

**STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND ITS IMPACT
ON WOMEN IN MALAYSIA**

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STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON WOMEN IN MALAYSIA

	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	83
II. OVERVIEW OF STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND ECONOMIC POLICIES, 1960-88	83
III. ADJUSTMENT POLICIES IN THE 1980s	85
1. Industrial Policy, Foreign Investment and Tariff Policy	86
2. Growth, Fiscal Deficits, External Debt and Stabilisation Policy	87
3. Tax Reform, Deregulation and Privatisation	89
4. Structural Change and Employment Policy	89
IV. IMPACT OF SECTORAL CHANGE ON WOMEN	92
1. Employment of Women by Sectors	92
2. Occupational Structure of Women in the Economy	95
3. Employment Status of Women	96
4. Unemployment Among Women	96
V. IMPACT OF THE 1985 RECESSION AND RECOVERY ON WOMEN INDUSTRIAL WORKERS	97
1. Nature of Recession and Its Impact on Women Workers	98
2. Impact on the Families of Retrenched Workers	99
3. Recovery and Response in the Semiconductor Industry	101
VI. IMPACT OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE CUTBACKS	105
1. Fiscal Policy and its Implications for Poverty Eradication	105
2. Female Participation in the Government Sector	106
3. Graduate Unemployment	108
VII. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GENDER-SENSITIVE ECONOMIC POLICIES	110
1. The Need for Gender-Sensitive Data	110
2. Incorporating Women in National Development Strategies	111
3. Women in the New Economic Policy after 1990	113
4. Gender-Sensitive Strategies to Ameliorate any Adverse Impacts of Structural Adjustment	114
VIII. CONCLUSION	115

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON WOMEN IN MALAYSIA(contd)

		Page
LIST OF TABLES		
Table	1. GDP by Industrial Origin, 1981-88	116
	2. National Accounts, 1981-88	116
	3. Federal Government Revenue and Expenditure, 1981-88	117
	4. Balance of Payments, External Debt, Savings and Investment, 1981-88	117
	5. Direct Foreign Investment, 1970-88	118
	6. Prices, Exchange Rate and Unemployment Rate, 1981-88	118
	7. Labour Force, Employment and Unemployment Targets, Malaysian Plans 1961-90	119
	8. Sectoral Distribution of Employment, 1970-88	119
	9. Average Growth of Sectoral Employment, 1970-88	120
	10. Distribution of Female Population Aged 10 Years and Over in the Experienced Labour Force by Industry, 1970 and 1980	120
	11. Female Employment by Sectors, 1982-86	121
	12. Female Employment by Sectors and Ethnicity, 1982 and 1986	121
	13. Distribution of Total Female Employment by Ethnic Groups, 1982-86	121
	14. Female Employment by Sectors and Ethnicity, 1982 and 1986	122
	15. Female Employment by Area and Ethnicity, 1982-86	122
	16. Female Employment by Areas and Sector, 1982 and 1986	122
	17. Female Employment by Ethnic Groups, Areas and Sectors, 1982	123
	18. Female Employment by Ethnic Groups, Areas and Sectors, 1986	123
	19. Females in Experienced Labour Force Aged 10 Years and Over by Occupation, 1970 and 1980	124
	20. Female Employment in the Urban Sectors by Occupation, 1980-86	124

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON WOMEN IN MALAYSIA (contd)

	Page
21. Female Employment in the Rural Sector by Occupation, 1980-86	125
22. Female Employment in the Urban Sector by Race and Occupation, 1980 and 1986	125
23. Female Employment in the Rural Sector by Race and Occupation, 1980 and 1986	126
24. Female Employment Status, 1970, 1980-86	126
25. Malay Female Employment Status, 1981-86	126
26. Chinese Female Employment Status, 1981-86	127
27. Indian Female Employment Status, 1981-86	127
28. Retrenched Workers by Sector, 1983-85	127
29. Peninsular Malaysia: States Most Affected by Retrenchements in 1985	128
30. Workers Retrenched by Employment Category, 1983-84	128
31. Federal Subsidy Expenditures, 1976-85	129
32. Federal Government Development Expenditures by Sector, 1971-90	129
33. Federal Government: Operating Expenditure Revisions, 1980-88	130
34. Federal Government: Development Expenditure, 1980 - 88	131
35. Number of staff in the Government Sector by Sex, 1980-87	131
36. Annual Growth Rate of Staff in the Government Sector by Sex, 1981-87	132
37. Distribution of Females in the Government Sector by Salary Groups, 1980-87	132
38. Annual Growth Rate of Total Number of Staff in the Government Sector by Salary Groups, 1981-87	132
39. Distribution of Staff by Salary Groups and Sex, 1980-87	133

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT AND ITS IMPACT ON WOMEN IN MALAYSIA (contd)

	Page
40. Female-Male Ratio in the Government Sector by Salary Groups, 1980-87	133
41. Distribution of Posts Occupied by Officers in Division 1, 1968, 1978 and 1988	134

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Real GDP Growth, 1981-88	135
2. Current Account Balance, 1981-88	135
3. Net Long-term Capital Flow, 1976-88	136
4. Real GDP/GNP Growth, 1972-87	136
5. Federal Government Deficit, 1973-88	137
6. Exchange Rate Index, 1980-87	137
7. Price Indices, 1981-88	138
8. Balance of Payments, 1981-88	138
9. Target and Actual Unemployment Rates and Real GDP Growth Rate, 1966-90	139
10. Annual Growth Rate of Staff in the Public Sector by Sex, 1981-87	139
11. Distribution of Female in the Government Sector by Salary Groups, 1980-87	140
12. Female-Male Ratio in the Government Sector by Salary Groups, 1980-87	140
13. Registration of Unemployed Professionals, 1975-86	141
14. Monthly Average Employment in Electronic Industry, Penang, 1977-84	141
BIBLIOGRAPHY	142

I. INTRODUCTION

A study of the impact of structural adjustment on women in Malaysia must be set against the vast changes that have taken place in the country over the last three decades in economic, social and political terms which have affected the position of women, whether negatively or favourably. While the overall economic position of women has improved during the period, through increased access to education and employment, and reduction in poverty levels, women, together with the poor, are the most vulnerable to the effects of external shocks in the form of commodity price collapses and changes in the terms of trade, economic recession, and adjustment policies adopted in response to these changes. The analysis therefore has to separate the effects of longer-term structural changes, which on balance may have affected women in Malaysia favourably in economic terms, as against their vulnerability to short-term cyclical factors and gender-neutral policy adjustments.

In spite of the importance of these effects, there is a surprising lack of concern for women's issues in economic policy-making in Malaysia, although the overall level of rhetoric and apparent activity has been high. There is no clearer evidence of this than the dearth of data on women in official statistical publications and analysis. Much of the economic policy in the last two decades has been concerned with distributional issues along ethnic lines and socio-economic groups rather than in gender-specific terms. A national policy on women is only now being formulated. The retrenchment of female production workers in the free trade zones (FTZs) during the 1985 recession dramatised the vulnerability of women in the new work force, but still produced no significant policy changes regarding women in industry. This gap in economic and social policy-making must be rectified as the country considers the shape of policies to be introduced after the New Economic Policy (NEP) expires in 1990.

In this paper we will examine briefly the major structural changes in the Malaysian economy during the last three decades (Section II) and the adjustment policies that have been introduced, particularly in the eighties (Section III). In Section IV, we try to extract from whatever data are available the impact of sectoral change on women in terms of labour force participation, industrial and occupational shifts, employment status and unemployment. Section V examines the impact of recession and recovery on women industrial workers. Section VI analyses the impact of government expenditure cutbacks. In the final Section, some suggestions aimed at more sensitive treatment of women in economic policy-making are put forward in relation to the formulation of development strategy and its impact on women for the coming decades.

II. OVERVIEW OF STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND ECONOMIC POLICIES, 1960-88

Structural change in the Malaysian economy may be conveniently divided into three periods: the 1960s, the 1970s and the 1980s¹. These periods coincide with changes in policy or policy emphasis in the adjustment

¹ This section is extracted from Salih (1988).

process in response to changes in external economic conditions as well as in domestic requirements.

The early years of the sixties, soon after Malaysia gained Independence, were associated with the vent-for-surplus model of development for a country which has a strong primary export base. Diversification of agriculture was encouraged and the primary export base extended. The Government's role in the economy was minimal and facilitatory. In the middle of the sixties a limited import substitution phase was initiated, aimed at providing light manufactured goods for the nascent urban market and the plantation sector. The transition to import substitution was, however, quickly exhausted due to an internal market limited in terms of absolute numbers and also constrained by a highly skewed income distribution which the import substitution strategy tended to reinforce. Although import substitution led to small-scale secondary engineering spinoffs in the urban areas, it was unable to generate sufficient employment to absorb the increasing labour force toward the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. It was at this time that the export promotion drive through FTZs and other incentives were introduced under the 1968 and 1974 Acts. The rapid growth in this type of industrialisation in the 1970s until the early 1980s was remarkable (Table 1).

In the seventies, the basically neo-colonial model of transitional growth of the previous decade was changed with the introduction of the NEP. While new land development was implemented through various authorities such as the Federal Land Development Authority, and through a number of regional development bodies, a new industrialisation strategy was introduced in the early seventies to reduce economic dependence on primary commodities and to create more jobs. Besides an increased state participation in the economy through state development corporations and public enterprises, industrial export expansion was promoted through the granting of generous tax holidays and subsidised infrastructure facilities to transnational corporations (TNCs) in the FTZs established all over the country. These TNCs took advantage of the tax incentives as well as of the availability of cheap labour, and contributed to much employment growth during the period. The public sector grew rapidly on the basis of revenues generated by the commodity export boom of the period (Table 2).

The upshot of these policies has been the emergence of complications in the investment thrust in Malaysia's current multi-prong industrialisation strategy, in which elements of primary export promotion (a vent-for-surplus orientation), import substitution and industrial export promotion (FTZ-type) are being promoted at the same time. This mix of different elements was also compounded by the introduction of the heavy industries strategy in the early eighties, undertaken through the Heavy Industries Corporation (HICOM) and much investment by government to take advantage of the country's energy resources. Complications were therefore bound to appear, in the form not only of policy conflicts relating to the income, employment and fiscal effects of simultaneous promotion of these strategies, but also of difficulties arising in the application of policy instruments. The lack of success in several of these strategies is due as much to problems of implementation, including managerial mistakes, as to policy inconsistencies.

The impact of the recession of 1985, which had begun as early as 1982, brought home forcefully the folly of the HICOM strategy and the

narrowness of Malaysia's manufactures export drive in the seventies and early eighties. The HICOM strategy, as well as other government spending, led to an explosive growth of the country's external debt and debt-service burden and, with the implementation of the NEP, to an ever widening federal government overall deficit (Table 3). It also resulted in a six-year current account deficit in the balance of payments. Private investment was either sluggish or in decline up to 1986, and real GDP growth plunged rapidly to -1 per cent in 1985 on account of an across-the-board drop in commodity prices. There was much retrenchment of labour across all sectors (Figure 1, Figure 2 and Table 4).

The economy has since recovered remarkably from the 1985 recession (Figure 3). By 1988 the real growth of GDP registered 8.2 per cent. This was due as much to the rebound of commodity prices as to renewed demand for manufactured exports. The recovery owed much to internal adjustment by the Government to counteract the economic downtrend. Austerity measures were introduced in public expenditure, resulting in the federal current account deficit being brought into balance, with a modest surplus in 1988, a year ahead of schedule. Through refinancing and prepayments the foreign debt burden was reined in, with the debt-service ratio reduced from 18 per cent in 1986 to 15 per cent in 1987 (Table 4). At the same time the Malaysian ringgit was allowed to depreciate along with the US dollar against all other major currencies, and this made the country's exports, particularly of manufactured products, more competitive. By 1987 the current account balance registered a surplus of more than M\$6 million.

To stimulate private investment growth, the foreign investment code and the equity limits for domestic private investment were liberalised in September 1986. In the longer term, the shift to a bigger role for the private sector was encouraged through privatisation and contraction of the public sector. The tax reform package incorporated in the 1989 Budget (including the reduction in corporate tax and the introduction of various incentives for export promotion and the development of the construction, agriculture and small- and medium-scale industrial sectors), as well as changes to the labour codes, are all contributing to a strengthening of the recovery and expansion through economic restructuring in the medium- to long-term. In addition, the new, long anticipated, initiatives in economic policy, which in 1990 will succeed the 1970 NEP, should enhance further the economic fundamentals in Malaysia and contribute to a strengthened economic outlook.

The impact of these structural adjustment policies is crucial, particularly on the medium- and long-term prospects for economic growth and development. Much still depends on how the policy adjustments are implemented, and on the external economic environment. In the latter case the presence of protectionist measures, the threat to the removal of privileges under the Generalised System of Preferences, and the likely prospects for commodities, will have much influence on the direction and pace of economic restructuring in the country.

III. ADJUSTMENT POLICIES IN THE 1980s

The recession of 1985 had brought out forcefully the basic structural weaknesses of the Malaysian economy, namely : the narrow industrial base; the over-large public sector and fiscal deficit; over-regulation and the negative

impact on private investment; a huge debt overhang; an over-valued exchange rate; and the existence of a skills and technology gap. Due to the severity of the recession's impact, policy measures were introduced to promote economic recovery and to set the basis for sustained growth through economic restructuring in the 1990s. The adjustment pressure in the latter half of the eighties was such that the redistribution objective of the NEP which aimed to restructure society and eradicate poverty during the period of 1970-90, had to be put on hold in favour of the promotion of growth.

The major policy areas in the structural adjustment process over the last ten years, but most particularly since 1985, are discussed below. These policies are aimed at liberalising the Malaysian economy in order to arrive at a new formula for the mixed economy of the last two decades that will place it on a new footing over the next 20 years.

1. Industrial Policy, Foreign Investment and Tariff Policy

The implementation of the new industrial strategy under the NEP in the seventies focused on three principal areas. The first was the promotion of manufactured exports through foreign investment in the FTZs and granting generous tax incentives through the Investment Incentives Act of 1974 and the Locational Incentive Act of 1978. The main aim was to create employment, particularly for the vast numbers of rural youths entering the labour market towards the latter half of the seventies. Secondly, regulations were introduced through the Industrial Coordination Act and the Petroleum Development Act to reduce foreign ownership in the domestic sector under the restructuring goal of the NEP. The target was to increase 'bumiputra' (indigenous) ownership of corporate wealth from 1 per cent in 1970 to 30 per cent by 1990 and to reduce the foreign share from about 70 to 30 per cent, with the rest to be held by non-bumiputra Malaysians. The third area was for government to participate in directly productive activities through the establishment of public enterprises. These are given either direct grants, loans or government guarantees, and number nearly 900.

At the same time, as mentioned earlier, the Government adopted a heavy industries strategy through HICOM and participated through joint-ventures and investment in the national car project (Proton Saga), cement plants, an iron and steel mill (Perwaja), gas projects, and the pulp and paper industries. These projects were financed mainly by foreign borrowings and the total financial exposure of the Government in these off-budget agencies ran into billions of ringgit.

The record of these ventures was dismal. Most government companies suffered heavy losses. Only a few managed recently to return a profit and those are now for sale through the privatisation programme, or are to be restructured if their long-term viability can be proven, or face liquidation. On the other hand, the foreign investment in the FTZs created new jobs and, together with the public sector, helped absorb a large number of youths (Salih, et al.; 1985; Salih and Young, 1989). Investment was concentrated mainly in electronics and textiles; nearly 70 per cent of the manufactured exports in the early eighties were from these two industries. There was, however, little linkage between those industries and local firms (Salih and Young, 1988). Moreover, as already noted, the substantial government investment in the heavy industries strategy, along with the expansion of the public sector, resulted in a huge fiscal deficit that had to be financed

through foreign borrowings. This shot up from 1981/82 onwards, and the debt-service ratio approached the critical zone of 20 per cent. With the recession of 1985, but beginning much earlier, direct foreign investment also began to dry up (Table 5).

Besides capping the external borrowing requirements and schemes to cut the size of the public sector, changes had to be made to the foreign investment codes and to the direction of industrial policy. These changes have been introduced in a number of ways. In industrial policy, a rationalisation of government participation in industry is taking or has taken place, through changes in management and the policy of privatisation and asset sales. At the same time no new public enterprise will be established. Secondly, a renewed emphasis has been given to small- and medium-scale industries, particularly to take advantage of industries relocating off-shore due to the rising yen, the Taiwan dollar and the Korean won. The Industrial Master Plan adopted in 1983 had also identified new areas of manufacturing to be promoted, particularly in resource-based industries that are both domestic- and export-oriented.

In the area of private investment, the foreign investment requirements, in terms of equity participation and labour, were relaxed in September 1986 in order to encourage more direct foreign investment, while investment missions abroad were stepped up. The Location Incentive Act was changed with the introduction of the 'corridor concept' whereby firms are allowed to locate freely, including along the more developed western corridor. In terms of domestic private investment, the equity limits for compliance with the employment restructuring regulations under the Industrial Coordination Act were raised from M\$500,000 to M\$2.5 million. Interest rates were kept low to promote investment, since loan demand had been sluggish since the recession (Table 4).

In terms of tariff policy, effective protection rates, which range from -95 per cent to over 300 per cent, were rationalised and now reflect a much narrower band. Import regimes, however, had been relatively liberal compared to some of the other Asian NICs.

2. Growth, Fiscal Deficits, External Debt and Stabilisation Policy

The Malaysian economy, being open and extremely vulnerable to fluctuations in commodity prices and the demand for its manufactured exports, had until 1979 tracked the growth pattern of the US and Japanese economy (Figure 4). In 1980, as the world was marching into another recession, the Malaysian Government adopted 'counter cyclical' measures so as to maintain economic growth consistent with the NEP. Thus when the US growth path dipped, Malaysia was able to maintain its growth and for the first time manifested a divergence from the US path. Indeed it began to follow the Japanese trend, until the collapse of commodity prices and slower growth in both the US and Japan caused the recession of 1985.

In a sense the Malaysian authorities delayed taking the necessary adjustment measures, as did other developing countries facing a decline in external demand. This was necessitated by economic as well as political reasons. Apart from the counter-cyclical moves, economic planners under the directives of a new administration had also felt that it was timely for the economy to take a "big leap forward" into a higher level of

industrialisation. Thus, between 1980 and 1982, public expenditures rose markedly (Table 2) as the Government launched many infrastructural and heavy industrial projects (construction of highways, bridges, building complexes, car project and cement plants) without taking into account the economic consequences that would follow. Public sector consumption grew by 13.3 per cent in 1981 and by 8.7 per cent in 1982 while public sector investment grew by 4 per cent in 1981 and by 20.7 per cent in 1982. Consequently, the economy experienced a considerable widening of the external imbalance (the increase in import/export ratio in the face of world recession), and the Federal Government deficit as a percentage of nominal GNP rose sharply to 19.81 per cent in 1981 (18.72 per cent in 1982). Parallel to the above, and given the domestic resource constraints in the economy, the external borrowing of the Federal Government also rose sharply in order to finance the ambitious projects launched in the early 1980s. Faced with these imbalances and concern over the possibility of a crowding out of private investment, major fiscal adjustment efforts were undertaken from mid-1982 in an attempt to reduce public sector expenditures by restructuring and shelving major development projects and investment plans. As a result of the Government's austerity drive the deficit as a percentage of GNP began to decline steadily, from just under 20 per cent in 1981 to 6.6 per cent in 1988 (Figure 5).

As a consequence of the turn round in the current account balance in 1987, the Government began to look inward to the domestic market to finance its debt obligation. For the first time in the eighties, the national foreign debt, which had risen to more than M\$50 billion by 1986, representing nearly 77 per cent of GNP, declined to 68 per cent in 1987 and is expected to have declined further in 1988. The debt-service ratio also had been capped at below 17 per cent. This achievement was made possible by refinancing and prepayments in 1987, through the drawing down of the foreign reserves and the shift from foreign to domestic sources of funds to finance the government deficit.

In recent years, monetary policy has been largely accommodative and its major objective is to promote long-term low inflationary growth, especially by stimulating private investment, maintaining a low interest rate regime by lowering the cost of funds, and by ensuring adequate liquidity through active interventions in the money market. Recent developments in the financial system, battered in the early eighties by a series of financial scandals and bank failures requiring rescue by the Government, have been characterised by a high liquidity position in the market and a very low deposit rate. Despite the marked decline in the deposit rate, the average lending rate has not followed suit, reflecting a downward stickiness. In view of the above, one of the stance of monetary policy is aimed at reducing the differential between the cost of funds and the loan rates. Liberalisation and deregulation of the banking system, as well as the introduction of a number of measures in the 1989 Budget, are expected to encourage financial deepening and increased competition and efficiency in the whole financial system.

The external payments position was also helped by the effective depreciation of the ringgit against the currencies of Malaysia's major trading partners (Figure 6). This made Malaysia's exports more competitive, as reflected in the rebound of exports during the recent recovery. Price increases have remained low, with the consumer price index rising by 1.5 per cent in 1987 and not expected to increase beyond 3 per cent in 1988 according to Treasury forecasts (Figure 7). The ringgit is now considered slightly

undervalued, and pressure on the general price level is being felt through imported inflation, as reflected in the rising producer price index (Table 6). But a tight monetary policy could keep the inflationary threat in check. The overall balance has gone into surplus, with the economic recovery and subsequent expansion (Figure 8). This position could be maintained if external demand remains buoyant.

3. Tax Reform, Deregulation and Privatisation

The stagnation in domestic private investment, aggravated by the property market slump of 1984, and the greater involvement of the Government in the economy in the 1970s and early 1980s, are now forcing the Government to reconsider its role. As early as 1982 it announced a privatisation policy to reduce the fiscal burden and stimulate private investment. At the same time a series of measures were introduced to deregulate the financial system, although still undertaken cautiously because of recent financial troubles, and attempts made at industrial deregulation through a number of tax measures. The recent reduction in corporate tax rates is aimed not only at bringing these into line with the tax burdens in the neighbouring countries, and thus maintain competitiveness vis-a-vis foreign investment, but also at stimulating private investment. The shift toward the market through this 'supply side' initiative should give the needed impetus to an investment-led growth, thus cushioning some of the negative effects of a possible world economic contraction in the near future.

This shift to an internal engine of growth, while remaining tied to external demand, represents a strong indication of the need to ameliorate the externally-induced economic instability endemic in Malaysia's previous economic structure. Together with further economic liberalisation measures, such a move should contribute to better and sustainable long-term growth prospects for the economy.

4. Structural Change and Employment Policy

The changes in the labour force growth and employment targets are shown in Table 7, together with the expected unemployment levels and the actual unemployment experienced in the various five-year plans. These figures are plotted graphically in Figure 9 against the growth of real GDP over the eighties to show the effect of the recession of 1985. The setting of employment growth targets (and implicitly the unemployment level) in each of the five-year plans obviously followed the actual unemployment level experienced at the end of the previous plan. The stubbornness of unemployment in spite of the 1986-87 recovery is quite obvious from Figure 9.

With the exception of the recession in the mid-1970s, that decade had been one of rapid growth, fuelled by high prices for primary exports. Thus, total employment grew at an annual average of 3.7 per cent. It had been argued that the public sector was the main engine of growth in Malaysia during the 1970s and early 1980s. For example, government consumption expenditure (at constant prices) grew by 25 per cent in 1980 while public gross capital formation grew by 38 per cent during 1980 and 41 per cent during 1981. Private sector investment also increased, reaching a high of M\$13.3 billion in 1984, with an average of M\$11.7 billion per annum during 1980-84. Total employment grew at an average of 3.7 per cent per annum between 1970 and 1980 while the labour force grew at 3.5 per cent in the same period. Consequently,

unemployment fell from 7.5 per cent in 1970 to an unprecedented low of 5.7 per cent in 1980. During these boom years there were even labour shortages in construction and estate work, and the phenomenon of abandoned land became a reality.

However, with the beginning of the recession in the mid-1980s, the employment situation came under great pressure. Since 1984, the government consumption expenditure has been reduced and was expected to increase only marginally in the late 1980s. Public gross fixed capital formation was estimated to have been cut by 25 per cent in 1987, and by 14 per cent in 1988 (Ministry of Finance, 1987). Likewise, private gross fixed capital formation dropped by 19 per cent in 1985 and a further 30 per cent in 1986. It is estimated to have been reduced to M\$7.9 billion in 1988, 41 per cent below the average of 1980-84 (Ministry of Finance, 1987).

The boom years, when unemployment was reduced, came to an end in the early eighties. The rate of unemployment rose from 5.7 per cent in 1980 to 8.5 per cent in 1986; other estimates put the rate higher, at nearly 10 per cent (MIER, 1987a). Although unemployment declined marginally as a result of the 1987-88 recovery, the important point is that the rate increased towards the end of the 1980s and surpassed the pre-1970 level. It is instructive to review the situation.

The structure of employment by sectors and the average growth during 1970-88 are shown in Tables 8 and 9, respectively. Five features are of note. First, there was a major shift of employment from the primary sector to the secondary sector, particularly into manufacturing and construction in the 1970s and early 1980s. While agriculture, forestry and fishing accounted for more than half the total workforce in 1970, it is expected to have declined to about 35 per cent in 1988. The growth in employment in this sector increased by less than 1 per cent per annum in the 1970s, and recorded a negative rate in the early 1980s. Mining, as part of the primary sector, accounted for only 2.6 per cent of total employment in 1970 and is estimated to have declined to 1 per cent in 1988; with the closure of tin mines and retrenchment of more workers, employment in the sector fell by an average of 0.8 per cent annually in the 1970s to 5.3 per cent in the early 1980s.

Secondly, employment in the secondary sector grew from 11.7 per cent in 1970 to 22 per cent in 1985 but is expected to have slackened to 20.6 per cent in 1988. The manufacturing industries created most jobs, especially in the 1970s. Their share of total employment increased from 9 per cent in 1970 to 15.6 per cent in 1980, following average growth in employment of 9.6 per cent per annum in the 1970s. The labour-intensive electronics and textiles industries contributed most. However, subsequently the limited absorptive capacity of this sector resulted in meagre growth in employment - of 1 per cent per annum during 1980-85. With world-wide recession and the vulnerability of the export-oriented manufacturing sector to overseas fluctuations, there was widespread retrenchment of workers in 1985 and 1986. By 1988, manufacturing is expected to have contributed 14.5 per cent of total employment.

Thirdly, construction registered the highest growth of all sectors, until the recession and property market slump of 1985. The buoyancy of this industry resulted from large public investment in infrastructure as well as private construction activities in high-cost housing, office space, hotels

etc., which contributed to annual average growth of 11.4 per cent in the 1970s and 7 per cent in the early 1980s. So fast was the growth that there were severe labour shortages, creating the need for immigrant labour - about one-quarter of 350,000 construction workers were Indonesians (Gil, 1987: 7). However, with construction activity turning sluggish in the mid-1980s, employment in the industry fell between 1985 and 1988.

Fourthly, the declining momentum of the secondary sector in the mid-1980s resulted in a shift towards the service sector as an avenue of employment generation. The share in total employment of the service sector increased from 20.6 per cent in 1970 to 27 per cent in 1985 and is expected to have increased to 28.4 per cent in 1988. Commerce (which encompasses wholesale and retail trade, hotels and restaurants, finance, insurance, real estate and business services) has been and will continue to be an important job-creating sector. In addition, employment in the transport, storage and communications industries grew by 4.1 per cent per annum in the 1970s and 4.8 per cent in the early 1980s; however by the mid-1980s its growth had slackened to 1.7 per cent due to the cutback in development expenditure in the public sector.

Fifthly, in the 1970s and early 1980s, the Government was the major source of new employment. The rate of growth of government employment was 5.7 per cent per annum during 1970-80. In the early 1980s, much of the expansion occurred as a result of a massive recruitment drive to fill vacancies in the public sector. However, with the growing problems of government financing and the intention of streamlining the administrative machinery, steps were taken to check recruitment. Consequently, annual average growth slackened from 5.7 per cent between 1970 and 1980 to 1.3 per cent between 1985 and 1988.

The weak employment position expected over the next few years is due to the relatively low absorptive capacity of the Government and of the private sector, especially in manufacturing and construction which traditionally were significant providers of jobs. The situation is further aggravated by the rapidly growing number of new entrants into the labour market, creating for the first time serious rates of unemployment among graduates and diploma-holders. Furthermore, uncertainties in business resulting from the October 1987 stock market crash have dimmed the outlook for employment.

Many of the job opportunities are expected to come from manufacturing and services. In manufacturing as a result of expansion in export-oriented industries such as electronics and electrical appliances, textiles, wood-based products and rubber-based products; and in the services sector, as a result largely of the entry of retrenched workers and youths into petty trading where low entry and exit barriers make a favourable niche for the unemployed. Employment in the other sectors, except construction, is expected to increase only marginally; the construction industry is unable to generate more job opportunities due to the continued sluggish building activity throughout the country.

The employment situation beyond 1990 is clouded by uncertainty. Its growth depends very much on the performance of the economy following restructuring. A strategy aimed at giving greater focus to employment generation is required for the next ten years. The new Outline Perspective Plan should incorporate a number of strategies towards achieving this objective within the framework of economic restructuring of the Malaysian economy towards the year 2000.

IV. IMPACT OF SECTORAL CHANGE ON WOMEN

How do we assess the impacts on women of these structural adjustment policies in Malaysia over the last decade or so? This is quite difficult. It is not possible to link the separate policies to their impact on women in any direct causal way since these policies tend to reinforce each other and some of their impacts are indirect. Besides, there are severe data limitations. The best one can do at this juncture is to examine the various changes in the position of women in the economy and try to relate them to the relevant policy or policies in a general way. These impacts may be considered in turn.

1. Employment of Women by Sectors

As discussed earlier, the Malaysian economy has undergone significant structural transformation since the sixties as part of the policy of diversification adopted to reduce the effects of economic instability due to over-dependence on a few primary products. These structural changes, especially in the seventies, have had a significant impact on overall employment and particularly on female employment. This Section examines sectoral shifts in the female labour force participation as it responds to both structural change and adjustments¹.

Female employment as a proportion of total employment has increased only slightly since 1970, from 32.3 per cent to 33.2 per cent in 1980, and 34.8 per cent in 1986. The sectoral shifts in female employment are shown in Tables 10 and 11. Females used to be the most highly concentrated in the agricultural sector where they accounted for 61 per cent of female employment in 1970, but in line with the shrinkage of employment in this sector, the proportion of the female workforce employed in it had fallen to 32.5 per cent in 1986.

Meanwhile, changes in the Malaysian economy, as reflected in the urban industrial structure, saw the growth of the government, manufacturing and the commercial sectors.

This set in train rural-urban migration, initially of Malay males to employment in the public and informal service sectors (McGee, 1969) and later of educated Malay males and females to both the public sector and various industries (Young, 1979; 1982). It was only in the mid-seventies that migration of young female Malay school-leavers began to gain importance.

Many factors contributed to the decline of female employment in agriculture. Within the rural areas, the rising levels of education since the sixties produced a new cohort of girls who were no longer prepared to take up traditional agricultural pursuits. In the seventies most of them found work in the labour-intensive manufacturing sector, particularly in textiles and electronics (Salih et al., 1985; Ariffin, 1981; Young, 1987). Of importance too was the continued draw of the service sector, particularly in government,

¹ Originally, the data for 1970 and 1980 were not comparable owing to different classifications. However, to resolve this inconsistency, the 1980 data were reclassified using the 1970 classifications.

which expanded its intake of females in the late seventies and early eighties. The restaurant and hotel business as well as the sales sector also witnessed immense expansion during these boom years. The informal sector continued to absorb the less educated. Thus the proportion of Malay female employment accounted for by the agricultural sector dropped from 47.6 per cent in 1982 to 41.9 per cent in 1986 (see Table 12).

Conversely, there has been a rising trend of female employment in manufacturing, whose contribution rose from 7.3 per cent in 1970 to 15.7 per cent in 1980 and 20.8 per cent in 1983, before declining slightly in 1984-85 due to the economic recession which affected textiles and electronics. The buoyant economic situation of the seventies, coupled with the establishment of FTZs to woo the participation of TNCs, mostly in the manufacture of textiles and electronics, helped to ensure the generally high absorption of women in the manufacturing sector during this period.

Female employment in the services sector also accelerated in the eighties, accounting for 46.7 per cent of all females employed in 1986 (see Table 11). Within the sector, growth was strong in community and personal services; and in wholesale, retail trade, restaurants and hotels. This is not surprising as the less educated and less skilled women have often opted for domestic and similar work in hotels and as sales persons. As mentioned earlier, the least educated have often become part of the urban informal sector, not only as hawkers but in a range of service jobs. An analysis of the distribution of female workers by ethnicity within the different sectors also highlights the relative differences between the racial groups.

The ethnic element is particularly important in Malaysia because of the Government's policy under the NEP, which seeks to eradicate economic and social differences between the different ethnic groups. More specifically, it aims to shift Malays from rural areas and therefore from traditional low-income agricultural jobs to urban modern sector jobs where they are under-represented. This tendency for different ethnic groups to find their own occupational niches is manifested in many countries with a colonial or immigrant legacy. In the case of Malaysia, Malays constitute about 54 per cent of the population, and make up about 80 per cent of the rural population. In contrast, the Chinese (32 per cent of the population) and to a lesser extent the Indians (9 per cent) have tended to live in urban areas, engaged in urban occupations. It is only since the seventies that the Malays employed as government servants, and later in manufacturing, have become a significant proportion of the urban population. This is one of the major impacts of the NEP introduced in 1970 to increase the participation of 'bumiputras' in the modern industrial and commercial sectors.

The distribution of female employment by ethnic groups is shown in Table 13. It is consistent with the racial distribution of the population. Between 1982 and 1986 the proportion of female employment accounted for by Malays increased a little while that by Chinese and Indian declined slightly.

Tables 12 and 14 show the sectoral and ethnic distribution of employed females. They indicate that Malays tended to be less widely distributed within the different sectors compared to the Chinese and Indians. Thus, in 1982 Malay females were disproportionately represented in the primary sector, especially in agriculture where 47.6 per cent of them were employed compared to 17.2 per cent of the Chinese. Employment in the secondary sector

is dominated by the Chinese and Indians, with a lower proportion of Malays than of their counterparts. Over 55 per cent of the Chinese were in services in 1982, mostly in the wholesale, retail trade and restaurant and hotel sector, while some 20 per cent of the Malays were in the community and personal services sector. But what is disguised in the last figure is that whereas the Malays were mostly in Government service, the Chinese were in domestic work.

By 1986 the pattern remained the same, although the proportion of Malays employed in services rose by (5 per cent) as it did in the government and the sales and restaurant sectors (by about 3 per cent). The proportion employed in manufacturing did not increase significantly as the recession caused massive retrenchments in textiles and especially in electronics. The proportion of Malay women employed in agriculture fell from 47.6 per cent in 1982 to 41.9 per cent in 1986 whereas those of Chinese and Indian females in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors declined only slightly in this period, while increasing considerably in the services sector.

However, the main point to emphasise is that the gains of the employed females are in line with the aims of the NEP - out of agriculture and into the modern sectors of business and industry. A similar trend may be observed in Table 14. Such a pattern, although in recent years showing a more even distribution between the different ethnic groups, is reflective of the national sectoral distribution (see Tham, 1977; Young, 1982).

The movement out of agriculture and into services and industries is also reflected in the distribution of females employed by stratum (rural or urban), from 1982 to 1986 (Tables 15 and 16). As most Malays still live in rural areas, it is not surprising that Malay females constitute the majority of rural dwellers, at around 68 per cent throughout the period. What is relevant to the discussion on structural adjustment are the slight fluctuations between the years, with higher proportions in rural areas during the recession years of 1984/85 and a concomitant decrease in proportion during the economically more buoyant years of 1982 and 1983 as well as in the economic upswing of 1986. This may be due to urban Malay females returning to rural areas to take up farm work during the depressed years.

Despite their high concentration in the rural areas, the trend of Malay female employment in urban areas is rising. The proportions of Chinese and Indian women employed in the rural areas remain constant, at around 21 per cent and 9 per cent, respectively. The nature of rural-urban distribution of employed women becomes more explicit when sectoral trends are examined.

Not surprisingly, agriculture is the main activity in the rural areas and accounted for 56.5 per cent and 48.1 per cent rural female employment in 1982 and 1986 respectively (Table 16). In the urban areas, the manufacturing and services sectors (specifically community and personal services; wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels) absorbed most of the employed urban females. Again, this reflects the shift out of agriculture and into the commercial and industrial sectors.

The ethnic distribution of females employed within the various sectors in urban and rural areas in 1982 and 1986 are shown in Tables 17 and 18. A comparison shows that Malays are less diversified than Chinese and Indians, especially in the rural areas where in 1982 the agricultural sector

absorbed the bulk of employed Malay females (60.6 per cent). In contrast, the Chinese women are better distributed across the sectors in both rural and urban areas. However, there was a decline over the years for the three main ethnic groups employed in agriculture in rural areas. The proportion of all three ethnic groups employed in the wholesale and retail trade, restaurant and hotel services sub-sectors rose during the first half of the eighties.

An examination of the ethnic groups by stratum points up certain differences. Malay females tend to concentrate in the agricultural sector in rural areas while their counterparts in the urban areas work in the manufacturing and services sectors, mainly in community and personal services and in the wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels. A high proportion of the Chinese females are employed in the manufacturing and services sectors in both the urban and rural areas. However, Indian females in the rural areas are concentrated mainly in the agricultural sector while those in urban areas are in the manufacturing, community service and personal services sectors.

2. Occupational Structure of Women in the Economy

An analysis of the occupational structure of women will provide some insights into the type of work in which women are involved. The occupational structure of the female labour force in 1970 and 1980 is shown in Table 19. The data are extracted from the 1970 and 1980 Population Censuses. As indicated in the table, there were increments over the decade in the proportions of female workers in each of the occupational groups, except agriculture, whose share declined from 66.8 per cent in 1970 to 46.3 per cent in 1980. This is consistent with the pattern of economic development in the country, discussed above.

Large increases were registered in the proportion of women employed as clerical and related workers (4.1 per cent in 1970 and 11.1 per cent in 1980, mostly due to the expansion in the government sector) and as production and transport equipment operators (10.4 per cent in 1970 and 17.6 per cent in 1980, a result of the growth in manufacturing). A marginal increase in the proportion of employed women accounted for by the professional and technical category has been due to the increase of females in the teaching and nursing professions. There has also been some growth in the sales category, and administrative and managerial positions.

In urban areas, women are concentrated mainly in the occupational categories of production, transport equipment operators and labourers, clerical and related workers, and service workers. Among the non-agricultural occupations in rural Malaysia, a high proportion of females are employed as production, transport equipment operators and labourers.

The ethnic composition of employed females within the different occupational groups in urban and rural sectors is shown in Tables 22 and 23. In urban areas, the proportion of females employed in agriculture and as production, transport equipment operators and labourers decreased for all three ethnic groups. Each experienced an increasing proportion of employees in administrative and managerial posts. The largest gain was in the proportion of Malay females employed as service workers, while the proportion of Chinese employed in this category experienced a slight decrease during 1980 to 1986. In the corresponding period, the proportion of Malays and Chinese

employed as professional, technical and related workers registered a marginal increase but that of Indians in this category declined.

In rural areas, the proportion of Malay females in employment declined only in agriculture (Table 23); gains were most conspicuous in service occupations. The proportion of Chinese females employed in agriculture declined, whereas that in most other occupations was higher in 1986 than in 1980.

3. Employment Status of Women

In line with the above patterns, females have also been shifting out of traditional informal types of job into the modern wage sector. However, the recession obviously affected this trend. In 1970, 37.7 per cent of the female labour force were unpaid family workers, while 36.9 per cent were in the employee category (Table 24). However, by 1980 unpaid family workers had decreased by 17.9 per cent of the total and the proportion has subsequently remained at around 22 per cent (Table 24). The proportion of employees increased from 37 per cent in 1970 to 53.6 per cent in 1980 and to around 60 per cent by the mid-eighties. This further supports the evidence of movement out of agriculture (mostly from family run farms) into the urban wage sector. The proportion of female employers declined from 2.3 per cent in 1970 to 0.9 per cent in 1986. For the own-account worker category, the survey data show an increase from 16.7 per cent of the total in 1981 to 17.2 per cent in 1986.

An analysis of the female employment status among ethnic groups reveals interesting trends in the period 1982-86 (Table 25). For Malays those classified as employees had increased from 48.6 per cent in 1981 to 50.3 per cent in 1986, in line with their movement to government and manufacturing. Unpaid family workers declined by about 1 percentage point, reflecting migration from traditional rural occupations to the urban modern sector. The category of employer registered a small increase in the period.

In contrast, there has been a drop in the proportion of Chinese and Indian female labour classified as employees (Table 26 and 27). For both groups, the proportion of those categorised as employers and unpaid family workers increased. The proportion of unpaid family workers remained constant for the Chinese, but increased for the Indians.

The above reveals that more Malay women are now engaged in the industrial and services sectors in urban areas compared to previous years. However, due to the limited job vacancies in the modern sector, more Chinese and Indians may have been forced into the informal sector, to work as employers or own-account workers.

4. Unemployment Among Women

The characteristics of the unemployed in Malaysia are detailed in the 1970 and 1980 Censuses of Population (Department of Statistics, 1977: 418-422; 1983: 121-125). Unemployment is heavily concentrated among young people, most of whom are first-time job seekers aged 15-19 years. The incidence of unemployment is higher amongst women than men in every age group in both urban and rural areas (Kaur and Chua, 1985). As will be seen below, women suffered most from the economic downturn in the export manufacturing sector, especially in electronics and textiles. The beginning of the recession in the mid-1980s was when women's employment came under greatest pressure.

The structural adjustment policies adopted by the Government in the eighties, and the clear signals sent to the private sector, have had a mixed impact on employment growth, viewed from both the short- and the long-term perspective. The Government forecast in the 1989 Budget that with the implementation of various measures, and given the more favourable outlook for the world economy, the unemployment rate was expected to decline from 8.1 per cent in 1988 to 7.9 per cent in 1989. This marginal reduction prompts the question "Is unemployment the price we have to pay for structural adjustment and the promotion of economic recovery and growth through private investment?"

The problem of rising unemployment became a major issue of public policy when recession occurred in 1985. The debate centered on how to deal with a problem which arose from a classic deficiency in aggregate demand. It pitted those in favour of fiscal restraint (in view of the large government deficit that had developed over the eighties), against those who called for a Keynesian-type "pumping-priming" of the economy through a reflationary programme to solve unemployment, as put forward in the UMNO Youth Movement's National Recovery Plan (MIER, 1987b). The so-called 'reflation debate' (Karim, 1987) was resolved in favour of fiscal discipline. However, the persistence of high unemployment, and the better outlook for government revenue associated with the post-1985 recovery, led to a review of this position. It resulted in the adoption in the 1989 Budget of a selective reflationary programme through an increase in allocation for development expenditure under the Fifth Malaysia Plan.

This short-term stabilisation measure could not be sustained for long without putting at risk the measures to reduce the Federal deficit and maintain fiscal discipline, which were a major part of the structural adjustment policies in the latter half of the period. But even with the better economic performance associated with the 1987/88 recovery, the general unemployment rate was not expected to decline much, officially projected to reduce only from 8.1 per cent in 1988 to 7.9 per cent in 1989 (Ministry of Finance, 1988). The explanation for this unemployment "stickiness" must be sought in deeper structural causes. Apart from technological choice and mismatches, the present persistent unemployment has also to be seen in relation to the rationalisations occurring at the micro-level as times cut costs by trimming their workforce and redeploying labour in response to the recession and the government's adjustment policies. This process is still continuing as firms begin to absorb the implications of the 1989 Budget initiatives in order to take advantage of rising demand in the present recovery, improve efficiency and regain profitability.

Unfortunately, the impact on women's employment of these developments, in particular the structural adjustment policies associated with the anti-recession measures, is not directly measurable. The lack of gender-specific statistics is a handicap that has to be overcome if more gender-sensitive employment measures are to be devised. The most useable information on female unemployment resulting from recession and adjustment policies comes from case studies such as the one below on electronics workers.

V. IMPACT OF THE 1985 RECESSION AND RECOVERY ON WOMEN INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Perhaps nowhere is the negative impact on women of the recession more obvious than that on women industrial workers. In Malaysia this is aggravated by several factors. Firstly, the bulk of the female industrial workforce are

in export-oriented industries, notably textiles and electronics. Secondly, these are labour-intensive industries with an overwhelmingly large proportion of their workforce comprised of females. Thirdly, electronics (mostly semiconductors) is notoriously sensitive to technological change and market conditions and is consequently subject to marked economic fluctuations. Women workers are particularly vulnerable to adjustments to counter their effects.

1. Nature of the Recession and Its Impact on Women Workers

The four year recession beginning in 1982/83 reversed the pattern of labour absorption in the Malaysian economy. Together with the slump in commodity prices and in the property market, and with the Government's austerity drive to reduce the budget deficit, industry also entered a general economic downturn. There are three features of the recession which affect employment and retrenchment, and therefore labour experience (see Salih and Young, 1985).

First this recession proved to be very severe, with large numbers of workers reported to be retrenched - 69,781 between 1983 and 1985 (unpublished statistics, Ministry of Labour and Manpower, 1986¹). In the primary sector the Malaysia Trade Union Congress (MTUC) estimated that 16,000 workers had been retrenched from estates, particularly the rubber estates, between 1984 and 1987; between December 1984 and May 1985, 6,000 were laid off. In the mining industry, tin was badly affected, and the workforce was reduced from 40,080 in July 1980 to 22,761 in April 1985.

Of particular interest is the extent to which women have been affected. In electronics, about 30,000 workers were retrenched, over 6,000 being laid off between August 1984 and March 1985; and a further 4,200 between April and September 1985; retrenchment continued unabated until the end of 1985, tailing off by March 1986². In textiles - another area of concentration for women workers - the workforce was reduced to 23,000 by December 1982. Services, especially hotels, was another sector where women were affected by the downturn which resulted in a fall in the number of international and local tourists (Utusan Pengguna, 1985). Other industries affected were rubber products, cars, plywood, matches, tractors and games.

Secondly, unlike the retrenchment of the mid-seventies many workers have been laid off in the primary sector such as mining and agriculture, further pointing to the basic structural problems. This is borne out more clearly by data in Table 28 which show the extent of reported layoffs by sector between 1983 and 1985. Manufacturing was worst hit, its proportion of retrenched workers rising from 31.5 per cent at the beginning of the recession to 63 per cent in 1985. The primary sector, too, witnessed a high proportion of retrenchments. Those in the agricultural sector alone registered 41.6 per cent in 1983 as commodity prices fell and workers in rubber and oil palm estates were made redundant. The proportion retrenched in the mining and

¹ The estimated figure by MTUC for the same period was 106,000 (New Straits Times, 6 May 1986).

² A survey of English-language newspapers such as The Star and New Straits Times showed that there was a news item on retrenchment practically daily in September and October 1985.

quarrying sector increased from 12 per cent in 1983 to 20.0 per cent in 1985. Many tin mines closed in the face of low prices, while quarrying declined with recession in construction.

Thirdly, there is a close relationship between the types of occupation and their geographic location (Table 29). Perak was worst hit by retrenchment because of closures of tin-mines, textile factories and wood and wood processing facilities. Similarly, Penang had the largest proportion of retrenched workers in manufacturing, due to the slump in electronics and textiles in the FTZs (The Star, 14 April 1986). The severity of the recession meant that retrenchment affected not only the lower-level occupations but also the technical and supervisory levels, clerical and related workers, and even management (Table 30). However, the unskilled and the lower occupational categories constituted the bulk of those laid off. Factory workers, both skilled and unskilled, accounted for half those retrenched, and if general workers are included, the proportion rose to over 80 per cent. And this is the area where most female workers are concentrated.

Fourthly, the sex distribution of retrenchment is determined by the type of industry. The manufacturing sectors most affected between 1983 to 1985 were selected for analysis. In the electrical/electronics sector 76 per cent of those retrenched were women; in textiles the proportion was 72 per cent (calculated from Ministry of Labour data, 1986). By contrast, in wood and wood products and rubber products/chemical products most of those retrenched were males, around 75 per cent and 90 per cent respectively.

The Malays were particularly badly affected in electronics, where over 64 per cent were retrenched (in comparison to 21 per cent of the Chinese) and in wood and wood products where 63 per cent were laid off (compared to 34 per cent of the Chinese).

2. Impact on the Families of Retrenched Workers

To get a better idea of the impact of retrenchment on female workers and their families, data were drawn from household histories of 50 Malay families with working daughters living in rural areas around Penang (the Universiti Sains Malaysia - University of British Columbia Project on Household Responses to Industrial Change).

To gauge the potential impact of retrenchment on production workers' families, the roles these women play in relation to their family are first indicated¹. It is clear that before joining the factories they have undertaken sibling-minding and housework (see Young and Salih, forthcoming). Many of them, because of poor economic backgrounds, had been withdrawn from school so that their mothers could be released to work for money, and their male siblings (sometimes older) to remain at school. After they became factory workers - some as early as 16 years of age (the minimum legal age for formal employment) - their monetary contributions helped to buy consumer durables (ranging from furniture to blenders), take responsibility for educating the siblings (especially tuition fees and repeat classes), pay for house repairs and provide presents such as clothes for family members.

¹ Parts extracted from Young and Salih (forthcoming).

An interesting aspect of how families have become dependent on the contribution of siblings is the regularity of their working daughter's incomes, so different from the irregular income from village work. What started as a response by girls to opportunities in the factories so as to assist their economically depressed families became a position of increased responsibility as their families became more dependent on their incomes. Thus it was not unusual for them to say that they wanted to ensure that their younger siblings got the chance to continue school so that they could get better and more secure jobs than factory work. There were even cases where younger siblings married before the working daughter, who had delayed marriage, like the working daughters of Hong Kong (Salaff, 1981).

The girls' role as income-contributors also gave them an important part in family decision-making, depending on the length of time the girl had worked, and the extent of the family dependence on her contribution. Obviously, in a family where both the parents worked and the eldest child was in a factory, even with a string of young siblings, the family was not as economically depressed as one where the parents were too old to work. Similarly, a family where the older children were contributing to the household income, with a few younger children at school, was still better off than one where all of the children were still at school. A household was at its most vulnerable where a couple were totally dependent on a working daughter. In an environment where state support for the welfare of the aged hardly exists, the children of such households become important as investments for old age.

Case studies of women workers in the electronics industry show that the electronics worker, if retrenched, will not be able to assist a family which has begun to find her contribution very crucial. The data reveals that the income from these women can no longer be lightly dismissed as mere secondary income for a household. In many cases it had become vital, especially where the husband suffered ill-health or had died, or had divorced or deserted the women, leaving dependent children.

These case studies were based on family histories. Such an approach, integrating the demographic and economic development of each member of the household as a totality, is able to isolate more clearly the impact of an economically stressed period on women. In such difficult times, the women adopt a series of strategies minimising household expenditure. When household incomes shrink, women, often as controllers of this income, are forced to cut back severely on education, food and other necessities, to the extent of affecting the health of babies. In extreme cases, infant mortality occurs. Households shrink to facilitate flexibility, particularly of food consumption and all other forms of expenditure. More members of the household are forced to work for an income, and this usually draws in the children who inevitably engage in informal sector types of work.

In their attempt to earn whatever income was possible, urban women were forced to take on whatever work it was possible to combine with child-minding and housework. Such income-generating activities are usually in the informal sector, to which these women with no capital requirements have easy entry. The activities can be classified into four groups. The first is manufacturing, usually involving piece-rate work ranging from jobs demanding little skill but which are tedious and repetitive, such as sticking together plastic flowers, putting plastic covers on diaries, sticking labels on

products, etc., to work with more skill such as tailoring. The second group covers a whole range of processing activities, especially foods, for example sorting out or grading dried fish, onions, etc. The third group concerns food production where women's skills in cooking or making cakes and other local tidbits and snacks are exploited. The fourth set of activities is selling services, usually in laundering and office/house cleaning.

3. Recovery and Response in the Semiconductor Industry

With the upturn in the electronics industry (which preceded that of the Malaysian economy) accompanied by other adjustments, the labour condition in the electronics factories started to take on a new complexion. Research (see Salih and Young 1988a; 1989) shows this had an important and far-reaching impact on female industrial labour. From 1983/84 onwards there has been a definite decline in the use of direct labour as a result of increasing automation and investment, particularly in the establishment of wafer fabrication plants. These changes have been impelled mainly by product and process technology innovation and by the shifting configurations of the market. They have in turn led to changes in labour conditions and in the labour market (see Salih et al., 1988; Salih and Young, 1989).

The effects on labour of technology deepening in the semiconductor industry in Malaysia - are reflected in increasing automation, backward integration (with the setting up of wafer fabrication plants), subcontracting, the incorporation of Just-in-Time (JIT) systems and customisation - have been considerable, particularly in terms of the twin practices of labour shedding and skill upgrading.

The changes which result from the growth in production and pace of technological advance are clearly reflected in the labour situation. This is important as over 80 per cent of the labour force are females. While the industry experienced both booms and slumps in response to structural and conjunctural adjustments in the world economy (Figure 14), there has been a definite trend towards decreasing the use of direct labour in the industry. The figure shows overall employment rising only slowly up to the early 1980s (despite rapid increases in production) and falling thereafter; the numbers of female production operators showed little trend at all during this period. The adjustments to capital deepening involve simultaneously several processes such as skill upgrading or reskilling, labour shedding and recontracting.

Labour reskilling and deskilling

During the first phase of the semiconductor industry in Malaysia, when TNCs had not invested much capital, there was need for large numbers of workers who had to be cheap and manageable. This meant that women were preferred, both for their manual dexterity and for their "docile" personalities, in the expectation that they would not resist long hours of monotonous and repetitive work on the assembly line. Little training was necessary as these tasks could be learnt in less than two weeks. The Malaysian Government actually wooed TNCs by highlighting in an advertisement, the "dextrous hands of the oriental female" and the docile and malleable personality of the Malaysian girls. No transferable skills were developed, although the girls did pick up a factory discipline which demanded a concept of time, regularity and reliability - the tenets of an industrial culture.

The research on these factory girls in the mid-1970s and early 1980s found them to be remarkably uniform in their characteristics (see for example: Lin, 1987; Lim, 1978; Ariffin, 1981; Salih et al., 1985; Daud 1985; Young and Salih, forthcoming; Tan, 1986). They were single, aged 16-24, with basic primary education, and holding their first job. These traits were similar to those of semiconductor workers in other Third World countries (see for example : Hancock, 1983; Eisold, 1982; Lim, 1980; Grossman, 1979; Herzog, 1980; Leung, 1986). In Malaysia they were mainly Malay girls from rural areas (Ariffin, 1981; Salih et al., 1985), a result mediating forces of the national and state governments with the owners of capital (see Salih and Young, 1987). To fulfil the two major prongs of the NEP¹ it was crucial for the Malaysian Government to increase the proportion of Malays in industry within urban areas.

Since the early 1980s the trend has been towards increasing investment in and the capitalisation of the semiconductor factories. A study by the UN Centre for Transnational Corporations (1986; 102-3) showed how the share of wages in total production costs continued to fall in the 1980s, reflecting the increasing capital intensity of the production process. Much of the former manual work of dicing, die-attaching, bonding, checking and testing is now automated and computerised. What had been a row of girls on one assembly line bonding through microscopes has been reduced to perhaps two girls manning several machines, each viewing the chips through television screens. The bonding process is now far more complicated, with more wires to attach as the chips become more sophisticated and in fact the chips themselves can no longer be made by hand, owing to miniaturisation and increasing complexity, as part of the very large-scale integration (VLSI) process.

An important consideration is whether there is skill upgrading among the production workers. According to management sources, such workers today require a maximum of one month's training. But unlike in the past, when they merely did repetitive tasks, today they may tend from eight to 30 machines. Often these machines work independently of the operatives, except when realignment is necessary. Nevertheless, they have to judge when a particular process is not done correctly (and this is in a context of "zero defects") and rectify it on the machines. In contrast to the workers in the first phase of the semiconductor industry, these ones control their own quality and have some concept of the final use of the products made. They are also capable of doing some simple programming. The companies now need girls who have completed at least basic secondary schooling because manual dexterity is increasingly being replaced with judgement qualities and sophistication in dealing with the machines. As a result, an increasing proportion of the labour force in the semiconductor industry is becoming more skilled.

Thus, while there are cases of deskilling as a result of automation, the same process also contributes to workers reskilling precisely because of the introduction of new machines, in line with the changing needs of the factory. As part of this rationalisation process supervisors are made redundant as the automated lines come directly under the supervision of the

¹ That is, to eradicate poverty (endemic in most rural areas where the Malay populace is located) and to eliminate the link between race, occupation and geographical location (most Malays were employed in the agricultural sector in rural areas).

engineers. As an example, National Semiconductor in Penang was expected to be fully automated by 1989, with mainframe control of wafer-cutting, bonding, moulding, and testing. The pilot-automated production line is in Santa Clara (see The Star, July 14, 1987), but discussions with management made it clear that the local input for this production line is quite extensive. The degree of local response has been suggested by Ernst (1987) as a reason why increasing automation does not necessarily lead TNCs to repatriate to industrialised countries. This form of automation allows greater centralisation of control, with emphasis on efficiency and streamlining of operations.

Generally, there is a change in the overall structure of employment by occupational and skill categories. There is a trend towards declining use of direct labour, and more absorption of skilled labour, especially of technicians and engineers. One result is that on a nation-wide basis the MAEI's total employment was expected to increase only marginally during 1987 (The Star, May 20, 1987). For example, one of the American captive semiconductor companies interviewed quoted direct labour as comprising 81 per cent of the company's labour force in 1976. By 1985 this had been reduced to 74 per cent. It is likely that the proportion of direct labour is lower for merchant producers because of their more competitive market and, consequently, higher automation.

The trend towards declining numbers of direct labour has important implications for female workers. First, fewer women will be involved; thus a major source of employment of female industrial workers in the last decade has gone. Secondly, the data shows that virtually all the skilled and technically advanced positions, such as those of technicians, tool and die makers, engineers, and others, are held by males. The critical question as to whether females are selected for technical training and promotion has been a sensitive one. The arguments of some of the personnel managers in these factories are the usual ones: that these girls are not career-oriented, they may leave after marriage, or at least after the arrival of the first child, and that on marriage they are obliged to follow their husbands, all pointing to their lack of permanence. However, these traditional, simplistic arguments have not taken into account that these girls are no longer fresh from school and have been in the workforce for over 10 years, may have married and even started families and yet have continued working. Even the argument that the female worker is less educated than her male counterpart does not hold true when an actual comparison is made.

Labour shedding practices

a) Temporary shut-downs, voluntary resignations and attrition

The short-term fluctuations in employment reflect various techniques used by firms to cut labour (Figure 14). One method is through compulsory shortening of working hours and days. Initially, staff are encouraged to take annual leave. When this is spent more drastic measures are employed, such as forced shut-down of plants for a few days per week. While some companies apply these measures to their lower level staff such as supervisors and operators, other firms do it across the board. It has been observed that when shut-downs are too frequent, some of the production workers are forced to resign and search for full-time jobs elsewhere because their take-home pay falls too low for survival in urban areas.

There have been cases where TNCs have used rather unscrupulous methods of labour shedding. For example, in one particular case in Penang, the company gave a "special offer" whereby workers were encouraged to resign voluntarily. They were then offered compensation if they resigned within the stipulated period, which was much less than that required in the official retrenchment benefits (Young Workers Education Project, 1983). To make sure that the "special offer" would be effective, workers were told that it was only valid for a limited number of days, and that if they were to leave or to become retrenched later, no such benefits would be available. The "special offer" was withdrawn after the required number of workers had resigned.

Temporary shut-downs in the name 'stock taking' have also been very common. While this helps the plant to tide over and adjust to short-term difficulties, it has severe repercussions on the income and subsistence of the women workers, who are paid only for the days they work. The more gradual process of labour shedding is in the form of natural attrition (as girls leave for various reasons, such as marriage, they are not replaced). Some companies in the Penang FTZ estimated a 10 per cent reduction in direct labour per annum as a result of this, a proportion also quoted by the Chairman of the MAEI (see The Star, May 20, 1987).

In addition to the shedding of labour by such means, managements periodically adopt job rationalisation schemes, in order to "reduce fat" as well as to streamline staff and line operations, thereby reducing labour costs. The tactic of job rationalisation involves the reduction of indirect labour (clerical, supervisory and even lower management workers), reassignment of workers, regrouping of line functions, and respecification of job descriptions. While these schemes may be necessary from the point of view of personnel management, they are often used as an excuse to get rid of older workers, who are considered less cost-effective.

b) Labour redeployment and subcontracting

The other effect on labour of the recession relates to the way companies adjust their labour deployment. Retrenchment is only the last solution, for most of these companies avoid it because of the bad publicity and image it creates, especially after the Mostek retrenchment exercise in 1986 which led production workers to picket the semiconductor industry for the first time (Lockhead, 1988). One practice which has emerged is job enlargement. To become more cost effective, workers now have to do more work, or a greater variety of jobs with a concomitant expansion of responsibilities. The number of shifts per day is now increased from three to four to cut down overtime, thus saving costs. There is also job rationalisation in terms of job conversion and downsizing, including redundancy strategies as workers are redeployed from less productive or superfluous work.

Certain types of work in the factory, such as cleaning, gardening, security, and the like, that is, work not directly related to the production process but formerly done by workers on the company's payroll, are increasingly being subcontracted. As a result the firm does not have to deal with associated labour difficulties, redundancy and possible efficiency problems, and the issue of hiring and firing workers is thus reduced to a contract between two companies.

Labour recontracting

An emerging phenomenon from these FTZ factories in Penang is that of recontracting labour (New Straits Times, December 30, 1986). This type of rationalisation was evident in the Business Conditions Survey (MIER 1987c) which showed hiring and firing of workers going on simultaneously among electronics companies. What this means is that after workers have been retrenched they are then rehired (when the need arises) on contract, for example for three months. The experience of the factory worker is not taken into account when she is re-employed, which means that from a wage of M\$450 per month she may slip back to one of M\$280. At the end of the three-month contract the firm has the flexibility of not signing another one with these workers if production orders do not warrant it. This eliminates all responsibility for redundancy and retrenchment compensation. Also the company need not provide the other allowances and benefits received by staff on its normal payroll. As a result of these activities, employment agencies, many illegal, have sprung up specialising in recontracting labour.

This form of exploitation is of some concern. Although the economy has picked up, many manufacturing companies which employ large numbers of women (textiles, electrical goods, timber and plastics) continue to exploit labour (The Star, June 12, 1989). The Employer's Association has said that such re-employment practices were within the law and that companies have to use them owing to the forecast of difficulties in longer-term performance. The Labour Department has responded by saying that a study of the recruitment methods used by the companies, their working conditions and benefits provided for workers, is now under way (The Star, June 13, 1989).

For the semiconductor companies, such practices can be linked to the use of JIT manufacturing processes where flexibility is of the utmost importance, and the objective of saving costs for the company by decreasing inventories and, in this case, by eliminating surplus workers easily. And, as mentioned earlier, inside the factory, JIT is part of the new strategy of flexible manufacturing (especially customisation) designed to cut down turnaround time, and therefore costs.

VI. IMPACT OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE CUTBACKS

1. Fiscal Policy and its Implications for Poverty Eradication

The dramatic rise in the Federal Government deficit in the early eighties, and in debt-servicing, had forced the Government to reconsider its spending targets for the latter half of the decade. Indeed, the looming fiscal crisis, presaged by the world economic slow-down and the foreign exchange implications of the ambitious development plans of the off-budget agencies, had led the Government in October 1983 to announce a three-year deficit reduction plan when proposing the 1984 Budget in Parliament. This involved an immediate cutback in operating expenditure and the reordering of the development budget priorities. Along with the Government hiring freeze, the most drastic cuts in current spending were in the Federal subsidy programmes, particularly in the subsidy on petroleum products (Table 31). The development budget allocation for the Fourth Malaysia Plan, 1981-1985 (Government of Malaysia, 1981) were however increased, and moves to reorder priorities initiated towards the end of the plan period were too late to have any effect on the foreign debt raised to finance part of it (Table 32). The

onset of recession in 1985 made drastic cutbacks in development expenditure imperative for the following Fifth Malaysia Plan, 1986-1990 (Government of Malaysia, 1986). The original allocation was reduced from M\$71 billion to M\$47 billion, through the shelving of a number of major projects. In 1986 a proposal was introduced to balance the current account budget by 1989, but the development budget was revised upwards to M\$56 billion as part of the national recovery plan. Details of Government cutbacks for this period are given in Table 33 for the operating budget and in Table 34 for the development budget. Latest figures indicate that a modest Federal Government surplus was achieved in 1988, a year ahead of schedule (Ministry of Finance, Malaysia, 1988).

The impact on the poor as a result of these fiscal measures does not in general appear to be unfavourable, or at least the data are not sensitive enough to attribute any adverse effect to them. More pertinently, the gender-related dimension of the fiscal effect on poverty is not obvious. A Government report mentioned that the incidence of poverty rose from 24 per cent to 28 per cent in 1984 (Malaysia, Socio-Economic Research Unit). The difference between these and subsequent figures on poverty given by the Economic Planning Unit has not been satisfactorily resolved (see Government of Malaysia, 1986). But the rise in the incidence of poverty in 1984 could be attributed to falling commodity prices, at least for rural areas. It could be expected that the cutback of the subsidy on petroleum products, especially as it affects cooking oil, would have had some impact on the poor, and by imputation on women among poor households. Overall, the cuts in allocations for health and other social programmes, including rural development, have not been significant enough to cause a deterioration of the poverty level of women. The more significant impact is really in the rising unemployment among women, as we have seen above, and through this, on the income earning capacity of poor households during the recession and after.

2. Female Participation in the Government Sector

Difficulties in data¹ restrict the coverage of this section to the development of female employment in the Government sector during the eighties, although important changes began as early as the sixties.

Table 35 shows that Government staff grew at an average annual rate of 5.3 per cent from 1980 to 1987. Females made up less than one-third of the total - 27 per cent in 1980 and 31 per cent in 1987. Their growth has therefore been higher than that of males (Table 36 and Figure 11). Owing to the expansion launched by the Government in 1979, the number of civil servants had increased considerably in the early eighties. The expansion in the employment of females was nearly 3 percentage points above that of males between 1981 and 1986. The growth of female civil servants peaked in 1982 at 22.4 per cent and showed less than 1 per cent in 1987 due mainly to the recession which set in during 1984/85.

¹ The data used in this section are from the Central Staff Records of the Public Services Department. Established in 1977, the Central Staff Records only started collecting and computerising their data in 1980. Prior to that, such data were collected by the Ministry of Labour. Unfortunately, the classifications used by the two departments are not comparable.

As in the majority of countries, most females tend to be employed in the lower echelons of the occupational structure. Thus the increased participation of women in the public sector is not well distributed across the four divisional categories or salary groups of the government service (see Table 37 and Figure 12). Most are in Group C (which requires the Malaysian Certificate of Education and includes clerks, stenographers and technicians etc) and Group D (with lower educational levels and including manual workers). The main types of position occupied by women in Group C are as primary school teachers, nurses, stenographers, typists, and clerks, while women in Group D are mostly general workers such as cleaners. In 1980, these two categories made up 86 per cent of the total number of females employed, and 84 per cent in 1987.

The proportion of women in Group A (officers with a university degree and in posts mainly in the administrative and professional services) is growing slowly (from 7.2 per cent in 1980 to 8.9 per cent in 1987) as it is in Group B (from 6.5 per cent in 1980 to 7.0 per cent in 1987), where a diploma or Higher School Certificate is required. Overall, although the government sector has nearly one-third of female workers, nearly two-thirds of them are in the two lowest categories.

A comparison of the annual growth of employment of males and females within the salary groups in the eighties is shown in Table 38. That of females is higher than of males in each of the four groups. However, the proportion of females in each group remains relatively low, as indicated in Table 39. Thus while the proportion of females in Group A grew by 3 per cent in the eighties, that of males grew by 5 per cent. Again, although most of the females are concentrated in Group C (mainly as lower-level clerks) and, as is shown in Table 40 and Figure 12, the female/male ratio remained higher in this Group, their percentage was still only 14 in 1987.

To illustrate further the point that females tend to cluster in specific occupations, even in higher-level categories, Table 41 shows the distribution of selected positions held by female officers in Division I. Since the late sixties, most of them have been employed in the Medical and Health Service, Social Welfare, the National Archives and the Educational Service. This pattern is not too different from that in the other developing countries. It is explained by women's predominance as nurses, social workers and librarians and in the lower echelons of the teaching profession. From 1978 to 1988 there was a conspicuous increase in the number of women employed in the Department of Inland Revenue, where the female proportion rose from 24.8 per cent to 48.1 per cent, probably as a result of the rapid increase in petty administrative workers. The same pattern can be discerned in the Department of Statistics. Female participation in prestigious departments such as the Administrative and Diplomatic Service and the Ministry of Defence has remained low and without significant changes since the sixties.

What is important here in relation to structural adjustment is the impact of the freeze on government jobs in 1983 as a result of the recession and in response to a rapidly growing fiscal deficit. Unlike the private sector, and particularly the textiles and electronics industries where there were massive retrenchments, the Government did not retrench. Instead, it cut back on recruitment mainly in Groups C and D, where most females are found. Moreover, intake by the education and health services, deemed vital, continued to expand, albeit slowly. The growth of these two sectors, where most females

are concentrated, has therefore benefited women. There was also a freeze on salaries in the higher paid groups which consist mostly of males. With the economic recovery in 1987 and 1988, the Government readjusted civil servant salaries. The lower paid groups, where most of the females are located, got proportionately bigger increases owing to action by their unions.

3. Graduate Unemployment

A problem which gained much attention during the recession was graduate unemployment. While this is not an unusual phenomenon in Third World countries, it was new for Malaysia. This section briefly discusses the supply side of the problem, examining how many female graduates are involved and how they differ from their male counterparts. The demand side of the problem, the nature of employers requests' for graduates and the bias against employing women, is touched on at the end of the section.

The data were extracted from a sample of 6000 graduates and diploma-holders (also referred to as graduates) who had registered with the National Clearing House for Graduate and Skilled Employment (NCHGSE). This was set up in August 1988 to match the specifications of graduates with those of employers and to gather information for research on this segment of the labour force. While the sample may not be representative of unemployed graduates in the country as a whole (registering with the NCHGSE is not mandatory), it does provide some useful indicators.

Graduate unemployment is mainly the result of three factors. First, owing to the economic slow-down which forced the Government to freeze positions in 1983, many graduates (including government-sponsored ones) were thrown onto the job market. And government is a major employer: between 1980 and 1983 as many as one-third of all graduates recruited were employed by the Government (Sivananthiran, 1987:3). Secondly, the private sector not only cut back drastically on hiring but the employers were actively retrenching, thus putting more graduates into the pool of the unemployed. Thirdly, there may also have been an over-production of graduates. This may be viewed in three ways.

Because higher education has a very high premium in the country (partly the legacy of a colonial mentality and its obsession with white-collared jobs), Malaysians have tended to equate higher education with better jobs. The experience of the boom years, with the massive expansion of the public and private sectors, merely reinforced this belief.

The oversupply is also partly the result of education and skill mismatch. In other words, graduates are being produced which do not meet the market needs. For example, the supply of those with generalised social science degrees, pure science degrees, and administrative and civil engineering qualifications bears no relationship to the demand for skilled industrial workers such as tool and die-makers and specialised professions such as electronics and mechanical engineers.

Of the graduates in the sample, 47 per cent were females. Female registrants tend to be marginally younger than males, 18 per cent between 20 and 23 years compared with 16 per cent among males. Of the three ethnic groups the Malays have the highest proportion in this age group, about 18 per cent compared to less than 15 per cent among Chinese and Indians.

Three-quarters of the registrants are from the four local institutions, with another 15 per cent from institutions in the United States. More females are educated overseas than locally. And of the different races, disproportionately more Malay girls have been educated in foreign institutions. It is generally believed that females at universities, tend to read languages, literature, history, education, etc, compared to the male preference for sciences and practical subjects. This belief is not borne out in the sample, however. There are disproportionately more females in computer science, economics, finance, accounting, mathematics and statistics, and fairly large numbers in engineering, applied sciences, and agri-business, traditionally the bastions of male occupations. Yet many of the females in these disciplines are not absorbed owing to employers' biases. They thus remain unemployed. Further evidence of this is given in the discussion of employers' requests at the end of the section.

More males (56 per cent) than females have scholarships. Most of the scholarships (77 per cent) were government ones from JPA (Public Services Department). More males than females received higher valued scholarships.

A larger proportion of males (56 per cent) than females are given loans. Nearly 50 per cent of these loans are from MARA (a government trust agency), but only 38 per cent of them have been made to females. More males than females have received loans from the most valuable category (M\$16,000 - 95,000).

Reflecting the general problem females face in getting work, a larger proportion of males have had at least two or three jobs before their current one. Again, similar to the national pattern, the Malays of both sexes have the highest proportions of graduates having held only one job. Male registrants within the three ethnic groups have had more working experience than have females, even though they are in the same age groups. This may imply that males find it easier to get placed, or at least to be given the offer of a first job.

Analysing the current jobs held by registrants, equal proportions (about 26 per cent) of males and females are management trainees. These are temporary jobs offered by big companies in an attempt to ease the graduate unemployment problem. The graduates are taken in at a low salary and given a chance to gain some 'hands-on' experience so that they become more employable when they return to the job market at the end of their training. However, if the other jobs are examined, the usual differences in the comparative occupational structures of males and females emerge.

More of the females (31 per cent) are in temporary and part-time work than are the males (23 per cent) and most of these are in clerical, production work, sales and teaching, the same types of job as in the national occupational structure. Females appears to be less selective than males about seeking higher level jobs. While 28 per cent of the males want a professional or technical job, only 19 per cent of the females do so. More females than males prefer administration, clerical and teaching positions.

Women are known to be less spatially mobile than men. This holds true in the sample as 70 per cent of the females are prepared to work anywhere in the country, compared with 86 per cent of males. The Chinese girls are the most adventurous, 57 per cent being prepared to work anywhere compared with 30

per cent and 35 per cent, respectively, of the Malay and Indian females. The reasons for this reluctance to take up a job anywhere for both sexes are related to family commitments including the need to look after old parents and to live not too far from home. As expected, most married females cannot leave their family to work in other parts of the country.

That women find difficulty in getting work, as evident at the macro-level in higher unemployment rates, is also demonstrated on the demand side when employers make requests for graduates from the NCHGSE. Of 245 such requests, only 9 per cent asked for females, compared with 32 per cent asking for males (the rest had no preference). As regards actual vacancies, only 4 per cent were for female positions compared to 28 per cent for males (68 per cent were for either sex). Women were wanted only in business services, insurance and finance, where they are popular as sales agents, or in administration and teaching. As expected, males are well distributed in all the industries; although predominant in the business services, insurance and finance sector, they were also wanted as banking officials.

VII. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR GENDER-SENSITIVE ECONOMIC POLICIES

1. The need for Gender-Sensitive Data

The inherent problem faced in this study is the inadequacy of data. Broadly, there are two aspects to this problem. First is the paucity of information. This is especially acute in areas pertaining to female involvement in the development process, the political arena, the business sector and in the informal sector including the 'putting-out system'. Without such basic material it is not surprising that time-series data sensitive enough to pick out the real impact of structural adjustments on women are not being prepared. Such longitudinal data must cover a long enough period to be meaningfully analysed, thus separating the effects of structural adjustment policies from development change. In other words, one should be able to study cycles in the economy and how global as well as national adjustments affect women in both the short and the long term. Such a study calls for an integrated analysis of a multi-level nature, separating the different forces at the international, national, regional and local levels.

Second is the problem of the limitations of the data that are available. Most of the data pertaining to economic activities and ownership of business enterprises, for example, are not differentiated by sex, rendering them useless in a study which is female-specific. This is particularly true of published government statistics, including those from the Department of Statistics which, among its other activities, is responsible for the national census. Ironically, perhaps more than any other discipline, demography has always included the sex-component (principally owing to its inherent interest in fertility issues where inevitably the sex variable is crucial), yet published census data are not sex specific. Often such tabulations have not been run, and even if they have, it has meant laborious extracting from reams of computer printouts. This highlights a critical issue applicable in most Third World countries: namely, that there is little concern for studies on women.

Even when the data are sex-specific, a host of other problems emerge. The classifications of the groups may be too general to make the analysis meaningful. For example, some of the occupational categories are so

broad that only a limited analysis can be done. Or, as in the case of wage surveys, some surveys only cover Peninsular Malaysia, leaving out East Malaysia, and thus are not nationally based. Where time-series data have been available they are often of too short a period to indicate a meaningful trend and they often leave out the seventies - an important period in Malaysia's development. Then, to aggravate matters, where longer time series data have been available, they are not differentiated by sex.

In the use of time-series data, a recurrent problem has been the changing of classifications, making comparisons extremely difficult, if not totally inappropriate. This occurred in the classifications of economic activities by the 1970 and 1980 Censuses and by the Labour Force Surveys of the eighties.

It is obvious that gender-specific data need to be collected, compiled and analysed more assiduously by the statistical authorities. The various agencies should also co-ordinate their data collection and standardise definitions for meaningful analyses of issues concerning women in structural adjustment.

2. Incorporating Women in National Development Strategies

The formulation of gender-sensitive development strategies to support the various roles and status of women in Malaysia's economy is related to the nexus of policies and programmes on employment, poverty eradication, technology development and the formulation of economic policy for the nineties. An opportunity to incorporate the perspective of women, in particular to enhance their economic status, exists in the studies now being carried out to draw up the national human resource development plan, the industrial technology development plan, and the small- and medium-scale industry masterplan, as well as in the work of the National Economic Consultative Council responsible for the formulation of the Post-1990 National Economic Policy. The implementation of the Industrial Master Plan (IMP), which aims to promote Malaysia's new industrial drive, needs some reformulation and fine-tuning that can accommodate some inputs relating to women's interests. The initiative to formulate a National Policy on Women should take cognizance of these developments. An effective lobby has to be established to inject greater sensitivity concerning the economic and social status of women in these new policy initiatives.

One of the strategies being proposed for the Sixth Malaysia Plan (1991-2000) as part of the Post-1990 National Economic Policy is for the revitalisation of agriculture and rural development. This is aimed at reducing the disguised or under-employment in the rural sector, checking the flow of rural-urban migration which has exerted great pressure on the urban labour market, and enhancing the living standards of the rural population. The direct impact of agricultural modernisation programmes on the position of women in agriculture is obvious. This is relevant for women workers not only in traditional and smallholder agriculture but in the plantations where they are also heavily represented.

The rural development programmes for providing basic infrastructure and other services can help to enhance the standard of living of rural households and to provide employment for the rural population. They will also need to stress expanding opportunities for increasing the sources of off-farm

incomes through rural small-scale industry. The fuller utilisation of female labour time will enhance family incomes. It has also been pointed out that the major beneficiaries of an existing rural credit scheme for the poor - Project Ikhtiar which is modelled on the Bangladeshi Grameen Bank - are women (Kassim, personal communication) and it has been found that the rate of repayment by women is far higher than by men. Strategies for poverty eradication through "last person first" programmes should increasingly focus on the role of women in the household economy.

A second strategy for the Sixth Malaysia Plan calls for the acceleration of industrialisation based on the IMP, giving greater emphasis on small- and medium-scale industries (SMIs). Besides contributing to employment growth, this strategy also lays the basis for the economic restructuring needed to raise Malaysia to a level of industrial development comparable to that of the Asian NICs. It also aims to promote entrepreneurship and accelerate economic growth through the deregulation of SMIs. Economic liberalisation, as part of Malaysia's adjustment strategy since the recession of 1985, has so far been carried out cautiously, but most evidently in promoting export-oriented manufacturing.

The strategy additionally calls for the acceleration of the flow of foreign investment, particularly in SMIs. This has been facilitated by the increasing wish of enterprises in Japan and the Asian NICs to relocate in ASEAN countries in the face of the rapid appreciation of the yen and the currencies of the Asian NICs. The spurt of foreign investment since 1987 has attested to the success of the move to relax Malaysia's foreign investment code and the active investment promotion programme of the Federal and State Governments, and will be further enhanced by the corporate tax reductions introduced in the 1989 Budget. These have contributed to the reabsorption of many of the female factory workers affected by the 1983/84 retrenchments. But, as a case study has shown, the recontracting of labour in the electronics sector and the practice of contract labour in other sectors (The Star, June 13 1989) are worrying developments as they tend to affect more women workers adversely. The question of greater employment security, especially in the new manufacturing industries, is an important issue for women in Malaysia.

A third strategy of human resource development is closely linked to the strategy of industrial restructuring. This aims to reduce skills mismatch, which will become more serious with industrial restructuring, especially as associated with the main problem of graduate unemployment, that of the skills gap, and with the lack of trained manpower at the technical and supervisory level. There are proposals for the development of a Skills Development Fund, for tax incentives to promote in-service training within industry, and for the establishment of new industrial, technical and vocational training centres. There is a tendency for a sex selectivity that is biased against the increased participation of women in these training schemes, which aggravates the labour-shedding practices due to technology upgrading, as well as the possible displacement due to office automation, which is already apparent in some firms and industries. Thus a more gender-sensitive technology development policy has to be devised and faithfully implemented to counteract this bias.

A fourth strategy is that of promoting privatisation and rolling back the public sector, aimed at the enhancement of economic growth by fostering private sector investment to generate revenue and ease the financial burden of

Government. With privatisation, the Government will now have the opportunity to raise cash and ease its budget deficit without resorting to increased taxes or external loans. It is envisaged that privatisation will increase the efficiency of the previously government-owned corporations and have long-term impacts on labour transformation, despite any negative adjustments in labour which may be experienced in the short term. It is not clear however how privatisation will affect the economic position of women. But to the extent that it leads to retrenchment of workers in the privatised entities, the impact on women is likely to be at least as bad as on their male counterparts. This question has to be monitored on a case-by-case basis.

All these strategies, and the other structural adjustment policies discussed earlier, are aimed at putting the economy on a sound footing to help solve the industrialisation and employment problem Malaysia faces over the next ten years or so. The possibility that these policies may affect the economic position of women adversely cannot be ruled out if attempts are not made to take account of them directly in the formulation stage and to monitor them continuously over the period of implementation.

3. Women in the New Economic Policy after 1990

The post-1990 economic policy is being debated within Government and in the National Economic Consultative Committee. The final shape of the policy will not be known until 1990. But certain elements of the present NEP, established in 1970, are likely to be emphasised.

There are at least two schools of thought on what the future policy should be. The first considers that the country's economic performance has prevented attainment of the 1970 NEP's distribution objective, which was predicated on accelerated economic growth, and therefore would like to see a continuation of the present policy beyond 1990 until the poverty eradication and social restructuring goals are achieved. The second school insists that the NEP should be replaced in 1990 by a new policy which seeks to promote growth as the primary goal, with all its attendant policy adjustments, and with redistribution taking a back seat.

The debate ranges between these two schools of thought. Present indications and statements, notably the Prime Minister's opening address at the 1988 MIER National Outlook Conference, make it clear that elements of the 1970 NEP will continue in the post-1990 policy. The new emphasis, even new elements, will have to take account of the shortfalls in existing policy targets, and to the changed conditions of the nineties. In the final analysis, the controversy on the post-1990 economic policy will have to be solved in political terms through a process of consultation to arrive at a new social contract between the ethnic groups. In this way the 1990 NEP will provide a policy framework within which economic development strategies will have to be designed to fulfil the nation's goals.

The incorporation of women's issues in the post-1990 economic policy is crucial in the Malaysian context, as that policy will define and determine the various strategies which will be implemented for at least the next decade. Besides incorporating women's interests in the long-term development plan, as indicated in the discussion of those strategies, the case for women needs to be spelt out more clearly and definitively in the NEP.

4. Gender-Sensitive Strategies to Ameliorate any Adverse Impacts of Structural Adjustment

It is clear from the above discussion that a number of priority actions should be taken over the next decade to protect the interests of women in the planning, design and implementation of structural adjustment policies and to ensure their fair treatment. These are listed below:

1. There is an urgent need to establish a data base on women in order to analyse and monitor the effects of structural adjustment policies and to provide the basis for incorporating women in planning Malaysia's future development. This is particularly important for research, planning and monitoring activities in areas where women are most vulnerable to the adverse effects of structural adjustment policies. This vulnerability may be due to the critical role they play as producer, consumer or reproducer.
2. One crucial area is women in poverty groups. While data concerning the position of women among the poor are not available, it is safe to infer that, since poverty is mainly a household phenomenon, women will be well represented among the poverty groups. Poverty is still a major problem affecting some 18 per cent of total households in Malaysia in 1987. Thus it is imperative to monitor the impact of structural adjustment policies on the poor. Women among the rural poor are adversely affected by falling commodity prices and, along with those in urban areas, doubly so from cutbacks in government development expenditure and transfers such as subsidies and income maintenance schemes.
3. Another priority area, especially in a period of rapid industrialisation and changing labour conditions, is that women in factories be given special attention. Their problems came to a head during the retrenchments of 1983/84, but subsequent developments bear close watch. In particular, issues of labour education, the position of women in labour unions, and the problem of marginalisation of women workers on the shop floor as a result of technology conversion, add a new dimension of discrimination against women in the labour market. It is important that labour unions, including in-house unions, should have special programmes to lobby management and government to pay greater attention to this problem, especially in training and retraining schemes but also in wage compensation and benefits.
4. Rapid industrialisation in the seventies resulted in the relative decline of traditional agriculture, while the recession of the mid-eighties probably expanded the urban informal sector. Women are strongly represented in both sectors as agricultural and home-based workers. The promotion of income-generating activities is a priority issue in the longer-term adjustment programmes and policies of Government. A community-oriented approach would also complement the policy adjustments needed to cater to the needs of this segment of female labour.
5. Social welfare programmes are often affected by Government austerity measures to offset deficits. Women are particularly at risk when

such actions involve maternal and child health, and care must be taken to ensure this does not occur. (Fortunately, this item of social spending was not greatly affected by the budget-balancing programme of the Government in the recession.)

6. Another important impact on women is that of technology development. Rapid changes are occurring in the electronics and textile industries as Malaysia's export-oriented enterprises adopt high technology production methods, and other Malaysian manufacturers introduce more efficient techniques. These issues have to be properly treated in the Industrial Technology Master Plan.
7. There is also an urgent need to mobilise women's groups into an effective lobby so as to incorporate more gender-sensitive policies and programmes into the adjustment process and the longer-term development policy. As the Sixth Malaysia Plan is being prepared, and the National Economic Consultative Council is deliberating on the post-1990 economic policy, effective representation of women's interests is crucial.

VIII. CONCLUSION

This paper has looked at the adoption of structural adjustment policies in the short term as well as the long term, and tried to separate out the different impacts on women in Malaysia. The task was hampered by the lack of gender-specific data readily available from official sources. Where possible the study has attempted to supplement the available statistics with findings from case studies and special research reports.

Based on the data available, the impact on women of structural adjustment policies in Malaysia has not, on the whole, been unfavourable except in terms of over employment. The need to reduce the fiscal deficit forced the Government to resist the temptation of "pump-priming" the economy in order to reduce unemployment, especially during the 1985 recession. However, the persistence of unemployment among women is aggravated by other Government policies such as the heavy industrialisation programme which had, in the first place, contributed to the rising external debt and, consequently, to the overall fiscal imbalance.

Structural adjustment policies have not yet run their full course as the Government has announced plans to continue to rollback the public sector and liberalise the economy in order to promote a larger role for the private sector. The recovery of the Malaysian economy since 1986 has been remarkable, due not only to the better performance of traditional commodity and manufactured exports, but also to the adjustment policies themselves. Thus, the unemployment rate was beginning to decline towards the end of 1988, and private investment, especially direct foreign investment, has started to create jobs in the manufacturing sector.

In spite of this, the Government's commitment to longer-term economic restructuring under the post-1990 policy is likely to continue to impact on different segments of the female population. Hence the need to insist on continued and greater sensitivity to the potential consequences which these adjustment policies may have for women in Malaysia.

Table 1
GDP BY INDUSTRIAL ORIGIN, 1981-88
(M\$ million and percentages)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Agriculture (% of total)	10,684 22.44	11,375 22.56	11,302 21.09	11,623 20.13	11,914 20.85	12,389 21.41	13,311 21.88	13,790 21.11
Mining (% of total)	4,289 9.01	4,617 9.16	5,342 9.97	6,073 10.52	5,985 10.47	6,433 11.12	6,442 10.59	6,944 10.63
Manufacturing (% of total)	9,155 19.23	9,668 19.17	10,429 19.46	11,711 20.28	11,263 19.71	12,111 20.93	13,663 22.46	15,781 24.15
Construction (% of total)	2,367 4.97	2,598 5.15	2,867 5.35	2,988 5.17	2,738 4.79	2,355 4.07	2,077 3.41	2,098 3.21
Wholesale and retail (% of total)	5,694 11.96	6,104 12.10	6,583 12.29	7,107 12.31	6,911 12.09	6,147 10.62	6,423 10.56	6,905 10.57
Government services (% of total)	5,649 11.87	6,027 11.95	6,328 11.81	6,817 11.81	6,957 12.17	7,253 12.54	7,543 12.40	7,845 12.01
Growth rates (%)								
Agriculture	4.9	6.5	-0.6	2.8	2.5	4	7.4	3.6
Mining	-4.4	7.6	15.7	13.7	-1.4	7.5	0.1	7.8
Manufacturing	4.7	5.6	7.9	12.3	-3.8	7.5	12.8	15.5
Construction	14.6	9.8	10.4	4.2	-8.4	-14	-11.8	1
Wholesale and retail	5.8	7.2	7.8	8	-2.8	-11.1	4.5	7.5
Government services	23.8	6.7	5	7.7	2.1	4.3	4	4

Sources: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.
Bank Negara Quarterly Report, Bank Negara Malaysia, various issues.

Table 2
NATIONAL ACCOUNTS, 1981-88
(M\$ million and percentages)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Real GDP by demand aggregates (\$ million)								
Domestic demand	50,422	54,328	57,003	59,355	55,342	49,721	51,519	56,810
Private sector (as % of GDP)	34,772 73.05	35,410 70.22	36,326 67.80	39,528 68.46	38,791 67.88	34,314 59.31	35,328 58.06	38,447 58.84
Consumption	25,686	26,531	27,376	29,142	29,299	26,369	27,055	28,960
Investment	9,086	8,879	8,950	10,386	9,492	7,945	8,273	9,487
Public sector (as % of GDP)	16,148 33.92	18,440 36.57	20,232 37.76	18,875 32.69	17,813 31.17	16,192 27.99	15,357 25.24	16,501 25.25
Consumption	8,784	9,552	9,989	9,500	9,417	9,536	9,676	9,926
Investment	7,364	8,888	10,243	9,375	8,396	6,656	5,681	6,575
% of Private to total investment	55.23	49.97	46.63	52.56	53.06	54.41	59.29	59.06
Ratio of total private to public	2.15	1.92	1.80	2.09	2.18	2.12	2.30	2.33
External demand (net)	-2,820	-3,898	-3,421	-1,614	1,808	8,138	9,327	8,528
Real GDP	47,602	50,430	53,582	57,741	57,150	57,859	60,846	65,338
Growth rate (%)								
Private sector								
Consumption	5.10	3.30	3.20	6.50	0.50	-10.00	2.60	7.00
Investment	4.10	-2.30	0.80	16.00	-8.60	-16.30	4.10	14.70
Public sector								
Consumption	13.30	8.70	4.60	-4.90	-0.90	1.30	1.50	2.60
Investment	41.50	20.70	15.20	-8.50	-10.40	-20.70	-14.60	15.70
External sector								
Exports	-0.80	10.70	12.30	13.80	0.40	17.80	10.00	15.50
Imports	5.60	13.80	9.00	6.50	-9.80	-2.20	8.80	22.60
Real GDP	6.90	5.90	6.30	7.80	-1.00	1.20	5.20	7.40

Sources: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.
Bank Negara Quarterly Report, Bank Negara Malaysia, various issues.

Table 3
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE, 1981-88
(M\$ million)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Revenue	1,5806	16,690	18,608	20,805	21,114	19,518	18,143	21,448
Current expenditure	15,686	16,672	18,374	19,806	20,066	20,075	20,185	21,340
Current account deficit	120	18	234	999	1,048	-557	-2,042	108
Development expenditure	11,135	11,189	9,416	8,074	6,756	6,949	4,111	5,521
Overall deficit	-11,015	-11,171	-9,182	-7,075	-5,708	-7,506	-6,153	-5,413
External borrowing	3,419	4,894	4,569	3,093	956	1,348	-2,438	-2,773
Domestic borrowing	4,072	6,047	4,502	3,156	3,591	4,930	8,701	6,925
Change in assets	3,524	230	111	826	1,161	1,228	-110	1,261
As a percentage of GNP								
Revenue	28.43	27.96	28.40	28.05	29.31	29.41	24.08	26.32
Current expenditure	28.21	27.93	28.04	26.70	27.85	30.25	26.79	26.19
Current account deficit	0.22	0.03	0.36	1.35	1.45	-0.84	-2.71	0.13
Development expenditure	20.03	18.75	14.37	10.88	9.38	10.47	5.46	6.78
Overall deficit	19.81	18.72	14.01	9.54	7.92	11.31	8.17	6.64

Sources: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.
Bank Negara Quarterly Report, Bank Negara Malaysia, various issues.

Table 4
BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, EXTERNAL DEBT, SAVINGS AND INVESTMENT, 1981-88
(M\$ million and percentages)

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Balance of Payments (\$ million)								
Trade balance	-243	-1,758	1,002	6,986	8,883	8,781	14,830	13,878
Exports	26,900	27,946	31,762	38,452	37,576	35,373	44,612	53,878
Imports	27,143	29,704	30,760	31,466	28,693	26,592	29,782	40,000
Net services and transfers	-5,390	-6,651	-9,119	-10,903	-10,405	-8,988	-8,725	-10,751
Current account balance	-5,633	-8,409	-8,117	-3,917	-1,522	-207	6,105	3,127
Capital account balance	5,931	8,432	9,210	6,560	4,229	3,384	-1,060	-696
Overall balance	-1,093	-614	-55	312	3,209	4,345	2,893	978
External debt								
Foreign debt (\$ million)	15,368	24,283	31,815	37,245	42,307	50,714	50,855	46,702
Foreign debt/GNP	27.64	40.68	48.55	50.21	58.73	76.42	67.50	57.4
National debt service ratio	7.1	9.3	9.8	11.8	15.8	18	14.8	16.2
Savings and investment gap (\$ million)								
Gross national savings	14,524	14,929	18,349	22,780	19,845	17,770	25,491	27,359
Gross capital formation	20,157	23,338	26,466	26,697	21,367	17,977	19,386	24,232
Savings/investment gap	-5,633	-8,409	-8,117	-3,917	-1,522	-207	6,105	3,127

Sources: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.
Bank Negara Quarterly Report, Bank Negara Malaysia, various issues.

Table 5
DIRECT FOREIGN INVESTMENT, 1970-88
(percentages)

Year	Growth/Decline	Remarks
1970	Base year	Continuous growth from 1970 to 1974.
1971	+ 6.6	Appeared that introduction of NEP was not much of a deterrent for foreign investors.
1972	+ 4.6	
1973	+ 31.3	
1974	+ 219.5	
1975	- 37.5	DFI declined following enforcement of ICA. After initial uncertainty of ICA and several amendments, DFI improved strongly again in spite of NEP and ICA.
1976	+ 15.5	
1977	+ 3.0	
1978	+ 15.9	
1979	+ 8.4	
1980	+ 62.0	
1981	+ 43.3	
1982	+ 12.0	
1983	- 10.3	DFI declined
1984	- 36.9	Reasons - NEP? ICA? Recession?
1985	- 9.0	Competition/Recession
1986	- 25.8	Recession/Uncertainty/Competition
1987	+ 14.9	Recovery
1988*	+ 25.2	Return of Investment Boom

*Estimates and projections by Ministry of Finance.

Source: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.

Table 6
PRICES, EXCHANGE RATE AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, 1981-88

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Consumers' price index (1978=100)	109.7	116.1	120.4	125.1	125.5	126.4	127.8	131.2
% change	9.7	5.8	3.7	3.9	0.3	0.7	1.1	2.7
Producers' price index (1978=100)	127	123.9	126.6	131	128.2	120.3	124.7	132*
% change	3.8	-2.4	2.2	3.5	-2.1	-6.2	7.6	7.1
Exchange rate (MS/US\$)	2.3033	2.335	2.3208	2.3433	2.4824	2.5808	2.519	
Unemployment rate (%)	5.0	4.7	5.6	6.3	7.6	8.5	9.1	9.4

* Jan.-July 1988

Sources: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.
Bank Negara Quarterly Report, Bank Negara Malaysia, various issues.

Table 7
LABOUR FORCE, EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT TARGETS,
MALAYSIAN PLANS 1961-90

(percentages)

Malaysia Plan	Labour force growth target	Employment growth target	Unemployment rate at end of plan Period Target	Actual
Second Five-Year Malaya Plan 1961-65	340,000*	340,000*	n.a.	n.a.
First Malaysia Plan 1966-70	14.3	15.0	4.3	7.3
Second Malaysia Plan 1971-75	17.1	17.1	7.3	7.0
Third Malaysia Plan 1976-80	17.7	18.9	6.1	5.3
Fourth Malaysia Plan 1981-85	16.3	16.9	4.9	7.6
Fifth Malaysia Plan 1986-90	14.9	11.8	10.1	n.a.

* Labour force and employment targets were estimated in absolute figures.
n.a. - not available.

Source: Malaysian Plans, various issues.

Table 8
SECTORAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT, 1970-88

	1970		1975		1980		1985		1988	
	('000)	(%)	('000)	(%)	('000)	(%)	('000)	(%)	('000)	(%)
Primary Sector	1,863	55.7	2,003	49.8	1,991	41.4	1,964	35.9	2,112	36.3
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	1,776	53.1	1,915	47.6	1,911	39.7	1,903	34.8	2,056	35.3
Mining	87	2.6	88	2.2	80	1.7	61	1.1	56	1.0
Secondary Sector	392	11.7	608	15.1	1,056	21.2	1,207	22.0	1,201	20.6
Manufacturing	301	9.0	448	11.1	786	15.6	828	15.1	845	14.5
Construction	91	2.7	160	4.0	270	5.6	379	6.9	356	6.1
Service Sector	687	20.6	890	22.1	1,111	23.1	1,479	27.0	1,655	28.4
Transport and communication	133	4.0	181	4.5	210	4.1	265	4.8	279	4.8
Commerce	554	16.6	709	17.6	901	19.0	1,214	22.2	1,376	23.6
Government services	398	12.0	520	13.0	658	14.4	820	15.0	852	14.6
Total employment	3,340		4,021		4,816		5,470		5,820	
Labour force	3,610		4,320		5,109		5,917		6,425	
Unemployment		7.5		6.9		5.7		7.6		9.4

Source: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.

Table 9
AVERAGE GROWTH OF SECTORAL EMPLOYMENT, 1970-88
(percentages)

	1970-80	1980-85	1985-88
Primary Sector	0.7	-0.3	2.5
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	0.7	-0.1	2.6
Mining	-0.8	-5.3	-2.8
Secondary Sector	10.0	2.7	-0.2
Manufacturing	9.6	1.0	0.7
Construction	11.4	7.0	-2.1
Services Sector	5.0	5.9	3.8
Transport and communication	4.1	4.8	1.7
Commerce	5.1	6.1	4.3
Government services	5.7	4.5	1.3
Total employed	3.7	2.6	2.1

Source: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.

TABLE 10
DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES AGED 10 YEARS AND OVER IN THE 'EXPERIENCED'
LABOUR FORCE BY ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, 1970 AND 1980

Industry	1970		1980	
	No.	%	No.	%
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	33,594	31.6	722,689	47.6
Agriculture products requiring substantial processing	325,691	29.8	n.a.	n.a.
Mining and quarrying	7,185	0.7	6,011	0.4
Manufacturing	77,634	7.3	238,920	15.7
Construction	4,841	0.5	29,715	2
Electricity, gas, water and sanitary services	1,207	0.1	n.a.	n.a.
Commerce	55,363	5.2	n.a.	n.a.
Transport, storage and communication	4,834	0.5	10,064	0.4
Services	157,023	14.5	n.a.	n.a.
Wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels	n.a.	n.a.	187,730	12.4
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	n.a.	n.a.	23,620	1.6
Community social and personal services	n.a.	n.a.	285,704	18.8
Electricity, gas and water	n.a.	n.a.	561	0.0
Activity not adequately described	100,637	9.5	12,016	0.8
Total experienced labour force	1,060,009	100	1,517,030	100

n.a.: Not available by this classification.

Sources: 1970: General Report, Population Census of Malaysia Vol. II.
1980: Population Census of Malaysia 1980.

TABLE 11
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY SECTORS, 1982-86
(in percentages)

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Primary	37.40	35.25	35.09	34.04	32.75
Agric., forestry, hunting, fishing	37.07	34.81	34.79	33.80	32.46
Mining and quarrying	0.33	0.44	0.29	0.24	0.29
Secondary	20.97	22.27	20.59	20.19	20.57
Manufacturing	19.71	20.81	19.35	19.00	19.64
Construction	1.26	1.46	1.24	1.20	0.94
Services	41.63	42.48	44.33	45.76	46.68
Electricity, gas and water	0.11	0.07	0.08	0.06	0.06
Wholesale, retail trade, restaurant and hotel	17.10	18.02	18.35	19.13	19.26
Transport, storage, and communication	1.02	1.00	1.16	1.30	1.09
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	3.68	3.49	3.72	3.94	4.12
Community and personal services	19.71	19.88	20.98	21.33	22.13
Activity unknown	0.00	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.01
Total (no.)	1,783,650	1,886,551	1,904,141	1,952,827	2,006,636

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 12
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY SECTORS AND ETHNICITY, 1982 AND 1986
(in percentages)

	Malay		Chinese		Indian		Others	
	1982	1986	1982	1986	1982	1986	1982	1986
Primary	47.9	42.1	17.8	14.8	46.4	41.5	41.5	40.7
Agric., forestry, hunting, fishing	47.6	41.9	17.2	14.4	46.2	41.1	41.3	40.7
Mining and quarrying	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.0
Secondary	16.9	17.4	26.8	24.9	24.0	24.7	12.2	8.1
Manufacturing	16.4	17.0	24.5	23.1	22.2	23.9	12.2	7.8
Construction	0.5	0.4	2.3	1.9	1.7	0.8	0.0	0.3
Services	35.2	40.5	55.4	60.3	29.6	33.8	46.3	51.2
Electricity, gas and water	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Wholesale, retail trade, restaurant and hotel	11.6	13.6	28.8	31.6	7.0	8.4	16.8	20.7
Transport, storage, and communication	0.9	0.9	1.3	1.5	0.8	1.0	2.4	1.4
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	2.2	2.5	5.9	6.9	4.4	3.6	5.7	2.3
Community and personal services	20.4	23.5	19.2	20.2	17.4	20.8	21.5	26.9
Total (no.)	995,230	1,134,544	609,975	859,838	169,154	179,343	9,291	12,254

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 13
DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY ETHNIC GROUPS,
1982-86
(in percentages)

	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Others	Total (no.)
1982	55.80	34.20	9.48	0.52	1,783,650
1983	55.83	34.28	9.43	0.46	1,886,551
1984	57.33	32.74	9.45	0.48	1,904,141
1985	56.75	33.47	9.22	0.56	1,952,827
1986	56.54	33.91	8.94	0.61	2,006,636

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 14
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY SECTORS AND ETHNICITY, 1982 AND 1986
(in percentages)

	Malay		Chinese		Indian		Others		Total 1982	Total 1986
	1982	1986	1982	1986	1982	1986	1982	1986		
Primary	71.4	72.6	16.2	15.3	11.8	11.3	0.6	0.8	667,167	657,125
Agric., forestry, hunting, fishing	71.7	72.9	15.9	15.0	11.8	11.3	0.6	0.8	661,235	651,280
Mining and quarrying	41.4	43.3	52.6	43.8	5.7	12.9	0.3	0.0	5,932	5,845
Secondary	45.1	47.9	43.8	41.1	10.8	10.7	0.3	0.2	373,944	412,842
Manufacturing	46.5	49.0	42.5	39.8	10.7	10.9	0.3	0.2	351,481	394,069
Construction	23.2	24.5	63.7	67.7	13.1	7.6	0.0	0.2	22,463	18,773
Services	47.2	49.0	45.5	43.8	6.8	6.5	0.6	0.7	742,539	936,669
Electricity, gas and water	57.3	59.2	39.8	36.7	2.9	4.1	0.0	0.0	1,998	1,195
Wholesale, retail trade, restaurant and hotel	38.0	39.8	57.6	55.6	3.9	3.9	0.5	0.7	305,055	386,574
Transport, storage, and communication	47.7	44.7	43.9	46.1	7.2	8.5	1.2	0.8	18,240	21,856
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	32.7	34.9	55.1	57.0	11.4	7.8	0.8	0.3	65,697	82,689
Community and personal services	57.7	59.9	33.3	31.0	8.4	8.4	0.6	0.7	351,549	444,068
Total (no.)	55.8	56.5	34.2	33.9	9.5	8.9	0.5	0.6	1,783,650	2,006,636

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 15
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY AREA AND ETHNICITY, 1982-86
(in percentages)

	1982		1983		1984		1985		1986	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Malay	34.6	68.3	36.6	67.3	36.2	69.5	35.5	69.2	35.8	67.8
Chinese	56.2	21.2	55.1	21.9	53.9	20.6	54.8	21.0	54.8	22.6
Indian	8.8	9.9	8.0	10.3	9.4	9.5	9.3	9.2	8.8	9.0
Others	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.6
Total (no.)	662,218	1,121,439	702,777	1,183,771	695,413	1,208,730	720,411	1,232,417	706,706	1,299,932

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 16
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY AREAS AND SECTORS, 1982 AND 1986
(in percentages)

	1982		1986	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	4.19	56.49	3.74	48.07
Mining and quarrying	0.30	0.35	0.27	0.30
Manufacturing	28.21	14.68	24.61	16.94
Electricity, gas and water	0.15	0.09	0.09	0.04
Construction	2.10	0.77	1.43	0.67
Wholesale, retail trade, restaurant and hotel	25.18	12.33	27.73	14.66
Transport, storage and communication	1.90	0.51	1.90	0.65
Finance, insurance real estate and business services	6.58	1.97	7.81	2.12
Community services and personal services	31.39	12.76	32.40	16.54
Activity unknown	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.01
Total (no.)	662,218	1,121,439	706,706	1,299,932

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 17
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY ETHNIC GROUPS, AREAS AND SECTORS, 1982
(in percentages)

	Malay		Chinese		Indian		Others	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	4.44	60.55	4.22	37.59	3.28	68.57	0.00	63.75
Mining and quarrying	0.49	0.17	0.22	0.97	0.08	0.26	0.00	0.30
Manufacturing	27.15	13.20	27.65	19.57	36.89	14.59	12.81	11.87
Electricity, gas and water	0.19	0.09	0.14	0.12	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00
Construction	0.96	0.39	2.79	1.65	2.26	1.47	0.00	0.00
Wholesale, retail trade, restaurant and hotel	17.94	9.75	31.90	24.02	10.61	5.13	26.75	11.39
Transport, storage and communication	2.31	0.45	1.64	0.79	1.83	0.23	3.48	1.80
Finance, insurance real estate and business services	4.27	1.52	7.95	2.78	6.75	3.24	9.21	3.72
Community services and personal services	42.24	13.87	23.49	12.51	38.21	6.51	47.74	7.17
Total (no.)	229,085	766,150	371,867	238,108	57,988	111,167	3,278	6,014

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 18
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY ETHNIC GROUPS, AREAS AND SECTORS, 1986
(in percentages)

	Malay		Chinese		Indian		Others	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	4.30	52.63	3.52	28.70	3.03	61.12	0.41	67.60
Mining and quarrying	0.28	0.21	0.29	0.49	0.07	0.60	0.00	0.00
Manufacturing	23.63	15.14	24.17	21.61	32.28	19.49	11.27	6.13
Electricity, gas and water	0.16	0.04	0.06	0.08	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00
Construction	0.60	0.35	2.08	1.59	0.78	0.81	0.91	0.00
Wholesale, retail trade, restaurant and hotel	20.41	11.59	35.00	27.14	12.91	6.04	18.65	23.80
Transport, storage and communication	2.07	0.52	1.73	1.15	2.26	0.38	1.76	1.22
Finance, insurance, real estate and business services	5.60	1.66	9.26	3.86	8.04	1.22	4.13	1.22
Community services and personal services	42.95	17.85	23.85	15.39	40.55	10.33	62.87	5.70
Activity unknown	0.00	0.01	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total (no.)	253,009	881,534	387,138	293,358	61,953	117,391	4,606	7,049

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 19
FEMALES IN EXPERIENCED LABOUR FORCE AGED 10 YEARS
AND OVER BY OCCUPATION, 1970 AND 1980

	1970		1980	
	No	%	No	%
Professional, technical and related workers	50,640	5.2	115,864	8.5
Administrative and management workers	745	.08	3,681	0.3
Clerical and related workers	39,114	4.1	151,334	11.1
Sales and related workers	47,057	4.9	98,634	7.2
Service workers	81,580	8.5	122,893	9.0
Agricultural, animal husbandry, forestry, fisherman, hunters	642,708	66.8	632,010	46.3
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators, and labourers	100,373	10.4	240,918	17.6
Total	962,217	100.0	1,365,334	100.0

Sources: 1970: General Report, Population Census of Malaysia Vol. II (Table 2.13 Page 79).
1980: Calculated from 1980 Population Census of Malaysia.

TABLE 20
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN THE URBAN SECTOR BY OCCUPATION, 1980-86
(in percentages)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Professional, technical and related workers	12.21	12.29	12.40	11.14	12.43	12.81	13.22
Administrative and managerial	0.56	0.64	1.02	1.08	1.04	1.16	1.28
Clerical and related workers	21.15	23.22	23.83	24.74	25.01	24.86	23.85
Sales and related workers	13.37	11.41	11.74	13.16	13.78	13.77	14.37
Service workers	20.85	19.24	20.64	20.40	20.65	20.63	21.82
Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry, fisherman and hunters	4.46	4.84	4.13	3.66	3.54	3.46	3.63
Production, transport equipment operators and labourers	27.39	28.36	26.23	25.81	23.55	23.31	21.83
Total (no.)	479,616	624,107	662,220	702,775	695,412	720,411	706,703

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

TABLE 21
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN THE RURAL SECTOR BY OCCUPATION, 1980-86
(in percentages)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Professional, technical and related workers	5.80	5.39	5.62	6.11	6.81	6.86	7.48
Administrative and managerial	0.23	0.09	0.12	0.25	0.29	0.23	0.38
Clerical and related workers	6.17	5.13	6.35	6.98	7.53	8.00	8.44
Sales and related workers	6.29	6.21	7.27	7.38	8.16	9.41	8.88
Service workers	6.91	7.07	8.35	8.73	9.64	9.72	10.53
Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry, fisherman and hunters	58.84	60.70	56.82	53.36	52.41	51.31	47.71
Production, transport equipment operators and labourers	15.78	15.41	15.47	17.18	15.16	14.47	16.57
Total (no.)	1,121,982	1,074,417	1,121,435	1,183,771	1,208,731	1,232,417	1,299,934

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

Table 22
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN THE URBAN SECTOR BY RACE AND OCCUPATION 1980 AND 1986
(in percentages)

	Total		Malay		Chinese		Indian and Others	
	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980	1986
Professional, technical and related workers	12.21	13.22	14.14	15.48	10.22	11.17	18.24	16.53
Administrative and managerial	0.56	1.28	0.74	1.37	0.49	1.28	0.43	0.97
Clerical and related workers	21.15	23.85	23.92	22.17	21.50	26.00	10.42	17.70
Sales and related workers	13.37	14.37	9.57	10.16	16.29	18.37	7.62	7.10
Service workers	20.85	21.82	20.07	24.13	20.87	19.61	23.11	25.87
Agriculture animal husbandry and forestry, fisherman and hunters	4.46	3.63	5.72	4.26	3.91	3.27	3.88	3.30
Production, transport equipment operators and labourers	27.39	21.83	25.83	22.42	26.72	20.30	36.30	28.53
Total (No)	479,616	706,703	147,482	253,006	284,831	387,138	47,303	66,559

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

Table 23
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN THE RURAL SECTOR BY RACE AND OCCUPATIONS, 1980-86
(in percentages)

	Total		Malay		Chinese		Indian and others	
	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980	1986
Professional, technical and related workers	5.80	7.48	5.49	8.05	7.74	6.87	3.69	4.90
Administrative and managerial	0.23	0.38	0.11	0.37	0.42	0.60	0.56	0.00
Clerical and related workers	6.17	8.44	5.61	7.41	8.73	13.74	4.42	3.29
Sales and related workers	6.29	8.88	5.22	6.66	11.95	17.29	1.35	4.79
Service workers	6.91	10.53	5.92	10.34	10.40	12.38	5.91	7.47
Agriculture animal husbandary and forestry, fisherman and hunters	58.84	47.71	63.57	52.35	40.10	28.28	67.63	60.56
Production, transport equipment operators and labourers	15.78	16.57	14.08	14.81	20.66	20.84	16.43	18.99
Total (No)	1,121,982	1,299,934	754,659	881,538	247,177	293,358	120,146	125,038

Source: Unpublished data from Labour Force Surveys, various years.

Table 24
FEMALE EMPLOYMENT STATUS, 1970, 1980-86
(in percentages)

Employment status	1970	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Employer	2.3	2.6	0.60	0.67	0.84	0.62	0.77	0.94
Employee	36.9	53.6	59.01	58.28	58.75	61.06	59.92	58.75
Own account worker	18	23.9	16.73	17.78	19.06	16.35	16.70	17.20
Unpaid family worker	37.7	17.9	23.67	23.26	21.35	21.97	22.61	23.12
Seeking first job	5.1	2

Sources: General Report of the Population Census, 1970, Vol.1: 424; Population Census, 1980; Labour Force Surveys, 1981-86, Department of Statistics.

Table 25
MALAY FEMALE EMPLOYMENT STATUS, 1981-86
(in percentages)

Employment status	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Employer	0.27	0.35	0.53	0.47	0.46	0.57
Employee	48.62	48.48	49.73	51.53	50.62	50.30
Own account worker	21.69	22.74	24.41	20.69	21.34	21.11
Unpaid family worker	29.41	28.44	25.32	27.32	27.57	28.01
Total (No)	948,500	995,200	1,053,300	1,091,700	1,108,200	1,134,500

Source: Labour Force Surveys, 1981.

Table 26
CHINESE FEMALE EMPLOYMENT STATUS, 1981-86
(in percentages)

Employment status	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Employer	1.20	1.34	1.42	0.98	1.44	1.69
Employee	67.52	65.67	65.50	69.35	67.88	65.16
Own account worker	12.22	13.44	14.41	12.46	12.41	13.81
Unpaid family worker	19.06	19.52	18.68	17.16	18.27	19.34
Total (No)	581,200	610,000	646,700	623,400	653,700	680,500

Source: Labour Force Surveys, 1981-1986.

Table 27
INDIAN FEMALE EMPLOYMENT STATUS, 1981-86
(in percentages)

Employment status	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Employer	0.31	0.06	0.51	0.22	0.22	0.39
Employee	91.18	89.66	88.81	90.61	88.89	88.46
Own account worker	3.27	4.02	3.77	3.56	4.00	5.02
Unpaid family worker	5.23	6.21	6.97	5.61	6.89	6.13
Total (no)	158,800	169,200	177,800	179,900	180,000	179,300

Source: Labour Force Surveys, 1981-1986.

Table 28
RETRENCHED WORKERS BY SECTOR, 1983-85
(in percentages)

Industry	1983	1984	1985	Total (%)	Number
Agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing	41.6	12.3	4.1	14.2	9,878
Mining and quarrying	12.1	13.9	20.0	17.3	12,066
Manufacturing	31.5	48.0	63.0	53.4	37,294
Electricity, gas and water	-	-	-	-	-
Construction	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.8	554
Wholesale, retail trade, restaurant and hotel	10.9	19.7	11.1	12.2	8,491
Finance, insurance and real estate	0.1	-	0.1	0.1	87
Community, social and personal services	2.6	5.1	1.0	1.9	1,358
Transport and storage	0.3	0.1	-	0.1	53
Others	-	-	-	-	-
Total (No)	16,668	9,269	43,844	-	69,781

Source: Unpublished statistics, Ministry of Labour and Manpower 1986.

Table 29

PENINSULAR MALAYSIA: STATES MOST AFFECTED BY RETRENCHMENTS IN 1985

States	Numbers retrenched	Industries most affected
Perak	10,120	Tin mining, textiles, wood, wood and wood products
Selangor	6,158	Tin mining, motor vehicle assembly, wood and wood products
Penang	5,550	Electronics, textiles
Pahang	4,402	Wood and wood products
Johor	3,466	Textiles, wood and wood products
Negri Sembilan	2,769	Electronics, wood and wood products

Source: Labour and Manpower Report 1986/87, (Ministry of Labour, 1986, p 118).

Table 30

WORKERS RETRENCHED BY EMPLOYMENT CATEGORY, 1983-84

(in percentages)*

Category of employment	1983		1984 1983/84	
	1st half	2nd half	1st half	1st half % change
Management	1.8	0.8	4.7	-47.9
Technical and supervisory	8.8	5.8	23.3	-47.3
Clerical and related workers	5.6	3.8	12.3	-56.6
Service workers	2.8	2.9	3.2	-76.8
Factory workers (skilled)	39.1	15.0	24.4	-87.5
Factory workers (unskilled)	17.2	26.2	18.9	-46.1
General workers	24.2	45.4	13.0	-31.8
Total %	100	100	100	-80.1
No ('000)	4,036	1,465	805	

* These figures must be interpreted with caution as they are grossly lower than the ones issued by the Ministry of Labour and Manpower. However, this problem is not so serious here as they are only used to illustrate a pattern of retrenchment in the different employment categories.

Sources: Labour and Manpower Report 1981-82 - 1983-84, Ministry of Labour, 1981; 1983, Economic Report 1984-85, Ministry of Finance, 1984.

Table 31
FEDERAL SUBSIDY EXPENDITURES¹
(M\$ millions)

	TMP ² 1976-80	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Operating Budget	1,027.8	165.9	713.9	944.4	981.0	1,360.3	437.7	289.6
Petroleum products	783.3	129.2	575.5	721.3	750.0	1,090.9	172.0	9.2
Textbooks	120.3	36.7	14.2	22.4	30.0	34.4	26.8	41.5
National Electricity Board	13.6	-	13.6	19.5	21.0	52.6	60.2	68.9
Paddy price support	110.6	-	110.6	181.2	186.0	182.4	178.7	170.0
Development Budget	595.2	132.3	258.2	262.1	306.8	313.2	295.9	147.1
Rubber replanting	215.9	48.4	87.9	54.7	100.9	95.3	74.9	33.6
Pineapple replanting	10.9	1.8	2.2	2	2.9	4.3	2.2	3.7
Agriculture/fisheries financial assistance	52.6	14.4	21.6	22.1	15.9	31.1	36.7	-
Vegetable price support	-	-	-	-	-	20.0	6.4	-
Agricultural inputs	126.7	26.8	99.9	118.2	97	90.0	75.8	74.8
Farm mechanisation	15.2	5.3	3.6	4.9	27.2	20.0	16.0	-
Coconut replanting	32.2	7.1	9.3	9.7	10.9	13.0	13.6	13.5
Crop diversification	71.6	18.4	17.9	13.7	15.6	17.0	0.8	-
Animal husbandry	5.4	1.7	1.6	15.7	17.5	9.8	11.8	13.1
Other	64.7	8.4	14.2	21.1	18.9	12.7	57.7	-
Total ³	1,623.0	292.2	972.1	1,364.0	1,293.8	1,673.5	733.6	430.7
As % of GNP	0.9	0.7	1.9	2.5	2.2	2.6	1.0	0.6

1. Refers to identifiable subsidy schemes excludes a number of other schemes which appear in the development budget but are difficult to disaggregate.
2. Third Malaysia Plan.
3. Excludes interest rate subsidies to state and local governments, public and quasi public entities and co-operatives.

Source: Ministry of Finance.

Table 32
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURES BY SECTOR¹
(in percentages)

	2MP Actual (1971-75)	3MP Actual (1976-80)	4MP (1981-85) Original allocation	5MP original Estimated actual (1986-90)	5MP original allocation (1986-90)
Economic	66.9	64.0	57.9	60.5	76.1
Agriculture, rural and municipal development	24.2	22.1	21.3	16.3	17.1
Commerce and industry	19.3	15.3	13.8	13.6	14.1
Transport	16.6	13.4	10.5	15.1	15.6
Communications	2.4	5.4	3.9	5.2	14.1
Energy and utilities	3.9	7.5	8.3	9.9	14.3
Feasibility studies ²	0.5	0.3	0.1	0.4	0.7
Social	17.5	17.1	16.3	21.5	13.1
Education	9.4	7.3	7.6	10.1	8.1
Health and population	2.5	1.5	1.5	1.6	0.1
Information and broadcasting	1.2	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.1
Housing and sewerage	2.4	6.4	4.2	8.7	2.9
Culture, welfare and community development	0.9	1.3	2.0	0.6	1.0
Purchase of land	1.1	0.3	0.6	0.2	-
Security	13.8	16.7	23.9	16.9	6.8
Administration	2.0	2.2	2.0	1.8	4.0
Total ¹	100	100	100	100	100
M\$ millions	7,415	21,202	39,330	46,320	69,000

(1) Columns may not sum due to rounding.

(2) Includes research and development.

MP Malaysia Plan

Source: Fourth Malaysia Plan, (1981) and Mid-Term Review of the Fourth Malaysia Plan, (1983), Fifth Malaysia Plan, 1986 and Ministry of Finance.

Table 33
 FEDERAL GOVERNMENT: OPERATING EXPENDITURE REVISIONS, 1980-88
 (\$ million)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
I. TOTAL									
(a) BE	10,868	14,600	17,319	17,079	19,016	21,538	21,954	20,739	21,236
(b) Actual	13,617	15,686	16,671	18,374	19,806	20,066	20,075	20,185	
(c) % Change	-25	-7	4	-8	-4	7	9	3	
II. Security									
(a) BE	2,232	2,648	3,315	2,995	3,255	3,691	3,882	3,229	3,408
(b) Actual	2,175	2,854	3,076	3,106	3,326	3,274	3,403	3,239	
(c) % Change	3	-8	7	-4	-2	11	12	0	
III. Social Services									
(a) BE	2,947	4,186	4,950	4,472	4,894	5,516	5,884	5,828	5,957
(b) Actual	3,292	4,067	4,404	4,217	4,645	5,038	5,429	5,612	
(c) % Change	-12	3	11	6	5	9	8	4	
1. Education									
(a) BE	2,055	2,808	3,256	3,060	3,365	3,772	4,050	4,047	
(b) Actual	2,228	2,726	2,991	2,915	3,183	3,473	3,743	3,862	
(c) % Change	-8	3	8	5	5	8	8	5	
2. Health									
(a) BE	715	907	1,067	870	956	1,111	1,193	1,100	
(b) Actual	698	855	916	836	931	1,008	1,098	1,073	
(c) % Change	2	6	14	4	3	9	8	2	
IV. Economic Services									
(a) BE	783	979	1,768	1,819	1,869	2,027	2,197	1,929	1,977
(b) Actual	765	1,307	1,960	1,518	1,730	1,799	1,975	1,702	
(c) % Change	2	-34	-11	17	7	11	10	12	
1. Agriculture and Rural Development									
(a) BE	342	339	858	744	795	844	905	881	
(b) Actual	148	523	763	720	771	852	805	812	
(c) % Change	57	-54	11	3	3	-1	11	8	
2. Trade and Industry									
(a) BE	68	259	386	495	446	474	600	453	
(b) Actual	196	348	609	261	357	485	423	360	
(c) % Change	-188	-34	-58	47	20	-2	30	21	
3. Transport and Communications									
(a) BE	352	361	420	475	517	596	594	514	
(b) Actual	287	346	517	454	490	457	695	463	2,145
(c) % Change	18	4	-23	4	5	23	-17	10	
IV. General Administration									
(a) BE	1,164	1,191	1,896	1,694	1,948	2,326	2,457	2,140	
(b) Actual	1,167	1,452	2,126	1,748	1,637	2,035	2,464	2,227	1,776
(c) % Change	0	-22	-12	-3	16	13	0	-4	
V. Transfers									
(a) BE	2,286	3,717	3,120	2,169	2,245	2,492	1,609	1,639	
(b) Actual	4,671	3,960	2,382	4,332	4,038	2,887	1,565	1,642	5,973
(c) % Change	-104	-7	24	-100	-80	-16	3	0	
VI. Debt Servicing									
(a) BE	1,456	1,879	2,270	3,930	4,805	5,486	5,925	5,973	
(b) Actual	1,547	2,046	2,723	3,453	4,430	5,042	5,239	5,763	
(c) % Change	-6	-9	-20	12	8	8	12	4	

BE Budget Estimate.

Source: Ministry of Finance, Unpublished Data.

Table 34
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURE, 1980-88
(\$ million)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
I. TOTAL									
(a) BE	9,456	7,677	13,832	11,270	8,076	7,053	8,058	6,073	6,385
(b) Actual	7,463	11,358	11,485	9,669	8,407	7,142	7,559	4,741	6,021
II. Security									
(a) BE	1,921	2,476	3,564	2,484	1,199	690	485	442	507
(b) Actual	1,222	1,839	2,065	1,726	1,005	629	384	333	507
III. Social Services									
(a) BE	1,555	1,244	3,332	2,522	1,461	1,634	2,635	1,525	1,577
(b) Actual	1,185	2,456	3,249	1,997	2,223	2,093	2,534	1,031	1,546
1. Education									
(a) BE	598	425	1,078	1,166	812	971	1,257	1,037	1,166
(b) Actual	558	791	1,082	988	1,009	872	1,064	810	1,102
2. Health									
(a) BE	146	134	144	189	170	180	161	93	126
(b) Actual	80	118	150	156	125	112	118	53	108
3. Housing									
(a) BE	670	252	1,428	627	340	315	965	243	149
(b) Actual	295	1,231	1,589	556	908	972	1,054	79	127
IV. Economic Services									
(a) BE	5,780	3,797	6,640	6,087	5,269	4,562	4,791	3,967	4,102
(b) Actual	4,833	6,813	5,967	5,779	5,061	4,303	4,538	3,255	3,769
1. Agriculture and Rural Development									
(a) BE	1,618	1,733	2,027	1,396	1,325	1,445	1,668	1,623	1,434
(b) Actual	1,138	1,481	1,550	1,187	1,122	1,287	1,144	924	1,175
2. Public Utilities									
(a) BE	925	272	1,046	1,474	1,378	1,044	996	873	690
(b) Actual	665	748	865	1,027	1,132	789	683	648	672
3. Commerce and Industry									
(a) BE	1,191	560	1,194	770	625	513	342	231	869
(b) Actual	1,554	3,091	1,143	1,291	685	557	523	622	780
4. Transport									
(a) BE	1,412	1,055	1,863	1,973	1,241	953	1,359	1,214	1,067
(b) Actual	1,031	1,272	1,970	1,652	1,193	1,052	1,408	1,046	1,105
5. Communications									
(a) BE	634	157	479	461	665	585	407	2	5
(b) Actual	428	202	420	610	916	601	765	-	5
V. General Administration									
(a) BE	200	160	296	177	146	167	147	139	199
(b) Actual	223	250	204	168	118	117	103	122	199

BE Budget Estimate.
1. 1988 figures are latest estimates.

Source: Ministry of Finance, Unpublished Data.

Table 35
NUMBER OF STAFF IN THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR BY SEX, 1980-87
(in percentage as at 31 December of respective year)

	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Male	73.0	72.4	72.3	71.8	71.2	70.7	70.2	69.4
Female	27.0	27.6	27.7	28.2	28.8	29.3	29.8	30.6
Total (No)	488,729	532,794	647,975	677,148	697,689	709,184	717,124	701,255

Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

Table 36
ANNUAL GROWTH RATE OF STAFF IN THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR BY SEX, 1981-87

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Male	8.2	21.3	3.9	2.1	1.0	0.4	-3.4
Female	11.3	22.4	6.2	5.4	3.2	2.8	0.7
Total (No)	9.0	21.6	4.5	3.0	1.6	1.1	-2.2

Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

Table 37
DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES IN THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR BY SALARY GROUPS, 1980-87
(in percentages)

Salary Group	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Group A	7.2	7.6	7.4	7.7	7.8	8.0	8.3	8.9
Group B	6.5	6.8	6.5	6.5	6.4	6.6	6.8	7.0
Group C	52.5	51.5	49.9	49.6	48.8	48.5	48.6	48.5
Group D	33.8	34.1	36.2	36.3	37.0	36.9	36.3	35.6
Total (No)	131,954	146,884	179,761	190,852	201,204	207,665	213,420	214,814

Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

Table 38
ANNUAL GROWTH RATE OF TOTAL NUMBER OF STAFF IN THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR BY SALARY GROUPS, 1981-87
(as at 31 December of respective years)

Salary Group	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	Average Growth Rate (1980-87)	
Group A	Male	12.4	19.4	7.4	4.8	3.3	3.5	2.7	7.5
	Female	17.9	19.5	10.1	7.5	5.7	6.7	6.9	10.5
	Total	13.9	19.4	8.2	5.6	4.0	4.5	4.0	
Group B	Male	8.3	24.1	3.0	1.0	4.7	3.0	0.7	6.2
	Female	16.3	16.4	6.0	3.9	6.8	6.1	3.9	8.4
	Total	10.9	21.5	4.0	2.0	5.4	4.1	1.8	
Group C	Male	6.7	23.5	3.3	1.3	0.2	0.2	-5.9	3.9
	Female	9.2	18.4	5.5	3.8	2.5	3.0	0.5	6.0
	Total	7.7	21.4	4.2	2.3	1.1	1.4	-3.2	
Group D	Male	8.4	20.2	3.8	2.3	0.8	-0.1	-3.4	4.3
	Female	12.2	30.2	6.3	7.4	3.0	1.1	-1.2	8.0
	Total	9.1	22.2	4.3	3.3	1.3	0.1	-2.9	

Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

Table 39
DISTRIBUTION OF STAFF BY SALARY GROUPS AND SEX, MALAYSIA, 1980-87
(in percentages)

Salary Group		1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Group A	Male	4.8	4.9	4.9	5.0	5.1	5.2	5.3	5.5
	Female	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.7
Group B	Male	3.8	3.7	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.8	3.9	4.0
	Female	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.1
Group C	Male	21.7	21.2	21.5	21.3	20.9	20.6	20.5	19.7
	Female	14.2	14.2	13.8	14.0	14.1	14.2	14.5	14.9
Group D	Male	42.8	42.5	42.1	41.8	41.5	41.1	40.6	40.2
	Female	9.1	9.4	10.1	10.2	10.7	10.8	10.8	10.9
Total (No)		488,729	532,794	647,975	677,148	697,689	709,184	717,124	701,255

Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

Table 40
FEMALE-MALE RATIO IN THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR BY SALARY GROUPS, 1980-87
(per 100 persons)

Salary Group	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987
Group A	40	42	42	43	45	46	47	49
Group B	47	50	47	48	50	51	52	54
Group C	65	67	64	66	67	69	71	75
Group D	21	22	24	24	26	26	27	27

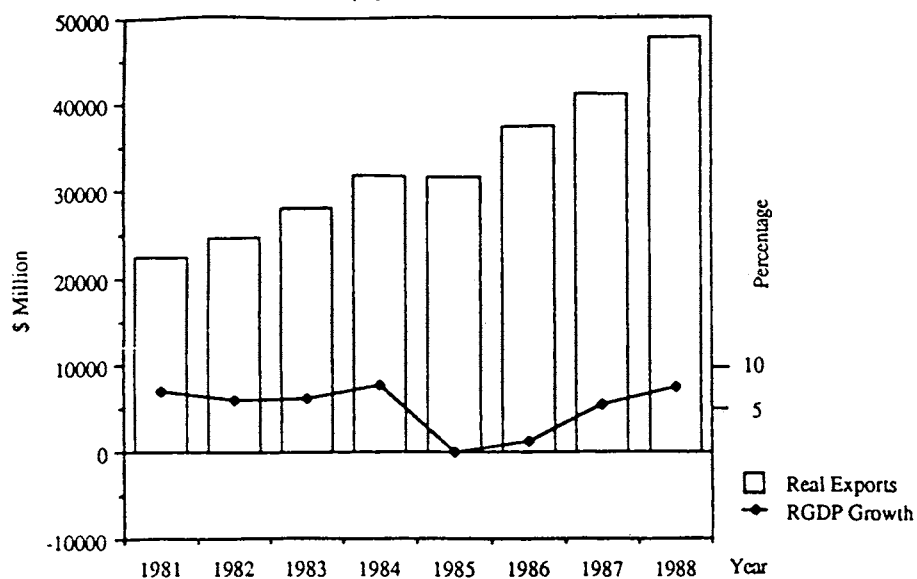
Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

Table 41
DISTRIBUTION OF POSTS OCCUPIED BY OFFICERS IN DIVISION 1, 1968, 1978 AND 1988
(percentages in brackets)

	1968		1978		1988	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Services						
Administrative and Diplomatic Service	10 (1.7)	571 (98.3)	85 (13.5)	545 (86.5)	39 (7.4)	491 (92.6)
Radio and Television	4 (3.11)	126 (96.9)	3 (3.3)	89 (96.7)	78 (26.6)	215 (73.4)
Fisheries Department	1 (4.5)	21 (95.5)	6 (10.7)	50 (89.3)	30 (17.5)	141 (82.5)
Department of Inland Revenue	2 (2.1)	94 (97.9)	70 (24.8)	212 (75.2)	526 (48.1)	658 (51.9)
Medical and Health Service	144 (17.8)	667 (82.2)	449 (19.5)	1,853 (80.5)	1,938 (36.7)	3,339 (63.3)
Public Works Department	2 (0.7)	285 (99.3)	22 (2.8)	771 (97.2)	180 (14.3)	1,077 (85.7)
Social Welfare	8 (30.8)	18 (69.2)	5 (12.5)	35 (87.5)	61 (36.5)	106 (63.5)
Statistics Department	4 (12.9)	27 (87.1)	14 (17.9)	64 (82.1)	52 (35.6)	94 (64.4)
Telecommunications Service	2 (1.7)	118 (98.3)	28 (9.4)	271 (90.6)	72 (17.6)	338 (82.4)
National Archives	2 (40.0)	3 (60.0)	7 (33.3)	14 (66.7)	33 (55.0)	27 (45.0)
Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperative Services	1 (7.1)	13 (92.9)	2 (9.5)	19 (90.5)	42 (23.9)	134 (76.1)
Ministry of Defence	3 (14.3)	18 (85.7)	5 (12.5)	35 (87.5)	52 (16.1)	270 (83.9)
Agricultural Service	4 (4.3)	89 (95.7)	-	-	49 (18.9)	210 (71.1)
Education Service	50 (10.6)	420 (89.4)	1,777 (34.7)	3,338 (65.3)	9,980 (49.6)	10,146 (50.4)
Information Service	3 (6.5)	43 (93.5)	2 (6.1)	31 (93.9)	37 (29.8)	87 (70.2)
Corp. of Accountants Malaysia	2 (10.0)	18 (91.0)	15 (15.3)	83 (84.7)	52 (32.7)	107 (67.3)

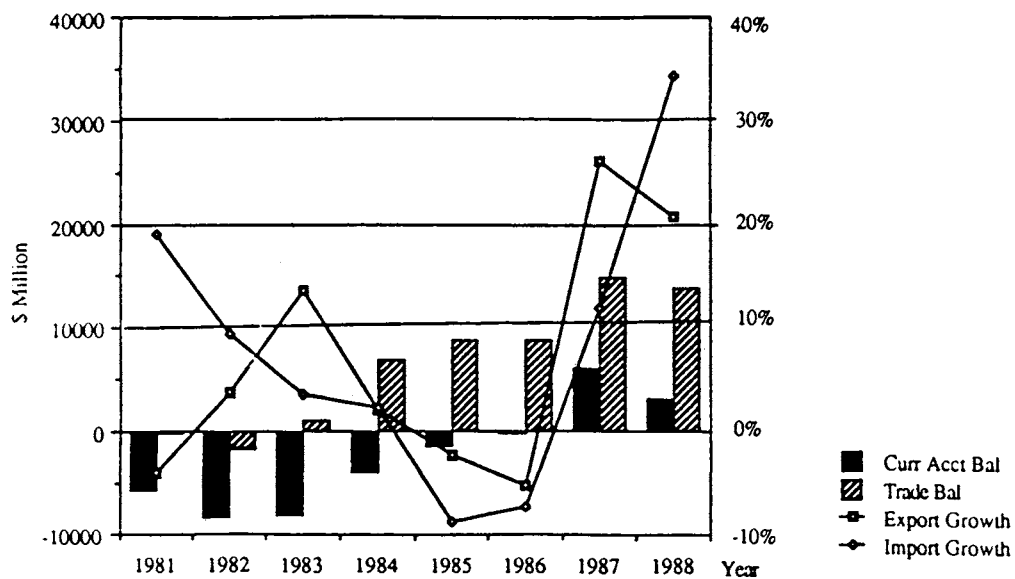
Sources: List of Federal Officers, Malaysia, 1968 and 1978; Central Staff Records, Public Services Department.

FIGURE 1
REAL GDP GROWTH, 1981-88
(1978 PRICES)



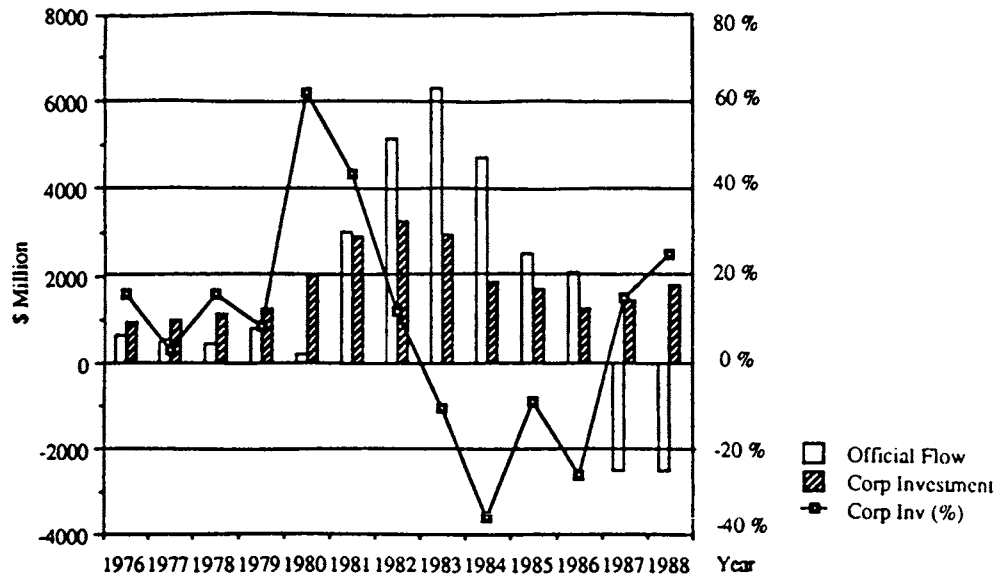
Source: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.

FIGURE 2
CURRENT ACCOUNT BALANCE, 1981-88



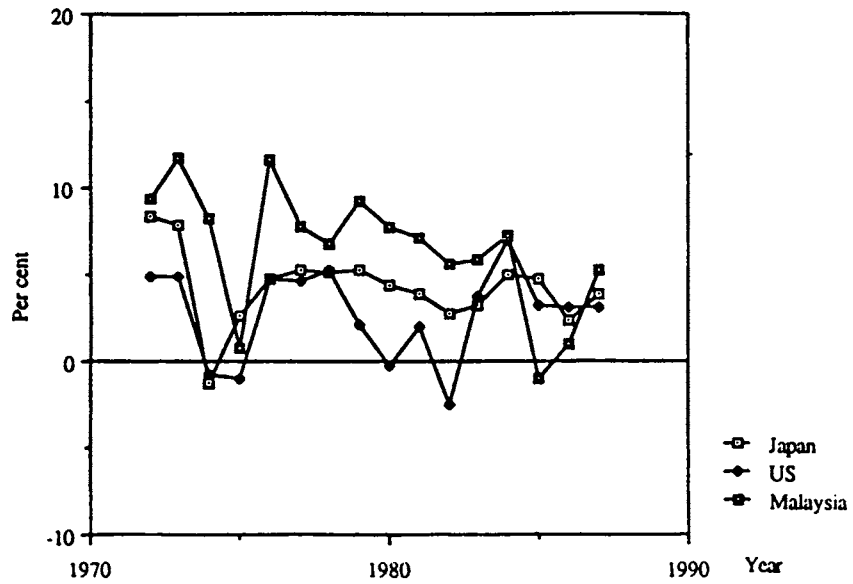
Source: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.

FIGURE 3
NET LONG-TERM CAPITAL FLOW, 1976-88



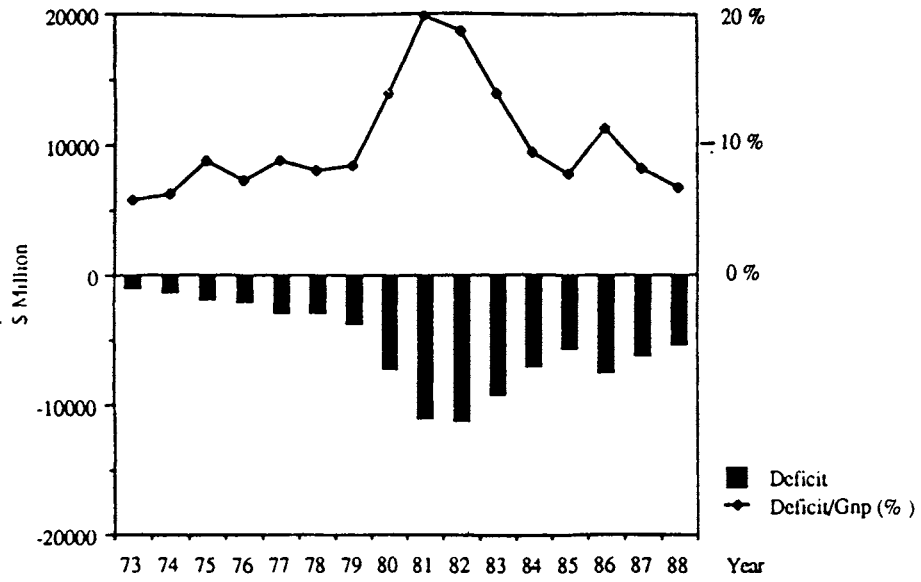
Source: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.

FIGURE 4
REAL GDP/GNP GROWTH, 1972-87
(1980 PRICES)



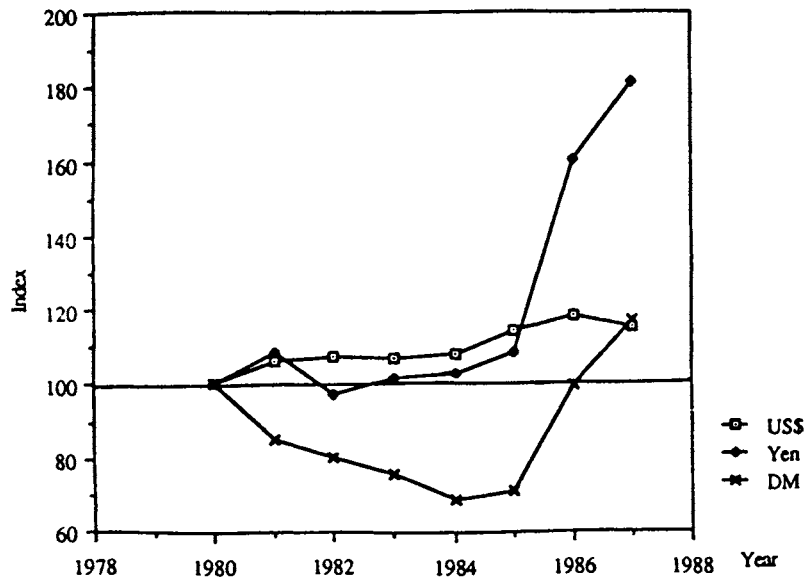
Source: Wharton Economic Forecasting Associates, Pennsylvania.

FIGURE 5
FEDERAL GOVT DEFICIT, 1973-88



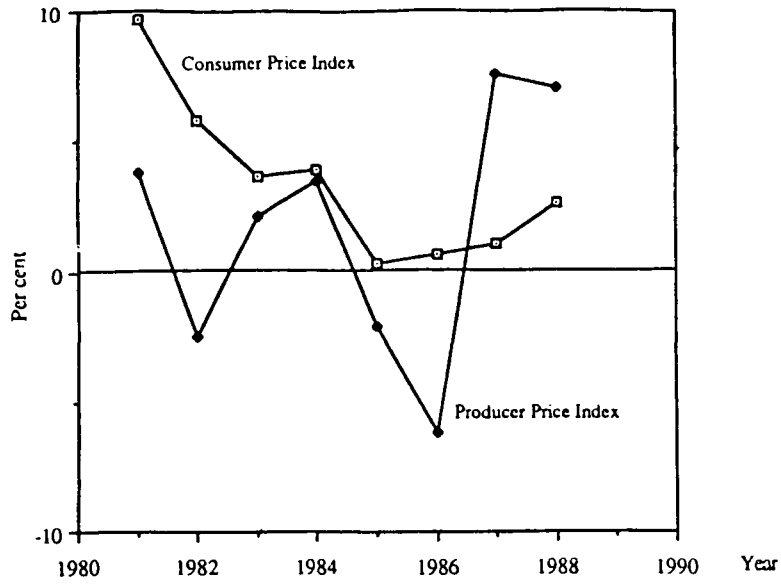
Source: Economic Report. Ministry of Finance, various issues.

FIGURE 6
MALAYSIA EXCHANGE RATE INDEX, 1980-87
(1980=100)



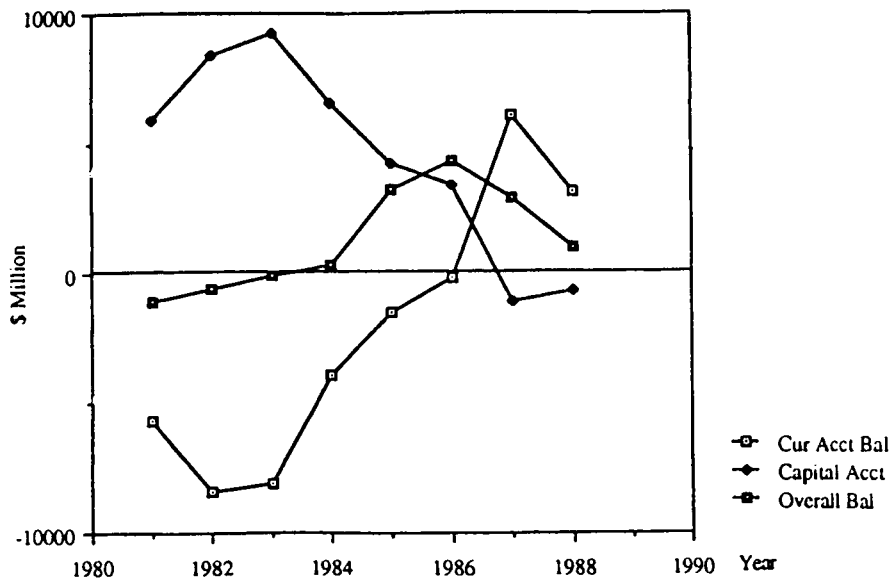
Source: Bank Negara Malaysia Annual Report 1987/88.

FIGURE 7
PRICE INDICES, 1981-88



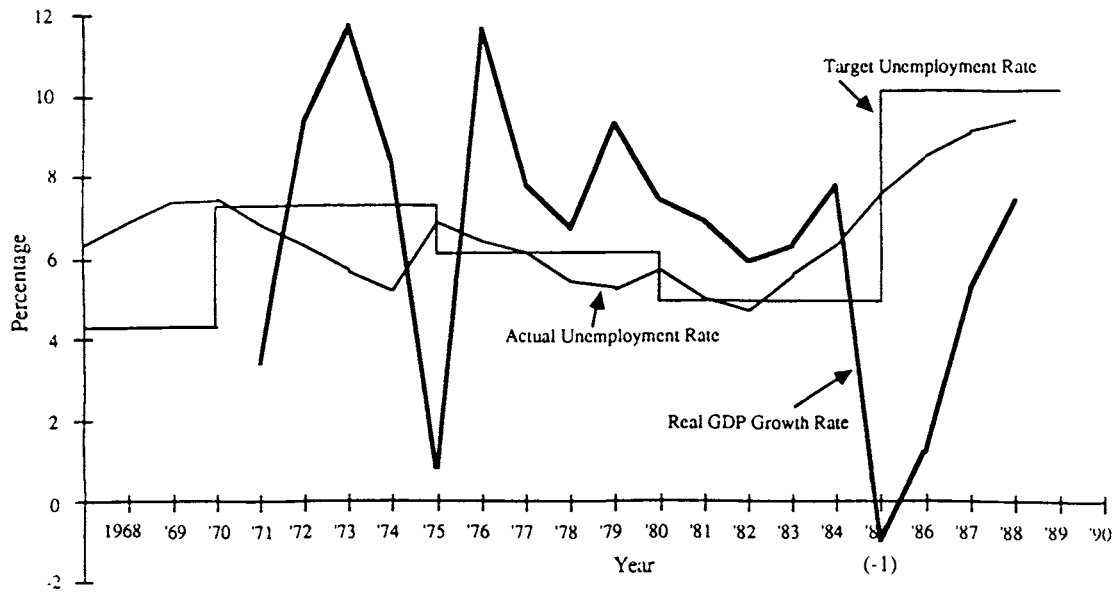
Source: Economic Report. Ministry of Finance, various issues.

FIGURE 8
BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, 1981-88



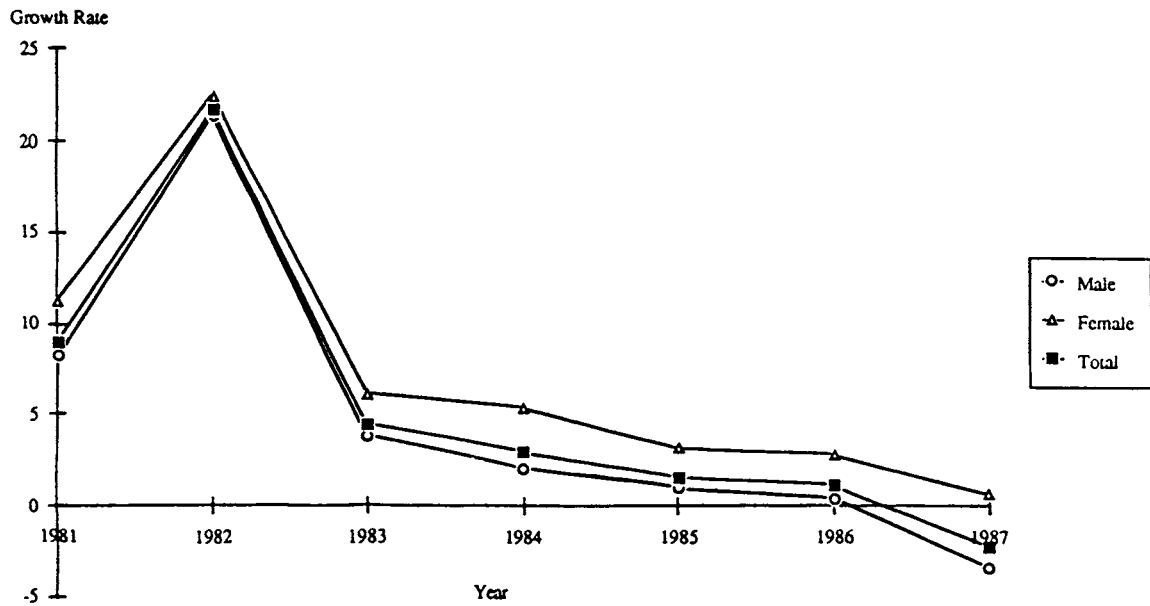
Source: Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues

FIGURE 9
 TARGET AND ACTUAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATES AND REAL GDP GROWTH RATE
 1966-90



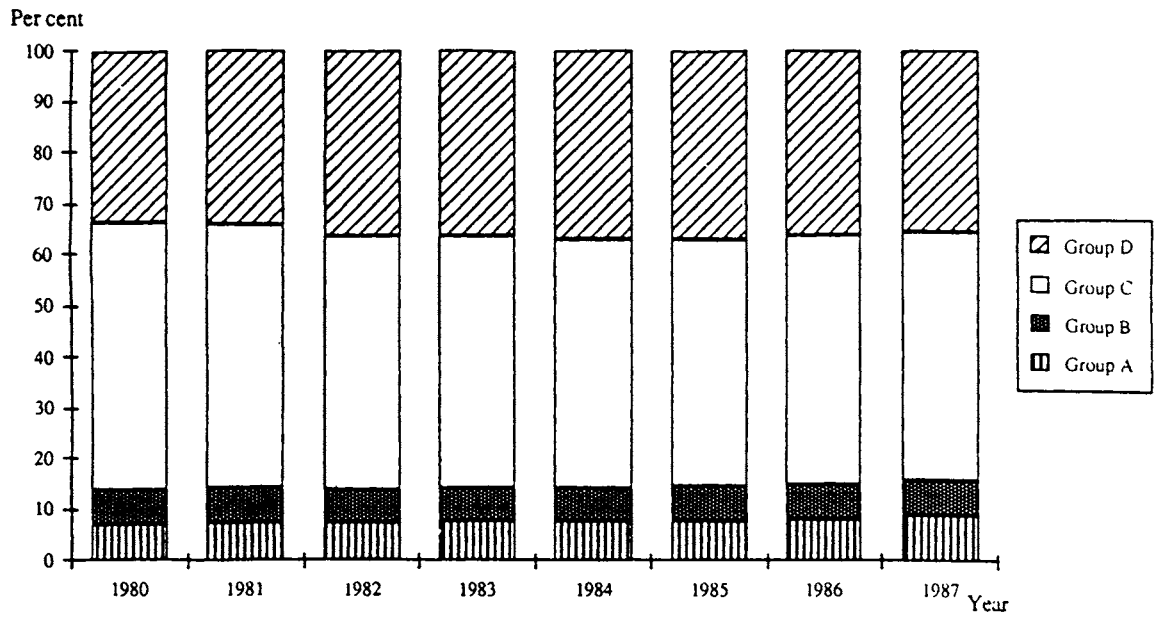
Source: Malaysia Plans, Government Printers, Kuala Lumpur, various issues;
 Economic Report, Ministry of Finance, various issues.

FIGURE 10
 ANNUAL GROWTH RATE OF STAFF IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR BY SEX
 1981-87



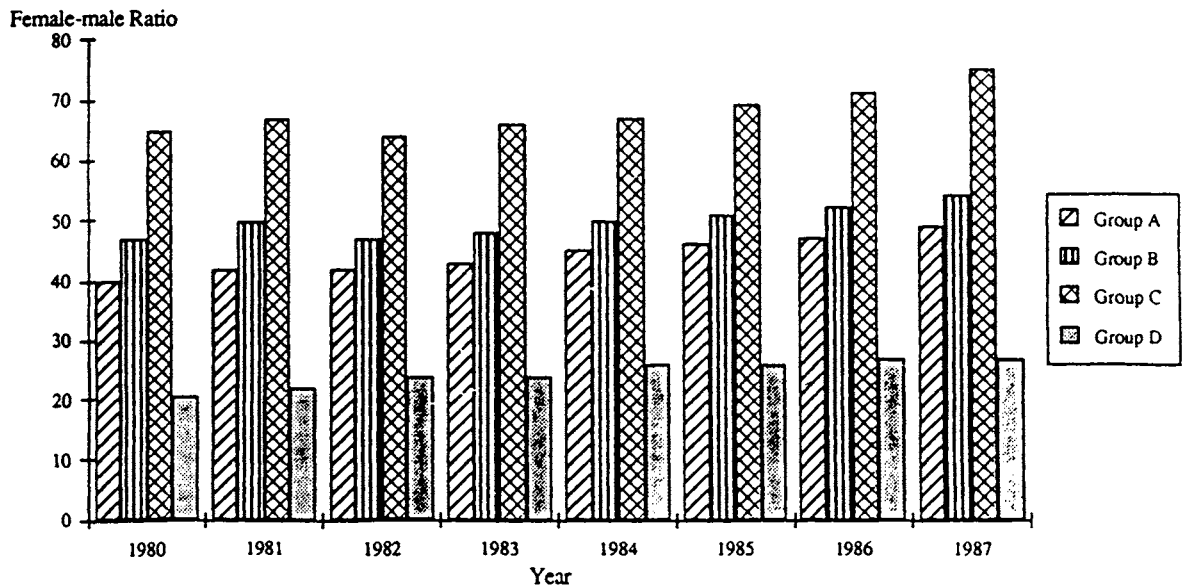
Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

FIGURE 11
DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES IN THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR BY SALARY GROUPS
1980-87



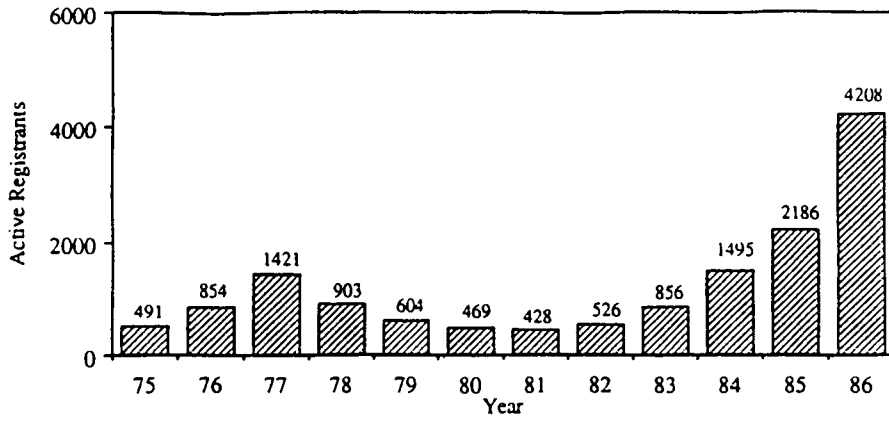
Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

FIGURE 12
FEMALE-MALE RATIO IN THE GOVERNMENT SECTOR
BY SALARY GROUPS, 1980-87
(PER 100 PERSONS)



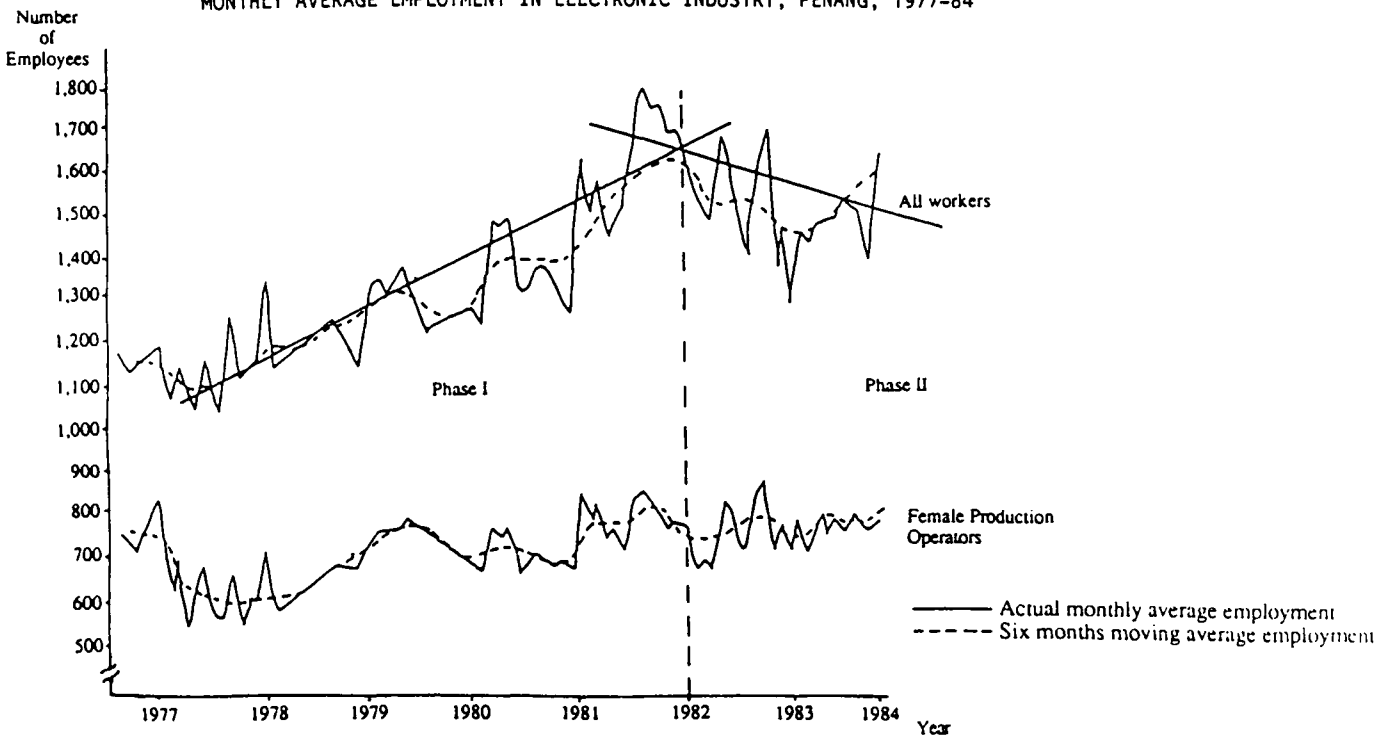
Source: Central Staff Records, Public Services Department, 1989.

FIGURE 13
REGISTRATION OF UNEMPLOYED PROFESSIONALS, 1975-86



Source: Professional Employment Bureau, Ministry of Labour.

FIGURE 14
MONTHLY AVERAGE EMPLOYMENT IN ELECTRONIC INDUSTRY, PENANG, 1977-84



Source: Derived from unpublished employment statistics, Labour Office, Penang. Cited in Salih and Young (1986:129).

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