publishing	–	2.3	39.7	9.3	–	–	0.8	–	0.8	7.3
Chemicals, Petroleum, Coals, Rubber, Plastics	18.3	11.3	3.0	3.0	29.1	–	52.0	22.0	10.0	18.1
Non-metallic Minerals Products	–	0.9	–	0.5	1.1	6.1	–	0.5	–	0.6
Basic Metals	3.8	0.3	10.9	27.9	0.9	–	4.5	12.3	–	6.4
Fabricated Metal Products, Machinery and Equipment	18.7	18.1	3.4	56.1	4.0	21.3	16.6	46.8	55.1	23.2
Other Manufactures	–	8.0	0.9	–	6.3	–	–	0.9	2.1	3.2
Total	13.5	21.9	9.7	7.6	18.7	2.1	5.6	18.0	2.9	100.0
Female										
Food, Beverages, Tobacco	34.4	3.5	15.2	3.6	2.7	27.8	–	3.5	7.4	7.0
Textiles, Garments, Leather	39.1	80.5	66.8	84.2	45.5	–	–	35.9	74.9	65.0
Wood, Wood Products	–	0.4	18.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	0.4
Paper, Paper Products, Printing, Publishing	–	0.1	–	1.4	1.4	–	–	–	–	0.3
Chemicals, Petroleum, Coals, Rubber, Plastics	11.9	3.9	–	9.8	30.4	–	85.1	–	16.7	7.3
Non-metallic Minerals Products	–	0.6	–	0.9	1.3	8.2	–	–	–	0.6
Basic Metals	–	–	–	0.2	–	–	–	0.1	–	0.1
Fabricated Metal Products, Machinery and Equipment	14.6	6.7	–	–	4.5	63.9	14.9	60.5	–	16.2
Other Manufactures	–	4.2	–	–	14.2	–	–	–	1.1	3.1
Total	9.7	48.2	0.8	11.6	7.2	1.4	0.3	17.1	4.3	100.0

Note: Figures are column percentage, except for those appearing after "Total" which are row percentages.

Moreover, the data show that of all the manufacturing industries, fabricated metals (for males) and textiles (for females), were the industries that managed to retain the highest number of workers. The first was able to keep the services of 47 per cent of the total male workers it employed while the second was able to prevent 81 per cent of its female workers from transferring to other industries.

3.4 Occupational Mobility

A person's occupation is one indicator of his employment status and income. It is common knowledge that managers, and professionals and highly skilled workers enjoy the best amenities in the workplace as well as higher earnings and more privileges. Very few workers, however, enter the labour force with the qualifications needed to join such an elite group, and most of those who have worked their way up have done so slowly and laboriously.

Many workers begin as unskilled workers, but with experience and training eventually become masters of their craft. This is observed among the job changers in tables 3.4 and 3.10. As high a percentage as 28 per cent of the male job changers began as unskilled production workers, with no experience nor skill (table 3.4). The percentages dropped considerably in all cases and recorded zero for the two-time job changers. The figures for the services, sector can be similarly interpreted, the sector being composed of low-skilled workers.

The skilled workers, on the other hand, more than doubled. The increase for the male two-job changers is dramatic, rising from 15 per cent to 70 per cent. The managerial and administrative group increased by an average of 6 per cent, with the two or more job changers registering a leap of 9 per cent from the first job to the current job. Surprisingly, there seems to be a shift to clerical work among men. If this indicates a shift from a low skill blue-collar to a low skill white-collar job, then the movement would indicate positive mobility.

Table 3.10 traces in more detail the movement of the workers from their first to their current job. Among the men, 7 out of 10 workers who were previously doing service, semi-skilled and unskilled work were now considered as skilled workers. Five out of 10 professionals in their first job were currently managers. And 1 to 2 out of 10 workers who started as clerical, sales or services workers were doing managerial/administrative work. Lastly, the data show that the men who were currently doing clerical work may have come from any other occupation, with higher probability from the professional group.

Basically the same is true for the women as far as production work is concerned. There seems to be a shift from less skilled to more skilled production work, especially from among the services and semi-skilled workers. But it is rather puzzling to note the higher percentage share of unskilled workers currently employed among the one and more than two job changers (table 3.9). This is confirmed by table 3.10 which shows that the percentage of women classified as unskilled workers grew from 4 per cent to 8 per cent. Could it be that, because of the very tight labour market, workers who have some skills are forced to accept jobs classified as unskilled work? This is indeed very likely, especially for workers who had gained some experience but were laid off, and were in dire need of jobs.

As expected, relatively more women than men were first hired in clerical and sales positions where feminine occupations abound (table 3.10). These two categories accounted for as much as 26 per cent of the women's entry jobs. Most of the sales workers, however, changed occupations over time probably due to this work being highly unstable and temporary, whereas, it seems that only a few of the clerical workers ever changed occupations.

What is interesting to note is the high percentage of women shifting to managerial and administrative positions compared with men. There was an increase of 9 per cent for women compared with 6 per cent for men. The leap was highest among the two-job changers. Women managers were likely to come professional and clerical groups.

Compared with the changers, the non-changers, especially among the female respondents, seem to have stagnated in their occupation (table 3.9). At least 7 per cent of the women who changed jobs had become managers or administrators; while only 2 per cent of the non-changers were presently managers or administra-

Table 3.9. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers having changed jobs at least once by main occupation

Main occupation	More than 2 job changers		2 job changers		1 job changers		Non-changers
	First job	Current job	First job	Current job	First job	Current job	
Male							
Professional/Technical	5.8	2.5	1.2	0.8	6.6	1.4	1.5
Managerial/Administrative	4.9	13.7	3.2	8.4	2.9	8.2	6.0
Clerical	6.8	11.3	4.1	7.3	12.1	17.8	17.4
Sales	8.1	–	3.5	–	4.6	–	2.5
Services	12.5	0.4	18.1	2.4	17.3	0.5	1.1
Skilled production	27.5	54.1	15.1	70.1	23.7	54.6	57.9
Semi-skilled production	11.8	7.6	26.7	11.0	19.2	9.9	6.5
Unskilled production	22.6	10.4	28.0	–	13.6	7.5	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Female							
Professional/Technical	3.3	1.1	13.2	3.3	4.1	0.6	0.7
Managerial/Administrative	0.9	11.6	0.8	13.5	–	7.1	2.3
Clerical	12.1	14.2	15.7	11.6	15.8	11.4	14.0
Sales	19.2	–	2.2	–	9.6	0.1	–
Services	1.6	–	14.5	–	16.1	–	1.0
Skilled production	25.4	56.9	27.5	64.6	42.3	65.8	61.9
Semi-skilled production	29.6	2.6	18.6	1.2	11.3	8.9	8.2
Unskilled production	7.9	13.6	7.6	5.7	0.8	6.2	11.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 3.10. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by first and current occupation

Current occupation	First occupation								
						Production			Other
	Professional/ technical	Managerial/ administrative	Clerical	Sales	Services production	Skilled production	Semi-skilled	Unskilled	
Male									
Professional/Technical	14.3	18.7	–	–	–	–	–	1.8	1.6
Managerial/Administrative	52.6	37.7	20.2	22.4	10.2	3.4	–	–	9.6
Clerical	26.8	3.4	63.6	13.4	8.7	8.4	8.5	5.4	13.8
Services	–	–	0.5	–	4.9	–	2.4	–	1.4
Skilled production	6.3	40.2	11.6	12.0	70.4	78.4	68.4	69.0	57.5
Semi-skilled production	–	–	4.0	29.2	6.0	1.2	14.8	17.0	9.5
Unskilled production	–	–	–	22.1	–	8.5	5.8	7.4	6.6
Total	5.2	3.5	9.0	5.2	16.1	22.7	19.2	19.0	100.0
Female									
Professional/Technical	17.0	–	–	–	–	–	1.2	–	1.1
Managerial/Administrative	56.0	30.1	31.0	0.6	2.8	2.3	0.4	8.8	9.2
Clerical	5.1	67.9	45.2	17.0	5.3	2.1	9.4	2.3	12.2
Services	–	2.0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Skilled production	20.7	–	22.7	55.8	68.5	82.5	81.7	25.1	63.3
Semi-skilled production	1.3	–	0.5	12.5	17.5	6.1	1.3	3.4	3.4
Unskilled production	–	–	0.5	14.0	6.0	7.1	6.0	60.5	8.1
Total	5.1	0.3	14.8	11.2	12.0	35.7	17.2	3.5	100.0

Note: Figures are column percentages, except for those appearing after "total" which are row percentages.

tors. As for the men, as high a percentage as 14 per cent of the changers currently belonged to that group, compared with only 6 per cent of the non-changers. Could this mean that the more mobile workers are also the most likely to succeed in improving their occupational status.

3.5 Change in Employment Status

A very small number of the respondents were employers or self-employed before their first job change(table 3.11). Almost all respondents started as wage or salaried workers. For women, there was even a tendency towards status retrogression. This may be explained partly by a number of married women workers, who were self-employed or regular workers when they temporarily left the labour market, having become regular or contract workers when they rejoined the market. The data for men show a more positive tendency.

Among the changers a high proportion of women entered the labour market as regular workers while a good number of both men and women began as casual or contract workers. It can be inferred that the gender differences in their employment status in their first jobs may reflect the higher urgency for men to be employed given their traditional role as bread-winner so that they tend to seize whatever job is available even if it is only on a contractual basis. This confirms an earlier observation that relatively more men changed jobs because their term was finished or they were laid off. "Casual/Contractual" implies seasonality of work, and since more men than women are being given this type of employment contract, more men are likely to be put our to work for this reason.

Almost all (98 per cent) of those interviewed were currently regular workers, except for the female two-job changers (85.8 per cent). In terms of status mobility there was no distinct difference between non-changers and job changers, and between single and multiple-job changers, especially as far as the male workers were concerned.

The eventual shift to regular status is inevitable for there is a labour law which stipulates that a casual/ contractual employee working in the company for at least one year, whether such service is continuous or broken, automatically acquires a regular status. Unless the worker's services are terminated before a total of one year, he eventually becomes a regular employee. This was the case of almost all the respondents who entered the labour market as non-regular workers.

Table 3.11. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers having changed jobs at least once by employment status

Employment status	More than 2 job changers		2 job changers		1 job changers		Non-changers
	First job	Current job	First job	Current job	First job	Current job	
Male							
Employer/Self-employed	–	0.9	0.9	0.2	1.6	0.2	–
Regular worker	31.4	98.9	31.8	99.8	40.9	96.5	98.3
Casual worker	41.0	0.2	44.9	0.1	38.5	1.0	1.7
Contractual worker	25.9	–	22.2	–	12.9	0.5	–
Apprentice	1.7	–	0.1	–	3.4	–	–
Family worker	–	–	0.1	–	2.5	–	–
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Female							
Employer/Self-employed	0.9	–	0.1	–	0.6	0.1	–
Regular worker	65.5	98.1	46.6	85.5	52.8	99.1	98.6
Casual worker	23.1	1.9	44.2	9.3	22.2	0.7	1.3
Contractual worker	10.1	–	8.5	–	19.1	–	–
Apprentice	–	–	0.3	4.8	5.3	0.1	–
Family worker	0.4	–	0.3	0.1	–	–	0.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

A closer look at the data, however, would reveal a slower pace of regularization for women, where regularization connotes job security, better benefits and more privileges. Whereas a clear pattern of upward status mobility is seen among male job changers, the same cannot be said for their female counterparts where a number have remained apprentices/family workers. It is significant that these types of worker no longer exist among the male job changers.

Table 3.12 traces in more detail the status mobility of the respondents. Among the men, of those who started as employer/self-employed, only 1.6 per cent had retained this status. The rest had become regular workers. None of the women had remained employer/self-employed. Some of them had become casual employees or family workers. If the aim is to encourage workers to become employers, then interventions in the form of entrepreneurship training programmes and related complementary inputs such as marketing services and credit facilities are needed.

Furthermore, among the men who began as regular workers, some had become employers. There were also a number of respondents who retrogressed, with more women than men among them. Generally, upward mobility was recorded for those who had casual, contractual or lower status in their first job. The figures for apprentices are particularly encouraging as they indicate the effectiveness of the government's apprenticeship programme.

Table 3.12. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by employment status in first and current job

Employment current status	Employment status first					
	Employer/Self-employed	Regular worker	Casual worker	Contractual worker	Apprentice	Family worker
Male						
Employer	1.6	1.0	–	–	–	–
Regular worker	98.4	98.9	99.5	99.0	100.0	100.0
Casual worker	–	0.2	0.5	–	–	–
Contractual worker	–	–	–	0.1	–	–
Apprentice	–	–	–	–	–	–
Family worker	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Female						
Employer	–	–	0.1	–	–	–
Regular worker	49.5	98.3	93.4	99.8	100.0	92.7
Casual worker	49.2	0.6	5.9	0.2	–	–
Contractual worker	–	–	–	–	–	–
Apprentice	–	1.0	0.6	–	–	–
Family worker	1.3	–	–	–	–	7.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

3.6 Scale Mobility

It is generally believed that bigger establishments are able to provide better employment conditions and income to their workers because they are more stable and efficient. Thus, from the worker's viewpoint, a move to a bigger company could imply an eventual improvement in his career. In order to examine the upward mobility of the respondents in this respect, establishment size is classified into four groups: those employing 1 to 19 workers are considered as "micro", those with 20 to 99 workers as "small", those with 100 to 499 workers as "medium", and those with 500 or more workers as "large" The distribution is presented in table 3.13.

The table indicates that the first job of the majority of workers was in small and medium establishments, and that at least one-third were absorbed by large establishments on their entry into the labour market. However, there was a discernible movement of workers to larger companies as evidenced by the increased percentages of

Table 3.13. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers having changed jobs at least once by size of establishment

Establishment (number of workers)	More than 2 job changers		2 job changers		1 job changers		Non-changers
	First job	Current job	First job	Current job	First job	Current job	
Male							
1-19	100.0	–	10.9	–	17.1	–	–
20-99	–	2.8	20.4	2.8	22.3	3.7	4.1
100-499	–	22.5	31.6	15.0	26.5	17.3	17.4
500 and over	–	74.6	37.1	82.3	33.9	79.0	78.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Female							
1-19	100.0	–	2.8	–	21.1	–	–
20-99	–	1.1	18.0	1.7	21.8	1.4	1.1
100-499	–	8.7	42.7	17.0	17.4	9.3	7.1
500 and over	–	90.2	36.5	81.4	39.5	89.3	91.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

currently employed in the large-size category. It is noteworthy that, generally, more women than men were found to be employed in large establishments.

3.7 Mobility and Trade Union Membership

In a labour-surplus economy, workers can find themselves in a disadvantageous position vis-a-vis capital. It is claimed that the most effective way to protect the workers is to strengthen their bargaining power by organizing them. This is the reason why one of the major thrusts of the Department of Labour is to expand the membership of trade unions, and promote labour-management councils.

Once workers are organized, they are in a better position to bargain for more favourable employment conditions and higher wages. Trade union members are therefore believed to be relatively better off than non-members. As an indicator of employment mobility, the trade union membership of the respondents are presented in table 3.14.

Table 3.14. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers by membership in trade union in first and current job

Job changers	Trade union membership	
	Male	Female
More than 2 job changers		
First job	19.5	16.7
Current job	59.0	72.8
2 job changers		
First job	5.3	18.4
Current job	59.0	64.3
1 job changers		
First job	12.3	14.7
Current job	60.7	70.3
Non-changers	63.7	73.2

The data show that, for both sexes, more respondents were members of unions in their current jobs than they had been in their first employment. This is a welcome development on two counts. One, it implies that more workers now are enjoying better terms and conditions of work; and two, that more establishments are now unionized. But there seems to be a negative relationship between number of job changes and trade union membership, except for the most mobile females, as shown by the lower percentages of union membership among multiple-job changers in their current jobs. This could be attributed to an old labour law which, stipulates that an employee can become a union member only upon assumption of a regular status, which for many is after a year of service in the company. This law has recently been modified to ensure union membership to an employee from the first day of his employment. But this is hardly effective in recruiting new employees into the union for several reasons. One of the reasons is that an employee is anxious to please his employer. Since it is generally perceived, rightly or wrongly, that employers are anti-union, a new employee is reluctant to join the union at an early stage when he has not yet acquired a regular or permanent status in the company. In other words, an employee's length of stay in the company and employment status have a bearing on his union membership. It therefore takes some time before job changers get involved in a union.

Another possible reason for the negative relationship is that, if job changers improve their status by changing jobs, they may be occupying managerial positions. Under Philippine law, managers are prohibited from joining a trade union.

It is also interesting to note that a higher percentage of unionized workers was registered among the women than among the men, irrespective of whether they were changers or non-changers and whether they were single or multiple-job changers. This could be explained by the fact that women workers are in industries that are highly unionized, e.g, garments, or it may indicate that there has been a growing trend in recent years for women in general to get involved more actively in unions. This issue would be worth looking into in more detail.

3.8 Career Prospects and Mobility

In order to gain an idea of future mobility trends and to determine the workers' assessment of their worklife in the short term, the respondents were asked about their career prospects for the next two years. The results of the inquiry are shown, by number of job changes, in table 3.15.

Surprisingly, a significant proportion of men who had changed jobs more then twice indicated plans to move to another employer. The majority, however, anticipated no change whatsoever in their present job, the highest percentage among the most mobile females being around 78 per cent. Still, a sizeable number were hoping to be promoted in two years' time, the highest number being among the male non-changers (33 per cent). The most mobile males also showed optimism in this respect (33 per cent), as did the female two-time changers (22 per cent). Generally, however, the men seemed to entertain better prospects for promotion in their current employment than the women.

Noteworthy also is the almost even distribution of female two-time changers in terms of future career prospects, and the relatively large share of those who were thinking of quitting.

Table 3.15. Percentage distribution of surveyed workers having changed jobs at least once by career prospects

Career prospects	More than 2 job changers		2 job changers		1 job changers		Non-changers	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Promotion within present establishment	32.5	5.9	19.8	21.8	27.3	19.5	32.9	13.8
Transfer to another job	17.3	6.7	9.2	12.9	11.8	11.6	9.1	9.5
Carry on in present job without any mobility	40.4	78.0	64.4	25.8	49.1	62.4	52.2	63.9
Quit the present job	7.8	3.0	1.9	22.5	8.1	6.3	3.4	5.8
Uncertain	1.9	3.0	4.7	17.1	3.6	0.3	2.4	7.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

3.9 Mobility Among Married Women Workers

Generally, there is not much difference in the percentage shares of married and single women in terms of job changes (table 3.16). Whether marriage makes many women change jobs is not borne out by the data. Women may stop working at any point after marriage and later rejoin the labour force, thus contributing to their employment mobility, as defined in this study. On the other hand, single women can afford to take chances and change jobs because of lighter financial burdens, thus contributing to their employment mobility.

Table 3.16. Percentage distribution of surveyed women workers by marital status and number of job changes

Marital status	More than 2 changes	2 changes	1 change	No change
Single	12.7	7.1	24.6	55.6
Married	11.0	4.3	27.5	57.3
Widowed/Divorced/ Separated	14.6	23.8	13.1	48.5

More than half (62 per cent) of the total female respondents were married. Of this number, 86 per cent were working before marriage, and 13 per cent temporarily stopped working after getting married (table 3.17). This rather low percentage of temporary withdrawals indicates that marriage does not necessarily interfere with a woman's decision to work. However, it should be borne in mind that this was a survey of women who were currently working. Gathering data on the incidence of women who discontinued working after marriage and remained outside the labour force was not within the scope of the survey.

Table 3.17. Selected characteristics of married women workers

	Married women workers
	Percentage
Working before marriage	85.9
Working before marriage and discontinued work during marriage	12.6
	Average
Number of times discontinued work	1.4
Age first discontinued working	24.0
Age rejoined employment after break	27.0
	Percentage
Improved employment qualifications after marriage	30.7
Improved employment qualifications of husband after marriage	28.1
Positive attitude of husband to wife's work	76.1

It is also possible that marriage actually encourages women to work because of the family's financial needs. In this connection it is interesting to note that around 14 per cent of married women respondents were not working before marriage. Of those who discontinued work after marriage, 69 per cent did so because of pregnancy and childbirth, while 1 out of 5 stopped working owing to other domestic responsibilities or to their services being terminated (table 3.18).

Table 3.19 shows that three-quarters of the married women attended to domestic chores without the aid of domestic help. This is commonly known as the double burden issue, where women workers are also housekeepers.

On the average, married women discontinued work at the age of 24 years and rejoin employment after three years, at around the age of 27. Table 3.20 indicates that many of them had either regained their previous employment status or had improved on their status, implying that a break in employment owing to marriage may not necessarily impact negatively on a woman's employment status.

Table 3.18. Percentage distribution of surveyed married women workers having discontinued work by reason for discontinuing

Reason	Married women workers
Change of residence	1.1
Pregnancy and childbirth	68.9
domestic responsibilities	6.4
Disapproval of family	1.7
Services terminated	12.8
Other	9.0
Total	100.0

Table 3.19. Percentage distribution of married women workers doing domestic chores with or without domestic help

	Hiring domestic help	Not dometic help	Total
Doing domestic chores	24.0	76.0	100.0
Not doing domestic chores	55.0	45.0	100.0

Table 3.20. Percentage distribution of married women workers by employment status before marriage and upon rejoining labour force

Employment status before marriage	Employment status upon rejoining labour force					
	Employer/self-employed	Regular worker	Casual worker	Contractual worker	Apprentice	Family worker
Employer/Self-employed	–	–	–	–	–	–
Regular worker	1.1	68.6	23.0	7.2	–	–
Casual worker	–	47.7	52.3	–	–	–
Contractual worker	–	–	–	*	–	–
Apprentice	–	–	–	–	–	–
Family worker	–	*	–	*	–	*
Total	2 (100.0)	45 (100.0)	17 (100.0)	4 (100.0)	–	1 (100.0)

Note: Figures are percentages of row column totals.

* One respondent only.

Three out of four of the women had the support of their husband in pursuing their career (table 3.17). This is not surprising in times of economic hardship. When wages are so low that there must be two income-earners in the family to remain above the poverty line, a husband has no choice but to encourage his wife to work.

Interestingly, more wives (31 per cent) than husbands (28 per cent) had improved their employment qualifications after marriage (table 3.17). Skills upgrading was acquired mostly through in-plant training for both sexes, though more wives than husbands availed themselves of such training. However, there were more husbands than wives who acquired a university degree and a non-technical diploma after marriage (table 3.21).

After marriage, the decision by both husband and wife to pursue higher studies is contingent on family responsibilities. Since education/training outside the plant would imply more time away from home, the wife is likely not to further her education is, on account of her domestic duties. Husbands therefore are more likely than their wives to acquire a university degree or a technical diploma.

When asked about their perception of how the labour force participation of married women could be improved, the respondents cited the expansion of child care facilities and higher wages for women as being the

Table 3.21. Percentage distribution of wives and husbands having improved employment qualifications after marriage

Qualification	Wife	Husband
University degree	5.7	6.0
Technical diploma/certificate	6.3	5.5
Non-technical diploma/certificate	8.4	16.4
In-plant training	76.6	68.4
Other	3.0	3.7
Total	100.0	100.0

most important factors. Vocational training and information on job availability were considered to be of less importance in promoting married women's employment, (table 3.22).

This perception of the women themselves should serve as directive to policy-makers on the programmes that need to be put in place for the advancement of women workers. Traditionally it is believed that women do not have the skills to be productive; hence they are exploited and discriminated against. They should therefore, receive appropriate training. However, the survey data show that training does not guarantee equal treatment in the labour market. Women who are more educated or better trained and more productive than their male counterparts still receive lower wages. Government intervention, therefore, should not stop at training, but should also promote equity, especially in the area of wages as identified by the women interviewed.

Moreover, the data show that the advancement of married women workers is to a large extent hindered by family responsiblities, in particular, by pregnancy, childbirth and the care of pre-school children; hence the need for child care facilities in the community rather than on the factory premises.

Studies show that in Metro Manila, office-based child care centres are not feasible. On the part of the employer, this would entail additional costs which might cause him to hire fewer women. On the part of the mother, bringing pre-school children to the office is impractical and hazardous, considering the difficulty in commuting and the pollution in the city. In fact, the government recognized this need a decade ago and has already established several "barangay"[1] child care centres. Unfortunately, owing budgetary constraints, implementation of this programme has been limited and, in some areas, could not be sustained.

Table 3.22. Factors likely to promote married women's labour force participation as perceived by the married women respondents

Factors	Percentage
More vocational training	7.7
More jobs suitable for married women	17.6
More information on job availability	3.0
Higher wages for women	22.3
More opportunities for part-time work or flexible work hours	13.0
Expansion of child care facilities	29.7
Others	3.0
Uncertain	3.6

3.10 Job Changers and Non-changers

Selected characteristics of job changers and non-changers are given in table 3.23.

It can be observed from the table that, for both sexes, a higher percentage of the job changers (72 per cent males and 75 per cent females) came from urban areas; and that there is a smaller proportion of urbanites among

[1] A "barangay" is the smallest geo-political unit in the Philippines.

Table 3.23. Selected characteristics of job changers and non-changers

Characteristics	Job changers		Non-changers	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
		Percentage		
Urbanites	72.1	75.2	58.5	59.4
Literate and above	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
College graduates and above	27.6	27.5	21.1	20.6
Trained in current establishment	59.8	53.8	55.4	46.9
Currently self-employed	0.4	0.5	0	0
Currently in regular employment	99.4	97.0	98.3	98.6
Currently in managerial/professional occupations	11.3	10.3	7.5	3.0
Currently in clerical, sales, services occupations	14.8	12.2	21.0	15.0
Currently in production work	73.7	77.5	71.5	81.9
With subsidiary jobs	16.0	11.7	10.0	4.6
Current membership in trade union	72.9	81.6	78.7	84.5
Married	75.2	60.7	78.6	63.0
Household head	83.0	43.2	86.5	46.6
		Average		
Number of days worked per week	5.7	5.9	5.7	5.8
Number of hours worked per day	8.1	8.0	8.0	8.0
Average household size	5.4	4.9	5.0	5.3
		Average (pesos)		
Average monthly income	6,230	4,608	5,252	4,002
Average monthly household income	12,270	13,413	9,418	10,660

the non-changers (59 per cent males and 59 per cent females) compared with the changers (72 per cent for males and 75 per cent for females). This implies that urbanites are more inclined to changing jobs than rural migrants.

In terms of literacy, there is no difference between the two groups, both registering a 100 per cent literacy rate. By educational level, however, there are more college graduates among the changers (28 per cent for males and 28 per cent for females) compared with the non-changers (21 per cent for males and 21 per cent for females). Moreover, a relatively higher proportion of the job changers availed themselves of training for skill improvement.

Since changers have more human capital endowments, they are likely to receive higher earnings than the non-changers. In addition, consistent with the assumption that workers change jobs to enhance their employment status and income earning capacity, those respondents who had changed jogs were receiving higher pay than those who had remained in their first job. On the average, a male non-changer earned only 84 centavos for every peso earned by a male job changer. A female non-changer, on the other hand, received 87 centavos for every peso earned by a female job changer. Furthermore, relatively higher incomes were realized by men than by women. This holds true for both changers and non-changers, which again points to the existence of a gender bias in wage setting, in favour of men.

The data on subsidiary jobs further indicate the more favourable earning capacity of job changers. Sixteen per cent of male the job changers had subsidiary jobs compared with 10 per cent of the male non-changers. For the women, 12 per cent of the changers and 5 per cent of the non-changers had sources of income other than their main job.

It can also be inferred from the data that job changers are likely to experience upward occupational mobility. The relatively higher proportions of managerial and professional workers among the job changers would seem to support this inference. Among the job changers, shifts from blue-collar to white-collar jobs may have taken place.

No distinction can be observed between the two groups in terms of the number of days worked per week and the number of working hours per day.

In terms of trade union membership, there were more union members among ten non-changers. Union membership rates were at 79 per cent for males and 85 per cent for females compared with the changers' membership rates of 73 and 82 per cent for males and females, respectively. Possible reasons for this have been discussed, earlier in this chapter.

There was slightly higher percentage of both the married and household heads among the non-changers than among the changers for both sexes. This may reflect the greater aversion of the married and household heads to job changes, particularly in times of economic difficulties when alternative jobs are hard to find. Average household size is comparable for both categories and genderwise as well.

The average monthly income of job changers was significantly higher than that of non-changers. With the earlier finding that job changers move primarily in response to higher incomes and/or better career opportunities, this result could be expected. Furthermore, the table shows that job changers have a relatively higher educational attainment, that more of them are engaged in subsidiary jobs and that they account for a higher number of managerial and professional workers, all characteristics which have been shown to translate into higher incomes. By gender, the male changers and non-changers consistently enjoyed an advantage as regards income. Finally, although a higher average household income is observed for changers over the non-changers, the reverse trend can be observed genderwise. The average household income of the women changers was higher than that of the men changers, a trend which also holds for the non-changers. The probability that the incomes of the female respondents' spouses have boosted the average household income is not far-fetched.

CHAPTER 4

INCOME MOBILITY

This chapter examines the differentials in earnings of the different groups of workers taking into account their employment characteristics, and attempts to determine the factors influencing these differentials. It presents, in particular, the relationship between income mobility and the movement across employment status groups and occupational categories.

The critical issues to be addressed are whether the income of workers improves as they change jobs, and whether certain statuses, occupations or industry categories permit a faster movement of earnings than others. This chapter also looks into the workers' accessibility to various benefits that supplement their income, and their ownership of residence, which is an important indicator of income mobility.

4.1 Income and Employment Status

Employment status is an important factor determining the workers' wage level. Workers who belong to the upper employment strata naturally earn more than those in a lower status. Mobility across different employment statuses may therefore, bring about changes in workers' earnings.

Table 4.1 presents the average monthly earnings in the first and present job of workers in different employment status groups. It reveals that the employers were the highest earners. The table also reflects the widening gap in income between the employer group and the other groups.

Table 4.1. Average monthly earnings of workers by current employment status, number of years in the labour market and sex
(Pesos)

Employment status in current job	Number of years in the labour market								
	Less than 10			10-19			20 and over		
	Job changers		Non-changers	Job changers		Non-changers	Job changers		Non-changers
	First job	Current job		First job	Current job		First job	Current job	
Employer									
Male	–	–	–	8,460	34,581	–	387	26,724	–
Female	1,800	10,000	–	–	–	–	1,338	5,919	2,000
Regular workers									
Male	1,369	4,422	4,240	591	6,623	6,596	312	7,563	5,378
Female	1,158	3,793	3,538	691	5,313	4,357	334	5,282	4,726
Casual workers									
Male	1,677	2,465	3,387	–	–	3,911	–	–	–
Female	1,307	2,800	3,884	189	3,478	3,257	–	–	–
Contract worker									
Male	1,296	2,544	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Female	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Apprentice									
Male	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Female	1,123	1,440	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Family worker									
Male	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5,000
Female	–	–	4,000	600	4,300	–	2,600	10,000	–

Furthermore, the data show that workers who had been in the labour market for a longer period started with much lower incomes compared with the later entrants. In the course of time, however, they were able to catch up with and, in some cases, even exceed the current incomes of the later entrants. The higher income of the older entrants may be attributed to more extensive human capital formation or skills acquisition resulting from longer experience on the job and in the labour market. Wage gaps between the current and first job can be expected to widen as the length of experience in the labour market increases. Natural income accretion will occur partly to compulsory minimum wage increases and partly to peso adjustments intended to neutralize the inflationary effects of goods and services which erode the workers' purchasing power.

It should also be noted that, generally, the current incomes of the job changers were higher than those of the non-changers which implies that changing jobs can be instrumental in raising workers' earnings. Income increments were also registered for the workers who did not change their employment status, with the employers and the regular workers showing higher earnings than the casual workers.

Finally, it should be noted that the multiple-job changers generally started at lower income levels compared with the single job changers. However, through job changes and with the objective of maximizing their earnings, the former had managed to catch up with the latter. This suggests that those who begin with a relative disadvantage probably work harder to overcome their initial disadvantage.

4.2 Income and Occupation

As income generally varies depending on occupation or skills we can assume that, if a worker moves into a different occupational category, a corresponding movement in his income will occur. Table 4.2 presents the average monthly earnings of workers by three broad occupational categories and by number of years in the labour market.

It is clear from the table that for the last 20 years the income levels of the three major occupational categories have been quite distinct: the managerial/professional groups are at the top of the income scale and the production workers at the lowest end. As in the table 4.1, the differentials between incomes in the present job and the first job have the tendency to widen as the number of years in the labour market increases. Incremental changes in income had been highest for those who were currently in the managerial/professional group followed by those in production and in clerical, sales and services occupations. Genderwise, higher income increments had been experienced by the male workers compared with their female counterparts.

Table 4.2. Average monthly earnings of workers by main occupation, number of years in the labour market and sex
(Pesos)

Main occupation in current job	Number of years in the labour market								
	Less than 10			10-19			20 and over		
	Job changers		Non-changers	Job changers		Non-changers	Job changers		Non-changers
	First job	Current job		First job	Current job		First job	Current job	
Managerial/Professional									
Male	2,192	9,191	6,302	1,224	18,457	13,734	328	18,401	13,026
Female	1,882	7,532	9,811	2,454	12,314	8,438	714	11,550	9,228
Clerical/Sales/Services									
Male	1,981	4,011	4,892	543	7,078	7,978	1,132	6,468	6,279
Female	1,306	5,156	4,307	567	4,479	5,495	670	3,981	4,552
Production									
Male	1,182	4,082	3,991	520	4,807	4,328	203	5,453	4,275
Female	1,080	3,218	3,284	494	4,614	3,972	221	3,401	4,492

However, it is interesting to note that female workers had gradually been catching up with their male counterparts in terms of decreasing income differentials between gender groups in the last 20 years.

4.3 Mobility and Access to Benefits

Workers compensation is not limited to wages. Fringe benefits and other privileges comprise the worker's employment compensation package. These can be in the form of allowances, paid leave, bonus, severance pay and others. For some workers, these benefits may even account for the greater part of their income. There has recently been a shift in the Government's wage policy from setting higher minimum wages to providing more non-wage benefits, the rationale being that direct wage increases are inflationary. Hence, it is important to look also at this aspect of workers' earnings in order to get a complete picture of income mobility.

The percentage of workers enjoying certain benefits in their first and current job are presented in table 4.3. It is clear from the table that a larger number of workers were entitled to more benefits in their current job than they had been in their first employment. The data suggest no clear relationship between job mobility and benefits although it can be observed that one-job changers tended to have had more access to benefits than multi-changers, particularly in the case of women. The data for non-changers show that they enjoyed the same benefits as the changers.

What is more important is the relationship between benefits and length of stay in the firm. For most of the benefits entitlement hinges on length of service, so that only those who have been working in the company for a certain period of time can avail themselves of these benefits. Since the respondents had at the time of the survey spent 8 to 13 years in their current job (see table 3.4), they were entitled to the relevant benefits.

Genderwise more men than women seemed to be entitled to most of the benefits. This indicates that, even where non-wage benefits are concerned, the male workers appear to be favoured.

The benefits to which the highest percentage of the workers were entitled whether in their first or their current job, were paid leave, bonus/13th month pay and severance pay. These are all benefits provided for by law. The least likely to be granted by employers are education allowance for children and accommodation allowance.

Table 4.3. Percentage distribution of workers by entitlement to benefits by first and current job

Benefits	More than 2 job changers		2 job changers		1 job changers		Non-changers
	1st job	Current job	1st job	Current job	1st job	Current job	
Male							
Cost of Living Allowance	22.2	43.3	17.2	52.9	29.8	56.7	39.5
Accommodation/Allowance	10.8	6.3	0.7	2.8	2.3	7.9	6.0
Transport/Allowance	15.9	48.3	4.3	44.7	13.2	36.2	32.1
Meals/Allowance	19.5	53.1	8.4	45.4	9.7	33.2	34.4
Education Allowance	5.8	15.3	0.1	10.5	0.4	17.2	13.6
Paid Leave	36.0	99.2	32.2	99.0	36.3	96.1	98.3
Bonus	52.4	98.5	48.1	99.9	43.8	97.3	99.7
Pension Fund	34.6	77.2	30.5	78.7	36.4	76.7	70.1
Severance Pay	25.7	88.1	0.1	94.0	22.9	82.9	88.1
Female							
Cost of Living Allowance	28.3	24.8	16.7	22.6	23.2	36.0	30.0
Accommodation/Allowance	8.8	1.4	8.9	3.8	6.7	2.6	0.9
Transport/Allowance	10.0	35.4	9.3	35.6	5.6	39.8	31.4
Meals/Allowance	14.1	24.4	26.5	34.4	11.5	19.2	23.8
Education Allowance	3.1	16.8	7.6	35.3	0.6	11.3	5.5
Paid Leave	44.8	98.8	39.2	98.7	39.8	99.8	99.4
Bonus	44.3	96.0	35.7	90.0	60.5	99.5	96.9
Pension Fund	25.8	62.0	36.0	73.3	42.2	69.8	62.6
Severance Pay	29.0	74.1	0.3	76.7	31.7	77.6	80.5

Table 4.4. Percentage distribution of migrant workers by type of accommodation on arrival in Metro Manila and currently

Current accommodation	Accommodation of arrival				
	Independent	Joint/Family	Rented	Free accommodation	Total
Male					
Independent	34.8	28.7	44.7	47.3	37.6
Joint/Family	7.2	27.0	5.0	8.1	11.3
Rented	56.6	51.3	49.7	31.5	48.8
Free Accommodation	1.4	0.9	0.6	13.1	2.2
Total	11.1	26.1	51.5	11.3	100.0
Female					
Independent	38.2	22.6	24.8	25.8	26.0
Joint/Family	15.9	29.6	7.1	22.3	16.4
Rented	45.7	47.3	68.0	51.7	57.4
Free Accommodation	0.2	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.2
Total	13.6	31.0	48.1	7.2	100.0

Note: Figures are column percentage except for those appearing after "total" which are row percentages.

4.4 Ownership of Residence

A house that he can call his own is a typical aspiration of every Filipino worker. It is a driving force that makes him work harder. Hence, house ownership becomes an important indicator of income mobility. For the migrant worker, however, this means working twice as hard to achieve his goal.

This section gives special attention to migrant workers. In the survey, all migrant worker respondents were asked to give details of their housing status. The objective was to trace their access to housing since the first time they migrated to Metro Manila. The results of the inquiry are summarized in table 4.5.

From the table, it emerges that the majority of the migrant workers were still living in rented dwelling units, attesting to the fact that many remained unable to afford the high cost of acquiring a house. In terms of figures, 49 per cent of the male migrants and 57 per cent of the female migrants were currently residing in rented accommodation. The figures for males were lower than at the time of their arrival in the city (52 per cent) while the contrary was observed in the case of the females (48 per cent).

However, there was an upward trend in the number of male and female migrants residing in their own houses. The figures increased from 11 per cent for males and 14 per cent for females to 38 per cent and 26 per cent, respectively. Again, it can be surmised that the males had been more mobile incomewise if gauged in terms of their capability to own a house.

Supporting this observation is the considerable decline in the number of migrant workers who were previously living in houses owned by their families or enjoying free accommodation. It would appear that some of these migrant workers had either gone to a rented unit or had managed to acquire a house of their own. They could now afford to pay rent or housing amortizations, indicating upward income mobility.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter summarizes the findings of the survey on employment and income mobility of women in the Metro Manila manufacturing sector, and presents the conclusions of the study.

Summary

1. Profile of the Establishments

(a) A total of 114 firms were covered by the study, most of which (38) were involved in the manufacture of textiles, garments, and leather goods. The majority of these firms were Filipino-owned and independent in nature. Half of them exported at least 25 per cent of their products while the rest produced solely for the local market.

(b) The majority of the establishments (44 per cent) employed between 100 and 499 workers.

2. Profile of the Workers

(a) The majority of female workers were relatively younger (between 25 and 29 years old) than their male counterparts (between 35 and 39).

(b) The majority of the respondents were college-educated, among whom were more men than women. About a third were secondary school graduates, and a small number had vocational level education, with relatively more women than men.

(c) More men than women availed themselves of technical or vocational training (50 per cent and 39 per cent, respectively).

(d) The majority of the respondents were in the textiles, garments, and leather goods industries, followed by the fabricated metal products, and food and beverages industries.

(e) More men (77 per cent) than women (62 per cent) were married. Thirty-four per cent of the women workers were single, against a corresponding proportion of 22 per cent among the men.

(f) The majority of male workers were skilled production workers (58 per cent) followed by clerical workers (15 per cent). Ninety-nine per cent were regular workers.

(g) Most of the female respondents (63 per cent) were skilled production workers followed by clerks (13 per cent) and by unskilled production workers (13 per cent). Ninety-eight per cent were regular workers.

(h) The majority of both male and female workers rented their place of residence, while a significant number had sole ownership of their residence (mostly, those in administrative/managerial positions and services workers).

(i) Almost half of the total respondents come from Metro Manila (44 per cent). Around a third migrated from rural areas. The average age at migration was 19 for both male and female migrants. Most of the migrants were single (around 94 per cent), had completed high school and were unemployed/ outside the labour force prior to migration (around 83 per cent).

(j) Employment was the major reason for migrants moving to Metro Manila, with relatively more women citing such reason than men. There were, more men than women citing education as a reason for migrating.

3. Profile of the Workers' Current Employment

(a) Female workers were concentrated in the textile, and garments industry while most male workers were in the wood and fabricated metals industries. A significant number of women worked in the fabricated metals industry, mainly in assembly, and in the food industry, mainly in packing. Notably, they were employed in labour-intensive rather than in skill-intensive industries.

(b) The majority of the respondents from both sexes were skilled production workers who had regular employment status. More female than male skilled workers, however, had casual employment status. The proportion of regular to total workers increased with establishment size. Again, more women casual workers than men in that status were found in large enterprises.

(c) There were some occupational categories where women had higher levels of education than the men and vice versa. For white-collar jobs, such as professional/technical and managerial/administrative, women were more educated but men with lower education were not barred from occupying these positions.

(d) Employers had the highest educational attainment with 96 per cent of male and 89 per cent of female employers having at least a college degree. The majority of the workers, i.e., regular employees, were secondary school graduates, with more women than men having attained this level.

(e) Most male workers who had vocational education were in the fabricated metals industry, while most female workers with vocational or technical training were in the paper industry. However, the overall participation of workers with vocational education was rather low considering that manufacturing can be an ideal employment for workers with such a background.

(f) Across industries, the women workers were generally younger than the men, the majority being below 40 years old. The male skilled workers were comparatively older than the females in the same job category. Less than half of the males and more than half of the females were less than 35 years old.

(g) For both sexes, almost all were regular workers (99 per cent male and 98 per cent female), regardless of establishment size. Working employers were rare and found only in small establishments.

(h) Men had longer work experience than women. Workers in the paper industry had been working the longest. Male employers averaged 25 years of work while their female counterparts, 21 years. Male regular workers and family workers also had longer work experience than females.

(i) More female than male workers had no contracts of employment. This is true in particular of female workers with administrative, clerical and sales positions.

(j) Most workers who occupied professional, managerial, clerical and sales positions were paid on a monthly basis. Payment of wages for production workers was generally on a daily basis.

(k) The average number of days worked per week by the respondents was between 5 1/2 to 6 days across all industries. Average working hours were 8 hours.

(l) A high percentage of union membership was noted in the garments industry, in particular among production workers. More female than male workers claimed to be members (69 per cent as against 30 per cent). Around 10 per cent fewer female workers in other industries were unionized compared with much higher rates among male workers (just under 23 per cent). Membership was highest among production workers (around 70 per cent) for both men and women. Regular workers were the most unionized.

(m) Male workers received more fringe benefits than female workers. Most commonly given to workers were paid leave and the thirteenth month bonus.

(n) The majority of the workers, in particular, male production workers, were willing to work overtime. Among female workers, those in the garments industry did most overtime work.

(o) More men, particularly in the chemicals and plastics industry, than women engaged in subsidiary jobs. The highest percentage of workers with subsidiary jobs was found in the professional/technical and managerial/administrative occupations.

(p) Males were the more frequent recipients of training. Across occupations, male technical/professional workers and female managerial/administrative workers underwent training most frequently among white-collar workers. Among blue-collar workers, the skilled workers were the more privileged. Training of unskilled workers was marginal.

(q) Men were promoted more often than women. There was a higher promotion rate among white-collar than among blue-collar workers. The urbanites who were above 30 years old, had long work experience, were highly educated and non-union members had more chances of being promoted.

(r) More males than females had definite plans for their career advancement. Women tended to envisage staying in their current job and expressed no intention of moving to another job or another establishment.

4. Profile of the Workers' Current Earnings

(a) Women generally received lower wages than men. This was borne out by the finding that more women than men received less than the legislated minimum wage. Also there were more men in the higher income brackets. However, the earnings of the majority of the respondents were either slightly over or a little below the minimum wage, suggesting a rather low income for most of the respondents.

(b) Education is positively related to income. The higher the level of education of the respondents, the higher their income. Nevertheless, college education did not guarantee high returns as there were also college-educated respondents who were receiving below minimum salaries.

(c) There was a wage differential between sexes. More college-educated women than men received below minimum wages while more college-educated men than women got higher wages. Also, the average income of men was higher than that of women at all educational levels, the differentials increasing with an increase in the level of education. It was noted that, on the average, a male worker who had vocational training could earn even more than a college-educated female.

(d) Training could be a significant factor in enhancing men's income but not women's. Apart from the fact that the earnings of men were higher than those of women regardless of whether the men had received training or not, the average income of male workers who had had no technical or vocational training could be even higher than the income of women who had undergone formal training. In addition, training with formal qualifications had more impact than training without formal qualifications.

(e) As could be expected, the managerial/professional workers had the highest average monthly earnings. However, wage differentials among the sexes was evident as the overall earnings of men in all occupational categories were higher than those of women. Male managers, for instance, received higher average monthly earnings than females managers. The differences harrowed progressively down the occupational ladder.

(f) The wage differential was even more pronounced in favour of males in white-collar jobs. It was not so pronounced among production workers, where employees were paid according to output and quality of service. This, shows that the women in blue-collar jobs were able to keep up with the men in terms of output and wages.

(g) Among the industries, workers in the chemicals industry received the highest income. The relatively high income may be due to the comparatively low number of qualified workers for this particular industry. Industries that offer the lowest income to men are those manufacturing wood and wood products and to women the textiles and garments industry. The large pool of manpower available to these industries and the relatively low skill required may be contributory factors in keeping wages relatively low.

(h) The larger firms are better established, they have higher profits and have more flexibility in wage setting, and are therefore more capable of paying higher wages. It appears, however, that the male workers again had the advantage over the women in all establishment sizes as was indicated by the higher average monthly income of the males.

5. Employment Mobility

(a) The surveyed workers in manufacturing establishments in Metro Manila had been working in the city for around 5 to 25 years. In general, the men had been longer in the labour market than the women. Likewise, the men had stayed longer in their present jobs than the women.

(b) Men were more mobile than women in terms of number of job changes, irrespective of whether these changes were voluntary or involuntary. The sluggish economy and very tight labour market were also reflected by the significant proportion of workers changing jobs for "push" reasons. Relatively more men than women changed jobs because their term was finished or they were laid off, whereas more women than men changed jobs because the establishment closed down.

(c) Job changers, tended to stay longer in the current firm than in the previous one. Job changers, on the average, had been employed by their present employers for around 6 to 13 years. Non-changers had been working for their present employers for 11 to 12 years.

(d) The Metro Manila labour market is highly informal, in the sense that most of the workers found their job through friends or relatives. More men than women were recruited directly by employers. Very limited use was made of the government's job facilitation programme.

(e) More than half of the job changers entered the labour market through the manufacturing industry. Other entry points for men were construction; community, social and personal services; and trade. Worth noting is that only a few came from the agriculture, sector, implying rigidity in moving from agricultural to manufacturing jobs. Within manufacturing, the textiles industry employed more first-timers of both sexes than any other industry.

(f) Among the men, 7 out of 10 workers who were previously doing services, semi-skilled and unskilled work had become skilled workers. Five of 10 professionals in their first job were presently managers. One to 2 out of 10 clerical, sales or services workers were now doing managerial/administrative work. Male clerks may have come from any of the other occupations, most likely from the professional group.

(g) Basically the same pattern applies to women as far as production work is concerned. A shift seems to have occurred from lower skill to higher skill production work, especially among the services and semi-skilled workers. In addition, there seems to be a job-skill mismatch prevailing among women workers who have actually gained some experience and skill, but who, out of necessity, may have been forced to accept jobs classified as unskilled.

(h) There seemed to be a higher percentage of women than men moving to managerial and administrative positions. Women managers were likely to have come from the professional and clerical groups.

(i) Compared with the changers, the non-changers, especially the women, seemed to have stagnated in their occupations.

(j) Among the changers, a higher proportion of women than men entered the labour market as regular workers; while a good number of them began as casual or contractual, workers with more men than women among them. Almost all respondents were currently regular workers.

(k) The shift to regular status is automatic as there is a law by which casual and contractual workers must be given regular status after working continuously for one year or more in a company. This was the case for almost all of the respondents who entered the labour market as non-regular workers. However a few of them had remained casual workers even after three years of service in the company.

(l) Among the respondents who began as regular workers, some had become employers, this being the case for more men than women. A few of them – more women than men – had suffered downward mobility.

(m) Generally, upward mobility was recorded for those who had casual, contractual or a lower status in their first jobs. The figures for the apprentices are particularly encouraging as they indicate the effectiveness of the government's apprenticeship programme.

(n) Among those who started as employer/self-employed, very few the men and none of the women had remained in that status. Interventions in the form of entrepreneurship training programmes and related infrastructure complements, such as marketing services, and credit facilities, are needed to promote mobility among workers to reach this status.

(o) The majority of first-time workers entered the labour market through small and medium establishments, although at least a third may have been absorbed by large establishments. There is a movement of workers to larger firms as evidenced by the high percentages of respondents currently employed in the large-sized category.

(p) More respondents were members of a union in their current jobs than in their first employment. However, there seems to be a negative relationship between number of job changes and trade union membership. This is indicated by the lower percentages of union membership among multiple job changers. A possible reason for this is that as some multiple job changers have moved up to managerial positions. Under Philippine law, managers are prohibited from joining a trade union.

(q) The majority of workers anticipated no change whatsoever in their present jobs within the next two years, the highest percentage being found among the most mobile females. But a sizeable number were hoping to be promoted, the highest number being found among the male non-changers. A significant proportion of the most mobile males indicated plans or the desire to transfer to another job.

(r) Generally, married women were as mobile as single women. About 8 out of 10 married women were working before marriage. The a rather low percentage of temporary withdrawals from the labour force after getting married indicates that marriage does not necessarily interfere with a woman's decision to work. Rather, it is possible that marriage may push women to work because of the family's financial needs.

(s) Of those who temporarily stopped working after getting married, 7 out of 10 did so because of pregnancy and childbirth. Three quarters of the married women attended to domestic chores without the aid of domestic help.

(t) The married women generally enjoyed the support of their husbands in pursuing a career. Interestingly, more wives than husbands had improved their employment qualifications after marriage. The incidence of in-plant training was higher among the wives, while the husbands acquired a university or technical/vocational qualifications.

(u) The married women perceived that the expansion of child care facilities and higher wages for women as the most important factors in promoting their employment opportunities. Information on job availability and vocational training were considered of less importance.

(v) Urbanites were more inclined to change jobs than rural migrants. Job changers had a higher education, more training and were more likely to experience upward occupational mobility. Since changers have more human capital endowments, they are likely to receive higher earnings than non-changers. Even in terms of subsidiary jobs, the former were found to be more actively engaged. Changers had a higher average household income than non-changers.

6. Income Mobility

(a) Mobility within different employment status groups inevitably translates into income mobility, upward or downward, depending on the change of employment status. This was reflected in the analysis of the respondents' earnings.

(b) Generally, multiple job changers began at a much lower income level compared with single job changers. However, they managed to catch up to some extent by changing job. This finding applies to both men and women.

(c) Income increments were highest for those who moved from regular or casual status to employer status. The trend holds for both male and female workers although increments were higher in the case of the former.

(d) Upward income mobility was also observed among job changers within the same status group. The mere movement from one employer to another irrespective of whether there was a change in employment status generally implied an increase in income.

(e) Income mobility was also realized as workers changed occupations. Incremental changes in incomes had been highest for those who were currently in the managerial/professional group, followed by those in production and, finally, those in clerical/sales/services. Genderwise, higher income increments had been experienced by male workers compared with their female counterparts. Wage differentials between the sexes have been observed to be decreasing in the last 20 years. Even within the same occupations, income increments accrued if workers moved from one employer to another.

(f) Incomes of white-collar and skilled workers, irrespective of the number of job changes, rose faster than those of the unskilled.

(g) A more favourable trend as regards income was observed for the male workers. Apart from staring at a relatively higher income level, increments were higher as they moved to other industries. The gender differential in income mobility was quite visible. The rate of increase in income of male workers was higher in each category of job change, in relation to employment status, occupation and industry.

(h) Fringe benefits are a welcome supplement to workers'. Although not to a significant extent, workers had the tendency to move to jobs offering more fringe benefits.

(i) The type of accommodation of workers is also an indicator of income mobility. A positive trend in acquiring independent ownership of a house was observed among the respondents, in particular among men as well as migrant workers.

Conclusion

Although recent legislation and policies have given increased support and protection to women's rights in the labour market, women are still trapped in a vicious circle of discrimination. Neither supply factors, such as a relative lack of experience and training, nor demand factors, such as the segmentation of labour markets and direct discrimination against women, can tell the whole story of strong persistence over time of women's secondary economic status, even in the face of the dramatic and continuing increase in their labour market activity. It is through the dynamic interaction of supply and demand in the labour market that patterns based on past discrimination, behaviour and experiences are perpetuated. It is impossible to define where or how this vicious circle begins, although the process of its self-perpetuation is readily traced.

Despite some changes in the distribution of both women and men across occupations over time, these changes have not been such as to place women and men in the same occupations. There are still ''masculine'' and ''feminine'' occupations, and the degree of overlap remains minimal. Young people first entering the labour market ''cannot get jobs because they have no experience, and can't get experience because they can't get jobs''. This statement evaporates fairly rapidly for most young men once they land their first jobs and begin to acquire relevant experience, but it tends to haunt women workers indefinitely, as ''masculine'' jobs which are higher paid simply do not open up to them. Productivity-enhancing job experience and differential access to such experience are the keys to the vicious circle of constrained opportunities in which the woman worker is still trapped.

How can this vicious circle be broken?

Working women's propensity to remain in the work force from year to year is increased by the specific skills acquired on the job, whereas non-working women's propensity to enter or reenter the labour force is reduced over time by the growing gap between their skills and those demanded in the market place.

Not only is education a particularly necessary credential for women who seek careers, but the very process of education itself increases women's propensity to see a market-oriented career as more productive and

personally rewarding than homemaking. Women as a group are a notable anomaly in the human capital framework, because they have relatively high levels of educational attainment and relatively low levels of earnings. Education has nonetheless proved to be a good investment for women, who also have lower opportunity costs than men.

But though the female labour supply has undergone some changes, quantity-and quality-wise, there has been no overall change in the degree of occupational dissimilarity by sex and, if anything, a deterioration in wage and unemployment differentials. Growth in demand for female workers has been primarily concentrated among just those occupations and industries which have been strongly female-dominated, thus washing out the effect of any shifts that have occurred in their occupational choices. Barriers against women to job and occupational mobility have limited their ability to translate gains in job experience into gains in earnings, job rank or occupational standing.

Prospects for women's wage growth and a narrowing of the wage gap are dependent on the characteristics of the occupations and industries women will enter. To date, younger women have shown a tendency to follow older women into the same female-dominated fields. The greatest opportunities for breakthrough in employment for women exist in relatively high-growth and traditionally male-dominated fields, such as professional, managerial and technical positions, which require high levels of human capital endowments. Already, we see a steady narrowing of the wage gap between sexes as women enter jobs with greater potential for earnings growth and accumulate more job experience.

But will an individual women be able to break out of her own personal "vicious circle"? Will a woman who chooses a nonstereotyped occupation, participate continuously in the labour force, and invest heavily in training achieve a level of earnings as high and an incidence of unemployment as low as comparable male workers?

If discrimination is largely statistical in nature, meaning, it operates within the law of averages or what is prevalent, then it will likely diminish as more women develop continuous work histories. But if discrimination is more fundamentally ingrained in attitudes about male and female roles, then discrimination will become the critical barrier to change. In that case, strong enforcement of equal employment opportunity laws, which is problematic, will be the necessary catalyst for change if the break in the vicious circle is to come soon. Otherwise, a change of attitudes might well take several generations to accomplish if left to gradual evolution rather than actively shaped by institutional changes.

Presently, policies that reinforce women's secondary status continue to coexist with legislation that mandates equal opportunities in employment. This is a dilemma for government, since although these policies are mutually inconsistent and pull in opposite directions, each of them meets the needs of a substantial fraction of women. Present ambiguities inherent in government programmes, as well as unresolved conflicts in the enforcement of equal opportunity laws, make it difficult for government to impact significantly. Nonetheless, the enactment of recent antidiscrimination legislation is a hopeful sign towards combatting pervasive labour market practices.

EMPLOYMENT AND MOBILITY OF WOMEN WORKERS IN SEOUL'S MANUFACTURING SECTOR

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Economic Development and Changes in the Urban Labour Market

Economic development as such brings in important changes in the size and composition of the labour force. In the process, the labour force is redistributed from the rural into urban labour market. Workers in the urban labour market also tend to experience upward mobility as follows; from unskilled labour to semi-skilled or skilled labour, from low-wage labour to high-wage labour, from temporary job status to permanent status, from low-wage firms to high-wage firms, and from low-wage industries to high-wage industries. These changes lead to improvement in working conditions, labour productivity, and income. Such labour mobility in terms of employment status, skill categories, occupations, and job status and also across firms and industries tend to reduce income and wage inequality and labour market segmentation.

There are contrasting viewpoints concerning the urban labour market in the process of economic development. First, there is an argument that economic development involving labour mobility from the traditional rural subsistence sector to the modern industrial sector leads to a capitalistic unified labour market. In the early state of development, the modern urban industrial sector benefits from an infinite supply of labour coming from the traditional rural subsistence sector. Gradually, however, the infinite supply of labour tapers off and the modern urban industrial sector faces the upward sloping labour supply curve. The point at which the infinite supply of labour ends and the urban labour market faces the upward sloping supply curve of labour is called a turning point (point T in figure 1.1), after which wages are determined by demand and supply in the labour market. Therefore the urban labour market functioning past the turning point is considered as a capitalistic unified labour market. Moo Ki Bai presented the hypothesis that the Korean economy passed through the turning point in 1975 and showed empirical evidences supporting his hypothesis (Bai 1982, 1983). Jin Han Bai (1990) recently showed that the developing countries which adopted an export-driven rapid growth strategy passed through the turning point earlier than the countries using other strategies such as import-substitution and reconfirmed Bai's hypothesis.

There is quite an opposite point of view that a sharpening dual industrial structure has been emerging during the process of economic development. According to this, the urban labour market is divided into two sectors, one being the primary labour market of monopolistic core firms, and the other being the secondary labour market of competitive periphery firms The monopolistic core firms strengthen their positions relative to the periphery firms through the subcontracting system, so that they can reinforce the low-wages and unstable employment in the periphery firms. Since the unskilled workers crowding into the urban labour market from the rural areas can get the opportunity to be employed more easily in the periphery firms, the employment share of the periphery firms eventually gets larger. However, the labour absorption by core firms is so restricted, that competition for jobs among workers in periphery firms, makes the wages and working conditions only worse (Rodgers 1989; Standing 1987, 1989; Deshpande 1988). Standing claims that monopolistic core firms strengthen their position through a labour flexibilisation process such as an expanding subcontract relationship. As a result, the dual industrial structure in developing countries has been more explicit, and this, in turn, has caused serious problems such as inequality in income distribution and poverty of workers employed in the periphery firms (Standing 1987, 1989).

Woo Hyun Cho (1991), however, casts some criticism on both the hypotheses of the capitalistic unified labour market and of sharpening industrial dualism. He criticises the labour market unification hypothesis, for even after the turning point, the dual structure characterised by the primary sector with high wages and high productivity (made possible by the imported modern technology under the export-led industrialisation policy) and the low-wage secondary sector has co-existed in the Republic of Korea. He also criticises the sharpening industrial dualism hypothesis, in that the dual industrial structure in the Republic of Korea has been strengthened until the early 1980's but has started fading away since the late 1980's. Wage differentials between high-wage and low-wage sectors have been reduced slowly but persistently. Labour absorption by high-wage sector

advanced steadily. Cho shows that the export-led industrialisation contributed to the reduction of the inequality in income distribution as well.

Even with the gradual dissolution of the dual industrial structure, the Republic of Korea still faces serious wage differentials among industries. In particular, female workers in the Republic of Korea account for an overwhelming proportion of employment especially in low-wage industries. They are a disadvantaged group in the sense that they are normally discriminated at the port of entry of the high-wage sector and discriminated within the internal labour market of the firms. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to investigate the employment structure, skill formation, and upward mobility of working women in Seoul's manufacturing sector. In the process, it explores the nation-wide policy implications of improving low productivity and low wages of female workers.

In the light of the above submission, it becomes necessary to investigate the various aspects of mobility in the urban labour market. It is also important to analyse the various factors favorable or unfavorable for upward mobility across firms, industries, and occupations, and skill categories. In export-led industrialisation, we have seen the rapid increase in female labour force participation. Female labour force has been mainly employed in the industries and occupations requiring relatively low skills. Accordingly, we need to examine to what extent the low-skill female labour force has moved upward and how wages and working conditions have improved. This is an important dimension of structural change in the urban labour market.

This study focuses on the employment structure (skill formation, and upward mobility) of mainly women workers. It also aims at suggesting the labour market policy for enhancing the participation rate of women as well as the appropriate measures for speeding up the occupational mobility of working women in developing countries. The study has been organised as part of a regional study on employment and occupational mobility of working women in the major urban labour markets of Asia namely: Seoul in the Republic of Korea, Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia, Bangkok in Thailand, and Manila in the Philippines.

1.2 Study, Design and Sampling Procedure

For the purpose of this study a sample survey was organised of both male and female workers employed in the manufacturing industries of Seoul city. A stratified random sampling method was adopted following a questionnaire developed by ESCAP ILO-ARTEP. Initially, 600 female and an equal number of male workers as a control group were drawn into the sample. The reason for this was to compare the employment, on-the-job training, and job mobility by sex. Distribution of workers by industry, occupation, skill, and firm size contained in the 1989 Occupational Wage Survey of the Ministry of Labour in the Republic of Korea was used as a bench mark. The survey was carried out in February and March of 1991. Eventually 693 male and 589 female workers – a total of 1,282 workers, employed in 51 firms were surveyed. However, facing the small sample problem among married female workers, whose number is merely 102, additionally another 100 married women from 8 firms were surveyed in August 1991. Nine workers from furniture and timber industry were also included in addition to the first survey in which the employees in those industries were found to have dropped out. As a result, a total of 1,390 workers from 62 firms, consisting of 701 male workers and 689 female workers were surveyed. The analysis presented in this study from Chapter 3 onwards is mainly based on the survey data.

Another data set for this research was also created. Approximately one-third out of 75,000 workers in the city of Seoul covered by the 1989 Occupational Wage Survey were selected randomly. A sample of 25,110 workers consisting of 13,738 male and 11,372 female workers was constructed and used for the analysis of the age-wage profile. Therefore, the main data set used in this research comprises (i) survey data and (ii) a subsample of the 1989 Occupational Wage Survey.

The report is organised as follows. Chapter 2 gives a profile of employment structure and characteristics of the women workers in the Republic of Korea. Chapter 3 goes into the structure of women's employment and characteristics of the labour force in Seoul's manufacturing industries as brought out by the survey data. Personnel management practices on women at the workplace are covered in Chapter 4. Wages, fringe benefits, and working hours of workers come up for scrutiny in the next chapter. Chapter 6 covers aspects of labour mobility among employees wherein the pecuniary and nonpecuniary benefits from job changes are examined in detail. In Chapter 7 the focus is on employment and mobility of married women workers. The final chapter takes stock of the policies and programmes for enhancing the labour force participation of women and for promoting their occupational mobility in urban labour markets of the Republic of Korea.

CHAPTER 2

EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN WORKERS

In this chapter an overview of the general features of the Korean labour market is attempted before we proceed to analyse the employment structure and prospects for mobility of women workers in Seoul's manufacturing sector. Essentially this chapter emphasises that in the Republic of Korea most women workers are employed in the labour intensive and low wage sectors of the economy, which generates occupational segregation between sexes. This chapter will set the stage for further in-depth analysis of employment and mobility of women in Seoul's manufacturing industries.

2.1 Changes in the Structure of Female Labour Supply

As the Republic of Korea emerged into a semi-industrialised country, there has been a sizeable increase in women's participation in economic activity. Between 1963 and 1990, the size of female population aged 15 years and above increased at an annual average rate of 2.6 per cent, while the size of female labour force (employed + unemployed workers) increased at an average annual growth rate of 3.5 per cent. In contrast, the comparable growth rates for men during the same period were 2.5 and 2.7 per cent respectively.

Along with the increase in female labour force participation there have also been major structural changes in the composition of female labour supply. We shall first examine the main elements of these structural changes in the following order, namely: changes in participation rate in the labour force; regional redistribution induced by the migration of rural women workers into urban areas; more active participation in the labour force by married women; and finally the improved educational levels of women workers.

(a) Changes in Size of the Female Labour Force

In 1990, the total female population aged 15 years and above was 15.9 million and the labour force participation rate among them was 47 per cent. In comparison, the number of male population aged 15 years and over was 14.9 million with a labour force participation rate of 74 per cent. This implies that women accounted for 40 per cent of the total 18.5 million labour force in 1990. It follows from table 2.1 that female labour force participation rate experienced an increase of 10.7 per cent between 1963 and 1990 while male participation rate declined by 2.5 per cent during the same period.

Table 2.1. Change in population, labour force and participation rate by sex (In thousand persons and percentage)

		1963	1970	1980	1990
Both Sexes	Population 15 Years Old or over (A)	15,085	18,253	25,335	30,801
	Labour Force (B)	8,243	10,199	14,454	18,487
	LFPR (A/B) (per cent)	55.3	55.9	57.1	60
	The Proportion of Women in Labour Force Population (C/B) (per cent)	34.5	36.1	37.6	40.4
Male	Population 15 Years Old or over	7,153	8,675	12,256	14,903
	Labour Force	5,462	6,516	9,020	11,013
	LFPR (per cent)	76.4	75.1	73.6	73.9
Female	Population 15 Years Old or over	7,932	9,578	13,080	15,899
	Labour Force (C)	2,881	3,683	5,435	7,474
	LFPR (per cent)	36.3	38.5	41.6	47.0

Source: EPB, *Annual Report on the Economically Active Population Survey.*

Notes: 1. Population denotes population.
2. LFPR is Labour Force Participation Rate.

Two more factors which will promote further increase in female labour force participation in the future need to be taken into account here. First, the demand for married women is expected to rise as the rural unskilled labour force becomes almost exhausted. Secondly, owing to the increase in higher-educated women as well as changes in social perception towards work, the labour force participation by higher-educated women is expected to grow.

(b) Migration into the Urban Labour Market

The concentration of the labour force in the urban labour market has been remarkable for both men and women. Among the male and female labour force, 59 and 64 per cent respectively, were stationed in rural areas in 1963, but in 1990 only 19 per cent of the male labour force and 23 per cent of the female labour force remained in the rural areas. It is useful to note that gender wise there is little difference in the age distribution of the rural labour force. In other words, only the old age groups remain in the rural areas and the rural sector no longer plays an important role as a source of young unskilled workers.

According to an estimate made by Tai Whan Kwon (1978, 1988) using the Population and Housing Census, the massive rural migration for the past several decades is distributed into 3.5 million between 1960 and 1970, 4.4 million between 1970 and 1980 and 1.9 million between 1980 and 1985, i.e. a total of 9.8 million rural population moved into the urban areas during the period between 1960 and 1985. Using the same data, Jin Do Park (1991) estimated the extent to which the increase in the urban labour force can be attributed to the migration of the rural population. Unfortunately, Park utilised the time series data spanning only 1965 to 1980. Nevertheless, Park's estimation is a pioneering attempt according to which 53 per cent of the increase in the urban labour force between 1965 and 1970 is attributed to rural migration; the corresponding estimate is 44 per cent between 1970 and 1980. We expect to see further decline in the contribution by rural migration during the 1980s. The decade of the 1990s will contain an even smaller contribution than the 1980s.

(c) Changes in Age Structure of the Female Labour Force

Figure 2.1 depicts the M-shaped age distribution of female labour force participation rates in 1963, 1970 and 1990, which is based on table 2.3. At the infant stage of industrialisation between 1963 and 1970, the Republic of Korea experienced a dramatic upsurge of labour force participation by young unmarried women aged 15 to 19 years. During the same period, those who were in the age group 20-24 showed a tendency towards active participation in economic activity until they reached the marriage age of 25-29 years, after which they tended to reduce their labour force participation. Once they were in the mid 30s, they once again sought active participation which peaked at the age between 40 and 44, followed by a substantial decline thereafter.

The labour force participation rate of young unmarried women between 15 and 19 years was substantially low in 1990, owing to the increased enrollment into middle or high schools. In contrast to the period between 1963 and 1970, however, those in the age group 20-24 and above raised their participation in economic activity. For example, compared to the year 1963, there has been a more than 20 per cent increase in labour force participation rates of those aged between 20 and 24 and between 45 and 59 in 1990. In addition, the labour force participation rates of those who are in the marriage and childcare age between 25 and 39 experienced approximately a 10 per cent increase.

In sum the increase in the female labour force participation rates over the past several decades has been led by those in the age groups of 20-24 and 45-59. But one should pay even closer attention to the recent structural changes between 1980 and 1990 and the policy implications in regard to the female labour force. Table 2.4 reports the growth rate of female labour force participation by categorising age groups into 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-39, 40-49 and above 50. Figure 2.2 plots the growth rate of the female labour force along with the growth rate of the rural female population aged 15 years or over, using the descriptive data in table 2.2 and table 2.4, respectively.

The characteristics shown in figure 2.2 can be summarised as follows:

(i) There has been a dramatic decline of the rural female population aged 15 years and over; and a decline of the female labour force aged between 15-19 in the 1980s. This implies that there has been a substantial decline in the number of unskilled female workers.

Table 2.2. Labour force participation rate of farm and non-farm household (In thousand persons and percentage)

	1963		1970		1980		1990	
	Farm	Non-farm	Farm	Non-farm	Farm	Non-farm	Farm	Non-farm
Male								
15 Years Old or over	5,460	5,466	4,018	4,657	4,053	8,203	2,596	12,308
Labour Force	3,243	2,219	3,020	3,496	2,933	6,086	1,934	9,079
LFPR (per cent)	59.4	50.6	75.2	75.1	72.4	74.2	74.5	73.8
Female								
15 Years Old or over	2,880	2,883	4,522	5,056	4,216	8,863	2,601	13,269
Labour Force	1,846	1,035	2,178	1,505	2,236	3,199	1,603	5,871
LFPR (per cent)	64.1	35.9	48.2	29.8	53.0	36.1	61.6	44.2

Source: Same as Table 2.1.

Note: Same as Table 2.1.

(ii) The average rate of growth of the female labour force aged between 20 and 24 is 2.5 per cent in the 1980s, with little improvement from the 1970s, and it is below the average growth rate of 3.3 per cent across all age groups.

(iii) Those who are in the age groups between 25 and 29 and between 30 and 39 exhibit growth rates of 5.9 and 4.6 per cent respectively, during the 1980s, both of which are higher than the average growth rate of 3.3 per cent across all age groups.

(iv) The older group aged 50 years and over show a high growth rate of 5.8 per cent which is in sharp contrast with the middle age group between 40 and 49 whose growth rate was marked by mere 2.2 per cent.

As the middle or high school enrollment of those aged between 15 and 19 has risen, those young girls have moved out of labour force. A detailed investigation into this matter is provided in the next section. Accordingly, the labour force participation by age groups 25-29, 30-39 and above 50 years substantially increased as they replaced the unskilled young girls.

Besides the increasing tendency for college enrollment, there was an additional factor that caused decline in the growth rate of participation among the age group 20-24 between 1980 and 1990. To find this out, we compared the female labour force participation rate in Japan with that in the Republic of Korea. Table 2.3 shows that there is little difference in the overall labour force participation rate of Japanese women (48 per cent) from that of Korean women (47 per cent). But the labour force participation rate of Japanese women aged between 20 and 24 is 73 per cent which is higher than that of Korean women in the same age group (65 per cent), despite the fact that the college enrollment ratio in Japan is similar to that in the Republic of Korea. What is behind this 8 per cent point difference between Japanese and Korean women in the age group 20 to 24?

The employment of those in this age group is primarily motivated by their willingness to use their abilities and aptitudes rather than to maintain family's subsistence or contribute to family's living expenses. Consequently, they are frequently unemployed as they look for an appropriate job where their ability or aptitude can be utilised, and they are often out of employment if they fail to find the appropriate job. Moreover, the employers might avoid hiring women in the age group 20-24 because they are considered to be in the marriageable age group. In order to facilitate more employment opportunities for this age group, the employment agency must be expanded to achieve a smoother job match. In addition, the so-called second generation female labour force in the age groups of 20-24 and 25-29 are known to demand equal treatment of both sexes on the job.

The labour force population of those above 50 years has continuously increased at the rate of 6 per cent in the 1980s, following similar growth rate in the 1970s. But it is noteworthy that the comparable number for

Table 2.3. Labour force participation rates by sex and age group in the Republic of Korea and Japan (Percentage)

	1963	1970	1980	1990	Japan (1985)
Male Total	76.4	75.1	73.1	73.9	78.1
15-19	50.9	47.3	27.3	10.7	17.3
20-24	78.9	77.3	76.5	59.9	70.1
25-29	91.8	92.1	95.1	91.7	95.7
30-34	94.6	95.6	97.6	97.2	97.2
35-39	94.1	95.9	97.2	96.9	97.6
40-44	93.4	95.2	96.1	95.7	
45-49	92.0	93.2	94.3	94.1	-96.5
50-54	86.8	87.8	90.5	90.6	
55-59	78.6	77.1	80.1	83.6	83.1 (55-64)
60 or over	40.6	40.4	45.1	50.1	37.0 (65 or over)
Female Total	36.3	38.5	41.6	47.0	48.7
15-19	37.2	44.1	34.4	18.6	16.6
20-24	43.4	47.1	53.5	64.5	71.9
25-29	36.2	34.6	32.0	42.8	54.1
30-34	39.2	38.3	40.8	49.6	50.6
35-39	41.6	42.7	53.0	58.0	60.0
40-44	48.4	47.0	56.7	60.5	
45-49	44.9	46.5	57.3	63.9	-65.9
50-54	38.5	41.2	54.0	60.0	
55-59	32.5	37.1	46.2	54.4	45.3 (55-64)
60 or over	10.7	14.7	16.9	26.5	15.5 (60 or over

Source: Same as Table 2.1 for the Republic of Korea. For Japan Statistical Association, *Historical Statistics of Japan*, 1987.

Table 2.4. Increase in labour force population by age group

	The labour force population of female (In thousand persons)				Rate of increase (Percentage)			
	1963	1970	1980	1990	1963-70	1970-80	1980-90	1963-90
15-19	446	662	635	389	5.8	-0.4	-4.8	-0.5
20-24	450	514	977	1,246	1.9	6.6	2.5	3.8
25-29	350	342	470	830	-0.3	3.2	5.9	3.2
30-39	641	839	1,126	1,764	3.9	3.0	4.6	3.8
40-49	552	713	1,229	1,532	3.7	5.6	2.2	3.9
50 or over	395	545	974	1,714	4.7	6.0	5.8	5.6

Source: Same as Table 2.1.

Note: The rate of increase is the geometric average rate per annum.

the age group between 40 and 49 experienced only a smaller increase in the 1980s, at 2.3 per cent. Thus, the future promotion of hiring of married women must be targeted on the age group of 40-49.

(d) Higher Education Level of Female Employees

First of all, we investigate the composition of employees by education level. In 1960, about 80 per cent of male employees were elementary school graduates, while 9, 8 and 3 per cent of male employees were middle school, high school and college graduates, respectively. The comparable share in 1990 was 22 per cent for elementary school graduates, 19, 42 and 17 per cent for middle school, high school and college graduates respectively.

It follows that the education level of workers in the Republic of Korea experienced a substantial improvement as the high school graduates became a dominant force and the college graduates an increasingly large share of total male employees. A similar observation is detected in the case of female employees. In 1960,

the middle school, high school and college graduates comprised 3, 2 and 0.2 per cent of total female employees, respectively, while the elementary school graduates were a majority of 95 per cent. Though the elementary school graduates still took a majority of female employees (41 per cent) in 1990, the share of high school and college graduates significantly improved compared to 1960, as indicated by 20, 31 and 8 per cent figures for middle school, high school and college graduates respectively.

Since the employees represent only a part of the population aged 15 years and above, an examination of the advancement rates to higher education is required to obtain a more precise picture of the trend towards higher education of the female labour force. This will also enable us to explain the changes in the labour force participation rates of different sexes. The enrollment rate for elementary school was 95 and 98 per cent for men and women already in 1966, which reached 100 per cent for both sexes after 1970. The middle school advancement rate increased from 59 per cent for men and 40 per cent for women in 1966 to 100 per cent in 1990 (table 2.5). This suggests that increase in the female advancement rate to the middle school was higher than that of the male between 1966 and 1990. As indicated by the increase from 75 per cent for men and 70 per cent for women in 1966 to 95 and 88 per cent respectively for men and women in 1990, the high school advancement rate also rose more on the female side than the male side. In 1966, the total number of advancers to college was marked by 248,000 for men and 125,000 for women, which jumped to 259,100 for men and 143,100 for women in 1990, 10 and 11 times higher than the number in 1963 for men and women, respectively.

It was during the 1970s that the female advancement to the middle and high schools went through a dramatic increase. This increase led to the decline of female labour force participation in the age group between 15 and 19 during the past two decades. The decade of the 1980s saw steep increase in college enrollment of women. As depicted in figure 2.2, the slowdown in the growth rate of the labour force participation by the age group of 20-24 can partly be attributed to the increase in college advancement of women.

Table 2.5. The number of advancers and advancement rates to higher educational institutions (In persons and percentage)

		Male			Female		
		Middle school	High school	University	Middle school	High school	University
Advancers	1966	192,466	101,431	24,852	112,289	51,325	12,526
	1970	313,319	140,219	24,325	197,131	81,710	14,748
	1980	441,310	360,411	81,044	405,038	268,738	43,505
	1990	390,399	406,385	259,130	370,191	357,345	143,100
Advancement rate	1966	59.2	74.7	32.6	40.4	69.5	34.3
	1970	72.7	71.3	26.0	53.4	70.3	28.6
	1980	98.5	88.8	28.6	95.1	80.1	23.6
	1990	99.7	94.5	63.7	99.5	88.1	40.3

Source: Ministry of Education, *Statistical Yearbook of Education.*

2.2 Changes in Demand Structure for Female Labour

The growth rate of female employment during the industrialisation process was about 1.5 times higher than that of male employment. Between 1960 and 1990, women's employment grew at an annual rate of 4.4 per cent, while the male employment rate rose at an annual rate of 2.6 per cent. The increase in female employment was most remarkable in manufacturing, wholesale and retail sectors by industry, while by occupational categories, production and related occupation led the increase with the administrative and professional occupations experiencing a substantial increase. In addition, the high-wage firms attracted many female workers so that the proportion of female employees out of the total employees in the high-wage firms increased steadily. In what follows, we examine the structural changes in employment in terms of industry, occupation and high-wage/low-wage firms.

(a) Changes in the Distribution of Employees by Industry

In 1960, the agriculture and fishery sectors employed 69 per cent of the female labour force, while the rest were distributed into the social and personal service sector, the retail, wholesale and lodging sector and the manufacturing sector. In contrast to this preponderance of female employment in the primary industry, employment shifted its concentration to trade and manufacturing (56 per cent) in 1990 (table 2.6).

Table 2.6. Distribution of female workers by industry and the share of female workers in each industry (Percentage)

	1960	1970	1980	1990
Distribution of Female Workers by Industry				
Agriculture	69.3	59.7	46.4	20.4
Mining	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1
Manufacturing	6.4	14.5	21.8	27.9
Electricity and Gas	0.1	0.8	1.3	0.1
Construction	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.8
Wholesale and Retail	9.3	13.7	18.4	28.3
Transportation and Storage	0.2	0.7	1.6	1.1
Finance	–	0.5	1.8	4.8
Social and Personal Service	13.1	9.9	8.9	15.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Share of Female Workers in Each Industry				
Agriculture	30.4	41.4	44.9	45.5
Mining	3.8	6.6	4.9	9.9
Manufacturing	26.7	35.9	36.2	42.3
Electricity and Gas	2.8	6.0	9.3	12.7
Construction	1.3	4.4	6.5	10.1
Wholesale and Retail	32.1	38.2	41.5	52.9
Transportation and Storage	2.7	7.6	13.0	8.7
Finance	–	17.1	28.2	38.1
Social and Personal Service	28.1	28.9	29.4	43.0
All Industries	28.8	35.2	36.6	40.7

Source: EPB, *Population and Housing Census*, for 1960, 1970, 1980.
EPB, *Annual Report on the Economically Active Population Survey for 1990.*

Among the major industries where the female labour force was heavily concentrated, the manufacturing sector showed the highest growth rate of employment marked by 15.0 per cent in the 1960s and 6.9 per cent in the 1970s (table 2.7). Thus, the expanded employment in the manufacturing sector is one factor that raised the employment opportunities for women. During the 1970s as well as the 1980s the manufacturing sector played an active role for the expansion of women's employment opportunities.

A further categorisation of the manufacturing sector at a two-digit level classification of industry shows that female employment was mostly distributed in textile, clothing and leather (73 per cent) and food and beverage (11 per cent) in 1966, which changed to 43 per cent in textile and clothing, 23 per cent in fabricated metal and 10 per cent in food and beverage (table 2.8). It may be noted that the textile, clothing and leather are labour-intensive, simple assembly and processing industries.

At a three-digit level classification of the fabricated metal industry, 69 per cent of female workers employed in the above industry were engaged in the electrical machinery equipment manufacturing industry in which they constituted 49 per cent of total employees in 1989 (table 2.9). The electrical machinery equipment manufacturing industry mainly produces home appliances and assembles intermediate products into final products, therefore, the unskilled female labour force is often employed in this industry as the work required is standardised, simple and repetitive. This suggests that the majority of female workers are employed in labour-intensive, assembly and processing industries including textile, clothing and leather, food and beverage and electrical machinery equipment manufacturing industries.

Table 2.7. Rate of increase in employment by industry
(Percentage)

	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90	1960-90
Rate of Increase in Female Employment				
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	4.3	0.8	-3.6	0.2
Manufacturing	15.0	6.9	7.3	9.7
Wholesale and Retail	10.0	5.7	9.3	8.3
Social and Personal Service	2.9	1.6	10.6	4.9
All Industries	5.8	2.6	4.7	4.4
Rate of Increase in Male Employment				
Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing	-0.6	-1.3	-3.8	-1.9
Manufacturing	10.1	6.8	4.6	7.1
Wholesale and Retail	7.0	4.3	4.4	5.2
Social and Personal Service	2.5	1.3	4.2	2.7
All Industries	2.8	2.0	2.9	2.6
Average Rate of Increase of All Industries	3.7	2.2	3.4	3.1

Source: Same as Table 2.6.

Note: The rate of increase is the geometric average rate per annum.

Table 2.8. Distribution of female workers in manufacturing and the share of female workers in each manufacturing industry
(Percentage)

	1966	1970	1980	1989
Distribution of Female Workers				
(31) Food and Beverage	11.1	7.7	8.3	10.4
(32) Textile, Clothing, Leather	73.4	64.0	55.4	42.5
(33) Wood Products	1.6	1.9	2.0	2.2
(34) Paper and Printing	1.8	2.8	3.4	4.0
(35) Chemical	5.5	5.6	7.6	6.1
(36) Non-metallic Mineral	1.5	1.7	2.3	2.3
(37) Basic Metal	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.5
(38) Fabricated Metal	2.4	4.2	15.3	22.8
(39) Other	2.5	11.9	4.9	9.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Share of Female Workers in each Manufacturing Industry				
(31) Food and Beverage	22.8	22.7	34.0	41.2
(32) Textile, Clothing, Leather	64.8	62.8	59.0	51.3
(33) Wood Products	8.2	10.5	13.8	19.0
(34) Paper and Printing	13.2	16.5	21.9	25.6
(35) Chemical	19.5	22.5	29.3	26.6
(36) Non-metallic Mineral	8.9	11.3	19.3	20.5
(37) Basic Metal	5.0	4.9	7.3	6.2
(38) Fabricated Metal	5.3	10.1	22.7	22.5
(39) Other	29.9	55.1	41.3	45.8
Whole Manufacturing	33.6	28.9	36.2	33.4

Source: Same as Table 2.6.

In 1990, a total of 3.8 million female workers were employed in the tertiary industry represented by electricity and gas, construction, retail and wholesale trade, transportation and storage, banking and insurance and social and personal service sectors, of which 85 per cent were in retail and wholesale trade and social and personal service sectors (table 2.6).

Table 2.9. Distribution of female workers in the fabricated metals industry by a 3-digit industry classification and share of female workers in each a 3-digit industry classification (Percentage)

	Distribution	Share of female workers in each industry
Fabricated Metal Machinery	11.0	17.6
Machinery Manufacturing	8.3	13.2
Electrical Machinery Equipment Manufacturing	68.9	48.6
Transportation Equipment Manufacturing	6.6	10.0
Scientific Measuring and Controlling Machinery	5.2	42.9
	100.0	-

Source: Ministry of Labour, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1990.

Table 2.10. Distribution of employees by size of establishment (Percentage)

	1-4	5-9	10-19	20-49	50-99	100-299	300 and over
Male Total	47.4	9.6	7.4	9.3	6.8	7.7	11.7
Female Total	64.6	6.9	5.2	6.8	4.9	5.0	9.9
Manufacturing	19.6	9.5	10.9	13.8	11.0	14.1	21.0
Wholesale and Retail	82.0	7.9	3.4	2.6	1.2	1.4	1.5
Social and Personal Service	54.0	7.9	5.9	10.3	9.9	5.4	6.5

Source: EPB, *Report on the Employment Structure Survey*, 1989.

According to the Report on Employment Structure Survey performed in 1989 by the Economic Planning Board in the Republic of Korea, 82 per cent of female workers were employed in the retail and wholesale sector in establishments of size less than 5 employees, while 8 per cent were employed in establishments of size 5-9 employees. The comparable share of female workers in the social and personal service sector was 54 per cent and 8 per cent, respectively. Since a majority of female employees in the tertiary industry are hired in establishments with petty capital and small size, it can be conjectured they are faced with unstable job security.

In the light of our analysis so far, it must be emphasised that female employment is concentrated in the low-wage industries. Those industries where the majority of female workers are employed, including textile, clothing and leather, other manufacturing, electrical machinery equipment manufacturing and scientific measuring and controlling machinery sectors tend to pay less than the average wages of whole manufacturing industry. On the other hand, relatively high wages are paid in machinery, transportation equipment, chemical and primary metal sectors where male employment takes a majority share (table 2.11).

Table 2.11 reports the wage index for the various industries based on the wage level of the whole manufacturing sector set equal to 100. The wage indices of the textile, clothing and leather, electrical machinery equipment manufacturing, other manufacturing and scientific measuring and controlling machinery sectors, where the female workers are heavily concentrated, are 74, 97, 72 and 91, respectively. This is in sharp contrast with the wage indices of those sectors where male workers are concentrated, marked by 149 in the basic metal, 118 in the machinery manufacturing and 139 in the transportation equipment sector. Manufacturing sector is a low wage sector relative to the service industry. Among the tertiary industry, however, the retail and wholesale sector is a low-wage sector with a heavy concentration of female workers, while the electricity and gas, construction and banking and insurance sectors are high-wage sectors with female employees being a minority. This apparent industrial segregation between different sexes into the high-wage sector for men and the low-wage sector for women has caused widespread wage differentials across industries.

Table 2.11. Average monthly wage index by industry, 1989
(Manufacturing = 100)

	Industry code	Wage index
Mining	2	107.8
Manufacturing	3	100.0
Food and Beverage	31	102.7
Textiles, Clothing and Leather	32	74.3
Wood Products and Wood	33	93.5
Paper and Printing	34	116.4
Chemical	35	109.4
Non-metallic Mineral Products	36	113.9
Basic Metal	37	149.1
Fabricated Metals	38	110.0
Fabricated Metal Machinery	382	98.5
Machinery Manufacturing	382.	118.2
Electrical Machinery Equipment	383	97.0
Transportation Equipment	384	139.3
Scientific Measuring and Controlling Machinery	385	91.1
Other Manufacturing	39	72.3
Electricity, Gas and Water	4	176.8
Construction	5	120.8
Wholesale, Retail and Lodging	6	113.6
Transportation and Storage	7	106.2
Finance and Business Service	8	150.0
Social and Personal Service	9	145.5
All Industries (Non-agriculture)	-	110.0

Source: Ministry of Labour, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1990.

(b) Changes in the Distribution of Employees by Occupation

A comparison of the 1990 occupational distribution with that in 1963 when the Republic of Korea was at an infant stage of economic development yields a rapidly declining share of farmers but dramatic increases in clerical workers, professionals and managers and production workers (table 2.12). A more detailed analysis would indicate that the employment structure of women by occupation in fact reflects the industrial segregation. This will be investigated below.

Table 2.12. Percentage distribution of employees by occupation
(Percentage)

	1963	1970	1980	1990
Female				
Professional Technical and Managerial	2.0	2.4	3.5	7.6
Clerical	1.1	2.2	7.9	12.8
Sales	12.9	14.3	16.5	16.9
Service	6.8	10.3	12.0	16.7
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery	68.7	58.0	38.9	20.4
Production and Related	8.5	12.9	21.1	25.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Workers in 1,000 persons)	(2,801)	(3,578)	(5,243)	(7,321)
Male				
Professional Technical and Managerial	3.9	6.1	6.4	9.4
Clerical	4.7	8.1	10.1	13.1
Sales	8.5	11.1	13.2	12.8
Service	4.6	4.4	5.4	7.3
Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery	59.8	45.8	30.9	16.6
Production and Related	18.5	24.5	34.1	40.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(Workers in 1,000 persons)	(4,988)	(6,167)	(8,462)	(10,695)

Source: Same as Table 2.1.

First of all, we examine the distribution of female production workers by a three-digit level occupational classification of workers. Female production workers are primarily employed in sewing, weaving, spinning, textile arrangement, electrical and electronic assembly, unclassified electronics, shoe making and bakery. Among the total of 118 three-digit classifications of production and related occupations, the 12 occupations just stated and shown in table 2.13 take up 73 per cent of female production workers. Table 2.13, a and table 2.13, b together suggest that the female dominant occupations pay just low-wages. As have been already mentioned, the female employment is mainly concentrated in the low-wage manufacturing industries such as paper, textile, clothing and shoes, electrical assembly and food and beverage, resulting in female production workers being employed in those 12 dominant occupations. A rising demand for unskilled or semi-skilled labour in the assembly and processing of textile, clothing and shoes and electrical industries has contributed to female workers being drawn into the occupations of sewing, weaving, spinning, shoes making and electrical and electronic assembly. Recently, Mi Hye Noh (1990) and Soo Bong Uh (1991) reported that occupational segregation generates the severity of wage differentials between male and female workers. But it should be emphasised that, industry-specific labour demand gives rise to the occupational segregation between different sexes. That is, female workers employed in the low-wage industry are driven into the low-wage occupations within the same industry, and the crowding of female workers in low-wage occupations, in turn generates the severe male-female wage differentials.

The same phenomenon appears in sales-related occupations. According to the Occupational Wage Survey, there are a total of six sales-related occupations by a three-digit classification. Women employed in a single occupation like salespersons or shop assistants take up 99 per cent of total female workers in sales-related occupations (table 2.13, a). Women are employed primarily as salespersons, clerks and advertising persons.

Table 2.13, a. Relative share of female workers in each female-dominant occupation (No. of persons and percentage)

		Number of workers		Share of female workers
		Female	Both sexes	
0/1	**Professional, Technical and Related Workers**	92,595	405,962	22.8
	071 Nurse	24,030	24,030	100.0
	072 Non-classified Nurse	17,544	17,544	100.0
3	**Clerical and Related Workers**	352,438	1,015,751	34.7
	321 Typist	22,348	23,057	96.9
	331 Bookkeeper	116,267	157,196	74.0
	360 Transport Conductor	9,034	9,410	96.0
	380 Telephone Operator	17,040	17,966	94.8
4	**Sales Workers**	32,654	63,484	51.4
	451 Salesperson	32,454	48,531	66.7
5	**Service Workers**	82,268	216,161	38.1
	531 Cooks	29,657	40,930	72.5
	552 Launderer and Dry Cleaner	24,100	38,444	62.7
	599 Non-classified Service Workers	15,895	32,499	48.9
7/8/9	**Production and Related Workers**	1,009,103	2,674,404	37.7
	751 Textile Apprentice	12,420	14,481	85.8
	752 Spinner	82,245	94,462	87.1
	754 Weaver	77,976	86,821	89.8
	759 Non-classified Spinner	12,121	18,759	64.6
	776 Baker	14,800	25,784	57.4
	779 Non-classified Food Processor	17,824	32,259	55.3
	795 Tailor and Sewer	154,800	164,766	94.0
	802 Shoemaker	107,525	149,435	72.0
	842 Precision Instrument Maker	10,940	15,547	70.4
	853 Electrical Fitter	183,424	243,070	75.5
	859 Non-classified Electrical Workers	29,139	47,891	60.8
	949 Non-classified Production Workers	31,944	43,885	72.8

Source: Ministry of Labour, *Report on Occupational Wage Survey*, 1988.

In service-related occupations of women, there are 12 occupations by a three-digit classification of which categories such as cook, cleaner, and nonclassified services, constitute 85 per cent of females service-workers (table 2.13, b). As 96 per cent of women with service-related jobs are distributed into the wholesale, retail and lodging and social and personal service sectors, it can be conjectured that the industrial characteristics determine the women's occupations as well.

Table 2.13, b. Relative average wages of female workers in each female-dominant occupation (In won and percentage)

			Average wage (A)	A/B	A/C
0/1	**Professional, Technical and Related workers**				
	Average Wage Female (B)	467,649			
	Average Wage Male (C)	761,571			
	071 Nurse		433,538	92.7	56.9
	072 Non-classified Nurse		233,661	50.0	30.7
3	**Clerical and Related Workers**				
	Average Wage Female (B)	301,034			
	Average Wage Male (C)	562,738			
	321 Typist		308,056	102.3	54.7
	331 Bookkeeper		277,211	92.1	49.3
	360 Transport Conductor		140,021	46.5	24.9
	380 Telephone Operator		446,574	148.3	79.4
4	**Sales Workers**				
	Female Average Wage (B)	258,094			
	Male Average Wage (C)	520,511			
	451 Salesperson		257,780	99.9	49.5
5	**Service Workers**				
	Female Average Wage (B)	241,275			
	Male Average Wage (C)	358,947			
	531 Cook		244,092	101.2	68.0
	552 Launderer and Dry Cleaner		184,114	76.3	51.3
	599 Non-classified Service Workers		281,002	116.5	78.3
7/8/9	**Production and Related Workers**				
	Average Wage Female (B)	192,858			
	Average Wage Male (C)	358,871			
	751 Textile Apprentice		200,588	104.0	55.9
	752 Spinner		192,851	100.0	53.7
	754 Weaver		191,669	99.4	53.4
	759 Non-classified Spinner		182,616	94.7	50.9
	776 Baker		198,934	103.2	55.4
	779 Non-classified Food Processor		169,480	87.9	47.2
	795 Tailor and Sewar		180,150	93.4	50.2
	802 Shoemaker		181,145	93.9	50.5
	842 Precision Instrument Maker		205,681	106.6	57.3
	853 Electrical Fitter		201,813	104.6	56.2
	859 Non-classified Electrial Workers		216,254	112.1	60.3
	949 Non-classified Production Workers		184,007	95.4	51.3

Source: Ministry of Labour, Report on Occupation Wage Survey, 1988

Note: $A/B = \frac{\text{3-digit occupational average wage of female}}{\text{1-digit occupational average wage of female}} \times 100$

$A/C = \frac{\text{3-digit occupational average wage of female}}{\text{1-digit occupational average wage of male}} \times 100$

(c) *Changes in Employment by High-wage/Low-wage firms of the Manufacturing Sector*

As the economy undergoes industrialisation an interesting issue for investigation is whether the dual industrial structure will be strengthened or weakened. Research concerning the relationship between industrial and labour market structure has been done in the past among others by Piore (1980), Bluestone (1970), Wachtel and Betsey (1972) and Thurow (1975).

The segmented labour market corresponds to the dual industrial structure between core firms and periphery firms. The urban labour market is decomposed into the primary market with participation of monopolistic core firms and the secondary market where competitive periphery firms are the major players. As the monopolistic core firms tend to enjoy more rapid growth relative to the periphery firms and as they attempt to strengthen the vertical integration by means of subcontracts with the periphery firms, low-wages and unstable jobs become widespread in the periphery firms. The simple unskilled labour force from the rural areas are more likely to get the employment in the periphery firms. Consequently, the share of total employment taken by these periphery firms tends to rise, while less and less labour force are absorbed by the monopolistic core firms. Therefore, strong competition for employment in the periphery firms which dominate the urban labour market would aggravate the wage level as well as the job security (Rodgers 1989), Standing (1987, 1990) and Deshpande (1988)). Moreover, as Standing (1987, 1990) pointed out, the strengthening of labour flexibility by the core firms through a system of enlarged sub-contract relations intensified the industrial dualism in developing countries in the 1960s, which in turn created serious social problems such as unequal income distribution and poverty of workers employed in the periphery firms.

Woo Hyun Cho (1991), however, presented some results that raise some queries on the dual structure hypothesis of the labour market. Cho worked out the share of low-wage workers by dividing the number of low-wage workers within a firm by the total number of workers in the same firm. The share of low-wage workers in each firm can take a value from 0 to 100 per cent. He defined a firm as belonging to the top class of high-wage firms, middle class of high-wage firms, middle class of low-wage firms and bottom class of low-wage firms if the percentage share of low-wage workers in each firm comes in the range of 0-24 per cent, 25-49 per cent, 50-74 per cent and 75-100 per cent, respectively. Table 2.14 reports the distribution of firms in the Republic of Korea according to the above categorisation.

The first characteristic in table 2.14 is that the number of middle class high-wage firms is very weak in the Republic of Korea. The firm having a high value-added per worker is more likely to be the high-wage firm. In the opposite case, the firm with a low value-added per worker is more likely to be the low-wage firm. Accordingly, the Republic of Korea's industrial structure can be decomposed into high value-added and low value-added firms, and the firms in between these two classes are relatively few. It reflects the fact that there exists a small number of firms producing machinery, basic materials and parts as the Republic of Korea imports from abroad (mainly from Japan) the capital and intermediate goods required in the assembly and processing type of industries.

The second characteristic displayed in table 2.14 is that it is not until 1989 that the firms' distribution becomes similar to that in 1973. In particular, the proportion of top class high-wage firms declined in 1978 and 1984, compared to 27 per cent in 1973, but the proportion of bottom class low-wage firms rose dramatically in 1978 and 1984 relative to 28 per cent registered in 1973. The reduction of top class high-wage firms and middle class high-wage firms until 1984 suggests the strong emergence of bottom class low-wage firms and

Table 2.14. Distribution of firms by high-wage/low-wage structure
(Percentage)

	1973	1978	1984	1989
Top Class High-wage Firm	27.1	20.8	17.9	26.0
Middle Class High-wage Firm	18.7	16.8	14.7	20.2
Middle Class Low-wage Firm	26.4	26.3	30.8	26.0
Bottom Class Low-wage Firm	27.8	36.1	36.6	27.7

Source: Ministry of Labour, *Original Tape of Occupational Wage Survey*.

middle class low-wage firms in the industrialisation process since 1975. As the economy turned its attention to the heavy and chemical industries, the increasing number of subcontracts given to the small and medium size firms must have been accompanied by the quantitative expansion of low-wage firms. In addition, the declining proportion of high-wage firms over the period 1973 to 1984 resulted from the growing employment of unskilled, semi-skilled workers in the top class high-wage firms associated with the boom of assembly factories specialised in mass production. As the number of low-wage workers employed in the top class high-wage firms increased, the share of top class high-wage firms among the whole manufacturing firms must have declined between 1978 and 1984. But as the economy enjoyed a boom over the period 1986 to 1989, the profitability of those firms with large scale assembly factories increased. Furthermore, the negotiating power of labour union in the large scale production site became strengthened after the massive strike waves of 1987. Some small and medium size firms turned out to be the high-wage firms. As a result, the trend was maintained between 1973 and 1984 and reversed in 1989.

The employment structure between high-wage and low-wage firms also experienced a shift along with the change in industrial structure. In table 2.15, the composition of employees is reported in accordance with the firms' categories defined in table 2.14 by the share of low-wage workers in a given firm. The share of employees working in the top class high-wage firms in the whole manufacturing sector has continued its growth, marked by 21 per cent in 1973, 26 per cent in 1978 and 29 per cent in 1984. The comparable share in the bottom class low-wage firms also exhibited a similar trend as it increased from 29 per cent in 1973 to 34 per cent in 1978 and further to 38 per cent in 1984.

In particular, table 2.15 shows that the share of female employees in the whole manufacturing sector over the period between 1973 and 1984 increased continuously in the bottom class of low-wage firms; but the top class high-wage firms, middle class high-wage firms and middle class low-wage firms tended to show a relatively shrinking share of female employees. This tendency of female employment appears particularly strong in the 1984 when the share of female employees in the bottom class low wage firms increased dramatically with an opposite change in other types of firms.

The duality whereby the high-productivity/high-wage sector driven by the import of advanced technology in the export-led industrialisation process coexists with the low-productivity/low-wage sector characterises the Korean labour market structure. At the same time, the dual industrial structure between the high-wage and low-wage firms was deepened until the early 1980, but lessened in the late 1980s. Despite this dual industrial

Table 2.15. Composition of workers by high-wage/low-wage firms (Percentage)

		1973	1978	1984	1989
Both Sexes	Top Class of H.W. Firms	21.1	25.8	28.5	37.8
	Middle Class of H.W. Firms	14.6	15.5	12.1	15.4
	Middle Class of L.W. Firms	35.7	24.9	21.8	27.9
	Bottom Class of L.W. Firms	28.6	33.8	37.7	18.9
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Male	Top Class of H.W. Firms	33.6	38.7	45.9	51.4
	Middle Class of H.W. Firms	15.3	19.3	14.7	15.5
	Middle Class of L.W. Firms	35.0	23.3	22.5	23.3
	Bottom Class of L.W. Firms	16.2	18.8	16.9	9.8
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Female	Top Class of H.W. Firms	8.7	11.0	5.7	17.1
	Middle Class of H.W. Firms	13.8	11.2	8.6	15.4
	Middle Class of L.W. Firms	36.4	26.9	20.8	34.8
	Bottom Class of LW. Firms	41.4	50.9	64.9	32.6
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Same as Table 2.1.

Note: H.W. for High-wage and L.W. for Low-wage.

structure, table 2.15 demonstrates a sustained labour absorption by the high-wage firms. Coupled with a lessening of dual industrial structure, the continuing labour absorption into the high-wage firms can be seen as evidence against the hypothesis of strengthening industrial dualism, at least in the Republic of Korea.

2.3 Shortages of Unskilled and Low-wage Labour Force in the Republic of Korea

In contrast to 3.1 per cent average growth rate per annum of total employment across all industries in the Republic of Korea between 1960 and 1990, the manufacturing employment experienced 9.7 per cent and 7.1 per cent growth rates for women and men, respectively, over the same period. It then suggests that the growth of manufacturing industry played a major role for giving an impetus to enhancing the employment opportunities in the Republic of Korea (table 2.7). Not only was the unskilled rural labour force exhausted, but also the participation of female workers in the age group 15-19 and 20-24 plummeted drastically in the 1980s, as indicated by figure 2.2. Moreover, the labour market failed to attract the female labour force of age group 40-49. As a result, labour shortage emerged as a serious problem in the Republic of Korea. The labour shortage problem is especially strong in the manufacturing sector, where the low-wage firms are in the most difficult situation. In particular, the production and related workers are in severe shortage.

(a) Labour Shortage by Industries

The number of workers in shortage and the labour shortage rate by industry appear in table 2.16. First, as of March 1990, the Korean industry was short of 192,000 workers for full capacity. They account for 4.3 per cent of total number of surveyed workers of 4.38 million. This shortage rate is higher than the one experienced in the past as indicated by 1.8 per cent in 1985 and 3.2 per cent in 1989.

Table 2.16. Number of workers in shortage and shortage rate by industry
(In thousand persons)

Industry classification	1990				Shortage ratio		
	Current employees	(Ratio)	Workers in shortage	(Ratio)	1985	1989	1990
All Industry	4,428.3	(100.0)	192.1	(100.0)	1.8	3.21	4.34
2. Mining	57.5	(1.3)	4.1	(2.1)	3.2	3.56	7.11
3. Manufacturing	2,696.7	(60.9)	149.8	(78.0)	2.0	4.15	5.55
	(100.0)		(100.0)				
(31) Food, Beverage	145.5	–	6.5	–	0.9	2.91	4.46
	(5.4)		(4.3)				
(32) Textile, Clothing	764.6	–	63.3	–	3.3	6.04	8.27
	(28.3)		(42.2)				
(33) Wood Product	55.1	–	3.7	–	4.0	6.75	6.75
	(2.0)		(2.5)				
(34) Paper and Printing	115.1	–	4.3	–	2.0	3.12	3.78
	(4.3)		(2.9)				
(35) Chemical	273.3	–	12.2	–	0.7	2.62	4.47
	(10.1)		(8.2)				
(36) Non-metallic Mineral	103.6	–	4.9	–	0.8	4.10	4.70
	(2.8)		(3.3)				
(37) Basic Metal	80.7	–	2.2	–	1.2	3.46	2.77
	(3.0)		(1.5)				
(38) Fabricated Metal	1,068.5	–	48.9	–	1.3	3.65	4.58
	(39.6)		(32.6)				
(39) Other Manufacturing	90.4	–	3.8	–	4.1	3.53	4.18
	(3.4)		(2.5)				
4. Electricity, Gas and Water	38.7	(0.9)	0.2	(0.1)	0.4	0.10	0.61
5. Construction	132.5	(3.0)	6.7	(3.5)	2.0	2.07	5.05
6. Wholesale and Retail Lodging	278.1	(6.3)	3.6	(1.9)	0.6	1.44	1.28
7. Transportation and Storage	4450.9	(10.1)	18.5	(9.6)	2.2	2.04	4.15
8. Finance and Business Services	391.2	(8.8)	4.7	(2.4)	0.7	1.50	1.20
9. Social and Personal Services	387.6	(8.8)	4.5	(2.3)	0.5	0.91	1.16

Source: Ministry of Labour, *Report on Employment Prospect.*

Second, the manufacturing sector faces the most difficult labour shortage problem. In 1990, the manufacturing sector accounted for 78 per cent of total labour shortage, while the transportation, storage and telecommunication industry and the construction industry shared 9.6 per cent and 3.5 per cent, respectively.

Third, within the manufacturing sector, the textile, clothing and leather and the metal assembly industries were heavily hurt by the labour shortage problem, as the shortage rate in these industries were marked by 8.3 per cent and 4.6 per cent, respectively.

Therefore, it is no exaggeration to claim that the labour shortage is a problem in the manufacturing sector, a problem in the textile and clothing and electronics industries at the production site. Any attempt to resolve the problem must be focused on these areas.

(b) Labour Shortage by Occupation

Labour shortage by occupation appears most apparent in production or related occupations. As indicated in table 2.17, as of March 1990, there were a total of 166,000 workers short in production or related occupations, accounting for 86 per cent of the total number of workers in shortage. Table 2.17 reports that the shortage rate in production or related occupations in 1990 is marked by 6.9 per cent, which is higher than 4.3 per cent for all occupations surveyed. Across all occupations, the shortage rate increased drastically relative to the one in 1985, and more drastically in production and related occupations.

The professional, technical and managerial occupations have only a moderate shortage rate as a sufficient number of college graduates are supplied in the labour market. On the other hand, the growing college advancement rate produced a lack of high school graduates as production workers, leading to imbalances in labour supply and demand within the Republic of Korea's labour market. For the purpose of suggesting remedies for correcting the imbalances, we will additionally discuss the female labour absorption policy in Chapter 7, after investigating the employment structure, job training and job mobility of the employment structure of working women in Seoul's manufacturing sector.

Against the backdrop of the preceding review of labour market development in the Republic of Korea, we now move to an analysis of the survey findings. In Chapter 3 we take up the main characteristics of the employment situation in manufacturing industries as brought out by the survey data.

Table 2.17. Number of workers in shortage and shortage rate by occupation (In thousand persons and percentage)

Occupation	1990				Shortage rate		
	Current employees	Percentage share	Workers in shortage	Percentage share	1985	1989	1990
Whole Occupation	4,428.3	100.0	192.1	100.0	1.75	3.21	4.34
0/1. Professional Technical Managerial	410.0	9.3	7.1	3.7	1.12	0.98	1.73
2. Administration and Managerial	198.9	4.5	2.2	1.1	0.31	1.16	1.10
3. Clerical and Related	1,109.9	25.1	13.0	6.8	0.99	1.08	1.17
4. Sales	65.1	1.5	1.4	0.7	0.50	1.45	2.15
5. Services	223.1	5.0	2.5	1.3	0.39	1.25	1.10
7/8/9. Production and Related	2,419.5	54.6	165.9	86.3	2.35	4.92	6.85

Source: Ministry of Labour, *Report on Employment Prospects.*

CHAPTER 3

STRUCTURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES OF SEOUL

In this chapter, we examine the employment structure of women in Seoul both in terms of demand-side characteristics, e.g. size of firms, industry, degree of export orientation, and degree of sub-contracts, and supply-side characteristics, e.g. age, marital status, education level, and the amount of on-the-job training received. In order to facilitate comparison, the relevant data are furnished separately for male and female workers in the manufacturing industries.

3.1 Characteristics of Employment in the Manufacturing Sector

The female workers are primarily employed in textile, fabricated metal and other manufacturing industries. Compared to the male workers, the female employees tend to work in the medium-sized firms with total employees in between 100 and 300, export-oriented industries and sub-contract industries.

(a) Distribution of Employees by Industry

According to the figures in table 3.1, the female workers are concentrated in the textile and clothing industry with its share of 38 per cent, followed by the fabricated metal industry taking 34 per cent. The fact that 34 per cent of total female workers are employed in the fabricated metal industry must be interpreted with caution. As indicated earlier by table 2.9, 69 per cent of women employed in the fabricated metal industry work in the simple assembly type of electrical machinery and equipment manufacturing. Moreover, this industry mostly demands unskilled workers, as the type of job performed requires simple, repetitive and standardised work which assembles and processes the intermediate goods into the final goods. The industry-specific wage data (not reported in the text) suggest that the monthly average wage for female and male workers are W420,000 and W740,000, respectively, implying that the female workers receive the lower wage because they perform the simple, repetitive assembly and processing jobs within the fabricated metal industry.

Table 3.1. Distribution of workers by industry
(No. of persons, percentage)

Industry	Male		Female	
Food and Beverage	29	(4.1)	31	(4.5)
Textile, Clothing and Leather	106	(15.1)	261	(37.9)
Wood, Wood Products	8	(1.1)	1	(0.2)
Paper and Printing	91	(13.0)	31	(4.5)
Chemical	101	(14.4)	78	(11.3)
Non-metal Mineral Products	14	(2.0)	9	(1.3)
Basic Metal	13	(1.9)	2	(0.3)
Fabricated Metal	316	(45.1)	232	(33.7)
Other	23	(3.3)	44	(6.4)
Total	701	(100.0)	689	(100.0)

(b) Distribution of Employees by Size of Establishment

The employment structure of different sexes according to firms' sizes is reported in table 3.2. Some 41 per cent of women are employed in the large firms with more than 300 employees while 50 per cent are hired by the small, medium size firms with less than 300 workers. In contrast, 54 per cent and 46 per cent of male workers are distributed into the large and small or medium size firms respectively. Thus, the male workers are concentrated in the large size firms while the majority of female workers are employed in the small or medium size firms.

Table 3.2. Distribution of workers by size of establishment (No. of persons, percentage)

Size	Male		Female	
Less than 30 Workers	23	(3.3)	23	(3.3)
30-99	138	(19.7)	156	(22.6)
100-299	160	(22.8)	226	(32.8)
300-499	65	(9.3)	73	(10.6)
500 Workers and over	315	(44.9)	211	(30.6)
Total	701	(100.0)	689	(100.0)

(c) Distribution by Export Ratio

The export ratio is defined as a percentage share of exports in total sales, and table 3.3 reports the distribution of different sexes when the export ratio is grouped into 0-24 per cent, 25-49 per cent, 50-74 per cent and 75-100 per cent. According to table 3.3, the industry with export ratio in the range 50-74 per cent recorded 22 per cent share for female workers and 14 per cent for male workers. In addition, 27 per cent of female workers and 16 per cent of male workers are distributed to the industry with export ratio between 75 per cent and 100 per cent. Thus, one can infer that the female workers are more concentrated in the export-oriented industries than the male workers.

Table 3.3. Distribution of workers by the export-sales ratio (No. of persons, percentage)

Export-sales ratio	Male		Female	
0-24	419	(59.8)	294	(42.7)
25-49	69	(9.8)	55	(8.0)
50-74	101	(14.4)	151	(21.9)
75-100	112	(16.0)	189	(27.4)
Total	701	(100.0)	689	(100.0)

(d) Distribution by Independent/Sub-contract Firm

Like the male workers, the majority of female workers are employed in the independent firms. But 6 per cent of female workers are distributed into the sub-contract firm as opposed to 2 per cent for male workers. Moreover, 20 per cent of female employees work in a firm, partly independent and partly sub-contracting, while the comparable share for male workers is marked by 12 per cent. Thus, the share of female workers employed in the sub-contract or half-sub-contract firms is higher than that of male workers. The fact that more women are employed in the export-oriented and small, medium size firms or the subcontract and half-sub-contract firms suggests that they are faced with relatively less stable employment compared to men.

Table 3.4. Distribution of workers by independent/subcontract firm (No. of persons, percentage)

Independent/sub-contract firm	Male		Female	
Independent	608	(86.7)	511	(74.2)
Sub-contract	12	(1.7)	39	(5.7)
Both Independent and Sub-contract	81	(11.6)	139	(20.2)
Total	701	(100.0)	689	(100.0)

(e) Employees by Occupation

According to the occupational distribution of female workers in table 3.5, two-thirds of female workers participate in the production operations in contrast to 49 per cent of male workers. Among the production and

Table 3.5. Distribution of surveyed workers by occupation (No. of persons, percentage)

Occupation	Male		Female	
Professional and Technical	62	(8.8)	21	(3.1)
Managerial	106	(15.1)	10	(1.5)
Clerical	166	(23.7)	186	(27.0)
Sales	19	(2.7)	1	(0.2)
Service	7	(1.0)	3	(0.4)
Skilled Production	222	(31.7)	195	(28.3)
Semi-skilled Production	78	(11.1)	180	(26.1)
Unskilled Production	41	(5.9)	93	(13.5)
Total	701	(100.0)	689	(100.0)

Note: Skilled production workers are defined as those with 5 years of occupational experience or more, semi-skilled as those with 1-4 years' of occupational experience, and unskilled as those with less than 1 year of occupational experience.

related occupations, majority of unskilled or semi-skilled production occupations are filled by female workers as their share is marked by 40 per cent relative to 17 per cent of male workers. On the contrary, a mere 5 per cent of female workers are employed in the professional and technical or managerial occupation as opposed to 24 per cent for male workers.

(f) Distribution by Employment Status

This study did not find any significant difference in the distribution between male and female workers by employment status. It may probably be attributed to the sampling bias so that part-time or contracted female workers may not have been included in many cases by the interviewers.

Table 3.6. Distribution of workers by employment status (No. of persons, percentage)

Employment status	Male		Female	
Employer	7	(1.0)	13	(1.9)
Regular	632	(90.4)	612	(89.0)
Casual	22	(3.2)	35	(5.1)
Contract	37	(5.3)	25	(3.6)
Apprentice	1	(0.1)	2	(0.3)
Family Worker	0	(0.0)	1	(0.2)
Total	699	(100.0)	688	(100.0)

(g) Workers by High-wage/Low-wage Firms

The share of low-wage workers in each manufacturing firm in Seoul is estimated by using the data from the Occupational Wage Survey in 1989. The medium wage for male workers working in the manufacturing firms in Seoul is estimated to be 578,150 Won, two-thirds of which amounting to 385,433 won is defined as the low-wage. Using this definition, the total number of low-wage workers in each manufacturing firm is counted, which in turn is used for the calculation of shares of low-wage workers in each firm. A firm whose share of low-wage workers' is below (or above) 50 per cent is referred to as a high or low-wage firm.

There are a total of 508 manufacturing firms in Seoul covered by the 1989 Occupational Wage Survey, of which 60 firms are selected for the ESCAP/ILO survey. Then, the 1989 shares of low-wage workers are extrapolated to obtain the 1991 shares. It is assumed that there has been little change in firms' characteristics in the two year interval between 1989 and 1991. Table 3.7 reports the distribution of female and male workers among firms whose share of low-wage workers is between 0 per cent and 49 per cent between 50 per cent and 100 per cent defined respectively as the high-wage and low-wage firms. Clearly, the female workers are concentrated in the low-wage firms relative to the male workers, as 78 per cent of female workers and 53 per cent of male workers are employed in the low-wage firms.

Table 3.7. Distribution of workers by high-wage/low-wage firms (No. of persons, percentage)

	Male		Female	
High-wage Firm	325	(46.8)	150	(21.9)
Low-wage Firm	370	(53.2)	534	(78.0)
Total	695	(100.0)	684	(100.0)

For the female employment structure, the present ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP survey shows a similar distribution across low-wage and high-wage firms as the 1989 Occupational Wage Survey (OWS) for Seoul. But the share of male workers in the high-wage firms is smaller in the present survey than that in 1989 OWS (table 3.8). Despite this difference, one can convincingly argue that female workers are concentrated in the low-wage firms.

Table 3.8. Distribution of workers by high-wage/low-wage firm according OWS in 1989 (No. of persons, percentage)

	Male		Female	
High-wage Firm	8,465	(61.6)	2,879	(25.3)
Low-wage Firm	5,273	(38.4)	8,493	(74.7)
Total	13,738	(100.0)	11,372	(100.0)

Source: Ministry of Labour, Occupational Wage Survey, 1989.

3.2 Supply-side Characteristics of Female Employees

In what follows, we shall examine the following characteristics, namely: age, marital status, educational and training background and also the migrant status.

(a) Age Distribution

According to table 3.9 which shows the age distribution of employees, 76 per cent of female workers and 44 per cent of male workers were aged less than 30 years old. Thus, one characteristic of female labour force is that the majority of them are young.

Table 3.9. Distribution of workers by age (No. of persons, percentage)

Age	Male		Female	
15-19	22	(3.2)	80	(11.6)
20-24	65	(9.3)	301	(43.8)
25-29	213	(30.6)	138	(20.1)
30-34	189	(27.2)	34	(5.0)
35-39	101	(14.5)	32	(4.7)
40-49	76	(10.9)	72	(10.5)
50-59	26	(3.7)	27	(3.9)
60 and over	4	(0.6)	3	(0.4)
Total	696	(100.0)	687	(100.0)

(b) Distribution by Marital Status

Another important characteristic of female employees is that they tend to be unmarried. When workers were grouped into unmarried, married, widowed, divorced and separated, 71 per cent of female workers were reported to be unmarried and only 25 per cent married. On the contrary, majority of the male workers tend to be married as their share comes to 61 per cent while the share of unmarried male workers was 38 per cent (see table 3.10).

Table 3.10. Distribution of workers by marital status
(No. of persons, percentage)

Marital status	Male		Female	
Single	266	(38.0)	487	(70.7)
Married	430	(61.3)	171	(24.8)
Widowed	4	(0.6)	26	(3.8)
Divorced	1	(0.1)	2	(0.3)
Separated	0	(0.0)	3	(0.4)
Total	701	(100.0)	689	(100.0)

(c) Distribution by Education Level

The majority of female workers employed in the manufacturing sector were high school graduates (64 per cent) (see table 3.11). However, the poorer education level of female workers in the manufacturing sector becomes evident when the comparison is made with education level of male workers. The relative share of college graduates was just 2 per cent of female workers as opposed to 29 per cent for male workers.

Table 3.11. Distribution of workers by educational level
(No. of persons, percentage)

Educational level	Male		Female	
No Schooling	1	(0.1)	10	(1.5)
Completed Primary School	12	(1.7)	58	(8.4)
Completed Middle School	80	(11.4)	132	(19.2)
Completed High School	345	(49.3)	441	(64.2)
Junior College	56	(8.0)	29	(4.2)
University Graduate	200	(28.6)	16	(2.3)
Others	6	(0.9)	1	(0.2)
Total	700	(100.0)	687	(100.0)

(d) Technical or Vocational Training

In order to examine whether the female survey respondents had had any technical training experience, the following inquiry was made in the ESCAP/ILO-ARTEP survey questionnaires: "Have you ever received any technical training or vocational training (at a technical high school or an engineering college)?" with a set of three choices of answers, "Yes, I have an official certificate of qualification", "Yes, but I do not have an official certificate of qualification", and "None". Among the survey respondents, 64 per cent of male respondents and 89 per cent of female respondents answered "No", which indicates that the vast majority of female workers did not receive any technical training at all (see table 3.12). Regardless of whether they obtained the official certificate or not, the number of female workers who received a technical training remained only at one quarter of male recipients of technical training.

Table 3.12. Distribution of workers by technical or vocational training
(No. of persons, percentage)

Nature of training	Male		Female	
Trained with Formal Qualification	165	(23.6)	45	(6.6)
Trained with No Formal Qualification	86	(12.3)	27	(3.9)
No Technical/Vocational Training	448	(64.1)	612	(89.5)
Total	699	(100.0)	684	(100.0)

Not only are there a small number of female workers who obtained the official certificate of technical trainings, but also female workers show poor performance with respect to the quality of technical training. In particular, the survey questionnaires included an inquiry on the following types of certificates: (1) technical high

school diploma or certificate of technician, (2) engineering college or engineering graduate school diploma, (3) non-technical high school diploma, (4) non-engineering college or non-engineering graduate school diploma and (5) others. According to table 3.13 which reports the frequency of each of five choices, 52 per cent and 33 per cent of female respondents selected others and the technical high school diploma or certificate of technician, respectively. Meanwhile, 70 per cent and 5 per cent of male respondents are distributed to the technical high school diploma or certificate of technician and others, respectively. In the case of engineering college or engineering graduate school diploma, 21 per cent of men responded positively while only 6 per cent of the women did so. The results demonstrate that the female workers lack the technical training or education to a substantial degree.

Table 3.13. Distribution of workers by contents of technical training (No. of persons, percentage)

		Male		Female	
(1)	Technical high school diploma or certificate of technician	118	(70.2)	17	(32.7)
(2)	Engineering college or engineering graduate school diploma	36	(21.4)	3	(5.8)
(3)	Non-technical high school diploma	3	(1.8)	5	(9.6)
(4)	Non-engineering college or non-engineering graduate school diploma	3	(1.8)	0	(0.0)
(5)	Others	8	(4.8)	27	(51.9)
	Total	168	(100.0)	52	(100.0)

(e) Distribution by Place of Origin

The survey made an inquiry on "the residential place of workers until they were 12 years old" and asked for the name of city and county if the answer was other than Seoul city. Table 3.14 summarises the responses according to which 38 per cent of male workers came from Seoul while 22 per cent and 40 per cent were from other cities and rural counties or towns, respectively. In the case of women, the rural counties or towns marked the highest frequency with 53 per cent, followed by Seoul with 30 per cent and other cities with 18 per cent. It suggests that 60 per cent of male workers and 47 per cent of female workers were from Seoul or other cities. The rural areas remained a major source of female labour supply in the manufacturing sector of Seoul with the share equal to 53 per cent.

Table 3.14. Distribution of workers by place of origin (No. of persons, percentage)

Place of origin	Male		Female	
Seoul	264	(38.3)	204	(29.9)
5 Large Cities	57	(8.3)	42	(6.2)
Other Cities/Towns	91	(13.2)	78	(11.4)
Rural Areas	277	(40.2)	359	(52.6)
Total	689	(100.0)	683	(100.0)

3.3 Sex Discrimination at Port of Entry

An important question can be now posed on whether the personal attributes of female workers such as young-age, unmarried status, low-education, low technical education and rural-origin give rise to the concentration of female workers in the low-wage industry or firms, or whether sex discrimination by employers is responsible for this phenomenon. If the personal attributes are the primary cause for the concentration of female workers in the low-wage industry or firms, the government policy toward female workers must be accompanied by investment in human capital, including regular or technical education for female workers.

On the other hand, if the port-entry discrimination against female workers crowds them out from the high-wage industry or firms and drives them into the low-wage industry or firms, the government policy must be

directed toward the reduction of sex discrimination at the port of entry. In this respect, the identification of causes for female workers' concentration in the low-wage industry or firms must be given serious attention.

The workers' employment in the high-wage or low-wage firms results from the interaction of employees' and employers' decisions. When a worker is looking for a job in the labour market, he or she will consider a variety of firms. Since different firms may offer different wage levels for the same job, he or she will give the first priority to choosing the firm in which he or she will work. At the same time, the employment in the high-wage or low-wage firm is also determined by the firm's decision to select the employee among the various applicants.

In the following exercise we identify the personal attributes of workers as the determinants of whether they are employed in the high-wage or low-wage firm and then examine the marginal probability of employment in the high-wage firm i.e. the probability change induced by sex difference. If the sex variable induces a decline in probability of employment in the high-wage firm, all other things being constant, it can be inferred that sex discrimination exists. If the sex variable doesn't show any statistical significance, it can be inferred that sex discrimination does not exist.

The following model is estimated

$$RATIOi = \alpha 0 + \alpha 1\ Xi + \alpha 2\ SEXi + error$$

where RATIOi is the share of low-wage workers in each firm having a value greater than or equal to zero but less than equal to 1. This RATIO variable is regarded as the choice index indicating whether the worker wants to be employed in a high-wage or low-wage firm. The lower the RATIOi, the greater the likelihood that the individual will be employed in the high-wage firm. Xi represents the personal attributes other than sex including education level (EDUC), job experiences (EXPER), square of job experiences (EXPSQ), years of job-tenure (TENURE), square of years of job-tenure (TENSQ) and marital status (MARR = 1 if married and MARR = 0 if unmarried). SEX is the dummy variable taking the value of 1 if the sex is female and 0 if the sex is male. The regression result by ordinary least squares using the occupational wage data for the Seoul area (N = 25, 110 people) is reported below:

$$\begin{aligned} RATIOi = {} & 101.5 - 4.26\ EDUC + 2.35\ EXPER - 3.89\ TENURE - 0.10\ EXPSQ \\ & \quad (1.07) \quad (0.07) \quad (0.18) \quad (0.13) \quad (0.01) \\ & + 0.11\ TENSQ + 12.9\ SEXi - 2.76\ MARR\ 2 = 0.33 \\ & \quad (0.01) \quad (0.43) \quad (0.44) \end{aligned}$$

The values in parentheses are the standard errors for the estimated coefficients. One can infer from the above results that the tendency to be employed in the high-wage firm is positively correlated with the education level, the years of job-tenure, and the marital status. But the job experience surprisingly shows the negative coefficient. We must point out with great emphasis that female workers are highly likely to be employed in the low-wage firms despite the observationally identical personal attributes with those of male workers. In other words, the female workers are driven out into the low-wage firm notwithstanding the same personal attributes which the male workers have. Thus, this estimated result convincingly demonstrates the existence of sex discrimination at the port-of-entry of the firm.

CHAPTER 4

PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT PRACTICES RELATED TO WOMEN AT THE WORKPLACE

The manufacturing firms' management practices on human resources encompass a variety of activities such as: the hiring of labour and preparation of labour contracts, job training, technical education, job transfers and promotions. This chapter will investigate step by step the manufacturing firm's management of the labour force, in particular, female labour force in recruitment, writing of labour contracts, on-the-job training or technical education, and provision of promotion opportunities.

4.1 Hiring and Employment Contracts

The route by which more than half of the female workers are hired in manufacturing firms is through their friends or relatives. This study grouped the route into employment by the following seven channels: (1) newspaper advertisements, (2) other advertisements, (3) public hiring agency, (4) special recruitment drives, (5) labour contractors, (6) friends or relatives, and finally (7) others. As many as 54 per cent of female workers secured employment through the channel of relatives or friends, 20 per cent through the channel of others, and 13 per cent through other advertisements including the firm's wall-posting for workers wanted. In the case of male workers 38 per cent of them were hired through the channel of relatives or friends, 22 per cent through others, 16 per cent by newspaper advertisements, and 13 per cent by other advertisements.

According to table 4.1, the newspaper advertisements attracted only 16 per cent of male workers and 4 per cent of female workers into the manufacturing firm. One interesting question in regard to the newspaper advertisements is to examine whether they contain any indication of 'male only', 'female only' or 'both sexes'. Some relevant data from a study of newspaper advertisements in 1990 are quoted in table 4.2. It follows that

Table 4.1. Job search methods by sex
(In percentage)

	Male	Female
Newspaper Advertisement	16.2	4.1
Other Advertisement	12.6	13.3
Public Employment Agencies	2.0	3.2
Recruitment Drive by Employer	8.3	4.7
Labour Contractors	1.0	0.6
Friends or Relatives	38.3	54.4
Others	21.6	19.8
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 4.2. Sex discrimination in recruitment advertisement
(In percentage)

	1988	1990
Recruit Male Only	20.3	39.1
Recruit Female Only	9.8	24.1
Recruit Separately	16.0	3.0
Recruit Both Sexes	53.9	33.7
Total	100.0 (N = 1,402)	100.0 (N = 727)

Source: Korean Women's Development Institute, *Research of Sex Discrimination Shown in Newspaper Advertisements*, 1988, 1990.

39 per cent of newspaper advertisements indicated 'male only' while 34 per cent contained 'both sexes'. The female workers' employment opportunity through newspaper advertisements is extremely low not only because a substantial number of firms hire male workers only, but also because it is customary practice for the firms to hire only the male workers despite the fact that their advertisements indicate their willingness to hire both sexes.

Table 4.3. Types of Labour Contract
(In percentage)

	Male	Female
Written Contract	74.5	59.5
Unwritten Contract	6.2	6.8
No Labour Contract	19.4	33.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Our survey asked whether the survey respondents entered into any formal contract with the hiring firm. Accordingly 75 per cent of male workers and 60 per cent of female workers provided a positive answer to the questionnaire. The fact that one-third of female workers were hired without any form of contracts represents one indicator of their unstable employment.

4.2 Job Training

(a) On-the-Job-Training

Only 27 per cent of survey respondents were found to have received on-the-job training. A 1989 report on the internal training of workers within firms by the Korea Women's Development Institute (KWDI) indicated that about 34 per cent of the workers received internal training offered by the manufacturing firms. But since the KWDI report was based on a small sample of 295 workers in the manufacturing sector, it cannot be taken as reliable evidence on the status of on-the-job training. Nevertheless, the extremely low level of internal training within manufacturing firms appears constantly across numerous related studies. For example, a comparison with the findings by Moo Ki Bai (1976) demonstrates that the internal training in the manufacturing firms has seldom increased for the past 15 years.

Table 4.4 reports the sex-wise distribution of manufacturing workers who experienced on-the-job training for skill improvement. It appears that 34 per cent of male workers and 21 per cent of female workers received on-the-job training but the female workers seem to benefit relatively little from the training opportunities compared to the male workers. This could be possible due to the low expectation of investment yields by the employers from female workers.

(b) Poor Quality of On-the-Job-Training

Not only are there a small number of manufacturing workers receiving on-the-job training, but also the quality of the training is found to be inadequate. Our survey inquired on the time, hosting institution, duration and financial source of on-the-job training. As for the duration of training it was found that it lasted one day or less for 28 per cent of female workers, one week or less for 56 per cent of female workers, indicating that approximately 84 per cent of female workers received the training which ended within one week. On the contrary 65 per cent of male workers received the training lasting one to seven days, and 31 per cent of them received long-term training spanning one month to three months (see table 4.4).

The training programme was predominantly financed by the owners of the firms. But the financial burden to the owners associated with on-the-job training was small in the case of female workers relative to male workers, as 90 per cent of male workers and 69 per cent of female workers participated in the training financed by owners of the firm.

Table 4.4. On-the-job training received by workers during current employment (In percentage)

	Male	Female		Male	Female
Percentage of Workers with OJT	33.7	20.9	Less than a Month	18.2	7.1
			Less than 3 Months	13.0	7.9
Timing of Training			Less than a Year	3.0	1.4
			More than a Year	0.9	–
Pre-employment	5.6	12.1			
In-service	64.7	71.4		100.0	100.0
Both	29.7	16.4			
			Source of Finance for Training		
	100.0	100.0			
			Self	3.0	3.6
Organization of Training			Family	0.4	3.6
			Employer	89.6	69.1
Within Establishment	38.2	56.8	Others	–	0.7
Public Institution	30.5	31.7	No Fee Charged	6.9	23.0
Private Institution	31.3	11.5			
				100.0	100.0
	100.0	100.0			
Duration of Training					
Less than a Day	7.4	27.9			
Less than a Week	57.6	55.7			

In response to the question of whether the training enabled the respondents to achieve higher income or improved working environment, 67 per cent of male workers and 66 per cent of female workers responded positively. This is consistent with the prediction by the human capital theory that the training or education is positively related to the future wage increase. But one must not neglect the fact that little training opportunities are given to the female workers and that the quality of the training is poor even though they have a chance to participate in the programme.

4.3 Promotion Policy

As workers accumulate the human capital through learning on-the-job they are able to move upward to jobs that require higher skills and more knowledge than the current job. Therefore, the current job (or position) can be interpreted as a stepping-stone to the next job (or position), and the workers demand for job advancements or promotions as they improve skills and techniques throughout their working careers. Among the survey respondents, 79 per cent of male workers and 57 per cent of female workers reported the existence of a promotion system in their firms. But the existence of a promotion system does not necessarily imply that actual promotion has occurred. Among the male respondents, 38 per cent reported that they experienced a wage increase after a promotion or an award, while 11 per cent of female workers responded positively to the same question. It follows that the women workers are less likely to experience any promotion notwithstanding the existence of a promotion system in their firms.

Table 4.5. Promotion system in current establishment

	Male	Female
Average Length of Service (in years)	5.16	3.53
Percentage of Workers Who Reported Promotion Policy (per cent)	79.20	56.80
Percentage of Workers Who Received Promotion (per cent)	37.70	10.90

4.4 Length of Career for Female Workers

The number of years in employment in a firm is one indicator of job stability in the same firm. It is determined by the interaction between the supply side of labour and the firms' employment practice of providing some incentives to keep the workers from quitting. Our study found the average number of years of being employed were 5.16 and 3.53 years respectively for male and female workers. These are found to be higher than the average number of years employed in the Republic of Korea in 1989 for both male (4.7 years) and female (2.6 years) workers.

Figure 4.1 plots the time series data from official sources of the number of years being employed for both sexes in the Republic of Korea. The female workers tended to stay in a firm for about two years until 1984, after which their number of years of being employed lengthened significantly. The increasing tendency of female workers to stay on in employment after 1984 can be attributed to the changing demographic characteristics of women workers. The new generation of better educated female workers do not want to retreat from the labour market after marriage or child birth. As the tendency to stay on lengthens among women workers in the age group of 20+ years a stronger demand for abolition of sex discrimination is more likely to emerge in the labour market.

CHAPTER 5

WAGES, FRINGE BENEFITS, AND WORKING HOURS OF FEMALE WORKERS

According to the Occupational Wage Survey of Korea, the wage index of female workers, when the wage for male workers is set to equal 100, was 45.4 in 1971 and 42.9 in 1976. The index reversed its course into a slowly increasing trend as it registered 47.8 in 1980 and 49.9 in 1988. In retrospect we cannot, however, say that there has been any major improvement of female wages. The *Yearbook of Labour Statistics* (ILO, 1989/1990) points out that there are only two countries, namely: Japan and the Republic of Korea in which the wages received by female workers are just one half of those of male workers. The female workers in Japan receive wages amounting to 42 per cent of those of male workers, and the comparable share in the Republic of Korea barely exceeds one half, maintaining the 51 per cent level. In the remaining countries covered by the ILO Labour Statistics Yearbook, the female workers are paid at least two-thirds of wages of male workers with a majority having three-fourth or four-fifth of wages received by male workers.

Kazuo Koike (1983) illustrated that the male-female wage differentials are greater in Japan than in the EC. In particular, the seniority wage system, the institutional framework on which the wage payment in Japan is based, coupled with the high labour force participation rate of female workers aged more than 30 years, leads to the large wage differentials between male and female workers in Japan as compared to those in the EC. In this chapter, we will illustrate the existence of other factors that create the wage differentials between the two sexes in the Republic of Korea besides the one implied by the human capital theory of Koike.

5.1 Distribution of Workers in Seoul's Manufacturing Sector by Monthly Wages

For the purpose of analysis in this chapter we define wages to include the monthly regular payment plus the monthly share of bonus payment excluding overtime payment. The average monthly total wage is defined as the sum of wage and overtime payment. As of 1989, the average monthly wage and the average monthly total wage in the manufacturing sector were 422,000 Won and 492,000 Won, respectively.

According to the distribution by wage levels in Seoul's manufacturing sector extracted from the 1989 Occupational Wage Survey (see table 5.2 and figure 5.1), 58.4 per cent of female workers were paid less than 300,000 Won, while the share of female workers who received less than 400,000 Won was 80 per cent.

Table 5.1. International comparison of wage differentials by sex (Manufacturing) (Male = 100)

Nation	Ratio	Nation	Ratio
Kenya	68.0 (88)	Sri Lanka	68.9 (88)
El Salvador	90.4 (87)	Japan	41.7 (89)
Hong Kong	73.2 (89)	Finland	76.8 (89)
Korea	50.5 (89)	West Germany	72.8 (89)
Denmark	84.6 (89)	Ireland	68.9 (88)
France	79.2 (87)	Norway	85.5 (89)
Greece	78.0 (88)	Sweden	89.5 (89)
Natherland	74.8 (88)	Czechoslovakia	67.9 (88)
Switzerland	67.5 (88)	New Zealand	75.3 (89)
United Kingdom	68.4 (89)	Singapore	57.5 (89)
Australia	79.6 (88)		

Source: ILO, *Yearbook of Labour Statistics*, 1989/90.

Note: The figures in parentheses denote the year for which data have been reported.

Table 5.2. Distribution of manufacturing workers in Seoul by wage brackets (OWS in 1989)

Wage brackets (10 thousand won)	All firms		Low-wage firms	
	Male (per cent)	Female (per cent)	Male (per cent)	Female (per cent)
0-10	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1
10-20	3.2	16.8	7.5	21.6
20-30	8.5	41.5	19.4	48.0
30-40	13.1	30.2	23.8	26.8
40-50	14.7	7.4	16.5	2.5
50-60	13.3	2.2	11.6	0.6
60-70	11.7	1.1	7.7	0.2
70-80	8.7	0.4	4.5	0.1
80-90	6.8	0.2	3.5	0.0
90-100	5.0	0.1	2.1	0.0
100-110	3.3	0.0	1.3	0.0
110-120	2.6	0.0	0.7	0.0
120-130	2.1	0.0	0.4	0.0
130+	6.8	0.1	0.9	0.1
Whole Workers	100.0 N = 13,738	100.0 N = 11,372	100.0 N = 5,273	100.0 N = 8,493

The comparable shares of male workers were 12 per cent for those earning less than 300,000 Won and 25 per cent for those earning less than 400,000 Won.

With the firms decomposed into low-wage and high-wage firms, Chapter 3 already has reported that 75 per cent of female workers and 38 per cent of male workers were employed in the low-wage firms in 1989. The dominance of female workers in the low-wage firms led us to examine the wage bracket distribution for both female and male workers in those firms, according to which the female workers' wage bracket distribution is indeed similar to the one found in the whole manufacturing sector (see figure 5.1). Therefore, an inference can be made that the prevailing low-wages paid to female workers is mainly due to the fact that the majority of female workers are employed in the low-wage firms. We also reported Cho's empirical study (1991) of the manufacturing sector which found that the high value-added, large-scale firms, monopolistic firms and relatively less export-oriented firms tend to be the high-wage firms, whereas the opposite is true for the low-wage firms. Since the manufacturing sector in Seoul is not an exception, one can convincingly argue that the concentration of female workers in the low-wage firms is the reason behind the low-wages being paid to the female workers and also the large male-female wage differentials.

5.2 Age – Wage Curves of Female Workers in Seoul's Manufacturing Sector

Figure 5.2 depicts the occupational age-wage curves for both female and male workers. For female workers working in production operations, the wages tend to decline when in the age group 25-30 and above. The differentials between male and female workers in the production operations are found to be minimal in the age group 17-20 and 20-25. For those female workers in the production operation who once retired from the labour market due to marriage or pregnancy, childbirth or childcare but return to the market after they are 30 years old, the low wages prevail and their wages diverge from those of the male workers who never quit. For female workers who work in the white collar jobs, the average wage is maintained at 82-85 per cent of the male wages until they are in the age group 20-25. The differential declines as they become older marked by 73 per cent when they are in the age group 25-30, 66 per cent when they are in the age group 30-35, and eventually 45 per cent when they are in the age group 35-40. As indicated by the big jump in the wage differentials when female workers reach the age group 25-30 for the production and related occupation and 30-35 for the white collar occupation, the female workers in the age group more than 30 receive low-wages once they reenter the labour market after marriage or child birth, because their years in service are short and they are equipped with only simple skills. Moreover, as the female workers in age group above 30 constitute approximately 50 per cent of total female workers in the manufacturing sector, the large wage differentials between male and female workers emerge.

But considering the fact that 75 per cent of female workers are employed in the low-wage firms and that 62 per cent of male workers are hired by the high-wage firms, one needs to examine the age-wage curve for male and female workers in the low-wage and high-wage firms. Figure 5.3 depicts the age-wage curves for male employees in blue collar and white collar occupations of both the high-wage and low-wage firms as well as female blue collar workers of low-wage firms. The findings may be summarised as follows:

(i) There exists a remarkable wage differential between the male white collar workers in the low-wage and high-wage firms.

(ii) The same characteristic describes the male blue collar workers in the low-wage and high-wage firms, and finally.

(iii) The wages paid to the female blue collar workers of low-wage firms are higher than those of male blue collar workers in the low-wage firms when they are in the age group 20-25 or less, but once they reach the age group greater than 20-25, this trend is reversed and the wage differential increases as indicated by figure 5.3a.

From the above three findings, one may conclude that the female blue collar workers in the age group 25 and below are paid 20-30 per cent less than the wage paid to the male blue collar workers in the high-wage firms simply because they are mostly employed in the low-wage firms, and that the wage differential from the male white collar workers in the high-wage firms is even greater. In other words, the wage differential between male workers in the high-wage firms and female workers in the low-wage firms in the age group 25 and below constitutes another influential determinant of apparent wage differentials between male and female workers in the Republic of Korea.

Since the age-wage curves do not reflect other elements including education level and job experiences, we compared the wages paid to the female blue collar workers in the low-wage firms with the wages paid to the male blue collar workers in the high-wage firms after controlling the education level and job experiences between them to be identical. In the case of workers aged 19-20 who have one year job experiences and high school diploma, the female workers received about 72 per cent of the wages paid to the male workers. When the workers are restricted to those with 3-4 year job experiences and high school diploma, the wages paid to the female workers approximately account for 70 per cent of the wages received by the male workers. Therefore, even the imposition of restriction with respect to job experiences and education level does not alter the results qualitatively from those appearing in figure 5.3.

5.3 Survey Date in Wages

Our survey indicates that the monthly average total wage was 755,000 Won for male workers and 428,000 Won for female workers, the latter constituting 57 per cent of the former.

According to the statistics released by Labour Department, the monthly average total wage in the manufacturing sector was recorded at 605,000 Won in the first quarter of 1991. Our survey suggests that 80 per cent of female workers and 38 per cent of male workers were paid less than 600,000 Won, implying the concentration of female workers in the low-wage class.

Table 5.3 summarises the monthly average total wage of female workers in terms of industry, occupation, firm's size, export ratio and high-wage/low-wage firms. The inter-industry average total wage differential for female workers is small. The average total wages were 457,000 Won in food industry, 412,000 Won in textile industry and 420,000 Won in fabricated metal industries where female workers are concentrated and shows large wage differentials between male and female workers. For the textile industry, the female wage constituted 58 per cent of male wage while it was 57 per cent of male wage in the fabricated metal industry. In addition, the female wage does not seem to depend on the size of establishment. Except for the tendency to increase in a large sized firm with more than 500 workers employed, the female wage shows little variation in terms of the size of establishment, which is in contrast with the male wage which tends to increase as the size of the firm increases. That is, female workers are paid low-wages regardless of firm size.

Table 5.3. Monthly average wage
(In 10 thousand won)

Average wage	Male	Female	Average wage	Male	Female
Industry			**Establishments Characteristics**		
Food, Beverages, and Tobacco	71.3	45.7	Independent	75.9	43.6
Textiles, Garments, and Leather	70.6	41.2	Sub-contract	55.4	33.7
Wood and Products	60.6	35.0	Both Independent and Sub-contract	75.5	42.3
Paper and Printing	76.7	48.6			
Chemicals and Plastics	93.5	49.6	**High/Low Wage Firms**		
Non-metal Products	47.4	36.4			
Basic Metals	78.2	40.0	High-wage Firms	85.5	51.7
Metals Products	74.1	42.0	Low-wage Firms	66.4	40.4
Others	60.4	40.8			
			Occupational Category		
Size Group of Establishments (in person)			Scientific and Technical	85.1	69.1
			Managerial and Executive	96.3	84.5
0-30	63.0	41.4	Clerical and Related	78.4	46.5
30-99	70.3	41.5	Sales Workers	100.0	56.0
100-299	72.6	41.5	Service Workers	56.7	48.5
300-499	74.3	38.9	Skilled	70.5	39.1
500+	80.3	46.9	Semi-skilled	53.9	40.6
			Unskilled	48.6	36.2
The Ratio of Export (per cent)					
			Educational Background		
0-24	80.7	44.1			
25-49	65.8	43.0	Lower than Completed Middle School	72.0	38.2
50-74	74.4	40.3	Completed High School	68.1	42.4
75-100	63.5	42.7	Higher than Completed Junior College	86.1	66.7

When the firms are decomposed in terms of export-orientation the male workers in firms with the highest export ratio are paid the lowest wages. This characteristic is difficult to detect among the female workers. When the firms are classified into low-wage and high-wage firms, the female wages in the low-wage firms are substantially lower than the female wages paid in the high-wage firms, as indicated by 404,000 Won and 517,000 Won, respectively. But the ratio of wages paid in the low-wage firms to those paid in the high-wage firms is 78 per cent for female workers, which is similar to the ratio for male workers.

The female wage in terms of occupations shows that the managerial occupation pays the highest wage of 845,000 Won, followed by professional and technician, sales, services, clerical and production and related in a descending order. The wage differential between male and female in the same occupation indicates that the female workers are paid about 80 per cent of wages paid to male workers in the managerial, professional and technician and service occupations; but the female clerical workers receive only half the wage for male workers employed in the same occupation. The relatively low-wage paid to the female clerical workers implies that the female clerical workers are employed in jobs that are subordinate or secondary to those taken by male workers even in the same occupation. Two other noteworthy characteristics are that skilled female workers in production operations are paid less than the semi-skilled female production workers and that female skilled workers in the production site receive 56 per cent of wages paid to male skilled production workers. This may reflect the fact that the majority of female workers are engaged in simple repetitive jobs unrelated to the degree of skillfulness. But the female wages are positively associated with the education level, as those with middle school graduation or less are paid 382,000 Won, the high school graduates 424,000 Won, and the junior college graduates or higher 667,000 Won.

5.4 Fringe Benefits

The female workers receive the fringe benefits such as pension funds, bonus payment, vacation and lunch to the same extent as male workers do. But a much smaller share of females than males reported the availability of cost of living allowances (38 per cent and 17 per cent), educational allowances (42 per cent and 23 per cent) and severance pay (47 per cent and 37 per cent) (see table 5.4).

Table 5.4. Distribution of workers by access to various benefits (No. of persons, percentage)

	Male		Female	
Cost of Living Allowance	263	(37.6)	116	(16.8)
Accommodation/Allowance	50	(7.1)	68	(9.9)
Transport/Allowance	234	(33.4)	245	(35.6)
Meals/Allowance	608	(43.7)	562	(40.4)
Education Allowance	296	(42.4)	156	(22.6)
Paid Leave	606	(86.5)	572	(83.1)
Bonus	679	(96.9)	670	(97.5)
Pension Funds	675	(96.3)	666	(96.9)
Severance Pay	332	(47.4)	255	(37.1)

The relatively smaller share of women with entitlement to family support and child education arises from the customary practice of paying only to the male workers.

5.5 Hours of work

Our survey indicates that the daily average of working hours exceeded the legally specified hours of 8 for both male and female workers, marked by 9.84 hours for male workers and 9.57 hours for female workers. An examination of female workers' daily average working hours by industry suggests that the level of wages are inversely related to the number of hours worked per day. In particular, the female workers in the wood and furniture and non-metallic (mostly pottery) industries where the lowest wage is paid work for the longest hours, marked by 10.0 and 10.1, respectively. On the other hand, the high-wage industries of chemicals and basic metals show the relatively short hours of work for female workers, 9.3 and 8.0, respectively (see table 5.5).

Table 5.5. Average daily working hours

Average wage	Male	Female	Average wage	Male	Female
Industry			**Establishments Characteristics**		
Food, Beverages, and Tobacco	9.55	9.45	Independent	9.85	9.62
Textiles, Garments, and Leather	9.85	9.92	Sub-contract	9.50	10.08
Wood and Products	9.50	10.00	Both Independent and Sub-contract	9.85	9.20
Paper and Printing	9.69	9.48			
Chemicals and Plastics	10.29	9.27	**High/Low Wage Firms**		
Non-metal Products	9.93	10.11			
Basic Metals	9.54	8.00	High-wage Firms	10.02	9.48
Metals Products	9.79	9.23	Low-wage Firms	9.70	9.58
Others	9.96	9.77			
			Occupational Category		
Size Group of Establishments (in person)					
			Scientific and Technical	9.68	9.29
			Managerial and Executive	9.43	9.33
0-30	8.57	9.87	Clerical and Related	9.73	9.32
30-99	9.89	9.79	Sales Workers	13.11	8.00
100-299	9.58	9.20	Service Workers	9.57	9.67
300-499	11.11	9.51	Skilled	9.99	9.70
500+	9.79	9.77	Semi-skilled	9.58	9.37
			Unskilled	9.95	10.23
The Ratio of Export (per cent)					
			Educational Background		
0-24	9.84	9.47			
25-49	9.55	9.49	Lower than Completed Middle School	9.78	9.70
50-74	9.61	8.93	Completed High School	9.79	9.54
75-100	10.26	10.22	Higher than Completed Junior College	9.95	9.11

The daily average working hours in terms of the size of establishment shows the lowest average of 9.2 hours in a firm with 100 to 300 workers, but the average working hours rise if the firms' size deviates from 100 to 300 workers in either direction. In terms of export ratio, the longest hours were recorded for the female

workers employed in firms with export ratio of 75-100 per cent (10.22 hours/day). The average daily working hours of female workers display little difference between the low-wage and high-wage firms, marked by 9.48 and 9.58, respectively.

The occupational distribution of female workers' average working hours is described by 9.29 hours for professionals and technicians, 9.32 hours for clerical, 9.33 hours for management, 9.67 hours for service and 9.68 hours for production and related workers in an ascending order. The sales occupation with 8 hours per day recorded the lowest average working hours, but the fact that our sample includes only one female worker working in the sales occupation suggests that this is not a reliable statistic. The number of working hours in the production operations increases in an ascending order of semi-skilled, skilled and unskilled workers. The unskilled female workers who constituted 14 per cent of total female workers worked for an average of 10.23 hours per day. In terms of education level, the middle school graduates work for 9.9 hours per day, the high school graduates 9.54 hours per day and the junior college graduate 9.11 hours per day. Taking into account the positive relation between the wage level and the education level, the low-paid, low-educated female workers tend to work for longer hours.

5.6 Determinants of Male-female Wage Differentials

(i) As a factor causing the wage differentials between male and female workers, the concentration of female workers in the low-wage industry or low-wage firms must be given greater emphasis. Even in the heavy industry they are in charge of simple, assembly types of jobs which normally pay the low-wages. It should be noted that only a relatively small number of female workers are hired in the high-wage firms.

(ii) As indicated by table 5.2, the wage payment in the Republic of Korea is characterised by the system in which the level of wage is paid in accordance with the number of years employed. Under this wage payment system, the female workers are given disadvantageous positions because they tend to quit their jobs for marriage, childbirth or childcare. The short tenure would limit the prospects of the wage increase for female workers. The tendency to pay married women who are reemployed after childcare at rates similar to those paid to the young unmarried female workers leads to the large wage differentials between male and female workers. The evidence in support of inverse relation between wage level and marriage, childbirth and childcare is that the differentials in the wages paid to the male and female workers aged between 17 and 20 or between 20 and 25 are less.

(iii) Female workers tend to receive infrequent and inadequate OJT, and the promotion opportunities are hardly offered to them (see section 3 in Chapter 6). As mentioned in section 2.2 of Chapter 2 the female white collar workers are assigned to the secondary jobs including typing and accounting and play assistant roles for male white collar workers. It implies that they have limited opportunities for regular job transfers which would help them gain the expertise on management of the firm and that the firm-specific knowledge or information is difficult to accumulate. Therefore, the promotion to the higher position of management is highly restricted. On the other hand, the discriminatory practices in the internal labour market for the female workers in the production site starts with their being allocated to the simple assembly or processing type jobs. Section 2 in Chapter 2 indicated that the female workers are concentrated in sewing, weaving, electric and electronics assembly and shoe making, which are all directly related to the simple assembly and processing type occupations. In these occupations, only the precision, speed and no absenteeism from the job are required, and the promotion opportunities through accumulation of skills or techniques are non-existent. The firms' unwillingness to provide female workers with training and occupational in-house education as well as limited promotion opportunities are important elements behind the large wage differentials between male and females workers.

(iv) The wages paid by Korean firms include the cost of living allowances, family support, education allowances and housing allowances. These fringe benefits are offered only to the male workers, which becomes an additional factor that creates the wage differentials between male and female workers.

Se Il Park (1984) illustrates the sex discrimination in the Korean labour market as follows:

> "... The employment discrimination in the labour market is decomposed into the occupational segregation under which the female workers are driven into the low-wage paid occupations even with the same individual characteristics as the male workers including the education level and job experiences, and the discrimination in the internal labour market where the firm's employment policy or practices on the job assignment and transfer, training, promotion and retirement are disadvantageous to the female workers who are located in the same occupation as the male workers.
>
> Another form of sex discrimination in the labour market is the wage discrimination. It refers to the relatively low reward paid to the female workers owing to the firms' policy or practices on the wage payment, despite the fact that the female workers have the same education level and job experiences and are in the same occupation as the male workers".

Park regards occupational discrimination and internal labour market discrimination as the major sources of employment discrimination against women. But we categorised the discrimination against women into three types: (1) discrimination at the port of entry, (2) occupational discrimination, and (3) internal labour market discrimination and emphasised that the first type is the most important in the Republic of Korea. Female workers are over-represented or crowded in the low-wage firms (or sectors), which becomes an institutional constraint on opportunities for on-the-job training and promotions throughout their working lives.

CHAPTER 6

MOBILITY IN THE LABOUR MARKET

In the industrialization process, workers experience a variety of job changes involving regional mobility, labour force status, inter-industry or inter- occupational mobility, and position-wise upward mobility within a firm. That is, aspects of labour mobility include the regional migration, inter-industry, inter-occupation, inter-firm mobility as well as upward mobility within a firm. Such mobility could facilitate the enhancement of labour productivity as well as the increase in rewards through efficient allocation of human resources. The human capital theory argues that labour mobility would enhance the productivity of the economy as a whole. We examine here the regional, inter-industry, inter-occupation, inter-firm mobility and finally the position-wise upward mobility within a firm with special reference to female employees in our sample.

6.1 Regional Mobility

Approximately 4 out of 10 male workers and 7 out of 10 female workers migrated into the Seoul area. According to table 3.14, most of these migrants came from the rural areas. Though the rural migrants constitute two-thirds and three-quarters of total male and female migrants, respectively, the urban migrants from other cities constitute a significant portion of migration into Seoul as represented by one-third for male migrants and one-quarter for female migrants. It can be anticipated that the migration pattern shifts to migration between small, medium sized cities and Seoul from migration between rural and urban areas.

The migration is primarily motivated by the employment purpose, which was reported by 71 per cent of male workers and 60 per cent of female workers (see table 6.1). According to table 6.2, about 90 per cent of both male and female workers moved into Seoul with no accompanying party, and the average age when the migration took place was 22 for male workers and 20 for female workers. That is, the single, young male and female workers moved into the Seoul area for the purpose of employment. Only 23 per cent of male workers and 12 per cent of female workers were employed before they moved into Seoul, the rest being unemployed or out of the labour force. Consequently, it can be inferred that the labour force in the manufacturing sector of Seoul is mainly supplied by the unemployed or economically inactive workers from other areas. As predicted

Table 6.1. Distribution of workers by place of origin (No. of persons, percentage)

	Male		Female	
This City	264	(38.3)	204	(29.9)
5 Large Cities	57	(8.3)	42	(6.2)
From Other Cities	91	(13.2)	78	(11.4)
From Rural Areas	277	(40.2)	359	(52.6)
Total	689	(100.0)	683	(100.0)

Table 6.2. Distribution of migrant workers by purpose of migration (No. of persons, percentage)

	Male		Female	
Employment	305	(70.9)	289	(59.7)
Training/Apprenticeship	4	(0.9)	12	(2.5)
Education	63	(14.7)	56	(11.6)
Accompanying the Spouse	2	(0.5)	44	(9.1)
Accompanying the Family	41	(9.5)	75	(15.5)
Others	15	(3.5)	8	(1.7)
Total	430	(100.0)	484	(100.0)

by the human capital theory, their migration might help enhance the productivity of the economy as a whole by increasing migrants' productivities and rewards for labour.

The industry-specific distribution of migrants who were employed before they moved into Seoul shows that 44 per cent of male migrants and 48 per cent of female migrants worked in the manufacturing sector before their migrations while 34 per cent and 43 per cent of male and female migrants, respectively, worked in the agricultural sector. While the primary source of labour supply to the Seoul's manufacturing sector is unemployed or economically inactive workers from other areas, the second and third sources of labour supply are the manufacturing and agricultural sectors in other areas (see table 6.3).

Table 6.3. Selected characteristics of migrant workers
(No. of persons, percentage)

	Male	Female
Average Age at Migration (in yeras)	22.14	20.33
Marital Status		
Just before Migration		
Single	378 (88.1)	412 (85.1)
Married	51 (11.9)	68 (14.1)
Others	0 (0.0)	4 (0.8)
	(100.0)	(100.0)
Employment Status		
Just before Migration		
Employed	99 (23.1)	58 (12.2)
Unemployed/Outside Labour Force	329 (76.9)	419 (87.8)
	(100.0)	(100.0)
Age at which Started Work		
0-14	4 (4.3)	4 (7.8)
15-19	36 (38.3)	35 (68.6)
20-24	37 (39.4)	8 (15.7)
25-29	16 (17.0)	0 (0.0)
30-34	1 (1.1)	2 (3.9)
35-39	0 (0.0)	2 (3.9)
	(100.0)	(100.0)
Average Age at which Started Work	20.34	18.65

Table 6.4 indicates the direction of change in the employment status of migrants. It seems that almost all migrants who worked in the agricultural sector were family workers. It follows that they were under-

Table 6.4. Distribution of employees before migration by their pre-migration industry
(No. of persons, percentage)

Industry	Male	Female
1. Agriculture	32 (34.4)	23 (42.6)
2. Mining	3 (3.2)	0 (0.0)
3. Manufacturing	41. (44.1)	26 (48.2)
4. Electricity, Gas and Water	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)
5. Construction	2 (2.2)	0 (0.0)
6. Wholesale and Retail Trade	2 (2.2)	4 (7.4)
7. Transportation, Storage and Communication	4 (4.3)	0 (0.0)
8. Finance and Business Services	6 (6.5)	0 (0.0)
9. Social, Personals, Services	3 (3.2)	1 (1.9)
Total	93 (100.0)	**54 (100.0)**

Table 6.5. Distribution of employees before migration by their pre-migration employment status (No. of persons, percentage)

Status group	Male		Female	
1. Employer/Self-employed	4	(4.1)	0	(0.0)
2. Regular	46	(46.9)	22	(38.6)
3. Casual	8	(8.2)	6	(10.5)
4. Contract	4	(4.1)	1	(1.8)
5. Apprentices	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
6. Family Workers	36	(36.7)	28	(49.1)
Total	98	(100.0)	57	(100.0)

Table 6.6. Number of job changes (No. of persons, percentage)

Job changes	Male		Female	
0	355	(51.3)	416	(60.9)
1	129	(18.6)	121	(17.7)
2	50	(7.2)	41	(6.0)
3	78	(11.3)	59	(8.6)
More than 4	80	(11.6)	46	(6.7)
Total	692	(100.0)	683	(100.0)
Average	1.31		0.93	

unemployed before they participated in Seoul's manufacturing sector. In other words, the under-employed family agricultural workers, unemployed workers and economically inactive workers are the major sources of labour supply for the manufacturing sector in the Seoul area.

6.2 Job Turnover in the Seoul Labour Market

(a) Status of Job Turnovers

Among the survey respondents, 49 per cent of male respondents and 39 per cent of female respondents changed their jobs at least once, implying that the female workers experienced less frequent job turnover than the make workers. In terms of the average number of job changes, the female workers' job turnover rate is 0.93, while the male workers' job turnover rate is 1.31. That is, women are less mobile than men.

A comparison of these results with those obtained by Moo Ki Bae and Jae Yoon Park (1976) indicates that few differences are detected in the frequency of job turnovers. In 1976, out of 1,115 workers in the manufacturing sector of Seoul 54 per cent changed their jobs at least once, while our survey reports that 51 per cent of workers changed their jobs at least once in 1991. Therefore, the labour market in the Republic of Korea is characterised by a high frequency of job turnovers. According to Moo Ki Bai and Jae Yoon Park (1976) the average number of job changes for respondents changing jobs at least once (shown in table 6.7) was 1.4 job per head for all workers in production operations, 1.8 jobs per head for male workers and 0.8 jobs per head for female workers. Similarly, our survey reports 1.4 jobs per head for all workers in the production operation, 1.9 jobs per head for male workers ann 1.1 jobs per head for female workers. The strikingly similar patterns in terms of the proportion of workers experiencing job turnovers between 1976 and 1991 imply that the Korean workers rarely settle down in a given firm for a long period of time and they seldom have life time commitment to the employer.

Table 6.8 shows distribution of workers who changed jobs at least once, with respect to industry, size of establishment, export ratio, high-wage/low-wage firms, occupation, and the level of education. The textile, wood, paper and printing and metal industries recorded that highest share of workers experiencing job turnover at least once both for male and female workers. In terms of firms' size, the share declines as the size becomes bigger. In terms of export ratio, the lowest share occurs in the industry with export ratio of 50-75 per cent. The

Table 6.7. Distribution of number of job changes in manufacture (No. of persons, percentage)

Job changes	1976	1991		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes
0	511 (45.8)	129 (38.5)	266 (57.2)	395 (49.4)
1	252 (22.6)	64 (19.1)	84 (18.1)	148 (18.5)
2	142 (12.7)	33 (9.9)	30 (6.5)	63 (7.9)
3	105 (9.4)	50 (14.9)	45 (9.7)	95 (11.9)
4+	105 (9.4)	59 (17.6)	40 (8.6)	99 (12.4)
Total	1,115 (100.0)	335 (100.0)	465 (100.0)	800 (100.0)

Source: Moo Ki Bai and Jae Yoon Park, (1976), *A Case Study of Manufacturing Workers in Korea,* Seoul National University.

Table 6.8. Average number of job changes per respondent changing job at least once in manufacture

	1976			1991		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
Average Number	1.8	0.8	1.4	1.9	1.1	1.4

sub-contract firm, partly sub-contract firm, small or medium sized firm and low-wage firm have a higher number of workers experiencing the job turnover. The labour-intensive firm, the small or medium sized firm, the sub-contract firm and the industry with high export ratio are likely to be low-wage firms and thereby likely to have a high rate of labour turnover. Indeed, as against 40 per cent of male workers and 27 per cent of female workers in the high-wage firm experiencing job change at least once, more workers experienced change in the low-wage firms, marked by 58 per cent for male workers and 43 per cent for female workers. In terms of occupation, production and related occupation tops other occupations with respect to the labour mobility rate.

The survey inquired about the underlying reasons for the job changes. The reasons can be grouped under two categories – voluntary and involuntary. Among the survey respondents who changed their jobs at least once, table 6.9 reports that 93 per cent of male workers and 94 per cent of female workers quit their first jobs for voluntary reasons. There were 40 per cent of male workers and 33 per cent of female workers who changed their first jobs for the pursuit of higher pay as well as better working conditions, and 37 per cent of male workers and 33 per cent of female workers quit their first jobs to seek better career prospects. It suggests that the pursuit of higher pay and better working conditions are the major factors for voluntary quitting. It also follows that the firms' practice of offering opportunities for the improvement of skills and knowledge plays an important role in determining the voluntary quitting of workers as the acquisition of skills and knowledge is closely related to the improvement of wages and working conditions.

An alternative approach is to ask adult workers' potential mobility. Our survey asked if the respondents were trying to change their jobs. We provided in our questionnaire the following five choices; (1) pursue the promotion in the current firm, (2) pursue the promotion in other firms, (3) continue to work in the current firm even without promotion, (4) change to other jobs, and (5) undecided. In the case of male respondents, 37 per cent selected (1) and 16 per cent chose (3). In contrast, only 10 per cent of female respondents selected (1) and 31 per cent picked (3) as their choice. As against the male respondents who showed the strong interest in promotion, the female workers' satisfaction with the current situation and the weak desire for promotion may be attributed to the infrequent and insufficient training as well as the low probability of promotion offered to the latter. Corresponding to either (2) or (4) as their choices, 27 per cent of male workers and 31 per cent of female workers expressed their intention to change their jobs. The intention to change the job expressed by one-quarter of male workers and one-third of female workers implies the high expected rate of job turnover in the future.

Table 6.9. Distribution of workers who changed jobs at least once (No. of persons, percentage)

	Male		Female	
	Number	Percentage[1]	Number	Pecentage[1]
Industry				
Food, Beverages, and Tobacco	4	13.8	3	9.7
Textiles, Garments, and Leather	62	58.5	117	45.0
Wood and Products	7	87.5	1	100.0
Paper and Printing	52	57.8	13	41.9
Chemicals and Plastics	42	42.0	22	28.2
Non-metallic Mineral Products	6	46.2	1	11.1
Basic Metals	3	23.1	0	0.0
Metal Products	155	49.4	99	42.9
Others	10	43.5	14	32.6
Size Group of Establishment (in person)				
0–30	21	91.3	17	73.9
30-99	91	66.4	70	45.2
100-299	98	62.0	104	46.4
300-499	25	38.5	27	37.0
500+	106	33.9	52	24.6
The Ratio of Export (per cent)				
0-24	217	52.3	104	35.4
25-49	31	45.6	29	52.7
50-74	35	34.7	53	35.1
75-100	58	51.8	84	45.2
Establishments Characteristics				
Independent	282	46.8	186	36.5
Sub-contract	8	66.7	16	41.0
Both Independent and Sub-contract	51	63.0	68	49.3
High/Low Wage Firms				
High-wage Firms	129	39.7	41	27.2
Low-wage Firms	212	57.1	229	42.8
Occupational Category				
Scientific and Technical	27	44.3	15	71.4
Managerial and Executive	50	47.2	5	50.0
Clerical and Related	43	26.1	48	26.0
Sales Workers	7	36.8	1	100.0
Service Workers	5	71.4	1	33.3
Skilled	145	65.9	85	43.6
Semi-skilled	48	62.3	76	42.7
Unskilled	16	39.0	39	41.9
Educational Background				
Lower than Completed Middle School	60	65.9	92	46.0
Completed High School	206	59.9	158	36.1
Higher than Completed Junior College	74	28.5	20	43.5

Note: [1] Percentage indicates the ratio of the number of workers who changed jobs at least once to the total number of workers in each category.

(b) Inter-industry Labour Mobility

Taking the cases of survey respondents who experienced job change at least once, we now examine the inter-industry labour mobility. Table 6.11 and table 6.12 report the distribution of inter-industry labour mobility for male and female workers, respectively in the form of a (9 x 9) matrix giving the distribution of workers by first and current industry. They show that 40 per cent of male workers and 41 per cent of female workers came

Table 6.10. Distribution of workers according to reasons for change of first job (No. of persons, percentage)

	Male		Feamle	
Wage/Working Conditions	124	(40.1)	80	(32.5)
Future Prospect	113	(36.6)	50	(20.3)
Less Commuting	6	(1.9)	18	(7.3)
Domestic Responsibilities	8	(2.6)	35	(14.2)
In Health	9	(2.9)	19	(7.7)
For Disliking that Work	19	(6.2)	18	(7.3)
Trouble with Superviser	8	(2.6)	12	(4.9)
Unit Closed	17	(5.5)	14	(5.7)
Services Terminated/Retrenched	5	(1.6)	0	(0.0)
Total	309	(100.0)	246	(100.0)

Table 6.11. Distribution of workers by industry of first and current jobs – male (No. of persons, percentage)

First \ Current	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	Total	
(31)	1	2	0	1	2	2	0	3	0	11	(3.2)
(32)	0	33	0	4	5	0	0	12	0	54	(15.8)
(33)	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	3	0	7	(2.1)
(34)	0	2	0	23	2	0	0	4	0	31	(9.1)
(35)	1	3	0	5	12	0	0	9	1	31	(9.1)
(36)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	5	(1.5)
(37)	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	6	(1.8)
(38)	0	10	1	3	7	2	1	62	6	92	(27.0)
(39)	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	2	7	(2.1)
Non-manu	2	10	2	14	12	1	2	53	1	97	(28.5)
Total	4	62	7	52	42	6	3	155	10	341	(100.0)
	(1.2)	(18.2)	(2.1)	(15.3)	(12.3)	(1.8)	(0.9)	(45.5)	(2.9)	–	

Table 6.12. Distribution of workers by industry of first and current jobs – female (No. of persons, percentage)

First \ Current	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	Total	
(31)	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	7	0	12	(4.4)
(32)	0	71	1	2	6	0	0	21	4	105	(38.9)
(33)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	(0.4)
(34)	0	2	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	6	(2.2)
(35)	1	2	0	1	3	0	0	8	0	15	(5.6)
(36)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	(0.7)
(37)	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	(1.1)
(38)	0	9	0	1	3	0	0	28	1	42	(15.6)
(39)	0	4	0	1	1	0	0	3	6	15	(5.6)
Non-manu	2	25	0	3	7	0	0	30	2	69	(25.6)
Total	3	117	1	13	22	1	0	99	14	270	(100.0)
	(1.1)	(43.3)	(0.4)	(4.8)	(8.2)	(0.4)	(0.0)	(36.7)	(5.2)	–	

Note: Percentages in parentheses.

to be employed in the current industry through intra-industry labour mobility rather than inter-industry mobility. The male and female workers show similar patterns in terms of inter-industry labour mobility. In the case of textile, clothing, shoes and fabricated metal industries where the majority of female workers are employed, 71 out of 105 female respondents remained in the same industry since their first employment, and 21 female

respondents moved into the fabricated metal industry. Meanwhile, among the total of 42 female workers whose first employment was in the fabricated metal industry, 28 workers stayed in the same industry while 9 workers changed their jobs into the textile industry. The female workers' concentrated sectors in the fabricated metal industry are characterised by short daily working hours and clean working environment, compared to long working hours and sweated labour environment in the textile, clothing and shoes industries. Even though the female workers in the textile, clothing and shoes industries are paid higher monthly average wages than those in the fabricated metal industry, women are more likely to move from textile, clothing and shoes industries to the fabricated metal industry. It seems that female workers prefer shorter daily working hours and better working environment.

Table 6.11 and table 6.12 also illustrate how the job vacancies in the textile, clothing and shoes industries caused by the outflow of female labour into the fabricated metal industry are refilled. There were 117 female workers currently employed in the textile, clothing and shoes industries who experienced at least one job change, among which 71 workers moved to the current employment within the same industry and 25 workers came from the non-manufacturing sector. Therefore, the female workers' inter-industry mobility takes either of the following routes; the inter-industry change in employment from the non-manufacturing sector to the textile, clothing and shoe industries and then to the fabricated metal industry through inter-industry mobility.

Among the female respondents experiencing at least one job change, 99 workers were currently employed in the fabricated metal industry of which only 28 workers were originally from the fabricated metal industry, 30 workers from the non-manufacturing sector, and 21 workers from the textile industry. Thus, the female labour mobility in the fabricated metal industry shows the pattern of inter-industry job change from the non-manufacturing sector to the fabricated metal industry or intra-industry job mobility.

(c) Occupational Mobility

Table 6.13 and table 6.14 depict the change in occupation for men and women by first and current occupation. Each table is given in the form of an (8 x 8) matrix giving distribution of workers by first and current occupation. Among the male respondents who changed jobs at least once, 37 per cent never changed their first occupations and 63 per cent experienced occupational changes. In the case of female workers, 43 per cent experienced change from their first occupation.

The occupational change of male workers experiencing at least one job change can be summarised as follows (see table 6.13):

(i) A managerial position is the outcome of promotion from a former managerial, clerical or professional and technician occupation, while promotion from the production occupation to the managerial position is very rate.

Table 6.13. Distribution of workers by occupation of first and current jobs – male
(No. of persons, percentage)

First \ Current	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	17	7	5	2	0	28	6	1	66	(20.4)
(2)	0	22	11	0	1	4	2	1	41	(12.7)
(3)	1	14	16	0	0	3	2	0	36	(11.1)
(4)	0	1	5	3	0	1	0	2	12	(3.7)
(5)	1	0	1	0	1	6	1	0	10	(3.1)
(6)	1	0	0	1	1	35	12	1	51	(15.7)
(7)	2	1	2	0	0	20	10	2	37	(11.4)
(8)	2	3	1	0	2	37	13	5	63	(19.4)
Others	2	1	1	0	0	2	0	2	8	(2.5)
Total	26	49	42	6	5	136	46	14	324	(100.0)
	(8.0)	(15.1)	(13.0)	(1.9)	(1.5)	(42.0)	(14.2)	(4.3)	-	

(ii) The skilled male workers whose first employment is in the production site tends to stay at the same occupation, and is unlikely to be promoted to clerical or managerial occupations.

(iii) The unskilled or semi-skilled male workers with first employment in production operation tend to move to skilled production occupations.

The above characteristics of male workers imply the existence of occupational segregation between production and clerical/managerial occupations. In other words, the promotion route taken by those in the white collar occupations is different from the channel for blue collar workers. The occupational mobility displays a pattern of promotion within the managerial occupations, promotion from the clerical to the managerial occupation or promotion within the blue collar workers from the unskilled or semi-skilled to the skilled occupations.

The occupational mobility for the female workers with at least one job change may be described as follows (see table 6.14):

(i) Female workers are hardly present in managerial jobs, both in the first and current employment.

(ii) Female clerical workers seldom experienced any promotion to managerial positions; they either stayed at the same clerical jobs or changed to production occupations.

(iii) For female production workers, findings similar to male production workers are observed. That is, the unskilled or semi-skilled female workers in production operations tend to move to skilled production occupations.

To sum up the observations, few women who changed jobs rose in the occupational hierarchy.

(d) Change in Employment Status

Part-time workers, contract workers and family workers are classified as having unstable job status. Irrespective of the sex, workers in these unstable status categories tend to become regularly paid full-time workers (table 6.15 and table 6.16).

Table 6.14. Distribution of workers by occupation of first and current job – female (No. of persons, percentage)

First \ Current	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	10	1	6	0	0	5	5	2	29	(11.2)
(2)	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	1	5	(1.9)
(3)	1	1	34	1	0	1	0	3	66	(25.5)
(4)	0	0	3	0	0	1	5	1	10	(3.9)
(5)	1	0	0	0	1	3	4	3	12	(4.6)
(6)	2	0	0	0	0	29	11	4	46	(17.8)
(7)	0	0	2	0	0	6	17	4	29	(11.2)
(8)	1	0	0	0	0	25	17	19	62	(23.9)
Total	15	2	48	1	1	83	72	37	259	(100.0)
	(5.8)	(0.8)	(18.5)	(0.4)	(0.4)	(32.1)	(27.8)	(14.3)	–	

Note: [1] Percentages in parentheses.

Notes: [2] Occupational category.

(1) Scientific and Technical.
(2) Management and Executive.
(3) Clerical Related.
(4) Sales.
(5) Service.
(6) Skilled.
(7) Semi-skilled.
(8) Unskilled.

Table 6.15. Distribution of workers by employment status of first and current jobs -male
(No. of persons, percentage)

First \ Current	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	Total	
(1) Employer/Self-employer	1	5	0	0	6	(1.9)
(2) Regular	1	241	4	1	247	(76.5)
(3) Casual	1	25	10	1	37	(11.5)
(4) Contract	0	15	2	9	26	(8.1)
(5) Apprentice	0	1	0	2	3	(0.9)
(6) Femily Workers	0	4	0	0	4	(1.2)
Total	3	291	16	13	323	(100.0)
	(0.9)	(90.1)	(5.0)	(4.0)	-	

Table 6.16. Distribution of workers by employment status in first and current jobs – Female
(No. of persons, percentage)

First \ Current	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	Total	
(1) Employer/Self-employer	2	10	2	0	0	0	14	(5.5)
(2) Regular	1	180	13	3	1	1	199	(78.0)
(3) Casual	0	13	2	3	0	0	18	(7.1)
(4) Contract	0	13	0	0	0	0	21	(8.2)
(5) Apprentice	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	(0.8)
(6) Family Workers	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	(0.4)
Total	3	219	17	14	1	1	255	(100.0)
	(1.2)	(85.9)	(6.7)	(5.5)	(0.4)	(0.4)	-	

Note: Percentages in parentheses.

(e) Change in Size of Establishment

One can also examine labour mobility in relation to the size of the firm for workers experiencing at least one job change between their first and current employment.

Irrespective of sex, workers who were employed in firms with a size of less than 30 workers, between 30 and 99 workers and between 100 and 299 workers showed a tendency to move to the bigger sized firms; but those who started in firms size 300-499 workers and more than 500 workers tended to end up in small and medium size firms. This tendency also appeared in Moo Ki Bae and Jae Yoon Park whose study was conducted in 1976. Since the large size firms in the manufacturing sector, especially in the textile, clothing, shoes, other manufacturing, pottery, glass and metal assembly industries are represented by the low-wage firms with low per capita sales value and low per capita value-added, many workers employed in the large size firms would be attracted to the small/medium size firms. The fact that labour mobility frequently occurs in both directions between large size and small/medium size firms is consistent with the nonexistence of firms' size-wise segmentation in the labour market.

6.3 Pecuniary Gains from Job Changes

Despite the dual structure of industries, the labour market seems highly competitive. Frequent labour mobility is primarily motivated by the worker's search for more pecuniary benefits. In a situation where little firm-specific training is provided to workers and the highly monopolistic and high value-added high-wage firm offers the sort of assembly and processing jobs, the motivation for the pursuit of more pecuniary benefits including wages and fringe benefits will be strong. The motivation will be even stronger when the highly value-added high-wage firm offers the sort of assembly and processing jobs, the motivation for the pursuit of more pecuniary benefits including wages and fringe benefits will be strong. The motivation will be even stronger when the highly monopolistic, high value-added high-wage firm pays more wages for a similar type of job.

Table 6.17. Distribution of workers by establishment size in first and current jobs – male
(No. of persons, percentage)

First \ Current	-30	30-99	100-299	300-499	500+	Total	
0-30	10	41	25	6	36	118	(34.6)
30-99	4	26	19	5	13	67	(19.7)
100-299	3	12	21	7	24	67	(19.7)
300-499	1	3	12	3	6	25	(7.3)
500+	3	9	21	4	27	64	(18.8)
Total	21	91	98	25	106	341	(100.0)
	(6.2)	(26.7)	(28.7)	(7.3)	(31.1)	-	

Note: Percentages in parentheses.

Table 6.18. Distribution of workers by establishment size in first and current jobs – female
(No. of persons, percentage)

First \ Current	-30	30-99	100-299	300-499	500+	Total	
0-30	7	27	31	11	20	96	(35.6)
30-99	6	18	26	5	4	59	(21.9)
100-299	3	9	28	3	12	55	(20.4)
300-499	1	6	8	1	3	19	(7.0)
500+	0	10	11	7	13	41	(15.2)
Total	17	70	104	27	52	-	
	(6.3)	(25.9)	(38.5)	(10.0)	(19.3)		

Note: Percentages in parentheses.

We take the following approach to examine whether the wage gain is positively related to the job change. A calculation for the annual rate of wage increase is performed by comparing the wage paid at the first employment with the wage paid at the current employment of those who experienced at least one job change. To facilitate the wage comparison in Seoul, the wage level paid at first employment is divided by the consumer price index at the first employment in the Seoul area to obtain the real wage index of the first and current employment is detected, a geometric average rate of real wage increase in estimated using the years of job experience (i.e., the current age minus the age at the first employment) which reflects the changes in job experiences, age, etc. A geometric average rate per annum of real wage increase for those who never changed their jobs is also calculated for a comparison with those who changed their jobs at least once. Table 6.19 reports the results of the calculation.

According to table 6.19, the annual rate of real wage increase for the male workers who never changed their jobs exceeds that of the male workers who changed their jobs at least once by 0.5 per cent point. Male workers pursue the pecuniary benefits either by remaining in the same firm or by taking jobs in alternative firms. A similar real wage increase is reported in table 6.19 for female workers. Female workers with an experience of at least one job change have 1.3 per cent point lower than that of female non-changers, which is not a large

Table 6.19. The annual rate of increase in real wages by changers/non-changers
(Percentage)

	Male	Female
Non-changer	7.4	8.7
Changer	6.9	7.4

difference at all. The rate of real wage increase for female workers is higher than that of male workers, which can be attributed to the tendency that the wage level in the past three years has increased most dramatically for the young workers and that the majority of female workers are composed of younger groups. Notwithstanding the higher real wage increase for female workers which helps reduce the wage differentials between male and female workers, one must be reminded of the existence of severe wage differentials between the two sexes.

The extent of improvement on the fringe benefits received by the workers is an alternative measure for the possible association of job changes with the pursuit of more favourable pecuniary benefits. Table 6.20 compares the fringe benefit at the first employment with that at the current employment for both male and female workers who changed their jobs at least once. It suggests that the female workers through the channel of job changes receive more fringe benefits such as lunch, education, vacation, bonus, pension and severance pay.

Table 6.20. Distribution of employees who changed jobs at least once by access to various benefits during their first and current employment
(No. of persons, percentage)

	Male				Female			
	First		Current		First		Current	
Cost of Living Allowance	73	(22.5)	113	(33.1)	38	(14.7)	32	(11.9)
Accommodation/Allowance	36	(11.1)	30	(8.8)	28	(10.9)	25	(9.3)
Transport/Allowance	99	(30.5)	110	(32.3)	71	(27.5)	103	(38.2)
Meals/Allowance	216	(66.3)	293	(85.9)	173	(67.1)	232	(85.9)
Education Allowance	60	(18.4)	118	(34.6)	22	(8.5)	47	(17.4)
Paid Leave	207	(63.5)	285	(83.6)	159	(61.6)	229	(84.8)
Bonus	245	(75.2)	330	(96.8)	204	(79.1)	262	(97.0)
Pension Funds	257	(78.8)	330	(96.8)	190	(73.6)	262	(97.0)
Severance Pay	104	(32.0)	155	(45.5)	57	(22.4)	97	(35.9)

6.4 Upward Mobility within a Firm

In section 6.2 we examined labour mobility by comparing the occupation at the first employment with that at the current employment for those who changed jobs at least once. An alternative way to look at the occupational mobility is to compare occupation within the same firm at the point of entry and current employment. The sample must be of workers who experienced a promotion in the current firm as the occupational change tends to occur after a promotion. Since the occupational change can take place either from inter-firm job mobility or from the promotion within a firm, this section will focus on change in occupation arising from the promotion within the same firm.

Table 6.21 and table 6.22 illustrate the occupational change for male and female workers who experienced promotion at least once between the occupation at the entry level and the current occupation. The changes may be summarized as follows:

(i) There were a total of 262 male workers and 73 female workers who experienced any promotion. The number of female workers with promotion amounted to only one-fourth of male workers.

(ii) Among the male clerical workers at the entry level, 89 workers experienced a promotion, of which 39 workers were promoted to the managerial positions. There were 36 male workers who were promoted from managerial positions at the entry level, of which 31 workers remained at the same occupation. It appears that a systematic promotion system exists along the managerial hierarchy and that the white collar workers progress through a hierarchy of jobs over time.

(iii) Compared to 169 male white collar workers who had a promotion, only 92 male blue collar workers were promoted. The promotion takes place mainly in the white collar occupations. But it is highly unlikely for production workers to be promoted to white collar occupations, and the promotion path for blue collar workers is from the unskilled occupation to the semi-skilled occupation and then to the skilled occupation. There were only 8 male production workers who were only 8 male production workers who were promoted to white collar occupations.

Table 6.21. Occupational change of promoted male workers
(No. of persons, percentage)

Before promotion \ Current	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	16	4	4	2	0	0	0	0	26	(9.9)
(2)	1	31	3	0	0	1	0	0	36	(13.7)
(3)	2	39	48	0	0	0	0	0	89	(34.0)
(4)	1	2	4	8	1	0	0	0	16	(6.1)
(5)	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	(0.8)
(6)	0	2	0	0	0	35	0	0	37	(14.1)
(7)	0	1	0	0	0	11	4	0	16	(6.1)
(8)	0	1	2	0	1	26	7	1	39	(14.9)
Others	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	(0.4)
Total	20	81	63	11	2	73	11	1	262	(100.0)
	(7.6)	(30.9)	(24.1)	(4.2)	(0.8)	(27.9)	(4.2)	(0.4)	–	

Table 6.22. Occupational change of promoted female workers
(No. of persons, percentage)

Before promotion \ Current	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	Total	
(1)	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	(4.1)
(2)	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	(2.7)
(3)	1	1	14	0	0	1	2	0	19	(26.0)
(4)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	(1.4)
(5)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	(0.0)
(6)	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	2	8	(11.0)
(7)	0	0	0	0	0	3	7	0	10	(13.7)
(8)	0	0	1	1	1	19	7	1	30	(41.1)
Total	3	2	15	1	1	31	17	3	73	(100.0)
	(4.1)	(2.7)	(20.6)	(1.4)	(1.4)	(42.5)	(23.3)	(4.1)	–	

Note: Occupational category.

(1) Scientific and Technical.
(2) Management and Executive.
(3) Clerical Related
(4) Sales.
(5) Service.
(6) Skilled.
(7) Semi-skilled.
(8) Unskilled.

The female worker's occupational changes are as follows:

(i) There are almost no female workers in the managerial occupation both before and after the promotion.

(ii) The female clerical workers do not move upward to the managerial occupation, but a overwhelming share of them remain in clerical occupations even after the promotion.

(iii) There are a total of 48 female blue collar workers and 25 female white collar workers who experienced promotion. Considering the fact that our sample contains 468 female blue collar workers (68 per cent) of female employees and 221 female white collar workers (32 per cent of female employees), only 10 per cent of female blue collar workers and 11 per cent of female white collar workers experienced any promotion.

(iv) Like the male blue collar workers, the female blue collar workers also follow the route of promotion from unskilled to semi-skilled occupations and then to skilled occupations. Among the total of 48 female production workers who were promoted at least once, only one worker was promoted to a clerical occupation.

Though these results are consistent with the findings discussed in section 3 of this chapter, the lack of promotion opportunities for female workers in the internal labour market as well as the discrimination against the female white collar workers relative to the male white collar workers emerge as dominant traints of the labour market in Seoul's manufacturing sector.

CHAPTER 7

EMPLOYMENT OF MARRIED WOMEN WORKERS

Two types of information were collected on married women workers. There were 202 married women workers identified in the survey. In addition, our survey inquired of the male respondents the employment status of their spouses and related questions. Thus, the study on the employment of married women could include in the sample the married female respondents as well as the spouses of male respondents who are currently working. But since the main focus of this study is on manufacturing workers, our sample will be restricted to 44 additional spouses who were reported to be employed in the manufacturing sector.

7.1 Employment Structure, Wages and Working Hours of Married Female Workers

The results of the survey presented in table 7.1 describes the distribution of married women workers in terms of industry, occupation, employment status, high-wage/low-wage firms and education.

The distribution of married female workers by industry indicates that the textile and fabricated metal industries accounted for 44 per cent and 33 per cent of married female workers, respectively, which add up to 77 per cent. This is higher than 72 per cent, the share of all female workers employed in the textile and metal assembly industries. Since these two industries tend to be labour-intensive and low value-added, the high concentration of married female workers in these industries is consistent with 82 per cent of them being employed in the low-wage firms.

In terms of occupational distribution, 81 per cent of married female workers were production workers of which 32 per cent were semi-skilled workers, 29 per cent skilled workers and 20 per cent unskilled workers. A comparison with the occupational distribution of all female workers suggests that the share of semi-skilled and unskilled married workers is higher but the share of clerical (married female) workers is substantially lower. The share of professional and technical and managerial occupations, in which the retirement after marriage is less likely to occur is marginally higher. Distribution by employment status shows that full time married female workers dominate other categories, taking 88 per cent. This is similar to the pattern of status-wise distribution for all female workers.

The personal attributes of married female workers show that they tend to be low-educated and old-aged. In terms of education, the middle school graduates or less take a majority share of 63 per cent followed by the high school graduates with 30 per cent and the junior college graduates or more with 8 per cent. In addition, those aged more than 40 years constitute 50 per cent of the married female workers.

The average monthly wage for married female workers was 436,000 Won, and the average daily working hours 9.48. Among the total 246 married female workers in our sample, only 102 workers had their husbands currently employed, implying that more than half of the married female workers were the main source of financial support for the family. It must be pointed out that the wage paid to them is far short of meeting the family needs and that the daily working hours are too long to spare time for household chores.

7.2 Retirement and Reemployment after Marriage

Among married female workers in our sample, 113 workers had job experience before marriage. Among married female workers with job experience before marriage, 48 responded that they quit the job after marriage. Such workers picked pregnancy and childbirth (40 per cent) and responsibility for housework (38 per cent) as the main reasons for their withdrawal. Their reentry into labour force was made at an average age of 33.54 when the burdens arising from childcare and housework were considerably reduced (see table 7.2).

Table 7.1. Distribution of married women by industry, high-wage/low-wage firm, occupation and education level

	Married women		All women	
	Number	Pecentage	Number	Percentage
Industry				
Food, Beverages, and Tobacco	17	6.9	31	4.5
Textiles, Garments, and Leather	109	44.3	261	37.9
Wood and Products	2	0.8	1	0.2
Paper and Printing	9	3.7	31	4.5
Chemicals and Plastics	17	6.9	78	11.3
Non-metallic, Mineral Products	2	0.8	9	1.3
Basic Metals	1	0.4	2	0.3
Metal Products	80	32.5	232	33.7
Others	9	3.7	44	6.4
		100.0		100.0
High/Low Wage Firms				
High-wage Firms	36	17.8	150	21.9
Low-wage Firms	166	82.2	534	78.0
		100.0		100.0
Occupational Category				
Scientific and Technical	11	4.5	21	3.1
Managerial and Executive	8	3.3	10	1.5
Clerical and Related	24	9.8	186	27.0
Sales Workers	2	0.8	1	0.2
Service Workers	2	0.8	3	0.4
Skilled	72	29.3	195	28.3
Semi-skilled	79	32.1	180	26.1
Unskilled	48	19.5	93	13.5
		100.0		100.0
Employment Status				
Employer/Self-employer	4	1.6	13	1.9
Regular	201	82.0	612	89.0
Casual	20	8.2	35	5.1
Contract	15	6.1	25	3.6
Apprentice	4	1.6	2	0.3
Family Workers	1	0.4	1	0.2
		100.0		100.0
Educational Background				
Lower than Completed Middle School	141	57.6	170	29.1
Completed High School	86	35.1	441	64.2
Higher than Completed Junior College	18	7.4	46	6.7
		100.0		100.0

Change in employment status after marriage for those female workers who quit marriage is reported in table 7.3. There was a substantial reduction in the number of family workers, most of whom were absorbed as full-time, casual or contract workers.

In addition, the married female workers generally agreed that their qualifications for employment did not improve after marriage (see table 7.4). Only 12 per cent of workers reported any positive improvement of qualifications for employment after marriage. This is significantly lower than 31 per cent who reported the improvement of their husbands' qualifications for employment.

Table 7.2. Distribution of women who discontinued work during married life by the reasons for their quitting

Reasons	Number	Percentage
Change of Residence	6	12.5
Pregnancy and Child Birth	19	39.6
Domestic Responsibilities	18	37.5
Disapproval from Family	2	4.2
Services Terminated	-	-
Others	3	6.3
Total	48	100.0

Table 7.3. Percentage of women workers who discontinued work during married life by employment status before and after break

	Before break		After break	
Employer/Self-employer	3	(6.7)	1	(2.2)
Regular	28	(62.2)	34	(75.6)
Casual	2	(4.4)	5	(11.1)
Contract	1	(2.2)	3	(6.7)
Apprentice	0	(0.0)	0	(0.0)
Family Workers	11	(24.4)	2	(4.4)
Total	45	(100.0)	45	(100.0)

Table 7.4. Percentage distribution of women workers and of their spouses who improved qualifications after marriage by type of qualification

	Married women		Spouses	
Respondents who Reported Improvement in Qualification after Marriage (per cent)	12.1		30.7	
By Type of Qualification				
University Degree	1	(4.8)	2	(3.5)
Technical Diploma/Certificate	4	(19.1)	17	(29.8)
Non-technical Diploma/Certificate	1	(4.8)	5	(8.8)
In-plant Training	5	(23.8)	10	(17.5)
Other Training	10	(47.6)	23	(40.4)
Total	21	(100.0)	57	(100.0)

The responsibility for family support arising from death or lay off of their husbands is probably the most important reason leading married female workers to rejoin the labour market. In our survey, 52 out of total 202 married female workers reported that their husbands had died or were laid off. Among them, 62 per cent and 23 per cent were in textile and fabricated metal industries, respectively. The average monthly wage paid to them was reported to be 436,000 Won. Furthermore, they received lesser fringe benefits than the married male workers as 31 per cent and 29 per cent of married female workers received cost of living allowances and educational allowances, respectively.

Married women workers whose husbands are employed in the manufacturing sector are forced to participate in the labour market for economic reasons as well. In this survey, though we did not directly ask the reasons for rejoining the labour market, we can still show some indirect evidence supporting our argument. We checked house ownership and average monthly wage by classifying households into those where both husband and wife supported the family and those where only the husband worked for family support (table 7.5). In the former case, 30 per cent of survey respondents owned their houses, 62 per cent rented a house on a long-term lumpsum deposit basis, and 6 per cent rented a house on a monthly basis. In the latter case, a larger proportion of households owned a house, as indicated by 43 per cent being house owners and 54 per cent long-

Table 7.5. Comparison of households where both husband and wife earn with households where only husband earns

	Both husband and wife working	Only husband working
Number of Family Members	3.8	4.0
Monthly Average Wage per Earner (in 10 thousand Won)	54.4	87.3
Nature of Entitlement to Residence (per cent)		
Ownership	30.4	42.9
Deposited Rent	61.8	51.4
Monthly Rent	5.9	3.4
Dormitory/Company Housing	2.0	1.6
Others	0.0	0.6
	100.0	100.0

term lease holders. Moreover, the average monthly wage of single male bread-earner household was reported to be 893,000 Won, much higher than the 544,000 Won per person earned by the double-income household. Taking into consideration that the size of the single male bread-earner household is similar to the number of the double-income household, it follows that married female workers seek employment in order to make up for their family's financial needs.

7.3 Hardship Facing Married Women Workers

In the previous section it was mentioned that married female workers face hardship due to lack of childcare system and the burden of housework. As many as 93 per cent of married female workers, responded that they perform their domestic chores without help of maids. In the case of workers having children aged less than 10 years, 39 per cent revealed that their children were raised by their parents or relatives. But only 8 per cent appeared to take advantage of childcare centres. Surprisingly, 39 per cent reported that they left their children alone in the house while they were working. Among a total of 10 married female workers who used the childcare centres, only one worker left the children with a government-financed childcare facility, five workers with childcare centres funded by private organisations or groups, and the rest with a childcare facility offered by their firms.

In response to a question regarding the husbands' or family's attitude toward the employment of married women, 73 per cent responded that they received cooperative or encouraging responses from their husbands or families (see table 7.6). Despite the shortcoming that our survey threw this question only to currently employed married women workers and excluded from the sample those who were forced to quit jobs because of their uncooperative husbands or families the perception toward the employment of married women in general appears to be quite positive. It should, however, be noted that 11 per cent of married female workers faced strong opposition to their employment while 16 per cent experienced some consent, either tolerant or indifferent. This only confirms that there still exists a lack of social empathy towards the employment of married women.

Table 7.6. Attitude of spouse and family towards employment of married women

Attitude	Number	Per cent
Encouraging	24	(12.2)
Cooperative	119	(60.7)
Tolerant	19	(9.7)
Indifferent	12	(6.1)
Against	22	(11.2)
Total	196	(100.0)

Our survey also asked a question as to what must be done to enhance employment opportunities of the married female workers. In response to this question, 62 per cent picked "a job that enables the married women to take care of housework simultaneouly including a part-time job", followed by "higher wages" by 18 per cent, "expansion of childcare centres" by 9 per cent, "information on job availability" by 6 per cent, and finally "job trainings" by 5 per cent (see table 7.7). In general, most respondents agreed on the need for more jobs suitable to married women workers. The younger-aged workers showed their preference for more childcare centres as well as on the necessity of job trainings and information on employment opportunities. But the older working women tended to prefer higher wages to other categories. It follows that the measures for providing more part-time or flexible work and for creating more jobs suitable for married women are imperative.

Table 7.7. Opinions about important factors which increase employment opportunities of married women

Factors	Number	Per cent
Provide more Vocational Training	9	(4.5)
Create more Jobs Suitable for Married Women	55	(27.6)
Provide more Information on Job Availability	12	(6.0)
Give Higher Wages to Married Women Workers	36	(18.1)
Provide more Part-time or Flexible Work	69	(34.7)
Expand Facilities for Child Care	18	(9.1)
Total	199	(100.0)

CHAPTER 8

POLICY PROPOSALS FOR ENHANCING THE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN AND FACILITATING THEIR UPWARD MOBILITY IN THE LABOUR MARKET

The primary objective of this study has been to identify the factors that impede women's employment and mobility so that policy proposals can be made to enhance their upward mobility in the labour market. One feature that is consistently emphasised throughout is that the employment problems of women are intimately related to low-wage firms (or sectors). Therefore, government policies for facilitating women's employment and their upward mobility must take cognizance of the prevailing structure of industries. Since the industrial structure in the Republic of Korea is mainly composed of high-wage firms, low-wage firms and middle-wage firms, any government policy that promotes sexual equality across all manufacturing sectors would contradict objectives of economic growth and efficiency. Consequently, we suggest that the government pursue a complementary or supporting role for the low-wage firms (or sectors), while a direct government intervention must be implemented on the part of high-wage firms (or sectors). In this chapter we shall discuss the outline of a general labour policy applicable to the whole economy in the Republic of Korea.

8.1 Policy for Female Employment in Low-Wage Firms (or Sectors)

During the industrialisation process in the Republic of Korea, the labour-intensive, assembly type industries have been the fundamental force which enabled the Republic of Korea to achieve "condensed economic growth". The expansion of women's employment would have been impossible without the growth of such industries as textile, clothing and shoes as well as electronic and electrical appliances, especially in metal assembly industries. On the one hand, the expansion of employment in low-wage firms (or sectors) resulted in the reallocation of female labour from the rural areas to the urban areas, and the transformation of economically inactive women into economically active labour. On the other hand, it created a low-wage problem for women workers. Nonetheless, as the pool of unskilled workers in the rural area is exhausted, and as the labour force participation rates of young women including those in the age of 15-19 and 20-24 decline, the Korean industry, especially the labour-intensive, assembly type industry, is facing a serious labour shortage. This has led to a predictable problem of disequilibrium in the labour market.

(a) Expansion of Hourly or Flexible Employment

According to our survey, the married women workers identified flexible employment system as the most favoured option for enhancing their employment opportunities. In a group of married women in the age of 25-34, there are a substantial number who had been employed in production operations before their marriage. Therefore, depending on the type of jobs, they can easily adapt to the required technical function in about a three-month training period. It follows that an active adoption of hourly or flexible employment system would facilitate the smooth reentry and reemployment of married women in the age group 25-34, and this will help to resolve the labour shortage problem in the low-wage firms (or sectors), at least in part.

(b) Housing Policy for Married Production Workers

In the case of married female labour in the age group 25-34, the adoption of hourly or flexible employment system might not be sufficient to ensure their full participation in the labour force especially in low wage firms. The expected wage in these firms (or sectors) would not help improve their housing conditions, which is probably the most important economic factor influencing their decision to participate in the labour market. Furthermore, they might be reluctant to work in the low-wage firms (or sectors) because they are afraid of giving less attention to their children's education while they are working. Therefore, a government policy should give priority to female workers whose husbands are also working to take up residence in rented public apartments. A recent study by the Korea Land Development Institute reports that it takes approximately 36 years for college graduates or high school graduates who have job experience of over 5 years to possess a house with a 20 Pyung

size (m^2) in Seoul area. The current government policy which offers priority on public housing to those who have worked in production sites for more than 10 years in a row must be modified with some additional measures so that in the case of a married couple in the manufacturing sector, female worker's tenure can be added to her husband's tenure to meet the government's 10 year requirement. Only when real and tangible economic incentives are given to those married female workers, can their labour force participation be expected to increase.

(c) Improvement of Childcare Facilities

A government-level effort must be made to build childcare facilities in order to promote the participation of female workers over the age of 25-34 in economic activity. In addition to the existing legislation that a production site in which more than 1,000 female workers are employed must offer a childcare facility, the Korean government, ever since 1987, has been operating 18 model childcare centres in major public production sites and agricultural production sites. Nonetheless, childcare centres are in great shortage. According to an estimate made by the Korea Institute of Activity and Science, there are 1.93 million children over the age of 0-5 raised by married female workers of which only 7 per cent receive the benefits of public and private childcare centres.

(d) Administrative Guidance for Promoting Women to Managerial Jobs

In low-wage production sites where more than 500 female workers are employed, occupational segregation must be eliminated so that the promotion of female workers to managerial posts can be readily attained. As shown in Chapter 6, women managers are almost non-existent, and it is difficult for those working in white collar jobs to get promoted to managerial posts. If administrative measures are directed to production sites where more than 500 female workers are employed to abide by the Equal Employment Opportunity Law, the lack of promotion opportunities for female white collar workers would gradually diminish.

8.2 Policies for Promoting Women's Employment in High-Wage Firms (or Sectors)

(a) Quota System and its Gradual Expansion

An intense competition for securing employment in the high-wage firms has produced labour queues in which the prospective employees wait in long lines to get hired. Taking advantage of this situation, the high-wage firms often show preference for male workers over female workers. It has become a customary practice that only male workers are hired through regular job advertisements while female workers are employed only when they have personal connection with those already employed. This type of discriminatory action tends to produce unequal job opportunities, and the government must intervene to bring about equal employment opportunity as well as to promote open job placement procedure with sound hiring principles. As a measure of direct intervention, the government must enforce an open job placement system when firms recruit new workers and specify that a fixed proportion of new recruits should be female workers.

The government-owned public enterprises must lead the way in enforcing the quota system. There are 90,000 low-level government officials in the Republic of Korea ranging from the 9th level to the 6th level which consists of 12.5 per cent female workers. Only 1.2 per cent of 20,000 high-level government officials between the 5th and 1st levels are female workers. A gender biased hiring in the official recruiting of high-level government officials could be one way to implement the quota system. The sex discrimination in public enterprises can be illustrated with the following evidence. Compared with 38 per cent of female workers in the private sector, the public enterprises contain only 18 per cent of female workers out of total employees. Since the public enterprises whose annual budget reaches 1.7 times that of the annual budget of the central government take 10.5 per cent in value-added and 2.5 per cent in employment of the Republic of Korea's non-agricultural sectors (Won Duk Lee, 1989), they definitely belong to the high-wage sector. As the Republic of Korea's industrialisation is known to lag behind that of the developed countries by about 20-30 years, the seriousness of sex discrimination in the public sector can be detected when the current data on female employment in public enterprises of the Republic of Korea are compared to those in the developed countries 20-30 years ago. In 1975, the proportion of female employment in public sectors was 53 per cent in the U.K., 48 per cent in the U.S., 64 per cent in Sweden and 30 per cent in Japan (Eun Cho, 1991). A quota system could be implemented in the public sector in the first place, which must be extended to the private high-wage sectors after a brief period of evaluation of its performance.

(b) Revision of Equal Employment Opportunity Law and Improving its Effectiveness

Women workers are either given few employment opportunities for good jobs or, even when they are hired, discriminated in the internal labour market in terms of training, job assignment, job transfer, promotion, dismissal and retirement. The discriminatory action against female workers tends to take the form of occupational segregation and/or wage discrimination. The Korean government must show a strong commitment to the Law of Equal Employment Opportunity established in December 4, 1987 and rectified in April 1, 1989 in order to eliminate the deep-rooted sex discriminations in the high-wage sector. For this some detailed criteria must be established and strongly implemented by the government. At the same time, penal provisions against any violation of Equal Employment Opportunity Law, must be intensified. Abolition of any unjustified discrimination against women workers who are able and willing to work would enable them to develop their abilities and skills and attract greater participation in the labour market. In this manner, the efficient use of human capital would be achieved, which in turn would enhance the productivity of the whole economy. In other words, an anti-discriminatory policy must be pursued as a measure to raise the efficiency of the whole economy.

8.3 General Policies for the Promotion of Women's Employment and Social Status

(a) Broadening Job Training Opportunities for Women

In Chapter 4 of this study, we pointed out that opportunities for on-the-job training for labourers of the manufacturing sector in Seoul are rare and also very poor in content. This situation has not changed very much during the last 15 years. Furthermore, a firms' on-the-job training facilities for women is relatively more scarce than that for men. In 1975 the proportion of female employees who had undergone any job training program was 21 per cent while that of male was 34 per cent. The 1990's Report of the Ministry of Labour on women's job training through in-plant training also presents similar results. As of 1990, the number of women who had gone through the in-plant training program was only 4,665, about one-fifth of men's 21,025.

The above-mentioned lack of job training opportunities for men and women has also resulted from the peculiar situation that employers prefer paying for job training levies, to conducting an in-plant training program. Moreover, employers were even more conservative in providing job training for women under the currently rare training opportunities. It should also be noted that, as of 1990, 84 per cent of all in-house training for women was concentrated in the assembly process in labour intensive industries such as textile, electronics, foot wear, sewing, and so on.

We also pointed out in the Section 2 of Chapter 3, that a mere 24 per cent of male and 7 per cent of female workers have had vocational training or job training in a technical high school or college. According to the 1989 Report on the Employment Structure Survey, 5 per cent of the whole female labour force in manufacturing sector have had job training. Our survey result, thus, seems to be accurate. The statistics of public job training prepared by the Ministry of Labour reports that, as of 1990, 1,668 women have had public job training, which is mere one-fourteenth of men's 22,773.

As mentioned above, women have been ignored with regard to in-plant and public job training. A proposal for a public job training programme is necessary. Aside from the current public job training system, job training centres exclusively for women should be established and operated according to the program which fully reflects the supply and the demand characteristics of female labour force. At the same time, the Ministry of Labour should consider establishment of women's technical colleges since it is expected that the number of technical colleges founded by the Ministry will be increased from only one as of today to 14 within the next 10 years. Especially, in such fields as electronics, communications, information processing, safety management, quality control, industry application, environment management, etc., the vocational education of women through the public job training programs would make substantial contributions to ensuring long-term industrial competitiveness and sustained economic growth. Furthermore, with the proposed public job training programs, women's employment opportunities in high-wage sectors will be broadened.

(b) Revision of Information Systems for Job Placement and Establishment of Transfer Training Programmes

Chapter 2 mentioned that for women in the 20-24 age group the unemployment level is very high and their labour force participation rate has been decreasing. In the past women in the above age group usually accepted employment in a labour intensive manufacturing sector if job opportunities were offered. Today, however, they look for employment more suited to their ability and talent. If not, they choose voluntary unemployment or stay out of the labour force. The development of an adequate job placement system is necessary for proper job match.

The aforementioned development of an adequate job placement system is also necessary for job match when a part-time or flexible employment system is introduced. A part-time or flexible employment system in the manufacturing sector can effectively reduce the shortage of unskilled labour in the short run. In the long run, however, regular female workers in labour intensive low-wage firms are expected to decline. Currently consequent to the rationalisation of industries, huge lay-off or reduction of female employees in low-wage firms is anticipated. In order to facilitate transfer the female workers from low-wage firms, revamping of transfer training program and job placement system should be considered with the introduction of part-time and flexible working system.

(c) Establishment of Maternity, Childcare Facilities for Working Women

As was pointed out in the second section of chapter 4, the job tenure of female employees has been increasing since 1984 and it is expected to be much longer in future. Due to their high level of education and changed attitude toward jobs, female workers would not retire because of marriage, child birth and upbringing of infants. This is one aspect of the qualitative changes of female labour force. The current widespread practices of dismissal on the ground of marriage or pregnancy, even though women have the ability and willingness to continue should be abolished. At the same time, a childcare leave system should be effectively put into practice. Although provisions such as maternity leave and childcare leave are provided in the existing Labour Standard Law and Equal Employment Opportunity Law, these provisions are not effective due to a lack of mandatory regulations. In the case of Japan, as a measure to promote the childcare leave system, the government has been paying a subsidy for childcare leave to the concerned employers since 1975 under the Employment Insurance Law. As for the Republic of Korea, the same type of subsidy for childcare leave to the concerned employers needs to be introduced with regard to the employment insurance law which will be enacted in the near future.

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<Appendix 1> Sampling Method

1. The size of sample in the City of Seoul will be around 1200 workers with an equal number of male and female workers.

2. Approximately 23.8 per cent of the population in the Republic of Korea is located in Seoul. 24.7 per cent of the population over age 15, 21.9 per cent of the total number of the employed and 38.3 per cent of the total number of the unemployed are located in Seoul.

3. As a first step of the sampling procedure, the following nine manufacturing industries are identified.

   31 Food, Beverages and Tobacco
   32 Textile, Clothing and Leather, Shoes
   33 Wood, Furniture
   34 Paper, Printing and Publishing
   35 Chemicals, Petroleum and Coal, Rubber and Plastic Products
   36 Chinaware, Glass and Non-metallic Products
   37 Steel, Non-ferrous Metal
   38 Fabricated Metal, Machinarry and Equipment
   39 Other

4. Male and Female workers are distributed in different proportions among the nine manufacturing industries in the Republic of Korea and in Seoul. The "Survey on Labour Condition of Establishments, 1989 (SLCE)" collects information on the characteristics of the establishments and their composition of labour force and on the total amount of wages and salaries of each establishment for 120 thousand establishments, employing 5 or more workers. The SLCE, which is a census of establishment, covers the whole establishments employing 5 or more workers in the Republic of Korea.

   We used the relative proportion of male and female workers among the manufacturing industries of the SLCE, as a bench mark data in order to allocate the sample size of workers in the respective industries (<table 1> and (table 2>).

   Accordingly, the following number of workers will be sampled from each industry:

	Male	Female
(31)	34	24
(32)	132	290
(33)	6	2
(34)	73	37
(35)	74	39
(36)	16	6
(37)	10	2
(38)	231	157
(39)	24	43
	600 persons	600 persons

5. The next step of the sampling procedure is to allocate the sample size of 600 male workers and the equal number of female workers in nine manufacturing industries reflecting the occupational or skill structures of the male and female labour force.

   In order to do so, we draw on the 1988 Occupational Wage Survey (OWS). The OWS collects information on individual worker's age, education, experiences, years of tenure, hours of work, wages, occupation and industry. The sample size of the OWS is 600 thousand individual workers of 3,700 establishments, employing 10 or more workers.

Since the establishments covered by the 1988 OWS are a subset of the population, SLCE, which does not contain information on occupational distribution of workers, it would be meaningful and give a consistent result to examine the occupational or skill distribution of workers in the OWS. We sampled the 62, 052 workers from the 1988 OWS, and there we found the Seoul manufacturing industries employed 8997 workers. We tabulated the occupational or skill matrix of 8997 workers. The results are listed in <table 3>-<table 5>. It should be mentioned that the distribution of workers of the Seoul manufacturing industries of the sample size of 8997 workers is quite similar to that of the SLCE.

In <table 4> and <table 5> we take into account the following 6 occupational categories.

(1) Scientific, Technical and Related Workers
(2) Administrative and Managerial Workers
(3) Clerical, Sales and Service Workers
(4) Unskilled Production Workers whose years of on-the-job experiences are less than 1
(5) Semi-skilled Production Workers whose years of on-the-job experiences are in between 1-4
(6) Skilled Production Workers whose years of on-the-job experiences are 5 or more years

6. After having decided on the skill matrix of male and female workers to be sampled, we add male samples to female in each industry so that we get total number of workers to be sampled in each industry.

Industry Category	Number of workers to be sampled
(31)	58
(32)	422
(33)	8
(34)	110
(35)	113
(36)	22
(37)	12
(38)	388
(39)	67
Total	1,200

We take into account three broad establishment size within each industry, namely: (1) those employing less than 100 workers per unit (called SIZE 1, hereafter) (2) those in the range of 100 to 500 workers (SIZE 2) and (3) those employing more than 500 workers per unit (SIZE 3).

Reflecting the relative share of employment in the above size categories in the 1988 OWS, the number of workers to be sampled by industry and establishment size are shown in <table 6>.

7. The next important task is to draw not only the number of establishments in the nine manufacturing industries but also allocate the appropriate number of establishments within a given manufacturing industry among different size of establishments.

(1) We are aiming at having about 50 establishments for the purpose of surveying the female workers and the equal number of male workers. If we allocate 50 establishments among nine different manufacturing industries in Seoul in proportion to the relative size of employment (here the bench mark data is again the 1989 SLCE), the number of firms to be surveyed by industry are as following.

Industry Category	Number of establishment to be surveyed
(31)	3
(32)	20
(33)	1
(34)	6

(35) 6
(36) 1
(37) 1
(38) 20
(39) 3

52 firms

Industry 33 and industry 37 have 0.8 per cent and 1.1 per cent of employment in Seoul manufacturing industries so that the number of firms to be surveyed is less then one, if we aim at having 50 firms for the survey. We made a slight adjustment in such a way to survey at least one firm in each industry category. As a result, the total number of firms to be surveyed become 50.

(2) We take into account the relative share of employment in the three broad size categories within industry of 1988 OWS and allocate the number of firms to be sampled in a given industry. The allocation of the number of firms to be sampled in each industry is displayed in <table 7>.

(3) If we want to maintain the relative employment distribution by three broad size categories of establishments in each industry as shown in <table 6>, the number of workers to be sampled from each establishment should be different.

For example, suppose that in industry 31, we want to draw 10 workers in SIZE 1, 13 workers in SIZE 2 and 35 workers in SIZE 3 as shown in <table 6> and at the same time we want to draw one firm in SIZE 1, one firm in SIZE 2 and two firms in SIZE 3 as shown in <table 7>. The average number of workers to be sampled in SIZE 1, SIZE 2 and SIZE 3 of industry 31 should be 10, 13 and 17 respectively.

If we repeat the above mentioned procedure industry by industry, then the number of firms and the number of workers to be sampled in each size category by industry can be summerised as following.

According to <table 8>, the industry 32, 34, 35, 38 and 39 show some similar pattern in terms of the average number of workers per establishment, regardless of the size of establishment. That is, the average number of respondents to be surveyed from each establishment for those industries are in the range of 13 to 16 workers. Therefore, we will draw 15 workers per establishment in industry 32, 34, 35, 38, and 39. In case of industry 31, we are going to draw 15 respondents per establishment, as well. In case of industry 33, 36 and 37, 10 workers per establishment will be drawn.

It should be mentioned that the average number of respondents to be surveyed from each establishment can be calculated theoretically without following the procedure we just explained.

8. Having decided on the average number of workers per establishment, we are going to apply the skill or occupational matrix shown in <table 4> and <table 5>-industry wise and gender wise-to the workers of each firm.

If we follow the above mentioned procedures, we will have the sample which represents the industrial, firm-size, sexual, and occupational distribution of the population of the manufacturing workers in Seoul. Our proposed sample design for the survey of employment and mobility of women in the labour market of Seoul is displayed in <table 9>.

Table 1. Employed persons by industry, whole country
(In person, ratio)

	Total	Male	Female
Manufacturing Total	3,042,974 (100.0)	1,928,171 (100.0)	1,214,801 (100.0)
(31) Food, Beverage and Tobacco	192,058 (6.1)	111,342 (5.8)	80,716 (6.6)
(32) Textile, Clothing and Leather, Shoes	869,698 (27.7)	971,104 (17.2)	541,456 (44.6)
(33) Wood, Furniture	72,769 (2.3)	54,102 (2.8)	18,667 (1.5)
(34) Paper, Printing and Publishing	140,359 (4.5)	106,123 (5.5)	34,236 (2.8)
(35) Chemicals, Petroleum and Coal, Rubber and Plastic Products	316,336 (10.1)	230,051 (11.9)	86,285 (7.1)
(36) Chinaware, Glass and Non-metallic Products	121,541 (3.9)	94,454 (4.9)	27,087 (2.2)
(37) Steel, Non-ferrous Metals	89,127 (2.8)	81,474 (4.2)	7,653 (0.6)
(38) Fabricated Metal, Machinery and Equipment	1,229,891 (39.1)	865,318 (44.9)	364,571 (30.0)
(39) Other	111,195 (3.5)	57,055 (3.0)	54,130 (4.5)

Source: Survey of Labour Condition of Establishments, Ministry of Labour, 1989.

Table 2. Employed persons by industry in Seoul
(In person, ratio)

	Total	Male	Female
Manufacturing Total	700,525 (100.0)	415,948 (100.0)	284,577 (100.0)
(31) Food, Beverage and Tobacco	34,883 (5.0)	23,549 (5.7)	11,334 (4.0)
(32) Textile, Clothing and Leather, Shoes	228,858 (32.7)	91,490 (22.0)	137,368 (48.3)
(33) Wood, Furniture	5,291 (0.8)	4,374 (1.0)	917 (0.3)
(34) Paper, Printing and Publishing	68,423 (9.8)	50,954 (12.3)	17,469 (6.1)
(35) Chemicals, Petroleum and Coal, Rubber and Plastic Products	69,767 (10.0)	51,374 (12.4)	18,393 (6.5)
(36) Chinaware, Glass and Non-metallic Products	13,836 (2.0)	10,908 (2.6)	2,928 (1.0)
(37) Steel, Non-ferrous Metals	7,826 (1.1)	6,554 (1.6)	1,272 (0.4)
(38) Fabricated Metal, Machinery and Equipment	234,802 (33.5)	160,176 (38.5)	74,626 (26.2)
(39) Other	36,839 (5.3)	16,569 (4.0)	20,270 (7.1)

Source: Survey of Labour Condition of Establishments, Ministry of Labour, 1989.

Table 3. Occupational composition of workers within manufacturing industry in Seoul (In ratio)

Industry	Scientific, technical related workers	Adminis-trative, managerial workers	Clerical, sales, and service workers	Unskilled workers	Semi-skilled workers	Skilled workers
(31)*	4.2	6.4	43.7	18.5	18.2	8.9
(32)	1.8	3.9	44.7	30.9	24.1	4.7
(33)	0	0	5.0	25.0	15.0	55.0
(34)	11.1	6.8	29.3	18.7	24.7	9.5
(35)	2.3	6.3	57.8	13.5	14.5	6.0
(36)	5.7	7.8	40.4	28.4	15.6	2.1
(37)	2.1	3.2	50.6	5.3	14.7	24.2
(38)	5.0	4.2	26.0	34.7	23.9	6.3
(39)	2.6	4.6	19.6	37.0	32.1	4.0
All Mfg	4.0	4.8	30.8	28.2	25.9	6.3

* Industry (31) Food, Beverages and Tobacco.
(32) Textile, Clothing and Leather, Shoes.
(33) Wood, Furniture.
(34) Paper, Printing and Publishing.
(35) Chemicals, Petroleum and Coal, Rubber and Plastic Products.
(36) Chinaware, Glass and Non-metallic Products.
(37) Steel, Non-ferrous Metals.
(38) Fabricated Metal Machinery and Equipment.
(39) Other.

Source: The Occupational Wage Survey, Ministry of Labour, 1988.

Table 4. Occupational composition of male workers within manufacturing industry in Seoul (In ratio)

Industry	Scientific, technical related workers	Adminis-trative, managerial workers	Clerical, sales, and service workers	Unskilled workers	Semi-skilled workers	Skilled workers
(31)*	5.3	9.4	45.7	9.7	17.2	12.6
(32)	2.4	10.5	36.2	20.3	22.9	8.0
(33)	0	14.0	7.0	13.9	20.9	44.2
(34)	10.0	9.1	27.3	17.7	24.0	11.8
(35)	3.0	8.2	55.5	11.2	14.2	7.6
(36)	6.9	12.6	45.9	16.0	14.9	3.4
(37)	2.6	3.9	38.1	6.5	18.4	30.3
(38)	8.5	7.1	32.7	20.2	21.1	10.3
(39)	6.0	13.0	33.2	23.9	19.0	4.9
All Mfg	6.0	8.7	37.8	17.4	20.1	9.9

* Industry (31) Food, Beverages and Tobacco.
(32) Textile, Clothing and Leather, Shoes.
(33) Wood, Furniture.
(34) Paper, Printing and Publishing.
(35) Chemicals, Petroleum and Coal, Rubber and Plastic Products.
(36) Chinaware, Glass and Non-metallic Products.
(37) Steel, Nonf-errous Metals.
(38) Fabricated Metal Machinery and Equipment.
(39) Other.

Source: The Occupational Wage Survey, Ministry of Labour, 1988.

Table 5. Occupational composition of female workers within manufacturing industry in Seoul (In ratio)

Industry	Scientific, technical related workers	Adminis-trative, managerial workers	Clerical, sales, and service workers	Unskilled workers	Semi-skilled workers	Skilled workers
(31)*	1.9	0	39.6	37.2	20.3	1.0
(32)	1.5	0.2	18.0	37.0	40.4	2.8
(33)	0	0	100.0	0	0	0
(34)	14.5	0	35.8	21.2	26.6	2.9
(35)	0.4	0.7	62.5	19.3	15.6	1.5
(36)	3.7	0	31.5	48.2	16.7	0
(37)	0	0	100.0	0	0	0
(38)	0.4	0.2	17.2	53.7	27.4	1.1
(39)	1.0	0.5	13.2	43.2	38.3	3.6
All Mfg	1.5	0.2	22.6	40.6	32.6	2.2

* Industry (31) Food, Beverages and Tobacco.
(32) Textile, Clothing and Leather, Shoes.
(33) Wood, Furniture.
(34) Paper, Printing and Publishing.
(35) Chemicals, Petroleum and Coal, Rubber and Plastic Products.
(36) Chinaware, Glass and Non-metallic Products.
(37) Steel, Non-ferrous Metals.
(38) Fabricated Metal Machinery and Equipment.
(39) Other.

Source: The Occupational Wage Survey, Ministry of Labour, 1988.

Table 6. Workers to be sampled by industry and establishment size (In person)

		Whole scale	100 under	100-500	500 over
(31)	Food, Beverages and Tobacco	58	10	13	35
(32)	Textile, Clothing, and Leather, Shoes	422	217	129	76
(33)	Wood, Furniture	8	8	0	0
(34)	Paper, Printing, and Publishing	110	60	32	18
(35)	Chemicals, Petroleum and Coal, Rubber and Plastic Products	113	43	43	27
(36)	Chinaware, Glass and Non-metallic Products	22	6	10	6
(37)	Steel, Non-ferrous Metals	12	0	6	6
(38)	Fabricated Metal, Machinery and Equipment	388	132	84	172
(39)	Other	67	25	30	12

Source: Ministry of Labour.

Table 7. Number of firms to be sampled in each industry by size

	Size 1	Size 2	Size 3	Total
(31)	0	1	1	2
(32)	8	5	3	16
(33)	1	0	0	1
(34)	3	1	1	5
(35)	2	2	1	5
(36)	0	1	1	1
(37)	0	1	0	1
(38)	6	4	7	17
(39)	1	1	1	3

* Industry (31) Food, Beverages and Tobacco.
(32) Textile, Clothing and Leather, Shoes.
(33) Wood, Furniture.
(34) Paper, Printing and Publishing.
(35) Chemicals, Petroleum and Coal, Rubber and Plastic Products.
(36) Chinaware, Glass and Non-metallic Products.
(37) Steel, Non-ferrous Metals.
(38) Fabricated Metal Machinery and Equipment.
(39) Other.

Source: The Occupational Wage Survey, Ministry of Labour, 1988.

Table 8. The number of firms and workers to be sampled and the average number of workers per establishment

Industry	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)
Size 1									
Number of Workers to be Sampled (a)	10	217	8	60	43	6	0	132	25
Number of Firms to be Sampled (b)	0	8	1	3	2	0	0	6	1
Number of Workers per Establishment (a/b)	0	27	8	20	22	0	0	12	25
Size 2									
Number of Workers to be Sampled (a)	13	129	0	32	43	10	6	84	30
Number of Firms to be Sampled (b)	1	5	0	1	2	1	1	4	1
Number of Workers per Establishment (a/b)	13	26	0	32	22	10	6	21	30
Size 3									
Number of Workers to be Sampled (a)	35	76	0	18	27	6	6	172	12
Number of Firms to be Sampled (b)	1	3	0	1	1	0	0	7	1
Number of Workers per Establishment (a/b)	35	25	0	18	27	0	0	25	12

* Industry (31) Food, Beverages and Tobacco.
(32) Textile, Clothing and Leather, Shoes.
(33) Wood, Furniture.
(34) Paper, Printing and Publishing.
(35) Chemicals, Petroleum and Coal, Rubber and Plastic Products.
(36) Chinaware, Glass and Non-metallic Products.
(37) Steel, Non-ferrous Metals.
(38) Fabricated Metal Machinery and Equipment.
(3.9) Other.

Source: Ministry of Labour.

Table 9. Number of workers to be surveyed by industry, firm size, gender and occupation

Industry code	Firm size		Gender		Occupational category*					
					(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(31)	Size 1	15	Male	9						
			Female	6						
	Size 2	15	Male	9						
			Female	6						
	Size 3	30	Male	18						
			Female	12						
	Sub-total	60	Male	36	2	3	16	4	6	5
			Female	24	1	0	9	9	5	0
(32)	Size 1	195	Male	61						
			Female	134						
	Size 2	120	Male	38						
			Female	82						
	Size 3	75	Male	23						
			Female	52						
	Sub-total		Male	122	3	13	43	25	28	10
			Female	268	4	1	48	99	108	8
(33)	Size 1	10	Male	7						
			Female	3						
	Size 2	0	Male	0						
			Female	0						
	Size 3	0	Male	0						
			Female	0						
	Sub-total	10	Male	7	0	1	0	1	2	3
			Female	3	0	0	3	0	0	0
(34)	Size 1	60	Male	40						
			Female	20						
	Size 2	30	Male	20						
			Female	10						
	Size 3	30	Male	20						
			Female	10						
	Sub-total	120	Male	80	8	7	22	14	19	10
			Female	40	6	0	14	8	11	1
(35)	Size 1	45	Male	29						
			Female	16						
	Size 2	45	Male	29						
			Female	16						
	Size 3	30	Male	20						
			Female	10						
	Sub-total	120	Male	78	2	7	43	9	11	6
			Female	42	0	0	24	8	7	1
(36)	Size 1	0	Male	0						
			Female	0						
	Size 2	10	Male	7						
			Female	3						
	Size 3	10	Male	7						
			Female	3						
	Sub-total	20	Male	14	1	2	6	2	2	1
			Female	6	0	0	2	3	1	0
(37)	Size 1	0	Male	0						
			Female	0						
	Size 2	10	Male	8						
			Female	2						
	Size 3	0	Male	0						
			Female	0						
	Sub-total	10	Male	8	0	0	3	1	2	2
			Female	2	0	0	2	0	0	0

Table 9. *(Continued)*

Industry code	Firm size		Gender		Occupational category*					
					(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
(38)	Size 1	135	Male	80						
			Female	55						
	Size 2	90	Male	54						
			Female	36						
	Size 3	180	Male	107						
			Female	73						
	Sub-total	405	Male	241	20	17	79	49	51	25
			Female	164	1	0	28	88	45	2
(39)	Size 1	30	Male	11						
			Female	19						
	Size 2	30	Male	11						
			Female	19						
	Size 3	15	Male	5						
			Female	10						
	Sub-total	75	Male	27	2	2	10	5	5	3
			Female	48	1	0	11	19	16	1
	Total	1,210	Male	613						
			Female	597						

* Occupation: (1) Scientific, Technical and Related Workers.
(2) Administrative and Managerial Workers.
(3) Clerical, Sales and Service Workers.
(4) Unskilled Production Workers whose years of on-the-job experiences are less than 3.
(5) Semi-skilled Production Workers whose years of on-the-job experiences are in between 3–4.
(6) Skilled Production Workers whose years of on-the-job experiences are 5 or more years.