




THE PHILIPPINES AND COVID-19

IMPACT ON THE PRIVATE SECTOR

The Philippines and COVID-19: Impact on the private sector

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Investing in Women and UN Women both work with influential companies on shifting workplace cultures, practices and policy barriers to achieve workplace gender equality (WGE) in Indonesia, Myanmar, the Philippines and Vietnam. A partnership has been established to share data and knowledge, and develop joint tools and approaches that leverage our respective expertise.

Investing in Women is an initiative of the Australian Government through the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade that catalyses inclusive economic growth through women's economic empowerment in Southeast Asia. Through Business Coalitions for Workplace Gender Equality, change is driven from the top. CEOs make commitments to gender equality and hold themselves accountable by measuring their progress against their commitments.

UN Women works through WeEmpowerAsia, a programme funded by and in partnership with the European Union seeking to increase the number of women who lead and participate in business in China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam. A key component of the programme is to mobilize private sector companies to become gender-responsive by committing to and implementing the Women's Empowerment Principles (WEPs).

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Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic of early 2020 caused a global contraction in economic demand and supply that saw hundreds of millions of workers around the globe stood down or only able to access reduced hours of work (ILO 2020).

This report focuses on the impact of COVID-19 on private sector workers and employers in the Philippines.

On March 16th, the Philippine government imposed an enhanced community quarantine (ECQ) or 'lockdown' in response to the COVID-19 pandemic that limited all non-essential movement and mandated the closure of non-essential shops and businesses. The ECQ was originally set to last until April 12 but was extended on three occasions. The ECQ continued to operate in Metro Manila, Laguna Province and Cebu City until the end of May while other areas experienced an easing of quarantine protocols.

Alongside the ECQ, the government's response included granting of emergency powers to the President on March 25th and implementation of a PHP 27.1 billion fiscal package for the purchase of COVID-19 health equipment, social protection for vulnerable workers and support for the tourism and agricultural sectors. Specialised financial assistance was made available to affected SMEs through a PHP 1 billion Enterprise rehabilitation Financing facility. The Bangko Sentral ng Philipinas (BSP) purchased PHP 300 billion worth of government securities to support the government's COVID-19 response package. The ECQ is estimated to have disrupted the employment of 19 million workers, almost half the total workforce.

It is in the context of this national response to the immediate health and economic crisis that we provide an analysis of the impact of the pandemic on the private sector in the Philippines.

The report is based on two surveys.

1. The first and main data source is an employee survey undertaken in May 2020, during the height of the lockdown. It investigates the general and gender-specific short-term impact of COVID-19 on private sector employees in terms of work, household dynamics and mental health.

This data was collected through an online survey facilitated by YouGov between May 13-18, 2020. The target population is private sector workers from the formal sector who have internet access. The statistics presented in this report use sample weight corrections to ensure representativity in terms of age, gender and region. The sample is composed of 600 individuals (300 men and 300 women), between 18 and 60 years of age, working in companies with 200 employees or more. Table 1 shows a demographic description of the sample.

2. The second data source is a small employer survey of sixteen private sector companies, which was implemented between March 31 and April 16, 2020. Companies were recruited through the Philippine Business Coalition for Women's Empowerment (PBCWE), Philippine Women's Economic Network (PhilWEN) and UN Women Philippines. Fifteen of the companies are based in Metro Manila. The survey was designed to understand the impact of the pandemic on employers and gather information on the challenges faced by private sector employers and their commitment to gender equality in the crisis.

Table 1. Sample summary

	Women	Men		Women	Men
Net income			Industry		
<i>Less than 5K</i>	14.26%	10.56%	<i>Accommodation and Restaurants</i>	3.98%	2.49%
<i>[10k;15k[</i>	20.40%	14.96%	<i>Administrative and Support Services</i>	4.44%	5.37%
<i>[15k;20k[</i>	15.85%	16.89%	<i>Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing</i>	1.57%	1.23%
<i>[20k;30k[</i>	15.85%	20.88%	<i>Arts and Recreation Services</i>	1.90%	0.36%
<i>[30k;40k[</i>	7.52%	9.40%	<i>Construction</i>	3.09%	6.59%
<i>[40k;50k[</i>	9.03%	8.42%	<i>Education and Training</i>	8.62%	6.27%
<i>[50k;80k[</i>	4.94%	9.68%	<i>Electricity, Gas, Water and Waste Services</i>	1.30%	2.08%
<i>More than 80k</i>	5.37%	9.21%	<i>Financial and Insurance Services (including banking)</i>	12.85%	4.20%
<i>Total</i>	100%	100%	<i>Health Care and Social Work</i>	6.45%	5.23%
Age (average)	36 y.o.	37 y.o.	<i>Information Media and Telecommunications</i>	16.17%	14.91%
Primary earner	60.95%	66.08%	<i>Manufacturing (food and drink)</i>	1.36%	4.63%
Married or living with partner	52.37%	51.32%	<i>Manufacturing (other)</i>	9.05%	9.90%
Have one or more children	68.01%	65.30%	<i>Mining</i>	0.00%	0.71%
			<i>Professional, Scientific and Technical Services (including accounting, consulting, engineering, legal)</i>	4.82%	6.73%
			<i>Rental, Hiring and Real Estate Services</i>	1.96%	3.16%
			<i>Retail Trade</i>	5.91%	6.65%
			<i>Transport, Postal and Warehousing</i>	1.94%	3.25%
			<i>Wholesale Trade</i>	1.33%	1.45%
			<i>Other</i>	13.25%	14.81%

Note: sample weights applied.

Analysis of these two surveys shows that the pandemic had an immediate and negative impact on private sector employers and employees in the Philippines. Employees report experiencing significant pressures on their financial security and in their domestic life. The intensification of unpaid domestic care and household work is especially strong for women who report this having a strong negative impact on their mental health. The impact of the crisis on men's mental health is also strong, although for different reasons.

The aim of this report is to provide insights for employers concerning the immediate impact of the crisis on the private sector. These findings will assist employers looking to better support their workforce during the next stage of the crisis period. It should be noted, that the medium-term and long-term impacts of the pandemic will not necessarily show the same patterns as the ones presented in this report and ongoing research into the impact of the COVID-19 crisis will be required to inform employers ongoing response and business planning.

The report is divided into 4 main sections. The first three focus on employee responses and the impact on work, impact on household dynamics, and the impact on health. The final section examines employer perspectives.

Section 1. Impact on work

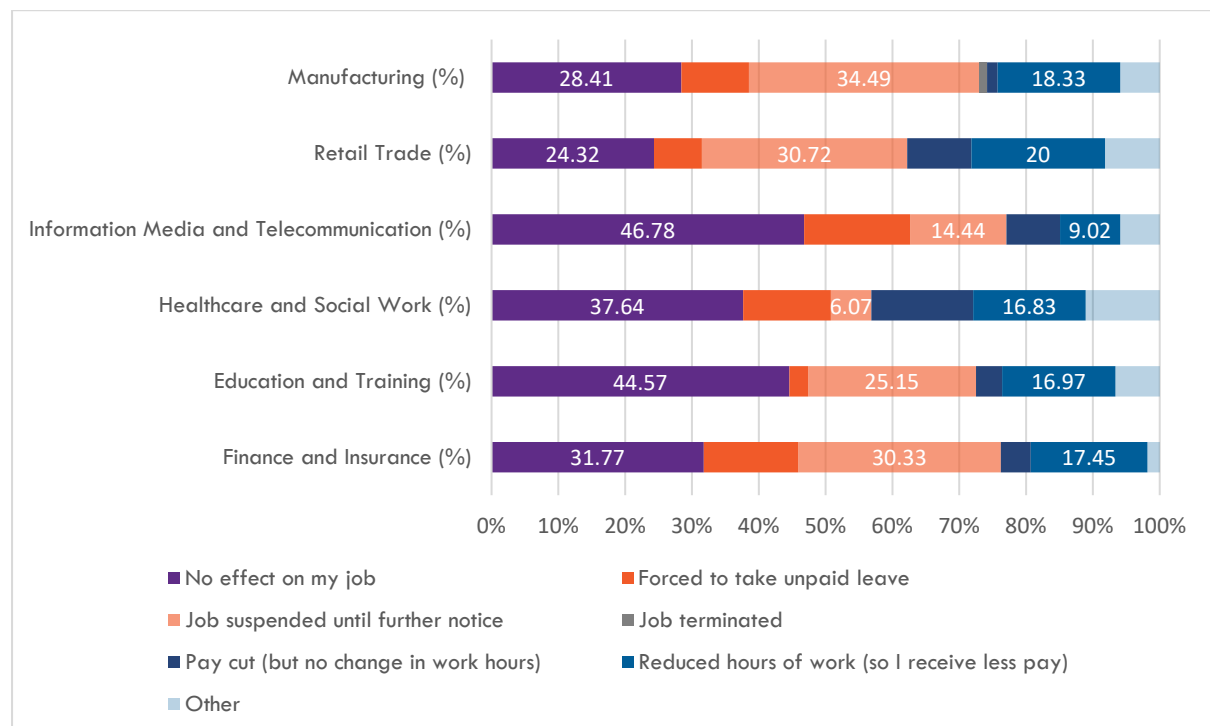
- More than one-third of workers report the pandemic had no impact on work.
- Almost two-thirds of workers experienced a variety of work-related changes.
- Approximately half the workers in the hardest-hit sectors had their jobs suspended, terminated, or had a cut in hours or pay.
- More women than men experienced temporary suspensions and cuts in their hourly pay rate.

1.1. Employment change by industry & gender

The pandemic and government response to the health crisis had an immediate impact on workers and employers. 37% of survey respondents report the pandemic-ECQ has had no effects of their work. The remaining 63% experienced a variety of work-related changes. Twenty-one percent of employees had their job suspended until further notice, 13% were forced to take unpaid leave and more than 1 in 5 workers have suffered cuts in their hourly rate of pay or reduced hours of work resulting in lower wages.

The impact on work was most acute for workers engaged in the sectors of the economy hardest hit by the ECQ such as manufacturing, retail, education and finance, where approximately 50% or more of respondents had their jobs suspended, terminated, or had a cut in hours or pay. In information, media and telecommunications, 15.9% were forced to take unpaid leave, and in health care 15.2% had a cut in pay (see graph 1). This may be due to health services reorganising tasks to free up resources for the COVID-19 response.

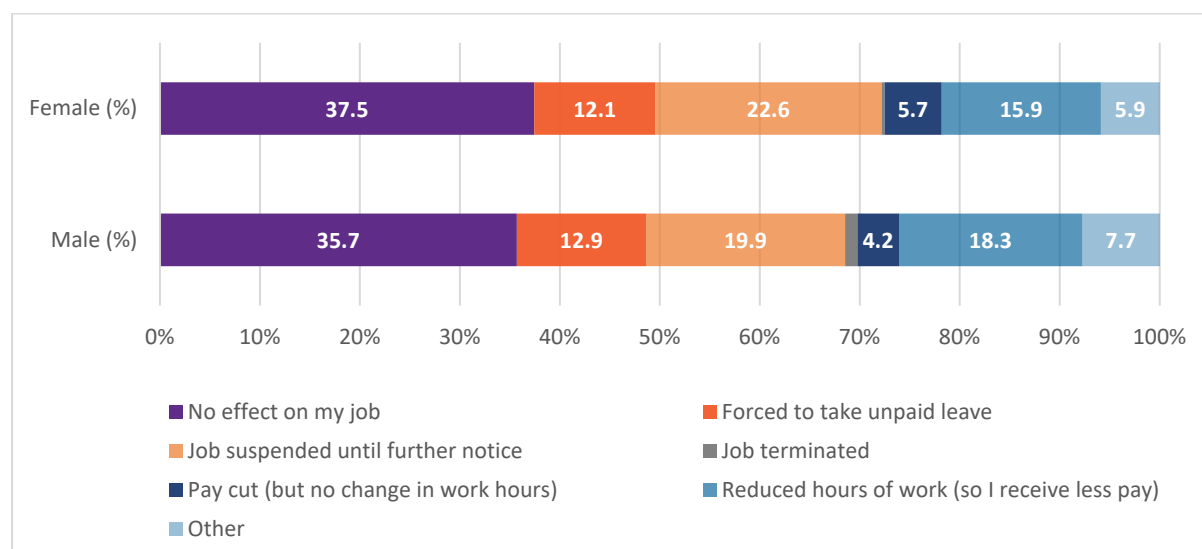
Graph 1. Employment Change by Industry



Note: sample weights applied.

There are also differences by gender (see graph 2). Women have suffered more from temporary suspensions and cuts in their hourly rate of pay compared to men, whereas men have been more affected by permanent job terminations and reduced hours of jobs.¹ But overall, a similar proportion of men and women (22%) reported they either had a pay cut or a reduction in hours of work, both resulting in lower incomes.

Graph 2. Employment Change by Gender



Note: sample weights applied.

1.2. Changes in hours, income and location

- **Hours – two out of five men and women experienced no change in hours**
- **Income – a larger share of men than women reported a decrease in overall income**
- **Location – more women than men reported working from home**

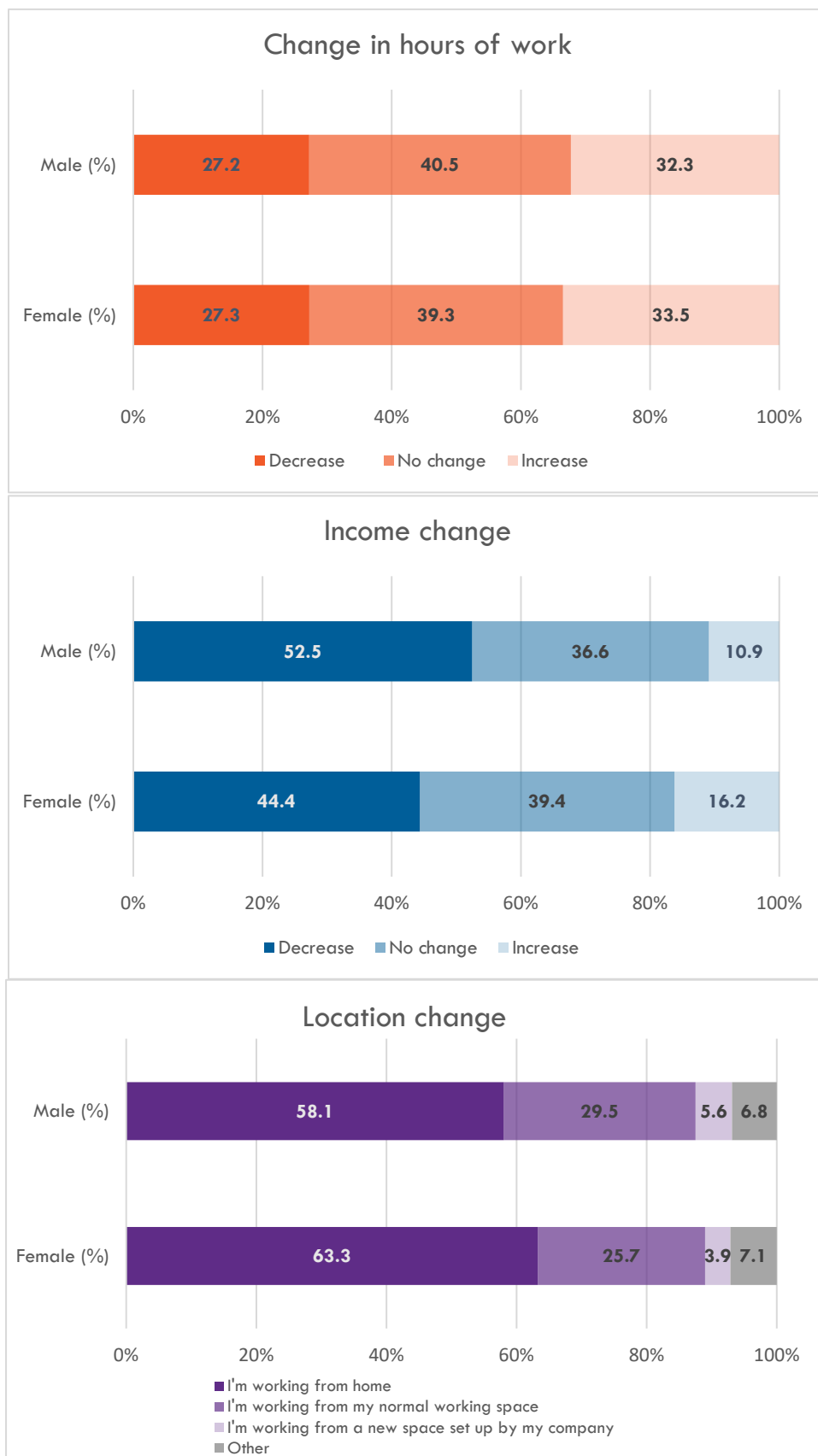
The extent to which working hours changed for men and women shows a similar pattern, with 39% of women and 40% of men experiencing no change in hours (see graph 3). Approximately a third of the other workers have experienced an increase in hours of work. In terms of income², 52% of men reported a decrease compared to 44% of women.

Location of work during the pandemic reveals gender differences. 63% of women report working from home compared with 58% of men, who were more likely to be working from their normal place of work (29%). A higher proportion of men were also working from a new space set up by the company in response to the crisis (6%) compared to women (4%).

¹ Note that the Chi² test does not allow to conclude on a significant difference between the distribution of men and women across the categories.

² Note that in this section changes in income refer to overall income whereas the previous section presented changes in hourly wages.

Graph 3. Change in hours of work, income and location



Note: sample weights applied.

Inferential analyses³ show that when all other factors are held constant⁴, compared to women, men are more likely to have experienced a decrease in their income rather than no change. Moreover, compared to employees from large businesses (1000+ employees), men and women working in the smaller size businesses (200 to 499 employees) are more likely to have experienced a decrease in their income instead of no change.

In terms of change in working hours, the inferential analysis shows that when compared to workers from large businesses, those employed in small-size businesses are more likely to experience volatility (an increase or decrease in working hours) than to have a stable number of hours. And workers in medium businesses (500 to 999 employees) have a higher probability than those in large businesses to experience an increase in working hours than to remain on the same number of hours.

1.3. Productivity

- **One in five women reported being more productive during COVID-19.**
- **One in three workers reported being less productive during COVID-19.**
- **More men than women reported their productivity has not changed.**
- **Among those who experienced a productivity loss, one in two workers reported inadequate facilities as a cause and one in two women reported anxiety and stress as a cause.**

When asked about the impact of the crisis on productivity, two-thirds of respondents reported being more or equally productive compared to before the crisis. A larger proportion of women (21%) than men (14%) report higher productivity levels than before the pandemic, with more men (54%) than women (46%) reporting their productivity level has not changed.

About one-third of workers reported they are less productive than before the pandemic, with slightly more women (34%) than men (32%) reporting they think they are less productive than before COVID-19 (see table 1).

Table1. Self-declared productivity change because of COVID-19

	Female (%)	Male (%)
I'm equally productive	44.8	54.0
I'm more productive	20.6	14.4
I'm not as productive	34.6	31.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Note: sample weights applied

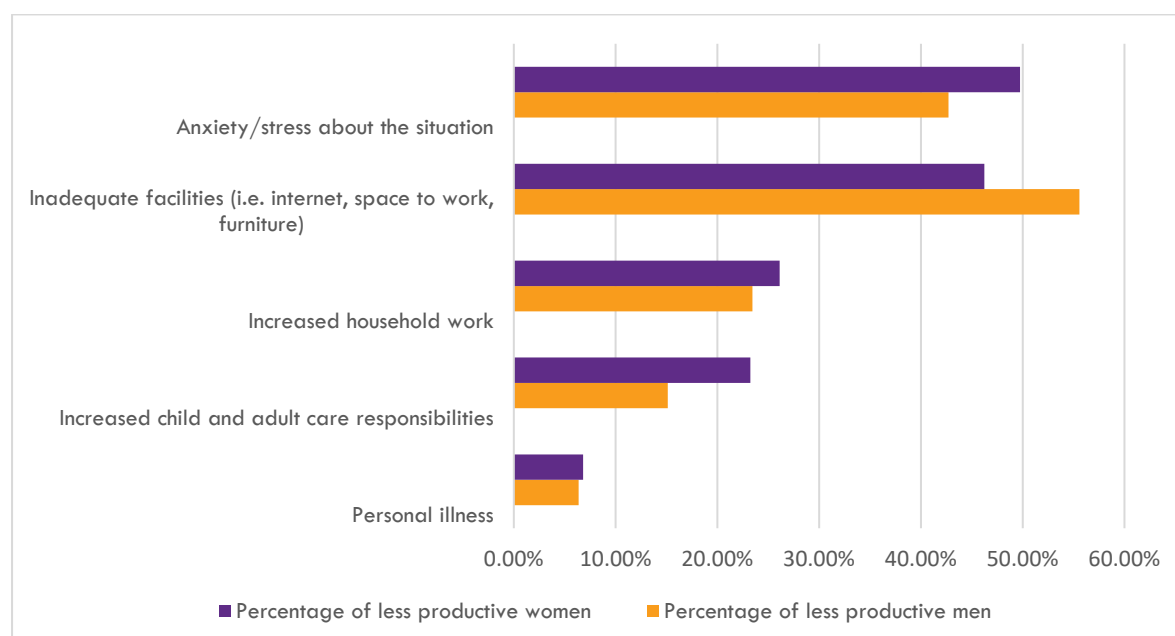
Among workers experiencing a decline in work productivity, 46% report that it was because of anxiety and stress, and 51% report that inadequate facilities have been a problem (See graph 4). 25% report reduced productivity is because of increased household work and 19% report it is because of increased care responsibilities.

³ These analyses are based on multinomial regression models on the change in income, change in working hours and change in location, as presented in Appendix 2. The base category for each regression is 'no change'. Only statistically significant results (at 1%, 5% and 10% levels) are presented.

⁴ These other factors are the control variables (e.g income, education level). See the Appendix for the complete regression tables including all control variables.

Although not statistically significant, interesting gender differences can be observed. The share of women who are less productive because of increased child and adult care responsibility is 23%, whereas direct care responsibilities are only reported as a cause of productivity decline by 15% of men. When we combine all unpaid household duties (care and domestic tasks) the results show that unpaid work, which increased for women as a result of COVID-19, directly affected their productivity to a greater extent than it did for men. Inadequate facilities are reported by more men as the main reason for reduced productivity.

Graph 4. Reasons of productivity loss



Note: sample weights applied.

1.4. Employer response

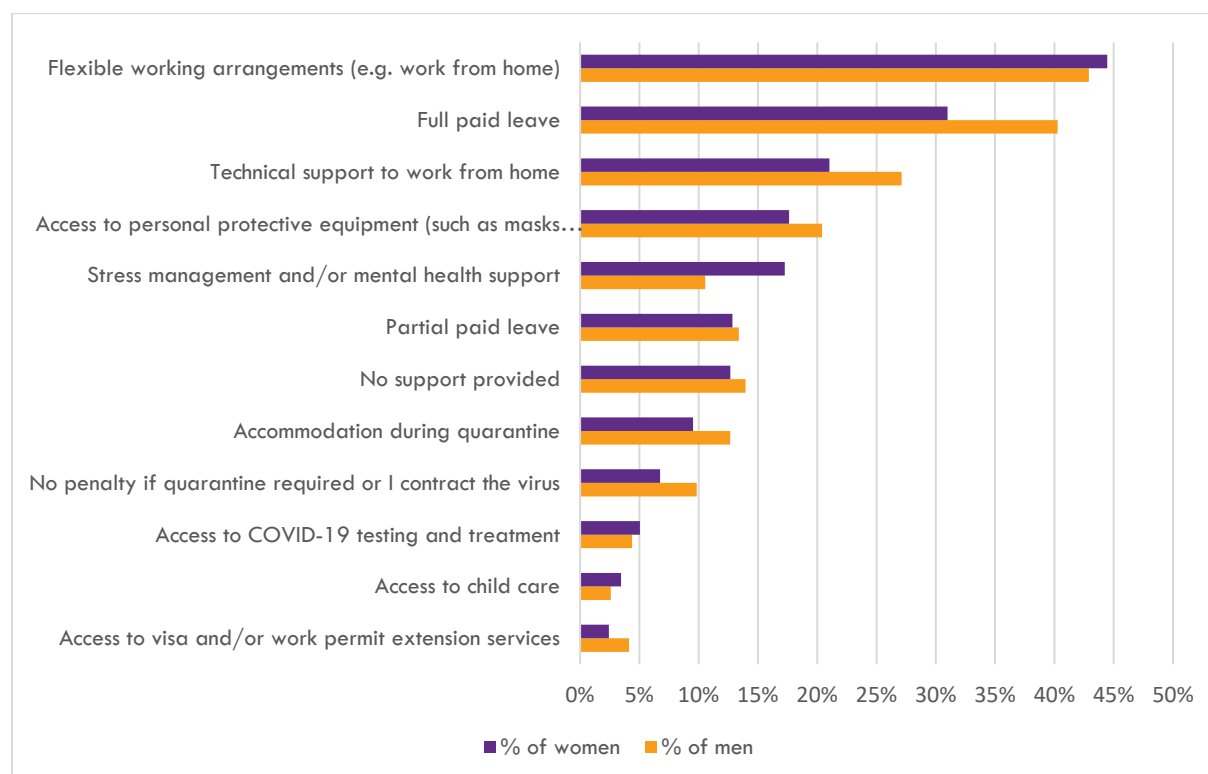
- **Two out of five men and women had access to flexible work.**
- **A significantly higher proportion of men than women had access to full paid leave.**
- **Men also had significantly more access to technical assistance.**
- **Women received significantly more support for stress than men.**
- **Less than 5% of all employees received any support for childcare.**

Employer responses to the challenges presented by the crisis have taken a variety of forms (see graph 5). Employees report that employer support has generally taken the form of full-paid leave and flexible work arrangements. Men and women reported similar levels of access to flexible work (44% and 43% respectively), but a significantly higher proportion of men (40%) reported access to full paid leave than women (31%). Men also had significantly better access to technical support to work from home (27%) than women (21%), while a significantly higher proportion of women report they received support for stress and mental health (17%) compared to men (10.5%). 13% of all respondents had no access to any kind of support from their employer and less than 5% received any support for childcare.

Reported access to employer support during the immediate crisis is markedly gendered with more men receiving paid leave and technical assistance and more women receiving support for mental health and

stress. This pattern reflects and reinforces dominant gender norms of male breadwinner/female carer norms operating in both society and workplaces.

Graph 5. Type of employer support



Note: sample weights applied. Chi² tests show significant differences in the proportions of women and men in the following categories: full paid leave (higher proportion for men; p-value 0.02); technical support to work from home (higher proportion for men; p-value 0.09); stress management and mental health support (higher proportion for women; p-value 0.02).

What could employers and government do differently?

- **Employees would have liked more financial support from their employer and the government.**
- **Employees needed better access to internet and utilities and reported strong support for government discounts on utilities such as water, telecommunications, and internet.**
- **Employees expressed strong support for the government to provide mass testing, making it available in every workplace.**

The survey also asked respondents to report on what their employer could have done differently to provide support during the crisis. Many employees report they received adequate support from their employer. However, the vast majority reported they would have liked employers to provide additional financial support. This included a range of assistance measures such as advance payment of wages, leave credits and other bonuses, bringing forward the 13th month of pay, and additional hazard payments. Amongst employees who reported working at their normal place of work, there was also a desire for work from home (WFH) arrangements. Those who had been relocated to WFH indicated they would have liked more support around access to work tools and infrastructure such as internet and utilities allowances. Others cited a desire for employers to be more flexible around both place of work, work targets and adjustment to working hours. Less common, but still noted, was the desire for more regular

communication by employers with employees, support with food packs, and health inputs such as personal protective equipment (PPE) and vitamins.

Many of these same concerns were directed at the Philippine government. When respondents were asked which measures government should implement to support employees to respond to the economic impacts of COVID-19, the number one desire was for additional financial aid. There is a widespread view that whether you were in work or not, cash assistance should be made available to all citizens, not just the poor or marginal workers. Respondents reported that the middle classes were also struggling with the economic impact of COVID-19 and should receive financial assistance from the government: “Everyone should have been given financial support despite what company they belong to because not all employers care for their people”. There was also strong support for government discounts on utilities such as water, telecommunications, and internet. Provision of reliable internet services was identified as an important support by many respondents and linked to the view that government should provide support for working from home as a permanent option.

In general, many reported the government was doing a good job, with strong praise for the lockdown and social distancing rules: “Staying at home is the best thing our government implemented.” There was some appetite for the government to extend the lockdown and implement stronger enforcement of the ECQ. There was also strong support for the government to extend its support for mass testing, making it available in every workplace as well as provide PPE to all.

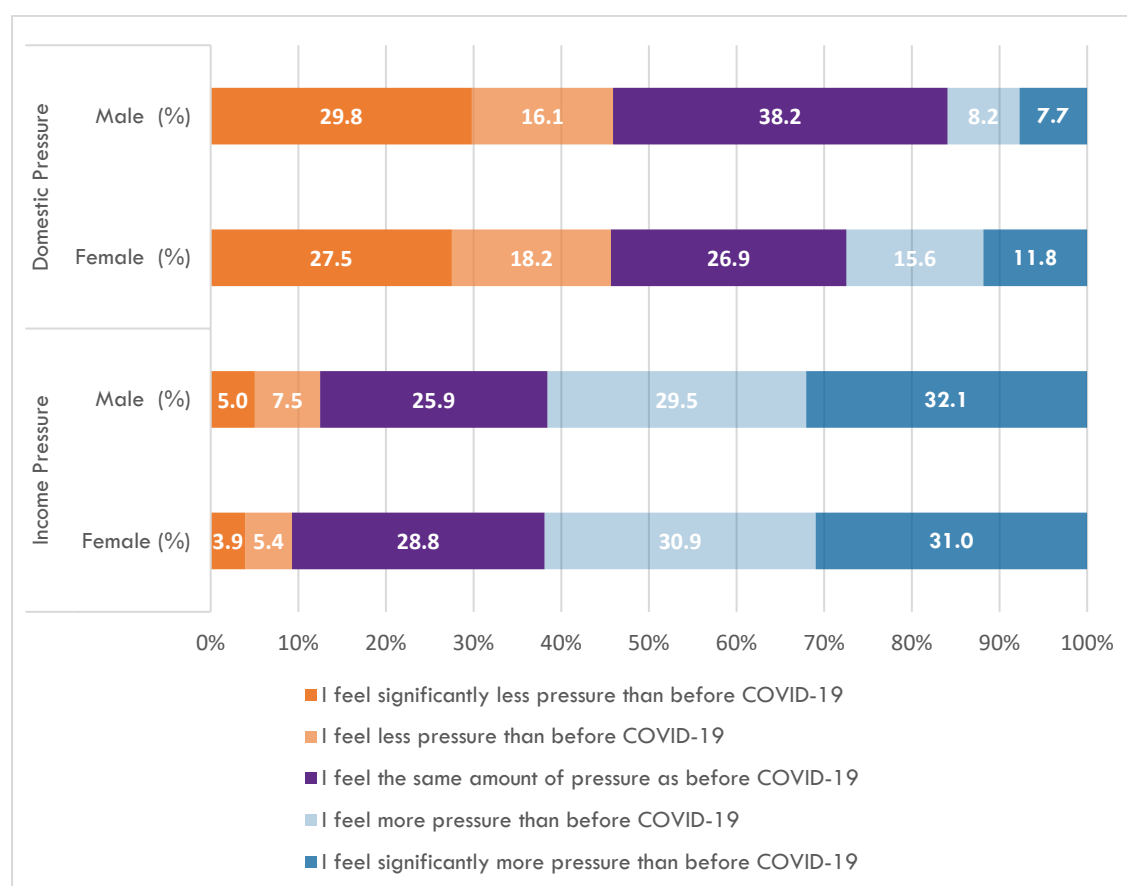
Section 2. Impact on Households

- **Three out of five employees reported more financial pressure because of COVID-19.**
- **Women reported feeling more domestic pressure than men because of COVID-19 with one in two reporting exhaustion due to increased domestic burden.**
- **More than half of all workers spent more time on childcare, food preparation and cleaning than they did before the pandemic struck.**
- **Women have had a greater increase in their time spent on food preparation, cleaning, and care of ill family members than men.**

2.1. Domestic and income pressures

More than 60% of private sector employees, men and women, reported they felt more income pressure during the early stages of the crisis than before the crisis. And while around 45% report they feel less domestic pressure, 27.5% of women say they felt more domestic pressure during the crisis compared to only 16% of men (see graph 6).

Graph 6. Income and domestic pressure by gender



Note: sample weights applied.

Inferential analyses⁵ show that, when all other factors are held constant, compared to employees who report no change in income, there is no clear association between a decrease in income and both income and domestic pressure, since it is positively correlated to both an increase for some and a decrease for others. However, an increase in income is associated with less domestic pressure.

In terms of gender, men are less likely than women to report a decrease in domestic pressure, suggesting more stability. Interestingly, primary income earners are more likely to report an increase in domestic pressure and full-time workers are more likely to experience less income pressure.

2.2. Household work and care

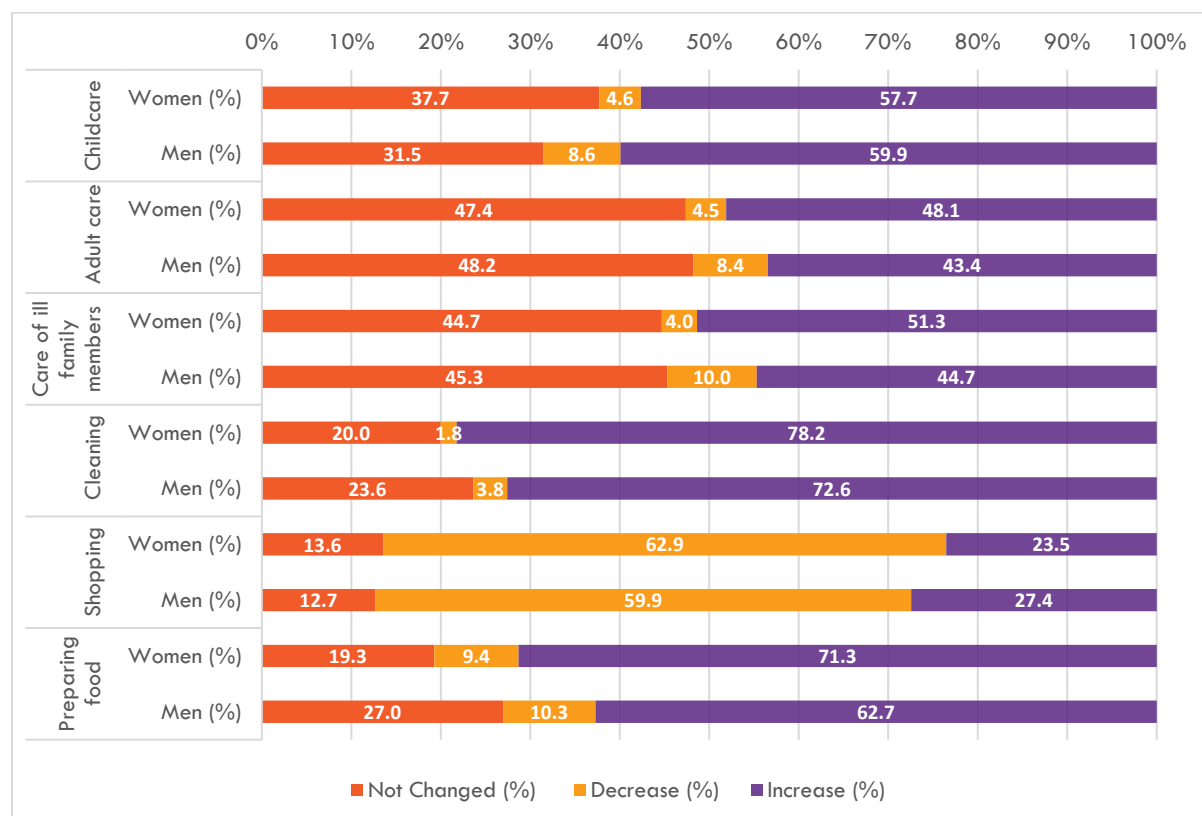
The impact of COVID-19 on work, along with social distancing measures had impacts on the domestic and care workload. More than half of all workers have seen an increase in the time they spend on childcare, food preparation and cleaning (see graph 7). The only domestic task for which much less time is devoted during the crisis is shopping. It should be noted that for large shares of individuals (ranging from 13% to 48%) there has been no change in time allocated to these homebased activities.

Gender-specific analysis shows that there are significant changes in time allocation for men and women in three activities: childcare, cleaning, and food preparation. More men report a decline in time devoted to childcare than women, even as most men and women say total time spent on this activity has increased. The pattern is similar for care for the aged and ill, with less than 50% reporting an increase in time spent

⁵ These analyses are based on multinomial regression models on income and domestic pressure, as presented in Appendix 3. The base category for each regression is 'no change'. Only statistically significant results (at 1%, 5% and 10% levels) are commented.

on these care activities. And more than one-quarter of men have experienced no change in the time devoted to food preparation while more than 70% of women report an increase in time spent in food preparation. The data report changes in time spent on activities by women and men - not the total time. These changes in the time spent on household activities during the pandemic must therefore be understood in relation to the distribution of household labour pre-COVID. Household labour in the Philippines is heavily skewed towards women who spend the most time on household and care work, so an increase in men's time on household activities is off a low base.⁶

Graph 7. Change in time devoted to household responsibilities by gender



Note: sample weights applied.

Inferential analyses⁷ suggest that, when all other factors are held constant, a decrease in income is associated with an increase in the time spent on childcare, caring for adults and ill family members, but it is also associated with a decrease in shopping time and more volatility (increase for some and decrease for others) in food preparation times. Those who have had an increase in working hours have a smaller probability of increasing their time for childcare and a higher probability of decreasing ill family care. Finally, men are more likely to have experienced a decrease in time spent on household activities compared to women, especially in terms of childcare, ill family care and food preparation. This is significant and has a direct impact on women's physical and mental health, outlined below.

⁶ Women provide 84% of the total household time allocated to child care (ADB 2013) *Gender Equality in the Labor Market in the Philippines* <https://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/31194/gender-equality-labor-market-philippines.pdf>

⁷ These analyses are based on multinomial regression models on the change in time devoted to the different household responsibilities, as presented in Appendix. The base category for each regression is 'no change'. Only statistically significant results (at 1%, 5% and 10% levels) are commented.

Section 3. Impact on Health and Wellbeing

- Two out of five employees reported COVID-19 pressures have negatively impacted their physical health.
- Women's mental health is significantly more affected than men's.
- Women reported being more concerned about the current situation, caring concerns and family tensions, whereas men reported being more concerned about finances and isolation.

3.1. Physical health

Income and domestic pressures are reported to have an impact on employees' physical and mental health. More than 40% of all employees report that crisis-induced pressure has negatively impacted their physical health with little differences between men and women (see Table 2). Physical health is mostly affected on account of safety concerns, inability to exercise and exhaustion from domestic tasks (see Table 3). More men report the inability to exercise and infection from COVID-19 as negatively impacting their physical health compared with women. A much higher proportion of women (46%) than men (34%) reported exhaustion from domestic duties the reason for their reduced physical health.

Table 2. Impact on physical health

	Female (%)	Male (%)	Total (%)
No	56.6	59.5	58.1
Yes	43.4	40.5	41.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: sample weights applied.

Table 3. Reasons for the impact on physical health

Main reasons for health impacts	Female (%)	Male (%)
Exhaustion due to increased domestic burdens	46.3	34.0
Infected with the COVID-19	3.4	8.5
Personal safety at risk	53.4	53.0
Underlying health conditions	22.6	27.0
Inability to exercise	47.7	54.3

Note: sample weights applied.

3.2. Mental health

Analysis of the impact of income and domestic pressures on mental health shows that a large share of workers (43%) report the pandemic crisis has had a negative impact on their mental health, with significantly more women than men experiencing this (48% vs 39%). A greater proportion of women rate this as an area of concern compared with physical health (48% vs 43%). For men, income and

domestic pressures are reported by a similar proportion of respondents to have an impact on their mental and physical health: 39% and 40.5% respectively (see Table 3 and 4).

Table 4. Impact of COVID-19 on mental health

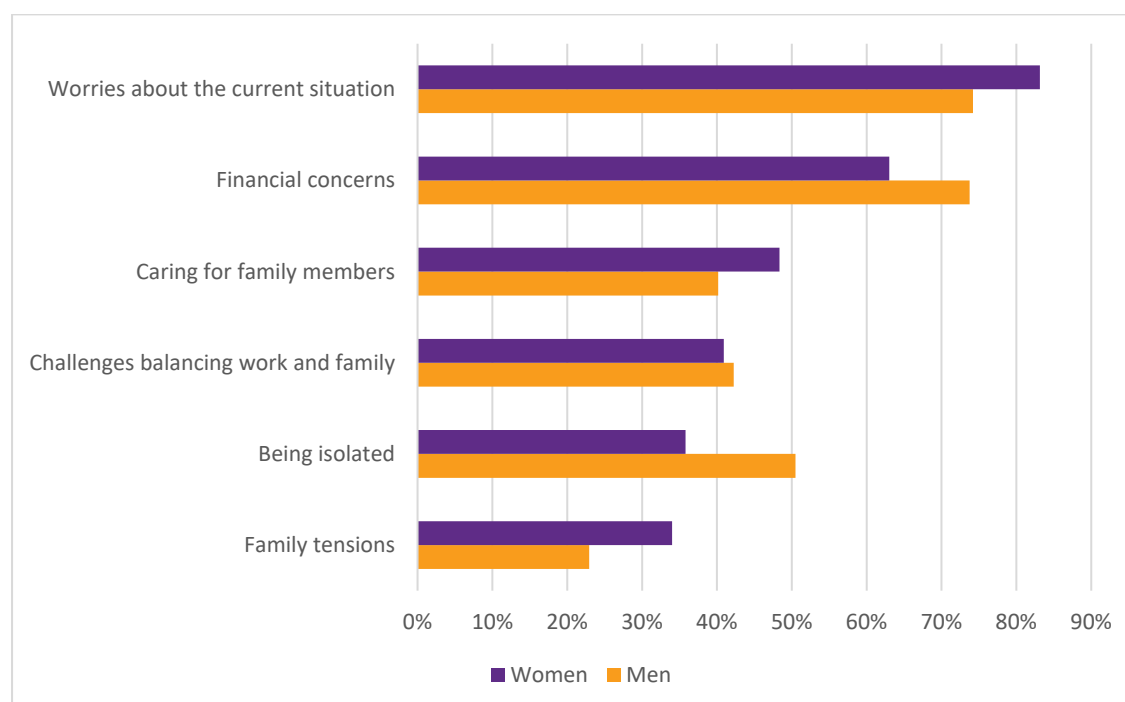
	Female (%)	Male (%)
No	52.0	60.8
Yes	48.0	39.2
Total	100.0	100

Note: sample weights applied. Pearson Chi² P-value= 0.0356

When asked to identify the reasons for the negative impact on mental health a lot of workers report it is due to the stress of the pandemic situation (79%), financial concerns (68%), caring for family members (44%), isolation (42%), and challenges balancing work and family (42%). The least identified reason is family tension, which is nevertheless reported by 28% of affected workers (see graph 8).

There are, however, significant differences between men and women's experiences. More women than men report their mental health has been affected because of worries about the current situation, caring for family members and family tension. Men are more likely to identify financial concerns and isolation as the reason for a decline in mental health.

Graph 8. Reasons for the impact on mental health



Note: sample weights applied.

The changes brought about by COVID-19 on women's work and home lives have compounded to produce higher levels of exhaustion and stress for women. Additional inferential analyses (not presented in this report) do not show a significant relationship between income change and health deterioration (physical or mental). Note that the absence of a significant correlation only indicates a short-term trend on a self-reported health status. Asking the respondents to give a health assessment in the medium or long-run is likely to change this result. Moreover, it is also possible that people underestimate a deterioration in their mental health because of social stigma surrounding mental health.

Section 4. Employer Perspectives

- **14 of the 16 companies ranked the financial impact and disruption caused by COVID-19 on their business as 8 or more out of 10.**
- **10 of the 16 companies reported that they did not feel that women and men employees were affected differently by the crisis.**

This final section of the report provides results from the small employer survey of 16 private sector businesses representing retail, export manufacturing, BPO, real estate and finance sectors. The majority employ large numbers of staff (more than 500) and more than 30% of staff were female in all but one company, with 11 companies employing more than 50% women. Ten companies reported more than 50% of top management positions held by women. The companies all had an existing commitment to gender equality in the workplace.

4.1. Impact on business

Almost all businesses surveyed reported that the level of financial impact and disruption to business operations caused by the COVID-19 pandemic was extreme. Asked to rank the level of impact out of 10, six businesses rated the impact at 10 and a total of 14 companies rated the impact at 8 or higher.

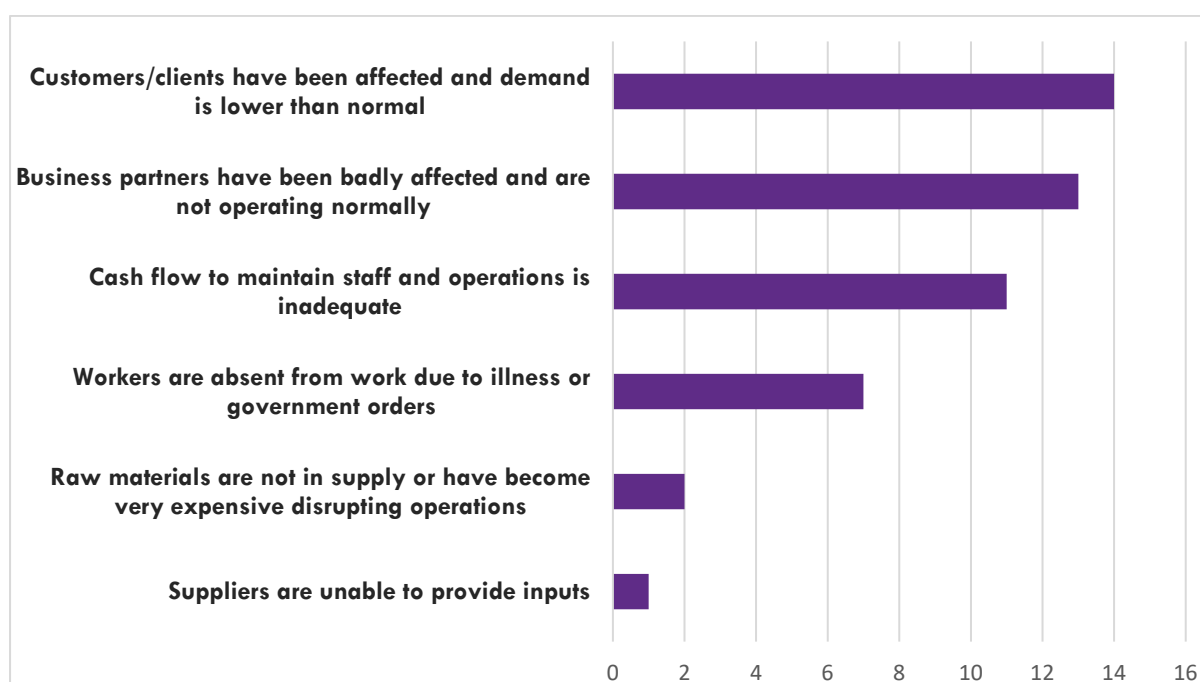
At the early stage of the crisis, the companies reported various levels of business operation. Only one company remained fully operational on-site. One quarter (4) were fully operational but had relocated all employees to work remotely, half (8) were operating only in part, and three were not operating at all.

Companies reported varying lengths of time before they expected their enterprise would be fully operational. Seven companies expect it to take 3-12 months before normal business resumes. Three companies expect it will be more than one year before they resume normal trading.

4.2. Business challenges and response

The main challenges facing business were on account of business partners having been badly affected and not operating normally, along with inadequate cash flow to maintain staff and operations (see graph 9 which charts the number of businesses -out of 16- that report each challenge). Other challenges are lower customer demand, closed shopping malls and supply disruptions.

Graph 9. Challenges faced by employers



The most common responses made by business to these and other challenges included allowing employees to telecommute or work from home (12), providing sanitizers and other personal protective equipment and products to employees (12), providing technology and support to work from home or work flexibly (11) and allowing the use of paid leave credits (11). Other common responses included the provision of benefits such as housing, transportation, meals, subsidies (9) and scaling back operations (8). Implementation of these diverse strategies has not always been smooth with five companies reporting inadequate IT and communications infrastructure a significant challenge for WFH. Two companies also reported government regulations stymied their COVID response efforts.

Where companies had instituted a COVID-19 Task Force or Crisis Management Team, women were included as part of the leadership team. Only three companies offered specific supports for women. Almost two-thirds (10) of the companies reported that they did not feel that women and men employees were affected differently by the crisis. The three companies that did recognise a difference provided specific supports in recognition of additional pressure at home, including childcare. Some companies reported they were attentive to the needs of single mothers and pregnant employees.

Most companies expected their current commitment to women's empowerment would remain the same despite the crisis, with plans unaffected. Three companies thought they would increase their commitment to workplace gender equality on account of the crisis. However, employer expectations about the impact of the pandemic on gender equality advocacy more broadly was mixed, with three companies reporting they think the crisis will see women overlooked as male leaders focus on urgent business concerns, and three others concerned women will be pushed back into more traditional homemaker roles.

4.3 Business opportunities

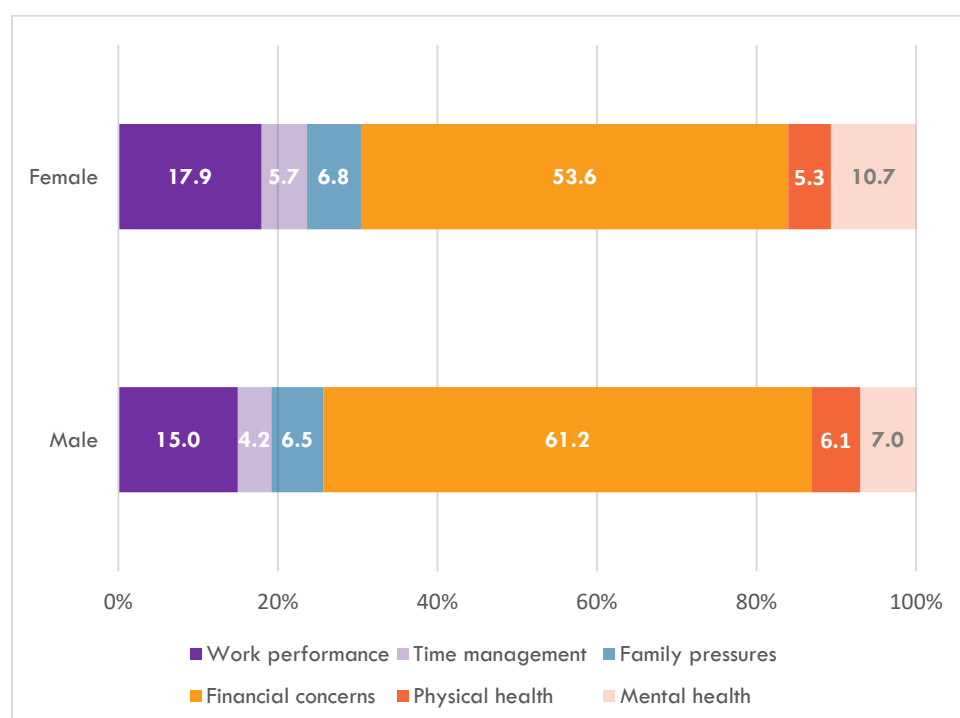
Businesses also identified opportunities that had emerged during the first few months of the crisis. Eight companies reported opportunities for enhanced E-commerce and the digitalisation of some business functions. Four companies expected to embed flexible work and WFH options as part of normal operations and two reported opportunities for product and market diversification. To realise these opportunities five businesses reported the need for enhanced IT infrastructure and four noted the need

for a more supportive regulatory environment, suggesting that government investment in critical infrastructure will be essential for business success during the long recovery period.

Conclusion

The economic consequences of the COVID-19 health crisis on employees and employers are significant with more than half of the employee survey respondents identifying financial concerns as the greatest challenge of the immediate crisis period. This concern was more marked for men than women (see graph 10).

Graph 10. Most challenging issue during COVID-19



Note: sample weights applied.

The analysis contained in this report shows that the impact of the crisis on employees' professional lives, household dynamics and health is mixed with high levels of variation depending on industry, business size and gender. For almost 40% of employees in the survey the pandemic has had no effect of their work and around half report no change to their productivity. The impact on unpaid domestic work was stronger with more than half of all workers reporting an increase in the time they spend on childcare, food preparation and cleaning.

Gender has been an important factor in how the crisis has impacted employees' paid and unpaid work. If men are more likely to suffer from income decreases compared to women, they are also less likely to suffer from disruptions in their unpaid domestic and care hours. The crisis has affected the way in which households distribute their non-working hours, with more time now spent in various household chores. Although women are more likely to spend more time in food preparation and men more likely to decrease the time spent on childcare and ill family care, both men and women have increased their total time spent on household chores, compared to time spent before the pandemic. The increase in time spent on domestic and care for men is off a very low base, while women's increases are on top of an already very high domestic load. The change in time spent is likely due to an increase in the time available (i.e.

less time required for commuting and taking children to school), the increased demand for household chores and the reduced availability of care services such as child and elder care and domestic help.

Business size has also shaped employees' experiences of work during the immediate crisis period. Employees in small-sized business are more likely to have a decrease in their income instead of no change and are more likely to experience an increase or decrease in working hours rather than stability in the number of hours of work.

Income and domestic pressures on account of the COVID crisis negatively impacted employees' physical and mental health with men more impacted by an inability to exercise, financial concerns and feeling isolated. Women's health was impacted by exhaustion from domestic tasks, care and managing family tension. Forty-three percent of all workers experienced poor mental health due to the impact of the pandemic, with women more impacted than men.

Importantly, most companies expected their current commitment to women's empowerment would remain the same in spite of the crisis, however 6 thought the crisis would see women overlooked or pushed back into more traditional homemaker roles, with the indications of this happening already evident.

Author biographies

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Elizabeth Hill is Associate Professor in Political Economy at the University of Sydney and co-convenor of the Australian Work + Family Policy Roundtable. Elizabeth's research focuses on the political economy of gender, work and care in the Asia Pacific, in particular how economic institutions shape women's paid work, unpaid care and the care workforce in the rapidly evolving dynamics of the global political economy.

Professor Marian Baird AO

Marian Baird AO is Professor of Gender and Employment Relations, and the first female professor in industrial relations at the University of Sydney. She is a Presiding Pro-Chancellor of the University of Sydney, Head of the Discipline of Work and Organisational Studies and Co-Director of the Women, Work and Leadership Research Group in the University of Sydney Business School. Marian's disciplinary background is industrial relations and her research focus is gender and employment, in particular how regulation and social norms interact to produce different labour market outcomes for women and men.

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Suneha Seetahul is a postdoctoral research fellow at the University of Sydney and the Australian Women's Working Futures Project. Suneha's research involves micro-econometric analyses of gender, labor markets and development. Her current research focuses on the future of work and labour market outcomes of migrants in Australia, gender norms and labour market transitions and India, and the relationship between health, nutrition and inequalities in emerging countries.

Appendix

Appendix 1. Sample, data and methodology

The data used from this report was collected through an online survey facilitated by YouGov between May 13-18, 2020. The target population is formal sector private sector workers who have an internet access. The statistics presented in this report use sample weight corrections to ensure representativity in terms of age, gender and region. The sample is composed of 600 individuals (300 men and 300 women) between 18 and 60 years of age, working in companies with 200 employees or more. Table 1 shows a demographic description of the sample.

A1-1. Sample description

	Women	Men
Net income		
<i>Less than 5K</i>	14.26%	10.56%
<i>[10k;15k[</i>	20.40%	14.96%
<i>[15k;20k[</i>	15.85%	16.89%
<i>[20k;30k[</i>	15.85%	20.88%
<i>[30k;40k[</i>	7.52%	9.40%
<i>[40k;50k[</i>	9.03%	8.42%
<i>[50k;80k[</i>	4.94%	9.68%
<i>More than 80k</i>	5.37%	9.21%
<i>Total</i>	100%	100%
Industry		
<i>Accommodation and Restaurants</i>	3.98%	2.49%
<i>Administrative and Support Services</i>	4.44%	5.37%
<i>Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing</i>	1.57%	1.23%
<i>Arts and Recreation Services</i>	1.90%	0.36%
<i>Construction</i>	3.09%	6.59%
<i>Education and Training</i>	8.62%	6.27%
<i>Electricity, Gas, Water and Waste Services</i>	1.30%	2.08%
<i>Financial and Insurance Services (including banking)</i>	12.85%	4.20%
<i>Health Care and Social Work</i>	6.45%	5.23%
<i>Information Media and Telecommunications</i>	16.17%	14.91%
<i>Manufacturing (food and drink)</i>	1.36%	4.63%
<i>Manufacturing (other)</i>	9.05%	9.90%
<i>Mining</i>	0.00%	0.71%
<i>Other</i>	13.25%	14.81%
<i>Professional, Scientific and Technical Services (including accounting, consulting, engineering, legal)</i>	4.82%	6.73%
<i>Rental, Hiring and Real Estate Services</i>	1.96%	3.16%
<i>Retail Trade</i>	5.91%	6.65%
<i>Transport, Postal and Warehousing</i>	1.94%	3.25%
<i>Wholesale Trade</i>	1.33%	1.45%
Age (average)	36 y.o.	37 y.o.
Married or living with partner	52.37%	51.32%
Primary earner	60.95%	66.08%
Have one or more children	68.01%	65.30%

Note: sample weights applied

The second data source is a small employer survey of sixteen private sector companies. Companies were recruited through the Philippine Business Coalition for Womens Empowerment (PBCWE), Philippine Women's Economic Network (PhilWEN) and UN Women Philippines, and was open between March 31 and April 16, 2020. Fifteen of the companies are based in Metro Manila. The survey was designed to understand the impact of the pandemic on employers and gather information on the challenges faced by the private sector and their commitment to gender equality in the crisis.

The analysis presented in this report draws from both sources. The survey data has been analysed using descriptive statistics and inferential methods. Additional analysis presented in this appendix has been conducted using multinomial regression estimations on the following categorical dependent variables: change in hours, change in income and location change (see Appendix 2), income and domestic pressures (see Appendix 3) and time devoted to various household responsibilities (see Appendix 4). Sample weights are used to ensure age, gender and region representativity.

Appendix 2. Exploring change in employee work hours, income and location: multinomial regression results

	Hours change (base: no change)		Income change (base: no change)		Location change (base: no change)		
	Decrease	Increase	Decrease	Increase	Working from home	Working in new space	Other
Male	0.039	0.016	0.487**	-0.114	-0.382	0.260	-0.314
	(0.236)	(0.228)	(0.209)	(0.309)	(0.269)	(0.527)	(0.488)
Age	-0.047	-0.047	-0.065	-0.053	0.212**	0.161	0.173
	(0.094)	(0.086)	(0.083)	(0.133)	(0.104)	(0.191)	(0.176)
Squared age	0.001	0.000	0.001	0.000	-0.002*	-0.001	-0.002
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Single	-0.346	-0.067	-0.503**	0.264	0.179	-0.147	0.567
	(0.265)	(0.245)	(0.242)	(0.332)	(0.303)	(0.657)	(0.569)
Child	-0.008	0.117	-0.062	0.624*	0.057	-0.047	0.436
	(0.276)	(0.253)	(0.254)	(0.367)	(0.302)	(0.648)	(0.552)
Education level (base High school or less)							
Trade/technical/vocational	0.327	0.386	0.199	0.227	0.286	-1.091	1.759
	(0.614)	(0.520)	(0.511)	(0.879)	(0.829)	(1.081)	(1.129)
Bachelor's	0.511	-0.240	-0.591	-0.477	0.534	-1.715*	1.752*
	(0.546)	(0.461)	(0.436)	(0.803)	(0.797)	(0.985)	(1.023)
Master's	0.910	-0.341	-0.320	-0.442	1.023	-17.436***	2.047
	(0.684)	(0.632)	(0.575)	(0.952)	(1.002)	(1.299)	(1.496)
Primary income earner	0.466*	0.367	0.689***	-0.436	-0.070	-0.239	0.367
	(0.249)	(0.239)	(0.233)	(0.313)	(0.298)	(0.561)	(0.580)
Working full time (30 or more hours per week)	0.029	-0.831**	0.269	-0.276	-0.731	-1.944**	0.412
	(0.417)	(0.361)	(0.361)	(0.477)	(0.521)	(0.852)	(1.276)
Income (base: less than 10k)							
[10k;15k[	0.134	0.256	-0.046	0.101	0.753	1.426	-0.692
	(0.467)	(0.423)	(0.426)	(0.587)	(0.473)	(1.300)	(0.882)
[15k;20k[	0.016	-0.116	-0.281	0.076	0.873*	2.099*	-0.027
	(0.465)	(0.446)	(0.424)	(0.561)	(0.491)	(1.219)	(0.856)
[20k;30k[	-0.480	-0.385	-0.653	-0.099	0.748	2.362*	-0.968
	(0.467)	(0.435)	(0.424)	(0.560)	(0.491)	(1.223)	(0.851)
[30k;40k[	-0.880	-0.292	-1.061**	-0.070	1.895***	1.813	-0.417
	(0.584)	(0.526)	(0.509)	(0.668)	(0.668)	(1.764)	(1.262)
[40k;50k[	-0.126	-0.285	-1.030**	-0.114	1.057	2.744**	16.695***
	(0.587)	(0.551)	(0.511)	(0.685)	(0.674)	(1.385)	(1.375)
[50k;80k[	-0.085	-0.331	-0.399	0.444	1.246*	-14.038***	16.393***
	(0.550)	(0.562)	(0.528)	(0.709)	(0.656)	(1.330)	(1.140)
More than 80k	-1.732**	-0.909	-1.675***	-1.050	1.980***	3.008**	14.541***
	(0.708)	(0.613)	(0.577)	(0.879)	(0.686)	(1.457)	(0.922)
Business Size (base: 1000 +)							

200 to 499	0.620** (0.287)	0.909*** (0.277)	0.700*** (0.267)	-0.065 (0.382)	0.088 (0.342)	-1.293 (0.796)	0.584 (0.550)
500 to 999	0.046 (0.300)	0.721*** (0.275)	0.120 (0.257)	-0.125 (0.359)	-0.847** (0.346)	-1.020 (0.849)	-0.480 (0.778)
Type of employment (base: clerical support work)							
Crafts and trades				- 14.038** *			
	1.645 (1.295)	0.474 (1.623)	0.413 (1.217)	-0.065 (1.235)	0.580 (1.387)	-18.780*** (1.725)	3.430** (1.737)
Machine operators and product assemblers	0.016 (0.758)	0.676 (0.597)	-0.290 (0.602)	-1.317 (0.931)	-1.316 (0.840)	1.594 (1.248)	-0.711 (1.268)
Manual labour				- 15.410** *			-
	-0.773 (1.063)	0.032 (0.868)	-1.431* (0.862)	-0.065 (0.827)	-1.618* (0.979)	1.152 (1.582)	18.119*** (1.116)
Senior Management	1.212* (0.620)	1.054* (0.631)	-0.292 (0.549)	-0.123 (0.728)	-1.182* (0.648)	-17.401*** (1.276)	16.495*** (1.108)
Services or sales	0.020 (0.368)	-0.007 (0.352)	0.132 (0.359)	-0.408 (0.458)	-0.544 (0.421)	-0.052 (0.908)	-0.052 (0.673)
Skilled agriculture, forestry, fishery	- 13.170** *	- 13.133** *		- 16.807** *	- 17.590** *		-
			-16.947***			-17.507***	18.799***
Supervisor/mid-management level	(1.194)	(1.141)	(1.152)	(1.250)	(1.201)	(1.676)	(1.634)
	0.631 (0.385)	0.784** (0.380)	-0.371 (0.363)	-0.430 (0.459)	-0.756* (0.432)	-0.067 (0.904)	-2.510** (1.134)
Technical expert	-0.546 (0.455)	-1.022** (0.473)	-1.030** (0.415)	-1.409** (0.558)	0.548 (0.524)	1.753* (0.954)	-0.375 (1.047)
Type of employment (base: clerical support work)							
Constant	-0.903 (2.037)	0.918 (1.748)	1.133 (1.651)	1.907 (2.581)	-3.031 (2.242)	-3.420 (3.883)	-7.908** (3.809)
Regional Control	YES		YES		YES		
Observations	576	576	576	576	419	419	419

Note: Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0. Survey weights applied

Appendix 3. Exploring the determinants of income and domestic pressure: multinomial regression results

	Income Pressure (base: no pressure)		Domestic Pressure (base: no pressure)	
	Less Pressure	More Pressure	Less Pressure	More Pressure
Income change				
Decrease	1.083*** (0.392)	1.455*** (0.263)	1.070*** (0.353)	0.570** (0.267)
Increase	0.248 (0.585)	0.583* (0.343)	0.694* (0.413)	-0.020 (0.359)
Hours change				
Decrease	0.790* (0.453)	0.749** (0.310)	0.361 (0.376)	0.415 (0.295)
Increase	0.551 (0.393)	0.156 (0.273)	0.685** (0.335)	0.353 (0.269)
Male	0.436 (0.358)	0.054 (0.227)	-0.945*** (0.282)	-0.293 (0.228)
Age	0.008 (0.121)	0.088 (0.084)	0.240** (0.094)	0.221** (0.089)
Squared age	-0.000 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)
Single	-0.190 (0.362)	0.054 (0.250)	-0.431 (0.290)	-0.552** (0.259)
Child	-0.326 (0.371)	0.104 (0.262)	0.131 (0.309)	0.521** (0.261)
Education level (base High school or less)				
Trade/technical/vocational	-0.369 (0.788)	-0.312 (0.570)	0.240 (0.670)	-0.258 (0.602)
Bachelor's	-0.706 (0.793)	-0.454 (0.492)	0.210 (0.649)	0.083 (0.558)
Master's	-0.858 (1.347)	1.029 (0.676)	-0.057 (0.871)	0.100 (0.661)
Primary income earner	-0.059 (0.352)	0.126 (0.240)	0.175 (0.289)	0.624** (0.248)
Working full time (30 or more hours per week)	1.398** (0.651)	0.530 (0.352)	0.729 (0.505)	0.072 (0.398)
Income (base: less than 10k)				
[10k;15k[	0.083 (0.616)	0.608 (0.452)	0.150 (0.509)	0.268 (0.448)
[15k;20k[	-0.816 (0.655)	-0.176 (0.439)	-0.029 (0.521)	-0.351 (0.467)
[20k;30k[	-0.500 (0.610)	-0.302 (0.414)	-0.114 (0.524)	-0.105 (0.455)
[30k;40k[	-0.320 (0.827)	0.117 (0.524)	-1.502* (0.811)	-0.428 (0.526)
[40k;50k[	-1.041 (0.858)	-0.990* (0.525)	-0.966 (0.633)	-1.145** (0.545)
[50k;80k[	-1.605 (0.999)	-0.214 (0.609)	-0.355 (0.658)	-0.750 (0.585)
More than 80k	-1.805* (1.093)	-0.626 (0.560)	-1.306* (0.793)	-0.766 (0.594)

Business Size (base: 1000 +)				
200 to 499	-0.576 (0.431)	-0.238 (0.286)	-0.298 (0.353)	0.307 (0.290)
500 to 999	-0.676 (0.453)	-0.538** (0.271)	-0.538 (0.337)	-0.488* (0.272)
Type of employment (base: clerical support work)				
Crafts and trades	-13.935*** (1.100)	-0.009 (1.011)	1.098 (1.343)	0.580 (1.484)
Machine operators and product assemblers	0.290 (0.862)	-0.463 (0.764)	0.570 (0.699)	-0.387 (0.649)
Manual labour	0.052 (0.984)	-1.216 (0.860)	0.166 (1.024)	-0.277 (0.900)
Senior Management	0.462 (1.057)	0.919 (0.622)	0.110 (0.734)	0.409 (0.607)
Services or sales	-0.383 (0.533)	-0.189 (0.353)	-0.343 (0.429)	-0.172 (0.396)
Skilled agriculture, forestry, fishery	-15.461*** (1.329)	-15.152*** (1.181)	-12.756*** (1.262)	-12.968*** (1.186)
Supervisor/mid-management level	-0.504 (0.596)	-0.385 (0.361)	-0.544 (0.441)	-0.649 (0.403)
Technical expert	0.032 (0.673)	-0.114 (0.446)	-0.100 (0.557)	0.031 (0.479)
Constant	-1.282 (2.377)	-1.542 (1.748)	-5.225*** (1.955)	-4.365** (1.837)
Regional Control	YES		YES	
Observations	576	576	556	556

Note: Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0. Survey weights applied

Appendix 4. Exploring change in time devoted to various household responsibilities: multinomial regression results

	Time devoted to childcare		Time devoted to adult care		Time devoted to care for ill family		Time devoted to cleaning		Time devoted to shopping		Time devoted to preparing food	
	(base: no change)		(base: no change)		(base: no change)		(base: no change)		(base: no change)		(base: no change)	
	Decreased	Increased	Decreased	Increased	Decreased	Increased	Decreased	Increased	Decreased	Increased	Decreased	Increased
Income change												
Decrease	0.55 (0.53)	0.87*** (0.29)	0.34 (0.48)	0.71*** (0.27)	-0.06 (0.62)	0.90*** (0.29)	1.08 (0.00)	1.05 (0.00)	0.64* (0.34)	0.52 (0.40)	1.00** (0.43)	0.47* (0.28)
Increase	-0.27 (0.80)	0.10 (0.37)	-0.46 (0.70)	0.49 (0.33)	0.03 (0.75)	0.62* (0.35)	-0.25 (0.00)	0.12 (0.00)	0.25 (0.43)	0.52 (0.48)	-0.10 (0.61)	-0.15 (0.32)
Hours change												
Decrease	-0.39 (0.72)	-0.14 (0.33)	0.02 (0.53)	0.15 (0.29)	1.31* (0.76)	-0.19 (0.33)	-1.45 (0.00)	0.26 (0.00)	0.31 (0.34)	-0.13 (0.39)	-0.64 (0.50)	-0.20 (0.31)
Increase	-0.16 (0.52)	-0.68** (0.31)	-0.05 (0.47)	-0.06 (0.28)	1.24** (0.60)	-0.13 (0.30)	-1.16 (0.00)	-0.22 (0.00)	0.38 (0.34)	0.31 (0.39)	-0.19 (0.44)	-0.29 (0.28)
Male	0.89* (0.51)	0.23 (0.25)	0.60 (0.46)	-0.10 (0.22)	1.07** (0.53)	-0.20 (0.24)	0.93 (0.00)	-0.38 (0.00)	0.09 (0.28)	0.41 (0.32)	-0.16 (0.37)	-0.39* (0.23)
Age	0.27 (0.17)	0.01 (0.09)	0.01 (0.14)	-0.01 (0.09)	-0.07 (0.18)	-0.12 (0.09)	0.03 (0.00)	0.20 (0.00)	0.21** (0.11)	0.10 (0.12)	0.19 (0.13)	0.09 (0.08)
Squared age	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Single	-0.60 (0.53)	-0.28 (0.28)	-0.17 (0.55)	-0.01 (0.24)	-0.66 (0.66)	0.45* (0.26)	0.02 (0.00)	0.05 (0.00)	-0.47 (0.29)	-0.38 (0.33)	-0.65 (0.46)	0.01 (0.25)
Child	-0.49 (0.56)	1.03*** (0.34)	0.14 (0.52)	-0.20 (0.24)	-0.26 (0.55)	0.58** (0.27)	-0.30 (0.00)	0.11 (0.00)	-0.42 (0.35)	-0.78** (0.37)	-0.22 (0.39)	0.19 (0.26)
Education level (base High school or less)												
Trade/technical/vocational	-0.44 (1.21)	0.05 (0.56)	0.28 (0.93)	0.13 (0.51)	0.74 (1.39)	-0.85 (0.60)	-0.97 (0.00)	0.16 (0.00)	-0.74 (1.03)	-2.44** (1.17)	0.57 (0.81)	-0.35 (0.53)
Bachelor's	-0.30 (1.10)	-0.07 (0.48)	0.61 (0.94)	0.21 (0.49)	1.49 (1.43)	-0.83 (0.55)	-0.97 (0.00)	0.36 (0.00)	-0.67 (0.99)	-1.50 (1.11)	0.88 (0.74)	0.15 (0.49)
Master's	0.41 (1.43)	0.73 (0.65)	1.33 (1.22)	0.79 (0.69)	2.11 (1.57)	0.13 (0.75)	0.19 (0.00)	0.47 (0.00)	-0.58 (1.14)	-1.54 (1.26)	0.93 (1.26)	1.42* (0.75)
Working full time (30 or more hours per week)	-0.00 (0.77)	-0.09 (0.38)	-0.05 (0.81)	0.13 (0.36)	0.70 (0.79)	0.47 (0.39)	1.11 (0.00)	0.34 (0.00)	-0.57 (0.67)	0.07 (0.75)	-0.41 (0.58)	-0.20 (0.39)

Income (base: less than 10k)												
[10k;15k[	0.56 (0.82)	0.33 (0.44)	0.33 (0.76)	-0.37 (0.41)	-0.05 (0.80)	-0.27 (0.45)	-1.46 (0.00)	-1.08 (0.00)	-0.87 (0.75)	-0.79 (0.83)	0.61 (0.63)	0.41 (0.42)
[15k;20k[	0.09 (0.87)	0.01 (0.48)	0.11 (0.93)	-0.42 (0.43)	-0.39 (0.95)	-0.53 (0.47)	-1.11 (0.00)	-0.27 (0.00)	-0.60 (0.82)	0.13 (0.88)	0.35 (0.73)	0.41 (0.44)
[20k;30k[	1.14 (0.89)	1.38*** (0.50)	-0.25 (0.98)	-0.17 (0.42)	-1.92 (1.28)	0.32 (0.46)	-1.02 (0.00)	-0.31 (0.00)	-0.78 (0.79)	-0.14 (0.85)	-0.01 (0.74)	0.77* (0.43)
[30k;40k[	-0.99 (1.40)	0.37 (0.54)	-14.29*** (0.93)	-0.53 (0.51)	-1.58 (1.58)	0.02 (0.55)	-1.42 (0.00)	-0.68 (0.00)	-1.33 (0.85)	-0.61 (0.89)	0.21 (0.95)	0.57 (0.48)
[40k;50k[	-0.47 (1.31)	-0.09 (0.58)	0.36 (1.08)	-0.74 (0.57)	-14.33*** (1.08)	-0.18 (0.60)	0.43 (0.00)	-0.35 (0.00)	-1.36 (0.86)	-0.93 (0.93)	1.04 (0.90)	0.95* (0.56)
[50k;80k[	-0.07 (1.38)	0.61 (0.65)	-0.43 (1.13)	-0.73 (0.55)	-0.70 (1.14)	0.18 (0.62)	-16.76 (0.00)	-1.06 (0.00)	-1.20 (0.92)	-0.44 (0.98)	0.20 (0.97)	0.51 (0.57)
More than 80k	0.77 (1.11)	-0.62 (0.73)	0.93 (1.12)	-1.35** (0.64)	-0.48 (1.48)	-0.85 (0.63)	-17.18 (0.00)	-0.13 (0.00)	-1.29 (0.87)	-1.02 (0.95)	1.27 (1.07)	0.78 (0.58)
Business Size (base: 1000 +)												
200 to 499	0.69 (0.53)	-0.45 (0.31)	0.13 (0.50)	0.05 (0.27)	0.33 (0.55)	-0.14 (0.30)	1.42 (0.00)	0.39 (0.00)	0.08 (0.37)	0.40 (0.42)	0.01 (0.43)	0.32 (0.28)
500 to 999	0.13 (0.57)	-0.19 (0.30)	0.07 (0.55)	-0.12 (0.27)	-0.23 (0.61)	-0.08 (0.28)	-0.79 (0.00)	-0.23 (0.00)	-0.52 (0.33)	-0.01 (0.35)	0.23 (0.42)	-0.23 (0.27)
Type of employment (base: clerical support work)												
Crafts and trades	0.51 (1.34)	14.93*** (1.04)	0.60 (1.31)	-1.20 (1.41)	-15.72*** (1.05)	-2.41 (1.97)	20.68 (0.00)	20.40 (0.00)	14.28*** (0.99)	-1.17 (1.04)	14.10*** (1.24)	13.25*** (0.96)
Machine operators and product assemblers	-0.26 (1.12)	-1.02* (0.61)	-0.07 (0.93)	-0.52 (0.61)	0.73 (0.84)	-0.82 (0.71)	-15.03 (0.00)	1.05 (0.00)	-0.28 (0.98)	-0.22 (1.03)	0.71 (0.83)	-0.63 (0.72)
Manual labour	0.48 (1.17)	0.30 (0.82)	-0.06 (1.31)	0.30 (0.85)	1.71 (1.22)	-0.12 (0.90)	-16.08 (0.00)	1.72 (0.00)	-1.25 (0.94)	-15.51*** (1.01)	0.03 (1.04)	-1.50* (0.87)
Senior Management	-0.87 (1.15)	0.62 (0.75)	-1.38 (1.06)	-0.22 (0.58)	-1.75 (1.19)	-0.26 (0.61)	-14.95 (0.00)	0.51 (0.00)	-0.13 (0.74)	0.09 (0.80)	-1.94 (1.43)	-0.43 (0.58)
Services or sales	-0.08 (0.67)	-0.37 (0.41)	-0.39 (0.74)	-0.27 (0.36)	-1.17** (0.58)	-0.88** (0.41)	0.71 (0.00)	-0.05 (0.00)	-0.15 (0.53)	-0.24 (0.58)	0.19 (0.54)	-0.14 (0.39)
Skilled agriculture, forestry, fishery	0.20	15.23***	0.05	16.32***	0.00	15.35***	-0.25	17.80	14.67***	0.69	-15.79***	-14.76***

Supervisor/mid-management level	(1.16)	(1.20)	(1.22)	(1.16)	(1.33)	(1.20)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(1.42)	(1.11)	(1.39)	(1.18)
	-1.04	-0.33	-0.39	-0.24	-0.89	-0.68	-0.05	-0.01	-0.73	-0.95*	-1.26*	-0.83**
	(0.81)	(0.41)	(0.74)	(0.38)	(0.71)	(0.42)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.51)	(0.57)	(0.67)	(0.40)
Technical expert	-0.95	-0.64	-1.06	0.01	-2.46*	-0.26	-1.34	0.08	-0.20	0.02	-1.27	-0.80*
	(0.85)	(0.50)	(0.84)	(0.42)	(1.46)	(0.47)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.65)	(0.69)	(0.78)	(0.45)
Constant	-5.72	0.28	-2.39	0.11	-1.74	2.46	-1.63	-2.24	0.54	1.60	-4.03	0.32
	(3.65)	(1.85)	(3.25)	(1.80)	(4.23)	(1.89)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(2.25)	(2.59)	(2.62)	(1.69)
Region control	Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes		Yes	
Observations	438		456		398		594		566		589	

Note: Standard errors in parentheses *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0. Survey weights applied