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Network on Economic Development Management**

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**Thailand**

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## 1. Introduction

Thailand has recognized the significant role and status of women in social and economic development, especially in paid and unpaid work, for decades. However, progress toward equality in the role and status of women in the paid and unpaid sectors fall short of the gains women have achieved in the developed world. Women must have an opportunity to participate more equally both in paid and unpaid work in the next century.

### 1.1 APEC and the Issue of Paid and Unpaid Work

The APEC Human Resource Development Working Group (HRD WG) has set out to explore how human resource development policies might recognize and account for the linkages between paid and unpaid work. It also examines the role of planners and policymakers to address the interface between paid and unpaid work (APEC HRD Working Group Proposal, 1998).

The objective of this paper is to explore APEC's proposal. In particular, the impacts of the recent financial crisis on the social roles and status of women especially in the paid and unpaid work in Thailand are examined. Finally, public policy responses to the equity issues between men and women in these matters will be addressed.

## 2. The Macroeconomic Meltdown and the Unexpected Financial Crisis<sup>1</sup>

The current financial crisis was born of the internal problems resulting from the clash of speculation in property by the private sector, government liberalization of the financial system, and the launching of the Bangkok and Provincial Banking Facilities. External factors exacerbated the crisis because the baht float, which was supposed to help Thai exports, did not reach expectations due to the financial crisis in neighbouring states. As to the recovery, external factors should play a vital role. An excellent indicator would be the economic condition of Japan, which is the main Asian engine for economic growth.

Thailand's economic crisis and the turmoil that followed the baht floatation in July 2, 1997, forced the country to seek financial help from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) with the rescue package of US\$17.2 billion. So far the Thai government has strictly implemented the austerity programs negotiated with the IMF in order to rebuild the economic stability.

In the midst of the crisis, the Thailand Development Research Institute's (TDRI) macro-economic forecasts in early January 1999, when the value of baht averaged around 41.26 per US dollar, predicted a negative growth in exports of around -5.6 percent with -33.8 percent of total investment. By the end of 1998, it was predicted that the Thai economy would experience growth at -8.2 percent. The industrial sector would experience growth of -13.1 percent. The service sector was also expected to record negative growth at -6.1 percent despite the fact that the government declared 1998 and 1999 as "Amazing Thailand" years for tourism promotions. Both current account and trade account would be in surplus to the tune of US\$ 13.2 billion and US\$ 12.3 billion, respectively. Inflation would reach its peak this year at 8.1 percent, increased from only 5.6 percent in the previous year.

TDRI also forecast that in 1999 the Thai economy would shrink slightly with a negative growth rate of 0.4 percent when the value of baht fluctuates around 36 baht per US dollar. The government has achieved a certain degree of success in solving the problem of the finance sector (e.g., lack of liquidity, and foreign investment). All sectors of the economy except agriculture will experience a negative growth rate with inflation dropping to 3.2 percent. The trade and current accounts continue to show positive growth at US\$12.9 billion and US\$12.3 billion, respectively (Chalamwong, 1999).

The slowdown of the Thai economy in 1997 and the recession in 1998, which is expected to continue until the end of 1999, will definitely increase open and underemployment. This point will be explored further in the next section.

### 2.1 Impacts of the Economic Crisis on Labour Markets

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<sup>1</sup> This section is drawn from Yongyuth Chalamwong. "The Impact of the Crisis on Migration in Thailand" *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, Vol. 7, Nos 2-3, 1998, pages 207-301.

As a result of the 1998 economic recession, a large number of factories and business establishments closed down. There are labour surpluses everywhere, in every sector and at every skill level, a phenomenon Thailand has not experienced for years. The number of unemployed reached 1.13 million in August (peak season) or 3.45 percent of labour force in 1998 as compared to only 0.29 million person or 0.87 percent in August 1997. The contraction in demand appeared in three work sectors, namely employers, private employees and unpaid family workers. By contrast, the government and own-account employment remained relatively stable.

The impacts of the crisis on real sectors was quite different. For example the Labour Force Survey data indicated that the construction sector experienced a sharp decline in employment. Employment in this sector fell from 2.98 million in February 1997 to 2.04 million February 1998.

## **2.2 Underemployment**

The crisis also caused large-scale underemployment and layoffs. The number of employed persons working fewer than 35 hours a week increased almost by 2 million, from 2.43 million persons in February 1997 to 4.41 million in the same period in 1998. Underemployment was concentrated in private employees and self-employed persons. The largest number of underemployed persons was concentrated in the manufacturing and commerce sectors, and accounted for 65.9 percent of the total 1.97 million (Chalamwong, 1999).

The following sections will emphasize the impacts of the crisis on paid and unpaid workers, especially women.

## **3. The Significance of Unpaid Work**

“Unpaid work” is defined as work without pay on a farm or in business enterprise owned or operated by the household head or any other members (NSO)<sup>2</sup>. Unpaid work is defined by Heather Gibb in her Framework Paper as “non-market work” which is unlikely to be reflected in the national employment and income statistics. The majority of unpaid family workers are likely to be women. This is probably true everywhere, and Thailand is no exception. For example in 1998, based on the Labour Force Survey, the data clearly indicated that 66.4 percent of the 9.4 million employed persons who are classified as unpaid family workers are women.

### **3.1 Linkages between Own-Account Workers and Unpaid Workers**

The own-account worker is defined as a person who operates an enterprise on his/her own account or jointly with others in the form of a partnership either for profit or dividends but without engaging employees. The linkages between unpaid workers and own account workers are clear when the enterprise is operated by husband and wife. Here, the husband is usually classified as an own-account worker while the wife is classified as an unpaid family worker. Sometimes, both are classified as self-employed workers. They are active, work in similar environments and face similar risks. In 1998 the proportion of self-employed (own-account plus unpaid family workers) constituted about 60.7 percent of the total labour force. Out of this total self-employed, 9.12 million persons were female and 10.28 million persons were male. This is a slight decline from 1990 when the total self-employed females numbered 10.26 million and 10.68 million were male.

The impact of the crisis since its start in mid July 1997 on work status is not clear when the statistics of 1997 with 1998 are compared. As stated earlier, total employment decreased by more than one million as a result of the financial crisis. The number of unpaid family workers continues to drop regardless of the crisis. While more and more of the labour force were composed of own-account workers, the number of employed in formal employment decreased by almost one million in 1998 as compared to 1997. The impact of the crisis is likely to reduce the proportion of women in unpaid family work while this gap is widened among men.

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<sup>2</sup> National Statistical Office (NSO), Office of the Prime Minister.

### **3.2 Women in Unpaid Work: Trends**

During the past three decades, the role and status of women has changed along with economic development. As the economy was transformed from predominantly agricultural to industrial, the share of agricultural product dropped from 31.5 percent in 1975 to 11 percent in 1998. The majority of workers, however, are still concentrated in this sector. In 1998, according to the Labour Force Survey, about 51 percent of total employed persons were farmers.

As the economy underwent structural change, the population structure also changed. The population growth rate dropped very rapidly from more than 3 percent in the 1970s to only 1.2 percent in the 1990s. The smaller family size has lessened the burden of childbearing and other household activities for women. This should provide women more time to acquire knowledge and participate more actively in social and economic activities.

In fact, despite having lower labour force participation rates than men, women always participated in economic activities and the gaps between both sexes has been narrowing over time, especially in municipal areas. However, the gap between both sexes has widened in non-municipal areas. This gap is wider than ever as a result of the crisis.

The nature of work status in non-municipal areas has been slightly different from that in municipal areas. The share of unpaid family workers in non-municipal areas has been much larger than municipal areas, where most economic activities take place outside the household. Women have been less engaged than men both in the formal labour market (i.e., employer, public, and private employees) and in the informal market (i.e., own-account). Women have dominated the unpaid family work sector for a long time, despite the fact that their participation rates declined over time. Market and household work are somewhat complementary, especially for those women who work in non-municipal areas where most activities are concentrated in agriculture and small family non-farm enterprises. The shift from unpaid household work to paid work among women is accounted for by the shift in production away from households. Phananimai (1995) argued that this phenomenon would help women improve their role and status. The more women participated in paid work, the more economically independent they should be. They should be able to achieve their own fulfillment as individuals instead of having to depend solely on their family (or husband).

In general, men dominated in all work sectors except in the unpaid family worker category in the study period. However, the proportion of men and women in the formal sector (e.g., employer, and employee) has not deteriorated. It is interesting to note that in 1998, own-account work is dominated by men who accounted for 71.2 percent, increasing from 70.3 percent in 1990. The unpaid work sector is dominated by women who accounted for 66.4 percent in 1998 as compared to 68.2 percent in 1995. During the past eight year period, more than 1.4 million women have turned to work in the productive, or market sector.

As mentioned before, women are concentrated in the area of unpaid family work, accounting for more than 46 percent in 1995, decreasing to 43.4 percent in 1998. During this period, more and more unpaid family workers shifted from unpaid to paid work. The crisis further pushed at least 0.42 million women out of unpaid work and into paid work to help generate income for the family.

### **3.3 Jobs and Earnings**

The data indicate that job segregation by gender persists in the family. Traditionally, when women work as unpaid workers (or are self-employed), the distinction between market and non-market activities is not clear, since women move back and forth between the two types of work. The division of labor between men and women is clear. Currently, it is even more difficult for women to participate actively in both markets. According to Phananimai (1995), men specialize more in market activities and women in non-market activities. The following data support this finding. As we all know, the agricultural sector has been the largest sector in terms of employment absorption in Thailand. This sector absorbed about 16.4 million people in the labour force in 1998. Of that total, about 52.1 percent were men. Women's participation in this sector declined over time as more and more women shifted from non-market work to market activities such as sales, crafts and as professionals as a result of better working environments and higher educational backgrounds.

Until 1995, men dominated work in all industries except in the professional, clerical and sales categories. This pattern has changed since 1995, when more women turned to work in the service sector. The financial

crisis is pushing women out of unpaid farm work to become wage earners. In fact, the proportion of women in all sectors except farming increased in 1998 compared to 1997.

The crafts occupation was also hit hard by the crisis. In many of the remaining occupations, employment rose after the crisis.

When both sexes work in family enterprises, their work activities are complementary. Their income is shared among family members. But when women work outside of the family, they may not be able to compete with men on an equal basis. Women are likely to perform both paid work and unpaid family work due mainly to cultural biases in Thai society. Even though this discrimination has been declining slowly, it still creates disadvantages for women to compete in the job market.

During the past ten years (1987 to 1997), the total number of employed persons increased by 6.4 million or about 24 percent. It increased in every work status except unpaid family worker. The number of employed unpaid family workers dropped only 0.135 million, with the number of women increasing by 0.197 million while men decreased by 0.334 million over the same period.

While the number of unpaid workers declined during the crisis, the number of own account workers, especially in the public sector increased. The number of unpaid family workers fell by 0.461 million for women and 0.03 million for men.

## **4. Paid and Unpaid Work and Human Resource Development**

### **4.1 Education**

Discrimination persists against women in human resource development as well as in the job market. Women in general tend to have lower education than men especially among unpaid family workers. Research by Tonguthai (1998) confirms that gender bias remains. However, the Seventh Economic Development Plan has had some success in narrowing the education gap between men and women.

The upward trend in education attainment improved very slowly during the past ten years as the share of employed persons with less than primary education decreased. Women received lower education than men in all education levels but the gap has been reduced over time. For both sexes, the percentage of unpaid workers who had primary education or lower slowly declined from 9.0 million (or 90.0 percent) in 1987 to 7.5 million (or 79.8 percent) in 1998. The educational attainment level of women unpaid workers was slightly lower during the same period. The share of primary education or lower of female workers was 93.8 percent in 1987 and 85.4 percent in 1998.

The crisis most affected workers with primary education or less. About 1.5 million of unpaid workers and private employees were left unemployed because of the crisis. Women still experience limited choices in selecting subject areas for study. At the middle level of education, home economics, commerce and business administration are popular choices among women. At the university level, women are found mostly in social science, business, education, and nursing. Some subject areas of study (economics, agricultural economics, veterinary science, forestry science, industrial agriculture, archeology, production management, nursing, and military school) still have quotas limiting access for women. According to Tonguthai (1998), these patterns of selecting areas of study derive from persisting social values that are linked to traditional gender roles and to occupational segregation by sex. These practices result in limited education opportunities and discrimination against women.

### **4.2 Training**

Training has become a crucial means for women to improve their employability and quality of life. Adequate training enables women to gain equal work status with men. This point was supported by a 1998 study submitted to the APEC HRD NEDM in Chinese Taipei that noted the urgent need for upgrading Thai workers' skill and knowledge through non-formal education and training.<sup>3</sup> The training (pre-employment,

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<sup>3</sup> For more details see "Gender and Life-Long Learning: Enhancing the Contributions of Women to SMEs in Thailand for the 21st Century". Paper presented at the APEC HRD NEDM conference in Chinese Taipei, June, 1998.

retraining and upgrading) offered by various organizations in Thailand is limited. Special questions were added to the Labour Force Survey in 1995 to ask whether workers had received any formal training at least one time during the past three years. The data showed that only about 4.5 percent had. Of the 1.48 million who had received training, about 75 percent were civil servants, 5 percent were enterprise workers, and 18 percent were private workers. However the data was not broken down by sex, therefore we do not know how many benefited.

Training courses are offered by four major government authorities: the Department of Non-formal Education, the Department of Vocational Education, the Department of Agricultural Extension, and the Department of Skill Development. In 1997, 97 percent of the 3.04 million people who had received vocational training had been trained by these four departments.

In non-formal education, according to Tonguthai, more than 53 percent were females participating in adult functional literacy, vocational certificates and vocational short courses. Women tend to participate more in self learning programs, compared to men, who participate more in classroom and distance learning.

Most of the short courses offered by the Department of Agricultural Extension are in home economics and farming, and women form the majority in home economics courses. However, for agricultural courses, men select themselves to participate in learning new farm techniques and other special training, since they are the heads of household and often community leaders.

According to data received from the Department of Skills Development, Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, women comprised only 35 percent of total enrollment. In pre-employment training, women accounted for only 10 percent. The training programs offered to women covered spinning, weaving, sewing, cooking, good preservation and artificial flower making. Although the experience women receive from such training may help them improve their employability, their chance of participating in such programs remains limited.

The Report from the Women in Development Working Committee<sup>4</sup> identified three major barriers to women: program barriers as a result of limited choice for mainstream training programs for women; physical barriers as a result of inappropriate training equipment and facilities for women; and social barriers as a result of having too many men in the existing training system. There are no chaperones and/or activities for women during leisure time. This also discourages parents from allowing their daughters to participate and live in the training centres run by the Department of Skill Development.

Other factors that may limit women's opportunity to participate in training include women's roles in domestic work such as household chores and child care. Husbands may object to their wives attending training programs that require overnight stay. Women who do attend risk having family quarrels and stirring up "neighbourhood gossip" as summarized by Tonguthai (1998).

### **4.3 Characteristics of Unpaid Work**

The unpaid work which is a part of informal employment is mainly performed by women. Their work is concentrated in labor intensive activities with limited technology and low costs. These activities do not require very high education and skills. The work is quite heterogeneous and flexible, allowing women to work at home and perform household chores at the same time. This reflects a kind of "women friendly workplace."

A survey conducted by the Department of Labor Protection and Welfare found that the majority of workers in the informal sector, especially "home-based" workers, were women. Their education was relatively low but they were skillful in their work. The majority of these homeworkers had previous experience working in factories. Currently there is no country data on the total number of those classified as "homeworkers". But women who currently work as homeworkers are very concerned, since they are not covered by current Labor Protection Law (1997).

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<sup>4</sup> A detailed report appeared in the "Women in Development Team of the Asian Development Bank" (ADB) Project on Skills Development of DSD/MOLSW, 1998.

Their major concerns are:

- The chance of receiving any training comes only from subcontractors. Additional education and training from other sources is limited.
- Self-employed work among women is uncertain. There is a lack of continuity in employment and income, and no such thing as a long-term contract.
- Money wage earnings for women are relatively uncertain and lower than the minimum wage rate as a result of limited market and/or monopolies by suppliers or subcontractors. The welfare of workers is not covered by the Labour Protection Law.
- Since subcontract work is not covered by the Labour Protection Law, workers' health and safety is at risk.
- Homeworkers are very scattered geographically. It is less likely that these subcontracting workers will form groups to improve their bargaining power with subcontractors. Therefore they are vulnerable to exploitation.

There are some success stories of homeworker activities organized by local entrepreneurs and others jointly with the Ministry of Industry, civil organizations and communities. There are many examples of the private sector participating in promoting non-farm enterprises in rural communities. Many work activities have been initiated by the Population and Development Association (PDA) aimed at raising income and the quality of life of people in rural communities. Successful programs have been developed in various parts of the country, especially in the poorest regions such as in the Northeast and in the North. The programs in Buriram Province, for example, include producing brand name shirts and shoes by hiring hundreds of workers from nearby communities. Similar activities have been carried out by large Thai companies as part of their policy of "giving back to society". These projects involve predominantly women in communities and can be considered as *friendly workplaces*. It is expected that the crisis will encourage more rural people to participate in such activities as more and more laid off workers return home. Some of these workers are relatively old and do not want to return to factory work even though the crisis is over. Therefore a friendly workplace such as local small industries, community industries, and homework activities which allow women to stay close to their family should receive some support from these groups.

## **5. Gender Equity**

### **5.1 Unequal Role in the Family**

In Thai society, in addition to economic disadvantages, it is quite clear that women still suffer social disadvantages. Thai women have multiple roles, as wife, mother and daughter. Their roles also include: taking care of parents; sharing income with other members in the family; taking care of household chores; and earning supplementary income for the family. In addition, cultural beliefs and religious values may put women at a further disadvantage. For example, in the past when a woman married, she had to use her husband's surnames even after her husband passed away. Currently, married women no longer suffer such discrimination because a new law<sup>5</sup> allows her to make her own choice whether to use her own maiden name or her husband's last name. This choice still remains even after women divorce. A free choice also was given to sons or daughters whether to use the mother's maiden name or father's last name after their parents divorce.

In short, the burdens that women shoulder to perform their traditional roles as daughters and mothers (i.e. unpaid work) in the family, coupled with lack of human resource development and decent job opportunities may force some of these women to accept work under poor conditions (Phananiramai, 1995).

### **5.2 Unequal Work and Unequal Pay Opportunities**

In theory, there are only a few regulations which prevent women from working in all positions in the formal labour market. Some positions in the public service, such as working with male prisoners, or those requiring

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<sup>5</sup> Still in the stage of final review by the Office of the Council of State.

frequent transfers from one remote area to another, are examples. In practice, however, many positions have been rarely filled by women, even though there is no regulation prohibiting them from such positions, for example, the governor of a province and/or chief of local administration. This may lead to a conclusion that a bias against women is deeply embedded in the Thai culture and belief system.

The current Labour Protection Law <sup>6</sup> also prohibits pay discrimination. But in reality, as cited by Phananimamai (1995), the practice persists widely both in terms of employment and pay, in both public and private sector employment. Based on the Labor Force Survey report, it was found that the average monthly earnings of women in 1997 were about 30 percent lower than men as compared to 50 percent lower in 1980, indicating a narrowing of the gap over time.

## **6. Public Policy Responses**

The Thai government through The National Commission on Women's Affairs has prepared a 20-Year Perspective Plan for Women (1992-2011). This document has been used as a basis for Five-year Development Plan for Women as well as to assist in the coordination and promotion of women in development. The relevant public policy recommendations will be drawn from this document along with other documents reported elsewhere concerning paid and unpaid workers.<sup>7</sup>

### **6.1 Policies Toward Gender Equity**

The new constitution stipulates the equality between men and women. Thailand has also ratified the UN Convention on "Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women", whose main points are:

- To eliminate discrimination against women ensuring equality between women and men, especially for those who are employed and other circumstances.
- To protect women from various abuses, such protection includes women in both employment and family work.

The Thai government became increasingly aware of the plight of women when the United Nations declared 1975 as International Women's Year, and 1976-1985 the decade for women. The Thai National Economic and Social Development Board has included women since the Fourth Plan (1977-1981). The main problems cited in the plans are illiteracy rates among women, employment and wage discrimination, education and training opportunities, and social attitudes that reflect beliefs that men are more productive than women. The Plans have been criticized by Thomson (1990) for only recognizing women's problems without always specifying how and when they are to be solved.

### **6.2 Gender Planning**

Through a special task force, the government initiated the first "Long-term Women's Development Plan (1982-2001) in 1981. Later on in 1995, the National Commission on Women's Affairs (NCWA) continued to follow up with another long-term plan for women in development in 1995. The Perspective Policies and Planning for Development of Women (1992-2011) launched by the NCWA forms the basis of a five year plan and assists in the coordination and promotion of women in development initiatives. The long-term plan is extensive, and covers socio-economic and cultural change, family, health, education, employment, social participation, environment, mass media, religion, prostitution, law, resources and research concerning women. The plan outlines the following basic strategies to promote women:<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> The law states that where the work is the same in nature, quality, and volume, the fixing of wages, overtime pay, and holiday work pay shall be equal regardless of the sex of employee.

<sup>7</sup> National Committee on the Perspective Plan and Policies for Women's Development, 1992-2011, National Commission on Women's Affairs (NCWA), Office of The Prime Minister, Thailand, 1995.

<sup>8</sup> The section is drawn directly from "Perspective Policies and Planning for the Development of Women (1992-2011), NCWA, 1995, p. 1-4.



- Central government organizations or mechanisms responsible for women in development should be further developed and promote networking among governmental as well as non-governmental agencies. Coordinating and networking should be both horizontal and vertical, all the way to the village level. In all undertakings, men should also be encouraged to participate.
- Initiate programs and projects with special reference to women.
- Integrate women in all programs and projects, both as beneficiaries as well as agents of development.
- Campaign for values and attitudinal changes related to women, especially those with negative connotations or stereotypes. Advocacy groups should be formed to encourage and open ways for women to participate more fully in economic and social development.
- Recognize the importance of information and the use of mass media with special emphasis on women's issues and status of women in order to create a common understanding and common needs so that goals can be achieved.
- Promote training in various subjects so that women can have knowledge and skills in determining societal changes.
- Recognize the family as a common social unit in promoting development equality and eliminate gender-based biases especially among children and youth.
- Revise laws and regulations to facilitate equality, both de jure and de facto.
- Collect and analyze information and situations to promote women in development as well as promote research related to women.
- Encourage various government agencies to include women in their projects and activities.
- Organize formal and informal groups to promote the protection of women.
- Promote policies related to women as a part of political platforms to all political parties.
- Instill a systematic exchange of information among organizations and agencies on innovations used for women in development. Distribute and disseminate information to help change the image of Thai women especially in international communities.

### **6.3 Policies to Increase Equality Between Paid and Unpaid Work.**

Since there is only sketchy information on unpaid workers in Thailand, there is an urgent need for research on the characteristics and the economic and social benefits women may gain from such activity. However, based on the current knowledge, policy recommendations which are related to increasing equality between paid and unpaid work could address the following points:

(1) Since unpaid work (e.g., homeworkers) happens mostly around the household and community nearby, the roles of women and the family may not be greatly impacted. But to equip women with knowledge, modern skills and equal opportunities to enjoy a better quality of life, the following recommendations are needed:

- The burden of women must be reduced. This could be done by promoting the family, including child rearing and household chores. In order to increase campaigns to create an attitude of partnership between husband and wife and increase men's participation in family matters, campaigns to stimulate pride in fatherhood and its duties are needed;
- Women working in informal activities must also be protected by labour protection law and/or regulations, especially in dangerous areas and in activities with health hazards;
- Both government and civil society organizations should support training for women who are self-employed in order to improve administrative and managerial skills (i.e., entrepreneurs); and
- All parties concerned should be encouraged to provide knowledge in the fields of modern science and technology in addition to general knowledge outside the home.

It is unfortunate that efforts to address the above initiatives are not documented. However, the Social Insurance Scheme (SIS) implemented last year encouraged more participation by husbands in child care and domestic work. The new SIS-scheme extended the maternity leave of women from 60 days to 90 days under a

cost-sharing basis. The employer and SIS will share 50 percent of women's salary. The scheme also allows husbands up to one month's leave at the time of birth to help take care of the infant and domestic work.

(2) In order to encourage women to engage more in the paid work in the community, the following should be implemented:

- Daycare services established nearby to encourage mothers to breastfeed their child and to enhance infant care services;
- Better protection for illness caused by poor working environments and risky conditions must be improved by employers and subcontractors;
- Women should be encouraged to seek knowledge from various sources to develop themselves, their families and communities;
- Discrimination against women in all levels of education and training must be eradicated so that women can continue to improve their general knowledge, analytic and synthesizing skills;
- There is also an urgent need to eliminate other occupational discrimination. This could be done by encouraging women to form professional groups to improve their bargaining power;
- Sharing job information through all kinds of mass media must be encouraged and targeted to reach women's groups; and
- Laws, rules and regulations must be changed to improve welfare and protect self-employed women.

#### **6.4 Policies to Provide Better Social Recognition of Unpaid Work**

In Thailand, there are no *direct* policies to provide better social recognition of unpaid workers. The NCWA (1995) has summarized the problems concerning government and private agencies with respect to women and unpaid work:

- There is still a lack of understanding among various agencies regarding policies and plans on unpaid work.
- There are almost no networks to implement Women in Development policies that integrate unpaid work because government agencies do not understand its economic and social significance.
- The work of the private sector to support and integrate unpaid work activities still has very weak linkages with government agencies.
- There is no specific delegation of authority to any government organization to respond to the needs of unpaid workers.
- There is a lack of resources in development of women in this area.

To address these problems, there is an urgent need to create understanding and networks among government, private and business organizations, civil organizations, and others in the development of policy directions and plans. There is a need for trained personnel in both governmental and non-governmental organizations relating to self-employed women. There is a need for research to improve our understanding about women participating in self-employed work, especially unpaid activities, so that appropriate plans and actions can be developed to address these problems.

#### **6.5 Toward A Self-sufficient Economy and Sustainable Development**

Ever since the economic bubble burst, the Thai economy has been cushioned by the rural non-municipal sector. If Thailand had not maintained a large agricultural sector, the impact of the crisis would have been even more severe. This situation alerted authorities to the fact that the traditional safety net has been

neglected for many years, while attention was focused on industrial and service sectors with the hope that Thailand would soon become another Asian Tiger.

As a result of long-time neglect and mis guided policies, agriculture can no longer provide a sustainable livelihood to most rural people, especially the self-employed. Unpaid family workers have to depend more and more on income from the non-agricultural sector. The boom of non-farm sectors which was concentrated only in the central part of the country during the past decade drew people from rural communities and households. It created severe social impacts on household ties and rural social capital. To restore potential to this sector, new ways of thinking and new farming techniques are badly needed.

Most of the Thai people now acknowledge the wisdom in the speech given by His Majesty the King on December 1997 about the concept for a “self-sufficient economy.” His Majesty the King reminded all of us about returning to the traditional agriculture sector. His Majesty the King also developed a new approach to farming several years back by suggesting that farmers divide their land into four sections, 30 percent for a water pond to raise fish, 30 percent for rice crops, 30 percent for fruit trees and other non-rice crops, and the remaining 10 percent for residential use wherever appropriate. The residential areas could be used to raise chickens, pigs and vegetables. The main outputs from this practice would be mainly used in the family, and the surplus would be sold in the local market. This money could provide cash flow for the family. Hopefully, this concept will be developed and extended to rural families all over Thailand.

#### Time Use Case Study: Lopburi Province

To help us understand more about time allocation of males and females in such a practice, a family in Lopburi Province was interviewed in early February 1999. The results are as follows:

	Male %	Female %
1. Land preparation	100.0	0.0
2. Planting	34.8	65.2
3. Taking care of farm	41.7	58.3
4. Harvesting	56.6	43.4
5. Marketing	0.0	100.0
6. Total	42.9	57.1

More than 80 percent of time spent on household work is performed by women. Community work is shared equally by husband and wife. More than 90 percent of the public speeches or lectures and attendance in training is performed by the husband. The husband also entertains visitors who want to learn more about his farming practices.

The Social Working Group on Social and Economic Plan for rehabilitating Low Income Communities organized by the Thailand Development Research Institute (TDRI) has developed recommendations to the government utilizing existing local resources to enhance the capacity of existing communities to respond to the crisis and improve the quality of life of both urban and rural communities.

The process is based on a multi-partite partnership and a people-centered approach. It starts with many organizations and/or communities engaging in addressing their own problems. This is organized by independent or collaborative groups or agencies, various existing consultative groups or groups that are to be established based on the needs of the communities. Several development agencies from both the public and private sectors form a network to accommodate this process. It is important that networking, coordination and collaboration exist among these organizations to support their collective activities. Through cooperation, the community will benefit from a vast array of technical assistance which can be provided in an effective and efficient manner. The key to the success of this model is that the communities must identify and rely on their own social capital and indigenous resources before they seek outside help. Currently, the government has taken these policy suggestions very seriously and has begun implementing this concept. It is our hope that if outcomes described in this section are realized, it should strengthen the linkage between paid and unpaid work.

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**Thailand**

**Tables**

**Table 1 Percentage distribution of employment by work status - Thailand**  
(in thousands)

Status	Total	Whole kingdom		Municipal		Non-municipal	
		F	M	F	M	F	M
<b>1998</b>							
Total number	31,935	14,380	17,555	3,046	3,461	11,334	14,094
%		100.0)	(100.0)				
Employers	822	173	649	2	6	1	3
%		(1.2)	(3.7)				
Private employees	8,994.5	4,026.5	4,967.9	48.3	48.3	22.6	23.4
%		(28.0)	(28.3)				
Public employees	2,714.2	1,064.2	1,650.1	16.3	16.9	5.0	7.4
%		(7.4)	(9.4)				
Own-account workers	10,003.2	2,876.1	7,127.1	16.7	23.0	20.9	45.0
%		(20.0)	(40.6)				
Unpaid family workers	9,400.9	6,241.1	3,159.0	16.6	5.7	50.6	21.0
%		(43.4)	(18.0)				
<b>1997</b>							
	<b>Total</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>
Total number	32,942.8	14,937.5	18,005.3	3,045.1	3,625.5	11,892.4	14,379.8
%		(100.0)	(100.0)				
Employers	746.6	134.4	612.2	1.5	5.7	0.7	2.8
%		(0.9)	(3.4)				
Private employees	10,036.5	4,346.8	5,689.7	53.0	50.8	23.0	26.6
%		(29.1)	(31.6)				
Public employees	2,420.5	926.1	1,494.4	13.6	15.2	4.3	6.6
%		(6.2)	(8.3)				
Own-account workers	9,860.1	2,838.1	7,022.0	16.7	23.2	19.6	43.0
%		(19.0)	(39.0)				
Unpaid family workers	9,878.9	6,692.0	3,159.0	15.3	5.2	52.4	20.9
%		(44.8)	(17.7)				
<b>1990</b>							
	<b>Total</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>M</b>
Total number	29,956.2	13,942.2	16,014.0	2,221.8	2,737.5	11,720.4	13,276.5
%		(100.0)	(100.0)				
Employers	372.0	83.7	288.3	2.0	5.7	0.3	1.1
%		(0.6)	(1.8)				
Private employees	6,785.2	2,941.8	3,843.3	45.5	47.7	16.4	19.1
%		(21.1)	(24.0)				
Public employees	1,856.3	655.2	1,201.0	15.3	18.6	2.7	5.1
%		(4.7)	(7.5)				
Own-account workers	9,151.2	2,537.4	6,613.8	19.8	21.0	17.9	45.5
%		(18.2)	(41.3)				
Unpaid family workers	11,791.5	7,723.9	4,067.6	17.4	7.0	62.6	29.2
%		(55.4)	(25.4)				

**Sources:** National Statistical Office (NSO), Labor Force Survey on August 1990, 1997-1998.

**Note:** persons aged 15 years and above

**Table 2 Labor Participation Rate of Thai Labor Force (in thousands)**

Year	Municipal				Non-Municipal			
	Total	M	F	?	Total	M	F	?
1971	51.7	64.3	39.0	25.3	76.3	81.5	71.1	10.4
1975	50.9	63.0	38.7	24.3	71.5	77.5	65.5	12.0
1980	59.0	68.1	50.2	17.9	75.7	79.0	72.4	6.6
1985	60.8	69.0	52.9	16.1	75.9	80.9	70.9	10.0
1990	66.7	67.6	58.6	9.0	82.2	86.6	77.7	8.9
1997	67.1	75.4	59.2	16.2	73.0	79.6	66.3	13.3
1998	68.5	76.0	61.6	14.5	75.0	83.0	67.0	16.0

**Sources:** NSO, Labor Force Survey, Various Issues.

**Note:** Age of employed persons during 1971-85 surveys was 11 years old and over

Age of employed persons during 1990-97 surveys was 13 years old and over

Age of employed persons during 1998 surveys was 15 years old and over

**Table 3 Percentage of Labor Force by Work Status on August, 1995-1998**

Work Status	1995		1996		1997		1998	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
<b>Total</b>	45.4	54.6	44.9	55.1	45.3	54.7	45.0	55.0
Employers	19.9	80.1	19.8	80.2	17.7	82.3	20.6	79.4
Private employees	42.7	57.3	41.5	58.5	43.4	56.6	44.8	55.2
Public employees	36.3	63.7	37.3	62.7	38.0	62.0	39.4	60.6
Own-account workers	29.7	70.3	29.5	70.5	28.8	71.2	28.8	71.2
Unpaid family workers	68.2	31.8	69.4	30.6	67.7	32.3	66.4	33.6

Source: NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1995-1998.

**Table 4 Percentage of Female and Male Labor Force by Work Status on August, 1995-1998.**

Work Status	1995		1996		1997		1998	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
<b>Total</b>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Employers	1.3	4.3	1.1	3.7	0.9	3.4	1.2	3.7
Private employees	26.6	29.7	28.3	32.5	29.1	31.5	28.0	28.3
Public employees	6.0	8.8	6.0	8.2	6.2	8.3	7.4	9.3
Own-account workers	19.9	39.3	20.4	39.7	19.0	39.0	20.0	40.6
Unpaid family workers	46.2	18.0	44.3	15.9	44.8	17.7	43.4	18.0

Sources: NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1995-1998.



**Table 5 Percentage of Female and Male Labor Force by Occupation on August, 1995-1998.**

Occupation	1995		1996		1997		1998	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>
Professional	5.7	4.3	5.7	4.1	6.4	4.4	7.0	4.6
Administrative	0.9	3.3	1.1	3.5	1.1	3.5	1.2	3.6
Clerical	4.8	3.2	4.6	3.2	4.9	3.0	5.2	3.0
Sales	14.9	8.1	15.4	8.6	15.4	8.8	16.7	9.1
Farmers	53.3	50.9	51.6	48.8	51.4	49.6	49.9	52.1
Transportation	0.4	7.0	0.4	6.7	0.3	6.7	0.5	6.3
Crafts Laborers	15.4	19.2	15.7	21.5	15.3	19.6	14.2	17.0
Services	4.5	3.9	5.5	3.6	5.1	4.2	5.3	4.2
Others	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

**Source:** NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1995-1998.

**Table 6 Percentage of Labor Force by Industry on August, 1995-1998.**

Occupation	1995		1996		1997		1998	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
<b>Total</b>	45.4	54.6	44.9	55.1	45.3	54.7	45.0	55.0
Professional	52.5	47.5	53.3	46.7	54.4	45.6	55.8	44.2
Administrative	19.3	80.7	21.2	78.8	20.4	79.6	21.6	78.4
Clerical	55.4	44.6	54.0	46.0	57.0	43.0	58.5	41.5
Sales	60.4	39.6	59.2	40.8	59.2	40.8	60.0	40.0
Farmers	46.5	53.5	46.3	53.7	46.2	53.8	43.9	56.1
Transportation	4.2	95.8	5.0	95.0	3.5	96.5	5.7	94.3
Crafts Laborers	40.1	59.9	37.3	62.7	39.4	60.6	40.5	59.5
Services	49.0	51.0	55.5	44.5	50.3	49.7	50.7	49.3
Others	31.5	68.5	84.6	15.4	64.4	35.6	94.2	5.8

**Source:** NSO, *Labor Force Survey*, conducted August, 1995-1998.

**Table 7 Employed Persons by Work Status, Education, and Sex in 1987. (in thousands)**

	Employer	Private Employee	Public Employee	State Enterprise Employee	Own Account Worker	Unpaid Family Worker	Total
<b>Female</b>	<b>101.9</b>	<b>2,490.3</b>	<b>588.5</b>	<b>56.2</b>	<b>2,431.4</b>	<b>6,502.8</b>	<b>12,171.0</b>
Less than Primary	69.9	1,473.5	51.2	15.3	2,127.7	4,743.7	8,481.3
Primary	8.0	496.4	13.5	-	174.6	1,430.8	2,123.2
Lower Secondary	13.2	148.4	46.3	3.5	70.6	178.3	460.3
Upper Secondary	5.2	211.1	106.7	11.5	37.5	86.1	458.1
College	5.2	151.9	369.5	25.9	13.8	53.2	619.6
Unknown	0.4	8.9	1.3	-	7.1	10.7	28.4
<b>Male</b>	<b>258.5</b>	<b>3,115.3</b>	<b>1,030.3</b>	<b>255.8</b>	<b>6,198.8</b>	<b>3,526.5</b>	<b>14,385.2</b>
Less than Primary	158.2	1,765.2	221.1	71.0	5,471.5	1,556.8	9,243.7
Primary	20.5	611.6	57.5	30.3	318.8	1,366.8	2,405.5
Lower Secondary	37.7	297.4	214.2	48.2	236.9	320.1	1,154.4
Upper Secondary	21.7	273.1	151.6	53.9	97.6	198.6	796.4
College	15.8	150.2	383.5	51.0	45.8	82.1	728.3
Unknown	4.7	17.9	2.4	1.5	28.3	2.2	56.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>360.4</b>	<b>5,605.6</b>	<b>1,618.8</b>	<b>312.0</b>	<b>8,630.2</b>	<b>10,029.3</b>	<b>26,556.3</b>
Less than Primary	228.1	3,238.7	272.3	86.3	7,599.2	6,300.4	17,725.0
Primary	28.5	1,108.0	70.9	30.3	493.4	2,797.7	4,528.7
Lower Secondary	50.9	445.8	260.5	51.7	307.5	498.4	1,614.7
Upper Secondary	26.9	484.2	258.4	65.3	135.1	284.6	1,254.5
College	21.0	302.1	753.0	76.9	59.6	135.3	1,348.0
Unknown	5.1	26.9	3.7	1.5	35.3	12.9	85.3

**Sources:** NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1987. **Note:** Persons aged 15 years and above.

**Table 8 Employed Persons by Work Status, Education, and Sex in 1997. (in thousands)**

	Employer	Private Employee	Public Employee	State Enterprise Employee	Own Account Worker	Unpaid Family Worker	Total
<b>Female</b>	<b>131.9</b>	<b>4,347.5</b>	<b>831.8</b>	<b>90.3</b>	<b>2,836.9</b>	<b>6,699.0</b>	<b>14,937.5</b>
Less than Primary	80.4	1,823.2	59.9	6.5	2,122.1	4,185.9	8,278.0
Primary	16.0	1,048.4	13.9	2.1	384.9	1,784.0	3,249.3
Lower Secondary	12.4	516.2	56.4	8.2	182.8	455.8	1,231.8
Upper Secondary	8.8	444.5	116.0	23.9	84.3	183.7	861.2
College	14.3	514.3	585.6	49.6	61.9	89.4	1,315.1
Unknown	-	0.9	0.0	-	0.9	0.1	2.0
<b>Male</b>	<b>612.7</b>	<b>5,669.4</b>	<b>1,204.6</b>	<b>298.8</b>	<b>7,027.7</b>	<b>3,192.0</b>	<b>18,005.3</b>
Less than Primary	352.8	2,269.7	205.9	50.0	5,364.0	805.4	9,047.8
Primary	55.9	1,545.2	63.7	36.5	847.4	1,591.8	4,140.5
Lower Secondary	75.7	799.0	225.1	49.5	480.6	506.4	2,136.4
Upper Secondary	53.5	533.8	187.8	63.7	232.9	240.7	1,312.4
College	72.8	520.8	522.1	98.6	99.8	47.6	1,361.8
Unknown	1.8	1.0	-	0.5	3.2	0.1	6.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>744.7</b>	<b>10,017.0</b>	<b>2,036.4</b>	<b>389.1</b>	<b>9,864.6</b>	<b>9,891.0</b>	<b>32,942.8</b>
Less than Primary	433.3	4,092.9	265.8	56.5	7,486.0	4,991.2	17,325.8
Primary	72.0	2,593.5	77.7	38.5	1,232.3	3,375.8	7,389.7
Lower Secondary	88.1	1,315.2	281.5	57.8	663.4	962.3	3,368.2
Upper Secondary	62.3	978.3	303.7	87.7	317.2	424.5	2,173.7
College	87.1	1,035.1	1,107.7	148.2	161.7	137.1	2,676.8
Unknown	1.8	1.9	0.0	0.5	4.1	0.2	8.5

**Sources:** NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1997. **Note:** Persons aged 15 years and above.

**Table 9 Employed Persons By Work Status, Education, and Sex in 1998. (in thousands)**

	Employer	Private Employee	Public Employee	State Enterprise Employee	Own Account Worker	Unpaid Family Worker	Total
<b>Female</b>	<b>170.3</b>	<b>4,029.4</b>	<b>937.7</b>	<b>124.2</b>	<b>2,880.7</b>	<b>6,238.2</b>	<b>14,380.5</b>
Less than Primary	96.5	1,499.0	68.5	11.6	2,070.1	3,747.0	7,492.8
Primary	25.4	970.9	14.1	5.9	402.0	1,628.1	3,046.3
Lower Secondary	11.1	622.8	58.4	12.0	214.1	526.8	1,445.3
Upper Secondary	13.3	407.4	133.5	28.1	118.8	238.8	939.9
College	24.1	529.1	663.2	66.6	71.7	97.4	1,452.0
Unknown	-	0.2	-	-	4.0	0.0	4.2
<b>Male</b>	<b>654.7</b>	<b>4,974.5</b>	<b>1,273.1</b>	<b>357.0</b>	<b>7,133.3</b>	<b>3,162.0</b>	<b>17,554.5</b>
Less than Primary	361.1	1,835.1	205.6	48.6	5,146.5	677.7	8,274.6
Primary	66.5	1,299.1	63.0	34.4	974.2	1,485.8	3,923.0
Lower Secondary	80.4	789.4	237.5	72.4	607.6	629.6	2,417.0
Upper Secondary	71.9	494.2	231.4	76.6	261.5	289.4	1,425.0
College	70.8	551.9	535.6	125.0	140.6	79.4	1,503.3
Unknown	4.0	4.8	-	-	2.8	0.1	11.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>825.0</b>	<b>9,003.9</b>	<b>2,210.7</b>	<b>481.2</b>	<b>10,013.9</b>	<b>9,400.1</b>	<b>31,935.0</b>
Less than Primary	457.6	3,334.1	274.2	60.2	7,216.6	4,424.7	15,767.4
Primary	91.9	2,270.0	77.0	40.3	1,376.2	3,113.9	6,969.3
Lower Secondary	91.5	1,412.2	295.9	84.5	821.7	1,156.5	3,862.2
Upper Secondary	85.2	901.6	364.8	104.7	380.2	528.2	2,364.8
College	94.9	1,081.0	1,198.8	191.5	212.3	176.7	2,955.3
Unknown	4.0	5.0	-	-	6.8	0.1	15.9

**Sources:** NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1998. **Note:** Persons aged 15 years and above.

**Table 10 Increment Employed Persons By Work Status, Education, and Sex in 1998-1987. (in thousands)**

	Employer	Private Employee	Public Employee	State Enterprise Employee	Own Account Worker	Unpaid Family Worker	Total
<b>Female</b>	<b>68.4</b>	<b>1,539.1</b>	<b>349.2</b>	<b>68.0</b>	<b>449.3</b>	<b>(264.6)</b>	<b>2,209.4</b>
Less than Primary	26.7	25.6	17.3	(3.7)	(57.6)	(996.7)	(988.4)
Primary	17.4	474.5	0.6	5.9	227.4	197.3	923.0
Lower Secondary	(2.2)	474.4	12.1	8.6	143.6	348.6	985.0
Upper Secondary	8.1	196.3	26.7	16.6	81.3	152.8	481.7
College	18.9	377.1	293.7	40.7	57.9	44.2	832.4
Unknown	(0.4)	(8.7)	(1.3)	-	(3.1)	(10.7)	(24.2)
<b>Male</b>	<b>396.2</b>	<b>1,859.2</b>	<b>242.8</b>	<b>101.2</b>	<b>934.4</b>	<b>(364.5)</b>	<b>3,169.3</b>
Less than Primary	202.9	69.9	(15.5)	(22.5)	(325.0)	(879.0)	(969.1)
Primary	46.0	687.5	5.5	4.1	655.5	119.0	1,517.6
Lower Secondary	42.7	492.1	23.4	24.2	370.7	309.5	1,262.5
Upper Secondary	50.2	221.1	79.8	22.8	163.9	90.8	628.6
College	55.0	401.7	152.1	74.0	94.8	(2.7)	774.9
Unknown	(0.7)	(13.1)	(2.4)	(1.5)	(25.4)	(2.1)	(45.2)
<b>Total</b>	<b>464.6</b>	<b>3,398.3</b>	<b>592.0</b>	<b>169.2</b>	<b>1,383.7</b>	<b>(629.1)</b>	<b>5,378.7</b>
Less than Primary	229.5	95.4	1.9	(26.1)	(382.6)	(1,875.7)	(1,957.6)
Primary	63.4	1,162.0	6.1	10.0	882.8	316.2	2,440.6
Lower Secondary	40.5	966.4	35.4	32.8	514.2	658.1	2,247.5
Upper Secondary	58.3	417.4	106.5	39.3	245.1	243.6	1,110.3
College	73.9	778.9	445.7	114.7	152.7	41.4	1,607.3
Unknown	(1.2)	(21.8)	(3.7)	(1.5)	(28.5)	(12.7)	(69.4)

**Sources:** NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1998. **Note:** Persons aged 15 years and above.

**Table 11 Impacts of Crisis on Employed Persons By Work Status, Education, and Sex in 1998-1997. (in thousands)**

	Employer	Private Employee	Public Employee	State Enterprise Employee	Own Account Worker	Unpaid Family Worker	Total
<b>Female</b>	<b>38.4</b>	<b>(318.1)</b>	<b>105.8</b>	<b>33.9</b>	<b>43.8</b>	<b>(460.8)</b>	<b>(557.0)</b>
Less than Primary	16.1	(324.2)	8.6	5.2	(52.0)	(438.8)	(785.2)
Primary	9.3	(77.5)	0.2	3.8	17.1	(155.9)	(203.0)
Lower Secondary	(1.3)	106.6	2.0	3.8	31.3	71.0	213.4
Upper Secondary	4.5	(37.1)	17.5	4.1	34.5	55.1	78.6
College	9.8	14.7	77.7	17.0	9.8	7.9	136.9
Unknown	-	(0.7)	(0.0)	-	3.0	(0.1)	2.2
<b>Male</b>	<b>42.0</b>	<b>(694.9)</b>	<b>68.5</b>	<b>58.2</b>	<b>105.5</b>	<b>(30.0)</b>	<b>(450.8)</b>
Less than Primary	8.2	(434.6)	(0.3)	(1.4)	(217.5)	(127.7)	(773.2)
Primary	10.6	(246.1)	(0.8)	(2.1)	126.9	(106.0)	(217.5)
Lower Secondary	4.6	(9.6)	12.5	22.9	127.0	123.2	280.6
Upper Secondary	18.4	(39.6)	43.6	12.9	28.5	48.6	112.5
College	(2.0)	31.1	13.4	26.4	40.8	31.7	141.5
Unknown	2.1	3.8	-	(0.5)	(0.3)	0.1	5.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>80.4</b>	<b>(1,013.0)</b>	<b>174.3</b>	<b>92.1</b>	<b>149.3</b>	<b>(490.8)</b>	<b>(1,007.8)</b>
Less than Primary	24.3	(758.8)	8.3	3.7	(269.4)	(566.5)	(1,558.4)
Primary	19.9	(323.6)	(0.6)	1.8	144.0	(261.9)	(420.4)
Lower Secondary	3.3	97.0	14.4	26.7	158.3	194.2	494.0
Upper Secondary	22.9	(76.7)	61.1	17.0	63.1	103.8	191.1
College	7.8	45.9	91.1	43.3	50.6	39.7	278.4
Unknown	2.1	3.1	(0.0)	(0.5)	2.7	(0.1)	7.4

**Sources:** NSO, *Labor Force Survey* conducted August, 1998 **Note:** Persons aged 15 years and above.