

# Addressing and prioritising the invisible IYCF economy in economic statistics and budget policymaking

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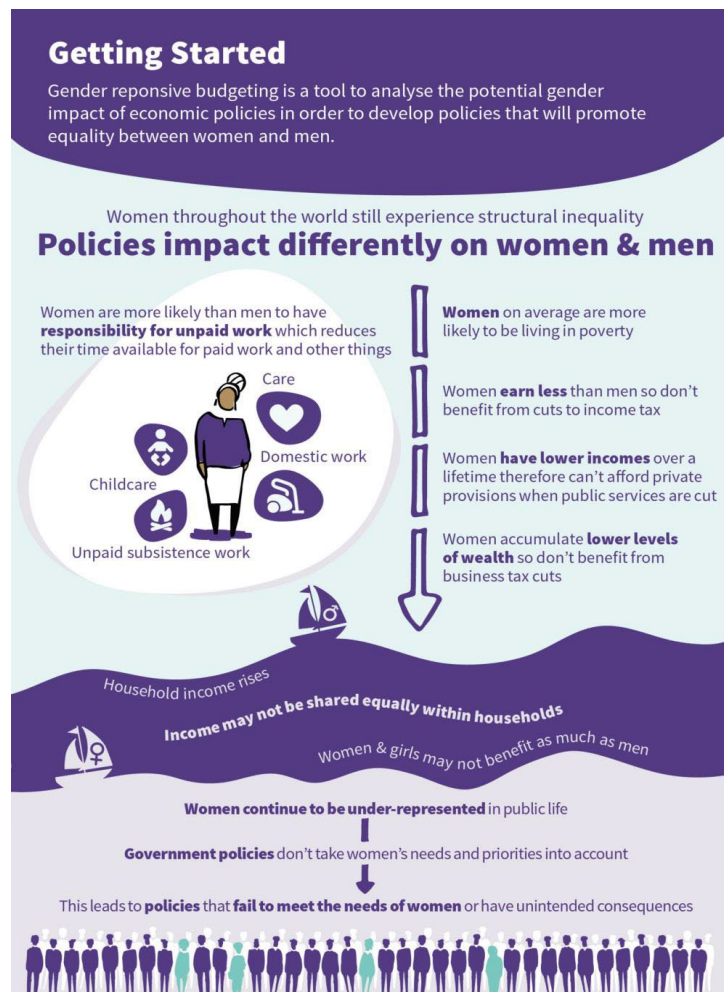
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Gender budgeting for progressing breastfeeding policy webinar series, 'Protecting women's reproductive rights in policy and resourcing decisions – the need for 'data and dollars', *Crawford School of Public Policy, ANU, Canberra, 18 May 2020.*

## Overview

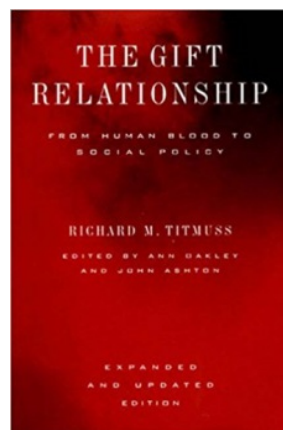
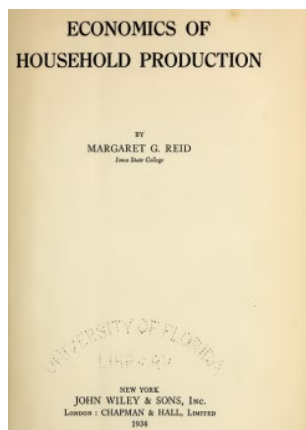
- **Feminist economic perspectives**
  - The invisibility of the care economy and women’s investments in human capital
  - Investment policies and budgeting
  - Using gender responsive budgeting for breastfeeding policy and advocacy



# Measuring household production in GDP statistics

## THE UNPRODUCTIVE HOUSEWIFE: HER EVOLUTION IN NINETEENTH- CENTURY ECONOMIC THOUGHT

NANCY FOLBRE



Counting for Nothing: What Men Value and What Women are Worth on ...

[www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctt1287w9p](http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctt1287w9p)

Waring's classic analysis of women's place in th... Marilyn Waring. Copyright Date: .... The Eye of the Beholder THE UNSNA AS APPLIED PATRIARCHY. 9.

"Exclusion of the products of the family, characteristic of virtually all national income estimates, seriously limits their validity as measures of the scarce and disposable goods produced by the nation".  
"The line of division between the business and family economy differs from country to country, and for the same country from time to time... The temporal differences are especially important for our estimates (of national product) since the occur not only over long periods but also given violent cyclical fluctuations, over short."  
Simon Kuznets, (1941) *National Income and its composition, 1919-1938*. NBER, P431-433

Aslaksen, I., and C. Koren. 'Reflections on Unpaid Household Work, Economic Growth, and Consumption Possibilities', Bradford ON: Demeter Press, 2014.

Folbre, N. *Greed, Lust and Gender: A History of Economic Ideas*, Oxford University Press, 2009.

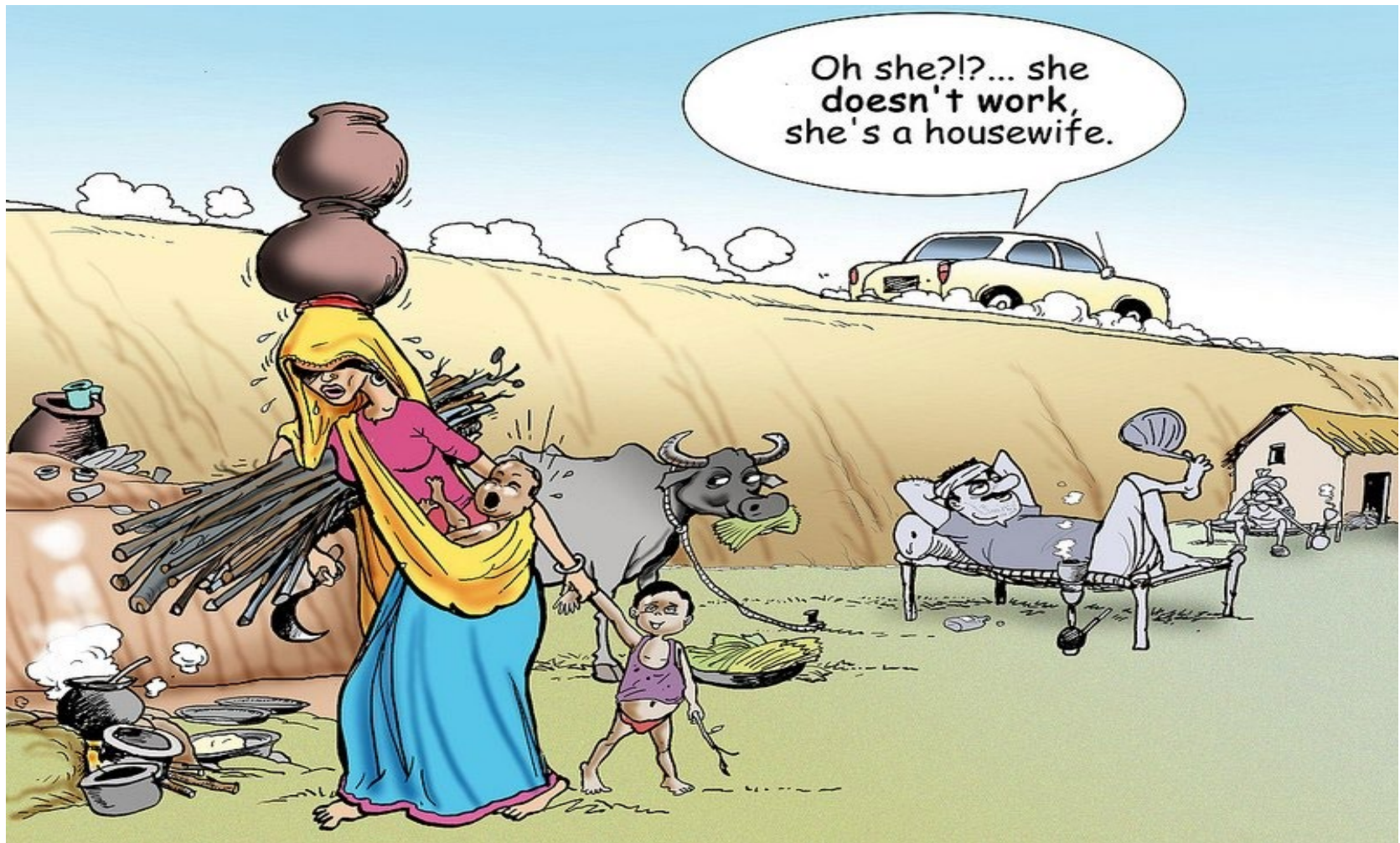
Folbre, N., and J.A. Nelson. "For Love or Money--or Both?," *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14, 123-40, 2000.

Folbre, N. "Should Women Care Less? Intrinsic Motivation and Gender Inequality," *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 50, 597-619, 2012.

Varjonen, J., and L.M. Kirjavainen. "Women's Unpaid Work Was Counted But. . ." in M. Bjørnholt and A. McKay (eds.), *Counting on Marilyn Waring: New Advances in Feminist Economics*. Bradford ON: Demeter Press, 2014.



# Invisibility of non-market household production



# 'Beyond GDP' ...

THE MEASUREMENT OF ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE  
AND SOCIAL PROGRESS REVISITED

OFCE

N° 2009-33

DECEMBER 2009

Professor Joseph E. Stiglitz  
*Chair, Columbia University*

Professor Amartya Sen  
*Chair Adviser, Harvard University*

Professor Jean-Paul Fitoussi  
*Coordinator of the Commission, IEP*

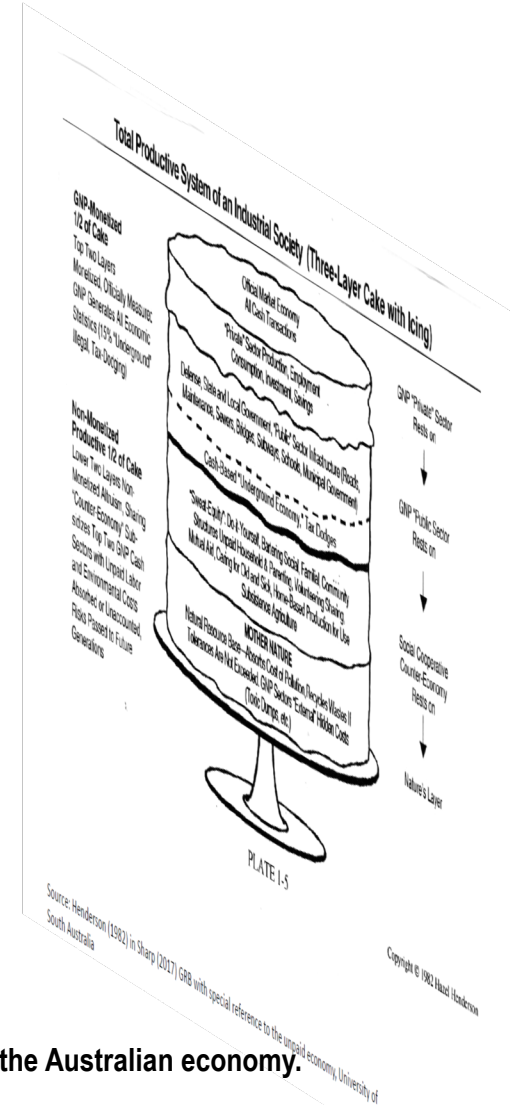
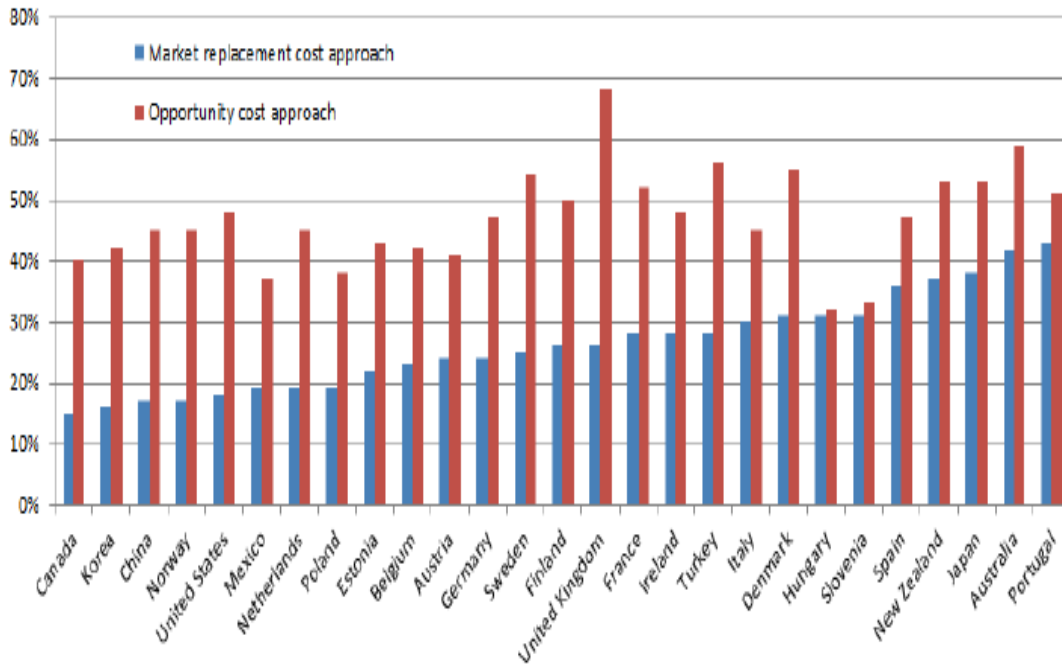
***“What we measure affects what we do; and if our measurements are flawed, decisions may be distorted. Policies should be aimed at increasing societal welfare, not GDP.... This report, building on extensive earlier work, describes the additions and subtractions that can and should be made to provide a better measure of welfare.”***



Stiglitz, J.E., Sen, A., and Fitoussi, J.-P. (2009) The measurement of economic performance and social progress revisited; Reflections and overview, Centre de recherche en économie de Sciences Po (OFCE).

# Non market household production

## The market value of unpaid work as a percentage of GDP



Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) (2014). Spotlight on the national accounts: unpaid work and the Australian economy.



# Breastfeeding as archetypal carework



**Figure 1**  
**Breastfeeding in context.** It is important to be aware that the behavior of breastfeeding can affect and be affected by all of a woman's roles. Breastfeeding is more than a way to provide nutrition, more than a health choice, more than a method of care.

Mulford C. Is breastfeeding really invisible, or did the health care system just choose not to notice it? *International Breastfeeding Journal* 2008.

Mulford C. Are we there yet? Breastfeeding as a gauge of carework by mothers. In: Smith PH, Hausman B, Labbok M, editors. *Beyond Health, Beyond Choice: Breastfeeding Constraints and Realities*: Rutgers University Press; 2012. p. 123-132.

# 'Invisible' and 'lost' milk, 2006-2010

Country	Actual human milk production volume (million liters) <sup>a)</sup>	Market value of human milk production, US\$ million <sup>b)</sup>	Biologically feasible potential volume of production (million liters) <sup>b)c)</sup>	'Lost' production US\$ million <sup>b)</sup>
<i>Norway</i>	11	907	18	598
<i>Australia</i>	41	3,466	89	4,134
<i>United Kingdom</i>	47	3,980	223	15,009
<i>Philippines</i>	467	39,701	691	19,096
<i>United States</i>	525	44,649	1,269	63,238
<i>China 2010</i>	3,574	303,961	4,862	109,577
<i>World 2010</i>	23,315	1,982,942	39,744	1,397,251

- a) Production volume calculated as sum of total infants breastfeeding each month from age 0 to 24 months, times monthly milk intake for each age
- b) 2012 prices, valued at US\$85.05 per litre (US\$3 per oz.), assuming 1 ml is equivalent to 1 gram.
- c) as in a), assuming optimal breastfeeding prevalence of 95% from 0-24 months. WHO estimates that fewer than 5% of mothers or infants cannot breastfeed. The medical contraindications for human milk feeding of infants as advised by the US Center for Disease Control are rare. See <https://www.cdc.gov/breastfeeding/disease/>, accessed 11-4-2017.

Smith, J. P., 2013, "Lost milk?": Counting the economic value of breast milk in gross domestic product. *J Hum Lact* 29(4): 537-46.

Smith JP, 'Including household production in the System of National Accounts (SNA) – exploring the implications of breastfeeding and human milk provision', International Association for Research on Income and Wealth General Conference - August 5-11, 2012 2012; Boston, U.S.A.



# The infant and young child (IYC) food economy

**Non market production by households**

**Non market and market production - not for profit and for profit entities**



**Breastfeeding**  
~ \$3.6 billion p.a.

**Breastfeeding support sector**  
~ ????

ABA volunteers

ABA/La Leche etc

Lactation consultant businesses or employees

Suppliers of lactation aids industry - breastpumps, supply lines, other ancillary equipment etc

Photo: Tamara Keneally



**Corporate milk formula and foods for IYC ~ \$375 million p.a.**



**Milk sharing and exchange**

**Cross nursing**

Not for profit donor human milk banks

Reimbursed informal milk sales

Wet nurses

Informal milk sales

**Corporate human milk**



# 'A serious omission from GDP'

“At present, measures of national economic output show a decline if more babies are breastfed and a rise if commercial baby foods displace breastfeeding. These are ridiculous results and severely undermine the public credibility of GDP estimates and other economic data.”

Smith JP, Ingham LH. Mothers' milk and measures of economic output. *Feminist Economics* 2005;11(1):41-62.

**“There is a serious omission in the valuation of home-produced goods – the value of breast milk. This is clearly within the System of National Accounts production boundary, is quantitatively non-trivial and also has important implications for public policy and child and maternal health.”**

Joseph Stiglitz and Amartya Sen (Nobel Prize winners in economics)



# UNBAT - A 'Breastfeeding Budget'

**'The Breastfeeding Advocacy Team (UNBAT) submission to Committee on the Status of Women (2008) proposes a Breastfeeding Budget and the following actions :**

- **Begin a dialogue between gender budget analysts and breastfeeding advocates.**
- **Endorse and implement the GSIYCF world-wide.**
- **Implement and monitor the International Code of Marketing of Breastmilk Substitutes world-wide.**
- **Integrate the topic of breastfeeding in discussions about care work.**
- **Include the market value of human milk and breastfeeding in the national accounts.**
- **Highlight national breastfeeding rates along with other measures of women's empowerment.'**



*The Academy of Breastfeeding Medicine*



International Lactation  
Consultant Association



LA LECHE LEAGUE  
INTERNATIONAL



World Alliance for  
Breastfeeding Action

In sheer, raw bottom line economic terms, breastfeeding may be the single best investment a country can make.



- Keith Hansen, World Bank Global Practices Vice President, speaking at the 7<sup>th</sup> Annual [#ABMSummit](#) on Breastfeeding

Hansen, K., 2015, The power of nutrition and the power of breastfeeding. *Breastfeeding Medicine* 10(8): 385-388.  
Hansen, K., 2016, Breastfeeding: a smart investment in people and in economies. *The Lancet* Vol 387 January 30, 2016: 416.

If breastfeeding did not already exist, someone who invented it today would deserve a dual Nobel Prize in medicine and economics. For while “breast is best” for lifelong health, it is also excellent economics. Breastfeeding is a child’s first inoculation against death, disease, and poverty, but also their most enduring investment in physical, cognitive, and social capacity.

The gains from early childhood nutrition are forever. And to a large extent, many of them are free because they have come prepackaged in this unbelievable intervention called breastfeeding. This is, of course, what defines us as a mammalian species. And the proof of this is in the lifelong impacts.

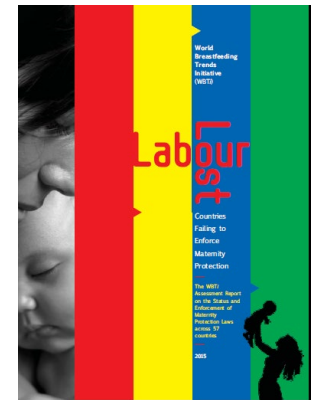
## Substantial health cost savings ....

Bartick, M. C., E. B. Schwarz, B. D. Green, et al., 2017, Suboptimal breastfeeding in the United States: Maternal and pediatric health outcomes and costs. *Maternal & Child Nutrition* 13(1): e12366.  
Pokhrel, S., M. A. Quigley, J. Fox-Rushby, et al., 2015, Potential economic impacts from improving breastfeeding rates in the UK. *Archives of Disease in Childhood* 100(4): 334-340.  
Smith, J. P., J. F. Thompson and D. A. Ellwood, 2002, Hospital system costs of artificial infant feeding: estimates for the Australian Capital Territory. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health* 26(6): 543-551.



# Household productivity, incentives and time

- Women's time is not free
- Maternity benefits help offset economic costs and reduce financial disincentives for breastfeeding
- Companies market to vulnerabilities created by inadequate policies
- Governments promote formula for low income or working families

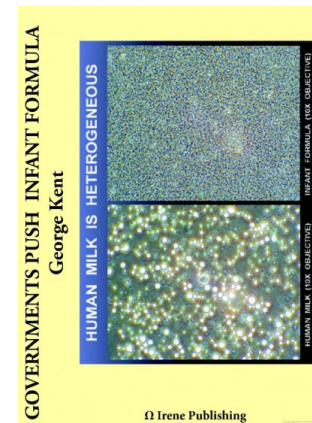


## Original Research

### Who Pays for the Health Benefits of Exclusive Breastfeeding? An Analysis of Maternal Time Costs



Journal of Human Lactation  
XX(X) 1-9  
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sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav  
DOI: 10.1177/0890334413495450  
jhl.sagepub.com  
SAGE



# 'Maximum feasible resourcing' to enable breastfeeding



Balakrishnan, R., D. Elson, J. Heintz, et al., 2011, Maximum available resources and human rights Center for Women's Global Leadership, Rutgers. The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, NJ USA.

Holla-Bhar et al. *International Breastfeeding Journal* (2015) 10:8  
DOI 10.1186/s13006-015-0032-y



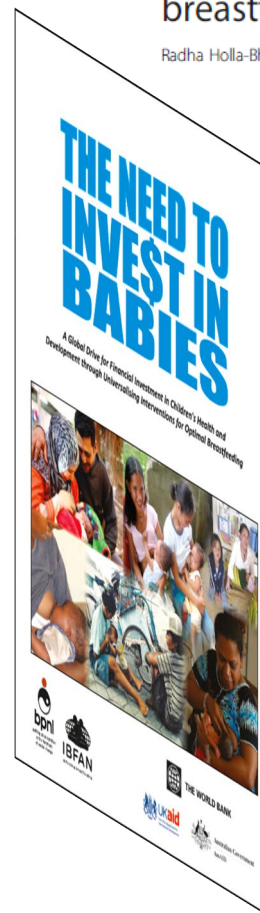
INTERNATIONAL BREASTFEEDING JOURNAL

RESEARCH

Open Access

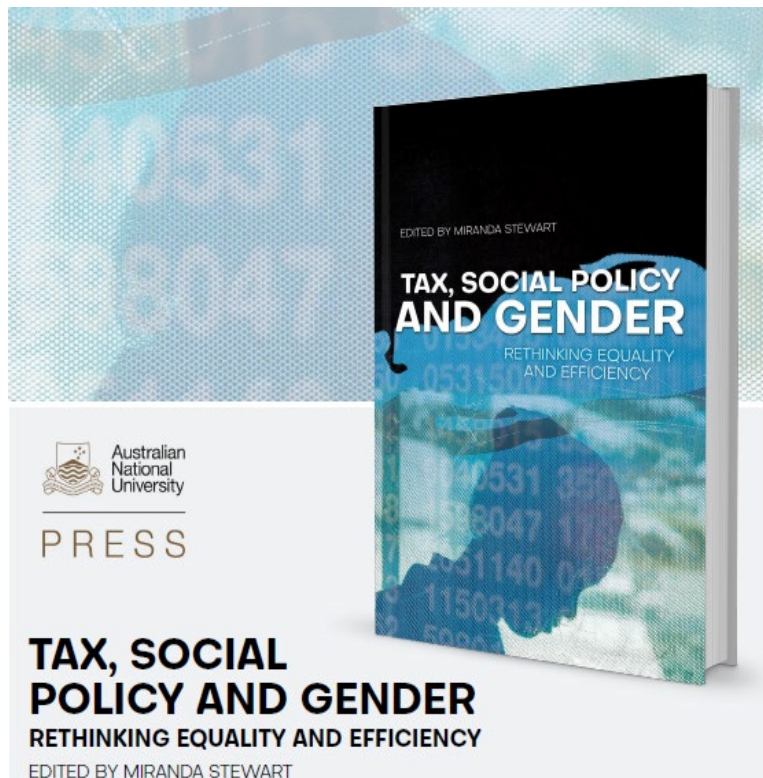
## Investing in breastfeeding – the world breastfeeding costing initiative

Radha Holla-Bhar<sup>1\*</sup>, Alessandro Iellamo<sup>2</sup>, Arun Gupta<sup>1</sup>, Julie P Smith<sup>3,4</sup> and Jai Prakash Dadhich<sup>4</sup>

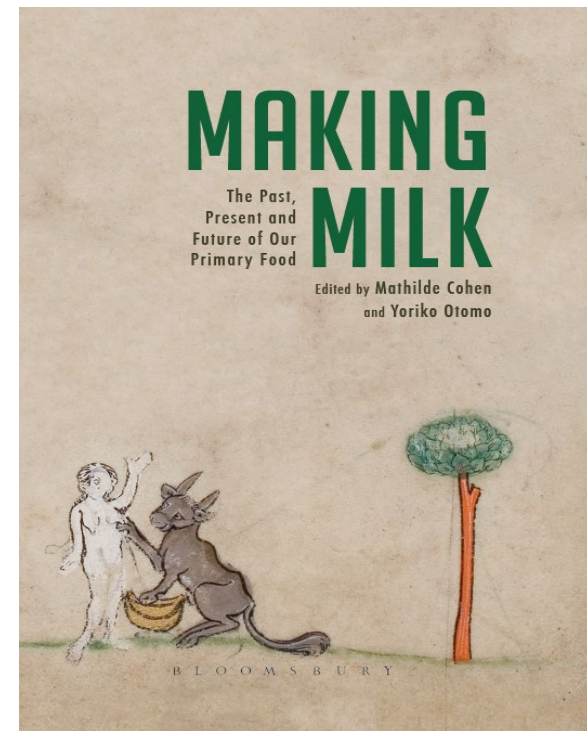


Action Area	USD in billions)
Maternity Entitlement	12.6
BFHI Implementation	2.0
Community support/HW training	1.6
International Code Implementation	0.5
Media Promotion	0.7

# Social protection, tax, wage, and regulatory regimes and programs affect breastfeeding



Smith, J.P. Paying for care in Australia's 'wage earners welfare state': The case of child endowment. In *Gender, tax and social policy in Australia: Rethinking equality and efficiency*, Stewart, M., Ed. ANU Press: 2017

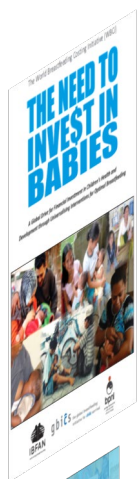


Smith, J.P. Markets in mothers' milk: Virtue or vice, promise or problem? In *Making milk*, Cohen, M., Ed. Bloomsbury Publishing Plc: London, 2017.



# Societal investments in breastfeeding – policy and program costing tools

- Different costing tools have different focus and methodologies
- Costing tools can be used for global and country level or program advocacy
- Costing tools can help prioritise policy or societal investments in breastfeeding



Holla-Bhar et al. *International Breastfeeding Journal* (2015) 108  
DOI 10.1186/s13006-015-0032-y



RESEARCH Open Access

Investing in breastfeeding – the world breastfeeding costing initiative

Rachna Holla-Bhar<sup>1\*</sup>, Alessandro Iellamo<sup>2</sup>, Arun Gupta<sup>3</sup>, Julie P. Smith<sup>4\*</sup> and Jai Prakash Dachhik<sup>5</sup>

BREASTFEEDING MEDICINE  
Volume 11, Number 6, 2016  
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DOI: 10.1089/bfm.2016.0128

Reaching the Global Target to Increase Exclusive Breastfeeding: How Much Will It Cost and How Can We Pay for It?

Dylan Walters<sup>1,2</sup>, Julia Dayton Eberwein<sup>1</sup>, Lucy Martinez Sullivan<sup>1</sup>, Mary Rose D'Almondo<sup>1</sup>, and Meera Shukla<sup>3</sup>



HEALTH POLICY AND PLANNING 11(2): 156-168  
© Oxford University Press 1998

**Breastfeeding promotion and priority setting in health**

SUSAN HORTON<sup>1</sup>, TINA SANGRVI<sup>1</sup>, MARGARET PHILLIPS<sup>2</sup>, JOHN FIEDLER<sup>3</sup>, RAFAEL PEREZ-ESCAMILLA<sup>4</sup>, CHESSA LUTTER<sup>5</sup>, ADIA RIVERA<sup>6</sup> AND ANA MARIA SEGALL-CORREA<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup>University of Toronto Institute for Policy Analysis, Canada; <sup>2</sup>International Science and Technology Institute, Arlington, VA, USA; <sup>3</sup>Consultant, UK; <sup>4</sup>International Science and Technology Institute, Shreveport, LA, USA; <sup>5</sup>Department of Nutritional Sciences, University of Connecticut, USA; <sup>6</sup>WELLSTART, International, Washington DC, USA; <sup>7</sup>Social Security Institute, Ministry of Health, Honduras, and <sup>8</sup>University of Campinas, São Paulo, Brazil

Review Article

Mainstreaming nutrition into maternal and child health programmes: scaling up of exclusive breastfeeding

Nita Bhandari<sup>1</sup>, A.K.M. Iqbal Kabir<sup>2</sup> and Mohammed Abdus Salam<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Faculty of Applied Studies, New York Tech; <sup>2</sup>and <sup>3</sup>International Centre for Diarrhoeal Disease Research, Bangladesh, Dhaka, Bangladesh

WORLD BANK GROUP

**Unleashing Gains in Economic Productivity with Investments in Nutrition**

By Jakob Kakabadse, Julia Dayton Eberwein, Dylan Walters, and Meera Shukla

Letter to the Editor on the Article by Carroll EJ, Buccini GS, and Pérez-Escamilla R. Titled "Perspective: What Will It Cost to Scale-Up Breastfeeding Programs? A Comparison of Current Global Costing Methodologies"

**Perspective: What Will It Cost to Scale-up Breastfeeding Programs? A Comparison of Current Global Costing Methodologies**

Grace J Carroll, Gabriela S Buccini, and Rafael Pérez-Escamilla  
Department of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Yale University School of Public Health, New Haven, CT



## Breastfeeding down?...

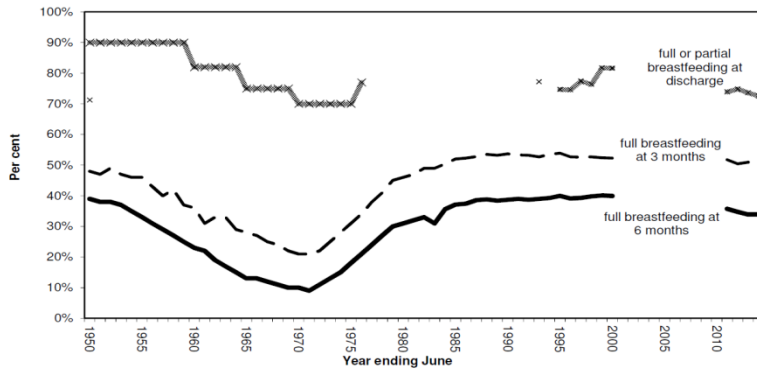


Figure 6 Long term breastfeeding trends in Australia. Source: Maternal & Child Health Services Annual Report, Victoria, 2013.

## Milk formula sales up?

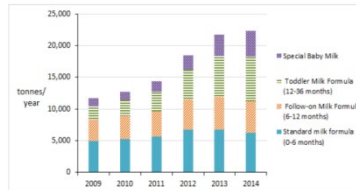


Figure 2. Annual volume of milk formula for children aged 0-36 months sold in Australia 2009-2014. Source: Baby Food in Australia. Euromonitor International 2014



# Assessment Report Australia 2018



## Building 'Breastfeeding Budgets' ... for economic efficiency and gender equity

### Develop a Breastfeeding Budget through:

- Dialogue between gender budget analysts and breastfeeding advocates.
- Endorsing and implementing the GSIYCF.
- Implementing and monitoring the International Code
- Integrating breastfeeding into discussions about care work.
- Counting the value of human milk and breastfeeding in GDP.
- Highlighting national breastfeeding rates along with other measures of women's empowerment.'



**Australian National  
Breastfeeding Strategy**

2019 and beyond

### **The five-step approach of gender budget analysis**

Describe situation, assess policy, scrutinise resourcing, monitor trends, evaluate results

# Conclusion – data and dollars for progressing breastfeeding

- **Gender analysis is crucial – to recognise, reduce and redistribute unpaid care work**
- **Non-market economic productivity including care work is uncounted and unperceived but important**
- **Government sector budgets link in complex ways with non-market household sector production**
- **Budget financial investments which resource the non-market sector may have high paybacks**
  - **government budgets**
  - **for productivity and economic efficiency**
  - **for gender equality**
  - **for fiscal transparency and accountability**