



Pluriactivity in the Philippines

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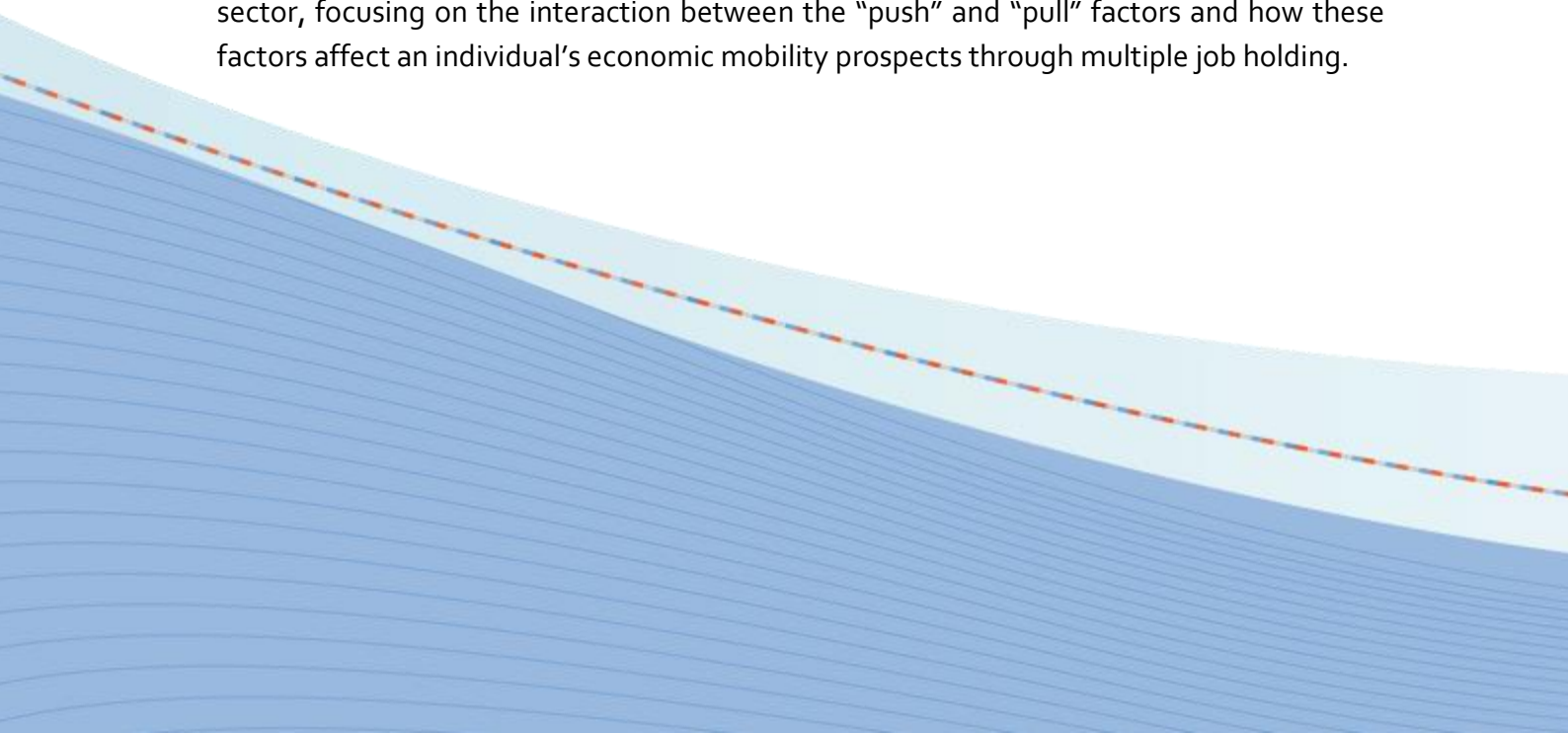
NON-TECHNICAL SUMMARY

The economic progress experienced by the Philippines in the recent years has resulted in lower unemployment rate, but proportion of workers having low quality jobs still remained high. In this case, more workers are engaging in non-standard employment arrangements such as multiple job holding. Although this type of employment is often characterized by informality, job insecurity and precarious work conditions, there are also non-standard employment arrangements that are structured and flexible which could be beneficial to workers. Hence, empirical evidence about non-standard employment arrangements is essential in order for policy makers to create policies that help these types of workers experience upward economic mobility.

In this study, we investigate on the relationship of multiple job holding and economic mobility. We distinguish constrained and non-constrained multiple job holders based on the notion that workers' freedom to choose quality jobs is affected by constraints in household income. Furthermore, we use income and occupational mobility as indicators of economic mobility.

Using the merged panel data from the Family Income and Expenditure Survey and Labour Force Survey, we find that a fraction of employed individuals in the Philippines in 2003-2009 hold multiple jobs. However, half of them were doing it not by choice, but out of necessity to sustain decent standard of living. Despite of this, this practice does not translate to upward economic mobility. In particular, workers who are more likely to take on multiple jobs are males, mostly heads of the households, less educated, agricultural workers in rural areas, underemployed and workers from the bottom income class. Results further suggest that multiple job holders who belong to upper income class are more likely to improve their income mobility. These results, in the general context of non-standard employment arrangements, indicate that policies involving improvements in the the working conditions of workers relying on non-standard jobs should be in place.

For future studies, it is recommended to examine multiple job holding in the agriculture sector, focusing on the interaction between the "push" and "pull" factors and how these factors affect an individual's economic mobility prospects through multiple job holding.



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Abstract

In developing countries like the Philippines where low quality jobs are prevalent, multiple job holding becomes a practice to either support the need to remain out of poverty or to intentionally increase economic productivity. In this paper, we examine the relationship between multiple job holding and economic mobility using the panel data from the Family Income and Expenditure Survey combined with the Labour Force Survey. Although results show that only a fraction of employed individuals in the Philippines in 2003-2009 took on multiple jobs, yet majority of them were doing it not by choice, but out of necessity to sustain an adequate standard of living. However, we find that this behaviour does not translate to improvements in income mobility. Furthermore, multiple job holding is more beneficial to workers on the upper income class as they are more likely to experience upward mobility. Considering these results, a task for policy makers will be to craft policies that provide good working conditions for workers with non-standard jobs thus promoting upward income mobility.

Keywords: Pluriactivity; multiple job holding; income mobility; Philippines

JEL codes: J62, I32

1. Introduction

The Philippines has shown strong economic growth which exceeded economists' initial growth forecasts in recent years. For instance, its GDP per capita grew at annual rate of approximately 4.5%, which is higher compared to that of Viet Nam, Indonesia, Malaysia and other neighbouring economies (WDI 2016). Due to this apparent rosy economic performance, several major global international credit rating agencies awarded the country higher investment grade. As improved credit ratings usually translate to lower debt interest payments, experts forecast that the Philippines will attract more foreign investment and encourage stronger domestic consumption (ADB 2013). These factors can potentially propel the country into a virtuous economic growth regime in the coming years, a welcome outcome for a country that has experienced slow to moderate economic growth since the 1980s. However, such an outcome is not pre-ordained considering that average income, poverty and inequality are not improving. This could be indicative that the benefits of growth bypass those who are most disadvantaged.

Over the years, there has been a growing prevalence of non-standard employment as forces of globalization take a stronghold in labour markets of both developed and developing countries. According to the International Labour Organization, non-standard jobs are those that have temporary or fixed-term contracts, dependent self-employment, part-time and marginal part-time work (ILO 2011). Previous studies suggest that these workers are potentially part of the disadvantaged group that are bypassed by the benefits of economic growth because sub-optimal social protection coverage and precarious work conditions prevail in non-standard types of employment (Addabbo and Solinas 2012; Ebisui 2012; Martinez et al. 2014a). Nevertheless, there are also advantages in being engaged in non-standard jobs. For instance, Martinez, Western, Haynes, Tomaszewski and Macarayan (2014a) hinted that structured and predictable flexibility associated with non-standard employment arrangements provide workers with the ability to design better work patterns that are more compatible with their other personal responsibilities. Nevertheless, it is important to compile empirical evidence, particularly in developing countries, about non-standard employment arrangements and identify for which people this type of job is an optimal choice rather than a last resort so that policy makers can design appropriate policies that would expand the economic mobility prospects of workers relying on such type of work.

This is a follow-up study that provides additional empirical evidence on non-standard jobs in developing countries. Similar to Martinez, et al. (2014a)'s exposition in Indonesia, we examine pluriactivity or multiple job holding as a specific type of non-standard employment

arrangement. Like Indonesia, the Philippines provides a relevant case study for examining the relationship between pluriactivity and economic mobility. For instance, labour force survey data suggest that a significant fraction of the Philippines's employed population is relying on multiple jobs, about 14.3% in 2009. These workers could be engaged in either constrained (e.g., construction worker in the morning and building cleaner in the evening) or non-constrained (e.g., architect operating a construction firm and working as a consultant for other companies) pluriactivity. Using the panel data from the merged Family Income and Expenditure and Labour Force Surveys, this study seeks to examine how these two types of pluriactivity lead to different economic mobility prospects. In particular, we address the following questions:

What are the characteristics of constrained and non-constrained pluriactive workers in the Philippines? How do they differ from each other and from single job holders?

What type of pluriactivity improves a worker's economic mobility prospects?

The rest of the paper is structured as follows: Section 2 presents the theoretical underpinnings of statistical models for identifying the determinants of pluriactivity and its relationship with economic mobility. Section 3 discusses the Family Income and Expenditure Survey and Labour Force Survey as main data sources in the analyses. Section 4 summarizes the results of the statistical models and Section 5 concludes.

2. Statistical Models for Pluriactivity and Economic Mobility¹

Workers take on multiple jobs for various economic benefits. For instance, having multiple jobs minimizes the risk of becoming unemployed for individuals who do not have permanent jobs (Bell, Hart and Wright 1997; Martinez et al. 2014a). Pluriactivity is also an option for workers who do not earn enough to sustain a decent standard of living from their primary jobs (Martinez et al. 2014a). In addition, some workers accelerate the acquisition of new skills which in turn, could expand pathways for more economically-productive occupations in the future, through pluriactivity (Panos, Pouliakas and Zangelidis 2014). Furthermore, being pluriactive has its non-pecuniary benefits too. In particular, a person could be in a better position to attend to his/her other responsibilities or pursue personal interests by combining multiple part time jobs. On the other hand, pluriactivity could also be potentially disadvantageous for workers as it forces workers to take on a wider array of tasks and the

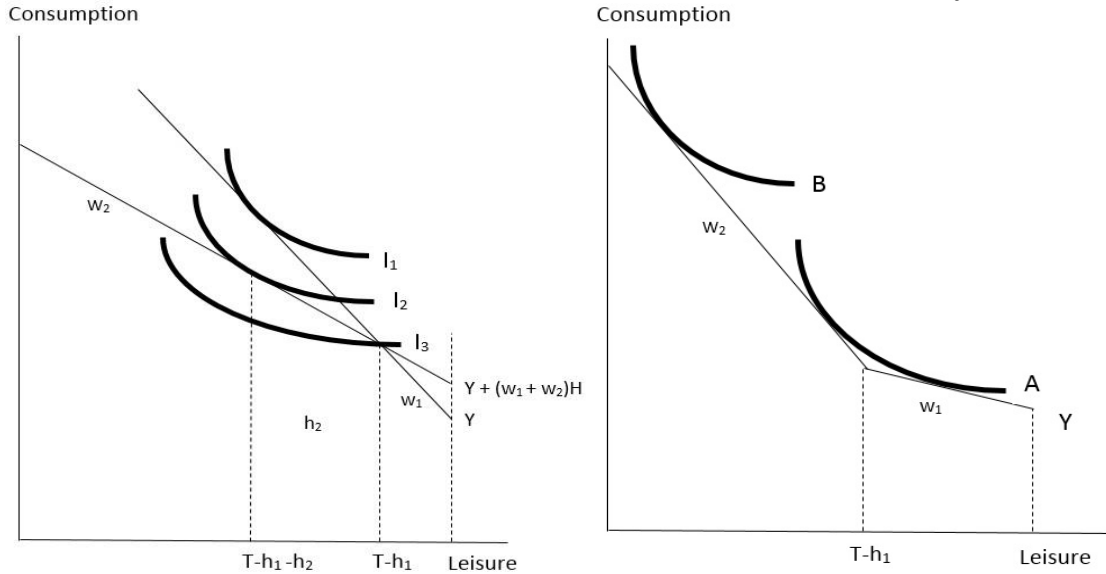
¹ This section draws from the detailed discussion provided in Martinez, et al. (2014a).

lack of focus resulting from this setup could diminish workers' productivity (Martinez et al. 2014). Additionally, the longer work hours associated with pluriactivity may also damage family relationships and adversely affect one's health (Alam, Biswas and Hassan 2009). In summary, some workers are forced to take on multiple jobs due to the jobs constraints encountered from their main jobs while others deliberately use pluriactivity as a strategy to expand their income and non-pecuniary-related opportunities.

2.1 Correlates of Constrained and Non-Constrained Pluriactivity

Figure 1 illustrates the concepts of constrained and non-constrained pluriactivity using indifference curves and budget constraints. In the left panel of Figure 1, a worker can attain one of the three possible utility levels: I_1 is the lowest level of utility that a person can attain if he/she works for h_1 hours for a job that pays $\$w_1$ per hour, I_2 is the level of utility that the same person can attain by working for h_1 hours on a main job that pays $\$w_1$ and h_2 hours on a secondary job that pays $\$w_2 (< w_1)$ per hour and I_3 is the highest level of utility that can be attained by working for $h_1 + h_2$ hours with an income rate of $\$w_1$ per hour. However, it is not always the case that a person can work $h_1 + h_2$ hours in his/her main job. In such situation, a worker is better off taking on a second job that pays less instead of working solely on the main job. This is referred to as the hours constraint model of pluriactivity (Shisko and Rostker 1976; Bell, Hart and Wright 1997; Conway and Kimmel 1998; Wu, Baimbridge and Zhu 2009). The right panel of Figure 1 illustrates a non-constrained pluriactivity scenario. In this case, the income rate associated with the secondary job is higher than that of the main job. Hence, it is more strategic for a worker to take on multiple jobs. Although jobs are evaluated based on pay rate in this illustration, the same argument can be applied to other factors such as job security, satisfaction, etc. In any case, the quality of the main job in constrained pluriactivity is superior to the quality of the secondary job, whereas, the quality of the second job in non-constrained pluriactivity is at par or better relative to the primary job (Martinez et al. 2014a).

Figure 1. Constrained and Non-constrained Pluriactivity



Source: Adopted from Averett (2010) and reproduced from Martinez et al. (2014)

Note: h_i 's and w_i 's refer to the number of hours and income per hour for the worker's i^{th} job.

To identify the factors that are statistically correlated with pluriactivity, one can estimate a multinomial logistic model of the following form:

$$\log\left(\frac{p_{it}^l}{p_{it}^0}\right) = \theta X_{it} + e_{it} \quad (1)$$

where $l = 1, 2$, p_{it}^1 denotes the probability of being engaged in constrained pluriactivity, while p_{it}^2 denotes the probability of being engaged in non-constrained pluriactivity, X_{it} is a vector of factors affecting the i^{th} worker's labour supply behaviour and e_{it} is the stochastic disturbance term.

2.2 Pluriactivity and Economic Mobility

In examining the relationship between pluriactivity and economic mobility, we use two types of economic mobility indicators: income mobility and occupational mobility. Examining both types is important for several reasons. First, even if it were true that pluriactivity provides opportunities to acquire new skills as hypothesized, it is possible that being equipped with new skills could take time before it translates to higher income. In some cases, the new skills acquired from pluriactivity first open up employment opportunities before leading to income mobility. Second, the fact that occupational mobility indicators are often less prone to measurement errors than income mobility indicators make the latter an attractive gauge of economic mobility.

Income Mobility

As mentioned earlier, pluriactivity can be either constrained or non-constrained. Similar to the arguments raised by Paxson and Sicherman (1996) and Panos, Pouliakas and Zangelidis (2011), we hypothesize that non-constrained pluriactivity is positively correlated with upward income mobility. This is due to the accelerated accumulation of skills and enhanced productivity that having a higher quality secondary job allows through spill-over effects between main and secondary jobs (Martinez et al. 2014). On the other hand, we hypothesize that constrained pluriactivity is not significantly correlated with upward income mobility. In constrained pluriactivity, the quality of the secondary job is inferior and hence, less likely to induce upward income mobility for workers engaged in this type of labour supply behaviour. To test these hypotheses, we estimate a similar income mobility model as that of Martinez et al. (2014):

$$\ln\left(\frac{Y_{it}}{Y_{it-1}}\right) = \gamma Y_{it-1} + \alpha_1 \Delta E_{it} + \alpha_2 \Delta L_{it} + \alpha_3 \Delta L_{it}^2 + \beta^l LS_{it}^l + \lambda X_{it} + \xi_{it} \quad (2)$$

where Y_{it} is the i^{th} worker's income at time t , LS_{it}^l is the i^{th} worker's labour-supply behaviour; $l = 1$ representing constrained pluriactivity and $l = 2$ representing non-constrained pluriactivity. E and L are measures of a worker's education and labour market experience while X is a vector of other control variables. Note that the model controls for initial income and changes in human capital stock. For this model, we are interested in estimating β^l which can be viewed as a measure of impact of specific type of labour supply behaviour on income mobility.

Occupational Mobility

To be able to examine occupational mobility, it is important to provide a yardstick of job quality.² In general, identifying the features of quality employment is not straightforward as the concept may have different meanings for varying levels of development (ADB 2011). For Filipinos, findings from the World Values Survey show that income and job security are among the most important factors that individuals identify when asked about the qualities they look for in a job. Except for few factors, a stylized pattern also emerges where those in

² Under the hours-constraint model of multiple job holding, job quality is gauged with respect to income levels. In other words, we can distinguish constrained from non-constrained pluriactivity by comparing the hourly wage rate of one's primary and secondary job. However, we decided to use the concept of formal and informal jobs to provide a more multi-dimensional concept of job quality.

higher income brackets demand more job benefits. However, other than people's subjective beliefs about job attributes that are associated with high quality jobs, there are limited objective data that can capture all of the multidimensional features of job quality. For instance, the Philippine Labour Force Survey only collects basic information about occupation type, wages, and income. A way around this problem is to link the concept of employment quality with the concepts of formal and informal jobs, that is jobs covered by the formal labour market regulations, and those operating outside of such regulations. In this context, one can associate high quality employment with having a formal job and low quality employment with having an informal job. Certainly, this normative assumption is not without limitations. In some cases, skilled workers voluntarily enter the informal economy for prospects of higher economic returns. In other words, participation in the informal economy could also be an optimal choice for some workers who are capable of getting jobs in the formal economy. This represents voluntary informal employment. On the other hand, workers who have no choice but to take on low quality jobs in the informal economy due to the lack of skills and structural barriers on entry to the formal sector represent involuntary informal employment.³ Nevertheless, empirical evidence from the Philippines as well as other developing countries suggests that a significant number of informal workers are trapped in jobs with inferior working conditions (ADB 2011; WB 2010). With significantly lower income, informal workers in the country are more likely to fall into poverty. In addition, a lack of social protection coverage exposes them to greater socio-economic risks that may eventually lead to chronic poverty. This provides a good motivation to use formal and informal employment as a rough measure of quality of employment.

To examine the relationship between occupational mobility and labour supply behaviour, occupational mobility can be defined as a multinomial outcome which assumes a value of 0 if a worker keeps the same type of job for two consecutive survey waves, 1 if a worker moves from an informal main job to a formal main job and 2 if a worker moves from a formal main job to an informal main job.

$$\ln\left(\frac{P_{it}^j}{P_{it}^0}\right) = \gamma Y_{it-1} + \alpha_1 \Delta E_{it} + \alpha_2 \Delta L_{it} + \alpha_3 \Delta L_{it}^2 + \beta^l LS_{it}^l + \xi_{it} \quad (3)$$

³ Kucera and Xenogiani (2009) provides a good discussion of voluntary and involuntary informal employment by comparing the quality of formal and informal jobs.

where p_{it}^0 denotes the probability of staying in the same type of employment arrangement between time t and $t+1$, p_{it}^1 denotes the probability of moving from an informal to a formal main job while p_{it}^2 denotes the probability of moving from a formal to an informal main job.

3. Data and Implementation of Concepts

3.1 Merged Family Income and Expenditure Survey and Labour Force Survey

Various data sources are used to describe the labour market situation in the Philippines over the past decade. The list includes labour statistics published by the NSO, Philippine Bureau of Labour and Employment Statistics (BLES) and United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP). More importantly, the bulk of the analyses are based on the data from the merged Philippine Family Income and Expenditure Survey (FIES) and Labour Force Survey (LFS) conducted by the Philippine National Statistics Office (NSO). As pointed out in Chapter 3, the LFS is a quarterly survey that collects information on household members' employment. On the other hand, FIES is a triennial nationwide survey undertaken as a rider to LFS. The FIES collects data on households' income sources, consumption expenditures as well as socio-demographic characteristics. In particular, the data of all working-age members from the 6,519 households that appear in all three waves of FIES-LFS (2003, 2006 and 2009) is used.⁴ Although this data comprises a balanced sample of households, we do not have longitudinal information for every member since individuals moving out of a sample household are not tracked over time.⁵ In all computations, survey weight adjustments are used to account for the potential bias that may be induced by attrition.

3.2 Measuring Economic Mobility

While the labour force survey collects various indicators of labour market participation of all sampled household members, the survey collects earnings data from workers in wage or salaried employment only. Employers, self-employed and unpaid family workers do not

⁴ This corresponds to members from sample households from rotation group#2 replicate #4.

⁵ The public use file of the panel component of FIES and LFS do not have linked records at the individual-level. For each of the 6519 panel households, I linked the individual-level records of LFS by merging by age, sex and educational attainment.

report any income in LFS. Thus, income mobility can only be estimated for wage workers. In this context, income mobility is defined as the annualized growth in wage workers' earnings.⁶

Occupational mobility is gauged in terms of formal-informal job transitions. Jobs are considered as informal if their corresponding employment arrangements are outside the periphery of formal labour regulation. In particular, according to the 17th International Conference of Labour Statisticians, informal jobs are, “*in law or in practice, not subject to labour legislation, income taxation, social protection or entitlement to certain employment benefits (advance notice of dismissal, severances of pay, paid annual or sick leave, etc.)*” (ILO 2004). To conceptualize this definition with the data available from FIES and LFS, we adopt a classification system that is similar to the one used in Heriawan (2004) and Martinez et al. (2014) wherein employment status and occupation variables are cross-tabulated to determine whether the job is formal or informal. This is shown in the table below.

Table 1. Definition of Formal and Informal Employment

	Professional, technical and related worker	Administrative and managerial worker	Clerical and related workers	Sales workers	Services worker	Agriculture, animal husbandry, forest, fishermen, hunters	Production and related workers, Transport operators and labourers	Others
Own account worker	F	F	F	I	I	I	I	I
Self-employed assisted by family worker	F	F	F	F	F	I	F	I
Employer	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Government worker	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Private worker	F	F	F	I	I	I	I	I
Casual worker in agriculture								
Casual worker in non-agriculture								
Unpaid family worker	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I

3.3 Distinguishing between Constrained and Non-Constrained Pluriactivity

As mentioned earlier, constrained pluriactivity refers to instances when a worker is willing to take a second job with inferior quality relative to the characteristics of his/her first job. Non-constrained pluriactivity refers to the opposite case. However, being able to implement this definition depends on data availability. For instance, Martinez, et al. (2014) defined that a multiple job holder in Indonesia is engaged in constrained pluriactivity

⁶ Although it is possible to use the household per capita expenditure as income measure for non-wage workers, it would be hard to directly link the impact of multiple job holding on mobility if such income measure is used.

(relative to a single job holder with the same type of primary job) if he/she is either (i) holding a formal main job and an informal secondary job, or (ii) holding two informal jobs. On the other hand, a multiple job holder is engaged in non-constrained pluriactivity if he is either (iii) holding two formal jobs or (iv) holding an informal main job and a formal secondary job. However, following this definition in the Philippine context is problematic for two reasons. First, the LFS data provide limited information about the second job which prevents us from classifying whether the second job has a formal or an informal arrangement. Second, defining constrained and non-constrained pluriactivity in terms of formal and informal job could create circularity problems since our measure of occupational mobility also depends on the formality/informality of a worker's job. In this study, we followed an indirect approach. A worker is considered to be in constrained pluriactivity if he/she has multiple jobs and comes from a household who are consuming more than what they are earning (i.e., household expenditure exceeds household income). This definition is premised on the argument that liquidity constraints affect occupational choices (Giannetti 2010). In particular, those who are exposed to higher risks of liquidity constraint may not have the leisure to choose better quality jobs.

Following the definitions outlined above, survey estimates show that about 7 in 10 workers were informally employed in their main jobs. Among the employed in 2009, approximately 11% had multiple jobs. Of these multiple job holders, about 43% are in constrained pluriactivity while the 57% are in non-constrained pluriactivity.

4. Empirical Results

4.1 Background on the Philippines's Labour Market over the Past Decade

One possible reason why the high incidence of poverty and pervasive income inequalities have remained prominent features of the Philippines's development process despite strong economic growth rates is that the quality of jobs held by workers at the bottom of the income pyramid has not improved significantly. Previous studies show that to be able to move forward into a higher and sustained level of development, it is important to expand good quality employment opportunities to the poor (ADB 2011; WB 2013 & 2014). This section examines how the quality of employment in the country has changed over the past decade.

Table 2 provides a summary of the employment trends based on key labour market indicators since 2003. On the good side, we can find a marked drop in the proportion of the labour force

without jobs during this period. Despite this progress, underemployment rates or the proportion of employed persons who are either looking for a second job, a new job with longer work hours or wants additional work hours in their current jobs, increased. In a developing country like the Philippines, underemployment rate is probably a more telling indicator than unemployment rate because the poor which comprises a significant fraction of the population cannot afford to remain unemployed for extended period of time. The results also portray a declining trend in labour participation rates for both men and women. This is in sharp contrast to the trends observed in previous years when labour participation rates, especially among women, were increasing (KILM 2014). Survey estimates suggest that labour participation rate among men dropped from 83% in 2003 to 79% in 2012 while the proportion of working age women entering the labour market declined from 51% to 50% during the same period. Taken in a comparative context, although the Philippines' labour market can be characterized with higher participation rate, higher incidence of unemployment and underemployment are more prominent features of its labour market structure compared to other Asian countries (Montalvo 2006).

Table 2. Trends in Key Labour Market Indicators, 2003-2012

Employment Indicator	2003	2006	2009	2012
Labour Force (in million)	34570.8	35464.1	37894	40432
Labour participation rate, total (% of total population ages 15+)	66.7	64.2	64	64.2
Labour participation rate among men	82.2	79.3	78.7	78.5
Labour participation rate among women	51.4	49.3	49.4	50
Unemployment rate (% of the labour force)	11.4	8	7.5	7
Underemployment rate (% of the employed)	17.5	21.5	19.7	20.9

Source: Authors' computations using data from the longitudinal subsample of FIES-LFS 2003, 2006, 2009 and BLES data.

Tables 3 to 5 describe the distribution of the proportion of workers employed by production sector, occupation group and type of employment, respectively. Interestingly, while agriculture remains to be the sector with the highest contribution to total employment, its share has dropped from 35% in 2003 to 30% in 2012. The declining role of agriculture sector has translated to an expanding employment in service-oriented sectors whose share to total employment increased by 5.3 percentage points over the past decade. On the other hand, the

contribution of the industry sector has become stagnant as its share to total employment decreased by roughly 0.5 percentage points. In terms of occupations, the past decade has seen a moderate increase in the number of workers holding managerial positions. This is also accompanied by a consistent increase in the share of clerical and sales. On the other hand, the proportion of employed who are production workers (i.e., trades and related workers, plant and machine operators and assemblers) has declined significantly while the proportion of labourers and unskilled workers has observed a small increase. In terms of type of employment, the previous decade has witnessed a significant shift from self-employment to wage and salaried employment. In particular, self-employment dropped by 7 percentage points from 2003 to 2012 while the proportion of employed in wage and salaried jobs increased by the same amount. However, the country continues to operate with a significant share of unpaid family work. From 2003 to 2012, the proportion of employed people in unpaid work barely changed from 10% to 9%. Overall, while non-agricultural employment is expanding, the pace of reduction of employment in agriculture sector has been much slower compared to the marked shift from agricultural to non-agricultural employment that transpired before the Asian financial crisis (WDI 2014). In addition, the increasing role of the services sector to total employment can be mostly attributed to the higher proportion of persons employed in low-paying service-oriented jobs.

Table 3. Distribution of Workers, by Production Sector of Main Job

Production Sector	2003	2006	2009	2012
Agriculture	35.4	34.7	32.8	30.4
Mining	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.7
Manufacturing	9.9	9.3	8.4	8.3
Electricity, gas and water	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4
Construction	5.4	5.2	5.4	6
Wholesale and retail trade	18.5	18.5	19.6	18.8
Hotels and restaurants	2.6	2.7	3.1	4.1
Transport, storage and communication	7.7	7.9	7.6	8.1
Financial intermediation	1	1	1.1	1.1
Real estate, renting, and business activities	2.2	2.3	3.1	3.3
Public administration and defense, compulsory social security	4.7	4.4	5.1	5.2
Education	3	3.1	3.2	3.4
Health and social work	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.2
Other community, social and personal service	2.8	2.4	2.6	2.6

activities				
Private households with employed persons	4.9	4.9	5.9	6.1

Source: Authors' computations using data from the longitudinal subsample of FIES-LFS 2003, 2006, 2009 and BLES data.

Table 4. Distribution of Workers, by Main Occupation

Occupation	2003	2006	2009	2012
Officials of government and special interest organizations, corporate executives, managers, managing proprietors, and supervisors	12.3	12.1	14.5	16.1
Professionals	4.3	4.3	4.4	4.9
Technicians and associate professionals	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.8
Clerks	4.3	4.9	5.3	5.7
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	9.3	9.8	10.7	12.6
Farmers, forestry workers and fishermen	18.6	17.6	15.4	12.7
Trades and related workers	9.2	8.1	7.7	6.8
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	7.6	7.7	6.1	5.3
Labourers and unskilled workers	31.3	32.3	32.7	32.9
Special occupations	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2

Source: Authors' computations using data from the longitudinal subsample of FIES-LFS 2003, 2006, 2009 and BLES data.

Table 5. Distribution of Workers, by Status of Main Employment

Type of worker	2003	2006	2009	2012
Wage and salary workers	53	53.4	55.8	60.2
Private household		5.7	5.9	5.6
Private establishment		39.4	41.3	46.1
Government		7.8	8.2	8
Family owned business		0.5	0.3	0.4
Self-employed	37.1	35.1	33.6	30.4
Own-account worker		30.4	29.4	26.9
Employer		4.7	4.2	3.5
Unpaid family worker	10	11.5	10.6	9.4

Source: Authors' computations using data from the longitudinal subsample of FIES-LFS 2003, 2006, 2009 and BLES data.

Tables 6 and 7 provide further insights on how the quality of employment in the country has evolved over the years. For instance, the estimates suggest that real incomes of workers with wage and salary jobs increased by approximately 1.7% per year from 2003 to 2012. Paid workers from family-operated activities noted the fastest annual income growth (3.3%) while those working for private households experienced the lowest rate of increase in income (0.9%). Furthermore, there has also been a gradual increase in the proportion of the labour force who have formal employment arrangements. Interestingly, the proportion of those who take multiple jobs, an approximate indicator of the prevalence of non-standard employment arrangements, comprise a non-negligible portion of the labour force and more importantly, have shown signs of increasing trend.

Table 6. Average Daily Basic Pay of Wage and Salary Workers (US\$ 2005 PPP), 2003-2012

	2003	2006	2009	2012
All Wage and Salary Workers	10.97	11.70	12.78	12.76
Private household	5.15	5.22	5.76	5.59
Private establishment	10.30	11.32	12.41	12.02
Government / Corporation	18.78	19.48	21.04	22.42
Family-operated business	7.32	7.31	8.17	9.86

Source: Authors' computations using data from the longitudinal subsample of FIES-LFS 2003, 2006, 2009 and BLES data.

Table 7. Distribution of Employment Status, 2003-2009

	2003	2006	2009
Single job holder with formal job	22.88	23.09	25.66
Multiple job holder with formal main job	2.59	2.53	2.87
Single job holder with informal job	56.44	55.86	53.28
Multiple job holder with informal main job	6.78	7.27	7.12
Unemployed	11.31	11.23	11.08

Source: Authors' computations using data from the longitudinal subsample of FIES-LFS 2003, 2006, 2009.

In summary, a quick examination of key labour force indicators reveals that unlike its macro-economic growth, the country's performance in the employment front portrays a mixed

picture. On the good side, the statistics show increasing non-agricultural and formal employment. However, if we go deeper into the numbers, we find that the improvement in the quality of jobs held by those who are at the bottom of the occupational ladder has been less remarkable. In other words, the issue is less about a significant fraction of the country's population not having jobs but more on the observed pattern that many of those who are employed remain in low quality employment. Worryingly, a quick examination of the labour force survey also reveals that moving into better jobs is not an easy task. For instance, only about three in five of the initially non-employed (i.e., unemployed and not in the labour force) reported having a job in the succeeding wave. In addition, not everyone who gets a job always remain employed, wherein approximately 10% of those who initially had a job were found to be either unemployed or not in the labour force in the following survey period. Furthermore, we also find that only about one in five who was initially employed in the informal sector finds a job in the formal sector in the following survey wave. These results set the tone for the need to investigate the mechanisms through which social mobility can be facilitated. In this study, we examine the case of non-standard arrangements, particularly, multiple job holding.

4.2 Discussion of Empirical Results

Descriptive Trends

Survey estimates suggest that multiple job holding is a significant part of total production in the Philippines, increasing from 10.4% in 2003 to 11.1 in 2009. In 2009, empirical data suggests that about 62% of pluriactive workers in the Philippines were in paid employment in their main jobs while the remaining 38% were in self-employment (including unpaid family work). On the other hand, about 57% of multiple job holders held their main jobs in the agricultural sector, 10% in industry and 33% in service-oriented sectors. Furthermore, 65% of multiple job holders were engaged in elementary occupations for their main jobs (including agricultural work), while 15% were in sales and other service oriented positions. About 20% of multiple job holders in the sample were engaged in professional, administrative and managerial jobs.

Interestingly, 63% of pluriactive workers reported a different secondary occupation, while 37% had the same line of work for their main and secondary jobs. Table 8 summarizes what kind of work multiple job holders in the Philippines take as their second jobs. In particular, agricultural work as a secondary activity is quite common among workers especially those

holding elementary occupations in their primary jobs. Conversely, combining agricultural work is least common among professionals, technical workers and those holding administrative and managerial positions. This is not surprising considering that professionals and technical workers are more likely to be in urban areas, where agricultural employment is not common. Furthermore, agricultural workers and labourers are more likely to be engaged in the same occupation for their second jobs.

To identify the determinants of pluriactivity, we estimated logistic regression models with robust standard errors to adjust for the correlation among repeated observations for the same individual. The results show that Filipino men are more likely to have a second job than their female counterparts (Table 9). This is different from the findings in other countries which typically report that women are more likely to get a second job than men. Nevertheless, the gender difference in multiple job holding rates has slightly decreased over the years with the proportion of pluriactive women increasing from 8.1% in 2003 to 9.7% in 2009, while that of men increased only from 16.3% to 16.8%. Household composition also seems to matter. As the family size increases, the propensity to take multiple jobs tends to increase. In addition, the average age of other household members is negatively correlated with the propensity to be pluriactive. Moreover, the burden of getting a second job is usually left to the head of the household.

Less educated workers are more likely to get a second job in the Philippines. For instance, those who only had primary education were approximately 1.5 times more likely to get a second job than those who had secondary or college education. On the other hand, there is a declining propensity to get a second job as an individual moves up the income ladder – a pattern consistent with the target income model of pluriactivity. In particular, workers from the poorest 20% households are approximately three times more likely to get a second job than workers from the richest 20% households. Nevertheless, the fact that as many as 8% from richest quintile are also engaged in multiple job holding suggests that dual job holding is not always a matter of constrained pluriactivity as previously inferred. Multiple job holding rates also differ across geographic locations. Workers from urban areas are less likely to take multiple jobs compared to their rural counterparts. In particular, self-employed agricultural workers are more likely to be pluriactive than paid workers in the non-agriculture sectors.

Table 8. Distribution of Multiple Job Holders by Type of Occupation in Main and Secondary Jobs

	Special Occupations	Officials of Government and Special Interest Organizations	Professionals	Technicians and Associate Professional	Clerks	Service Workers	Agricultural Workers	Trades and Related Workers	Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers	Laborers and Unskilled Workers	#obs
Special Occupations	0.00	38.46	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	41.03	0.00	0.00	18.46	5
Officials of Government and Special Interest Organizations	0.00	26.96	0.17	1.48	3.14	8.81	30.98	6.72	5.58	16.14	151
Professionals	0.00	32.00	6.00	25.60	0.00	11.20	22.40	0.00	2.48	0.54	22
Technicians and Associate Professional	0.00	2.11	0.00	9.31	0.00	19.61	13.73	17.65	7.84	30.39	28
Clerks	0.00	20.90	0.00	15.67	5.22	4.85	40.30	0.00	2.95	9.70	29
Service Workers	0.00	20.18	0.00	2.39	0.00	10.70	21.10	12.23	5.81	27.83	42
Agricultural Workers	0.17	9.85	0.00	0.83	1.33	3.87	45.56	6.31	3.24	28.83	652
Trades and Related Workers	0.00	5.73	0.00	1.86	0.00	7.28	40.56	10.84	7.74	26.01	83
Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers	1.73	15.45	0.00	1.91	0.00	2.24	39.43	9.96	12.40	16.87	53
Laborers and Unskilled Workers	0.47	4.47	0.43	2.27	0.31	5.62	29.09	6.31	2.52	48.56	420

Source: Authors' computations using merged FIES-LFS, 2003, 2006 and 2009.

Note: Detailed information about the secondary job is not available from 2006 round onwards.

Table 9. Logistic and Multinomial Logistic Models on the Propensity to Take Multiple Jobs

	Logistic Model 1 if pluriactive	Multinomial Logistic Model	
		Non-constrained pluriactivity	Constrained pluriactivity
1 if urban	-.54***	-.43***	-.74***
1 if Hhld head	.58***	.59***	.53***
1 if Male	.26***	.28***	.28***
Age	.083***	.081***	.087***
Age squared	-.00089***	-.00085***	-.00095***
1 if worker had at most primary education			
secondary education	-.026***	-.049***	0.0093
post secondary education	-.072***	0.0045	-.25***
1 if main job is formal	.53***	.5***	.55***
1 if worker is an employer in main job			
main job is wage/salaried job	-.041***	-0.0012	-.13***
main job is self-employed	.19***	.13***	.25***
main job is unpaid family work	.22***	.056***	.4***
1 if main job is in agriculture sector			
main job is in manufacturing sector	-.52***	-.44***	-.64***
main job is in services sectors	-.42***	-.29***	-.6***
number of hours in main job	-.023***	-.022***	-.026***
1 if wants to work more hours	1.2***	1.2***	1.2***
Household size	-.014***	-.011***	-.021***
1 if has spouse	.2***	.092***	.4***
Average age of other household members	-.0099***	-.0039***	-.021***
1 if worker is in the poorest 20% hhlds			
second quintile	-.14***	-.17***	-.091***
third quintile	-.093***	-.037***	-.13***
fourth quintile	-.1***	.032***	-.3***
fifth quintile	-.2***	-.096***	-.39***
Intercept	-3.2***	-4***	-3.8***

Source: Authors' computations using merged FIES-LFS, 2003, 2006 and 2009.

Notes: *** - p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * - p < 0.1

The results also confirm the hours-constraint hypothesis. In general, multiple job holders are more likely to work for less than 35 hours in their main jobs compared to single job holders. Interestingly, while the prevalence of multiple job holding is generally higher among those engaged in fewer hours of work in their primary job, multiple job holding is still quite high for those who are working for at least 35 hours per week in their primary jobs⁷. In particular, about 9.5% of those who are working for at least 35 hours per week in their main jobs are engaged in multiple economic activities.

Consistent with the findings from existing literature, the estimated models show that the motivation to have multiple jobs in the Philippines is generally associated with the presence of constraints in one's primary job. Both income and non-income factors make up such constraints. But the results also suggest that multiple job holding is not always a case of constrained pluriactivity. This implies that multiple job holding is not always a coping response, leading us to believe that the determinants of constrained and non-constrained pluriactivity are different. Estimation of (3) allows us to examine this hypothesis. The results suggest that if we focus our attention to non-constrained pluriactivity, factors like income, education and household composition become less correlated with the propensity to take multiple jobs but the opposite is true when we look at constrained pluriactivity. This could be indicative that for the non-constrained multiple job holders, the decision to take more than one job could be driven by their desire to expand their socio-economic prospects.

Relationship between Economic Mobility and Multiple Job Holding

Being employed is not a sure ticket out of poverty. In most cases, the quality of jobs held is important (ADB 2011). However, landing a job with satisfactory quality that is enough to lift poor workers out of poverty is often a function of origins, skills, effort and luck (Piketty 1995; Kochar 1999). To some extent, a worker's decision to be pluriactive could be a sign of effort that is motivated by the desire to improve one's welfare. Moreover, recent evidence from industrialized countries suggests that pluriactivity provides a good venue to acquire new skills or improve existing ones which could eventually open up an avenue of better economic opportunities. Nevertheless, this type of labor supply behavior may not always result in a worker's improved living standards through acquisition of new skills. For one, high inequalities lead to labor market segmentation wherein access to high quality jobs is limited

⁷ Compared to industrialized countries, we consider 15% as a high proportion of the population with multiple jobs. In industrialized countries, the incidence of multiple job holding is about 5% to 10% (Campbell 2011; Wu, Baimbridge and Zhu 2009; Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2009).

to a privileged few. This makes the relationship between economic mobility and multiple job holding an empirical issue.

Table 10. Economic Mobility Models

Variable	Income Mobility Model	Multinomial Logistic Model	
	Wage growth	Informal to Formal Main Job Transition	Formal to Informal Main Job Transition
Urban	0.014	-.11***	0.0061
Hhhd head	-.029*	-.066***	.088***
Male	.046***	-0.0055	-.032*
Age	0.0002	.041***	.073***
Age squared	-0.0000094	-.00036***	-.0006***
Educational attainment (base = primary education)			
secondary education	-0.018	.2***	.17***
tertiary education	-0.029**	-0.038***	.15***
Sector of employment remained (main job)			
Moved from agriculture to non-agriculture	.055***	1.7***	-.46***
Moved from non-agriculture to agriculture	-.12***	-.14***	1.5***
Change in family size	0.00049	.01***	.0044*
Change in the proportion of hhhd members who are employed	-0.034	.13***	-.36***
Income quintile (base = 1st quintile)			
2nd quintile	.041**	.36***	.22***
3rd quintile	.065***	.52***	.24***
4th quintile	.088***	.88***	.34***
5th quintile	.15***	.73***	.057***
Single job holder			
Non-constrained multiple job holder	.032*	-.065***	.26***
Constrained multiple job holder	0.0034	.023**	.36***
Intercept	-0.0025	-3.6***	-4.6***

Source: Authors' computations using merged FIES-LFS, 2003, 2006 and 2009.

Notes: *** - p < 0.01, ** p < 0.05, * - p < 0.1

After holding other factors such as changes in educational attainment and sectoral transitions fixed, the results suggest that among workers in wage or salaried jobs, non-constrained multiple job holders experienced faster income growth than either constrained multiple job holders or single job holders. Given that the statistical model from which this conclusion has been drawn is based on data from workers who remain in wage or salaried jobs in two consecutive waves, one should be cautious in concluding that multiple job holding leads to

economic mobility that would allow the poor workers to catch-up with the rest. In the Philippines, more than half of the poorest 40% are workers who are either self-employed or engaged in unpaid family work. To include them in the analyses, we also estimated the occupational mobility model described in Section 2. The results suggest that after holding other factors fixed, having multiple jobs is weakly correlated with higher income growth but strongly correlated with formal to informal or informal to formal job transitions. Interestingly, compared to single job holders, unconstrained pluriactivity decreases the odds of moving from informal to formal jobs and increases the odds of moving from formal to informal jobs. On the other hand, constrained pluriactivity increases the odds of both informal to formal and formal to informal job transitions. In other words, the results are indicative that the impact of multiple job holding on Filipino workers' prospects of economic mobility is mixed. For some, multiple job holding leads to faster income growth while for others, this type of labour supply behaviour increases occupational mobility but the accompanying mobility is not necessarily an upward mobility. There are several possible explanations for this. The most intuitive explanation is that having multiple jobs serves as a coping response and tool to avoid experiencing more severe forms of poverty during times of economic uncertainties. It could also be the case that some multiple job holders are more interested in the non-pecuniary benefits of having multiple jobs that is not adequately captured in the model of occupational mobility. For example, a worker may take a second job that is related to his/her personal hobbies. In some cases, having multiple jobs may also lead to more flexible schedule that would allow one to balance work and other personal responsibilities. However, it is hard to test this hypothesis due to data limitations. Another possible reason why pluriactivity is giving mixed signals in terms of its relationship with socio-economic mobility is that our data only allows us to estimate mobility between two time periods that are three years apart. It is possible that the effect of multiple job holding gradually tapers off over time. If this is true, then we may need to rely on longitudinal data which are collected more frequently to be able to draw more conclusive inferences.

5. Conclusion and Policy Implications

Numerous studies have underscored the importance of work and quality of employment as drivers of economic mobility. However, when a country's labour market is highly segmented, the working poor face high risk of being trapped in long episodes of low productivity and precarious employment. This is particularly true in many developing countries where a

significant fraction of jobs in the labour market are not protected by labour policies. In the case of the Philippines, the limited number of good jobs accompanied by slow reduction in poverty and inequality could dampen the long-term growth prospects of the country.

Labour market policies are important tools to create more good jobs. To accomplish this, policy makers need sufficient data to identify the vulnerable workers. Previous studies show that a bulk of these vulnerable workers have non-standard employment arrangements and an important form of non-standard employment practices that has been identified in the literature is multiple job holding. Although this labour supply behaviour is usually used as a coping mechanism against risk of unemployment or income shortfall, recent evidence suggests that it can also be used as a means to move into better occupations. The study contributes to the existing literature by examining pluriactivity in the Philippines.

The analyses presented in this study capitalize on nationwide panel data from the Family Income and Expenditure Survey and Labour Force Survey. Here, we present evidence showing that prevalence of pluriactivity in the Philippines is not negligible. In particular, it accounts for more than 10% of the employed Filipinos between 2003 and 2009. In addition, based from the results, male workers, especially those who are head of households, those less educated, rural agricultural workers, underemployed and workers from the lower income quintile are more likely to get a second job. This portrays constrained pluriactivity. In particular, the results indicate that more than half of multiple job holders are engaged in constrained pluriactivity. The results of the statistical models also confirm that constrained pluriactivity is not strongly correlated with upward economic mobility. Furthermore, we find that workers who are already on the upper tier of the society are more likely to experience upward income mobility from pluriactivity. If one assumes that such pattern holds for other jobs with non-standard employment arrangements, then the challenge for policy makers is to design policies that will improve the working conditions of workers engaged in non-standard employment arrangements.

An interesting avenue for future research is to focus on pluriactivity in the agriculture sector using detailed income data from agricultural sources. In particular, future research may examine the interaction between “push” and “pull” factors and how this affects an individual’s economic mobility prospects through pluriactivity.

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