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WOMEN AT WORK

TRENDS

2016

Women at Work

Trends 2016

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Women at Work: Trends 2016

International Labour Office – Geneva: ILO, 2016

ISBN 978-92-2-130795-2 (print)

ISBN 978-92-2-130796-9 (web pdf)

International Labour Office

women workers / equal rights / labour force participation / unemployment / hours of work / labour market segmentation / wage differential / gender equality / sex discrimination / unpaid work / social protection / family responsibilities / trend / developed countries / developing countries

14.02.2

ILO Cataloguing in Publication Data

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This publication was produced by the Document and Publications Production,
Printing and Distribution Branch (PRODOC) of the ILO.

*Graphic and typographic design, layout and composition,
proofreading, printing, electronic publishing and distribution.*

PRODOC endeavours to use paper sourced from forests managed
in an environmentally sustainable and socially responsible manner.

Code: DTP-WEI

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Preface

As the world undergoes deep changes and global challenges which affect both women and men, urgent and transformative action is needed in order to translate commitments into reality. There can be no excuse for discrimination and other violations of fundamental human rights. Countries, whether high or low income, cannot any longer afford to lose out on the social and economic potential of gender equality. Ambitious policies that succeed in transforming gender norms and relationships in society and at work, and hence in addressing structural inequality, are required. More jobs – and quality jobs – for women, universal social protection and measures to recognize, reduce and redistribute unpaid care and household work are indispensable to achieving the substantive equality called for in a number of the Sustainable Development Goals.

To mark the commitment of ILO constituents to gender equality and as the Organization approaches its centenary in 2019, I have launched the Women at Work Centenary Initiative with the objective of taking stock of the status and conditions of women in the world of work, and identifying innovative action that could give new impetus to the ILO's work on gender equality and non-discrimination. It aims to engage ILO constituents, civil society and all women and men in concerted action to achieve full and lasting gender equality and non-discrimination. The Women at Work Centenary Initiative is therefore key to delivering on the transformative agenda called for in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted by the United Nations in 2015.

This report is an important contribution to this centenary initiative. It gives a picture of where women stand today and how they have progressed in the world of work over the last 20 years, and of the root causes of inequalities and how they should be tackled based on what works and the guidance provided by international labour standards. It shows that, despite some encouraging advances, major gender gaps at work remain. Increasing gender parity in educational attainment does not prevent women from being concentrated in middle to lower-paid occupations that reflect traditional gender stereotypes and beliefs about women's and men's aspirations and capabilities.

While sectoral and occupational segregation and differences in working time contribute to the gender wage gap, the report turns the spotlight on the role of the discrimination that further exacerbates labour market inequalities, including the persistent differences in access to social protection between women and men. The report also discusses the extent to which measures to recognize, reduce and redistribute unpaid household and care work in families and societies affect women's access to quality work and social protection. It shows how work-family policies aligned with international labour standards can help to remedy inequalities and to transform the gender-based division of labour at home.

I hope that this report will support a renewed and reinforced global commitment towards gender equality at work, as part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. It is also my hope that the report will be of use to ILO constituents in their efforts to identify, in their specific contexts, the policies that are most conducive to the attainment of substantive equality between women and men, combining increased economic growth with decreased income inequality.



Guy Ryder
ILO Director-General

Acknowledgements

The report is the result of collaboration, in the context of the ILO Women at Work Centenary Initiative, between the Gender, Equality and Diversity (GED) Branch of the Conditions of Work and Equality Department (WORKQUALITY) and the Research Department (RESEARCH), under the overall supervision of Shauna Olney and Lawrence Jeff Johnson.

The report was co-authored by Laura Addati, Florence Bonnet, Ekkehard Ernst, Rossana Merola and Pei Man Jessica Wan. Extensive research was undertaken, and data analysis and graphs were prepared by Florence Bonnet, Katherine Gilchrist and Pei Man Jessica Wan. The team wishes to thank all those who made this report possible: Judy Rafferty, who coordinated the editing, publication and translation of the report; Chris Edgar who managed the anonymous peer review of the report; Christopher English who edited the report and Christian Olsen for the design of the cover page.

The team wishes to acknowledge the valuable comments and contributions from the three anonymous reviewers as well as a number of colleagues from across the ILO, in headquarters and in the field: Manuela Tomei (WORKQUALITY); Sangheon Lee (DDG/POLICY); Susan Maybud, Raphael Crowe, Adrienne Cruz and Mari Schlanbusch (GED); Steven Tobin and Lorraine Wong (RESEARCH); Kristen Sobeck, Jon Messenger, Janine Berg, Mariya Aleksynska, Claire Hobden, Patrick Belser, Rosalia Vazquez-Alvarez and Nicolas Maître (INWORK); Christina Behrendt, Xenia Scheil-Adlung, Emmanuelle St.-Pierre Guilbault, Cristina Lloret, Thorsten Behrendt and Jeronim Capaldo (SOCPRO); Theodoor Sparreboom and Maria Galloti (MIGRANT); Steven Kapsos and Akiko Minowa (STATISTICS); Sara Elder (YOUTH); Simel Esim and Lenore Matthew (COOP); Oliver Liang and Christiane Wiskow (SECTOR); Virginia Rose Losada and Amélie Duval (WED); Monique Guichard-Kelly (NORMES); Amrita Sietaram (ACTRAV); and Ilka Schoellmann (ACT/EMP). We would like to express our gratitude for the significant feedback and inputs from GED Senior Gender Specialists in ILO field offices: Maria José Chamorro (ILO San José), Verena Schmidt and Sofia Amaral de Oliveira (ILO Budapest), Joni Simpson (ILO Bangkok), Fatime-Christian Ndiaye (ILO Dakar), and Reiko Tsushima (ILO Delhi).

Special thanks to the ILO Department of Communication and Public Information (DCOMM) for their coordination of the launch of the report and related communications activities.

Executive summary

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is an opportunity to address persistent gender inequalities at work

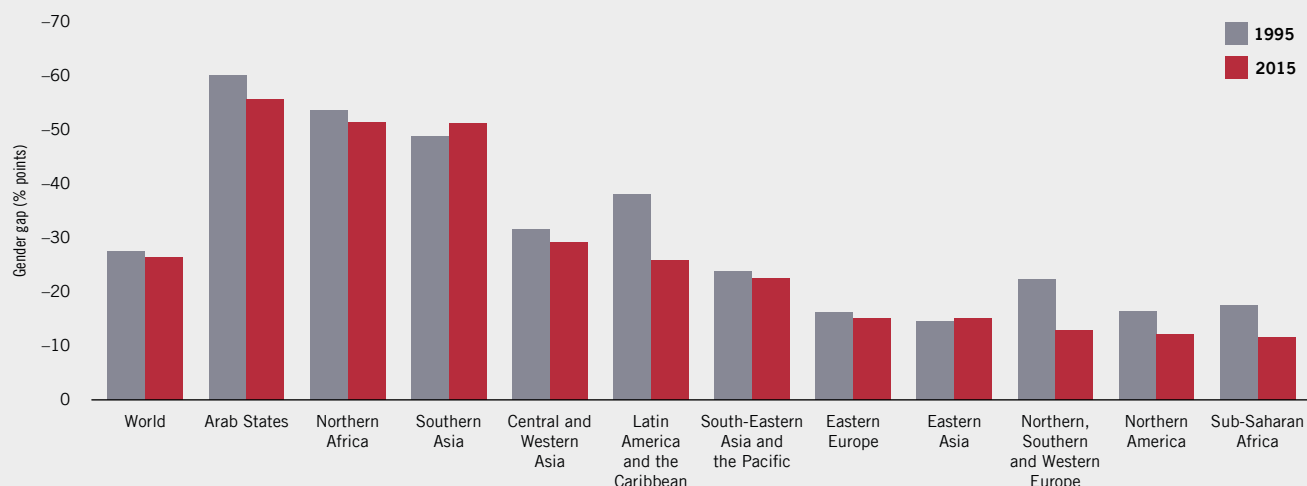
Throughout their working lives, women continue to face significant obstacles in gaining access to decent work. Only marginal improvements have been achieved since the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, leaving large gaps to be covered in the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, adopted by the United Nations in 2015. Inequality between women and men persists in global labour markets, in respect of opportunities, treatment and outcomes. Over the last two decades, women's significant progress in educational achievements has not translated into a comparable improvement in their position at work. In many regions in the world, in comparison to men, women are more likely to become and remain unemployed, have fewer chances to participate in the labour force and – when they do – often have to accept lower quality jobs. Progress in surmounting these obstacles has been slow and is limited to a few regions across the world. Even in many of those countries where gaps in labour force participation and employment have narrowed and where women are shifting away from contributing family work and moving to the services sector, the quality of women's jobs remains a matter of concern. The unequal distribution of unpaid care and household work between women and men and between families and the society is an important determinant of gender inequalities at work.

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development reaffirmed the universal consensus on the crucial importance of gender equality and its contribution to the achievement of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals. More jobs – and quality jobs – for women, universal social protection and measures to recognize, reduce and redistribute unpaid care and household work are indispensable to delivering on the new transformative sustainable development agenda, which aims to reduce poverty (Goal 1) and inequalities (Goal 10), to achieve gender equality (Goal 5) and to promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all (Goal 8).

Gender gaps in labour force participation and employment rates declined only marginally

Between 1995 and 2015, the global female labour force participation rate decreased from 52.4 to 49.6 per cent. The corresponding figures for men are 79.9 and 76.1 per cent, respectively. Worldwide, the chances for women to participate in the labour market remain almost 27 percentage points lower than those for men (figure I). In regions where gender gaps in participation have been high, they have remained so. In Southern Asia and Eastern Asia, the gap has grown even wider. Women's lower participation rates translate into fewer employment opportunities, with little variation over time, which negatively affects women's earning capacity and economic security. In 2015, the gender gap in the employment rate amounted to 25.5 percentage points in women's disfavour, only 0.6 percentage points less than in 1995. It is only in Northern, Southern and Western Europe that employment gaps have closed marginally as women continue to enter the labour market in higher numbers in that region – but also as a result of the reduction of men's employment rates due to the economic downturn. In addition, the global financial crisis led to a temporary reduction in gender gaps in employment in Northern America. Overall, however, change has been virtually absent.

Figure I Gender gaps in labour force participation rates by region, 1995 and 2015



Note: The gender gap is measured as the difference between women's and men's labour force participation rates. The data cover 178 countries and the same countries are covered in figures II and IV.

Source: ILO calculations based on ILO, *Trends Econometric Models*, November 2015.

Young women face the highest risk of unemployment

Women are more likely to be unemployed than men, with global unemployment rates of 5.5 per cent for men and 6.2 per cent for women. With the exception of Eastern Asia, Eastern Europe and Northern America, male unemployment rates are lower than female unemployment rates in all other regions of the world, with the highest gender unemployment gaps found in Northern Africa and the Arab States. In Northern, Southern and Western Europe, and in Northern America, the gender unemployment gaps have narrowed as a result of the financial crisis, largely under the impact of the economic downturn on the male-dominated sectors and the rising employment rates for married women, who in some contexts are entering employment to compensate for losses in family income caused by male unemployment.

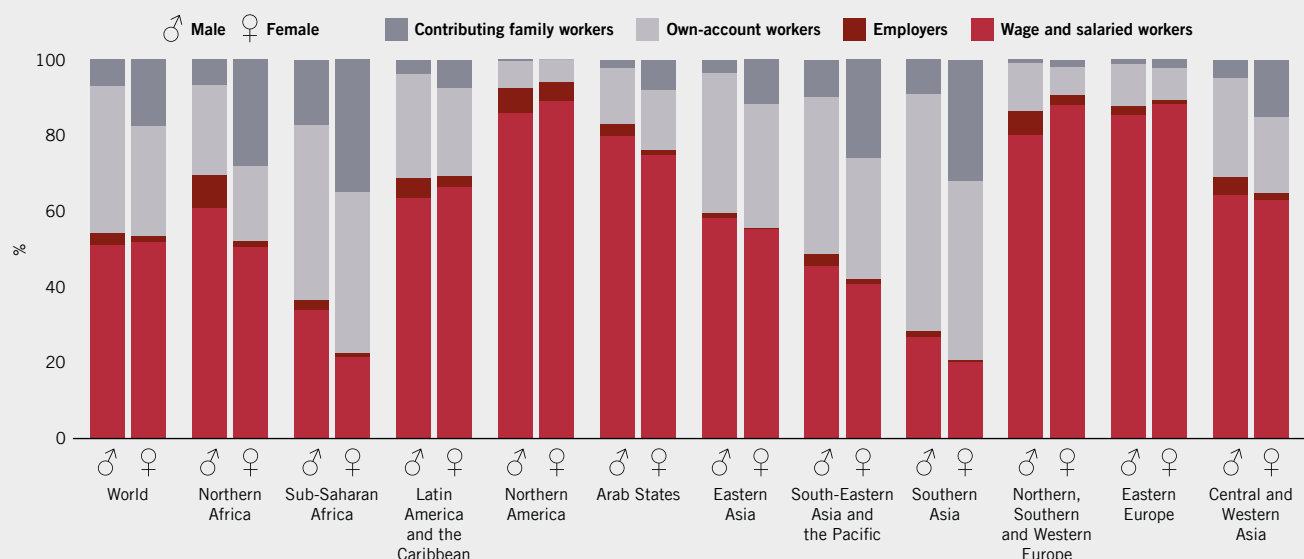
Globally, youth unemployment remains an issue of concern. Unemployment is affecting young women more than young men in almost all regions of the world. In Northern Africa and the Arab States, the female youth unemployment rate is almost double that of young men, reaching as high as 44.3 and 44.1 per cent, respectively. In contrast, youth unemployment is higher for young men than for young women in Northern America, Eastern Asia and Northern, Southern and Western Europe. As a result of the financial crisis, this inverse gender gap in youth unemployment has even increased in Northern, Southern and Western Europe and in Northern America; in this last region, however, there have been some signs of the narrowing of gaps in recent years.

The quality of women's jobs remains a challenge

Status in employment and informal employment

In 2015, a total of 586 million women were own-account or contributing family workers. Women remain overrepresented as contributing family workers. Some progress has been made, however, in closing the gender gap in this regard. Globally, the share of contributing family workers has decreased significantly among women (by 17.0 percentage points over the last 20 years) and to a lesser extent among men (by 8.1 percentage points over the same period), resulting in a decrease in the gender gap from 19.5 percentage points in 1995 to 10.6 percentage points in 2015 (figure II). This trend is part of an economic restructuring shift away from agricultural work, which largely consisted of subsistence and small-scale activities. That said, however, many working women remain in employment statuses and in occupations that are more likely to consist of informal work arrangements. In sub-Saharan Africa and in Southern Asia, a high proportion of women work as contributing family workers (34.9 per cent and 31.8 per cent, respectively) or as own-account workers (42.5 per cent and 47.7 per cent, respectively).

Figure II Employment status by sex, 2015



Note: The term “wage and salaried workers” refers to persons who work and receive a wage or salary. Employers, own-account workers and contributing family workers are considered self-employed. Contributing family workers are those who work in a family enterprise.

Source: ILO calculations based on ILO, *Trends Econometric Models*, November 2015.

Moreover, 52.1 per cent of women and 51.2 per cent of men in the labour market are wage and salaried workers. This in itself constitutes no guarantee of higher job quality. In fact, globally, nearly 40 per cent of women in wage employment do not contribute to social protection. Those proportions reach 63.2 per cent in sub-Saharan Africa and 74.2 per cent in Southern Asia, where informal employment is the dominant form of employment. In Southern Asia, for instance, informal employment represents over 80 per cent of non-agricultural employment. In three out of six regions, informal employment is a greater source of non-agricultural employment for women than for men (sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean and Southern Asia). In this regard, gender gaps in informal employment can reach up to 13 percentage points, as is the case in sub-Saharan Africa.

Sectoral and occupational segregation

Globally, the services sector has overtaken agriculture as the sector that employs the highest number of women and men. By 2015, slightly more than half of the global working population was working in services (50.1 per cent). While 42.6 per cent of all men work in services, substantially more than half of the world's women are employed in that sector: since 1995, women's employment in services has increased from 41.1 per cent to 61.5 per cent.

Sectoral and occupational segregation contributes significantly to gender gaps both in terms of the number and the quality of jobs. Women in employment are overrepresented in a narrow range of sectors and occupations. In upper-middle-income countries, more than one third of women are employed in wholesale and retail trade services (33.9 per cent) and in the manufacturing sector (12.4 per cent). In high-income countries, the major source of employment for women is the health and education sector, which employs almost one third of all women in the labour market (30.6 per cent). Agriculture remains the most important source of employment for women in low-income and lower-middle-income countries. In Southern Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, over 60 per cent of all working women remain in agriculture, often concentrated in time and labour-intensive activities, which are unpaid or poorly remunerated.

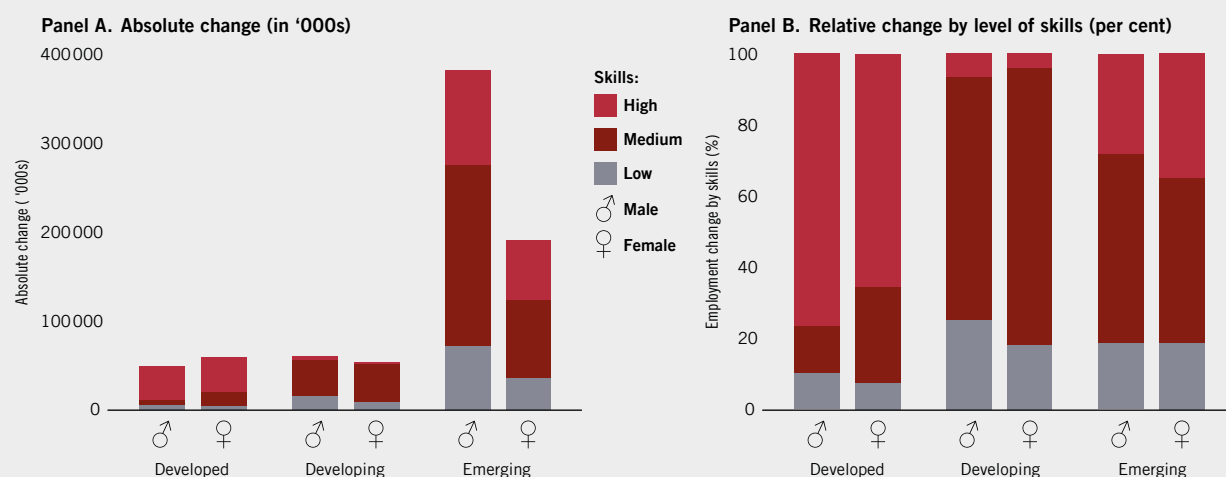
An analysis of 142 countries shows that women remain overrepresented (compared to their share in total employment) as “Clerical, service and sales workers” and in “Elementary occupations”. This is particularly the case in developed economies, where women constitute over 60 per cent and nearly 50 per cent of total employment in these two lowest paid occupations (figure III). By contrast, in developed countries, there is a slight relative overrepresentation of women in the highest paid occupational group “Managers, professionals and technicians” (48.1 per cent).

Figure III Occupational segregation, 142 countries (latest year available)



Note: Global estimates based on 142 countries (81 developing and 61 developed countries), representing 87 per cent of total employment. Latest years are used. More than 80 per cent of the countries have data for 2010 or after; more than 60 per cent have data for 2013 or 2014. Weighted by total employment. Source: ILO calculations based on ILOSTAT.

Figure IV Employment by occupations requiring different skills, change in employment over the period 1995-2015



Note: Panels A and B describe the change in employment between 1995 and 2015 (absolute change in employment and relative change by level of skills). Occupations are grouped by skill level, according to the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED), that corresponds to a division of major ISCO-88 occupational groups (see the note to figure 16 below for the definition of occupational groups by level of skills).

Source: ILO calculations based on ILO, *Trends Econometric Models*, November 2015.

Occupational segregation has increased further over the last two decades with skill-biased technological change, notably in developed and emerging countries. Between 1995 and 2015, employment increased fastest in emerging economies. The absolute change in employment levels was twice as high for men as for women (382 million for men and 191 million for women), regardless of the level of skills required (figure IV, panel A). This reflects the above-discussed gender gaps in employment. Overall, medium-level skills dominate total employment change in both developing countries (68.4 and 77.9 per cent of the change in employment levels for men and women, respectively) and emerging economies (53.2 and 46.4 per cent, respectively – see figure IV, panel B). By contrast, high-skilled occupations dominate employment change in developed economies (65.4 per cent for women and up to 76.6 per cent for men). High-skilled occupations expanded faster for women than for men in emerging economies, the only group of countries where there is a gender gap in high-skilled employment in women's favour. For their part, low-skilled occupations expanded faster or just as fast for men as for women across all three regions.

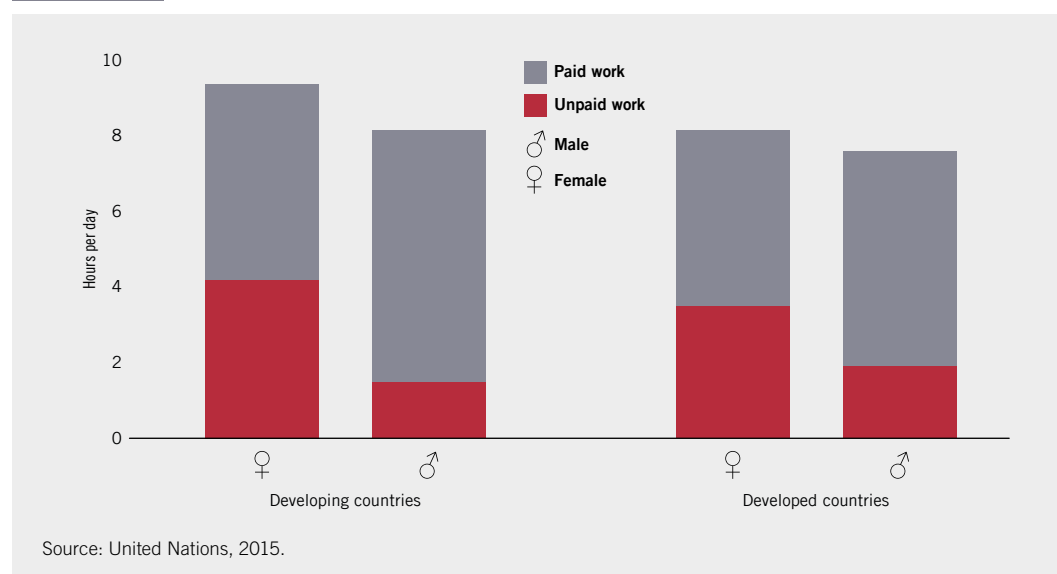
Gender gaps in the distribution of unpaid household and care work mean that women are more likely to work shorter hours for pay or profit

Unpaid household and care work

In both high and lower income countries, women continue to work fewer hours in paid employment, while performing the vast majority of unpaid household and care work. On average, women carry out at least two and a half times more unpaid household and care work than men in countries where the relevant data are available. Although this gender gap remains substantive, it has decreased over time, mostly because of some reduction in the time spent by women on housework, while there have been no significant reductions in the time that they spend on childcare. Women, however, continue to work longer hours per day than men when both paid work and unpaid work are taken into consideration. In particular, employed women (either in self-employment or wage and salaried employment), have longer working days on average than employed men, with a gender gap of 73 and 33 minutes per day in developing and developed countries, respectively (figure V). Even when women are employed, they still carry out the larger share of unpaid household and care work, which limits their capacity to increase their hours in paid, formal and wage and salaried work.

Figure V

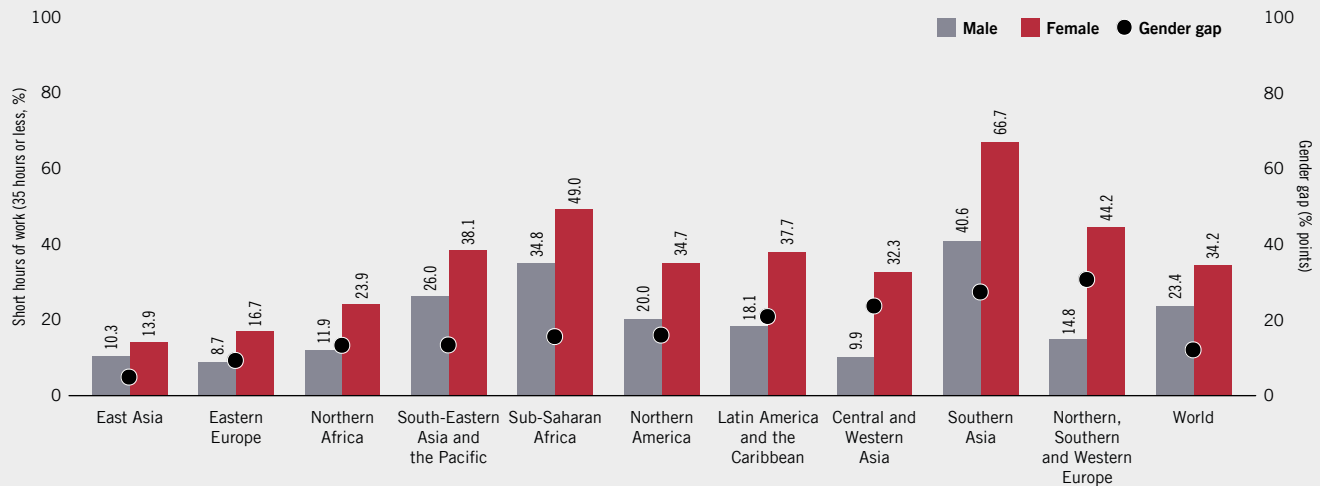
Time spent on paid and unpaid work for employed persons by sex, 23 developing and 23 developed economies (latest year available)



Short hours of work

As a consequence, women are more likely than men to work short hours, whether voluntarily or against their choice (thus finding themselves in “time-related underemployment”). Across the world, women represent less than 40 per cent of total employment, but make up 57 per cent of those working on a part-time basis. Estimates based on 100 countries show that more than one third of employed women (34.2 per cent) work less than 35 hours per week, compared with 23.4 per cent of employed men. Overall, the gender gap for part-time employment between women and men in employment is 11 percentage points (figure VI). Gender gaps are larger in most of the countries in Europe, Central and Western Asia, Southern Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean. In addition, underemployment is significantly higher for women than it is for men. In countries in Africa and Asia, the prevalence of underemployment for both women and men is high, with gender gaps of 7.5 and 6.4 percentage points, respectively, in those two regions. In some countries in sub-Saharan Africa, time-related underemployment for women is as high as 40 or 50 per cent of total employment.

Figure VI Persons working less than 35 hours per week and gender gap, 100 countries (latest year available)



Note: Global estimates based on 100 countries representing more than 87 per cent of total employment. The Arab States are not represented in the figure because of a representation of less than 25 per cent. Latest years are used (data for 2010 and after for more than 80 per cent of the countries). Regions are ranked by increased gender gap in part-time employment as a percentage of total employment.

Source: ILO calculations based on national household survey data.

Excessive hours of work

In addition, across the 100 countries surveyed, more than one third of men in employment (35.5 per cent) and more than one fourth of women in employment (25.7 per cent) work more than 48 hours a week. Excessive hours are most common in Asia, notably in Eastern Asia and in Western and Central Asia, where close to one half of men and women employed work more than 48 hours a week. Two main findings are worth highlighting. First, men tend to work longer hours than women, whether in wage and salaried employment (where there is a gender gap of over 10 percentage points) or in self-employment (gender gap of 5.5 percentage points). Second, the proportions of people working both long hours and short hours are higher among the self-employed, which means that self-employed people are likely to work either more than 48 hours or less than 35 hours a week. This suggests that working hours tend to be more polarized for self-employed than for wage and salaried workers, whose working hours tend to cluster around standard working hours, in line with national regulations. It also has implications for workers' healthy harmonization of work and family life and the equal distribution of unpaid household and care work between women and men.

At current trends, it will take 70 years to close the gender wage gap

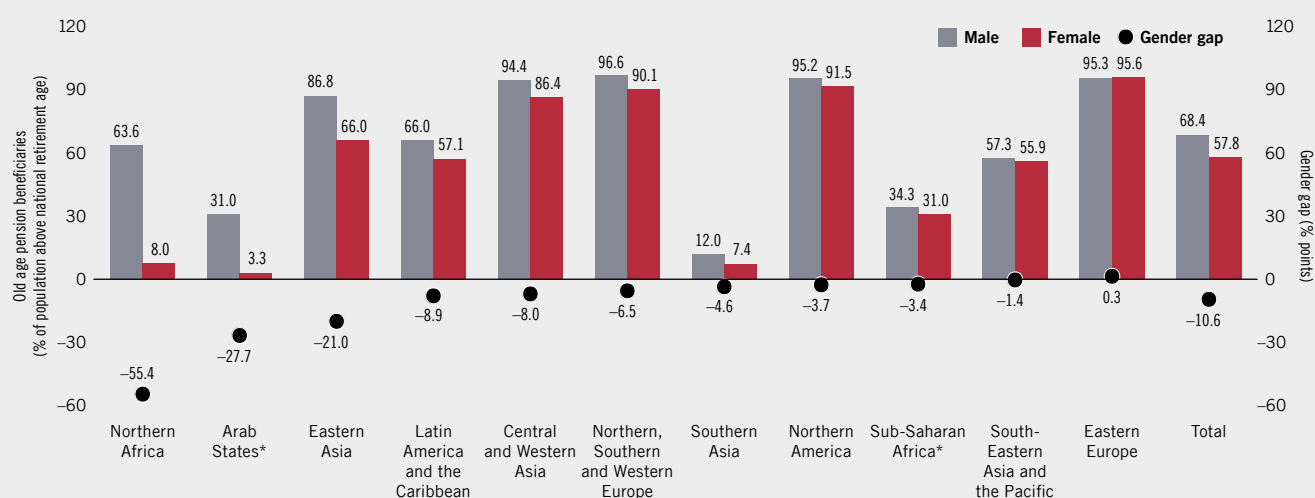
Globally, the gender wage gap is estimated to be 23 per cent; in other words, women earn 77 per cent of what men earn. Even when considering hourly wage rates (given the fact that women are working shorter hours than men), women continue to face a persistent gender wage gap, amounting to 10 per cent or more in countries for which data are available. These gaps cannot be explained solely by differences in education or age, but are also linked to the undervaluation of the work that women undertake and of the skills required in female-dominated sectors or occupations, the practice of discrimination, and the need for women to take career breaks to attend to additional care responsibilities, for instance after the birth of a child. Recently, some progress has been made in reducing these gender wage gaps, but improvements are small and, if current trends prevail, it will take more than 70 years before gender wage gaps are closed completely. Reductions in the gender wage gap are mostly attributable to explicit policy actions to address gender imbalances in the labour market, rather than to general improvements in living standards. In fact, the gender wage gap is unrelated to a country's level of economic development, as some of the countries with high per-capita levels are among those with the highest gender wage gaps. Economic development alone will not ensure an equitable distribution of the gains from growth between men and women.

Gender inequalities at work result in gender gaps in access to social protection, in particular maternity and old-age benefits

The gender gap in employment and job quality means that women have limited access to employment-related social protection, where such schemes even exist. Lower rates of formal wage and salaried employment, together with fewer hours and fewer years in insured employment for women, have adverse consequences for seniority premiums in pay and for coverage by employment-related contributory schemes. In particular, maternity cash benefits and health care are essential if women's specific needs during their active years are to be met, as are adequate pension levels for women in old age. As a consequence of gender gaps at work, coverage (both legal and effective) by contributory compulsory social protection schemes is lower for women than for men, leaving an overall gender social protection coverage gap. Globally, the proportion of women above retirement age receiving a pension is on average 10.6 percentage points lower than that of men (figure VII). Nearly 65 per cent of people above retirement age without any regular pension are women. This means that 200 million women in old age live without any regular income from social protection (old age or survivors pension), compared to 115 million men. Low female labour participation rates, together with the limited development of non-contributory pensions, weigh significantly on women's effective pension coverage in Northern Africa, the Arab States and Southern Asia, where the proportions of older women in receipt of a pension are inferior to 10 per cent.

While virtually all countries provide some forms of maternity protection for employed women, close to 60 per cent of women workers worldwide (nearly 750 million women) do not benefit from a statutory right to maternity leave. Problems with implementation, awareness of rights, insufficient contributory capacity, discriminatory practices, informality and social exclusion mean that, across the world, only an estimated 330 million women workers (28.2 per cent) would receive either contributory or non-contributory cash benefits in the event of childbirth. The existence of large non-contributory social protection schemes can, to some extent, offset both the lower rates of women's participation in the labour market and their less favourable employment conditions where social protection coverage is concerned. Levels of non-contributory benefits tend to be modest, however, and are often not sufficient to lift mothers and their children, and also older women, above the poverty line, especially in the absence of essential health care.

Figure VII Actual gender gap in pension beneficiaries, 107 countries (latest year available)



Note: Global estimates based on 107 countries representing 83 per cent of total population above national retirement age, weighted by population above national retirement age. Data are for the latest year available, which ranges from 2008 to 2013. This indicator of coverage is measured as the proportion of the population above the statutory pensionable age receiving an old age or survivor's pension. The asterisk for the Arab States and sub-Saharan Africa regions means that these averages are not representative, as they are based on a limited number of countries (less than 50 per cent of the population above national retirement age is represented).

Source: ILO calculations based on household survey data.

An integrated policy framework is needed to promote women's access to more and better quality jobs

Despite their recent advancement in educational achievement – in many countries there are now more women than men graduates – women face multiple barriers to their equal access, participation and progress in the labour market. Institutions and policies are established based on traditional gender roles, including on the expectation that men should be the sole or the main earner in a household and the continued undervaluation of care work. This continues to shape and inhibit labour market opportunities and incentives for women.

The achievement of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development requires the implementation of an integrated framework of transformative measures guided by ILO Conventions and Recommendations, which places the elimination of discrimination and the achievement of gender equality at home and at work at the heart of policy interventions. This blueprint is also embedded in the ILO Women at Work Centenary Initiative, with the aim of marking the constitutional commitment of ILO constituents to gender equality as the ILO moves towards its second centenary in 2019.

Efforts must be made to tackle sectoral and occupational segregation

Gender stereotypes of women and expectations by society that they will shoulder larger care responsibilities, lack of role models, a work culture that expects long working hours, the undervaluation of traditionally “feminine” skills and inadequate work-family measures limit the possibilities for women to overcome segregation and participate on an equal footing in political, social and economic life and decision-making and reach top-level positions. In this regard, affirmative action policies, including the setting of targets, goals or quotas, represent an important measure that can be applied by governments, trade unions, employers' organizations and companies to help remedy the severe underrepresentation of women and their concerns in decision-making in business and societies. Moreover, education, outreach and training programmes must be designed to encourage and enable girls, boys and young women and men to venture more into non-stereotypical fields of study and work. In particular, to reduce sectoral and occupational segregation, training and education systems should encourage young men to enter into care-related professions, while promoting women's access to and prominence in both the study and professional exercise of science, technology, engineering, mathematics and related skills.

The gender wage gap must be closed

The high burden of care activities borne by women, and systems whereby take-home pay and social benefits increase with the length of seniority in a job conspire still further to widen the gender wage gap. In particular, mothers who often face additional care responsibilities suffer from a significantly reduced earnings capacity, contributing to a negative motherhood wage gap and to a fatherhood pay premium. Policies to promote the better sharing of care responsibilities can also help to reduce gender wage gaps. In this regard, more determined efforts to eliminate outright discrimination and to embed the principle of equal opportunity and treatment between women and men in laws and institutions constitute a key first step. Further progress can be made by promoting equal remuneration for work of equal value through wage transparency, training and gender-neutral job evaluations. These measures will help significantly in identifying discriminatory pay practices and unfair pay differences. In addition, countries need to support adequate and inclusive minimum wages and to strengthen collective bargaining as key tools in efforts to address low pay, improve women's wages and hence reduce gender wage gaps.

Adoption of the principle of equal treatment of part-time workers and ensuring access to contributory, employment-related social and labour protections on a pro-rata basis offer means of promoting good quality part-time work and normalizing it for all workers. In addition, in order to encourage a fairer division of unpaid care responsibilities between men and women, countries need to pass and enforce legislation to limit long paid hours and overtime, as these inhibit both women and men from breaking out of traditional gender roles.

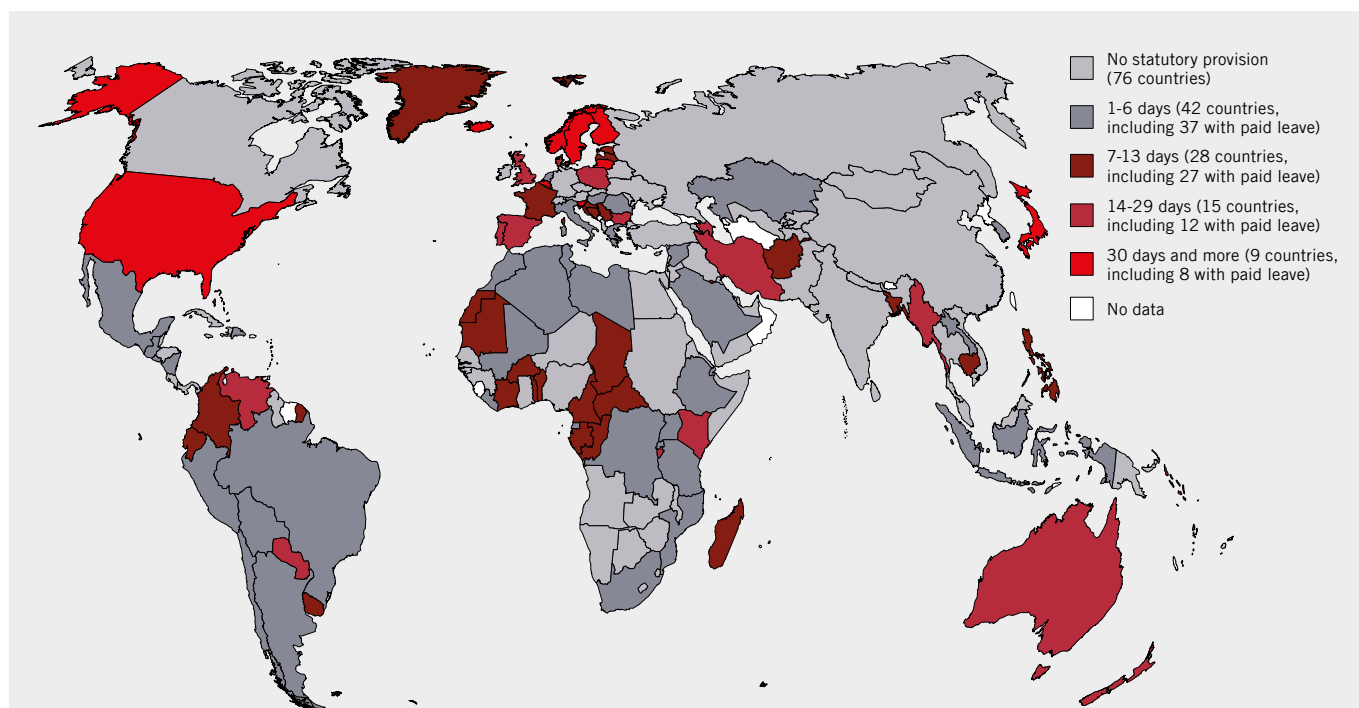
Unpaid care work must be recognized, reduced and redistributed and harmonization achieved between work and family life

Inadequate social protection and measures to balance work and family, including good quality jobs, services and infrastructure in public care, are a key concern for workers and businesses. The lack of such protection and measures impedes women's access to more and decent jobs. In many countries, inadequate access to water supply, sanitation, electricity, roads, safe transport and health-care services is a crucial factor behind the time spent by women on unpaid work and their disadvantaged position in the labour force. The inadequacy or total lack of childcare, disability and long-term care services, and services which do not meet the needs of workers, care recipients and providers in terms of availability, cost and quality, are also important factors. Economic crises and the related cuts in public spending on social benefits, services, jobs and working conditions in the public sector have also exacerbated the existing care deficits in both high- and low-income settings. Consequently, the responsibility to fill care gaps is taken up by women in the course of their lives in the form of low-paid and unpaid care and household work. The undervaluation of care work, both paid and unpaid, perpetuates poor working conditions for women, who form the vast majority of the employed care workforce, in particular domestic workers, early childhood care and education personnel, and long-term care workers and nurses, an increasingly large number of whom are migrant workers.

In this regard, governments should increase their social investment in basic infrastructure and measures to balance work and family commitments, ensure that care work is evaluated in a gender-responsive way, promote decent and adequately paid jobs in the care economy, with a focus on public provision, and make good-quality and affordable childcare and other social care services a universal right. Social protection schemes should be geared to guarantee equality of treatment between men and women, to take into account gender roles and to serve as a mechanism for the achievement of gender equality. In addition, nationally designed social protection floors can and should serve as a gender-transformative tool by addressing women's specific life contingencies, such as maternity, and by recognizing, reducing and redistributing unpaid care and household work.

Figure VIII

Countries providing paid and unpaid leave entitlements to fathers for the birth of a child, by duration (days), 170 countries, 2015



Note: This map covers leave provisions in national or federal legislation reserved for fathers in relation to the birth of a child or leave that can be used exclusively by fathers as paternity or parental leave. It does not include parental leave provisions that can be used by either the father or mother or parts of maternity leave entitlements that the mother can transfer to the father. It includes certain special leave provisions in addition to annual leave that may be used by fathers at the time of birth but which are not strictly categorized as "paternity leave".

Source: ILO data 2015.

In this context, governments should guarantee maternity protection to all women, in line with international labour standards, with no exclusion, increase the provision of well-paid leave benefits for fathers (see figure VIII), and promote their take-up rates. This should be further supported by implementing family-friendly flexible working arrangements which help families to share care responsibilities more equitably between parents, and also work reintegration measures (such as training, cash benefits, skills development, job-matching, mentorship and career guidance), with a view to enabling workers with family responsibilities to reintegrate into the workforce following care-related interruptions.

Lastly, joint income taxation, primarily in advanced economies, may create barriers and disincentives for women to participate in the labour market, in particular when it is accompanied by wage and income gaps, high childcare costs and unequal sharing of care responsibilities. Countries should therefore consider moving towards a more neutral tax-benefit system that does not create disincentives to work for one of the household's earners.

For substantive gender equality at work to be achieved, it is essential that societies recognize that both women and men have a right and responsibility to work and care. For that reason, governments should put forward a set of integrated policy measures, informed by international labour standards, to recognize unpaid care work and reduce and redistribute it between women and men, and also between families and societies. Paid care work should also be valued and remunerated according to its core role for the maintenance, prosperity and well-being of societies. Achieving gender equality, in line with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, is an indispensable precondition for the realization of a sustainable development that leaves no one behind and ensures that the future of work is decent work.

Introduction

Peace, prosperity and social justice depend on the achievement of substantive equality between women and men. This is both an issue of fundamental human rights and a key driving force for global progress. In 1995, the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing culminated with the adoption of a Declaration and Platform for Action, which set out a bold agenda for advancing gender equality and women's empowerment. In 2015, the adoption by the United Nations of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development reaffirmed the universal consensus on the crucial importance of gender equality and its contribution to the achievement of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals. Accordingly, all the new goals articulate gender-responsive targets and, among them, Goal 5, "Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls", remains a stand-alone priority. In this way, the new UN development blueprint places gender equality and women's economic empowerment at the core of this transformative sustainable development agenda, aiming to reduce poverty (Goal 1) and inequalities (Goal 10) and to promote inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all (Goal 8).

This global commitment reinforces the importance of the ILO mandate in achieving gender equality as reflected in the ILO Constitution, the ILO Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (1998), the ILO Declaration on Social Justice for a Fair Globalization (2008) and the rich body of international labour standards adopted by ILO constituents – governments, workers' organizations and employers' organizations – which contain specific guidance to member States to give effect to this mandate and realize genuine equality of opportunity and treatment between women and men in the world of work.

The last twenty years have been marked by significant progress in gender equality at work and in society. A woman's risk of dying from pregnancy-related causes has nearly halved since 1990. Now more than ever, women are educated, have access to the labour market, sit in parliaments, lead governments and enterprises. Despite these significant advances, however, the world has fallen short in bringing women's employment, earnings and working conditions into line with those of men. As indicated by the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development recently adopted by the UN, much more needs to be done. Often – and particularly in the context of the economic crisis – decreasing gaps are the result of a deterioration of the situation of men at work rather than of genuine improvements for all. In assessing progress, it is therefore important to examine gender gaps in the context of broader trends.

Globally, the labour force participation rate for women is 50 per cent, compared to 76 per cent for men. While gender gaps in participation rates have been declining in some regions, merely having more women in the labour market is not enough. The quality of jobs is paramount and remains a major challenge. More women are in paid work today, although they continue to be primarily responsible for household chores and care responsibilities, and this predisposition contributes to a wide array of labour market inequalities. Women are overrepresented among the unemployed and contributing family workers, and remain segregated in sectors and occupations which reflect gender stereotypes at work, in the family and in societies. They hold the majority of non-standard, informal, temporary, part-time and low-paid jobs. While in some countries the gender wage gap has decreased over time, it is estimated that, worldwide, women's wages are approximately 77 per cent of those earned by men. At the current rate, pay equity between women and men will not be achieved before 2086 (ILO, 2011a). While 45 per cent of ILO member States provide at least 14 weeks of maternity leave, paid at the level of at least two thirds of previous earnings, this still leaves millions of women without the fundamental right to adequate maternity protection and other essential social protection measures, including maternal and child health care.

Millions also suffer from discrimination or other disadvantages for the simple fact of being a woman or a mother. Women are underrepresented in decision-making positions at work and, while women own and manage over 30 per cent of all businesses, they tend to be concentrated in micro and small enterprises. Only 5 per cent or fewer of the chief executive officers of the world's largest corporations are women. Similar gaps are also found in women's representation in trade unions and business organisations' leadership positions. There is still much to be done to achieve the newly adopted Sustainable Development Goals.

As ILO Director General, Guy Ryder, stated on 2015 International Women's Day, "Promoting decent jobs for women is imperative, now and for the next generation... It is a matter of rights and what is right for women and for sustainable development." In the framework of the ILO Women at Work Centenary Initiative, international labour standards addressing discrimination, equal remuneration for work of equal value, social protection, maternity protection and work and family measures, including access to parental leave and also to quality and affordable social care services for dependent family members, provide a road map for action designed to meet these global challenges. Building on the ILO's existing body of labour standards, other standards of particular relevance also promote decent work for part-time workers, home-based workers and, more recently, domestic workers, together with the extension of social security and the building of social protection floors and transitions from the informal to the formal economy.¹

The report provides a picture of the situation of women and men in the labour force and how it has evolved over the last twenty years. Part One presents a broad overview of the global and regional trends and gender gaps in respect of participation rates in the labour force, employment-to-population rates and unemployment rates, and also of differences in employment status, informal employment, hours spent in paid and unpaid work, sectoral and occupational segregation, and gender gaps in wages and social protection. Part Two presents a policy-oriented analysis of the gender gaps in the quality of work. While not intended to be an exhaustive review of policy trends, it explores the key policy drivers for transformative change in the area of gender. The discussion and the related policy recommendations focus on three dimensions and their intersection: sectoral and occupational segregation (Chapter I); the gender wage gap (Chapter II) and the gaps in the policy framework for work and family harmonization (Chapter III).

1. The relevant key international labour standards include, in chronological order: the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100); the Social Security (Minimum Standards) Convention, 1952 (No. 102); the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111); the Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981 (No. 156); the Part-Time Work Convention, 1994 (No. 175); the Home Work Convention, 1996 (No. 177); the Maternity Protection Convention, 2000 (No. 183); the Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189); the Social Protection Floors Recommendation, 2012 (No. 202) and the Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy Recommendation, 2015 (No. 204).

Global and regional trends

1

I. Background

One of the targets of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is, by 2030, to achieve “full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value” (Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 8, target 8.5). The 20-year review of the implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (Beijing + 20) has brought renewed attention to the situation of women in the world of work, and to the need to accelerate the closing of gender gaps therein.

Despite some advances, women continue to face significant obstacles in entering the labour market and progressing in their careers. Barriers to participation, persistent occupational and sectoral segregation and a disproportionate share of unpaid household and care work prevent them from enjoying equal access to opportunities, and to opportunities that are in line with their significant progress in educational achievement over the past decades. This limits their economic choices, weighs on their social status and ultimately curbs growth and social development. Measures to raise the participation of women in the labour force and to improve their employment opportunities are therefore important to enhancing women’s status, achieving higher output levels and reducing poverty and income inequality.

A rise in female employment could significantly boost growth and per capita income.² Increasing women’s participation in the labour force has become a key policy issue, particularly in developed economies that face a rapidly ageing and shrinking workforce (Steinberg and Nakane, 2012). Moreover, increasing female employment rates may be a key step in those economies that continue to suffer from significantly lower medium-term growth expectations (Elborgh-Woytek et al., 2013; Cuberes and Teignier, 2012 and 2014; Esteve-Volart, 2004; Klasen and Lamanna, 2009; Heintz; 2006).

In a recent McKinsey study, 15 gender equality indicators were tracked for 95 countries. The study found that, if women participated in the economy at a level identical to that of men, it would add up to US\$ 28 trillion or 26 per cent of annual global gross domestic product (GDP) in 2025, assuming a business-as-usual scenario. This impact is roughly equivalent to the size of the combined United States and Chinese economies today (McKinsey Global Institute, 2015).

With more women in the labour market, an economy makes greater use of its productive potential. Since women account for one half of a country’s potential talent base, a nation’s competitiveness in the long term also depends considerably on whether and how it educates and makes use of its women (WEF, 2015). The higher participation of women in the labour force and their increased employment rates do not necessarily translate into greater gender equality. In some Asian regions, the relatively low female unemployment rate might be attributable to the persisting high demand for low-wage female labour in export-oriented manufacturing (ILO and ADB, 2011). Promoting gender equality in labour markets involves creating an enabling environment of equal opportunity and treatment in the labour market for both women and men.

Part One of the present report sets out a broad overview of global and regional labour market trends and gender gaps, including gaps in labour force participation rates, employment-to-population ratios and unemployment rates, along with differences in labour market status and the type of activities that men and women perform in the labour market, hours spent in paid and unpaid work and sectoral and occupational segregation. Part One then discusses the extent to which these factors account for gender gaps in wages and social protection.

2. See ILO (2015a) and ILO (2014a). Similarly, Booz and Co. (2012) estimate that, if female employment rates were to match male rates, the GDP of the United States would increase by 5 per cent, of Japan by 9 per cent, of the United Arab Emirates by 12 per cent, of India by 27 per cent, and of Egypt by 34 per cent. Globally, 812 million of the 865 million women who have the potential to contribute to their national economies through employment live in emerging and developing countries.

II. Labour force participation rates

A. Narrowing of labour force participation gaps in most regions

At global level, the labour force participation rates of both women and men have decreased over the last two decades. In some regions, however, the participation rate of women has increased, thereby narrowing the gender gap. That process notwithstanding, everywhere women are participating in the labour force to a lesser extent – sometimes significantly so – than men (figure 1).

Over the last twenty years (1995–2015), the global female labour force participation rate has decreased from 52.4 per cent to 49.6 per cent.³ The corresponding figures for men are 79.9 per cent and 76.1 per cent respectively. Accordingly, despite the slight drop in the percentage of both women and men in the labour force in 2015 compared to 1995, the gender gap in such participation has decreased slightly – by 1 percentage point – owing to the fact that women’s labour force participation decreased to a lesser extent than that of men.

In some regions, gaps in participation rates are narrowing. Thus, in Northern, Southern and Western Europe, this convergence can be attributed to the so-called “added worker effect” during the financial crisis, referring to the increase in the labour supply of married women who sought to compensate for the loss of family income when their husbands became unemployed.⁴ Since 2006, the female labour force participation rate in Northern, Southern and Western Europe has increased by 2.4 percentage points, while the corresponding male rate has decreased by 1.7 percentage points.

In South-Eastern Asia and the Pacific, labour force participation gaps have narrowed since 1995. This phenomenon is partly attributable to a small decline in male participation rates (from 81.8 per cent in 1995 to 81.3 per cent in 2015), while the female participation rate has lightly increased (from 58.0 per cent in 1995 to 58.8 per cent in 2015). The decline in male participation in the labour force might be attributed to the transition from primary activities to services (ADB, 2015a).

In Central and Western Asia gaps in labour force participation have narrowed. Among the possible factors are the greater trade openness and economic integration, which have led to the significant growth of export-oriented sectors. Some of these sectors (such as garments, electronics, and services) have employed an increasingly large number of women in recent decades.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, female participation in the labour force increased from 44.5 per cent in 1995 to 52.6 per cent in 2015. Among the determinants of higher female participation in the labour market, improved education and health factors – including decreasing fertility – are likely to have played a major role. Moreover, there have been significant increases in the provision of subsidized childcare, which may also explain the increase in female labour force participation (Busso and Fonseca, 2015).

By contrast, in Northern America the financial crisis has discouraged both men and women from participating in the labour market, but gaps have narrowed because the effect on men’s participation (decline of 5.3 percentage points) has been larger than that on women’s participation (decline of 0.9 percentage points).

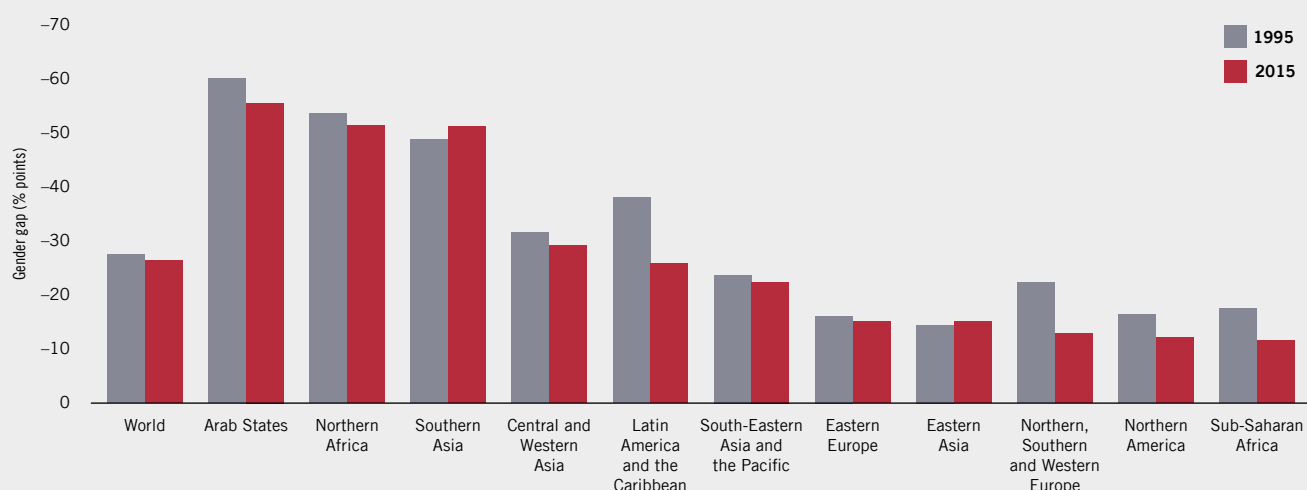
In Eastern Europe, labour force participation for both men and women decreased over the period 1995–2005 and then increased in the aftermath of the financial crisis. Since 2006, however, the increase in labour force participation has been more marked for men (2.5 percentage points) than for women (0.6 percentage points). These trends are mostly due to demographic and behavioural changes (ILO, 2012a).

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3. Several factors might be responsible for lower female labour force participation rates. First, urbanization and the move out of subsistence agriculture are two key factors that have contributed to the withdrawal of women from the labour force (for an analysis of Turkey, see World Bank, 2009). Second, increased attendance in education and higher household income levels might also cause a decline in female labour force participation (for an analysis of India, see Kapsos et al., 2014). Finally, in Northern Africa, the Middle East and Southern Asia barriers to entry to the labour market and cultural restrictions continue to hinder work opportunities for young women to combine work and family life (Elder and Kring, 2016).

4. Brettmann et al. (2014) find evidence for the “added worker effect” in a pool of 28 European countries. Bentolila and Ichino (2008) argue, however, that in Europe, the role of family support and thus wives’ reactions to their husbands’ job loss should be stronger whenever the welfare state fails to mitigate the consequences of unemployment. Empirical studies also find evidence for the added worker effect in Japan (Kohara, 2010), Australia (Gong, 2010) and Turkey (Baslevant and Onaran, 2003; Degirmenci and Ilkcaracan, 2013; Karaoglan and Okten, 2012). For the United States, see Blundell et al. (2012) and Mattingly and Smith (2010).

Figure 1 Gender gaps in labour force participation rates by region, 1995 and 2015



Note: The gender gap is measured as the difference between women and men labour force participation rates. The data cover 178 countries and the same countries are covered in figures 2, 3, 5, 6, 13, 14 and 16 of this report.

Source: ILO calculations based on ILO, *Trends Econometric Models*, November 2015.

In sub-Saharan Africa, female participation rates have increased by 3.2 percentage points over the last two decades. This increase could well be due to the absence of or insufficient alternative income from social protection and persistent poverty not allowing the option of dropping out of work. Moreover, limited opportunities to further their education or training also compel more women to work (United Nations, 2011). In addition, persistent male unemployment often leads to an increase in female labour force participation, in order to compensate for lack of income, but such increases in the female labour supply are likely to be absorbed among own-account and contributing family workers.

In the Arab States, and to a lesser extent in Northern Africa, labour force participation gaps have narrowed over the last two decades (by 4.6 and 2.3 percentage points respectively), but they still remain large compared to the other regions.

B. Widening participation gaps in Eastern and Southern Asia

Southern Asia and Eastern Asia have witnessed a decrease in participation rates for both men and women in the last two decades. In both regions, women were more affected and hence gaps in participation rates have widened by 2.3 percentage points in Southern Asia and 0.6 percentage points in Eastern Asia.⁵

5. Some studies have attributed the low female participation rates observed in Southern Asia to conservative social attitudes toward women, which might prevail in the work place (Chaudhary and Verik, 2014).

III. Employment-to-population ratios

A. Higher employment-to-population ratios for men

At the global level, employment-to-population ratios are higher for men than for women and the gender gap remains stable (figure 2). Thus, in 2015, the female employment-to-population ratio was 46 per cent, while the corresponding male ratio was almost 72 per cent.

These trends are much more marked in Northern Africa, in the Arab States and in Southern Asia, where the male employment-to-population ratio is more than three times higher than that for women. Large employment gaps are also observed in Latin America and the Caribbean and Central and Western Asia, although of much smaller size. While, however, at the global level employment-to-population rates have remained quite stable, in these two regions female employment has been on the rise since early 2000s.

Gender employment gaps are narrower both in Northern America and in Northern, Southern and Western Europe. While in Northern America the crisis has reduced both female and male employment, the Northern, Southern and Western Europe region has witnessed a slight increase in female employment and a drop in male unemployment, which has ultimately narrowed gender employment gaps.

Eastern Asia, South-Eastern Asia and the Pacific and Eastern Europe are characterized by stable employment gaps.

B. Increased share of women employees

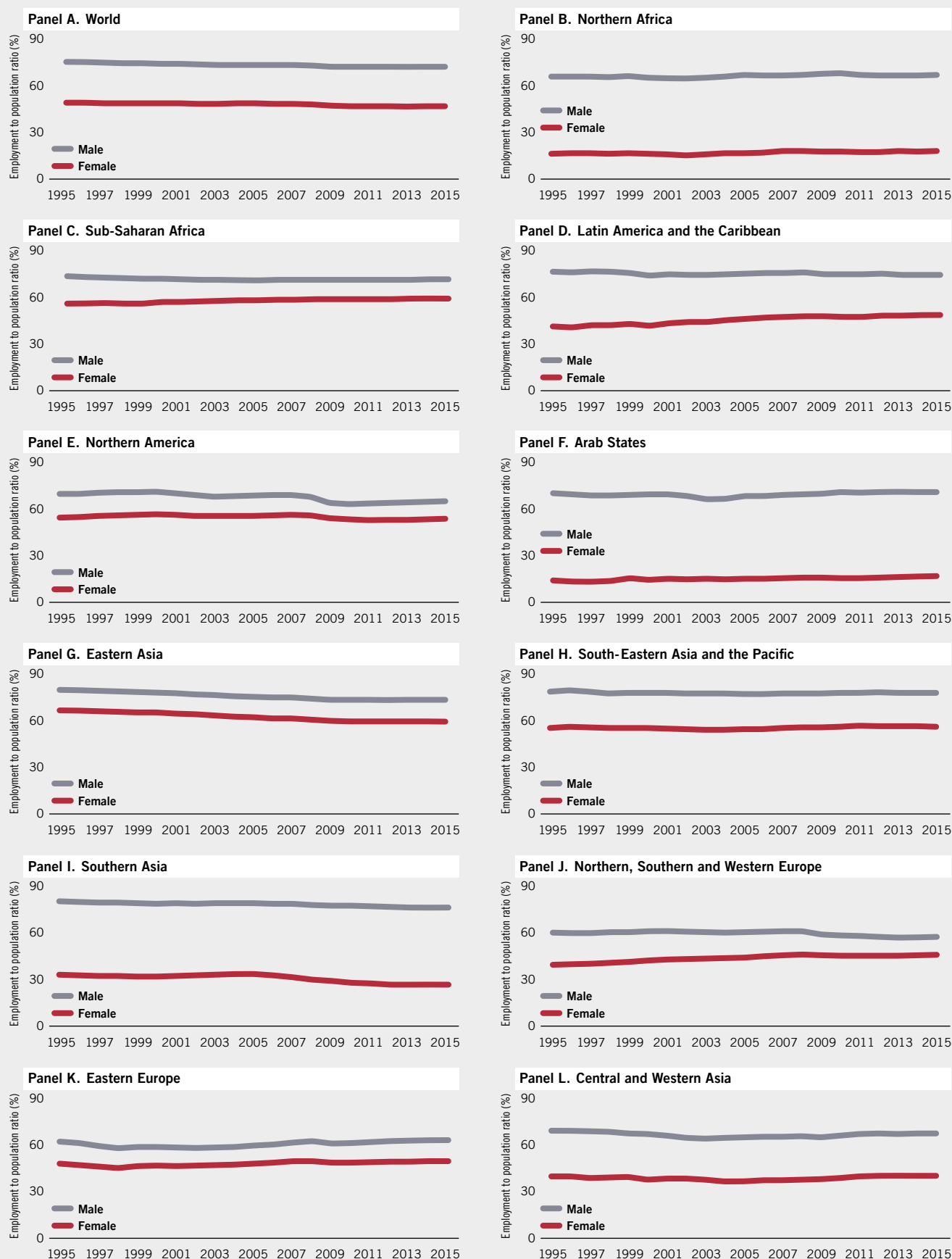
In 2015, more than half of the world's working women and men were wage and salaried workers. More precisely, 52.1 per cent of women and 51.2 per cent of men in the labour market are wage and salaried workers. That said, more wage employment for women does not necessarily mean good quality employment, as many women might find themselves in informal or insecure jobs.

Figure 3 shows that, since 1995, there has been an increase in the share of wage and salaried workers for both women (12.0 percentage points) and men (7.9 percentage points). The share of contributing family workers has decreased by 8.1 percentage points for men and 17.0 percentage points for women. These data indicate that the last 20 years have witnessed a reduction of contributing family work. This trend is largely due to the decline in the share of workers engaged in agriculture, which is traditionally a sector with a high concentration of contributing family workers. The number of own-account workers is not yet on the decline, however, the share of own-account workers has increased by 0.8 percentage points for men and 5.0 percentage points for women. Although women are still overrepresented as contributing family workers, both men and women have shifted from contributing family work into wage employment or own-account work. These trends are more remarkable for women than men (except in sub-Saharan Africa and Northern Africa).

The reduction in contributing family work in favour of wage and salaried employment has been particularly remarkable in Eastern Asia and in South-Eastern Asia and the Pacific. In Eastern Asia, women have shifted from contributing family work to wage and salaried employment. The share of women in wage and salaried work more than doubled, from 26.3 per cent in 1995 to 55.3 per cent in 2015. In contrast, the share of women as contributing family workers decreased dramatically (from 53.4 to 11.6 per cent). Similarly, in South-Eastern Asia and the Pacific, the share of women in wage and salaried work increased from 30.4 per cent in 1995 to 40.9 per cent in 2015, while contributing family work decreased from 42.4 to 25.9 per cent.

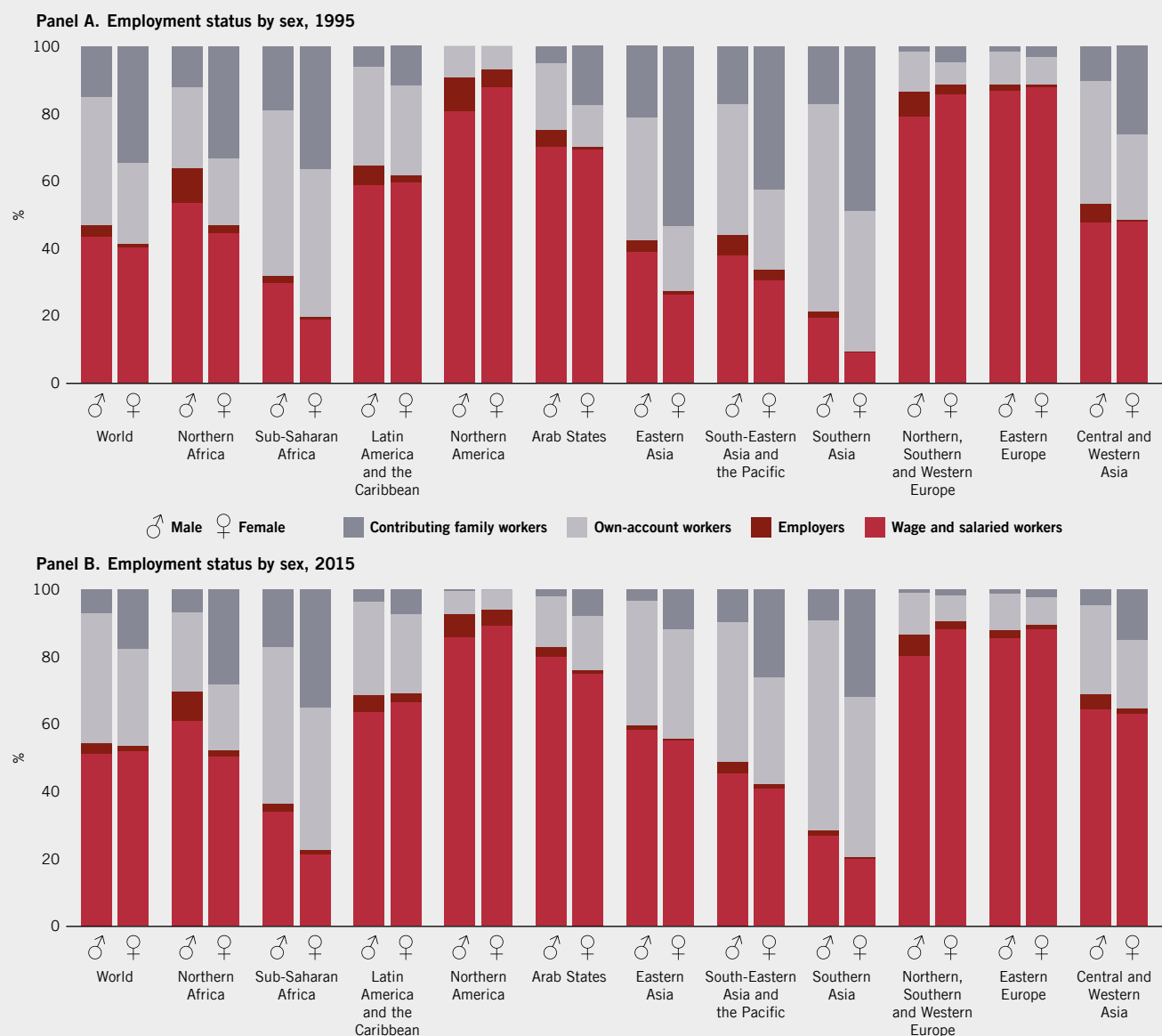
In the Arab States, the share of women contributing to unpaid family work has also decreased, by 9.7 percentage points. This, however, has favoured not only female wage employment, which has increased by 5.7 percentage points, but also own-account employment, which has increased by 3.7 percentage points.

The second most widespread employment status, at the global level, is that of own-account workers (38.9 per cent for men and 29.1 per cent for women). The share of women and men as employers has remained stagnant (3.2 per cent for men and 1.4 per cent for women). This distribution varies widely from region to region, however. Whereas the proportion of women in wage and salaried work is above the world average in Northern America (89.4 per cent), Northern, Southern and Western Europe (88.4 per cent), Eastern Europe (88.4 per cent), the Arab States (75.0 per cent) and, to a lesser extent, Latin America and the Caribbean (66.6 per cent), Central and Western Asia (63.2 per cent) and Eastern Asia (55.3 per cent), in all the other regions it remains below the average. The share of women in wage employment is particularly low in sub-Saharan Africa (21.4 per cent) and Southern Asia (20.0 per cent).

Figure 2**Employment-to-population ratios by sex and by region, 1995-2015**

Source: ILO calculations based on ILO, *Trends Econometric Models*, November 2015.

Figure 3 Female and male employment status by regions, 1995 and 2015



Note: The term “wage and salaried workers” refers to persons who work and receive a wage or salary. Employers, own-account workers and contributing family workers are considered self-employed. Contributing family workers are those who work in a family enterprise.

Source: ILO calculations based on ILO, *Trends Econometric Models*, November 2015.

C. Disproportionate share of women in contributing family work

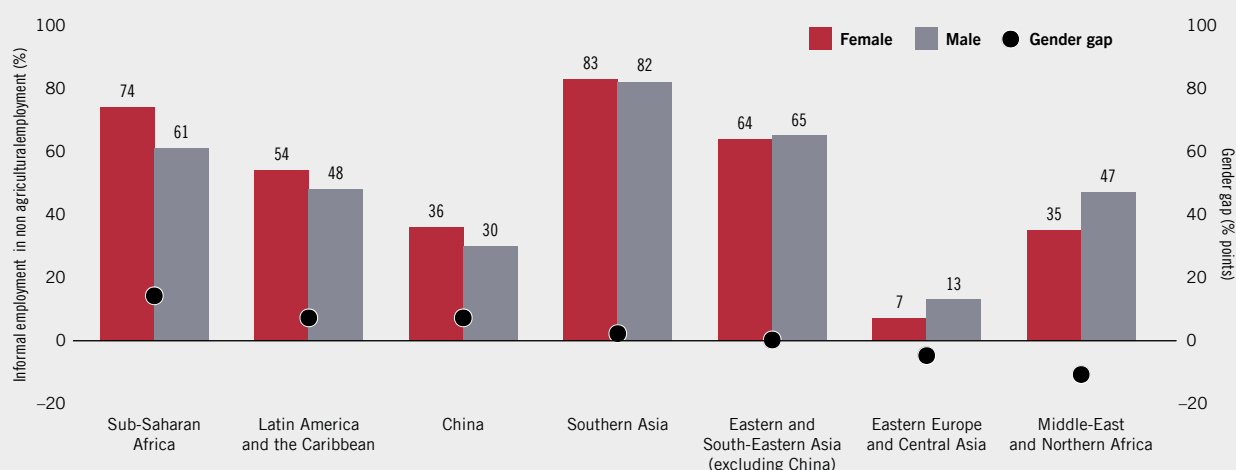
Self-employment includes employers, own-account workers and contributing family workers. In 2015, a total of 586 million women were own-account or contributing family workers. In many regions, in particular in sub-Saharan Africa and Southern Asia, most working women are self-employed and a large proportion of them work as contributing family workers (34.9 per cent in sub-Saharan Africa and 31.8 per cent in Southern Asia). The percentage of women who are contributing family members far exceeds that of men (17.9 percentage points in sub-Saharan Africa and 22.9 percentage points in Southern Asia).

D. Higher proportion of women in informal employment

The new Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy Recommendation, 2015 (No. 204) acknowledges that most people enter the informal economy, which is characterized by low productivity and low pay, not by choice but impelled by the lack of opportunities in the formal economy and an absence of other means of livelihood. Informal employment constitutes more than one half of non-agricultural employment in most regions of the developing world (figure 4).⁶

In three out of six regions, informal employment is a greater source of non-agricultural employment for women than for men (sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean and Southern Asia). Women remain overrepresented as contributing family workers or in occupations (such as domestic workers) that are more likely to be in informal work arrangements, preventing their access to social protection (Burnham and Nik, 2012; Vanek et al., 2014; UN Women and ITUC, 2013). In Latin America, the situation differs across countries, with the share of non-agricultural informal employment ranging from 36.4 per cent in Brazil to levels above 70 per cent in Honduras and Guatemala (ILO, 2013a). In all circumstances, however, informality disproportionately affects women, young people and households at the bottom of the income distribution chain (ILO, 2016). In sub-Saharan Africa, where the gender gap is the highest, the percentage of women in informal employment is higher than that of men in all countries for which data were available. Informal employment, as a share of total non-agricultural employment, ranges from 33 per cent in South Africa to 82 per cent in Mali (ILO, 2013a). In the Middle East and Northern Africa⁷ and in Eastern Europe and Central Asia⁸ informal employment is a greater source of employment for men than for women.

Figure 4 Informal employment as a percentage of non-agricultural employment by sex (latest year available)



Note: This figure is reproduced from Vanek et al., 2014: the regional groupings differ from those in the ILO official regional classification. The regional estimates of employment in the informal economy combine direct estimates from survey data (40 countries) with indirect estimates for those countries lacking direct estimates (80 countries). The estimates for urban China are based on six cities: Fuzhou, Guangzhou, Shanghai, Shenyang, Wuhan, and Xi-an. Since the data for China only cover six cities in the country, they are not comparable in terms of geographical coverage to the national data used to prepare the regional estimates. The gender gap is measured as the difference between the proportion of women and men in informal employment outside agriculture.

Source: Vanek et al., 2014.

6. Informal employment represents 82 per cent of total non-agricultural employment in Southern Asia, 66 per cent in Sub-Saharan Africa, 65 per cent in Eastern and South-Eastern Asia and 51 per cent in Latin America. In the Middle East and Northern Africa, informal employment is 45 per cent that of non-agricultural employment. Eastern Europe and Central Asia have the lowest level – at 10 per cent – which reflects the legacy of a centrally planned economy where informal activities were considered illegal and even forbidden. Estimates for China, which are based on six cities, show that 33 per cent of non-agricultural employment is informal (Vanek et al., 2014).

7. In the Middle East and Northern Africa, 47 per cent of men and 35 per cent of women workers are in informal employment. In the two regions women's employment-to-population ratio is much lower than men's. Women have much less access to any kind of employment when compared to men. The subgroup of women who are able to enter non-agricultural employment may have better access to formal jobs.

8. Unlike in other regions, in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, the percentages of informal employment and informal sector employment are systematically higher for men than for women in the few countries for which data were available (ILO, 2013a). Among the possible factors are the percentages of women in wage and salaried employment and of women employed in the public sector that exceed that of men (ILO, 2013a; UNIFEM, 2006).

IV. Unemployment rates

A. Persistent gender gaps in unemployment rates

Women continue to face higher risk of unemployment than men at the global level, with large variations in the unemployment gap across regions (see figure 5). The global unemployment rate in 2015 is estimated at 5.5 per cent for men and 6.2 per cent for women, reversing gains that had been made prior to the crisis when the rate stood at 5.2 per cent for men and 5.9 per cent for women in 2007.

Northern, Southern and Western Europe and Northern America have suffered the most from the financial crisis in terms of unemployment. While in Northern America, however, unemployment peaked in 2010 and is reverting to the pre-crisis rates, Northern, Southern and Western European countries are finding it more difficult to return to the pre-crisis levels. Moreover, the initial phase of the 2007–2010 crisis, witnessed a reduction of gender unemployment gaps. In Northern America, the female unemployment rate has remained below the male unemployment rate, although the gap has narrowed rapidly in very recent years. In Northern, Southern and Western Europe, it has increased less than the male unemployment rate. This slower increase may be attributed to two main factors. First, the crisis initially hit male-dominated sectors such as construction (for example, in Ireland, Spain and the United States), resulting in a faster increase in the male unemployment rate and narrowed unemployment gender gaps. Second, previously inactive married women might have entered the workforce directly into employment to compensate for the loss of family income due to their spouses' unemployment (Khitarishvili, 2013). During the second phase of the crisis, however, the adoption of austerity measures in many countries has resulted in the freeze or cut of public sector jobs, which are female-dominated, affecting women more heavily than men (Theodoropoulou and Watt, 2011; Rubery, 2013). In the ensuing recovery phase, in particular in Northern America, the gap started to widen again as the recovery was primarily taking place in those sectors dominated by men.

In Eastern Europe, in the run-up to the crisis, the male unemployment ratio has increased more than the female one. This faster increase may be attributed to the higher concentration of men in those sectors, such as construction and financial activities, which were more strongly hit by the financial crisis.⁹

Similarly, in Eastern Asia, female unemployment is lower than male unemployment. The negative female-male unemployment gap does not necessarily mean, however, that women in Eastern Asia are better off in the labour market. The negative unemployment gap is most likely attributable to the persistent high demand for low-wage female labour in export-oriented manufacturing.

In South-Eastern Asia and the Pacific, unemployment rates for both men and women are low compared to the world average, and since 2011 gender gaps have narrowed.

In Southern Asia unemployment gaps between men and women remain wide but appear to be showing signs of a moderate reduction in recent years. As Southern Asia was not affected significantly by the global downturn in trade, male unemployment rates did not increase as much as in other regions.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, the gap in unemployment, having widened over the period 1995–2000, has narrowed since the early 2000s. Latin American and Caribbean countries have made progress since the early 2000s in reducing unemployment rates, which were estimated at 5.4 per cent for men and 8.1 per cent for women in 2015. These improvements have been made possible by an increasing participation of women who benefited from strong job demand to shift from inactivity to employment.

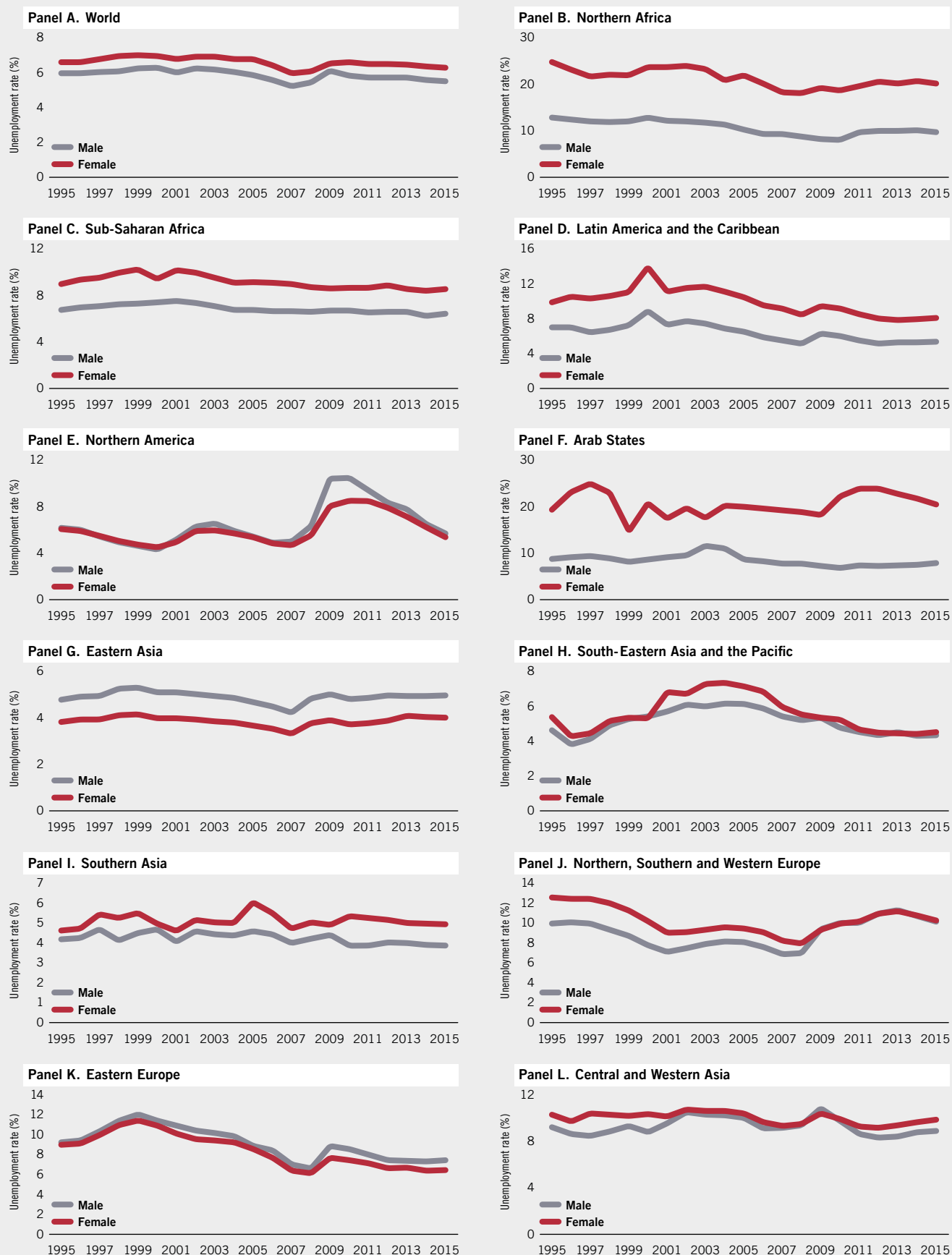
The unemployment rates are above the world average for both women and men in Northern Africa, where the unemployment rate for women is almost twice that for men. A similar picture may be observed in sub-Saharan Africa,¹⁰ where unemployment rates are also well above the world average, but gender unemployment gaps remain narrower than in Northern Africa.

In the Arab States, while the male unemployment rate is very close to the world average, the unemployment rate for women is above 20 per cent, almost three times that for men.

9. The share of men employed in the construction sector and financial activities is respectively 11.6 per cent and 10.1 per cent, levels much higher than those of women (1.9 per cent and 2.0 per cent).

10. The ILO report *Global Employment Trends 2014* (ILO, 2014a) focuses on the risk of a jobless recovery. The manufacturing sector in sub-Saharan Africa has not been an engine of job creation and the rapidly growing oil and gas sectors have not been able to create a sufficient number of new jobs. Moreover, as pointed out by Rodrik (2013), sub-Saharan Africa countries, unlike those in Eastern Asia, have not been able to transform their farmers into export-oriented manufacturing workers.

Figure 5 Unemployment rates by sex and by region, 1995-2015



Source: ILO calculations based on ILO, *Trends Econometric Models*, November 2015.

B. Higher levels of unemployment among young women

Levels of youth unemployment (15–24 years of age) continue to be an issue of concern. Globally, unemployment affects young women more than young men (figure 6). In almost all regions, young women are more likely to be unemployed than young men.

These trends are most significant in Northern Africa, the Arab States and Latin America and the Caribbean. In Northern Africa and the Arab States, youth unemployment rates have been increasing since 2009 and have peaked at 29.7 per cent in Northern Africa and 28.4 per cent in the Arab States. The female youth unemployment rate has risen to 44.3 per cent in Northern Africa and 44.1 per cent in the Arab States: almost double that for young men, which has remained at 24.0 per cent. Similar, but less marked, trends may be observed in Southern Asia and sub-Saharan Africa. Youth unemployment has increased in recent years (respectively 10.7 per cent and 11.0 per cent in 2015) and young women are more strongly hit than young men.

In Northern America and in Northern, Southern and Western Europe, young people were strongly hit by the crisis. Youth unemployment peaked in 2010 in Northern America (18.2 per cent) and in 2013 in Northern, Southern and Western Europe (22.9 per cent). In both regions, young men were more affected by the crisis and the unemployment rates of young men have remained higher than for young women, a pattern that is consistent with developments for the total unemployment rate. In the South-Eastern Asia and Pacific region over the last 20 years, unemployment rates for young women have been similar to those of young men. Since 2012, however, unemployment gaps between young women and young men have slightly widened. Eastern Asia represents an exception to this trend, however, with female youth unemployment rates lower than those for male youth.

Overall, in both developed and developing countries young women face obstacles in entering the labour market which are significantly higher than those for young men. These developments point to the school-to-work transition as a crucial stage for young people in developing a successful career.

Studies by the European Commission (European Commission, 2014a) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) have singled out education as a key driving force in smoothing the transition from school to work. Young people with higher education have a faster transition to their first job than those with only lower or medium levels of education. Improving access to higher education does not necessarily translate into reduced gender gaps, however. In comparison to men, women have a slower transition to their first job.

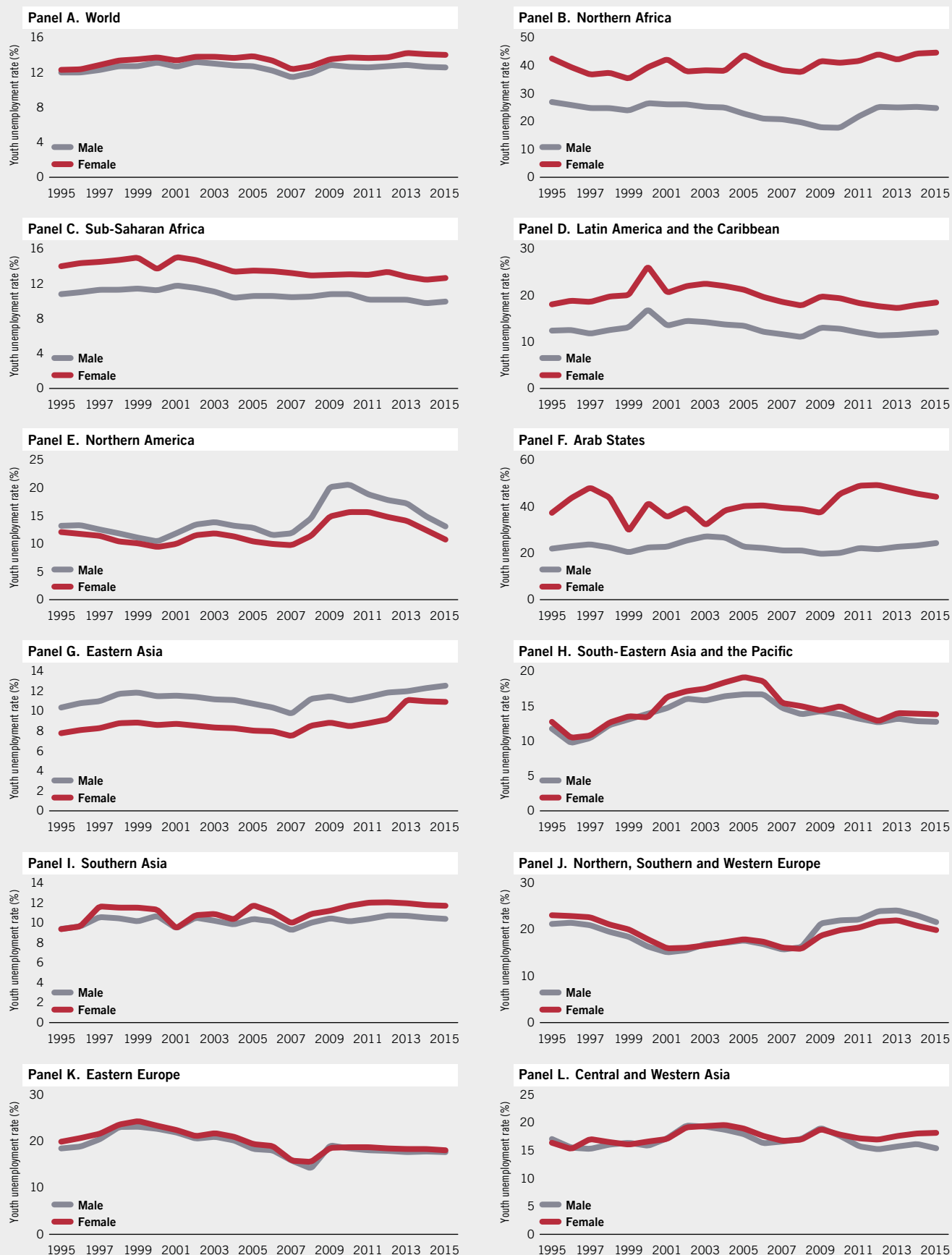
A recent report by the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women), *Progress of the World's Women 2015–2016* (UN Women, 2015) and the ILO report *Global Employment Trends for Youth 2015* (ILO, 2015b) both show that young women, independent of their level of education and other household circumstances, are less likely ever to enter the job market after leaving education and, if they do, they face longer transition times than young men. To some extent, this may be related to disparities between males and females in subject choices¹¹ at school, which may in turn lead to women's lower access to technical and vocational education and training that could improve their skills and labour market outcomes.

Other determinants in the school-to-work transition relate to structural factors linked to the economy and the functioning of the labour market itself. Their causes notwithstanding, slow and ineffective transitions for young men and women result in significant losses in terms of forgone income and unused educational investments both at the individual level and for society at large. Assisting young people to make a smoother transition from school to work through a proper mix of policy responses that, among benefits, understand and address young women's barriers to labour market access is high on the policy agenda (see box 1).¹²

11. Women are more likely to study humanities, while men specialize in highly valued technical and scientific fields (UN Women, 2015).

12. The G20 Employment Task Force, with a request for support from the ILO and the OECD, has identified the main strategies and programmes to ease the school-to-work transition. The task force's main conclusions include: first, strengthening quality apprenticeship systems and other school-to-work transition programmes in collaboration with the social partners; second, providing career guidance and facilitating acquisition of work experience with a view to promoting decent work; third, supporting the provision of youth entrepreneurship measures; fourth, exploring voluntary technical cooperation programmes, bilaterally or together with international organizations, as a means of sharing best practices in addressing youth employment; fifth, requesting the ILO, the OECD and other international organizations to work with national institutions in seeking a better understanding of the situation of young people in G20 countries and in implementing national youth employment initiatives with the support of social partners. For more details see ILO and OECD (2014).

Figure 6 Youth unemployment rates by sex and by region, 1995-2015



Source: ILO calculations based on ILO, *Trends Econometric Models*, November 2015.

Box 1 Gender aspects of the school-to-work transition

The labour market transition of young people relates not only to the length of time between their exit from education (either upon graduation or at an early stage without completion) to their first entry into any job, but also to qualitative elements, such as whether the job is stable, thus allowing for other transition processes such as starting a family. For young women, in particular, the pathway to the labour market can be influenced by multiple dimensions that lie outside the individual's realm of choice or action.

A recent ILO publication uses the unique datasets from school-to-work transition surveys implemented in 34 low- and middle-income countries over the last four years to assess the labour market disadvantages that young women all too often still encounter in their pathways to employment and economic empowerment. The report notes that the interpretation of transition data is far from simple, but that, regardless of the measure used, the role of gender remains firmly fixed as an independent variable of a young person's labour market transition. Some highlights from the report include:

- For the age group 25–29, at which a young person would be most expected to have completed the transition, a young male adult is 1.9 times more likely to have completed his labour market transition than a young adult female. The largest gap by region is the Middle East and Northern Africa, where young male adults are nearly four times more likely than their female counterparts to complete the school-to-work transition.
- For young women, the higher education–transition link is especially strong: a tertiary-educated female is 1.9 times more likely to complete the transition to employment than a less educated (primary level) female.
- In the majority of countries, the average length of the school-to-work transition for young females exceeded the male transition period by at least one month (up to four months). It was only in the three Eastern European or Central Asian School-to-Work Transition countries where durations proved to be significantly longer for young males (Armenia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Russian Federation).
- In the countries in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean and sub-Saharan Africa covered by the school-to-work transition survey, young people tend to have a more turbulent transition path. In Latin America and the Caribbean in particular, one half of all young women and men had at least one other labour market experience beyond the first job before gaining their current stable or satisfactory jobs.
- The datasets confirm that movement from inactivity back to activity among young females is limited, which does not bode well for the future labour utilization of this segment of the population. With a few exceptions, the majority of countries show that the young women who dropped out of the labour market remained inactive. More than two in three young women who left the labour market for family reasons remained inactive in Armenia, Egypt, El Salvador, Jordan, Lebanon and the Occupied Palestinian Territory.

Source: Elder and Kring, 2016.

V. Working time for pay or profit and unpaid work

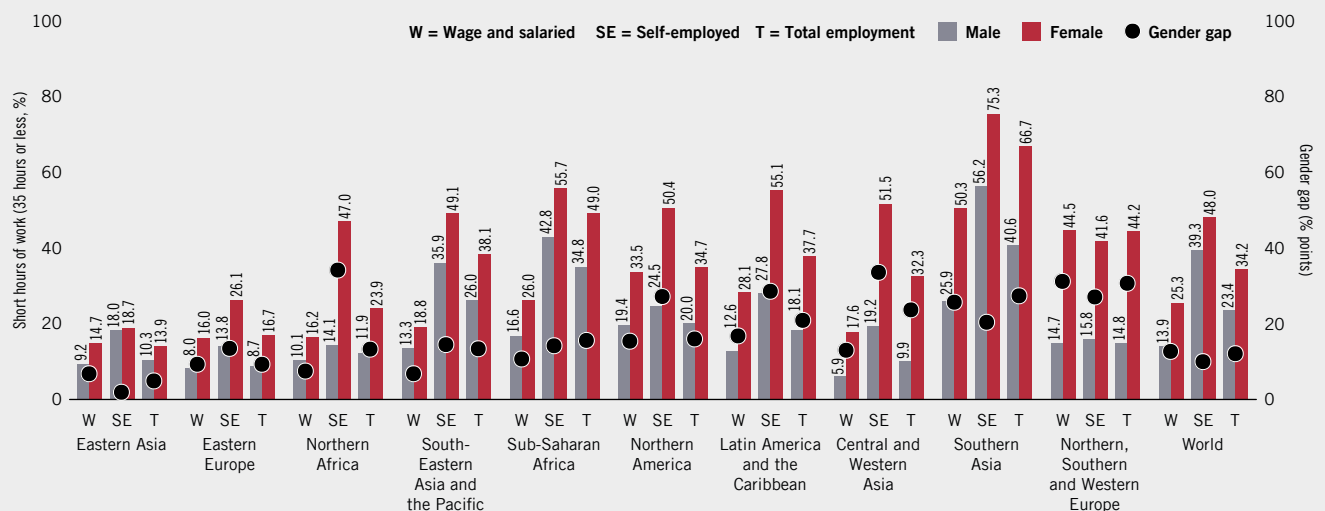
A. More women work shorter hours

Generally, women are more likely to work shorter hours for pay or profit.¹³ Globally, women represent less than 40 per cent of total employment, but make up 57 per cent of those working on a part-time basis.¹⁴ As shown in figure 7, the majority of part-time employment across the globe is undertaken by women. Across 100 countries covering 87 per cent of global employment, more than one third of employed women (34.2 per cent) work on a part-time basis of less than 35 hours per week, compared with 23.4 per cent of employed men. Overall, the gender gap for part-time employment between women and men in employment is 10.8 percentage points. Gender gaps in this respect are higher in Northern, Southern and Western Europe (29.4 percentage points where total employment is concerned), in Central and Western Asia, in Southern Asia and in Latin America and the Caribbean (20 percentage points or more in those three regions). By contrast, part-time employment gender gaps are smaller in Eastern Asia and Eastern Europe (less than 10 percentage points).

In all regions, the proportion of those working less than 35 hours and gender gaps in part-time employment are higher for own-account workers or unpaid family workers than for wage and salaried workers. Globally, the proportion of self-employed workers working less than 35 hours a week is 25.2 percentage points more than for wage and salaried workers (with no significant difference between women and men).¹⁵

Figure 7

Persons working less than 35 hours per week by status in employment and gender gap, 100 countries (latest year available)



Note: Global estimates based on 100 countries representing more than 87 per cent of total employment (Northern Africa: 62.2 per cent; sub-Saharan Africa: 71.0 per cent; Latin America and the Caribbean: 95.2 per cent; Northern America: 100 per cent; Eastern Asia: 96.7 per cent; South-Eastern Asia and the Pacific: 67.0 per cent; Southern Asia: 95.3 per cent; Northern, Southern and Western Europe: 99.5 per cent; Eastern Europe: 81.9 per cent; Central and Western Asia: 44.8 per cent). The Arab States are not represented in the figure because of a representation of less than 25 per cent. Latest years are used (data for 2010 and after for more than 80 per cent of the countries). Regions are ranked by increased gender gap in part-time employment as a percentage of total employment.

Source: ILO calculations based on national household survey data.

13. According to the resolution concerning statistics of work, employment and labour underutilization adopted at the Nineteenth International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) in 2013, “employment work” refers to “work performed for others in exchange for pay or profit”. This includes trainees, interns and apprentices who are paid in cash or in-kind, persons working for pay or profit using employment promotion programmes, persons who work to produce goods mainly for sale or barter (even if output is partially consumed by the family or household), persons in seasonal work during the off season, and also persons working for pay or profit payable to the household or family. It is noted, however, that this definition excludes persons who engage in agricultural, fishing, hunting or activities gathering goods that are mainly intended for their own consumption, even if they sell or barter some of their surplus (see ILO, 2013b for more details).

14. ILO calculations based on data for 121 countries representing 92 per cent of total employment.

15. ILO calculations based on household survey data from 100 countries (same source as for figure 7).

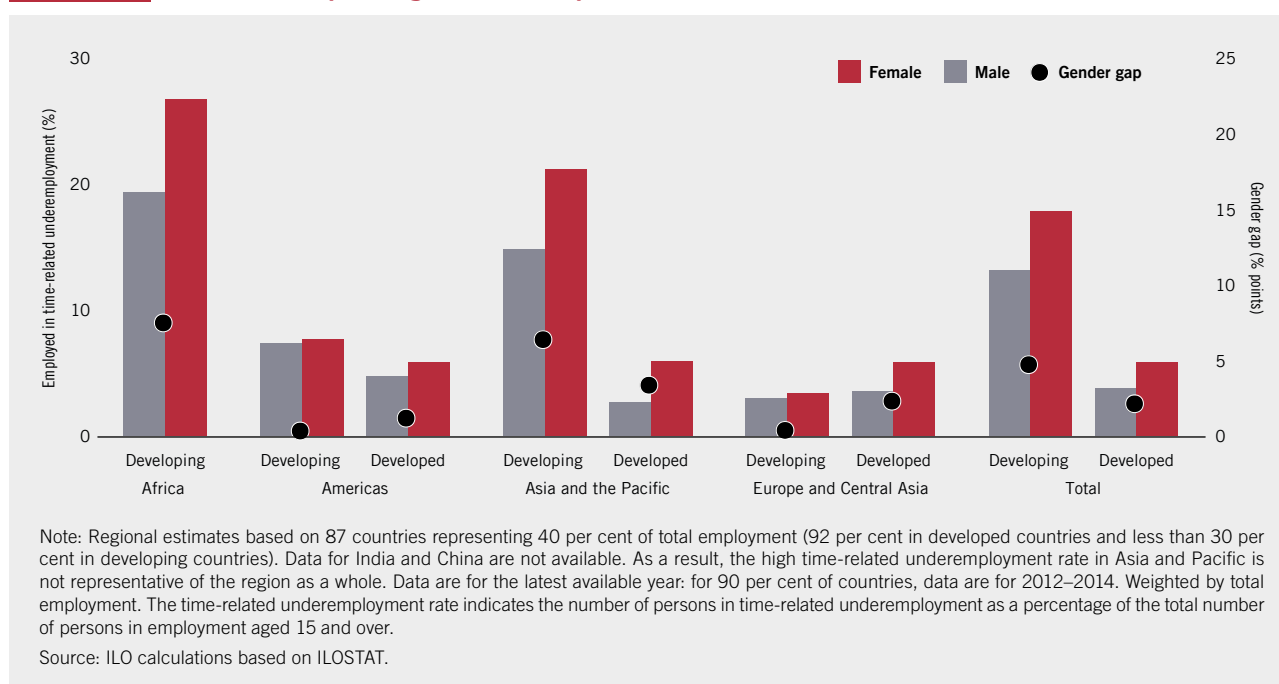
B. More women in underemployment

In addition to being more likely than men to take up part-time employment, women are also more likely to work short hours against their choice. The statistical notion of “time-related underemployment” refers to persons who are willing and available to work additional hours and whose working hours are below a given threshold relating to working time (determined in accordance with national circumstances) (ILO, 2015c; ILO, 2013b).

In both developed and, even more, developing countries, women are more likely to be underemployed than men (figure 8). The share of women in underemployment exceeds that of men. In developing countries in Africa and Asia, the prevalence of underemployment for both women and men is quite high and the differences between women and men are also the highest (with a 7.5 and 6.4 percentage point difference between women and men in those two regions, respectively). In some developing economies, time-related underemployment for women may be as high as 40 or 50 per cent of total employment. Time-related underemployment is about 52.4 per cent in Madagascar, from 35 to 40 per cent in Bangladesh, Ethiopia and Indonesia and more than 25 per cent in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Paraguay. By contrast, in the Netherlands, where a high proportion of wage and salaried workers, in particular women, are in part-time employment, only 2.7 per cent of women and 1.4 per cent of men aged 15 and over are in underemployment.

Figure 8

Time-related underemployment as a percentage of total employment, 87 countries (latest year available)

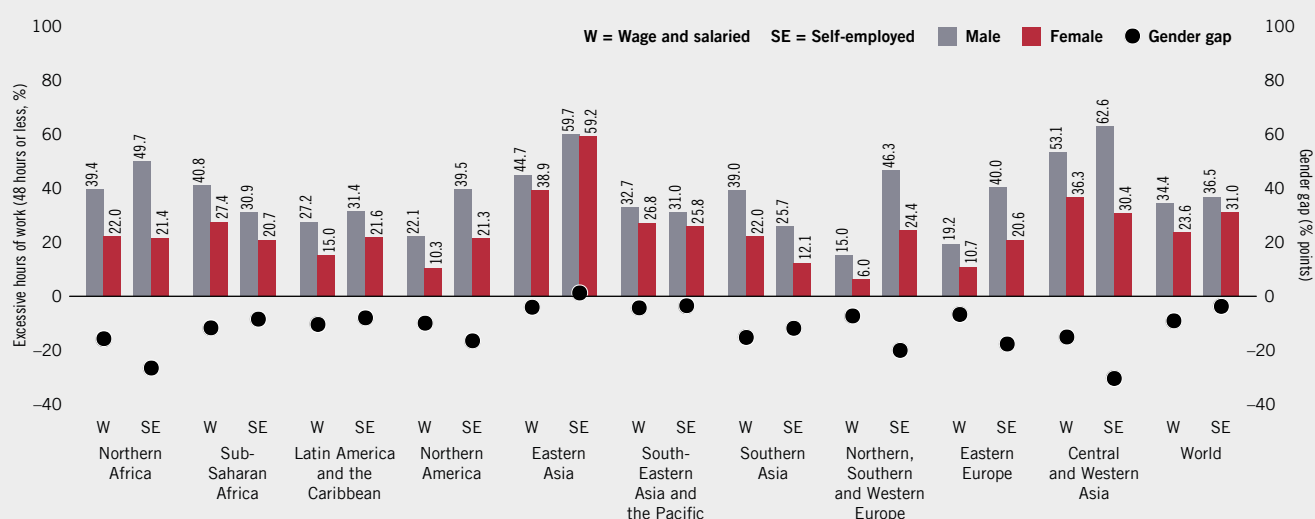


C. Fewer women work excessive hours

Excessive hours of work may both expose workers to potential safety and health risks and be associated with higher compensation and career prospects (Lee et al., 2007). Across 100 countries, more than one third of men in employment and more than one fourth of women in employment work more than 48 hours a week. Excessive hours are most common in Asia, specifically in the regions of East, Western and Central Asia, where close to half of men and women employed are working more than 48 hours a week. Two principal conclusions may be drawn from the global picture of the share of total men and women working long hours (figure 9). First, men tend to work longer hours than women, whether in wage and salaried employment or in self-employment. A difference of 10.8 percentage points separates men and women wage and salaried workers and over 5.5 percentage points those who are self-employed. Second, the proportion of workers engaged in long working hours is higher among the self-employed. This is also the case for short working hours, which means that the self-employed are more likely to work either more than 48 hours or less than 35 hours a week. This suggests that working hours tend to be more polarized for self-employed than for wage and salaried workers whose working hours tend to cluster around standard working hours, in line with national regulations.

Figure 9

Excessive hours of work: Wage and salaried workers and self-employed working more than 48 hours a week and gender gap, 100 countries (latest year available)



Note: Global estimates based on 100 countries representing more than 87 per cent of total employment (Northern Africa: 62.2 per cent; sub-Saharan Africa: 71.0 per cent; Latin America and the Caribbean: 95.2 per cent; Northern America: 100 per cent; Eastern Asia: 96.7 per cent; South-Eastern Asia and the Pacific: 67.0 per cent; Southern Asia: 95.3 per cent; Northern, Southern and Western Europe: 99.5 per cent; Eastern Europe: 81.9 per cent; Central and Western Asia: 44.8 per cent). The Arab States are not represented in this figure because their representation is less than 25 per cent. Latest years are used (data for 2010 and after for more than 80 per cent of the countries). The notion of excessive hours of work is defined as more than 48 hours worked per week, based on usual hours of work in all jobs.

Source: ILO calculations based on national household survey data.

D. Longer working days for women when including unpaid work

According to the International Labour Conference of Labour Statisticians resolution concerning statistics of work, employment and labour underutilization (2013b), unpaid work, including unpaid care work, is included in the definition of “own-use production work” and is therefore considered a form of work. Unpaid work is work that produces goods and services for household consumption, which includes collecting firewood and fuel, fetching water, cooking, cleaning and also providing care for children, the elderly and other dependants. Across the world, the vast majority of unpaid household and care work is performed by women. As a result, when all activities, whether paid or not, are taken into account, women’s working days become longer than men’s (figure 10). In developed economies, women spend on average 6 hours and 45 minutes per day on both paid and unpaid work compared to 6 hours and 12 minutes for men.

In developing economies, the total hours spent on paid work and unpaid household and care work in a day is 7 hours and 9 minutes for women and 6 hours and 16 minutes for men (United Nations, 2015). The difference is mostly accounted for by the fact that, in both developed and developing economies, women spend more time on unpaid work: on average women perform at least two and a half times more

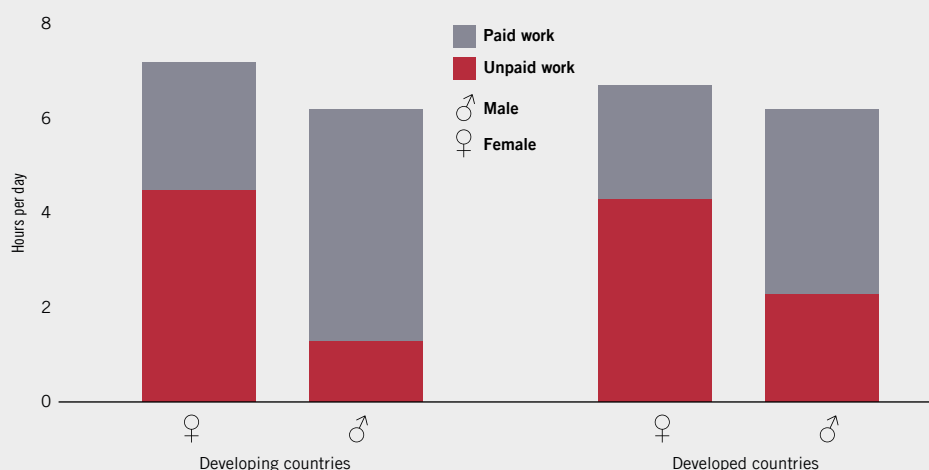
unpaid household and care work than men (see figure 10, dark red). In developed countries, women spend an average of 4 hours and 20 minutes on unpaid care work while men spend 2 hours and 16 minutes per day. In developing countries, women spend 4 hours and 30 minutes per day on unpaid care work compared to 1 hour 20 minutes for men. The reasons for these gender gaps are related to the lack of services and infrastructure to reduce unpaid household and care work, along with gender-based and social norms under which women are considered to be the primary care providers. In particular, in lower-income countries, inadequate access to water supply, sanitation, electricity, roads, safe transportation, health care and other social care services is a key factor in explaining the amount of time spent by women on unpaid work (ADB, 2015b).

Focusing on employed women (either in self-employment or wage and salaried employment), the average working day is even longer. In developed economies employed women work 8 hours and 9 minutes, compared to the 7 hours and 36 minutes worked by men. In developing economies, women in employment spend 9 hours and 20 minutes in paid and unpaid work, whereas men spend 8 hours and 7 minutes in such work (figure 11, United Nations, 2015). This also reflects the results of ILO studies showing that a substantial proportion of wage and salaried workers spend very long hours in paid work (defined as being more than 48 hours per week). As mentioned above, the incidence of very long hours in paid work is also quite high among the self-employed (ILO, 2015c).

Over time, the gender difference in time spent on unpaid work has narrowed (United Nations, 2015). Based on related time-series data from 23 countries and territories on time spent on unpaid work by employed women and men, the gender difference has decreased over time (figure 12).¹⁶ This is mostly due to the reduction in time spent on housework for women, as opposed to significant reductions in their time spent on childcare (ibid.).¹⁷ The reduction in time spent on unpaid work could be attributed to a number of factors, including higher women's labour force participation, smaller family size, the growing economic capacity of women to outsource domestic work, and the use of time-saving infrastructure and technologies that reduce the time required for fetching water or household tasks. To a lesser extent this reduction is also the result of an increase in the amount of time spent by men on childcare (ibid.).

Figure 10

Time spent on paid and unpaid work (for persons in employment, unemployed or inactive) by sex, 65 developing and developed economies (latest year available)



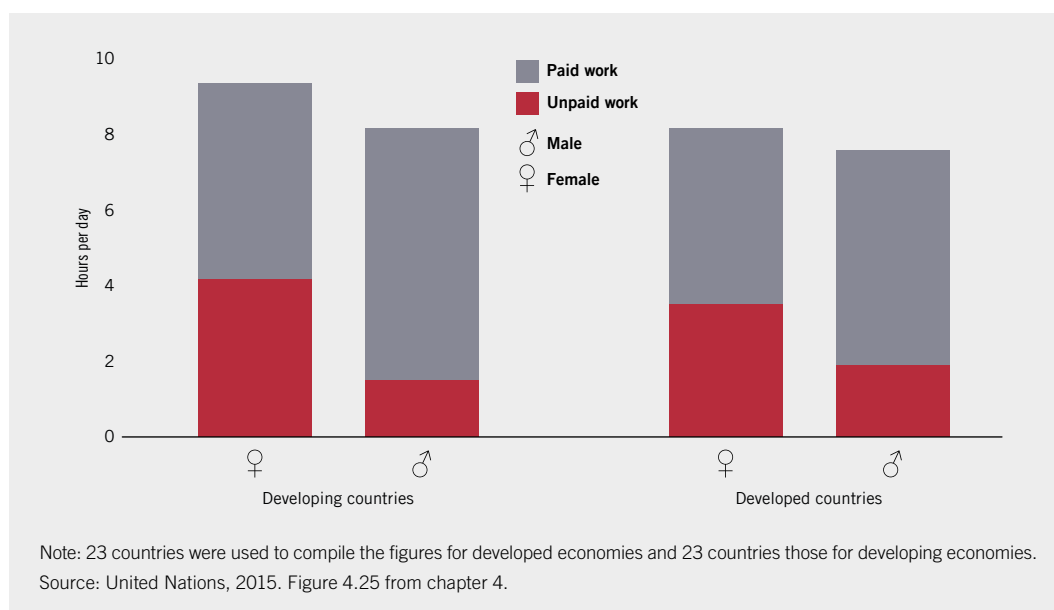
Note: 37 countries were used to compile the figures for developed economies and 28 countries those for developing economies.
Source: United Nations, 2015. Figure 4.24 from Chapter 4.

16. Calculations are based on figures for the earliest and latest years available for Austria, Belarus, Bulgaria, Canada, Costa Rica, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France (and also Réunion), Hungary, Italy, Japan, Kyrgyzstan, Netherlands, Norway, Romania, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and United States of America. This is based on the dataset compiled by the UN (2015) from Eurostat (2011), OECD (2014), UNECE (2014), UNECLAC (2014).

17. A 2004 study showed that, in 16 countries over the period 1971–1998, time spent on childcare by parents has actually increased over time, although the increase is largely due to the greater amount of time spent in interactive activities such as play, as opposed to mere child-minding (Gauthier et al., 2004).

Figure 11

Time spent on paid and unpaid work for employed persons by sex, 46 developing and developed economies (latest year available)

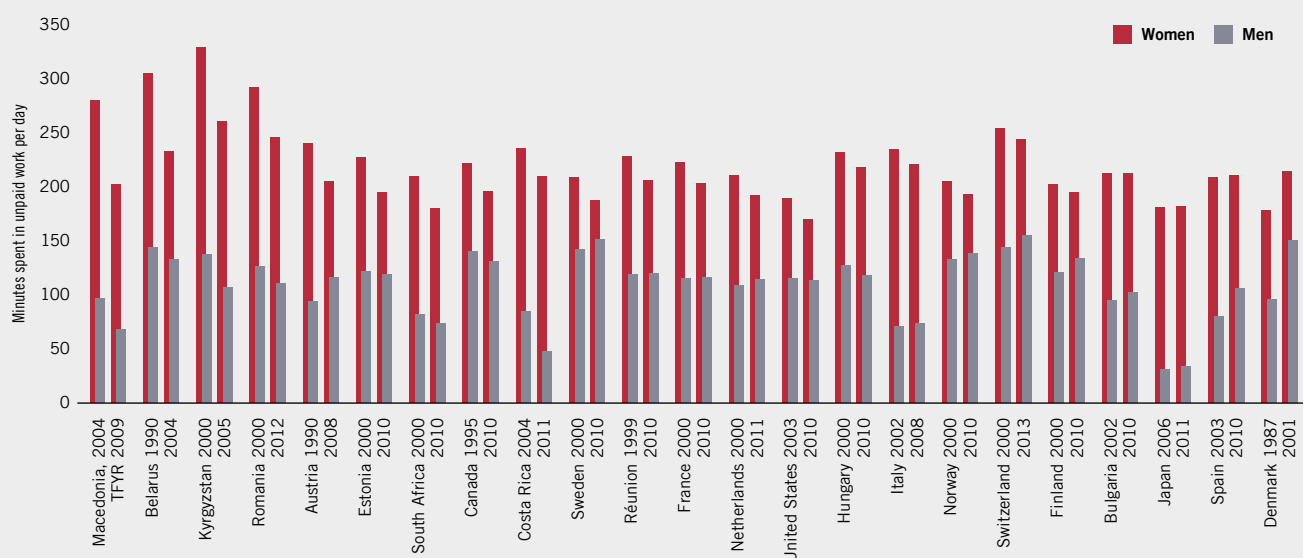


More specifically, in 19 countries, women are spending less time on unpaid work. For instance, in Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Romania and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, women have reduced their unpaid work time by over 40 minutes per day. In 12 countries, measured over periods of between 5 and 12 years, women have increased their time spent on paid work. Thus, in South Africa, women have increased the average time spent on paid work by just under two hours (110 minutes per day).

The gender difference in the hours per day spent in total work has narrowed. In the majority of countries, this is due to the larger decrease in time spent on unpaid work, which more than compensates for the increased time spent on paid work. For instance, in the United States, women spend 19 minutes less per day on unpaid work, while they have increased their paid working time by 9 minutes. By contrast, in 13 countries, men have increased their share of unpaid work. Meanwhile, in six countries, men are spending more time in paid work. This means that, in some countries, men's working day has gradually become longer.

Figure 12

Daily time spent on unpaid work for employed persons by sex, 23 countries and territories (earliest and latest years available)



Source: ILO calculations based on United Nations, 2015.

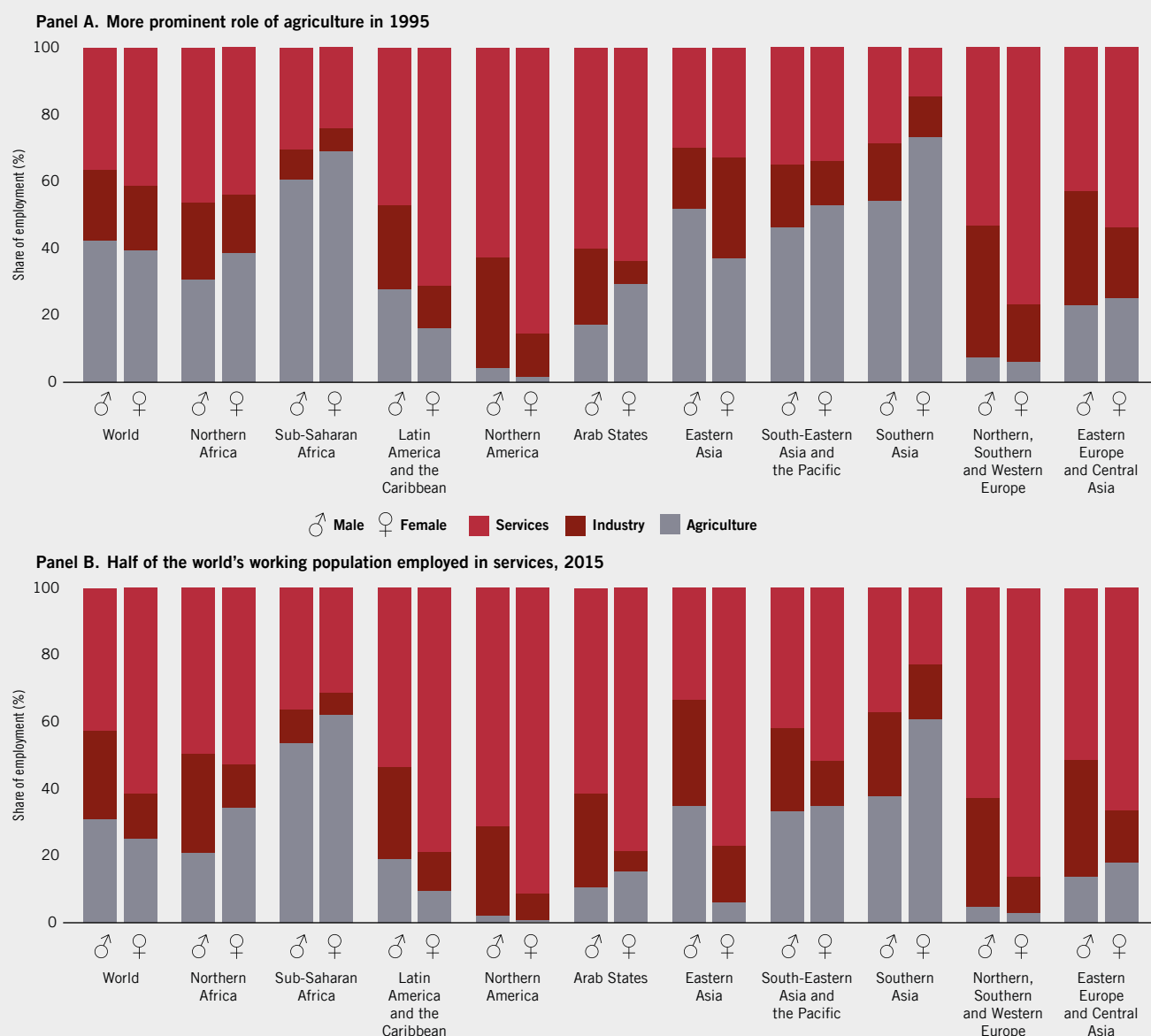
VI. Employment sectors and occupational segregation

A. Women's employment in services sector has increased

Overall, over the last twenty years, employment has shifted from agriculture to industry and then to services, or directly from agriculture to services (ILO, 2014b). Globally, the services sector has overtaken agriculture as the sector that employs the highest number of women and men. By 2015, approximately half of the global working population was working in services (50.1 per cent). While just under half of all men work in services (42.6 per cent), more than half of the world's women are employed in that sector. Since 1995, women's employment in services has increased from 41.1 per cent to 61.5 per cent (figure 13 – panel A).

The largest increase in women's employment in the services sector may be seen in Eastern Asia, where over the last 20 years the share of women employed has increased from 32.7 to 77.0 per cent (figure 13 – panel B). In Northern America and in Northern, Southern and Western Europe, an

Figure 13 Employment by sector and by sex, 1995 and 2015



Source: ILO calculations based on ILO, *Trends Econometric Models*, July 2015.

overwhelming majority of women work in services (91.4 and 86.2 per cent respectively). Similarly, in Latin America and the Caribbean, the services sector is highly female-dominated, with a difference of 25.3 percentage points between men's and women's shares of employment in this sector. The high share of women in the services sector is partially explained by the significance of domestic work as a source of employment in this region, as over 18 million women – or 26.6 per cent of all female wage workers – are in domestic work (ILO, 2013a).

B. Agricultural sector employs most women in low- and lower-middle-income countries

Globally, in 2015 one fourth of all active women were engaged in agriculture (figure 13). Although women's employment in this sector has decreased over the last twenty years, agriculture remains the most important source of employment for women in low-income and lower-middle-income countries. In Southern Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, over 60 per cent of all working women remain in agriculture. In many developing economies, women are concentrated in time and labour-intensive agricultural activities, which are often poorly remunerated (FAO, 2015a; World Bank, 2014). The decrease has been much more remarkable in upper-middle-income and high-income countries, where the share of women in agriculture is 9.5 and 2.6 per cent respectively.

With economic growth, countries tend to shift from sectoral employment in agriculture to industry and then to services, or directly from agriculture to services (ILO, 2014b; ILO, 2010a). This is the observed trend at the global level. Women's share of employment in agriculture is 14.5 percentage points lower today than in 1995, while men's share has decreased by 11.5 percentage points. Regionally, the decline in women's employment in agriculture is most evident in Eastern Asia (31.1 percentage points).

The majority of women have shifted their employment from agriculture to services, while men have found employment in both services and industry. Over the last twenty years, men's employment in industry has increased by 5.3 percentage points, while the global share of women in industry has declined by 5.6 percentage points since 1995.

C. In high-income countries women are concentrated in health, education, wholesale and retail trade sectors

Figure 14 shows a detailed breakdown of women and men's employment by sector. In the last two decades, women's employment has shifted from agriculture and, to a lesser extent, from the manufacturing sector, to the wholesale and retail trade sector and to health and education, while the decrease in male employment in agriculture has been absorbed mainly by the construction sector and, in low-income and upper-middle-income countries, also by the manufacturing sector.

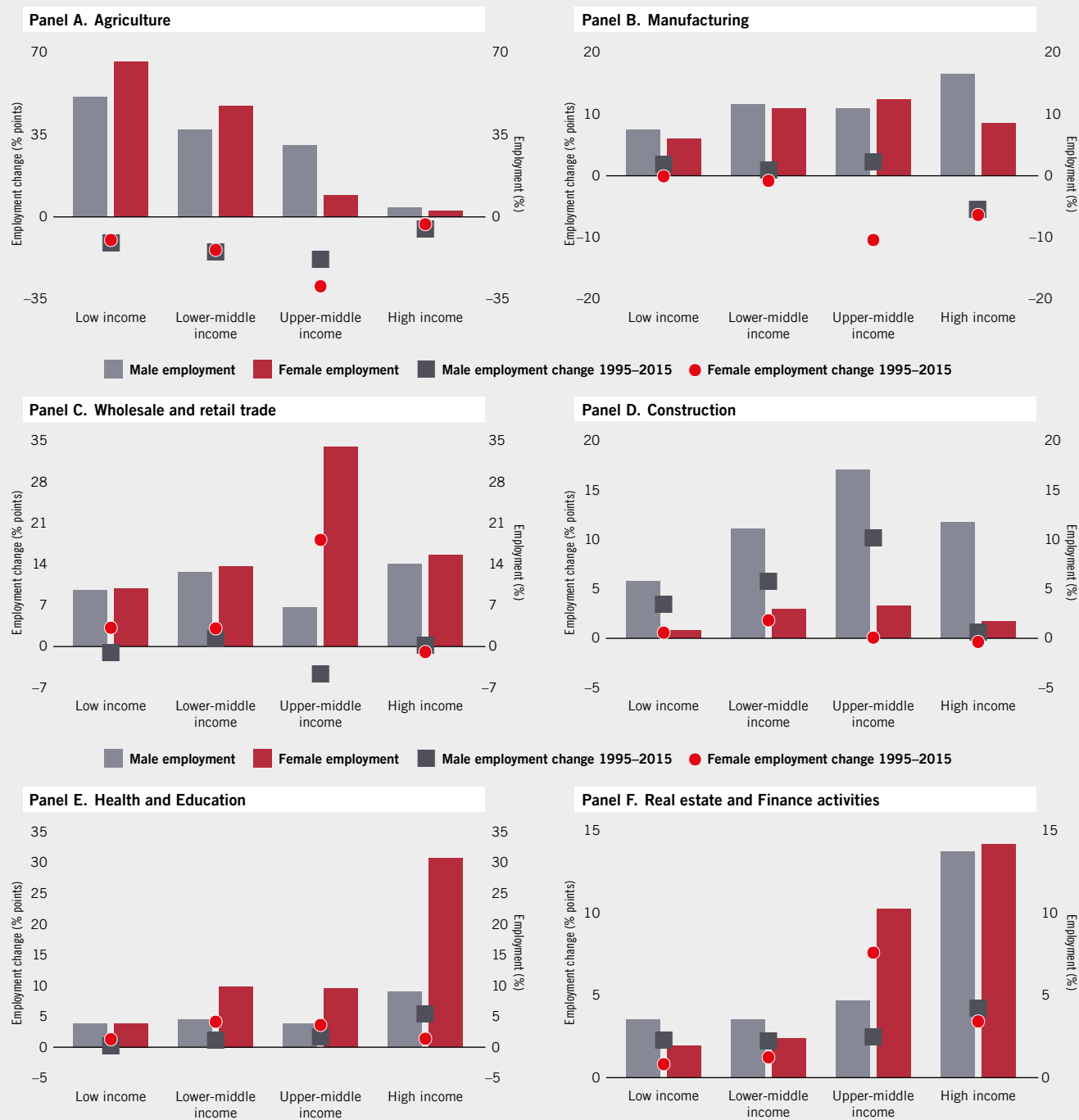
The concentration of women in the manufacturing sector has significantly declined since 1995. Generally, women have been concentrated in those manufacturing jobs which are more labour-intensive, such as those in the textile and apparel industries. Changes in technology over the last two decades, particularly in Eastern Asia, have led to the global defeminization of the manufacturing sector, by shifting production in the manufacturing sector from more labour-intensive to more capital-intensive activities (Kucera and Tejani, 2014; Caraway, 2007).

In upper-middle-income countries, the majority of women are employed in the wholesale and retail trade sector (33.9 per cent) and in the manufacturing sector, which, despite the growing process of defeminization, still absorbs 12.4 per cent of female employment.

In high-income countries, the main source of female employment is the health and education sector, in which almost one third of employed women have jobs. Male employment is not so highly concentrated in a specific sector. Thus, while construction is clearly male-dominated and represents 11.8 per cent of male employment, male employment is fairly equally distributed over several sectors (construction, manufacturing, wholesale and retail trade, and transport).

Overall, the high concentration of women in particular types of employment has been associated with a high incidence of part-time work and relatively low pay, especially in sectors such as sales, cleaning and catering services (Grimshaw and Rubery, 1997). In addition, the overrepresentation of women in health, education and social work may be attributed to social assumptions which undervalue the skills required for such jobs. For instance, education – and in particular the teaching of younger children – is considered an extension of women's traditional, maternal role (Shaeffer, 2015; Drudy, 2008).

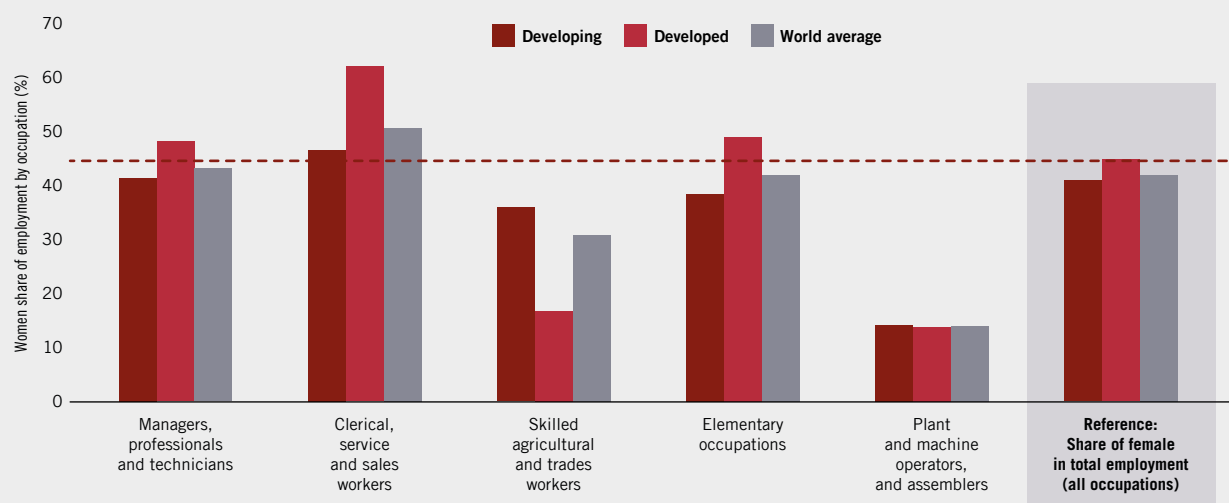
Figure 14 Sectoral employment by sex and change in concentration over time, 1995-2015



Note: The bars represent the percentage of employed men and women in each sector. The points represent the change in employment in each sector between 1995 and 2015, for both men and women.

Source: ILO calculations based on ILO, *Trends Econometric Models*, July 2015.

Figure 15 Occupational segregation, 142 countries (latest year available)



Note: Global estimates based on 142 countries (81 developing and 61 developed countries) representing 87 per cent of total employment. Latest years are used. More than 80 per cent of the countries have data for 2010 or after; more than 60 per cent for 2013 or 2014. Weighted by total employment.

Source: ILO calculations based on ILOSTAT.

D. Women have been losing out from recent occupational trends

Women are considered to be more concentrated than men in a particular sector or occupation if their employment in that sector or occupation as a share of their total employment is greater than men's employment in that particular sector or occupation as a share of men's total employment. Large differentials between women's and men's shares of employment in a sector or occupation suggest that women or men are highly overrepresented in that sector or occupation (ILO, 2012a).¹⁸ An analysis of 142 countries for which panel data by occupation¹⁹ are available shows that women tend to be overrepresented in the lowest paid occupations. Globally but in particular in developed countries, women are highly represented in "Clerical, service and sales" occupations – where they even outnumber men – and "Elementary occupations". Both are typically associated with part-time employment and low pay jobs. Contrastingly, in developed countries, there is a slight overrepresentation of women in the highest paid occupational group "Managers, professionals and technicians" (figure 15).²⁰

Occupational segregation has increased further over the past two decades with skill-biased technological change, notably in developed and emerging countries. Between 1995 and 2015, employment increased fastest in emerging economies. The absolute change in employment levels was twice as high for men as for women (382 million for men and 191 million for women), regardless of the level of skills required (figure 16, panel A). This reflects the above-discussed gender gaps in employment. Overall, medium-level skills dominate total employment change in both developing countries (68.4 and 77.9 per cent of the change in employment levels for men and women, respectively) and emerging economies (53.2 and 46.4 per cent, respectively – see figure 16, panel B). By contrast, high-skilled occupations dominate employment change

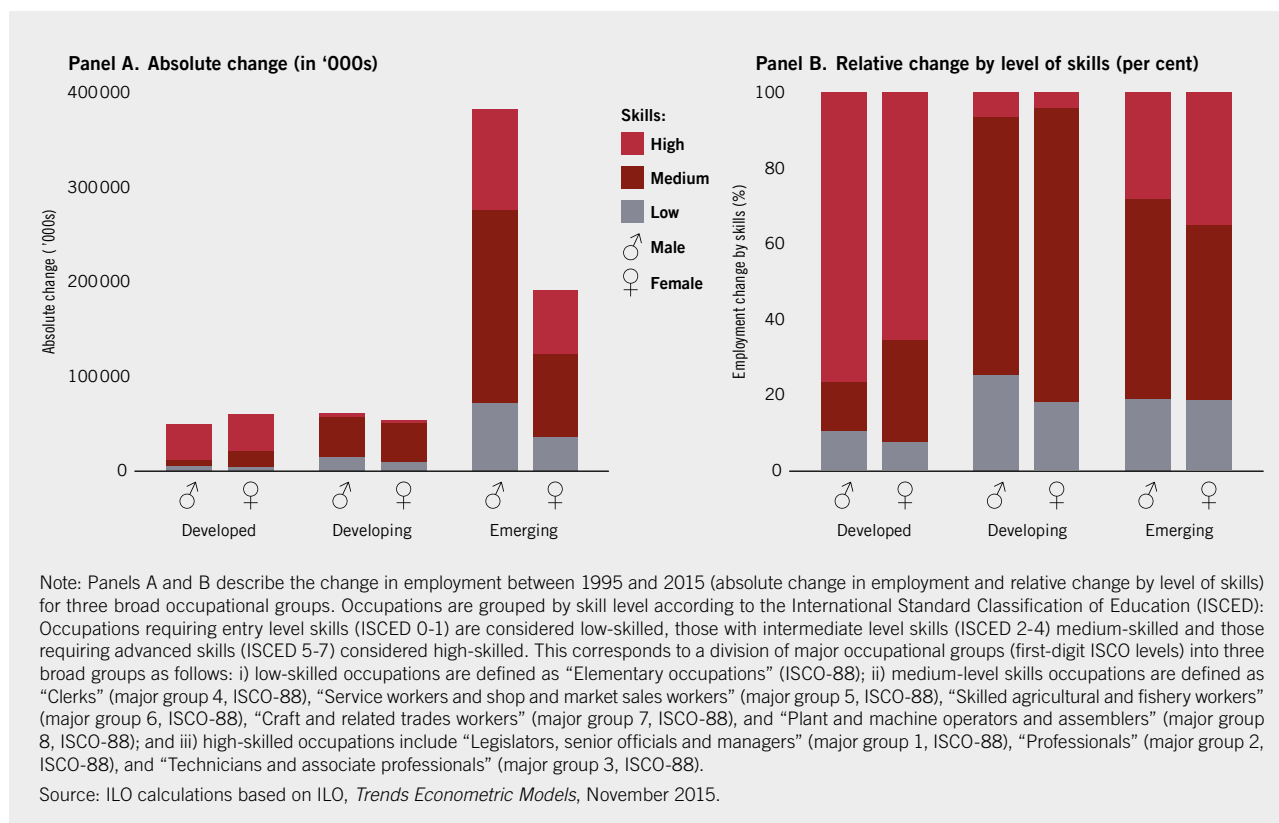
18. This report compares the difference – also referred to as the "differential" – in the share of women's and men's employment in a given sector as a share of women's and men's total employment. By comparing the shares of employment to total employment, the calculations give an indication of where employed women or men are likely to work. For instance, if, of the total number of women employed, the proportion employed in the education sector is 20 per cent, this will mean that, for a total of 100 women employed, 20 will be working in education. If the share for men is only 10 per cent, this will mean that for every 100 men employed, 10 will work in the education sector. As such, the differential of 10 percentage points would mean that if there are 100 women and 100 men employed, one would find 10 more women than men working in the education sector. In doing so, the calculations account for the differences in women's and men's share of employment rates, especially in regions where there are large gender gaps. This report adopts the same methodology as the previous report *Global Employment Trends for Women 2012* (ILO, 2012a).

19. Using the latest year available (2010–2014 for the majority of countries; earlier for the others), data are available for 142 countries. This global estimate of the share of women in total employment is only indicative and might differ from the calculated figure for a given year for a higher number of countries. The main purpose is to identify occupations in which women are either relatively overrepresented or underrepresented compared to their representation in total employment for this subset of countries.

20. For the global analysis, the ISCO-08 occupational categories were used.

Figure 16

Employment by occupations requiring different skills, change in employment over the period, 1995-2015



in developed economies (65.4 per cent for women and up to 76.6 per cent for men). High-skilled occupations expanded faster for women than for men in emerging economies, the only group of countries where there is a gender gap in high-skilled employment in women's favour. For their part, low-skilled occupations expanded faster or just as fast for men as for women across all three regions.

E. No substantial decrease in occupational segregation

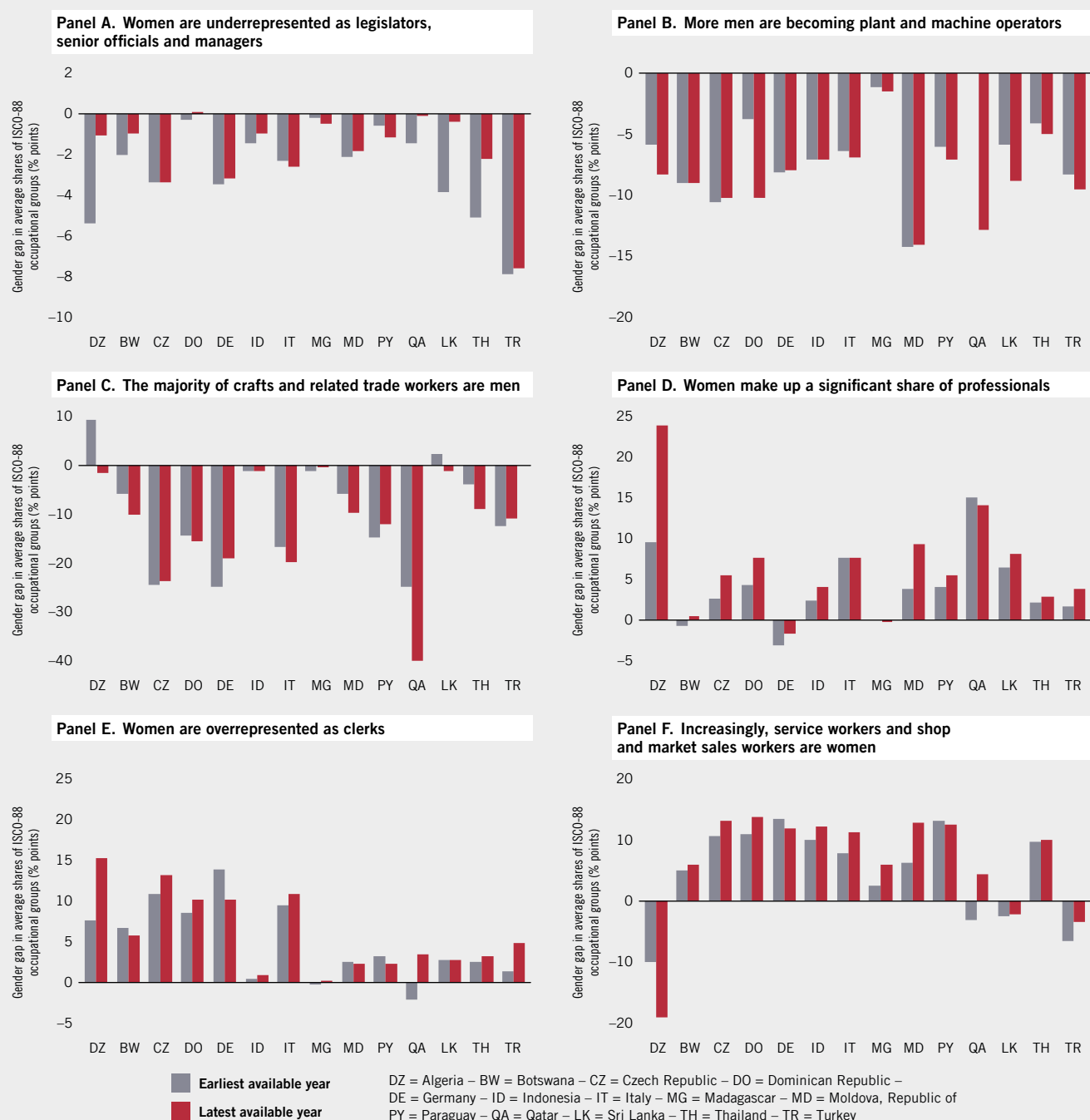
Over time, certain occupations in which men are already overrepresented have experienced further increases in their proportion of male participants and, similarly, other occupations with a concentration of women have become even more feminized. Trends data for a sample of 14 countries of varying levels of income and from different regions confirm these results and show that, in 13 of the 14 countries, men remain overrepresented as legislators, senior officials and managers (figure 17, panel A), positions which are typically well paid and enjoy high status.²¹ On a positive note, the gender gaps in this occupation have decreased in 10 countries.

In most countries, men have become increasingly concentrated in the occupation of plant and machine operators and assemblers (figure 17, panel B),²² while in about half the countries, men are increasingly overrepresented in that of craft and related trades workers. In most of the countries analysed, there has been little reduction in occupational segregation during the period under review. Meanwhile, the gender gap

21. Consequent to the changes between ISCO-88 and ISCO-08, category 1 under “Legislators, senior officials and managers” in ISCO-88 includes owners of both large and small enterprises. The subcategory of 88-1314 (“General managers in wholesale and retail trade”) included persons who manage enterprises on their own behalf or on behalf of another proprietor with managerial assistance of no more than one manager. In ISCO-08, the subcategory of 88-1314 has been divided into retail and wholesale trade managers (08-1420), which falls under category 1, and also shopkeepers (08-5221), which falls under category 5. The rationale is that persons in the subcategory of retail and wholesale trade managers are frequently employed in small establishments without a hierarchy of managers, but they also include managers of large supermarkets and department stores. Operators of small shops for whom supervision of staff is not a significant part of their work are reclassified under “Shopkeepers”. See ILO (2013c) for more details.

22. No information was available for Qatar for women in 1997 for plant and machine operators and assemblers.

Figure 17 Employment by occupations by sex (earliest and latest year available)



Note: The gender gap corresponds to the difference (female – male) in average shares of ISCO-88 occupational groups. The calculation of female-male differentials by occupation uses group X (ISCO-88): “Share of persons employed in group X in total employment, female” minus “Share of persons employed in group X in total employment, male”. A positive differential means that women tend to be concentrated in a specific occupation. A negative differential signifies the reverse. The following years are used for the country data analysis to provide the widest range of years available under ISCO-88 groupings: Algeria (2001–13), Botswana (1998–2010), Czech Republic (1993–2011), Dominican Republic (1996–2013), Germany (1992–2011), Indonesia (2007–13), Italy (1992–2011), Madagascar (2005–12), Republic of Moldova (1999–2012), Paraguay (2007–12), Qatar (1997–2013), Sri Lanka (2002–12), Thailand (2001–11) and Turkey (2001–10).

Source: ILO calculations based on ILO, 2013d.

between women’s and men’s employment in the occupational categories of “Clerks and service workers” and “Shop and market sales workers” has increased, with more women than men entering these jobs. In seven countries, there is a difference of more than 5 percentage points between women’s and men’s employment as clerks (figure 17, panels D, E and F). Over time, the gap between women’s and men’s shares of employment among professionals has increased in 10 of the 14 countries analysed.

VII. Gender wage gap

A. Substantial gender wage gap but signs of moderate reduction

The gender wage gap may still be substantial but is showing signs of narrowing. Income from employment may take two forms: first, wages or earnings, for those who are in wage and salaried employment; and, second, income from self-employment, for those who are self-employed. Lack of comparable data precludes a proper analysis of gender income gaps from self-employment, even though the share of wage and salaried workers in total employment varies considerably across the globe, ranging from as little as some 30 per cent in Africa to nearly 90 per cent in developed economies (ILO, 2015d).

Among wage and salaried workers, gender wage gaps can be substantial but appear to be showing signs of a moderate reduction over time (see figure 18). Globally, the gender wage gap is estimated to be 23 per cent; in other words, women earn 77 per cent of what men earn (ILO, 2011a). Indeed, among 37 countries and territories with data for two periods, the gender wage gap has generally shown a reduction; this can be seen from the simple average of the gap in these countries, which has declined from 21.7 to 19.8 per cent. The ILO has noted that, without targeted action, at the current rate, pay equity between women and men will not be achieved before 2086.²³

The magnitude of the gap presented in figure 18 is partly attributable to differences in employment trends between women and men. The data in figure 18 capture all wage and salaried workers (full and part-time). Some countries, however, only report a gender wage gap for full-time wage and salaried workers. The comparison between the two is problematic since women tend to work fewer hours in the workplace, on average, because of family responsibilities at home (see above). This may be seen from figure 19, which presents the gender wage gap for a small selection of countries for which monthly, weekly or annual and hourly wage gaps for all wage and salaried workers are available. Since the data presented are from two different data sources (but from the same year), the wage gaps are not directly comparable. Nonetheless, they provide a general indication that weekly, monthly, or annual wage gap measures tend to be larger than those based on hourly wages. In other words, part of the gender wage gap stems from differences between men and women in their hours worked.

The effect of greater household and family responsibilities – which in part explains the fewer hours worked by women in the labour market – is further manifested in the additional gap in wages observed between mothers and female non-mothers, known as the “motherhood wage gap”, which is the wage penalty incurred by working mothers. By contrast, working fathers usually earn more than their childless peers (Grimshaw and Rubery, 2015). The difference in wages between working fathers and working childless men is referred to as the “fatherhood wage premium”.

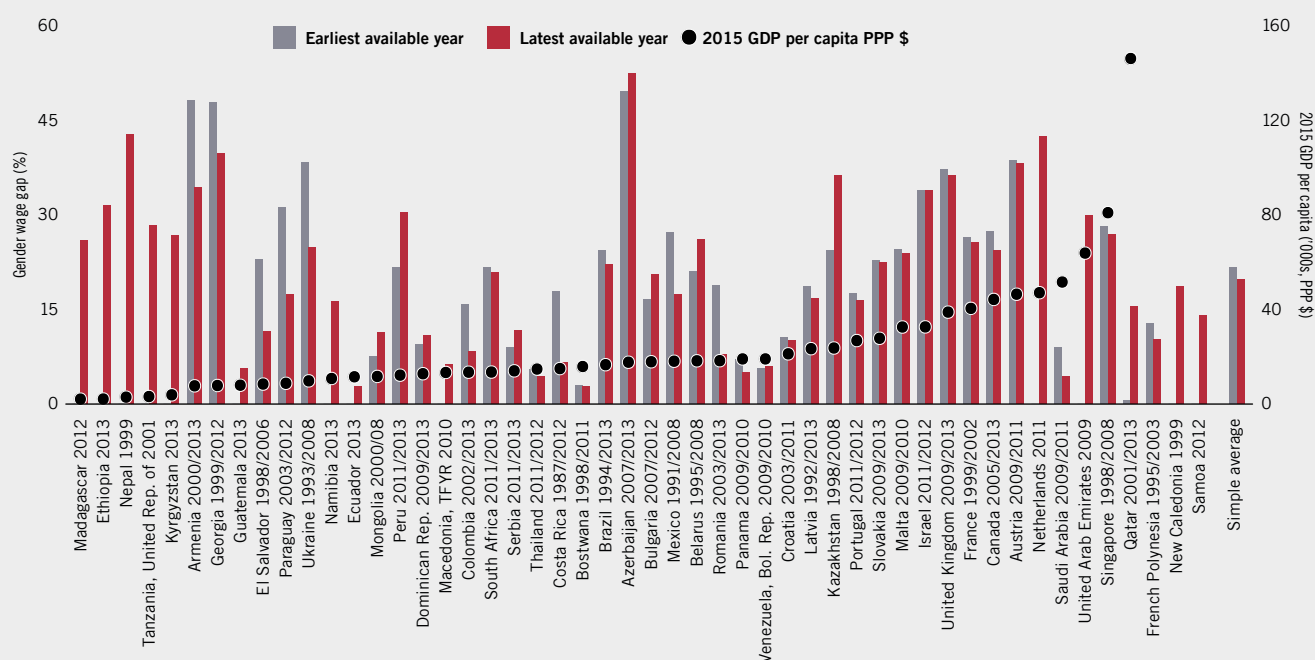
B. Economic growth alone will not ensure a gender equitable distribution of the gains

Economic growth alone will not ensure an equitable distribution of the gains between men and women. Comparing the gender wage gap for the latest year with living standards (as measured by GDP per capita levels in 2015 purchasing power parity in US dollars), there does not seem to be any correlation between the size of the gender wage gap and the level of a country’s development. This may be seen from figure 18, in which countries are ranked according to their per capita income. A country’s gender wage gap can be large or small irrespective of the level of development. In other words, while the gender wage gap has generally decreased over time, economic development alone is insufficient to ensure an equitable distribution of the gains from growth between men and women; there are other factors at play – namely, policies – which explain the heterogeneity in outcomes across countries.

23. According to the 2011 report by the ILO Director General to the International Labour Conference, the gender pay gap is expected to close in 75 years or by 2086. Of course, progress toward closing wage gaps by 2086 depends on several factors and hence cannot be guaranteed and can be reversed (ILO, 2011a).

Figure 18

Gender wage gaps over time, earliest and latest year available and 2015 GDP per capita in purchasing power parity in US dollars (PPP\$)

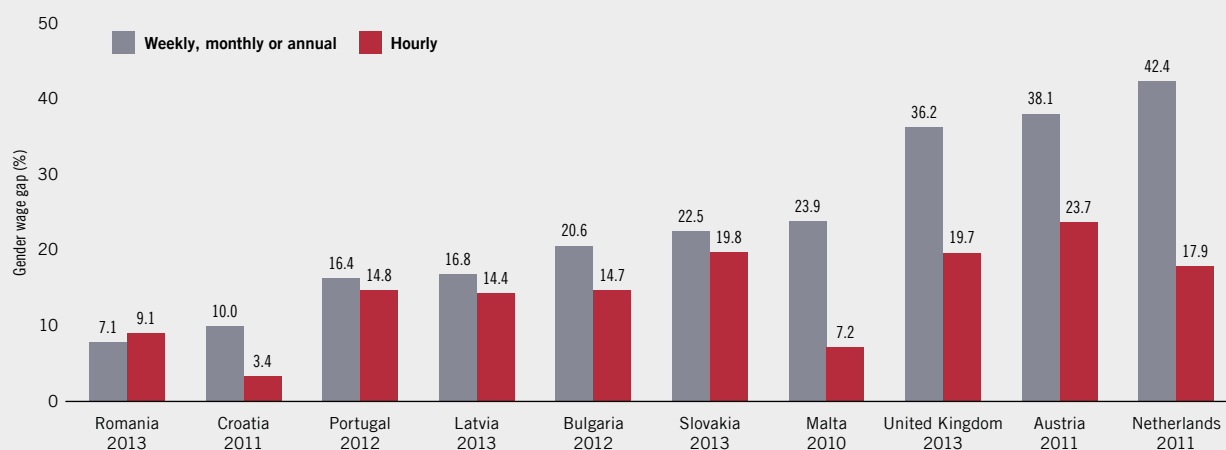


Note: Data used refer to mean gross annual, monthly, or weekly wages for all employees, in all economic and institutional sectors nationally. Includes countries and territories.

Source: ILO calculations based on ILOSTAT and IMF (2015).

Figure 19

Gender wage gaps for selected countries by type of earnings data (latest year available)



Note: The data above are from different sources and cannot be directly compared. The difference in wage gaps should, however, provide an indication that hourly wage gaps are generally lower.

Source: ILO calculations based on ILOSTAT, Eurostat.

VIII. Gender gaps in access to social protection

Gender inequalities at work and at home translate into gender gaps in access to social protection.²⁴ As women are more likely than men to be in informal – and thus unprotected – employment, they also often do not have access to social protection acquired through employment, such as pensions, unemployment benefits or maternity protection (ILO, 2014b, 2014c and 2014d).

A. Gender inequities in pensions

Women are less well covered by pension arrangements. Lower rates of formal wage and salaried employment, together with fewer hours or fewer years worked, result in careers that are shorter for women than for men. This has adverse consequences for seniority premiums in pay and for coverage by employment-related contributory schemes, and also for female pension levels. Legal coverage²⁵ by contributory compulsory social protection schemes is lower for women than for men, leaving an overall gender legal social protection coverage gap²⁶ (see the decomposition of gaps by type of schemes – contributory as well as non-contributory – in figure 20). In most regions, however, the overall gap has been narrowing since the 1990s. Significant decreases are observed in Latin America and the Caribbean and in Eastern, Central and Western Asia. The same trend applies in Northern, Southern, Western and Eastern Europe.

The gender coverage gap associated with contributory schemes is mainly offset by the development of large non-contributory pension schemes and, to some extent, by attempts to extend coverage through voluntary affiliation. In terms of their levels of protection, reliability and financial sustainability, however, or their impact on the formalization rates of employment, these mechanisms are not equivalent. Legal coverage based on contributory (mandatory or voluntary) or non-contributory mechanisms have also led to very different levels of effective pension coverage. Indeed, voluntary coverage has rarely resulted in significant effective coverage (ILO, 2015e). By contrast, sizeable and widening gaps are observed in the Arab States and Northern Africa, mainly due to large gender gaps in labour force participation, unemployment and the limited development of non-contributory pensions.

Trends in effective pension coverage may be assessed by measuring the proportions of women and men in employment affiliated to a pension scheme (figure 21) or by considering women and men above retirement age who are in receipt of a pension (figure 22). The first indicator focuses on contributory schemes and entitlements to social protection acquired through social insurance schemes, usually associated with employment (generally wage and salaried employment, although some social insurance schemes also cover other categories of workers, on either a mandatory or a voluntary basis). For this reason, the affiliation to contributory pension schemes is strongly correlated with a regulated employment relationship through a contract and, even more strongly, with a permanent contract (ILO, 2015e). Worldwide, the percentage of women in employment who are affiliated to a pension scheme is 1.7 and 2.9 percentage points lower than that of men for wage and salaried workers and self-employed respectively and 2.3 percentage points lower than that of men when all employment is taken into consideration.²⁷

24. The way in which inequalities in the labour market and in employment translate into the sphere of social protection largely depends on the structure of the social security system, including in particular the relationship between contributory and non-contributory social security schemes, and the extent to which there are mechanisms in existence that can compensate for gender inequality in employment, such as the recognition of periods spent caring for children or older persons in the pension system (ILO, 2014c; Behrendt and Woodall, 2015).

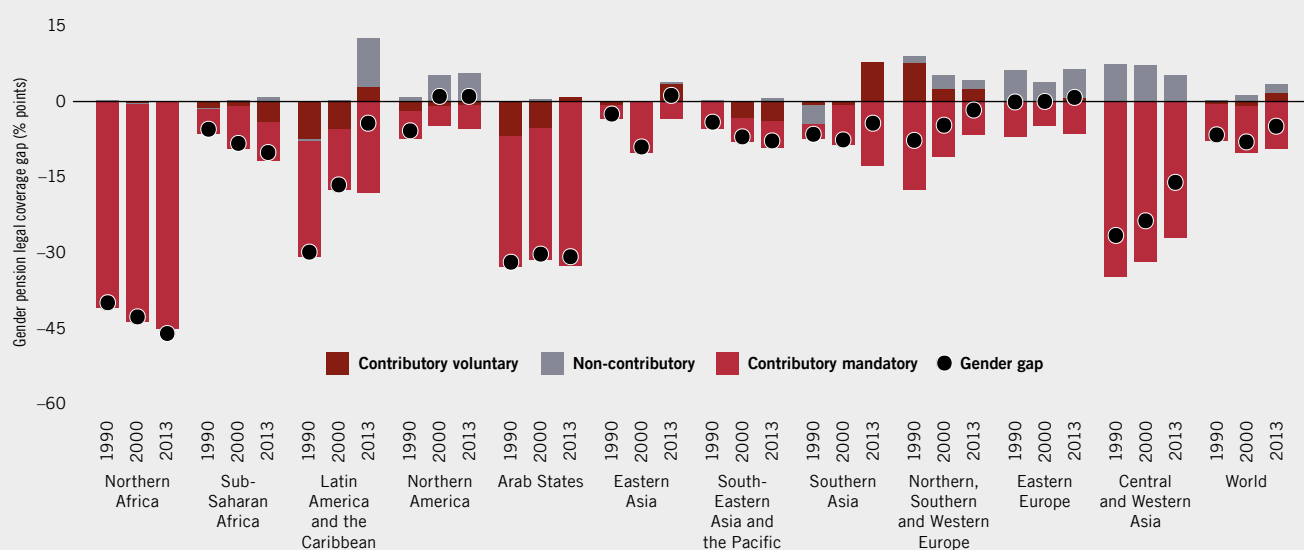
25. Estimates of legal coverage for a given social security function (branch) and type of benefit are calculated as the proportion of people of working-age (for pensions) or in the labour force (for unemployment) which are covered by the relevant national social security legislation, with due provision for coverage financed through social insurance contributions or tax-financed schemes. Estimates do not take into account the differences in levels of protection, reliability and sustainability of financing associated with different types of schemes. Such estimates use both information on the groups covered by statutory schemes for a given social security function in national legislation and available statistical information quantifying the number of persons concerned at the national level (ILO, 2015e; ILO, 2014c).

26. This indicator of the gender coverage gap focuses on coverage and does not reflect the dimension of adequacy. While non-contributory pensions certainly play an important equalizing role in respect of coverage, they often provide a minimal level of benefits, sometimes not sufficient to ensure a decent standard of living for women. In that respect, contributory pensions play an important role, which, however, is not reflected in figure 20.

27. Higher affiliation rates by women in Northern Africa and in Latin America and the Caribbean (by 21 and 2.0 percentage points respectively) have a negative correlation with the gender labour force participation gap. Fewer women have access to employment but this minority usually benefits from better employment conditions including, notably, the possibility of permanent employment contracts.

Figure 20

Gap between men and women in respect of the legal coverage of old age and survivor's pension (various years)

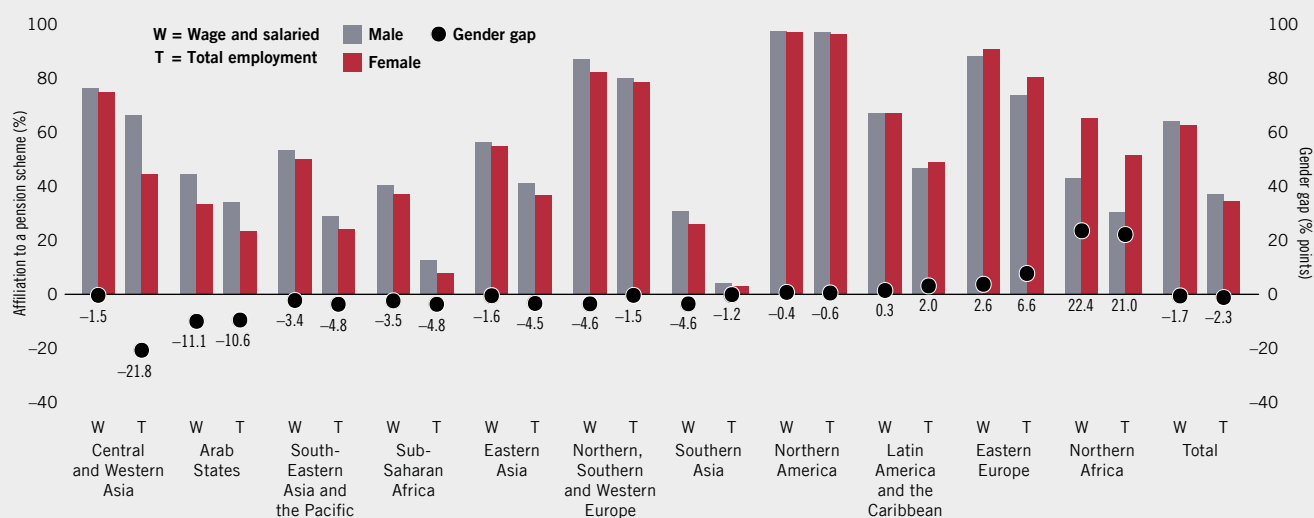


Note: Global estimates are based on 178 countries in 2013 and 173 countries in 1990 and 2000, and are weighted by the working-age population. Legal coverage of old age and survivor's pension is expressed as a percentage of the working-age population.

Source: ILO calculations based on ILO, Legal social protection coverage database, 2015, based on SSA/ISSA, 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c; ILO, 2015f European Commission, 2015a; US Social Security Administration, 1989, 1999; UN, World Population Prospects, ILO *Trends Econometric Models*; national legislation and statistical offices.

Figure 21

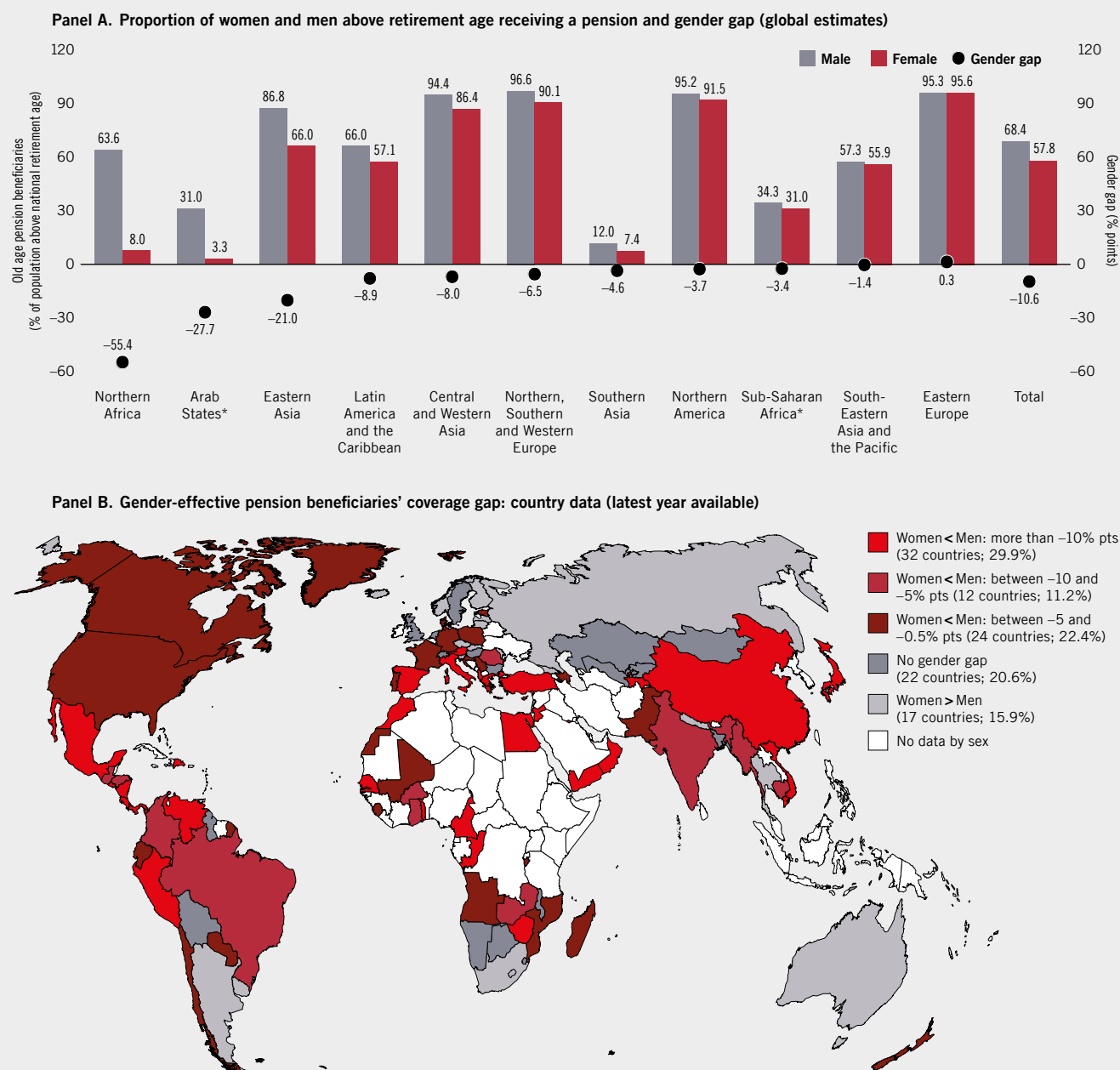
Proportion of women and men in employment affiliated to a pension scheme, 111 countries (latest year available)



Note: Global estimates on effective affiliation to contributory pension schemes based on 111 countries representing 86 per cent of total employment, weighted by total employment. Numbers refer only to coverage by contributory mechanisms (compulsory or voluntary). Effective coverage is measured as the proportion of those employed by status in employment contributing to a pension scheme. Data are for the latest year available, which ranges from 2008 to 2013.

Source: ILO calculations based on household survey data for effective coverage.

Figure 22 Actual gender gap in pension beneficiaries, 107 countries (latest year available)



Note: Data are for the latest year available, which ranges from 2008 to 2013. This second indicator of coverage is measured as the proportion of the population above the statutory pensionable age receiving an old age or survivor's pension. In panel A, global estimates based on 107 countries representing 83 per cent of total population above national retirement age, weighted by population above national retirement age. The asterisk for the Arab States and sub-Saharan Africa regions means that these averages are not representative, as they are based on a limited number of countries (less than 50 per cent of the population above national retirement age is represented). In panel B, "no gender gap" is defined as a percentage points difference of -0.5 to +0.5 and "women > men" as a percentage points difference of 0.5 or more.

Source: ILO calculations based on household survey data.

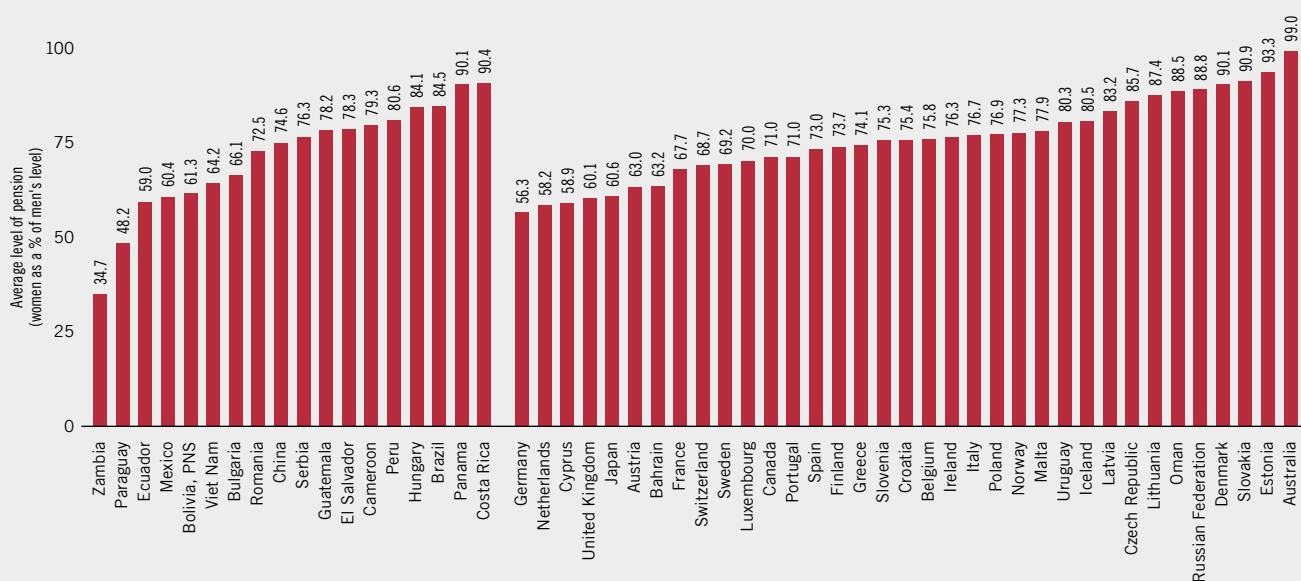
The second indicator of effective coverage considers both contributory and non-contributory pension schemes from the standpoint of the beneficiaries. This indicator goes beyond contributory social protection and includes coverage by non-contributory (mostly tax-financed) pensions. Women are not only less likely to be covered in accordance with the law, but also face lower compliance with the law²⁸ which results in high gender gap concerning effective coverage. The proportion of women above retirement age receiving a pension is on average 10.6 percentage points lower than that of men (figure 22, panel A). Out of the 107 countries, 64 per cent show a significant negative gender effective coverage gap. In 17 countries (16 per cent), the proportion of women receiving a pension once reaching retirement is slightly higher compared to men (figure 22, panel B).

Low female labour participation rates, together with the limited development of non-contributory pensions, weigh significantly on women's effective pension coverage in Northern Africa, the Arab States and Eastern Asia. The existence of large non-contributory pension schemes can to some extent offset both the lower participation rates of women in the labour market and their less favourable employment conditions where social protection coverage is concerned. The benefit levels of non-contributory pensions tend to be modest, however, and are often not sufficient to bring older women above the poverty line.²⁹ More than 85 per cent of the countries where the gender gap in respect of effective pension coverage is either non-existent or to women's benefit have a non-contributory pension; this is often a universal or pension-tested³⁰ pension.

Besides legal and effective pension coverage, women are also receiving benefits that are systematically lower than those for men (figure 23). This shortfall is due to the lower wages earned by women during their working life, shorter periods of contribution and carrier breaks, higher incidence of part-time work, higher proportion of women receiving benefits from survivors' pensions and from non-contributory old-age pensions usually associated with lower levels of benefits.

Figure 23

Gender gap in pension levels: Average level of pensions for women as a percentage of men (latest available year)



Note: Covers old age and survivors' pensions for people above national retirement age. Data are for the latest year available, which ranges from 2010 to 2013.
Source: ILO calculations based on household survey data.

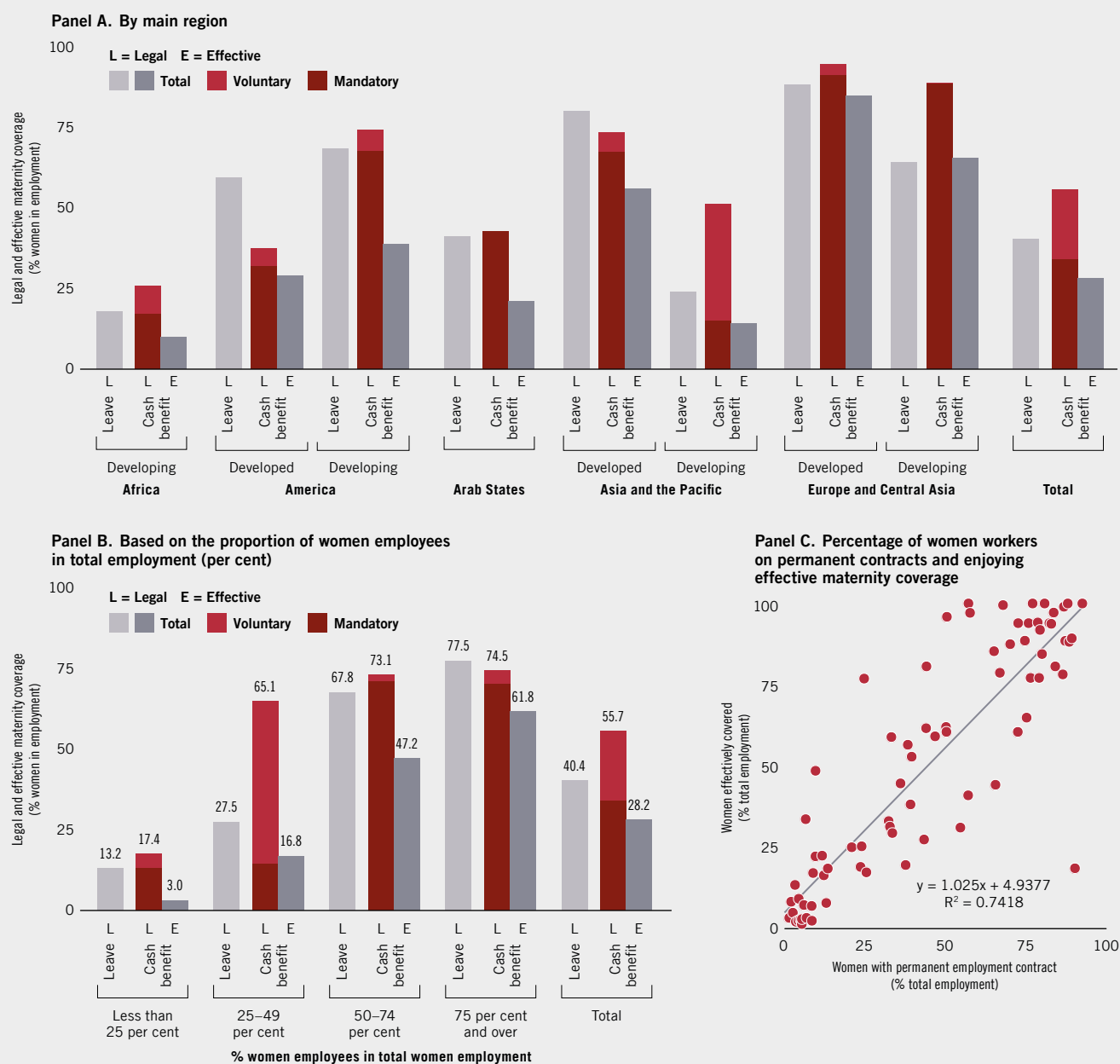
28. One of the reasons for this lower compliance among women is their stronger engagement in own-account work or contributing family work that relies more heavily on coverage through voluntary affiliation which rarely converts into effective coverage. Other factors include women's insufficient contributory capacity and awareness of entitlements (ILO, 2014b).

29. Globally, the effective pension coverage gap is 6.3 percentage points in women's disfavour in countries with a non-contributory pension (whether universal or not), compared to 17.7 percentage points in countries with no social pension in place.

30. Non-contributory pension-tested pensions are provided to those older persons who do not receive a contributory pension.

Figure 24

Maternity protection: Percentage of women in employment legally covered for maternity leave and for cash benefits during their leave, and percentage effectively covered (latest available year)



Note: Global estimates based on 172 countries for legal coverage for maternity leave, 171 countries for legal coverage for maternity cash benefits and 118 countries for maternity effective coverage. Legal and effective coverage indicators are expressed as a percentage of total employment. The indicator of effective maternity coverage is measured as the proportion of women in employment contributing to a social security scheme providing cash maternity benefits. It includes in certain cases the estimated number of women in employment covered by the few non-contributory schemes providing tax-financed maternity benefits.

Source: ILO calculations based on data on maternity legal and effective coverage. See ILO, 2014d.

B. Coverage gaps in maternity protection

Most countries provide some maternity protection for employed women (ILO, 2014c and 2014d). Across the world, however, a large majority of female workers are still not covered because of gaps in legal coverage for certain categories of workers based on status in employment, occupation, sector and form of work (figure 24). Worldwide, close to 60 per cent of women workers (nearly 750 million women) do not benefit from a statutory right to maternity leave and 65.9 per cent from mandatory coverage by law for income replacement during their maternity leave. When the right of certain categories of workers, mainly self-employed, domestic or agricultural workers, to join a social security scheme on a voluntary basis is included, statutory coverage of maternity leave cash benefits applies to almost 56 per cent of all women in employment.

A significant proportion of women who are legally covered do not benefit from effective coverage in practice. Owing to problems with implementation, awareness of rights, insufficient contributory capacity, discriminatory practices, informality and social exclusion, just over one quarter (28.2 per cent) of employed women worldwide are effectively protected by either contributory or non-contributory cash benefits in the event of maternity; 50 per cent of those women covered are living in high-income economies. As a result, it is estimated that globally only some 330 million women workers, regardless of their employment status, would receive income support in the event of childbirth (ILO, 2014d). As panel C shows, women with permanent employment contracts are more likely to benefit from effective maternity protection. In Africa and Asia, only a minority of women in employment (fewer than 15 per cent) are effectively contributing to or are protected through maternity leave cash benefits. Close to full coverage, of more than 90 per cent of employed women, is reached only in 21 countries, largely in Europe.

Conclusion

Over the recent decade, gaps in labour force participation rates have been narrowing slightly in most regions and, globally, there has been a significant decrease in women working as contributing family workers. This progress notwithstanding, however, several gaps persist and more needs to be done to address them. In particular, unemployment gender gaps remain high, especially for young women. Moreover, women remain overrepresented as contributing family workers or in other informal work arrangements, denying them access to social protection acquired through employment such as pensions, unemployment benefits or maternity protection. In addition, in most regions of the world women are more likely to be underemployed and to undertake part-time jobs and temporary contracts.

Although some improvements have been achieved, women continue to suffer from significant pay gaps, accounted for by occupational segregation and discrimination, and also by differences in paid and unpaid hours worked. In developed countries, women are particularly concentrated in less remunerated sectors, such as health and social work, education and other services. In many developing and particularly low-income economies, women are overrepresented in time and labour-intensive agricultural activities, which are often remunerated poorly if at all.

In order to address both gender employment and pay gaps, a well-designed set of policies and good practices is necessary. This will be discussed in Part Two of the present report.

Gender gaps in the quality of work

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Part Two. Gender gaps in the quality of work

Improving women's access to the labour market offers a means of promoting women's economic empowerment and reducing gender inequalities. Access to quality work is equally important, however. The quality of work is largely determined by terms regulating working conditions and access to social protection (see Part One) and work-family policies, namely, measures to help workers with care responsibilities for dependent family members to secure, retain and make progress in employment without discrimination, in line with the ILO Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981 (No.156). In Part Two, an analysis is made of the gender gaps in the quality of work and of the key policy determinants of gender transformative change. The discussion of the issues (in the first part of each chapter) and the related policy recommendations (in the second part) focus on three dimensions of gender inequalities at work and their interactions: sectoral and occupational segregation (Chapter I); the gender wage gap (Chapter II); and the gaps in the policy framework for work and family harmonization (Chapter III).

I. Sectoral and occupational segregation

A. Causes of sex segregation at work

The importance of sex segregation at work as an indication of discrimination is recognized in the ILO Convention on Discrimination (Employment and Occupation), 1958 (No. 111). It is one of the most detrimental aspects of gender inequality in the labour market, since it is generally accompanied by lower pay and worse working conditions in female-dominated occupations. Sex segregation is also one of the most enduring aspects of labour markets around the world (Anker et al., 2003). As demonstrated in Part One, women and men continue to be concentrated in specific and different sectors and occupations.

Sectoral and occupational segregation may be viewed as a cycle: as women and men are confined to certain occupations, stereotypes are strengthened regarding women's and men's aspirations, preferences and capabilities. In turn, this affects both the perceptions of employers about women's and men's skills and attitudes and the aspirations of individual workers. Thus, women and men are likely to continue pursuing careers in sectors and occupations that are considered "feminine" and "masculine" and are discouraged to do otherwise (Catalyst, 2005; KPMG et al., 2014).

Sectors and occupations are considered "feminine" and "masculine" based on the skills that the jobs entail, and also the working culture. Jobs that typically require interpersonal skills or involve caregiving are classified as "feminine" jobs that require "feminine" skills, as these skills are seen as innate and as an extension of the familial division of labour (Bettio and Veraschcagina, 2009). By contrast, jobs that are associated with the use of physical strength, risk-taking or decision-making are considered more "masculine" (Anker, 1998; ILO, 2012a). Similarly, rationality – the opposite of emotionality – is considered largely a "masculine" trait, as found in male-dominated professions such as engineering or jobs in information communication technology (Kelan, 2008).

A culture of working long hours –and the practice sometimes referred to as "presenteeism", namely, working long hours at a job without a real need to do so – is also typically seen as a masculine attribute (Watts, 2007). On the other hand, some jobs in the highly feminized public sector are perceived as "feminine", also because of the availability of measures to address the needs of workers with family responsibilities (Vaughan-Whitehead, 2011).

Although not all female-dominated occupations have poor working conditions, women are more likely to be concentrated in lower-paid occupations and sectors than men (Burchell et al., 2014; ILO, 2012a; ILO, 2010a; ILO, 2009; Bettio and Veraschcagina, 2009; Charles, 2003). Consequently, sectoral and occupational segregation inhibits the opportunities and choices that women and men have in pursuing different types of work. It also limits women's access to occupations that have good working conditions, access to social protection and availability of work-family measures.

B. Gender gaps in entrepreneurship

According to the ISCO-88 classification, the occupational category of “Legislators, senior officials and managers” also includes owners of both large and small enterprises. Although, globally, women own over one third of all formal businesses, they tend to be concentrated in micro and small enterprises that are typically concentrated in sectors and saturated markets with little or no growth potential (ILO, 2015g). In addition to systemic barriers common to all entrepreneurs (such as access to inputs), women entrepreneurs usually face additional barriers, including discriminatory legal systems, namely, inheritance laws, property law and customary laws, and social attitudes and norms that prevent them from starting new businesses or consolidating or expanding existing ones, and moving outside the informal economy. As a result, the potential of women entrepreneurs is highly underdeveloped. The ILO estimates that 50 per cent of women’s productive potential is underused, compared to 22 per cent of men’s (ILO, 2014e). In a study of 83 economies, the gender gap as the ratio in women and men’s total early-stage entrepreneurship activity is about 7 to 10.³¹ That said, however, between 2012 and 2015 at the global scale the gender gap decreased by 6 per cent (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2015). In the G20 countries, the gender gap in the incidence of entrepreneurs ranges from 1.1 percentage points in Australia to 5.3 percentage points in Turkey (ILO et al., 2014).³²

Discriminatory legal provisions affect women’s entrepreneurship. According to a World Bank study (2015a) covering 173 economies, 155 economies have at least one barrier for women, such as travelling outside the home, signing a contract, having ownership rights over property, opening a bank account, or registering a business. National laws may also prevent women from formally registering their enterprises and obtaining licenses and permits. Customary laws that require men’s signatures in order to register women’s enterprises make it more difficult for women to formalize their enterprises. In addition, lengthy and bureaucratic formalization processes requiring more time commitment may lead to work-family conflicts in societies where the large share of the care burden falls on women. In other cases, legal restrictions that limit women’s mobility, including travel, may prevent them from acquiring all the necessary documents to register their businesses (ADB, 2014). Consequently, discriminatory laws ensure that women’s businesses remain informal because of the difficulties that they encounter in formalizing their enterprises.

Because of the procedures required to formalize their businesses, many women entrepreneurs, especially of microenterprises, remain in the informal economy. In Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania, women entrepreneurs reported the high cost of registering and paying taxes as major barriers to registration. In addition, pressure from family members such as husbands and in-laws has dissuaded women from formalizing their businesses. Other factors compelling them to remain informal include the risk of harassment and coercion by corrupt officials when registering their businesses, time constraints and lack of access to information about their rights and regulations (ILO, 2015h).³³

Difference between women and men in access to inputs affects the scale of production, investment and growth in an enterprise. Female-headed households are less likely than male-headed households to have access to credit and to land ownership (World Bank, 2011a). In addition, according to the FAO Gender and Land Rights Database, in 103 out of 104 countries and territories with available data, women are less likely than men to be agricultural holders.³⁴ In 27 countries, including Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Denmark, Fiji, the Gambia and Netherlands, women make up fewer than 10 per cent of agricultural holders (FAO, 2016). Similarly, women own a smaller proportion of land than men. In the Niger and Nigeria, men are the exclusive owners of 62 and 87 per cent of land, respectively (Doss et al., 2015, cited in De la Campos et al., 2015).³⁵ In Bangladesh and Tajikistan, the shares of land exclusively owned by men are 88 and 86 per cent, respectively (Kieran et al., 2015, cited in De la Campos et al., 2015).

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31. The total early-stage entrepreneurship activity measures the percentage of persons (ages 18–64) who are in the process of starting up their business or have recently started one. This includes those who have yet to pay wages for more than three months (nascent stage), and also new entrepreneurs who have paid salaries for more than three months but no more than 42 months (Global Entrepreneurship Monitor, 2015).

32. Data on Canada, Republic of Korea and South Africa are from 2011 and data for Brazil from 2009.

33. See David et al. (2012) on the risk of harassment by officials for women entrepreneurs. See Mori (2014) and Mugabi (2014) for findings on Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania.

34. An “agricultural holder” is defined as a person who makes the major decisions in using resources and manages the agricultural holding operations (De la Campos et al. 2015; FAO, 2010). Data are from the latest year available between 1991 and 2012. The data are compiled using data from four countries in Central and Western Asia, seven countries in Eastern Europe, 26 countries in Northern, Southern and Western Europe, 19 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, two countries in the Arab States, two countries in Northern America, five in Northern Africa, five countries in Southern Asia, 11 countries in South-Eastern Asia and the Pacific, 20 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, and data from American Samoa, Northern Marianas and Puerto Rico.

35. Ownership does not imply legal ownership. Ownership is self-identified.

Financial services are crucial for the livelihoods of women with low-income, self-employed women and women entrepreneurs in the medium range – in other words, too big to gain access to microfinance yet with insufficient collateral for banks. Across the world, however, women have only 77 per cent of men's access to financial services, including bank accounts, credit and mobile banking (McKinsey Global Institute, 2015). The differentiated access to finance by women and men affects their respective abilities to expand their businesses (Roever and Chen, 2014). In addition, a comparison of the digital inclusion of women and men (access to mobile phones and the internet) shows that women have only 84 per cent of men's average access (McKinsey Global Institute, 2015). Limited access to credit affects both the start-up and the growth of women's businesses.

C. Gender gaps in women's representation in decision-making and leadership positions

In recent years, a great deal of research has been undertaken demonstrating the positive impact of greater gender diversity in management (ILO, 2015g; McKinsey & Company, 2013; Catalyst, 2013; Credit Suisse, 2012; European Commission, 2010). Generally, companies with more gender-balanced management teams have better financial results than those without such teams (McKinsey Global Institute, 2013). As stated in a Catalyst report (2013), a comparison of companies with the least number of women directors on their boards with those with the most shows that the latter outperform the former in their return on sales by 16 per cent and their return on invested capital by 26 per cent. Another study, by Credit Suisse (2014), demonstrates that companies with more women at the board or top management levels see greater returns on equity, higher valuations and higher pay-out ratios. On a nine-year average (2005–2013), companies with at least one woman on their board had a return on equity of 14.1 per cent, versus a return of 11.2 per cent for companies with no such representation. In another study by Thomson Reuters in 2014, based on a sample of 1,843 international companies, companies with mixed boards had better returns and fewer tracking errors. A comparison of the performance between 2009 and 2013 of 863 companies with no women on their boards and of 990 other companies whose boards were at least 10 per cent women shows that the companies with mixed boards perform better (Chanavat and Ramsden, 2014).

As shown in the ILO report *Women in Business and Management: Gaining Momentum* (2015g), there are more women in decision-making roles than a decade ago. In all areas, however, women are still underrepresented in decision-making and leadership positions. Between 2000 and 2012, in 25 countries, women's share of management increased by more than 5 per cent. Women make up 30 per cent or more of all managers in 70 countries. By 2013, as revealed in the ILO Company Survey, 26 per cent of the world's chief executive officers were women, with the highest level of gender parity in Latin America and the Caribbean (40 per cent female chief executive officers) and Central and Eastern Europe (45 per cent female chief executive officers). At the global scale, however, with the exceptions of Colombia, Jamaica and Saint Lucia, there are more men than women in management positions (ILO, 2015g).³⁶ Over time, in some countries, including Canada, Germany and Spain, the share of women in management positions actually declined between 2000 and 2011 (ILO et al., 2014).³⁷

Where women in political power are concerned, since 1995, the number of single and lower houses of parliament with a membership of at least 30 per cent women has grown from 5 to 42. In nearly one in five parliaments, at least 30 per cent of the parliamentarians are women (IPU, 2015a). At the global scale, although the percentage of women parliamentarians has doubled since 1995, by December 2015, only 22.8 per cent of members of parliament in single houses or lower houses were women and 21.3 per cent of those in upper houses or senates. In 37 countries, women constitute less than 10 per cent of parliamentarians in lower or single houses (IPU, 2015b).

While women remain underrepresented in the political arena, women's movements and organizations have traditionally played a key role in the advocacy of women's economic, social and political rights and remain key motors of social change. Women have also become increasingly active in the trade union movement and in a growing number of organizations of informal workers that have been created over the last decades, particularly in developing countries. In addition to fair wages and working hours, women have identified new issues necessitating campaigns, social dialogue and collective bargaining, including the gender wage gap, maternity protection, childcare services and sexual harassment in the workplace (ILO, 2012b; UN Women, 2015). Over recent years, trade unions have also engaged in significant national and international

36. The classification for managers is based on the grouping of "Legislators, senior officials and managers" in ISCO-88 and "Managers" in ISCO-08. Latest years were used for Jamaica (2008), Colombia (2010) and Saint Lucia (2004). See ILO (2015g) for more information.

37. This is based on a comparison of the incidence of female senior managers between 2000 and 2011. Latest year available for Canada is 2008.

campaigns to promote decent work for domestic workers preceding and following the adoption of the ILO Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No.189).

A 2012 review shows that, in two thirds of the 39 developing and developed countries examined, 40 per cent of union members were women and in 12 countries, women constituted the majority of trade union members (Cobble, 2012). The share of women union members reaches as high as 68 per cent in Latvia and 59.2 per cent in Poland. In 2014, 44.2 per cent of the members of national trade union confederations in Europe were women (Bouaffre and Sechi, 2014).

Women's representation in trade union leadership positions has also been growing, moving away from the 1 per cent found by an ILO study in 2002 (ILO and ICFTU, 2002). For instance, ILO data on women's participation at the International Labour Conference (ILC) reveal an increasing proportion of women representatives. In 2004, 18.7 per cent of the representatives (delegates, substitute delegates and advisors) from workers' organizations were women (ILO, 2010b). In 2015, that proportion increased to 23.7 per cent, while the share of women delegates, usually secretaries general, presidents, vice-presidents and members of the executive boards of trade unions, totalled 15 per cent in 2015 (ILO, 2015i; ILO, 2015j).

Similarly, there has been a substantive increase in women's representation in employers' organizations at the ILC. In 2004, 18.5 per cent of representatives of employers' organizations were women. By 2015, that proportion increased to 26.4 per cent, while the share of women delegates reached 22.9 per cent (ibid.).

In an increasing number of trade unions, women are in leadership positions. In a 2014 survey of trade unions in the European Union (EU), women were found to make up 10 per cent of the presidents, 26 per cent of vice-presidents, 25 per cent of general secretaries, 35 per cent of deputy general secretaries and 36 per cent of treasurers (Bouaffre and Sechi, 2014). In the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, 37 per cent of the leadership positions are held by women, including 29 per cent of the presidents and 14.3 per cent of the vice presidents of the affiliated bodies (Chinguno, 2014).

D. Tackling the root causes of sectoral and occupational segregation

1. Encouraging young girls and boys to break gender stereotypes through education and outreach

While educational attainment may have been a significant factor in lowering segregation in the past, it appears to have little effect on current pervasive forms of segregation (Sookram and Strobl, 2009; UN-Women, 2015). In many countries, the average educational attainment of women is similar to that of men. In 2009, 73 per cent of 184 countries had reached gender parity at the primary or secondary level or at both levels. Gender parity at the primary level has been achieved in 128 countries, and at the secondary level in 72 countries. Globally, girls' enrolment rate is also rising at a greater rate than boys' rates (UNESCO, 2012). In secondary education, the gaps are closing rapidly and have reversed in many countries, in particular in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Eastern Asia. Among the developing countries, girls now outnumber boys in secondary schools in 45 countries. There are also more young women than men in universities in 60 countries and women form the majority of the world's university graduates (World Bank, 2011a). The surge in women's tertiary enrolment is due to changing societal and familial attitudes towards girls' schooling. At the same time, in some instances, young men are more likely than young women to find employment or pursue non-formal education after secondary school (UNESCO, 2012).

Advances in gender parity in education have not helped reduce sectoral and occupational segregation. This could be attributed to the gender differences in the fields of study as opposed to gaps in enrolment. Although gender gaps in tertiary education are closing, women are overrepresented in social sciences, business and law in Arab States, Central and Eastern Europe, Eastern Asia and the Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean and Northern America and Western Europe. With the exception of Central Asia and the Arab States, women are underrepresented in the sciences. Within the sciences, women tend to be concentrated in life sciences, where, in the Arab States and Central Europe, they represent over 70 per cent of all graduates. Women are worst represented, however, in computing in all regions, constituting only 21–33 per cent of all graduates (ibid.). A study on the absence of women working in science, technology, engineering and mathematics in the European Union has demonstrated that, although 29 out of 1,000 female graduates have a degree in computing, only four end up working in the field of information and communication technologies (European Commission, 2014b). This suggests the need to move away from an exclusive focus on the expansion of education of women as the best means of combating occupational segregation (Banerjee, 2014).

Box 2**Programmes that combat stereotypes need to target boys as well**

Countries such as Denmark, Finland, Germany, Iceland, the Netherlands and Sweden have adopted initiatives to address gender stereotypes through educational programmes with a view to promoting choices that do not fall in line with gender norms. Historically, such initiatives have targeted young girls, aiming to bring them into male-dominated fields of work (Bettio and Verashchagina, 2009). Several European countries have also adopted initiatives that target both young girls and boys and aim to encourage them to make choices that are non-stereotypical. In Austria, the Ministry of Social Affairs sponsors “Boys’ Days”, in which boys between the ages 14 and 18 spend a day participating in work in schools and hospitals. The event aims to encourage boys to enter into social and educational professions, as only three in ten workers in this sector are men (Council of Europe, 2015).

Women may choose to enter certain occupations or change occupations when they anticipate having children, because of their need for more flexible working arrangements, which are more readily available in some sectors (Gregory and Milner, 2009). For example, in the United Kingdom, women in medicine opt for general practice, which is viewed as a clinically inferior specialty, because it is considered more family-friendly. Women doctors who start off in hospital medicine often switch to general practice in their late twenties and early thirties as they contemplate having children (Crompton and Lyonette, 2010). In male-dominated sectors where flexible working arrangements are less feasible because of an expectation that staff will work long hours, mothers tend to leave the workplace entirely, which reinforces occupational segregation (Cha, 2013). As further discussed in Chapter II, women who wish to reduce their hours of work are limited to a very narrow range of occupations.

Sex segregation in the subject of study chosen by students, as opposed to the level of educational attainment, is a major factor in occupational segregation. At the same time, the decision to pursue a specific field of study and work is heavily influenced by culture and society (Favara, 2012; Barone, 2011; Mastekaas and Smeby, 2008). As such, combating gender stereotypes and norms from an early age is crucial in encouraging girls to break into male-dominated subjects. Initiatives, such as those presented in box 2, that involve educational programmes, training, mentorship and exposure can encourage more young women as well as young men to make choices that may challenge gender norms by bringing them into non-stereotypical fields of study and work.

2. Offering training to women and men to enter into non-stereotypical fields

One way to recruit more women into male-dominated sectors and occupations and more men into female-dominated sectors and occupations is to provide training that actively encourages employment in a specific field. In particular, training programmes that are fully funded and are directly tied to employment opportunities are particularly effective in targeting women and men who are beginning their studies or are entering the labour market. This is of particular importance for fields in which women and men are traditionally overrepresented.

As a study on men in childcare services has shown, enrolment in a well-structured training programme, receiving advice from those working in the field and, above all, internship experiences encourage men to enter such traditionally female-dominated fields as childcare (Pirard et al., 2015). In this way, training programmes that actively recruit men in female-dominated occupations may increase men’s employment. For instance, since 2001, the Men in Childcare Scotland Group has successfully trained 1,200 men and has increased men’s employment in early childhood care and education by offering at least a one-year funded training course exclusively to men (Cameron, 2013; Cameron and Moss, 2007). Such schemes have the additional benefit of exposing children – and their parents – to male caregiver role models, thus further eroding gender stereotypes (Peeters, 2007). In addition, the promotion of decent work in highly female-dominated occupations would not only encourage men to enter into these professions, but also reduce the existing inequalities between women and men deriving from the concentration of women in certain lower paid occupations (see Chapter II).

3. Promoting women's entrepreneurship

Policies that reduce barriers preventing women from starting and developing their businesses would encourage more women to become entrepreneurs. This in turn would reduce the multiple gender gaps in entrepreneurship, including gaps in start-up rates and in the productivity and profitability of businesses, given that female entrepreneurs are more likely than their male counterparts to be owners of microenterprises.

At the macro-level, public policies should foster a gender-responsive legal framework for business development and set in place the mechanisms to prevent and address discrimination in lending markets, land and property rights. In order to address gender gaps in entrepreneurship, discriminatory laws need to be removed. In Lesotho, Namibia and South Africa, laws recognizing husbands as the heads of households have been abolished. This has enabled women to enter into contracts, register property in their name and have joint property (Hallward-Driemeier, 2011, cited in World Bank, 2011a). Governments have also taken steps to reduce gender-biased service delivery to promote women's entrepreneurship. For instance, in land redistribution programmes in Mexico, Nicaragua and Paraguay, the governments have explicitly targeted women by issuing joint titles to land. In South Africa, the Government has issued land individually to men and women, where in one phase of the redistribution, over 47 per cent of the beneficiaries of land redistribution were women (World Bank, 2011a).

At the meso-level, governments, workers' and employers' organizations, including those representing informal and rural women, have a key role to play in setting up incentive measures to facilitate women's access to markets. For instance, women's businesses could be targeted to be providers for public procurement, school feeding programmes and the provision of other public or private services.

Both at the meso- and micro-level, improving access to productive resources and financial services, including credit, loans and saving schemes, is vital for both women and men entrepreneurs, in particular low-income self-employed women and small-scale farmers. First, these services can help households to cope with social and economic shocks, such as catastrophic health expenditure requiring out-of-pocket payments. Second, access to credit can be vital to those wishing to start up or maintain a business on a daily basis (ILO et al., 2014; UN Women, 2015).

Access to microfinance can support women's economic security, in particular when it is provided by regulated and not-for-profit organizations (UN Women, 2015). The Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in India provides banking services (including ATM cards) and loans to its members. By 2013, 400,000 bank accounts had been opened and 25,000 loans granted (SEWA, 2013). Similarly, in Nepal, Didi Bahini Sewa Samaj, an organization for home-based workers, offers interest-free loans without collateral (Inclusive Cities, 2012). Of equal importance is the support provided by public policies to the formation of women entrepreneur's associations and cooperatives, as these organizations are effective in uniting individual entrepreneurs, enabling them to speak with one voice and enjoy better market access (ILO, 2015k).

That said, however, even well-designed microfinance should not be a substitute for extending the reach and inclusiveness of financing institutions and increasing their capacity to respond to the needs of women entrepreneurs and their small and medium-sized enterprises. For instance, the Government of India has introduced its Trade-related Entrepreneurship Assistance and Development (TREAD) scheme for women to provide preferential interest rates and credit guarantee schemes for women entrepreneurs. In Brazil, the individual micro-entrepreneur programme (MEI) was introduced by the Government in 2009, which reduces the registration costs which contribute to keeping female, low-income entrepreneurs in the informal economy. Under the scheme, registered micro-entrepreneurs become eligible for social security and get access to low-interest credit lines in public banks (ILO et al., 2014). Within one year of its introduction, 1.9 million entrepreneurs had registered, 46 per cent of whom were women. Women entrepreneurs reported improvements in costs, business operations, credit and work security (OECD, 2012).

Non-financial services such as entrepreneurship and business development training may also contribute to the development of women's entrepreneurship (Valdivia, 2015; see box 3). In a 2014 study evaluating the impact of the ILO's Start and Improve Your Business programme, which operates in more than 100 countries worldwide, showed that, in Sri Lanka, the programme proved most effective in training women who were out of the labour force. The programme helped these entrepreneurs start up more rapidly, while also increasing the profitability and management of their businesses (De Mel et al., 2013). Training and development is also particularly valuable for women micro-entrepreneurs who may have completed only a few years of formal education, as these training programmes can help overcome knowledge gaps in running a successful business (Mwobobia, 2012). At the same time, training programmes need to take due account of the time that women spend on household and care responsibilities, as time-intensive programmes may lead to higher female dropout rates (Valdivia, 2011).

Box 3 Promoting women's entrepreneurship through skills development and training

Providing women entrepreneurs with skills development and training could improve their market access and encourage their businesses to grow and become more stable. Since 2002, the ILO's Women's Entrepreneurship Development (WED) programme has built the institutional capacity of ILO constituents and other stakeholders and partners in women's entrepreneurship development such as public and private service providers, women entrepreneur's associations and non-governmental organizations to meet the needs of women in terms of financial literacy and entrepreneurial skills to manage household and small business budgets, along with start-and-run small-scale businesses. The programme has been successful in improving profits for women-led businesses. In the Lao People's Democratic Republic, an assessment conducted in 2010 showed that, after receiving training and support from the WED programme, women-led businesses saw a 50 per cent leap in profits, from \$180 to \$270 a month, and their sales quadrupled from \$490 to \$2,150. Women entrepreneurs were more likely to engage in formal bookkeeping (increasing from 22 to 38 per cent) and provide full-time employment (ILO, 2014e).

In addition to training and skills development, the provision of support to agricultural extension services to enhance access to agricultural inputs, services and markets, is also an important means of increasing women farmers' productivity and incomes (ILO et al., 2014). Moreover, the provision of rural infrastructure, including water, electricity, clean stoves, sanitation, roads, safe transport, in addition to health care and other social services, to reduce women's unpaid care and household work (see Chapter III), are a precondition for women's business creation and development (UN Women, 2015).

4. Supporting women's participation and leadership in decision-making

Women should be central actors in influencing and shaping their workplaces. Affirmative action policies are of particular importance in correcting occupational segregation and promoting women's participation and leadership in decision-making. Affirmative action to counter sex discrimination comprises special – usually temporary – measures to redress the effects of past or continuing discrimination in order to establish equality of opportunity and treatment between men and women in practice (ILO, 2007a). Article 5(2) of the ILO Convention on Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) (No. 111) lists legitimate grounds for special measures designed to meet particular requirements, which include sex, age, disablement, family responsibilities or social or cultural status. Such measures are deemed not to be discriminatory but rather form part of a broader effort aimed at ensuring equality of opportunity in practice, taking into account the diversity of situations of the persons concerned, so as to halt discrimination, redress the effects of past discriminatory practices and restore a balance. These measures, which should be grounded on consultations and the consent of the stakeholders, including workers' and employers' organizations, should also genuinely pursue the objective of equality of opportunity, be proportional to the nature and scope of the protection or assistance needed or of the existing discrimination, and be examined periodically in order to ascertain whether they are still needed and remain effective (ILO, 2012c).

Among the wide range of measures that affirmative action for women may encompass, setting targets, goals or quotas for women's participation in activities or sectors, or at levels from which they have previously been excluded and in which they are still underrepresented (in particular leadership positions), represent an important measure, which can be applied in the context of governments, trade unions, business organizations and companies. The implementation of electoral gender quotas has proved to be an effective way to achieve gender equality in political institutions. While quotas were a rare occurrence before 1995, they have steadily gained popularity and are now applied in over 120 countries across the world.

In many countries in Latin America, quotas are mandated by law, under which political parties are required to nominate a certain percentage of female candidates. Whereas the quotas in Latin America were set at 30 per cent in the early 2000s, by the end of the first decade, Costa Rica, Ecuador and the Plurinational State of Bolivia had increased their quotas to 50 per cent. The impact of quotas is most significant in Ecuador, where more than 40 per cent of the parliamentarians in the country's National Assembly are now women, including a woman speaker. Similarly, in sub-Saharan Africa, women's representation in parliament has increased significantly over the last two decades. In 2012, Senegal amended its electoral laws to ensure that all party lists have equal numbers of women and men, requiring the lists to alternate women and men. Parties that do not conform to this law are not allowed to compete in the elections. As a result, the share of women in the country's parliament increased from 11.7 per cent in 1995 to 42.7 per cent in 2015.

Targeted action to improve women's representation in decision-making positions in the labour movement should be a priority, as these gaps are also the result of the cultural and structural issues highlighted in other sectors: the male-dominated culture, the gender stereotypes which confine women to administrative roles, the lack of training and access to other opportunities to develop leadership skills in addition to family responsibilities, which limit the time that women can devote to union activities. In an effort to make unions more inclusive, the ILO conducted its gender-participatory audit process with ITUC-Africa between 2011 and 2013, which focused on capacity-building in gender equality and women's participation and leadership, with the involvement of 789 trade union leaders from 52 national trade unions in 24 countries. As a result of the audit, 5 out of 15 newly elected members of the ITUC-Africa Council for 2015–2019 are now women. By December 2012, 19 trade union presidents and leaders in 11 countries, including Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, the Gambia, Senegal and Togo, were women. That number rose to 23 in 13 countries by December 2013 (Saizonou, 2015).

In Uganda, one seat per electoral district is reserved for women. In addition, women are guaranteed representation in seats that are reserved for the military, youth, persons with disabilities and workers. Between 1995 and 2015, the share of women parliamentarians doubled, reaching 35 per cent by 2015 (IPU, 2015a). Quotas in the public sector have also been implemented through legislation, as in the case of Timor-Leste, where there is a mandatory gender balance in the staffing of the Administrative Council of the Employment and Vocational Training Fund and the Development of the Labour Force Institute. Other countries have also set similar quotas in their public administration, including Belgium, Belize, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Cuba, El Salvador, India, Japan, Nepal and Pakistan (ILO, 2012c).

Quota systems are also increasingly used in the trade union movement at the international and national levels. For instance, the International Trade Union Confederation of Africa (ITUC-Africa) has introduced a 30 per cent quota for its leadership positions and those of its national confederations. To remedy the gender imbalance in Ghana's Trade Union Congress, the Congress has set a minimum quota of 40 per cent, and taken steps to increase women's participation in training and education programmes, which has improved women's representation in decision-making roles in the organization (Britwum, 2014). In South Africa, under the 2012 gender policy of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), unions are advised to reserve seats for women. Although the COSATU has yet to reach the quota of 50 per cent, one third of leadership positions are now held by women (Munakamwe, 2014). Similarly, in the "Count Us In" campaign spearheaded by the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), 80 per cent of affiliates, including the Japanese and Italian trade union confederations, have committed themselves to meeting a 30 per cent target for women in decision-making bodies by 2018 (ITUC, 2015).

Positive trends in women's participation in unions, in particular in leadership positions, have led to a wider inclusion of gender issues in union campaigns (Britwum and Ledwith, 2014) and has heightened the attention paid to issues related to women in the informal economy, and in particular the situation of domestic workers (Hobden, 2015). More effort is still needed, however, to close the gap in women's participation and leadership in trade unions, also as part of broader efforts to make trade unions more inclusive of the needs and interests of workers – both women and men – in the informal economy (box 4). In addition, strengthening women's presence in collective bargaining, in particular the participation of women delegates, offers another means of advancing women in leadership and influential positions within the union. In order to promote women's participation in collective bargaining, trade unions should collect sex-disaggregated data on the composition of their teams over time, in addition to setting targets.

In addition, governments can set voluntary targets and quotas to promote women in leadership positions in business and promote diversity at all levels. For instance, in Norway, there is a gender quota of 40 per cent for certain companies, such as State-owned enterprises (McKinsey Global Institute, 2015). As a result of this quota, by 2013 over 40 per cent of board members were women, while in 2003 only 6.8 per cent of board members were women (ILO, 2015g). In 2015, Germany set gender quotas requiring 30 per cent of board seats to be allocated to women. The quotas are expected to be implemented by 2016 (Smale and Cain Miller, 2015).

Increasing women's ownership of enterprises has been shown to promote gender diversity at the board level. In a study conducted by Sekkat and others (2015), analysing data from the Enterprise Surveys conducted by the World Bank in 74 developing countries from 2009 and 2012, having female owners in enterprises increases the likelihood that they will have women as their chief executive officers. The likelihood that a chief executive officer will be a woman is directly proportionate to the share of female owners. The impact of female ownership on the number of women chief executive officers is all the more significant if the dominant shareholder is a woman and if the firm is foreign-owned.

Other affirmative action measures include the implementation of workplace policies for recruitment, leadership training, fast-track career measures, including sponsorship, mentoring and pairing within existing networks, with governments providing the financial incentives to do so; and information and awareness-raising campaigns to encourage employers to recruit and promote women, in particular in the sectors and categories mentioned. The government should play a leading role in implementing such programmes for public sector employment. Affirmative action measures will be more effective when they are developed and applied through consultation and cooperation between the government and the employers' and workers' organizations concerned; when they suit the needs and possibilities of the employees and employers; and when they are effectively and periodically monitored and followed up (ILO, 2012c).

The International Organisation of Employers (IOE) also works in partnership with the International Federation of Business Women to encourage workplace diversity, gender equality and women's empowerment across the business community. Increasingly, corporate governance codes have made gender diversity policies a requirement. Companies are to report periodically on whether or not the goals or targets are achieved and provide an explanation if there has been no progress. For instance, the 2012 Malaysian Code on Corporate Governance of the Security Commission required company boards to establish a policy to increase boardroom diversity and take steps to recruit women candidates. The boards are asked to explicitly disclose gender diversity policies, measures, and targets in their annual reports. Similarly, in Nigeria, through the Banker's Committee, the Central Bank of Nigeria developed a three-year programme to empower women bankers in the financial system. Between 2012 and 2014, the Committee set a target of 40 per cent of top management positions in banks to be held by women. In addition, 30 per cent of boards in banks were reserved for women. Companies are also encouraged to monitor and report progress (ILO, 2015g).

II. Gender wage gaps

A. Persistence of the gender wage gap

The gender wage gap refers to the difference in pay between women and men. The wage gap may be explained by the differences in the level of education, work experience, sector, type of occupation, location (urban or rural), and the numbers of hours spent in paid and unpaid work. Although the gender wage gap can be explained by these factors, the gap is also due to the undervaluation of women's work, the concentration of women in lower paid jobs, the perception that women are economic dependents and the lack of women's representation in unions (Goldin, 2014; Chen et al., 2013; Grimshaw, 2011, cited in ILO, 2015d).

Differentials in earnings between women and men are a policy concern, as many of the factors that cause the gender wage gap are consequences of broader gender inequalities in the labour market. As discussed, across the world, the education levels of women are rising, yet women are still concentrated in a narrow range of occupations. Because of family responsibilities, women are more likely to work part-time, to work fewer hours than men or to opt for jobs that will not require the regular working of long hours (defined as more than 48 hours per week) and that provide other benefits, such as long leave periods, that accommodate family responsibilities. These aspects all have a direct impact on overall earnings. Even if these factors are taken into account, however, a sizeable portion of the gender wage gap remains unexplained (ibid.).

In this section, some of the underpinnings of the gender wage gap are assessed: the relationship between occupational segregation, low pay and the gender wage gap, and also the impact of gender-dependent patterns of working hours on the wage gap. This chapter will also look at the "unexplained" factors leading to the gender wage gap, including differences in behavioural characteristics of workers that are not easily measured (such as presenteeism and risk-taking behaviour) and direct and indirect discrimination (such as the motherhood wage gap and fatherhood premium).

Although the gender gap in income is also an issue for women entrepreneurs and some discussions in this chapter are also relevant to the realities of the self-employed, this chapter mainly focuses on wages and defines them according to the ILO definition of earnings set out in the 12th International Conference of Labour Statisticians. Earnings, relates to remuneration in cash and in-kind paid to employees, and includes direct wages and salaries for time worked or work done, remuneration for time not worked, bonuses and gratuities, and housing and family allowances which are paid by the employer directly to their employee (ILO, 1973).³⁸

B. How sectoral and occupational segregation perpetuates the gender wage gap

As discussed in the previous section, women and men are concentrated in specific occupations. Occupational segregation may contribute to the gender wage gap, as average earnings differ depending on the given occupation. Figure 25 ranks the occupational groupings based on the average pay levels, with the grouping "Legislators, senior officials and managers" receiving the highest average pay and "Elementary occupations" the lowest average pay. Women are underrepresented in the highest paying occupational grouping. Women are concentrated, however, in the second highest paying grouping of "Professionals".

Within the occupational groupings that are clustered in the middle of the pay ranking (ranks 3–7), workers in the category of "Clerks", an occupation in which women tend to be concentrated, receive the highest average wages. By contrast, "Service workers and shop and market sales workers" receive lower average wages than the two male-dominated occupations of "Plant and machine operators and assemblers" and "Craft and related trade workers".

Differences in average wages by occupational groupings indicate that some occupations in which women are more likely to work receive lower wages on average. This is partially explained by the undervaluation of predominately female sectors and occupations. In a study on the United States, there is a wage penalty

38. Direct wages and salary include pay for time-rated work, incentive pay for time-rated workers, earnings of pieceworkers (excluding overtime premiums), premiums for overtime, shift, night and holiday work, commissions for sales or other personnel, premiums for seniority or special skills, geographical zone differentials, responsibility premiums, dirt, danger and discomfort allowances, payment under guaranteed wage systems and cost-of-living and other allowances. Remuneration for time not worked encompasses direct payments to employees for public holidays, annual vacations and other time off with guaranteed pay. Bonuses and gratuities include seasonal and end-of-year bonuses, along with additional payments during vacation periods (supplementary to normal pay) and profit-sharing bonuses.

Figure 25 Average wages for occupational groupings

Wage ranking by occupational grouping from highest paid to lowest paid

1. Legislators, senior officials and managers

2. Professionals

3. Technicians and associate professionals

4. Clerks

5. Plant and machine operators and assemblers

6. Craft and related trade workers

7. Service workers and shop and market sales workers

8. Skilled agricultural and fishery workers

9. Elementary occupations

Note: The occupational categories are ISCO-88 “Major groups”. In the above table, grey shading indicates an overrepresentation of men and red an overrepresentation of women in the occupational groupings. Where there is no colour there is no significant overrepresentation of either sex. The calculations are based on average wage data for ISCO-88 occupational groupings. The wage levels are determined by a ranking of the average pay for each occupational grouping across a sample of 29 countries and territories. The countries and territories used for the ranking are Belarus, Bermuda, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Brazil, Canada, Czech Republic, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, Spain, Ethiopia, United Kingdom, Hong Kong (China), Indonesia, Israel, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, Macau (China), Madagascar, Mongolia, Mauritius, Pakistan, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, Paraguay, Qatar and the Russian Federation.

Source: ILO.

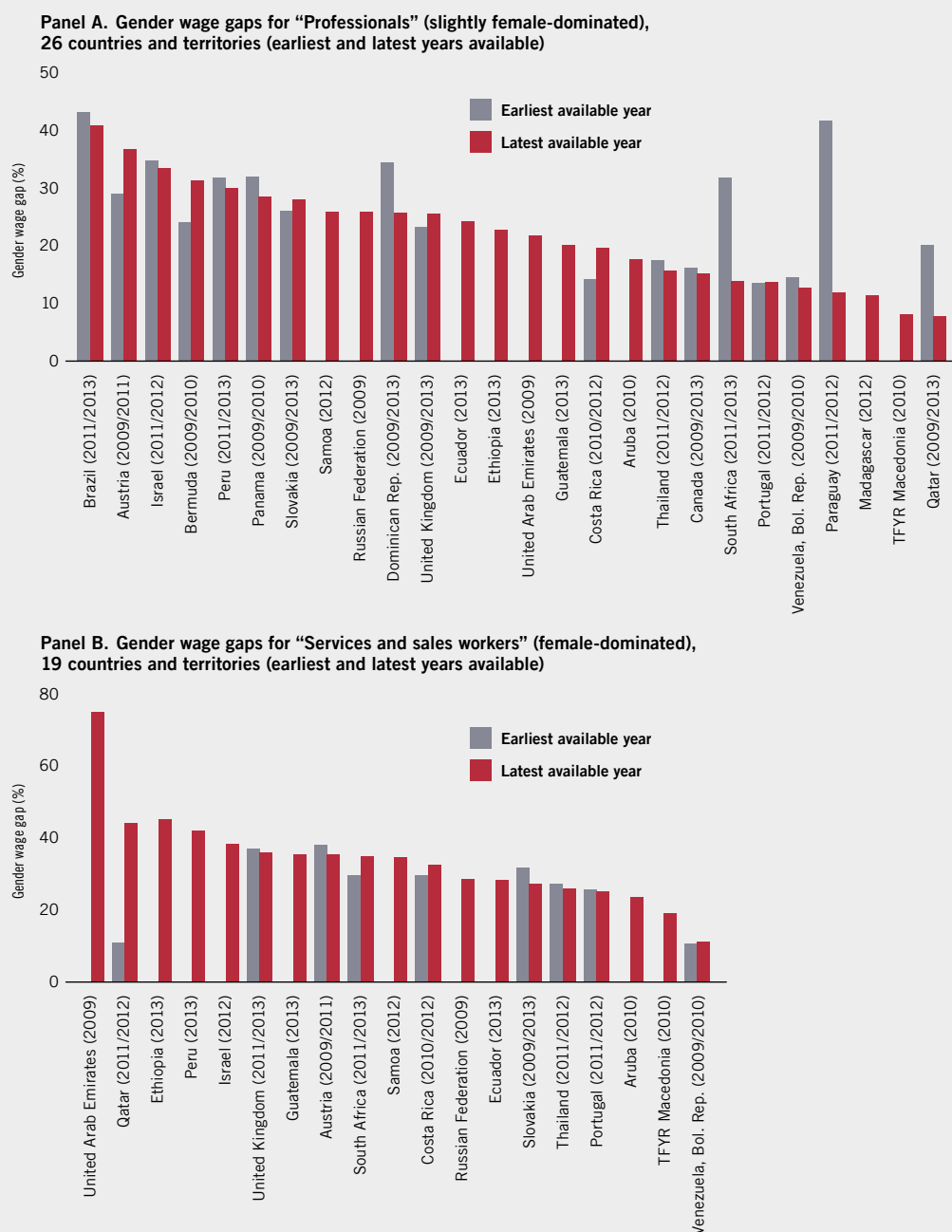
for both women and men, who work in female-dominated occupations. For instance, a highly skilled female worker would earn \$24.04 per hour in a female-dominated job, compared to \$36.06 per hour in a male-dominated job. In other words, if she worked 40 hours per week, she would earn \$25,000 more per year in a male-dominated job. Similarly, a woman in a low-skilled job would earn \$5,990 more per year in a male-dominated job than in a female-dominated job (Hegewisch and Hartman, 2014).

In addition, there are gender wage gaps within occupations. The analysis of pay differentials in occupations that have a slight overrepresentation of women including those in the category “Professionals”, a high overrepresentation of women in the category “Services and sales workers”, occupations that have slightly more men employed (“Managers”), and an occupation where the large majority of workers are men (“Craft and related trades workers”), shows that there is a gender wage gap in all occupations.³⁹

Similar differences in the average wages in female-dominated and male-dominated occupations may be observed in the median weekly earnings for full-time employment, where female-dominated occupations have the lowest remuneration and male-dominated the highest. The earnings in a female-dominated occupation, expressed as a percentage of earnings in a comparable male-dominated occupation, range from 66.9 per cent in high-skilled occupations to 79.8 per cent in medium-skilled occupations (Hegewisch et al., 2010). Although women and men work longer hours in male-dominated occupations than in female-dominated occupations, the hourly wages still show that, regardless of the skill level and the occupation, men’s hourly wages are higher than women’s (Hegewisch and Hartman, 2014).

39. An occupation is considered as “slightly” overrepresenting women (or men) when the difference between women’s and men’s share of total employment for the majority of countries examined is less than 10 per cent. For instance, in the occupational category of “Professionals”, women are slightly overrepresented, as the difference is around 5–10 percentage points, while men are “slightly overrepresented” in the occupational grouping of “Managers” (“Legislators, senior officials and managers” under ISCO-88), since the difference for the majority of countries is between 2 and 8 percentage points. When the difference rises over 10 percentage points in most countries examined, women (or men) are considered as “highly overrepresented” in an occupation (such as women in “Services and sales workers”). Lastly, occupational groupings such as “Crafts and related trade workers” are considered male-dominated as the difference for the majority of countries is between 10 and 30 percentage points.

Figure 26 Gender wage gaps in female-dominated occupations

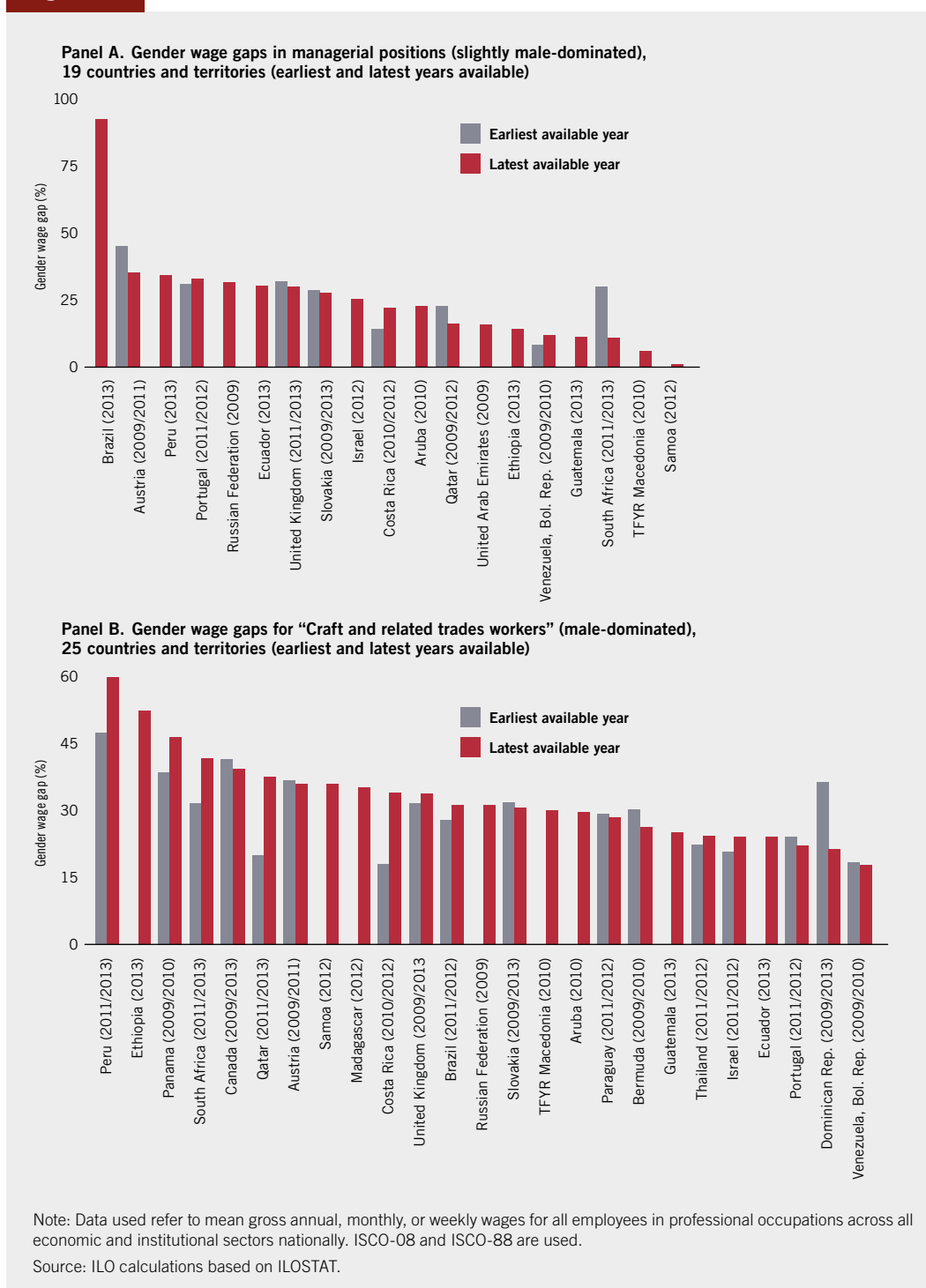


Note: Data used refer to mean gross annual, monthly, or weekly wages for all employees in professional occupations across all economic and institutional sectors nationally. ISCO-08 and ISCO-88 are used.

Source: ILO calculations based on ILOSTAT.

Based on 26 countries and territories where data are available, the gender wage gap for “Professionals” ranges from under 10 per cent to over 40 per cent. In over half of the 26 countries and territories examined, there is a gap of over 20 per cent (figure 26, panel A). In 11 countries and territories, the gender wage gap for professionals has decreased over time. In this second highest paying occupational category, in almost all countries there is a moderate concentration of women. Studies indicate, however, that within the larger occupational category of professionals women tend to outnumber men in lower paid occupations. For example, in the United States, among health-care professionals, women make up only 36 per cent of physicians compared with 90 per cent of registered nurses (UN Women, 2015). Similarly, in the European Union, men were also found to be overrepresented in higher paying professional occupations, such as engineers and computer technicians, in particular in the private sector (Burchell et al., 2014).

Figure 27 Gender wage gaps in male-dominated occupations



In the female-dominated occupation of “Services and sales workers”, in all but two of the 19 countries and territories under consideration the gender wage gap is over 20 per cent (figure 26, panel B). The gender wage gap is higher than 40 per cent in Ethiopia, Peru, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates. As with “Professionals”, the gender wage gap for “Services and sales workers” has decreased in some countries over time, for instance, in Austria, Slovakia and Thailand. A comparison of the gender wage gaps for “Services and sales workers” and “Professionals” indicates that the gaps are higher for the former category. As indicated, the gender wage gap for “Services and sales workers” is over 20 per cent in all but two countries (the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela), while for “Professionals” slightly over half of the countries have a gender wage gap of over 20 per cent.

Turning to occupations where men outnumber women, such as managerial positions, the gender wage gap is over 20 per cent in over half of the 19 countries and territories examined (figure 27, panel A). Four countries, Ethiopia, Panama, Peru and South Africa, have a gender wage gap of over 40 per cent in the occupational grouping of “Craft and related trades workers”, while the gap is over 20 per cent in almost all countries and territories examined, with the exception of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (figure 27, panel B). Compared to managerial positions, in 25 countries and territories the gender wage gap is significantly higher, on average, for “Craft and related trades workers”. This is because the gender wage gap for “Craft and related trades workers” is over 20 per cent for all but one country, whereas for managerial positions just over half of all countries have a gap over 20 per cent. Based on an analysis of the gender wage gap in the four occupations, the gender wage gap appears to be higher in occupations that are more segregated. In other words, the more concentrated that women and men are in a given sector, the higher the gender wage gap is likely to be.

Higher sectoral segregation is associated with lower occupational segregation. Women in female-dominated sectors face lower competition from men and thus stand higher chances of reaching better paid senior positions (Jarman et al., 2012; Hegewisch and Hartman, 2014). This is confirmed by an ILO study of the private education sector in Jordan, as it found that women formed 87.6 per cent of the private education workforce and occupied 75 per cent of the managerial positions (ILO, 2013e).

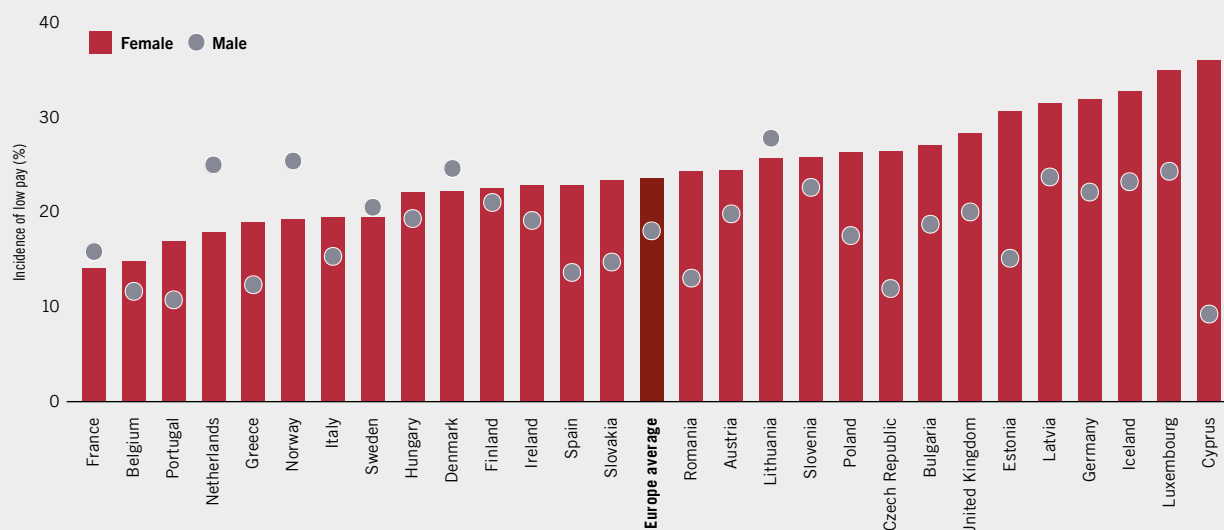
Men, however, may still be at an advantage over women in highly feminized sectors or occupations as men experience what may be termed a “glass escalator” (Campos-Soria et al., 2011; Wingfield, 2008). For example, in Australia, men who enter the nursing profession are more likely than women to be in senior positions (Huppatz and Goodwin, 2013) and the United Kingdom (Mullan and Harrison, 2008). As men are perceived as more ambitious and competitive than women, they are seen as more suited to management jobs than women. This finding is confirmed by the ILO in the private education sector in Jordan, where there is a gender wage gap of 41.6 per cent in favour of men (ILO, 2013e).

Horizontal and vertical segregation also affects workers in the informal economy. A review of informal workers in the global horticulture commodities value chain shows that in the smallholder sector, women are more likely than men to be in contributing family work (Chan, 2013). By contrast, men are more likely to be engaged in the value chain. The differences in women and men’s employment in the informal horticulture sector leads to poorer pay and working conditions for women.

C. Women’s overrepresentation in low-wage jobs

The gender wage gap is further exacerbated by the concentration of women in low-wage employment. Between the mid-to-late 1990s and the mid-to-late 2000s, many countries witnessed an upward trend in the incidence of low-wage employment, defined as the percentage of workers whose earnings are two thirds below the median wage (ILO, 2010c). Between 2006 and 2011, the incidence of low pay among women fell slightly in 21 of the 28 European countries presented in figure 28. Still, in 22 out of the 28 countries the incidence of low-wage employment remains higher for women than for men (figure 28). Thus, based on the European Union statistics on income and living conditions (EU-SILC), 23.6 per cent of women were low-wage employees, as against 17.8 per cent of men. The gender gap in low pay – that is to say, the difference in the incidence of low pay between women and men – amounted to 5.8 percentage points, narrowing from a gap of 8.9 percentage points in 2006. But the reduction in the gender gap is partially explained by an increase (by 1.1 percentage points) between 2006 and 2011 in the number of men classified as low-paid employees, due to the loss of men’s employment in middle-paid jobs, such as construction, that resulted from the global financial crisis. Accordingly, this somewhat narrower gender gap in low pay (by 3.1 percentage points, which over a five-year period remains marginal) is due in part to a small reduction in the incidence of low pay among women, coupled with an increase in its incidence among men. This reduction should not, however, be interpreted as an overall improvement of women’s wages. It rather reflects a change in the composition of the pool of low-paid employees, in which the share of men increased from 51.9 per cent in 2006 to 54.4 per cent in 2011. Over the same period, the total share of low-paid employees among wage and salaried workers (both women and men) did not vary and remained at 20 per cent.

Figure 28 Incidence of low pay for women and men, 28 European countries, 2011



Note: The incidence of low-paid employees is defined as the share of full-time workers earning less than two-thirds of gross median earnings of all full-time employees in the 16-65 age group.

Source: ILO calculations based on Eurostat (EU-SILC), 2011.

D. Working time and gender wage gaps

The amount of time that women can spend in paid work is a key determinant of wage levels. As shown in Part One, large numbers of women in many countries around the world work short hours or part-time, through work arrangements involving reduced hours of work, which allow otherwise excluded groups to participate or remain in paid labour, in particular workers with family responsibilities, students and retirees. Employers may rely on part-time workers because of the lower costs associated with such employment, but also the flexibility that it offers to enterprises to adapt to volatile markets (ILO, 2015m).

1. Effect of part-time work on women's earnings and working conditions

The practice of working reduced hours is also associated, however, with less favourable conditions regarding wages (sometimes referred to as “the part-time pay penalty”) and other employment benefits, inferior job security, restricted social security coverage, and more limited career prospects. These inequalities related with part-time employment are not inherent to part-time work per se, but are due rather to the way in which part-time work is constructed, stemming from labour market institutions favouring working-age, male-dominated full-time professions (Messenger and Ray, 2015).

Two important issues are related to the quality of part-time work. The first is whether part-time work is voluntary or involuntary – that is, whether employees freely choose such work, or are effectively compelled to take it up for lack of a viable alternative, in particular, the limited availability of paid parental leave and affordable and quality social care services. The second is whether part-time work is a regular, long-term prospect or a temporary arrangement – the former usually being linked to other priorities outside work or a limited skills set, while temporary arrangements usually concerning people in transition, such as students, retirees and often parents returning from parental leave. Research shows that involuntary regular or long-term part-time employment is a major source of inequality, both in respect of full-time employment and because it is often a characteristic of female employment in low-skilled jobs (Kjeldstad and Nymoene, 2012).

As shown in Part One, across the world the majority of those working less than 35 hours per week are women, most likely because of their primary role as caregivers in most societies. Sectoral and occupational segregation is responsible for the high share of women in part-time employment in two ways. First, large differences in women and men's uptake of part-time employment lead to greater occupational segregation. Second, part-time employment is available in a limited number of sectors and occupations which tend to be female-dominated, such as health and social work, education and hotel and restaurant work (Eurofound, 2011) and service jobs and some intermediate clerical jobs (Fagan et al., 2014).

In fact, many higher-paid, higher-skilled jobs are simply unavailable on a part-time basis, and there are significant obstacles to movement from part-time to full-time jobs due to the related skills requirements. This is also linked to the higher administrative costs involved in hiring two or more higher-skilled part-time workers in lieu of one full-time worker, which might also explain why part-time work tends to cluster in the low-skilled professions (Rau Binder, 2010, cited in Messenger and Ray, 2015), although, as Manning and Petrongolo (2008) suggest, the higher cost is due to hiring and training for high-level jobs. Consequently, employers may be more in favour of allowing existing workers to switch from full-time to part-time work, as opposed to hiring new employees who want to work part-time.

Consequently, the higher share of women in part-time employment further contributes to the crowding of women into a narrow range of sectors and occupations, leading to greater occupational segregation. As Sparreboom (2014) demonstrates in a study of 25 economies in the European Union, the impact of part-time employment on occupational segregation depends on the female and male part-time employment-to-population ratios.⁴⁰ If there is a large gap between the female and male part-time employment-to-population ratios, increased part-time work will encourage the crowding of women in a narrow range of occupations. Conversely, if the gender gap in the part-time employment-to-population ratio is small, there will be lower levels of segregation, as men would crowd into part-time occupations which are largely female-dominated, and thus reduce occupational segregation.

In addition, women may have to change to a lower-skill occupation to accommodate their need for reduced working hours. This phenomenon is known as “occupational downgrading”, whereby employees working full-time who want to reduce working hours, often in order to free themselves for family responsibilities, have to change jobs in search of shorter work hours. A study of the part-time pay penalty incurred by British women shows that the uptake of part-time work could entail switching from a higher-skill occupation to a lower-skill occupation. Some professional women move to occupations such as clerical or sales workers or care assistants, which underuse their educational and professional training. According to the authors, the downgrade is more severe for women in high-skilled occupations than those in medium-skilled occupations (Connolly and Gregory, 2008). This undoubtedly contributes to a decrease in earnings and affects potential future career prospects and seniority. A similar study demonstrates that switching employers to accommodate flexible work further promotes occupational downgrading (Neuburger et al., 2011).

Because part-time employment is commonly found in lower-paid occupations and in a narrower range of jobs, the hourly wages of a part-time worker may be lower than the hourly wage of a full-time worker, owing to the pay differences in the sector and occupation (Matteazzi et al., 2013).⁴¹ For instance, the wage gap between women employed full-time and part-time exceeds 20 per cent in Germany, Italy, Spain and the United Kingdom. After accounting for the full-time wage gap between women and men and the female full-time and part-time wage gap, the study reveals that the majority of the part-time wage penalty may be attributed to occupational segregation and, to a lesser extent, the disparity in labour market experience and education levels between full-time and part-time workers.

The “part-time pay penalty” is only partly attributable to occupational segregation, however. The primary form of inequality in part-time work is the lower hourly wage rate relative to a full-time worker in a comparable situation (see Manning and Petrongolo, 2008 and Fernández Kranz and Rodríguez-Planas, 2009, cited in Messenger and Ray, 2015). Even when full-time and part-time workers have the same hourly wage, they may not have access to the same bonuses, including profit-sharing, performance pay, over-time pay and team-based bonuses (OECD, 2015a). In addition, part-time workers may not qualify for overtime pay (Lee and Yoo, 2008) or be subject to contractual penalties. This, for instance, is the case for domestic workers who work on an hourly basis for many employers.

Part-time work is more likely to result in labour market inequalities when it is designed to reduce employers’ labour costs or to accommodate substantial fluctuations in market demand (Messenger and Ray, 2015). Some employers may choose to employ part-time workers because they do not meet the minimum threshold for social security benefits (Carré and Tilly, 2012; Greenhouse, 2012). In some countries, such as Japan, the Republic of Korea and South Africa, eligibility to unemployment benefits among employees is restricted by fixing a minimum number of hours of work, with obvious consequences for part-time, casual and temporary workers, including domestic workers, whose hours are below the minimum threshold (Fagan et al., 2014; ILO, 2015c).⁴²

40. The study covers a period between 2002 and 2011 for 25 developed economies in the European Union except for Latvia, Lithuania, Malta and Romania and does not include Switzerland and Norway. The notion of “part-time” is understood to mean a working time of under 30 hours.

41. The authors’ study is based on calculations of the full-time and part-time wage gap for women in Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom.

42. A minimum of 20 scheduled working hours per week in Japan; at least 60 hours a month or 15 hours a week in the Republic of Korea; and more than 24 hours a month in South Africa.

Part-time employment limits access to better career prospects, the related pay rises, and skills development. Part-time workers are assumed to be less career-oriented, as working fewer hours sends a signal to some employers that the worker has other priorities. This means that part-time workers are less likely to be promoted to higher-paid positions (McDonald et al., 2009). In terms of training opportunities, part-time workers generally have less access to training than full-time employees, and this is especially the case for part-time workers under non-permanent contracts (Fagan et al., 2014; Asao, 2011).

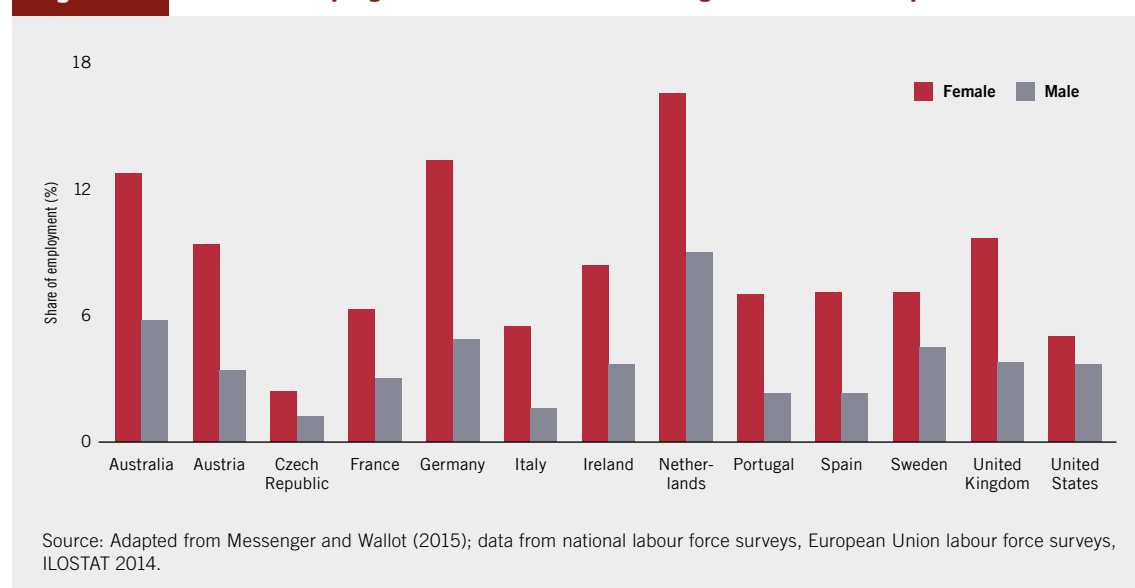
2. Overrepresentation of women among marginal part-time workers

Over the last decade, marginal part-time employment has become a more common form of non-standard work, entailing very short hours of less than 15 hours or less than 20 hours a per week, depending on the national threshold (Messenger and Wallot, 2015). Marginal part-time work includes “on-call” contracts and “zero-hours” contracts. The hours of such part-time work can be highly variable, unpredictable and insecure. In some cases, workers may not know when work begins or ends. Domestic work is one sector in which women are highly overrepresented, and in which working hours are highly unpredictable and insecure. Many domestic workers also work significant periods of on-call time (ILO, 2011b; ILO, 2014f). Atypical working hours, especially if involuntary, are associated with poorer working conditions. In the absence of minimum hour provisions, employers may be under no obligation to provide a minimum or specific number of hours of work (ILO, 2015c). The extent of marginal part-time work and legal protection offered to marginal part-time workers differs greatly from country to country (Messenger and Wallot, 2015).

Moreover, uncertainty in working hours can lead to conflicts between paid work commitments and personal life needs (ibid.; Keller et al. 2012). The on-call basis of marginal part-time work makes it easier for employers to hire and dismiss workers. Workers working casually are less likely to receive training and other benefits. In Ireland, on-call workers are 47 per cent less likely to receive training when compared to employees on a permanent contract (Layte et al. 2008).

As observed in 13 developed countries, women are more likely than men to be in marginal part-time work (figure 29). This could be explained by the occupations dominated by women that commonly recruit on an on-call basis. In Sweden, the hospitality and elderly care services tend to hire workers under these arrangements. In Italy, 60 per cent of all employees in the hotel and restaurant sector and 13 per cent of all employees in education, health, social and personal services are employed on an on-call basis (Eurofound, 2015a). In the United Kingdom, many such “zero-hours contracts” are found in education, health and public administration (30 per cent of all zero-hours contracts) and hospitality and retail services (27 per cent of all zero-hours contracts) (Brinkley, 2013). Many workers in elderly care services in the United Kingdom are also on zero-hour contracts (Koehler, 2014). Given that many of these sectors have an overrepresentation of women workers, this could explain why women are so overrepresented in marginal part-time work. Marginal part-time work presents a challenge as it further contributes to lower earnings for women and puts them at risk of economic instability.

Figure 29 Share of employed women and men working 14 hours or less per week, 2014



3. Long working hours and the expectation of long working hours

While excessively short hours can be problematic, at the other extreme of the spectrum, long working hours (defined as more than 48 hours per week) negatively affect workers with impacts on their health, mental well-being and work-family balance. It affects in particular low-paid workers and those who have little influence over their jobs or work environment, such as domestic workers. On the other hand, longer working hours for some workers result in higher compensation, for example in the case of bankers and lawyers. National legislation on long working hours may not apply to certain groups of workers.

Men make up a higher share of the employees working long hours. As shown in a Eurofound report, men worked an average 2.1 hours more than women per week across the 27 European Union countries (Eurofound, 2010). Not only does the expectation of long working hours limit women's career progressions, it also puts pressure on men, who are expected to work longer hours. Consequently, gender stereotypes and cultural expectations about working hours help to perpetuate the existing division of labour (Lee et al., 2007). This is because the long working hour culture leads to a stigma against professionals who choose to take up flexible arrangements such as reduced hours and teleworking.

As Williams and co-authors explain (Williams et al., 2013), the flexibility stigma is a gender-dependent phenomenon. Women who take flexible work arrangements are viewed as doing what they are supposed to do by prioritizing their family over their work (Stone, 2013; Stone and Hernandez, 2013). By reducing their working hours, women perceive that both their status at work and quality of assignments fall drastically (Stone and Hernandez, 2013). For men, the cultural assumption of being a good father means being a good worker and breadwinner. As such, a man who decides to adopt flexible work is perceived to be "less of a man" (Williams et al., 2013; Berdahl and Moon, 2013; Rudman and Mescher, 2013; Vandello et al., 2013).

While the expectation to work long hours creates a barrier to women's access to high status and highly paid jobs, women in the lowest paid occupations are often also working long hours. Self-employed workers are de facto not covered by national legislation on working time. This is reflected in the findings set out in Part One, showing that more self-employed workers than wage and salaried workers work more than 48 hours per week.

Although men in wage and salaried employment work longer hours than women, domestic workers – or employees providing services for private households – work long hours. Domestic work provides 3.6 per cent of all wage employment. Women make up the vast majority of the world's domestic workers, ranging from 63 per cent in the Middle East to 92 per cent in Latin America and the Caribbean. Globally, 57 per cent of all domestic workers or 29.7 million individuals have no limitations on their working hours. A small proportion – 3.6 per cent – of all domestic workers, or 1.9 million individuals do have such limitations but on less favourable terms than other workers. Domestic workers, on average, work longer hours than the national averages. In Nepal, domestic workers worked an average of 52 hours per week even though the national average was 39 hours. Similarly, domestic workers reported working long hours in Indonesia (51.6 hours), Malaysia (65.9 hours), the Philippines (52 hours), Qatar (60 hours), Thailand (58.3 hours), Namibia (62 hours), and the United Republic of Tanzania (63 hours).⁴³ In industrialized countries, the average weekly working hours for domestic workers are considerably shorter and, for example, in Europe they often have the reverse problem of not finding enough work (ILO, 2013f).⁴⁴

Long working hours and schedule inflexibility are also significant sources of work-family conflict and dissatisfaction for workers who have to balance work, family and other commitments (Fagan et al., 2012). For women in professional occupations, the culture of long hours becomes a barrier to advancing their careers, while the flexibility stigma discourages men from reducing their work hours to meet family responsibilities. For women and men in low-paid occupations, long working hours also limit their ability to balance work and family responsibilities (discussed further in Chapter III).

43. The following years were used for the data points: Indonesia (2008), Malaysia (2008), Namibia (2007), Philippines (2010), Qatar (2009), Thailand (2003), and the United Republic of Tanzania (2006).

44. Based on the ILO's (2013f) analysis of 17 industrialized countries, the working week for domestic workers ranges from 15.1 hours in Austria to 39.6 hours in Lithuania.

E. Discrimination: The unexplained component of the gender wage gap

1. Assessing the gender wage gap

The gender wage gap can be divided into “explained” and “unexplained” components. In the ILO’s *Global Wage Report 2014/2015* (ILO, 2015d), the explained and unexplained gender wage gap is assessed for a set of mainly developed countries. While the “explained” component may be attributed to observable labour market characteristics, such as experience, level of education and employment sector, discrimination and other unexplained factors account for the “unexplained” component. In the United States, where women hold 62 per cent of jobs that earn the minimum wage or less, the gender wage gap for lower-paid workers is largely explained (Krogstad, 2014). For better-paid women, however, a larger share of the gender wage gap remains unexplained. Similarly, in Chile and the Russian Federation, unexplained factors largely account for differences in pay between men and women (ILO, 2015d).

The unexplained factors mostly cited by the literature, which are not necessarily separated from discrimination, include returns for unobservable or non-measurable characteristics, including risk taking, flexibility over work commitments, working unusual hours, higher mobility, competition, ambition, work effort and difference in responsibilities. In addition, direct discrimination also plays a role in exacerbating the gender wage gap. Employers may discriminate against workers based on their subjective prejudice against women (Petreski and Mojsoska Blazevski, 2015). For instance, social expectations and stereotypes about women and real or potential motherhood may contribute to the gender wage gap. Employers may justify paying women less because of what they perceive as women’s lack of commitment to their jobs. All women are perceived to be potential mothers or carers and they may be overlooked when more challenging assignments or even promotions are made. Then, when women do have children, even if their hours are not reduced, employers and colleagues assume that they have a reduced commitment (Lips, 2013a). Consequently, employers may practice what could be termed “statistical discrimination”, by assuming that all women expect to interrupt their careers, show less interest in training to improve their skill-sets and are less likely to take positions where the compensation is future-loaded (Rubery and Grimshaw, 2015).

Discrimination against pregnant workers and workers with family responsibilities – or “maternity-related discrimination” – is a pervasive problem around the world. Growing evidence shows that “maternity harassment” – namely, the practice of harassing a woman because of pregnancy, childbirth, or a medical condition related to pregnancy or childbirth, or a worker because of family responsibilities – is also widespread. There are also concerns that, in a number of countries, discriminatory or violent practices grew during the economic crisis (ILO, 2015n). For instance, a 2015 survey of the United Kingdom Equality and Human Rights Commission found that 11 per cent of the women respondents reported having been dismissed or made compulsorily redundant, while others in their workplace were not, or were treated so poorly that they felt they had to leave their job. If scaled up to the population of the United Kingdom, this could mean as many as 54,000 women losing their jobs each year. The study also found that one in five new mothers experienced harassment or negative comments from their employer or colleagues related to pregnancy or as a result of flexible working requests being approved. This could represent as many as 100,000 mothers per year (EHRC, 2015).

Another 2015 survey commissioned by the Government of Japan on the prevalence of “maternity harassment” (*matahara*) shows that 48.7 per cent of women who work on short-term agency contracts were victims of undue dismissal (over one fifth), demotion, unfair treatment or verbal abuse. The survey also found that 21.8 per cent of employees with full-time regular contracts suffered from similar mistreatment. The number of maternity harassment complaints has risen by 18 per cent since 2009, in parallel with the increase of the number of women who return to work after maternity leave (McCurry, 2015).

As several authors have suggested, however, discrimination also influences the explained factors of the gender pay gap (Lips, 2013a and 2013b; Tharenou, 2013; Petreski and Mojsoska-Blazevski, 2015). For example, the work experience of women and men may differ given that women are more likely to work reduced hours, adopt flexible work arrangements or take career breaks to attend to family responsibilities (ibid.). As discussed above, women’s and men’s decisions to be flexible are largely shaped by the work culture and, consequently, women continue to take more career breaks than men. As indicated earlier, occupational and sectoral segregation leads to the concentration of women in lower paid positions, which also explains part of the gender wage gap. Both of these factors are affected by family responsibilities, gender stereotypes, cultures and norms, which cannot be attributed to personal choice alone.

Social institutions can also perpetuate discrimination and thus diminish or exacerbate existing gender inequalities, including the gender wage gap. Social institutions, which encompass both formal and informal laws, may be considered discriminatory when they undervalue women’s status in the household or labour force or limit their decision-making powers (Branisa et al., 2013; Gonzales et al., 2015; Demircuc-Kunt et al., 2013). As seen in the previous chapter on women’s entrepreneurship development, discriminatory

social institutions such as parental authority, access to land, to non-land assets and to financial services can impede women's employment opportunities. Unequal treatment of men and women in legal frameworks and gaps in legal protection regarding non-discrimination in employment and equal pay for men and women for work of equal value also result in discriminatory practices that affect women's income security (ILO et al., 2014). The absence of adequate legal protection for pregnant women and mothers in terms of non-discrimination laws, adequate paid maternity leave and the guaranteed right to return to work affects the retention rates of mothers in the workforce (further discussed in section C below).

2. Motherhood penalty and fatherhood bonus

In all regions, working mothers suffer a wage penalty in addition to the existing gender wage gap. On average, mothers earn less than women without dependent children and far less than fathers with similar household and employment characteristics. Even after children are grown up, pay penalties for motherhood persist (Grimshaw and Rubery, 2015). The widening gender gaps with age found in many countries suggest that mothers lose earnings due to time taken off work or reduced hours for childbirth and family responsibilities and may not be able to catch up in the pay hierarchy later on. Subsequently, they may become trapped in careers with limited pay promotion opportunities (Davies et al., 2000).

Existing studies comparing the average wages of mothers and women without children show that mothers face a wage penalty. Thus, in a study of 21 developing countries, the average motherhood penalty was 42 per cent (Agüero et al., 2011). In China, mothers face a penalty of 37 per cent (Zhang et al., 2008), while in Italy mothers earn €15 less per week than the average weekly wage of €360. Their average yearly wage growth is 3 per cent lower than other workers (Pacelli et al., 2012). Figure 30 shows the unadjusted motherhood wage gap in a selected number of developing economies, which can vary between under 5 per cent in the Russian Federation to over 30 per cent in Mexico.

Aside from the wage penalty that mothers face, the motherhood wage gap is also reinforced by the fatherhood bonus, where men enjoy an increase in wages when they have children (Budig, 2014). A longitudinal study on the gender wage gap in Norway from 1979 to 1996 showed that, although the motherhood penalty has largely been reduced as a result of family-friendly policies, the husband and father premium has become the primary driver of the motherhood wage gap (Petersen et al., 2014). Similarly, in a study of eight industrialized countries, fathers witnessed a wage bonus, in particular in Canada, France, Germany and the United States (Lundberg, 2012).

Some studies suggest that the fatherhood bonus is exceptionally high for men, depending on their education level, ethnicity, heterosexual marital status and professional or managerial status (Hodges and Budig, 2010). In the United States for instance, while women see a decrease in earnings for each additional child that they bear, men see increases as they become fathers and for additional children. All men receive a wage bonus for fatherhood, but the bonus is greater depending on their ethnicity. On average for college-educated graduates, white men receive a bonus of \$5,258, Latino men a bonus of \$4,170 and black men a bonus of \$1,500 (Budig, 2014).

Figure 30

**The motherhood wage gap in selected countries
(latest year available, unadjusted wages)**



Notes: The motherhood wage gap is defined as $MPG = ((Enm - Em)/Enm) \times 100$, where Enm is the gross average monthly earnings of women who are not mothers and Em is the gross average monthly earnings of mothers. Data are not comparable across countries because of differences in methodologies and definitions used to calculate the motherhood wage gap.

Source: ILO, 2015d.

F. Addressing the gender wage gap

Broadly, differences in remuneration are linked to objective differences in the value of work performed (such as skills, working conditions, responsibilities and effort). As the present chapter demonstrates, however, the gender wage gap is also attributable to other factors, including discrimination. Although differentiated earnings are a symptom of broader issues of gender inequality in the labour market, there are nonetheless policy mechanisms that can promote remuneration equality between women and men.

1. Eliminating unequal treatment of men and women in the labour market

Clear legislative frameworks that establish a level playing field ensure that women have equal access to labour market participation and protection from all forms of direct and indirect discrimination and harassment. In addition, a sound legal framework that prevents discrimination of workers based on gender, maternity, paternity and family responsibilities (box 5) provides a formal structure removing barriers to employment and career progression, such as restrictions on ownership, on female employment in some occupations and on working hours.

There are a few key legal protections that are crucial to women's continued employment, in particular after childbirth. These include: guaranteeing the right to return to work after leave of absence to the same or equivalent position and pay; shifting the burden of proof to employers; enacting laws to prohibit discrimination and gender-based violence in general and in relation to maternity and family responsibilities specifically; and providing gender-specific health protection at the workplace.

The guaranteed right to return to work in the same or equivalent position at the end of maternity leave is important for women's permanence and progression in paid work after childbirth. In an examination of 146 countries, the ILO found that only 38 countries have legal guarantees for a woman's right to return to work to the same or equivalent post, 26 guarantee the same post but 82 do not have any guarantees (ILO, 2014d). Judicial systems that place the burden of proof on employers regarding dismissals help to protect women who are dismissed on the basis of maternity. Similarly, legislation prohibiting discrimination on the grounds of maternity or pregnancy would cover many aspects of employment including access, recruitment, dismissal, seniority, promotion, training, changes in position, retirement and other working conditions.

Box 5

Measures to eliminate unequal treatment related to maternity and family responsibilities

Many countries have implemented measures to ensure that all workers without discrimination, including self-employed workers, are protected. For instance, in Spain, casual, seasonal and self-employed workers and students are covered by parental leave. In Azerbaijan, Brazil and Singapore, it is mandatory to provide coverage for self-employed workers for maternity cash benefits. In Canada, the Republic of Korea and the United States, for example, labour legislation guarantees the right to return to work to the same or an equivalent position paid at the same rate after maternity leave. In France, the 2014 law on equality between women and men establishes that employers cannot terminate the employment contract of a male employee during the four weeks following the birth of a child. "Sex", "pregnancy" and "family responsibilities" are explicitly cited as prohibited grounds of discrimination in the legislation of Australia, France, Italy and the Republic of Korea. The burden of proof that reasons for dismissal are unrelated to maternity rests on the employer, for instance, in the legislation of Argentina, Colombia, Germany, Mauritania, Sri Lanka and Zambia. In such countries as Austria, Chile, Guatemala and Panama, employers are obliged to ask for judicial or administrative authorization before giving notice of dismissal to a pregnant or nursing worker. In the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Equatorial Guinea and Slovenia, employers need authorization from a labour inspector prior to dismissal. By 2013, 38 per cent of the 144 countries examined globally had taken steps to shift the burden of proof to the employer.

Statutory labour legislation protects pregnant and nursing workers from hazardous and unhealthy work and, in some countries, these arrangements enable employees to be temporarily reassigned or their work duties to be adjusted for medical reasons, as for example, in France, Japan and Spain. Italy, Mexico and the Russian Federation also have statutory provisions for working time arrangements facilitating the nursing and breastfeeding of infants. Guinea Bissau, the Republic of Korea, Turkey and Viet Nam provide time off with pay for prenatal medical examinations.

Source: ILO, 2014d.

In the workplace, occupational safety and health policies can promote a safe and healthy working environment for women and men. Gender-neutral policies may not, however, be able to accommodate the needs of pregnant or nursing workers. For instance, pregnant or nursing workers may require more working time arrangements to cater for medical examinations during pregnancy and breastfeeding after giving birth. In addition, a pregnant or nursing woman's tasks at work might have to be adjusted to avoid activities that are hazardous to their health or the health of their unborn or newborn child (ILO, 2014d).

However, some forms of legal provisions, adopted with the aim of protecting certain groups of workers, particularly women, may be discriminatory. For example, legal provisions prohibiting dangerous work and also night work and overtime for all women, however laudable they seem in terms of concern for health, run counter to the principle of equality of opportunity and treatment in employment and occupation and contribute to gender-based discrimination at work. The ILO found that there are statutory measures on dangerous or unhealthy work affecting pregnant or nursing women in 111 out of 160 countries with available information, and 78 countries (49 per cent) set out explicit prohibitions against such work. Almost half of those with explicit bans forbid all women from working under certain conditions classed as dangerous (ILO, 2014d).

In addition, the principle of equal pay for work of equal value should be codified in law and included in collective bargaining processes (box 6). In contexts where wages are set at the sectoral or occupational level, this also means that minimum wage levels for sectors and occupations with a high concentration of women should be set at a level equal to that of a comparable, male-dominated sector or occupation.

Box 6

Enacting equal pay laws and strengthening equal pay through collective bargaining

As referred to under the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100), the principle of equal pay for work of equal value for women and men should be applied through national laws and regulations. The concept of “work of equal value” is critical in eliminating gender-based pay discrimination, in particular in cases where women and men perform different work that is nevertheless equivalent in value. This is especially helpful in addressing the gender wage gaps due to sectoral and occupational segregation. Several countries have incorporated the principle of equal pay for work of equal value in law. In the Plurinational State of Bolivia and Ecuador, equal pay for work of equal value is enshrined in the countries' constitutions. In Togo and Uganda, employers are required by law to ensure equal remuneration for work of equal value or same work for all workers.

Equal pay for work of equal value can be further enforced through collective agreement. In 2010 in Denmark, a collective agreement in the manufacturing sector was renewed, which included the establishment of an equal pay tribunal. This tribunal is to be chaired by a labour court judge to deal with disputes. The main workers' and employers' organizations are responsible for nominating the board members. A similar collective agreement was signed in other sectors, including transport, construction and the cleaning industry. Consequently, the tribunal now covers all sectors and has representation from all the organizations.

There are various measures to enforce this principle in practice, for instance, through labour inspection. Thus, in Belgium, the Czech Republic, El Salvador, Kenya, Morocco and Spain, labour inspectors are trained in inspecting both conditions of work and remuneration. Inspectors are provided guidance on how to evaluate jobs to determine whether equal remuneration is paid for work of equal value.

Source: Oelz et al., 2013.

Governments and workers' and employers' organizations can actively eliminate the unequal treatment of women and men at work. Equal treatment mechanisms should be implemented through effective remedies, dissuasive sanctions and monitored and enforced through labour inspection, specialized equality bodies and effective access to courts; in addition, data collection on discrimination will facilitate the monitoring of the frameworks for equality (ILO et al., 2014).

2. Promoting equal pay for work of equal value through wage transparency, training and gender neutral job evaluation methods

The principle of equal pay for men and women for work of equal value, as set out in the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100), is a concept in the domain of action to combat discrimination. This principle has also been reaffirmed in target 8.5 of Sustainable Development Goal 8 on promoting inclusive and sustainable economic growth, employment and decent work for all, which stipulates that, by 2030, countries should “achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including for young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value”.

This principle, however, is often not well understood. In some countries, laws and regulations refer only to equal pay for “identical” or “similar” work rather than for work “of equal value”. The lack in many countries of reliable sex-disaggregated data on wages conceals the existence of a gender pay gap, thus making it difficult to monitor trends in the size and underlying causes of the gender pay gap. Underlying gender biases in wage structures and remuneration practices could lead to the undervaluation of women’s jobs. It is essential to provide training and practical guidance on applying the principle of equal pay for work of equal value in national law and practice, with a view to assisting national equality bodies, wage-fixing institutions and social partners when negotiating equal pay provisions in collective agreements or in developing workplace policies (ILO, 2015c).

A key means of addressing the issue of equal pay is provided by job evaluation methods that are gender-neutral. Job evaluations help to determine the value of different jobs in an objective and non-discriminatory way (Oelz et al., 2013). This is essential, given that women and men remain segregated in different occupations. For instance, a caring profession, which is typically considered “feminine”, may be perceived as requiring low skills and the manual dexterity and emotive skills needed for caring professions may often be overlooked. By contrast, construction work that is considered “masculine” may be easier to evaluate because the skills needed are obvious – those working in this area are required to do heavy lifting. By making a proper assessment of skills, responsibilities, working conditions and qualifications, an objective job evaluation method would ensure that the many characteristics and skills required for more female-dominated occupations are not undervalued. Added to which, gender-neutral job evaluations can ameliorate the effects of sectoral and occupational segregation, as seen in the case of the catering services in Portugal (box 7).

To properly implement the equal pay principle, key target groups must have access to specialized information and training on equal pay, including employment officials, officials in equality or human rights bodies, judges, labour inspectors, resource managers and consultants, workers and employers and their organizations and women’s organizations. One way to provide specialized information is through the establishment of transparency of pay and promotion structures (Oelz et al., 2013; ILO, 2012c). For instance, the Equality Ombud in Sweden has published a brochure on pay surveys, designed to explain the difference between equal work and work of equal value. In addition, the Ombud has taken steps towards the conduct of pay surveys and analysis (Oelz et al., 2013). Similarly, under its national action plan for gender equality in the labour market, Austria has made it compulsory for companies to submit an equal pay report with staff income every two years. Companies have to provide sex-disaggregated data on different categories of staff and their average or median pay after adjusting for working time (European Commission, 2014b).

Box 7 Re-valuing a female-dominated sector in Portugal

In Portugal, catering services are largely female-dominated. The majority of the enterprises in this sector are small and are associated with low earnings, low productivity, high turnover and high levels of absenteeism. Given the prevailing working conditions, the majority of the workers in this service are young migrant women from Brazil and Portuguese-speaking African countries.

In a 2005–08 project financed by the European Commission and the ILO, a job evaluation method that is free from gender bias was used to combat the undervaluation of these female-dominated jobs in the restaurant and beverage sectors. Working with social partners, the concerns of both workers and employers were captured. The experience and tools from the project provided a model of a 25-hour training course in the national catalogue of public training for different sectors. In addition, the Portuguese trade union federation in the footwear sector produced a training guide on equal pay for those of its union members involved in collective bargaining.

Source: ILO, 2015c.

3. Supporting adequate and inclusive minimum wages and strengthening collective bargaining

Over the past decade, more countries have turned to minimum wage policies as a tool to combat low-paid work and rising poverty, to increase the purchasing power of workers, to combat gender-based pay discrimination, and also to remedy addressing the vulnerability of women to becoming trapped in low-paid jobs (ILO, 2010c). The renewed attention being given to the issue of the minimum wage is also partly due to the emergence of empirical evidence showing that minimum wages, when well-designed and implemented, help protect workers and have limited impact either on employment or inflation. Accordingly, the contribution of minimum wages to the improvement of women's wages should be recognized as an objective of public policies aimed at achieving gender equality at work, since women typically benefit more than male workers from minimum wage increases (ibid.).

These policies should apply to all workers, and be designed and fixed at an adequate level based on evidence and full consultations with employers' and workers' organizations at all stages of the development and implementation of the system, in order to accommodate in good faith the differing interests of social partners, in line with the provisions of the Minimum Wage Fixing Convention, 1970 (No. 131) and the related Recommendation, 1970 (No. 135).

By 2015, about 90 per cent of 151 countries and territories reviewed in a recent ILO study had some legislation or collective agreements that included provisions on minimum wages (ILO, 2015c). In addition, about half of these countries have a minimum wage system that applies uniform coverage on a national or regional basis, which is more likely to result in higher coverage since some workers, in particular those who are lower paid and lower skilled, may find themselves excluded from protection when minimum wages are set by occupation or sector. In this respect, minimum wage legislation is seen as a potential means of creating a pro-rata wage-floor and bringing part-time and mini-jobs into the mainstream by reducing the systematic underpayment of wages in these positions (Fagan et al., 2014). For instance, an ILO study showed that the introduction in 2012 of a minimum wage in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia may have resulted in the reduction of the gender wage gap between 2011 and 2014, hence mitigating the "sticky floor" holding workers in the lowest paid, low-skilled jobs (Petreski and Mojsoska-Blazevski, 2015).

Although minimum wage policies could be designed to target specific groups of workers, including domestic workers, it is crucial that sectoral minimum wage rates are free from gender bias so that certain supposedly "feminine" skills are not undervalued (ILO, 2012c) (box 8). Ensuring equal pay for work of equal value should also be an objective of minimum wage policies. Rates should be based on objective criteria that are free from gender bias. In fixing minimum wages, gender-neutral language should be adopted in defining different occupations and jobs (ibid.).

Where the level of minimum wages is concerned, ILO standards point to the joint consideration of the needs of workers and their families and of economic factors. Research shows that, across the OECD countries, the gender pay gap is smallest (8 per cent) for the group of countries with a high relative statutory minimum wage (40 per cent of average wage) (Grimshaw and Rubery, 2011). For instance, Portugal and Chile gradually increased the minimum wage of domestic workers to equal the national minimum wage, also as a way of ensuring equal pay for work of equal value (ILO, 2015c). As stated in a 2014 White House report, raising the minimum wage to \$10.10 an hour would close the gender wage gap in the United States by 5 per cent (White House, 2014).

In countries where trade union density is high, collective bargaining agreements play a key role in reducing wage dispersion and inequality and can hence reduce gender wage gaps (box 9). Research also shows that OECD countries with weak collective bargaining where the minimum wage is low or absent altogether have the highest gender wage gaps, while countries with strong collective bargaining (80 per cent and more) also show evidence of smaller gender pay gaps (Grimshaw and Rubery, 2011).

Adequately resourced labour inspectorates, trade unions, the establishment of dissuasive sanctions and labour arbitration or courts are also critical when violations of wage protection provisions are attested. The late payment, underpayment or non-payment of wages, including minimum wages, remain endemic problems, particularly for low-skilled workers and migrants. In the context of limited resources, the strategic enforcement of wage violations acquires critical importance. Research suggests that this should involve: prioritization of industries; enhancing deterrence; integrating complaint and investigation activities; and developing policies that enhance the sustainability of enforcement (ILO, 2015c).

Box 8**Need to eliminate disparities in minimum wages rates between domestic workers and workers in other sectors**

According to ILO estimates, across the world some 42.5 per cent of domestic workers did not enjoy minimum wage coverage in 2010, despite the fact that, in the countries in which they work, minimum wages are set for other workers. Another 5.9 per cent of the domestic workers were covered by a minimum wage, but at a lower level than other workers (ILO, 2013f).

When setting a separate minimum wage rate for domestic workers on a sectoral or occupational basis, it is important that domestic work is not undervalued. In the countries under analysis by Oelz and Rani (2015), disparities were found in minimum wage rates between domestic workers and workers in other sectors. In the Philippines in 2013, the monthly minimum wage of domestic workers was one fifth that of workers in the non-agricultural sector in the national capital region. In Mali, minimum wages are determined for seven categories of domestic workers and the lowest category receives two thirds of the wages of the highest category and is lower than that of the national minimum wage. In South Africa, the monthly or hourly minimum wage of the domestic worker is only 60 per cent of that of a contract cleaning sector worker. In India, the minimum wages for domestic workers is lower than that of the cleaning workers, who are the lowest paid. Despite the low minimum wage set for domestic workers in the countries examined, including Brazil, Costa Rica, India, Mali, South Africa and Turkey, the compliance rate is less than 50 per cent in the majority of the countries.

Seeking to address this situation, the ILO Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189) calls for the inclusion of domestic workers in minimum wage coverage and effective measures for ensuring compliance. Article 11 of Convention No. 189 requires ratifying States to take measures “to ensure that domestic workers enjoy minimum wage coverage, where such coverage exists, and that remuneration is established without discrimination based on sex” (Oelz, 2014). In addition, countries ratifying Convention No. 189 are required to ensure that only “a limited proportion of the remuneration of domestic workers” can be paid in the form of in-kind payment (Article 12). Since then, several countries have included domestic workers under minimum wage coverage with a view to remedying the issue of their low pay (Oelz and Rani, 2015).

Box 9**Collective bargaining to address the gender wage gap**

In Austria in 2005, while collective bargaining coverage was about 99 per cent, at the lowest decile of earnings the gender wage gap reached 31 per cent, which was partly attributed to differential minimum rates in sectoral collective bargaining agreements. Minimum rates in female-dominated sectors were consistently lower than those where males dominated. To address this disparity, social partners negotiated a cross-sector minimum wage. In Sweden, observing that sectors with the lowest minimum wage had the largest proportion of female employees, the social partners agreed to increase the minimum wage through collective bargaining. In Sri Lanka, following the reactivation of wage boards, including for the tobacco and cinnamon industries, the new wage rates were no longer differentiated by sex.

These developments notwithstanding, the ILO Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations emphasized that this was insufficient to ensure that the process was free from gender bias and pointed out that, in defining different jobs and occupations in wage board ordinances, sex-specific terminology remained in use in many cases, reinforcing stereotypes regarding whether certain jobs should be carried out by men or women, and thus increasing the likelihood of wage inequality.

Source: Sobeck, 2015.

4. Promoting and normalizing good quality part-time work

In order substantially to improve the quality of part-time employment and to normalize it so that it becomes an accepted working time arrangement available to enterprises and all workers, both women and men, a broad range of policies is needed. The Part-time Work Convention, 1994 (No. 175) calls for the adoption of the principle of equal treatment of part-time workers on a pro-rata wages and benefits basis comparable to that accorded to full-time employees. This is of fundamental importance in redressing the inequalities associated with part-time work.

In addition, statutory thresholds on access to effective labour and social protections should take into account the specific needs and working conditions of informal and non-standard workers, and also those of domestic workers. For instance, while there are labour laws protecting domestic workers in Brazil and the Netherlands, many do not enjoy those protections because they work below the threshold of two days per week for a single employer. Accordingly, qualifying thresholds should be measured taking into account the total working hours performed by an individual worker.

Another important policy tool is the strengthening of workers' rights to request changes in their working hours, and in particular to be able to move back from part-time to full-time hours after having moved from full-time to part-time – the “reversibility” clause. This policy would ease the reinsertion of parents returning from maternity and parental leave into the paid labour force and help to avoid the part-time trap in general (Messenger and Ray, 2015). In France, Germany, the Netherlands and Poland, part-time workers have the right to revert to full-time work in the same enterprise under national laws for employees (ILO, 2015c). Governments and firms should also establish policies to expand part-time work arrangements into higher skilled and higher paid occupations and actively promote the use of part-time arrangements by both men and women, especially to encourage men to assume a greater share of unpaid care work and to enable women to be more fully engaged in the labour force (Messenger and Ray, 2015).

Lastly, the protection of part-time workers is even more pressing given the rise of new contractual relations between employers and employees. In consequence, policymakers are tasked with protecting workers who, under these new conditions, may not be covered adequately by existing labour laws. Some States, however, such as the Netherlands, have adopted new legislative measures to ensure that workers outside the traditional definition of part-time employment are adequately protected (box 10).

Box 10 **Protection for part-time workers in the Netherlands**

The Netherlands has one of the most comprehensive legal protection systems for part-time workers. Under the 1996 Equal Treatment (Working Hours) Act, difference in treatment of workers on the basis of number of hours of work is prohibited. The 2000 Adjustment of Working Hours Act allows employees under certain conditions to change their working-time arrangements. The legislation also aims to increase men's uptake of part-time work in an effort to promote gender equality (ILO, 2015c). This protection is extended to those in marginal part-time work. In 1999, the Flexibility and Security Act restricted the use of zero-hours contracts, while balancing the need for flexibility for both employers and employees. Under this Act, three forms of marginal part-time employment are covered:

- First, workers on “pre-agreement contracts” can decide to accept or refuse work when contacted by the employer and can do so without consequences. After three contracts on a fixed-term basis, the employer must offer a permanent contract where the employer must pay the employee the hours agreed upon, even if the working hours are not offered by the employer (i.e. the employee is not called in).
- Second, workers on zero-hours contracts have no guaranteed hours during the first six months that they work and are paid only for the hours worked. After six months, regardless of whether the worker is called in, the employer is obliged to pay for the average number of hours worked in the previous three months. This regulation applies to workers who work at least once a week or a minimum of 20 hours a month.
- Third, workers on minimum-maximum contracts where the employer specifies both the minimum and maximum hours that an employee would work within a week, month or year are entitled to payment for additional hours worked on top of the maximum hours specified in the contract (Messenger and Wallot, 2015; Eurofound, 2015a).

In addition to covering these three types of marginal part-time employment, Netherlands legislation guarantees workers in casual employment the same entitlements on a pro-rata basis as full-time workers, including minimum wage, unemployment insurance, health insurance, holiday entitlements, pensions and protection against unfair dismissals (ibid.). Although workers engaging in these forms of marginal part-time employment are well protected under the country's legislation, they are still, nonetheless, working irregular hours and may not have access to benefits such as annual leave, even though it is stipulated by law (Messenger and Wallot, 2015).

5. Limiting long paid hours and overwork

The ILO Workers with Family Responsibilities Recommendation, 1981 (No. 165) encourages the adoption of general measures targeting all workers and designed to improve working conditions and the quality of working life, including measures aiming at: “the progressive reduction of daily hours of work and the reduction of overtime, and more flexible arrangements as regards working schedules, rest periods and holidays”, taking into account the stage of development and the particular needs of the country and the different sectors of activity (para. 18) (box 11).

Box 11**Working shorter or compressed hours with the same full-time salary:
Two experiments about the future of work in Sweden and China**

Starting in February 2015, nurses in an elderly care home in Gothenburg have been experimenting with a shorter working day scheme to assess the effects on efficiency and work quality. Workers in a controlled trial switched from an eight-hour to a six-hour working day with the same wage. The results show an increase in productivity and lower turnover. Nurses also report higher levels of well-being and job satisfaction. While the retirement house had to hire new staff members in order to compensate for the shorter hours and the new shift patterns, the returns in terms of higher staff performance and well-being along with increased quality of care seem to offset the higher costs of the initiative, according to the management. This experiment is inspiring other public sector workplaces in Sweden to adopt shorter working days, including in the health sector for doctors. In addition, some small businesses have started adopting shorter working days (Crouch, 2015).

Similarly, Chongqing, a municipality of around 30 million people in the south-west of China, is set to implement an official four-and-a-half-workday week scheme to boost the local economy. The initiative is to grant both public and private sector workers on a 40-hour-contract Friday afternoons off with the same pay. The purpose is to increase domestic consumption and private spending in leisure activities, in particular tourism. The Hebei and Jiangxi provinces, which together account for a population of almost 115 million, are considering a similar scheme (Macauley, 2015).

In recent years, some countries have recognized the negative impact of long working hours on health. In Japan, the overwork culture has led to *karoshi* or death from overwork, as nearly a third of men work more than 48 hours weekly. The Government of Japan has introduced legislation to prevent *karoshi* and has also conducted research on overwork, establishing a committee to promote measures against overwork and obliging the State, local government and enterprises to work together to prevent deaths. In addition, Japan has set up a hotline for employers and employees to call regarding working conditions including unpaid or excessive overtime. Similarly, in the Republic of Korea, in response to concerns regarding death from overwork, the Government has promoted increase leisure time and reduced the legal working week from 44 to 40 hours over a period of seven years. By 2011, the Labour Standards Act covered all workers by setting a limit of 40 hours. These legislative provisions have reduced working hours, in particular for those who work especially long hours (ILO, 2015c).

Some countries have imposed limits on daily and weekly hours by reforming their working-time laws specifically for domestic workers. In Viet Nam, domestic workers have the right to four days off per month or 24 hours of consecutive rest every week, in addition to eight hours rest for every 24-hour period. Added to this, domestic workers are entitled to 24 hours of consecutive rest per week or four days off per month. More than 250,000 domestic workers have benefited from a new ministerial regulation in Thailand, under which domestic workers have the right to at least one day off each week and no less than 13 standard traditional holidays per year. After one year of continuous service, they are entitled to six days of paid annual leave. Domestic workers also have the right to holiday pay rates when they are required to work, sick leave and payment of unused leave if their contracts are terminated. In countries such as Brazil and Argentina where domestic workers already enjoy some levels of protection, new measures have further promoted decent work. In Brazil, domestic workers enjoy the same level of protection as all other workers, including a working-hour limit of 44 hours per week and overtime provisions under a new constitutional amendment. In Argentina, under a new law, domestic workers receive overtime pay, sick leave, maternity leave and work a maximum of 48 working hours per week (ibid.).

6. Changing attitudes towards unpaid care work to overcome the motherhood wage gap

The motherhood penalty reflects a social norm pursuant to which it is the woman who must sacrifice earnings and career progression for childbirth and child care. The fact that women may not recover from the motherhood penalty in the course of a career is indicative of the perpetuation of a narrative that women are secondary income earners and men the primary breadwinners. Consequently, the existence of the motherhood wage gap raises questions about the ability of societies to support reproduction and childcare, together with equal opportunity and treatment at work. This raises a fundamental question regarding the role and impact of work-family policies in recognizing, reducing and redistributing unpaid household and care work and enabling women to enter, remain and make progress in the labour force. To encourage men to take advantage of flexible work policies, social norms and attitudes need to change; otherwise, introducing flexible working arrangements may not translate into a shift from the culture of presenteeism. Although there are no clear-cut policy solutions to change social norms and attitudes, the adoption of measures, as discussed in the next chapter, encouraging men to follow flexible working arrangements and parental leave and making coherent work-family policies a core policy dimension may lead to changes of attitudes over time.

III. Work-family policies: The missing link to more and quality jobs for women

A job that prevents workers from balancing their work commitments with the need to care for their family members is not a decent job; added to which, the unresolved tensions between care and work represent a major concern for women at work and affect their access to good quality work. A 2015 poll of more than 9,500 women in the G20 countries found that work-family balance was the top work-related issue for women, flagged as such by 44 per cent of the respondents. Equal pay and harassment came in as the second and the third respectively (Ipsos MORI, 2015). In a 2015 ILO survey of 1,300 private sector companies in 39 developing countries, the greater burden of family responsibilities borne by women than by men was ranked as the number one barrier to women's leadership (ILO, 2015g).

As shown in Part One, unpaid household and care work falls disproportionately on women. This unequal distribution of family responsibilities between women and men, and more broadly also between families, on the one hand, and the public sector, markets and the non-for-profit sector (in the formal and informal economy), on the other hand, contributes to a wide array of labour market inequalities. It leads to lower female labour force participation rates, higher levels of sectoral and occupational segregation, and the higher uptake of involuntary part-time work for women, in addition to wage and income disparities. The unequal share of unpaid care work may also result in direct or indirect discrimination and tensions between work, family responsibilities and private life, which are detrimental to individual and collective well-being.

In particular, the lack of adequate paid parental leave, good quality, affordable and accessible childcare and other social care services for family members, and also of family-friendly flexible working arrangements pushes women, who are often lower paid than their male counterparts, to leave the labour market either temporarily or permanently. Long working hours, schedule inflexibility and unpredictability are significant sources of work-family conflict. As demonstrated in Chapter II above, the long working hour culture in certain occupations may result in women quitting work altogether. Even after a short break, it may be difficult for women to continue working without suffering a penalty (Aisenbrey et al., 2009). For instance, in a 2014 poll conducted in the United States, 61 per cent of women said that they were not working because of family responsibilities. Three quarters of homemakers would consider working if they could work flexible hours or from home (Cain Miller and Alderman, 2014).

Some women may accept occupational downgrading in order to work reduced hours to meet family responsibilities. In Spain, in 2012, following their departure on leave, all the men returned to full-time jobs, as opposed to only 55 per cent of women, 35 per cent of whom returned to part-time work or took part-time leave and 7 per cent of whom gave up paid work altogether or lost their jobs (3 per cent) (Escobedo and Meil, 2013). As shown in Chapter II, the acceptance of part-time employment remains an issue since part-timers, who are predominantly women, suffer a wage penalty and have less access to social protection than full-time workers. In addition, part-time jobs are usually of poor quality and confined to a limited number of sectors and occupations.

The absence of an effective support system for mothers and fathers could mean that young women may choose to enter certain sectors and occupations, including in the informal economy, that are more compatible with care responsibilities (Cassirer and Addati, 2007). In Thailand, home-based workers cited the ability to combine paid work and childcare and other family responsibilities as a significant benefit of home-based work (Horn et al., 2013). In Malaysia, women who held jobs in low-skilled employment in the manufacturing or services sector chose, after having children, to start their own micro-businesses rather than return to formal work, even if their children were old enough for school. Although one of the reasons cited by women for starting a micro-business was to be economically independent, many women opened a business location close to their homes in order to meet their family responsibilities (Franck, 2011).

For women working full-time, the larger care responsibilities also have an impact on income, career progression and status at retirement. They are less likely to be able to put in longer hours, more likely to take leave for the provision of care and sick leave for family reasons and to take career breaks to care for small children. This affects their earnings. According to a McKinsey survey in Latin America, 52 per cent of women said that seeking more time with their families was the main reason why they voluntarily gave up their jobs in midcareer or even when they had reached senior levels. The risk of falling into poverty in old age is also greater for women than men (McKinsey Global Institute, 2015). As social security systems are based on continuous remunerated employment, women are less likely to fulfil the minimum contributory requirements, because of work interruptions due to the need to provide unpaid care, and thus denied access to adequate old-age pensions (ILO, 2009).

The paid care sector is a significant source of potential job creation. Here too, however, there are significant gender inequalities in terms of the people performing the care work and the working conditions of care professionals. As discussed, women constitute a high proportion of care professions, which are often poorly paid and undervalued. Paid care can be provided through centre-based (or institutional) and home-based services. The majority of home-based care is provided by domestic workers in the informal economy. In some countries, much of this care is also provided by public or private agencies. Regardless of the level of informality, the quality of employment in this sector is also often of very poor quality, as seen above. As this chapter will show, despite a continuous demand for such home-based services, few governments have been able to ensure decent working conditions, including competitive wages, full-time work, limits on working time, and effective access to social protection.

The ILO international labour standards, promoting non-discrimination, equal remuneration for work of equal value, social protection, maternity protection and support to workers with family responsibilities, provide a road map for efforts to address inequalities in the labour market and in the household. In particular, work-family measures are national, community, sectoral and workplace policy solutions intended to facilitate workers' access to, permanence in and progress within quality work by explicitly and systematically addressing and supporting their unpaid household and care responsibilities.

As with the discussions in previous chapters, Chapter III is divided into two sections. The first, section A, discusses the gender gap in unpaid work distribution, defines care as a form of work and reviews the main trends and challenges in the provision of a comprehensive framework of work-family policies, including the extent of care provisions and the working conditions of care providers. The second, section B, assesses the impact of existing policies in addressing care deficits and provides evidence-based policy recommendations and country experiences. These may inform the work of promoting a coherent framework to achieve the harmonization of work and family responsibilities, which, in turn, will serve as a key factor behind policy to achieve substantive equality between women and men.

A. Main trends and challenges in the provision of an integrated framework of work-family policies

1. Unpaid household and care work as a form of work mainly performed by women and girls

Every person in the world benefits from care work. The overwhelming majority of people will require care or support in several stages of their lives and the quality of care work received will substantially affect their well-being. Care can be paid or unpaid and comes in the form of childcare, elderly care, care or support for persons with temporary or permanent disabilities and illnesses. Care is provided through a variety of arrangements, which include families and households, the State, the not-for-profit sector (including the social economy, voluntary and community service provision) and markets (such as private care providers, including domestic workers, and commercial services). The degree to which the four institutions (sometimes referred to as the “care diamond”) provide care differs depending on the national context and the extent to which governments support each dimension of care provision (Razavi, 2007).

Unpaid care work is defined as the provision of care or support for persons for no explicit monetary reward, within and across families and households (ibid.). Unpaid care work also includes all volunteer work for community services and some housework. Direct care usually includes attending, bathing, feeding (including breastfeeding), and interacting with family members (such as playing with children, assisting with homework), accompanying them on medical visits and administering medicines. Household work such as cleaning, shopping for food preparation or cooking is also directly related to care or support for family members (ibid.).

There is an expectation that, from a young age, women will perform the majority of unpaid housework and unpaid care work (Boudet et al., 2012). An ILO survey in 33 countries showed that the number of girls aged 7–14 far exceeded that of boys in the performance of household chores, which often included taking care of younger siblings or elders. In some countries, such as Uganda, girls and boys spent almost an equal amount of time in unpaid work, with girls spending slightly more time on household chores in Mongolia, the Philippines and Romania. The ratios were higher in Brazil (2 to 1) and Portugal (2.5 to 1) and even exceeded 4 to 1 in Senegal.⁴⁵ This early gender division of labour follows women into their adult lives and firmly establishes the unequal division of household and care work.

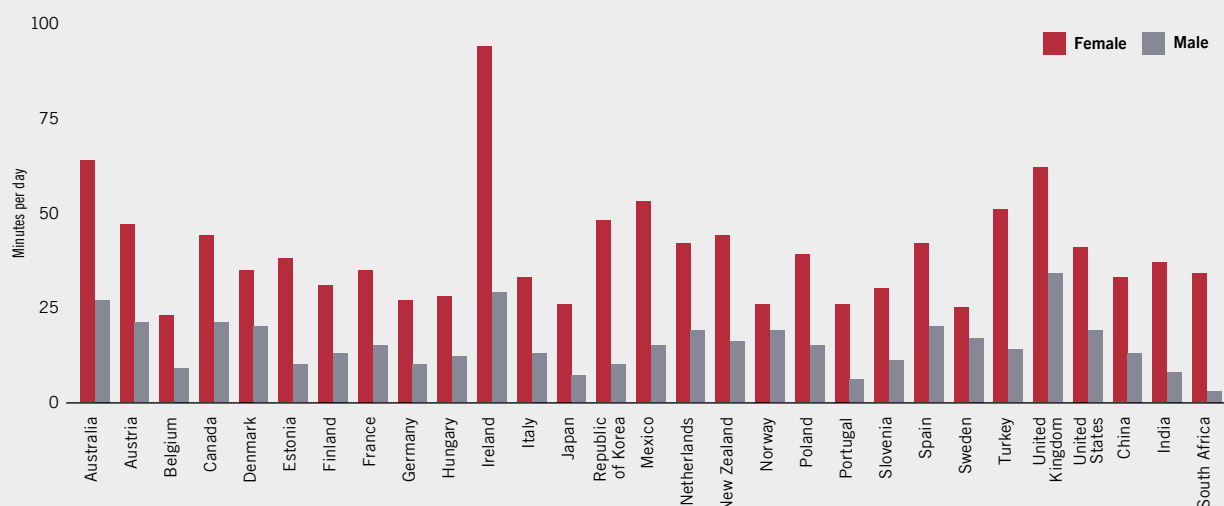
45. Data are from the most recent year between 1998 and 2006. Figures extracted from the ILO SIMPOC, Household survey Datasets.

In many low and middle-income countries, time spent on unpaid work by women and girls is exacerbated by inadequate access to basic technology and infrastructure, including piped water and domestic technology, in particular in rural areas (Razavi, 2007). The lack of publicly available and safe transport for women workers, especially those with low income, limits their labour force participation as this confines them to a smaller pool of potential employers and jobs and reduces their ability to bargain over and improve the terms and conditions of employment (Salon and Gulyani 2010; Dickerson 2002). Where caring responsibilities are not adequately met, the lack of available transport can only exacerbate women's dependency on a smaller set of job opportunities (Schwanen 2007; Mauch and Taylor, 1996; Preston and McLafferty, 1993).

As discussed in Part One, over the last decades, men have increasingly taken on more responsibility for unpaid care work. Even, however, in high and middle-income countries with a relatively high participation of women in the labour force and in which women are more or less equal under the law, women are still likely to provide twice as much unpaid care work as men.⁴⁶ In Estonia, India, Japan, Mexico, Portugal, Republic of Korea and Turkey, women devote more than three times as much time to unpaid care work as men do (figure 31).

The pervasive inequality – even in countries where women appear to be more economically, politically and socially empowered – is also fuelled by perceptions about care responsibilities. As a report by the European Commission (2015b) shows, 50 per cent of women and men respondents from 28 countries believe that men are less competent at household tasks than women. This attitude is most prevalent in Italy (71 per cent), Hungary (71 per cent), Bulgaria (66 per cent) and Romania (63 per cent). Gender-based expectations surrounding care responsibilities also affect men's perceptions about their time spent on unpaid work at home. A study in eight countries, including Brazil, Chile, Mexico and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, found that, despite the findings of time-use surveys which indicate the reverse, between 36 and 70 per cent of men reported playing a role “equal to” or “greater than” their partner in childcare. Between 46 and 62 per cent (with the exception of India) reported that their contribution to household tasks was also equal to or greater than their partners'. Studies suggested that where men do engage in childcare, their tasks were less laborious, the most common being through play (Kato-Wallace et al., 2014; Levto et al., 2015).⁴⁷

Figure 31 Time spent daily by women and men on care for a household member (latest year available)



Note: OECD estimates based on national time-use surveys. Methodological documentation on national time-use surveys used for the estimates is in Miranda, 2011. The classification of activities tends to differ across countries: the assignment of time allocated to the activity categories defined by the OECD can only be approximated in some countries where highly detailed data are not available. Caution is thus needed in cross-country comparisons whenever the differences in minutes are not large. Data are normalized to 1440 minutes per day. In other words, for those countries for which the time use does not add up to 1440 minutes, the missing minutes are equally distributed across all activities.

Source: OECD, 2014a based on national time-use surveys.

46. Legal gender differences are widespread: 155 of the 173 economies covered have at least one law impeding women's economic opportunities (World Bank, 2015a).

47. The analysis is based on data from the International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES). Data are gathered from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Chile, Croatia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, India, Mexico and Rwanda. The surveys are coordinated by Promundo and the International Centre for Research on Women. See Levto et al., 2014.

Economic downturns also have an impact on the extent and distribution of unpaid care work. In some countries, the most recent economic crisis and the consequent fiscal consolidation measures have resulted in a number of public spending cuts that not only have major negative impacts on all citizens, but are considered to be incompatible with the achievement of substantive gender equality (Rubery, 2015; UN Women, 2014). Globally, 125 countries have contracted public expenditures in 2015 (90 of them are developing countries). In particular, since the first wave of fiscal contractions (2010–11), 130 governments are considering operating a freeze or contraction of public sector jobs and of cuts to caps to their wages bill (Ortiz et al., 2015). For instance, in Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia and Portugal, cutbacks in the public sector have led to job losses for women in occupations where women hold a higher share of employment (Vaughan-Whitehead, 2013). This not only affects women's income, but also their access to family-friendly policies, as public sector jobs are more likely to offer these measures than those in the private sector (Rubery, 2013). In addition, cuts have been made to public spending on family allowances and child benefits; housing benefits and subsidies for fuel, agriculture and food products, which are likely disproportionately to affect women, who rely on this support more than men. In 14 out of 23 European Union countries with data on real expenditures, total government expenditure on family and child benefits declined in 2012 to below 2008 levels (UN Women, 2014).

The ILO estimates that 105 countries are considering the implementation of additional adjustments, including pension reforms that might result in the cutting of old-age benefits, while others are contemplating health-care reforms (56 countries) or other measures to rationalize or further target social provision (107 countries), which could take effect between 2016 and 2020 (Ortiz et al., 2015). Research shows that job losses and public spending cuts in social benefits and services are typically offset by the additional time and effort devoted by women to caregiving and other unpaid work, with women acting as a “safety net of last resort” in economic downturns (Elson, 2014; UNRISD, 2010). For instance, an assessment study on the impact of the 2008 financial crisis in developing countries shows that many informal workers in the 10 cities surveyed were increasing their unpaid home-based production. Overall, the crisis had resulted in more poverty and other harmful consequences for the well-being of urban informal workers and their families (Horn, 2010).

Finally, measures reducing the provision of social protection in higher-income countries have also resulted in an increased demand for migrant women's labour, particularly in jobs in the care economy, which often come with no access to social protection and labour rights. For example, in the last decade, migrants constituted 47 per cent of the increase in the workforce in the United States and 70 per cent in Europe (OECD, 2014b). In Australia, estimates show that foreign-born workers make up 25 per cent of all care workers and this share is as high as 50 per cent in Austria (Fujisawa and Colombo, 2009). In Italy, migrant workers are performing a greater role in providing care, as the proportion of officially registered domestic workers that are foreign-born increased from 16.5 per cent in 1991 to 73 per cent by 2005, 87 per cent of these being women (Rostgaard et al., 2011; Di Santo and Ceruzzi, 2010). These trends point to the crucial role that migrant women play in filling care deficits, in particular following the crisis, and are also observed in middle-income countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa (ILO, 2014g).

Because care work involves tasks that women have traditionally performed without pay, the skills required for care work, which are often considered to be innate to women, and care provision in general, are undervalued or even overlooked in national measures of the economy (ILO, 2012c). At the same time, according to the resolution concerning statistics of work, employment and labour underutilization adopted by the Nineteenth International Conference of Labour Statisticians in 2013, unpaid household and care work is a recognized form of work.⁴⁸ Seen in this light, all women are working women, in view of the time, energy and skills that go into the unpaid work that they perform.

This major change in the way work and employment are defined and measured has important implications for gender equality at work. The new definition is a first step towards more and better statistics measuring – and therefore recognizing – the entire spectrum of paid and unpaid work performed by women and men. It will also help in the design, implementation and evaluation of policies to reduce and redistribute unpaid work. The importance of measuring and addressing unpaid work has also been noted in the framework of the recently adopted 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. As stated in target 5.4, linked to the Goal 5, to “Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls”, unpaid care and domestic

48. As defined in the resolution concerning statistics of work, employment and labour underutilization, unpaid work is considered as part of “own-use production work”, which refers to “any activity to produce goods or provide services for own final use”. This includes household accounting and management, preparing and serving meals, cleaning, decorating and maintaining one's own dwelling, and also childcare, transporting and caring for dependents, including the elderly and other household members (ILO, 2013b).

work should be recognized and valued “through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate” (UN Sustainable Development Knowledge Platform, 2015).⁴⁹ The indicator framework for the global monitoring system for the implementation of the 17 goals – to be adopted by the UN General Assembly by end-2016 – includes a proposal for specific metrics to measure the average daily hours spent on unpaid domestic and care work, by sex, age and location. This monitoring system will also make possible a more systematic and comparable measurement of unpaid work.

2. Demographic, social and environmental changes lead to more demand for paid care services

Although across the world the care professions are already short-staffed, the demand for formal care services is expected to grow in response to a number of global changes. With an increasingly ageing population in many high and middle-income countries and a burgeoning youthful population entering childbearing age in sub-Saharan Africa, the demand for care provision is expected to grow further. In some regions, HIV and AIDS and other health pandemics have also contributed to increased demands on individual workers to provide family care for adults, often in addition to children. Changing family structures, with fewer extended families and high levels of single-parent households, the increased engagement of women in paid work outside the household, urbanization, and national and international migration have also diminished traditional and informal support mechanisms. In low-income countries, tensions on women’s time are also exacerbated by escalating pressures from climate change-related events, deforestation and the energy and food crises, which increase the hours spent in unpaid work.⁵⁰

As discussed later in this chapter, the growing demand for paid care services has not been matched by the creation of decent care jobs in the public sector. Thus, home-based care workers, often informal and low-paid, remain the main providers of social care services for middle-income households which have no access to formal social care services. Ineffective measures to address the “global care crisis”, along with inequalities in wages and working conditions across countries, have generated the phenomenon of “global care chains”, namely, the expanding international migration of care workers, in particular domestic workers, child-minders and nurses, in response to care shortages in industrialized countries and those with ageing populations, while leaving behind their own family dependants (Addati and Cheong, 2013). On the supply side, the lack of decent work in the home country is the primary reason for most labour migration. Many developing countries now include migration as part of national development strategies, certify labour and engage directly in the export of women to labour-importing countries (Williams, 2014; Guevarra, 2014; Sophal, 2009).

The scale of the global care chain is not insignificant. In 2015, the ILO estimated that there were 83.7 million male migrant workers and 66.6 million female migrant workers in the world. Of the total of 150.3 million migrant workers, 11.5 million – or 17.2 per cent – were domestic workers. The majority of the domestic workers (73.4 per cent) were women. Regionally, South-Eastern Asia and the Pacific host 24.0 per cent of female migrant domestic workers, followed by Northern, Southern and Western Europe (22.1 per cent) and the Arab States (19.0 per cent) (ILO, 2015o).

49. The present report uses the term unpaid “household” work instead of unpaid “domestic” work to distinguish the former from the work performed by domestic workers on an occupational basis, according to the definition in the Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189).

50. See Razavi and Staab (2010) for a study on the growing need for paid care services as a result of women’s increasing participation in the labour market and under the impact of demographic changes (notably, ageing) and health crises, including HIV and AIDS. For studies on unpaid caregiving provided to persons living with HIV, see Akintola (2008) on Southern Africa and Makina (2009) for a study on South Africa and Zimbabwe. See Röhr (2007), UN WomenWatch (2009), Demetriades and Esplen (2010), UNDP (2011), World Bank (2011b) and Hallegatte et al. (2016) for an overview of the gender-based impact of climate change. On the issue of deforestation and gender, see Peach Brown (2011) for a study on the Congo Basin and Djoudi and Brockhaus (2011) for a study on Mali. On food security, a study by Heltberg et al. (2012) examines the role of women as “shock absorbers” for the food, fuel and financial crises. Similarly, a joint FAO and ADB (2013) report discusses the disproportionate impact of the food price crisis, financial and economic crisis and ecological crisis on women.

3. Increased enrolment in early childhood care and education in all regions of the world

From the moment that any adequately paid leave for the provision of care ends and until the time that their children start school, assuming that primary schooling is universally available and effectively free, working parents need to find a childcare solution. If an adequate continuum of care solutions is not available from childbirth, women are likely to drop out the labour force or reduce their time spent in paid work. Along with maternity protection (see Part One) and leave measures for fathers (see section C below), childcare services, as part of early childhood care and education, are therefore an essential element of the continuum of care solutions for working parents. Early childhood care and education cover the period from birth, through pre-primary school, to the start of primary education.⁵¹ This sector is expected to continue expanding under the pressure of demographic changes, as the world's under-five-year-old population is projected to increase from 738 million in 2005 to 776 million by 2020. Such regions as sub-Saharan Africa and, to a lesser extent, the Arab States will be particularly affected (ILO, 2012d).

Across the world, more young children are now enrolled in early childhood care and education. Between 1999 and 2012, the global gross enrolment increased from 33 per cent to 54 per cent, covering almost 184 million children globally (UNESCO, 2015). This improvement represented an increase of 81 per cent in developing economies and of 87 per cent in middle-income countries. At the regional level, 74 per cent of young children were enrolled in Latin America and the Caribbean, 55 per cent in South and Western Asia and 20 per cent in sub-Saharan Africa (Shaeffer, 2015).

The enrolment rate is generally higher for children aged from 3 to 6 than for children under the age of 3. This increase is also the result of the introduction of laws to mandate participation or fee abolition, such as in Ghana and Peru, where the gross enrolment rate (GER) in early childhood care and education for children between 3 and 5 years of age increased from 47 and 56 per cent respectively in 1999 to 116 and 78 per cent by 2012. In all, 40 countries had instituted compulsory pre-primary education by 2014. The GER for children between the ages of 3 and 5 exceeds 80 per cent in countries such as Angola, Cuba, Latvia, Lebanon, Mongolia, Sri Lanka and Thailand (UNESCO, 2015). In OECD countries,⁵² the average participation rate for children aged from 3 to 5 increased by about 10 percentage points between 2002 and 2013, with the largest increases (20 percentage points or more) occurring in Chile, Ireland, Mexico, Poland and Turkey. Coverage is virtually universal in countries such as Belgium, France, Germany, Spain and the United Kingdom (OECD, 2015b).

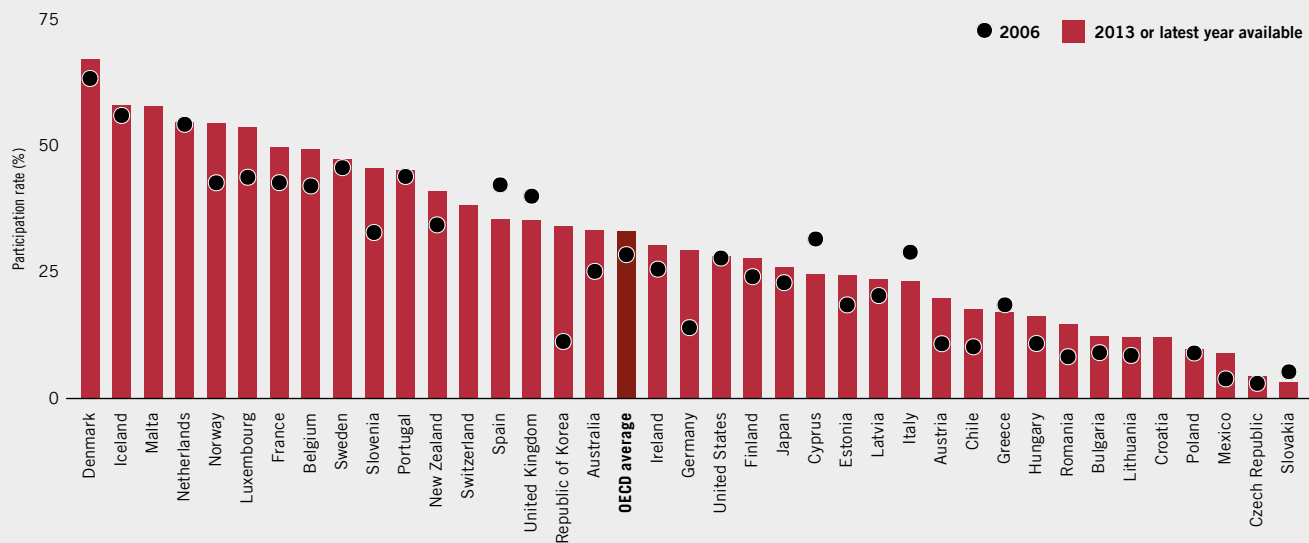
As regards participation rates in formal childcare for children under 3 years, data on coverage are less widely available for developing countries. On the other hand, in many of these countries, an increasing number of infants are cared for in early childhood institutions and programmes (ILO, 2012d). In most higher and middle-income countries, about 20–50 per cent of children aged 0–2 are enrolled in formal childcare. Between 2006 and 2013, the average participation rate in 38 countries increased from 28 to 33 per cent, with the biggest increases observed in Germany (15.7 percentage points) and the Republic of Korea (23.2 percentage points) (figure 32). Over the same period, participation rates for 0–2 year olds fell in six countries particularly affected by fiscal consolidation measures (Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Slovakia, Spain and the United Kingdom), with the largest decrease in Spain (–6.6 percentage points).

51. According to the International Standard Classification of Education, early childhood education (ECE) refers to early childhood programmes that have an intentional education component aiming to develop children's socio-emotional skills as well as foundational skills for academic learning. ECE prepares children for entry into primary education (ILO, 2014h). The Dakar Framework for Action resulting from the 2000 World Education Forum, adopted by the governments of 164 countries and other key stakeholders, adopted the more comprehensive term early childhood care and education (ECCE), which refers to a broad range of services, including support for children's and often mothers' or carers' health, nutrition and hygiene, and also for cognitive and socio-emotional development. It also includes pre-primary schooling for children of the appropriate age, and other forms of care for children below the pre-primary school age.

52. The OECD consists of 34 economies, namely: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea (Republic of), Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom and United States.

Figure 32

Participation rates for 0-2 year olds in formal childcare and pre-school services, 38 countries, 2006 and 2013



Note: Data for Australia are from the Australian Bureau of Statistics, for Chile, Japan, and Mexico from national correspondents, for Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden from NOSOSCO Social Protection in the Nordic Countries, for Germany from Destatis, for the Republic of Korea from the Korean Statistical Information Service, for New Zealand from Education Counts, for the United States from the US Census Bureau and for all other countries from EU Statistics on Income Living Conditions. Data for 2006 are not available for Croatia, Malta and Switzerland.

Sources: OECD, 2015c.

4. Insufficient coverage, unaffordable costs and problems with quality

Privately supplied home-based childcare, mostly unpaid or informal – whether provided by a family member, neighbour or domestic worker – remains, however, the most prevalent form of childcare provision (UN Women, 2015). In 134 out of 173 countries for which information is available, national legislation establishes public provision of childcare services or public subsidies or allowances to offset childcare costs for pre-school children (World Bank, 2016). According to a 2011–2013 World Economic Forum (WEF) survey of 87 countries, however, only one fourth provide public day-care services supplemented by a childcare allowance (WEF, 2015). In almost all countries, except certain high-income countries such as Denmark, provision of formal childcare services is not universal and is socially stratified, meaning that children from low-income families have much more limited opportunities to attend formal childcare than children from better-off families (Van Lancker et al., 2012; UNESCO, 2015). A very few countries view childcare as a public good and provide a universal right to childcare, despite evidence showing that investing in young children by means of quality childcare leads to higher learning achievement, better health, greater employability and higher earnings (ibid.). Such investment also pays higher economic returns in terms of increased tax revenues and reduced social spending. In parallel, it contributes to sound public budgets and improved child development, thereby improving labour market achievements and reducing the intergenerational transmission of inequality (Heckman and Raut, 2013).

Even where programmes do exist, coverage is often inadequate and not responsive to the needs of children, workers and early childhood care and education personnel, as also called for by ILO standards (see below). In particular, its location in terms of proximity to the child's house or parents' workplace, the duration of the programme over the year and its daily opening hours often do not match the needs and preferences of parents working full-time, overtime or in non-standard forms of employment. In OECD countries, early childhood care and education programmes run between 25 and 35 hours per week, with programmes in some countries such as the Netherlands and the United Kingdom running an average of 16–17 hours only (OECD, 2015b). Coverage is extremely low, especially in rural areas. Lack of affordable school meals, out-of-school and back-up care programmes and provision of services targeting the needs of children with disabilities also dramatically affects women's ability to work full-time (Hein and Cassirer, 2010).

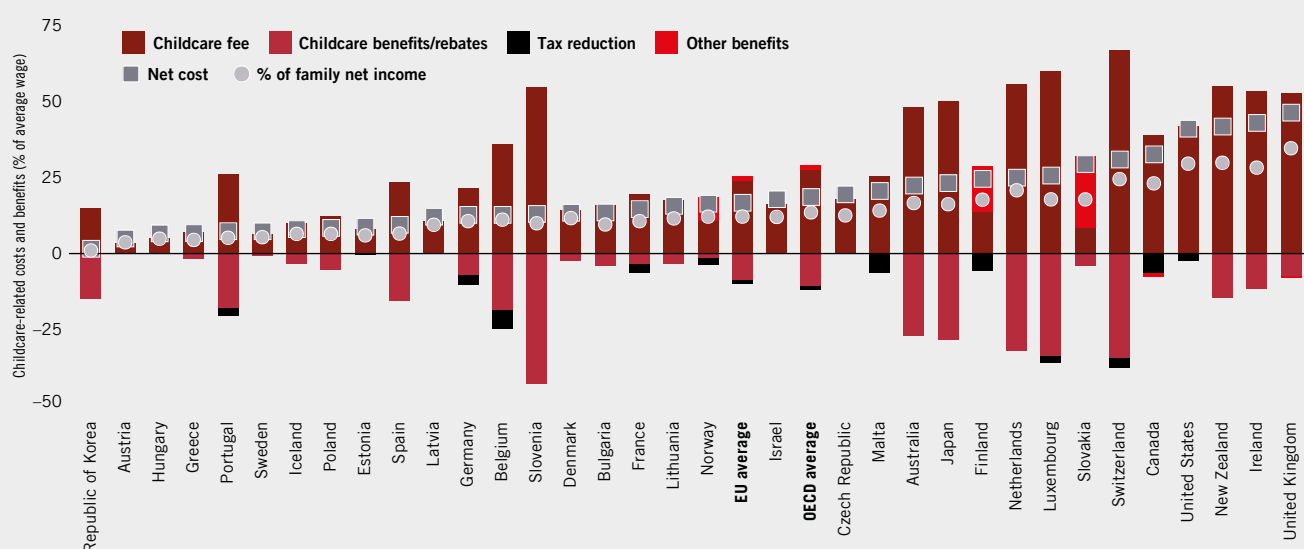
The affordability of these services in relation to parents' earnings is an issue of particular concern. Where quality public services or public support policies in the form of social security benefits or tax breaks to neutralize childcare fees are lacking or insufficient, the out-of-pocket cost of childcare can absorb up to a third or more of family budgets. As shown in figure 33, in OECD countries, the net average cost of childcare for two children in full-time care is 17 per cent of the average earnings of dual-earner couples who have gross earnings at 150 per cent of the average wages, with broad variances across countries (OECD, 2014d). Net childcare costs are low in countries where childcare systems are subsidized through significant income-tested childcare benefits, such as the Republic of Korea and Portugal, or where gross fees are relatively low, for instance, in Austria and Hungary. In these countries, out-of-pocket childcare costs for families with two children are around or below 5 per cent of average wages. On the other hand, centre-based formal childcare is most expensive for double-income households in most anglophone countries (except Australia), with net costs above 30 per cent of average wage. The costs are highest and reach 40 per cent or just below of net income for working families in Ireland and the United Kingdom (ibid.).

The high cost of childcare poses a barrier to women's employment. For a family, the financial incentive may be for mothers to stay at home and provide care instead of paying for childcare. Consequently, women, particularly those from lower-income families, may leave the labour market to provide childcare. Although this might appear the most cost-effective choice for a household in the short term, estimates show that, for instance, in the United States a teacher quitting her job altogether after the birth of a child loses more than \$1.5 million (in 2012 dollars) over her lifetime, taking into account the after-tax salary, work benefits and pension accruals upon retirement (Kaplan, 2012).

Working parents also rely on grandparents, especially grandmothers, to provide child care, in particular in countries where governments do not invest in formal child care. For instance, twice as many grandparents provide child care in Southern Europe than in Nordic countries. In Italy and Spain, approximately 30 per cent of grandparents provide care, compared to 2 per cent in Denmark and Sweden (Del Boca, 2015). In China, grandparents are often the exclusive provider of childcare for working parents. In Shanghai, 90 per cent of young children are cared for by at least one grandparent, with lower proportions of 70 per cent in Beijing and 50 per cent in Guangzhou. One of the contributing factors to the high share of grandparents providing childcare is the early retirement age (60 for men and as early as 45 to 50 for women in certain occupations) (Yang, 2013).

Figure 33

Net childcare costs for a dual-earner family with full-time earnings of 150 per cent of the average wage,* 2012



* Average wages are defined as the earnings for an "average worker". An average worker, for the purpose of this figure, by the OECD (2007), encompasses both manual and non-manual workers (extending from ISIC Rev. 3 category D to include categories C–K). It measures gross wage earnings paid to workers before deductions and contributions. In many countries, average wages are higher than the average earning levels under the "average manual production worker" definition. See OECD (2007) for more details.

Source: OECD, 2014d.

Parents also need services of adequate quality during working hours. The quality of childcare for very young children remains a serious issue, however (UNESCO, 2015). The poor quality of available non-parental care is often cited as a major reason why women with young children who would like to work are not able to do so (Hein and Cassirer, 2010). In choosing early childhood care and education, higher-income groups tend to prioritize the quality of care over other factors, while lower-income groups choose care based on availability. Many lower-income women, in particular single parent households, will be constrained to use low-quality care based on practicality factors in relation to their work (Kim and Fram, 2009).

The issue of quality is even more crucial because the benefits of childcare identified above depend on the quality of the childcare services: low quality services may be harmful and yield detrimental outcomes in terms of child development (UNESCO, 2015). Important aspects of quality are the staff–child ratio, which in 2010, in those countries where data are available, ranged from an average of one caregiver for every four children under the age of 3 in the Republic of Korea to 11 children in Portugal (OECD, 2010). Another equally important component is the quality of staff-child interactions, which affects the well-being of children. This is largely dependent on staff qualifications and training, personnel status and working conditions, the size and quality of facilities, the availability of nutrition and health-care services, the curriculum, including support for children with disabilities, the integration of care and educational elements, and also the value accorded to cultural and linguistic diversity, in particular indigenous and minority languages (ILO, 2014h).

Another key concern is the difficulty of balancing quality with affordability of the service. Affordability is often achieved through reducing the wages, lowering the qualification requirements and working conditions for early childhood care and education staff, but such conditions are an impediment to improving the quality and professionalization of early childhood care and education personnel. Under growing pressure for places in formal childcare, governments have often been prone to put the quantitative component at the forefront and to neglect service quality (Hein and Cassirer, 2010).

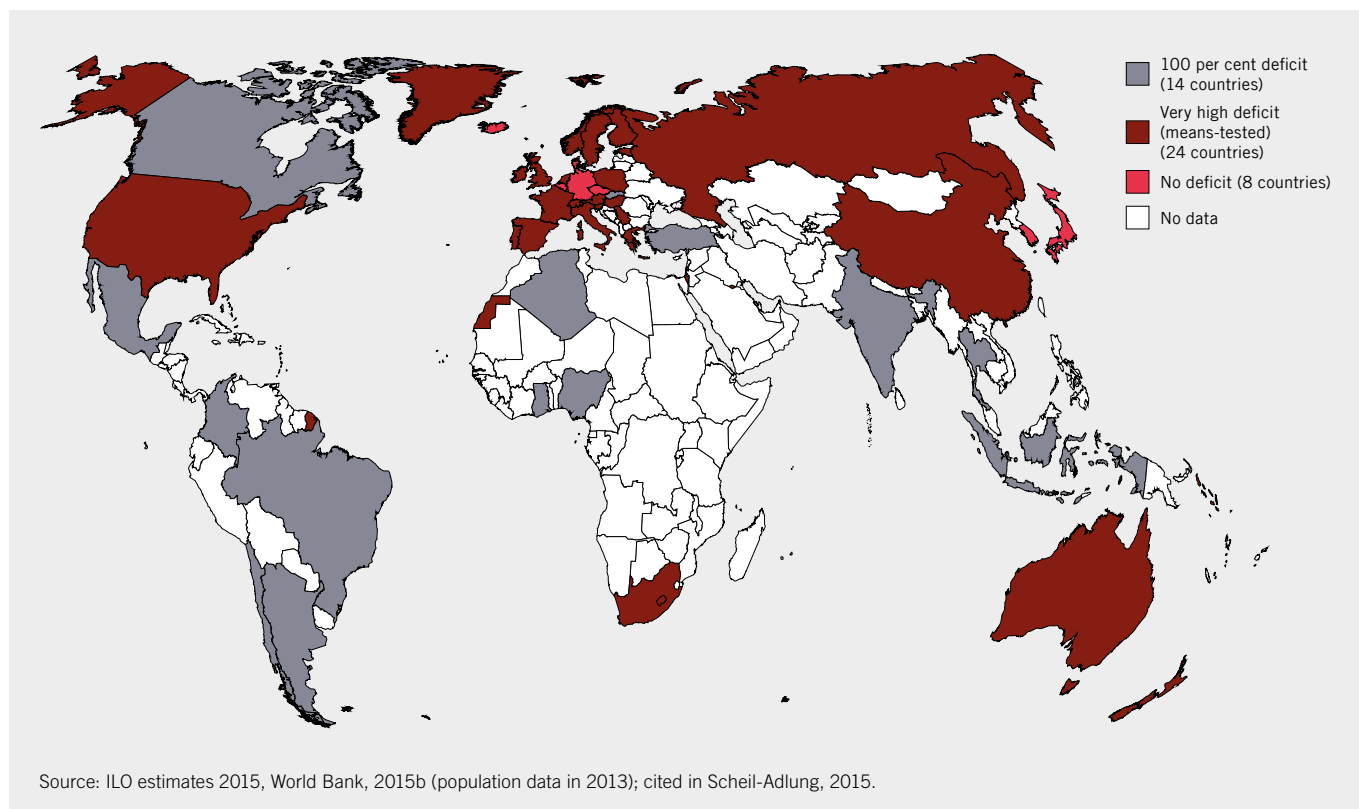
5. Rapidly ageing population and growing need for long-term care

In 2012, worldwide, there were approximately 810 million persons aged 60 or over, representing over 11.5 per cent of the total global population. By 2050, this number is projected to reach 2 billion, where the number of older persons would exceed that of children under the age of 15 and would make up more than one third of the population in 64 countries. Currently, the regions with the highest proportion of persons aged 60 years or over (20 per cent) are in developed economies and include Europe, Canada, Australia and Japan. These proportions are expected to increase in all regions, however, and at a faster rate in developing economies. By 2050, 10 per cent of the population would be 60 or over in Africa, 24 per cent in Asia and in Oceania, and 25 per cent in Latin America and the Caribbean. Europe and Northern America are expected to have the highest proportion of older persons, with 34 and 27 per cent of their populations, respectively, constituted by persons over 60 (UNFPA and HelpAge International, 2012).

Ageing is a sign of healthier and more prosperous societies. Many senior citizens remain engaged and mobile and are often active as caregivers. Rapidly ageing populations also involve new challenges, however, in inter-generational relationships (ILO, 2015p). As a result, today an increasing proportion of workers are faced with elderly care responsibilities, often in addition to their childcare duties. For instance, in the United Kingdom, one in nine people in the workforce combine paid work with unpaid care for a frail older or ill family member or a person with disabilities (Carers UK, 2015).

The term long-term care (LTC) refers to the set of public or private support services provided to older persons who have limited self-care ability due either to physical or mental conditions. The jobs associated with LTC care are heterogeneous, including those of health and social workers, household helpers and assistants (such as nursing assistants). Compared to higher income countries, the LTC workforce in lower income countries is largely unpaid or informal or both. The ILO estimates that there is a global shortage of 13.6 million formal LTC workers. The highest deficits are in Asia and the Pacific (8.2 million LTC workers), in consequence of the higher numbers of older persons in that region (Scheil-Adlung, 2015).

Since family ties have weakened as a result of urbanization and other demographic changes, there is a growing demand for accessible and affordable non-family LTC services of good quality both in developed and developing economies (Ho et al., 2009; Tawiah, 2011; Scheil-Adlung, 2015). Most countries across the world, however, do not provide any LTC legal protection (figure 34). More than 48 per cent of the population of persons aged 65 and over in the 46 countries with available information are not covered by any national legislation, while another 46.3 per cent are largely excluded because of restrictive means-testing regulations. This means that persons aged 65 and over and in need of LTC have to become poor before they are eligible for LTC services. Only 5.6 per cent of the surveyed population lives in countries that provide statutory universal coverage for LTC services. These gaps mean that certain groups are put in a more vulnerable situation at old age, including women, older persons who are single and without family members, the very old (aged 80 and above) and the poor, who are unable to pay the high costs of LTC. These groups are at risk of being marginalized and dying prematurely (ibid.).

Figure 34**Deficits in legal long-term care coverage, 2015
(% of total population not covered by national legislation)**

In the face of these LTC shortages, family members remain the main caregivers of their ageing relatives. In some countries, like China, the responsibility of the family to provide care to older persons is enforceable by law, often with penalties including fines and imprisonment (Wong and Leung, 2012; ILO, 2014c). Similarly, in India, children can be prosecuted if they fail to provide care for their parents (ibid.). While an increasing number of men are now providing elderly care, a disproportionate share of long-term carers are female family members. Not uncommonly, women drop out of employment temporarily or permanently to provide LTC to their older family members, often without access to social protection, training or any professional support (Scheil-Adlung, 2015). As already noted in the context of early childhood care and education, excessive reliance on unpaid informal LTC by women also aggravates existing gender gaps in the labour market.

6. Decent work deficits in care jobs

As discussed in Chapter II, women are overrepresented in paid care professions, which are perceived as an extension of women's unpaid care work at home and therefore highly undervalued (ILO, 2007b). A 2013 study suggests that care workers in the United Kingdom are only paid for the hours they spend actually providing care, and no account is taken of the considerable time spent on associated tasks, such as travelling to the homes of clients (Pennycook, 2013). Moreover, in an attempt to meet the increasing demands for care services, many employers try to keep the cost of care low. As a result, care workers in many developed economies are employed on temporary or on-call contracts or remain in the informal economy (ibid.; Eurofound, 2015b). In addition, care services are extensively provided by individuals already working other capacities. The specific instances of domestic workers, early childhood care and education personnel and long-term care providers are considered in the following sub-sections.

Domestic workers who provide care

Domestic workers perform a plethora of household work tasks. They also provide direct care to children, the elderly and persons with disabilities, effectively replacing the role traditionally assigned to women (ILO, 2011b). In view of the absence of adequate, quality and affordable social care services, an increasing number of households rely on domestic workers for care provision. This places additional pressure on a sector that is notoriously informal and in which labour and social protections are difficult to monitor and enforce (ILO, 2013f).

Domestic workers are often unprotected by legislation on minimum wages and working time and also have limited access to social protection, largely because almost one third of the world's domestic workers fall outside national regulations (ILO, 2014c). Almost half of all domestic workers are of childbearing age and are likely to experience pregnancy or have young children while they are employed. Maternity, however, is a principal source of discrimination for domestic workers (Addati and Cheong, 2013). Globally, almost 40 per cent of domestic workers do not have the right to paid maternity leave and often have no access to quality and affordable maternal and child health care. The long hours of work required of domestic workers also make it difficult for them to reconcile the conflicting demands of work and family life. Without access to affordable childcare services, domestic workers prioritize the care needs of their employers' dependents over their own (ibid.).

A number of reasons have been identified for the low remuneration and poor working conditions of domestic workers. First, similar to other workers in care professions, their work is undervalued because of the cultural perceptions of unpaid household and care work that have been outlined above. As a consequence, domestic workers are not considered "real" workers, with the same terms and conditions as other workers. Other factors include low formal skills and educational levels, high incidence of informality, lack of collective representation, weak individual bargaining power and vulnerable social status. For instance, a study showed that in the majority of the countries analysed, domestic workers were either illiterate (India, Mali) or had only primary education (Costa Rica, Indonesia, Mexico, Turkey and Viet Nam). At the same time, in Brazil, Peru, Philippines and South Africa, a significant proportion of domestic workers had secondary education (Oelz and Rani, 2015).

Early childhood care and education personnel

The early childhood care and education profession is largely female-dominated, with approximately 94 per cent of those exercising the profession being women. In some countries, only 2 to 3 per cent of all early childhood educators are men (Shaeffer, 2015). A study of 11 countries shows that the profession is more female-dominated in the private than public sector (ILO, 2012d).⁵³ As discussed in the case of domestic work, women are also overrepresented in early childhood care and education professions because of cultural beliefs about the nature of the work as an extension of the maternal role (Urban, 2009; Van Laere et al., 2014). This stereotype also creates a barrier to men's access to this area of employment, with a clear and considerable bias against men in early childhood care and education profession, who are perceived to be unfit for "mothering jobs" (Shaeffer, 2015). These social norms also result in an undervaluation of early childhood care and education as a profession, which is reflected in the wages and the nature of both career and professional development in this area. Since mothers and women are perceived as "naturally" equipped to perform these functions, the profession is often assumed to require little training or skills (ILO, 2012d).

Early childhood educators are the key determinants of quality early childhood care and education services but tend to be unqualified and untrained and receive lower salaries than their counterparts at the primary or higher education levels. Consequently, current remuneration levels do not reflect the importance of early childhood care and education work (ILO, 2014h). In middle and high-income countries, the salaries of public early childhood educators are usually lower than those of public primary educators. For instance, in Denmark, Kazakhstan and Norway, the salaries of public early childhood educators are routinely lower than those of primary educators. By contrast, in the Dominican Republic and New Zealand, the salaries of early childhood educators match those of primary educators (ILO, 2012d).⁵⁴

In the private sector, the remuneration of early childhood educators depends on the country and the areas within the country. For instance, in Brazil, whereas salaries are lower in private schools in poorer areas and educators in community schools earn the national minimum salary, salaries in wealthier urban areas may be 6–12 times the minimum salary (ibid.). As the skills requirements for entry into the profession rise, however, their wages have increased as well; thus, in Australia, New Zealand, Portugal and the United Kingdom, the salaries for early childhood educators are comparable to those of primary school teachers. This is more likely the case for educators working closely with the government systems and employed on stable contracts or even with civil service status. By contrast, this may not be the case for educators working in rural and remote areas (Shaeffer, 2015).

53. Findings on the percentage of women working as private early childhood educators are based on data from Belgium, Ghana, Kazakhstan, Lebanon, Montenegro, New Zealand, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Slovakia and Sri Lanka. Data were gathered from an unpublished ILO survey of early childhood education in 2011.

54. This is based on an unpublished ILO report (2011c).

In addition and in contrast to other professions, the career progression in early childhood care and education makes the occupation less attractive. For example, in Finland, kindergarten teachers with ten years of experience earn €2,170 a month while the average starting salary for graduates is around €3,100 (AKAVA, 2009 cited in ILO, 2012d). Similarly, UNESCO estimates that in many middle-income countries, the salary of pre-primary teachers is less than the average national salary at the beginning and end of their careers (UNESCO, 2007). Educators working with children under the age of 3 have even fewer opportunities to participate in continuing professional development (Shaeffer, 2015). The low salaries earned in early childhood education, coupled with these patterns of career progression, have contributed to high turnover rates, which reach as high as 40 per cent in Kenya and over 30 per cent in Australia (Hein and Cassirer, 2010).

Early childhood educators often work long hours. In most OECD countries, members of this profession work on average between half an hour and one hour more per week than other educators.⁵⁵ Although the weekly and daily contract hours are long, the hours do not account for the time needed for the preparation of lessons, consultation with parents, extracurricular activities and professional development (Shaeffer, 2015). Early childhood care and education workers are also largely unorganized and left out of collective bargaining processes.

Long-term care providers

Not only are women the primary informal providers of long-term care (LTC), but the formal LTC workforce is also largely composed of women, particularly women aged 40 and above. In many countries, such as Denmark (96 per cent), Canada (92 per cent), Japan (87 per cent), the Republic of Korea (93 per cent) and the United States (90 per cent), women make up more than 85 per cent of the LTC workforce.⁵⁶ In many developed economies, up to 70 per cent of LTC workers are migrant workers. An International Organization for Migration (IOM) study on elderly care in selected countries reveals that migrant workers play a significant role in providing care in these ageing societies. In the United Kingdom and Ireland, most lower-skilled elderly care is provided by migrant workers from the Philippines, Poland and sub-Saharan Africa,⁵⁷ while, in Canada and the United States, migrant workers from Mexico and other Latin American and Asian countries form the bulk of the care workforce (IOM, 2010).

Generally, working conditions in LTC work, including wages and social protection coverage, are considered poor. In the United States, LTC workers earn 51 per cent of the national average wage while in Slovenia, they earn between 50 and 70 per cent of the average wage (Colombo et al, 2011). Wages are exceptionally low for LTC workers providing services at the homes of older persons. Migrant LTC workers are more likely to work under poorer conditions, in particular if they work in home care settings. Caregivers have reported cases of discriminatory treatment in terms of scheduling of hours, differentiated responsibilities, pay rates and overtime compensation. Some migrant caregivers have experienced verbal abuse from co-workers who are nationals of the country of destination and their care recipients.

In addition, migrant LTC workers are in a more vulnerable situation because their legal status in a country is contingent on their employment relation. Migrant workers who are students or have an irregular immigration status are more likely to face poorer working conditions and have access to fewer rights at work (IOM, 2010; ILO, 2012c). For instance, certain employment permit or sponsorship systems can prevent workers from changing their workplace, employer or sponsor, which gives employers a disproportionate amount of power and could lead to discrimination on the grounds of nationality, as specified under the ILO Convention on Discrimination (Employment and Occupation), 1958 (No. 111) (ibid.).

55. In the Republic of Moldova, early childhood educators work many more hours, whereas in Poland and Slovakia, educators work fewer hours.

56. This is based on a study of the long-term care workforce in Canada, Denmark, Japan, the Republic of Korea and the United States (Colombo et al., 2011).

57. For instance, migrant care workers are more prominent in social care than in nursing. This suggests that migrant caregivers are mostly hired through informal channels (IOM, 2010).

B. Implementing a comprehensive approach to harmonize work and family responsibilities

As demonstrated in a 2014 Eurobarometer survey covering 28 European Union countries, women and men respondents identified flexible working arrangements and accessible childcare as effective ways to increase women's participation in the labour market (European Commission, 2015b). Failure to acknowledge and address the challenges faced by workers with unpaid household and care responsibilities perpetuates and deepens existing gender inequalities in the labour market. In fact, unpaid work strongly affects women's employment opportunities, their access to quality jobs, including adequate social protection and working conditions. The ILO has put forward a comprehensive set of international labour standards, which provide an integrated framework for addressing work-family challenges. In addition to the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100) and the Discrimination (Employment and Occupation) Convention, 1958 (No. 111), the Maternity Protection Convention, 2000 (No. 183), the Social Protection Floors Recommendation, 2012 (No. 202) and the newly adopted Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy Recommendation, 2015 (No. 204), among other standards, make the right to maternity protection a precondition for the achievement of equality of opportunity and treatment at work between women and men. These and other UN instruments highlight the universality of the right to maternity protection and call for its extension to all women (Addati, 2015).

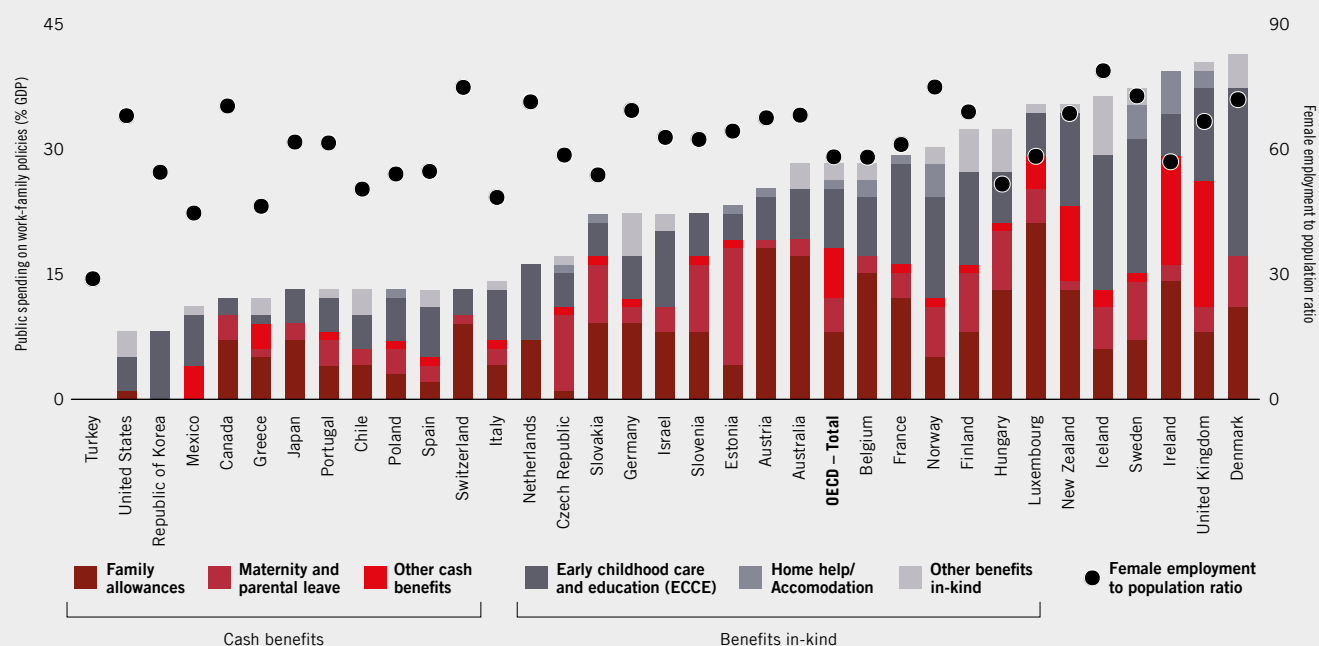
Lastly, the Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981 (No. 156) and its accompanying Recommendation No. 165 require that signatories make it an aim of national policy that all workers with family responsibilities – both women and men – can engage in employment without discrimination and, as far as possible, work-family conflict. Accordingly, non-discrimination and effective gender equality in the labour market and at home should be an explicit objective of evidenced-based national policy (see Recommendation No. 165, para. 10(a)). To this end, the Convention and Recommendation put forward a set of measures, including:

- leave policies (parental leave, in addition to maternity leave, and other family leave);
- social care services by qualified personnel (childcare, family and other community services; home-help and home-care services);
- social security benefits (in-kind and cash benefits, including tax breaks or other family allowances);
- family-friendly working time and work organization arrangements;
- workforce reintegration policies (training, vocational guidance, counselling and information and placement services);
- community services and infrastructure to reduce unpaid work (public transport; supply of water and energy; housing with labour-saving layout);
- information and education aimed at encouraging the sharing of family responsibilities between women and men (ILO Convention No. 156; ILO Recommendation No. 165).

Figure 35 shows the relationship between total government family policy spending (as a percentage of GDP) and the rates of women's employment in 34 OECD countries in 2011. In most countries, public spending is more concentrated in the form of family allowances. In others, including Iceland, Norway and Sweden, where there is a high female employment-to-population ratio, a significant share of public spending on work-family policies is dedicated to early childhood care and education. When countries are ordered according to their share of public spending on work-family policies, the resulting graph suggests that higher public spending is associated with higher female employment-to-population ratios.⁵⁸ While some countries, such as Canada and the United States, have traditionally displayed a combination of lower public expenditure in work-family benefits and higher female employment rates, over the last ten years, in the United States, women's labour force participation has declined. As Blau and Kahn (2013) demonstrate, the lack of investment in work-family policies in the United States explains nearly 30 per cent of the decline of female labour force participation from 1990 to 2010 relative to other OECD countries which expanded family-friendly policies over the same period.⁵⁹

58. Note: public spending on work-family policies corresponds to the primary (left) vertical axis. Employment to population corresponds to the secondary (right) vertical axis. Work-family expenditure comprises: in-kind benefits (early childhood education and care, home-help and accommodation services and other benefits) and cash benefits (maternity and parental leave; family allowances; and other cash benefits such as tax breaks). Linear regression lines fitted on to the relationship between spending and women's employment-to-population ratio. Regression statistics: Employment-to-population ratio = $y = 4.8795x + 49.106$; $R^2 = 0.2627$.

59. Blau and Kahn (2013) also suggest that, while the female labour force participation rates in the United States have decreased relative to the rates in other OECD countries, women in the United States who are working are likely to be in higher paid positions. This is linked to the uptake of part-time work and generous parental leave by women in other OECD countries, which affects their access to high-level jobs that typically requires full-time and full-year employment. As has been noted, in the United States, women's success in higher-level jobs is also based on reliance on low-paid labour, mainly female, to substitute for public care services and policies (Mandel and Shalev, 2009).

Figure 35
Public spending on work-family policies and women's employment, 34 OECD countries, 2011


Source: ILO calculations based on OECD: Stat Extracts, 2011; OECD Family Database.

While public spending on work-family support is important, the nature and mix of supportive policies may result in different employment outcomes and may either narrow or worsen gender inequalities in the labour market. For instance, when these policies are only directed at women or they discourage women's attachment to the labour market, or when employers are liable for the direct cost of their provision, women's employment is likely to suffer. As discussed in this section, policy design is therefore of paramount importance (ILO, 2011d). As called for by ILO international labour standards, workers' and employers' organizations and, in addition to them, domestic workers, early childhood care and education and LTC personnel and their employers, representatives of civil society, including women, parents, elderly and persons with disabilities, all have a key role to play in designing, implementing, monitoring and evaluating work-family policies and ensuring that they are adequately and sustainably funded.

Box 13 Integrated measures to support parents' co-responsibility in Italy

In 2013, 22.4 per cent of mothers employed before pregnancy were out of a job two years later. In Italy, women were also overrepresented among involuntary part-time and precarious workers and the gender wage gap increased from 4.9 per cent in 2008 to 7.3 per cent in 2013. In Italy, only 12 per cent of fathers took the compulsory one day of paternity leave (Bruno, 2015). In 2015, Italy adopted a package of policy reforms with a view to improving gender equality at work, maternity protection and the sharing of care responsibilities between women and men. The new laws introduced non-discrimination clauses to promote a better representation of women in electoral lists; an education programme on diversity and non-discrimination; the provision of maternity leave cash benefits even where employers did not contribute to social security; the option to use part-time work with reversibility to replace parental leave; financial incentives for workplace work-family measures including telework and an investment of €100 million for the creation of childcare services. Lastly, a new system of centralized registration of employees' voluntary resignations was set up. It is expected to stop the widespread practice of "blank resignations", undated resignation letters that workers are forced to sign upon hiring, which are used to dismiss them if they become pregnant or are faced with a long-term illness or family responsibilities. A November 2015 bill also proposes to extend paternity leave from the current one day to 15 days paid at 100 per cent of previous earnings; increase parental leave cash benefits from 30 to 50 per cent of previous earnings for low-income workers; introduce a tax reduction of up to 80 per cent of a domestic worker's salary as well as tax incentives for companies adopting work-family workplace policies based on collective bargaining agreements.

Source: Bruno, 2015; Bettio et al., 2015.

1. Providing maternity protection to all women according to international labour standards

Maternity protection is a set of fundamental labour rights enshrined in universal and regional human rights instruments and treaties.⁶⁰ As laid out in the Maternity Protection Convention, 2000 (No. 183), it includes the entitlement to paid maternity leave and breastfeeding breaks, maternal and child health care, the prevention of exposure to workplace health and safety hazards for pregnant and nursing workers, the protection against discrimination in employment and occupation, and a guaranteed right to return to the job after maternity leave.

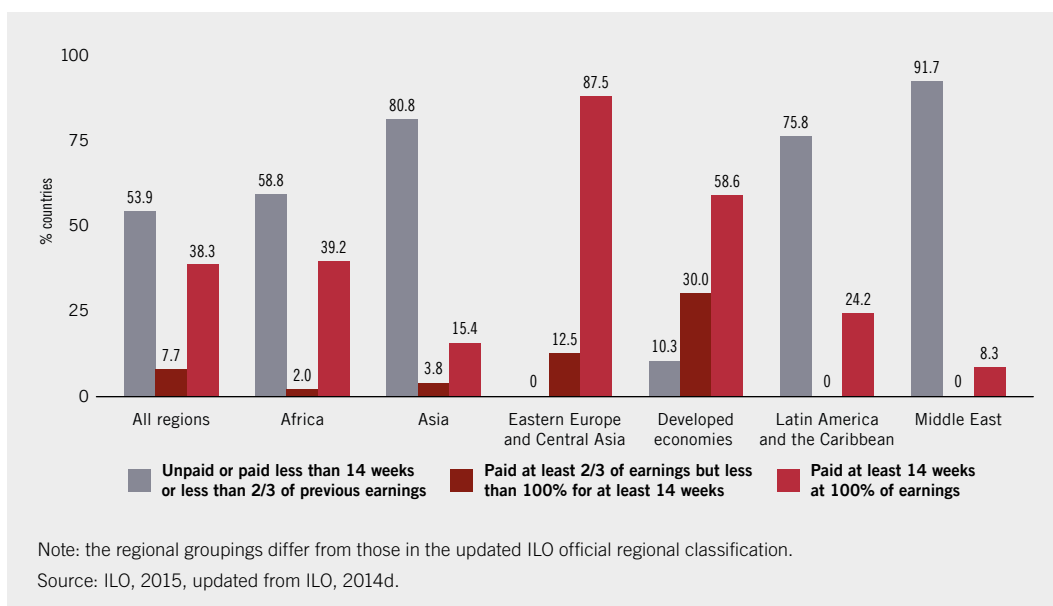
Maternity leave paid by social insurance or public funds has a positive impact on female employment by encouraging women to return to work and leading to shorter career interruptions, which, in turn, increases their access to higher occupational categories and more equal pension benefits. In the absence of effective provision of job-protected leave and income security, women workers have to interrupt or reduce their participation in paid work, with an often considerable loss of income. At the same time, very long leave periods, when mainly taken up by women, in particular in the absence of job protection, may also damage women's attachment to and advancement in paid work, resulting in further wage penalties (Grimshaw and Rubery, 2015). Similarly, where women do not receive adequate income replacement during leave, they may become at risk of poverty or of returning to work at the expense of the health of both women workers and their children (ILO, 2014d; ILO, 2007a). Unpaid maternity leave also reinforces the notion that caring for children does not require real work and has no monetary value.

The Maternity Protection Convention 2000 (No. 183) sets out a number of minimum requirements for maternity leave and related entitlements. In 2015, 102 of the 185 countries for which data were available (55 per cent) provided at least 14 weeks of maternity leave, in line with Convention No. 183. The countries which have extended the duration of maternity leave since 2013 include: El Salvador (from 12 to 16 weeks); the Gambia (from 12 weeks to 6 months); Paraguay (from 12 to 18 weeks), Trinidad and Tobago (from 13 to 14 weeks) and Uruguay (from 12 to 14 weeks). Israel has also extended this entitlement from 14 to 20 paid weeks.

Where the duration of paid maternity leave is concerned, in 2015, 45 per cent of countries with information available (77 out of 167 countries) provided maternity leave cash benefits of at least two thirds of prior earnings for the 14 weeks, meeting the length and level of cash benefits set out in Convention No. 183 (figure 36). As discussed below, when assessing the duration of maternity leave and its impact on women's situation in the labour marker, it is also important to consider the differences between women's and men's entitlements (the gender leave gap), in addition to the absolute duration of women's leave.

Figure 36

Maternity leave duration and amount of cash benefits, by region, 2015 (167 countries), 2015



60. They include the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; and the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child. At the regional level, see, for instance, the Additional Protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the Area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, of 1988, and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, of July 2003. For a comprehensive discussion, see Module 5 "International rights and guidance on Maternity Protection at work" in ILO, 2012b.

When employers are statutorily mandated fully or partially to shoulder the direct cost of work-family measures, by financing, for instance, wage replacement during leave (employer liability) or care facilities, this may create disincentives to hiring workers with family responsibilities and result in discriminatory practices. Between 1994 and 2013, the share of the 185 countries that financed maternity cash benefits through employer liability systems decreased from 31 to 26 per cent, with an increasing number of countries, such as Angola, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Jordan and Mozambique, shifting towards social security systems to fund maternity leave. Employer liability remains the prevalent system, however, in Africa, Asia and the Pacific and the Middle East. Moreover, employers are still statutorily responsible for the full payment of benefits in countries with social insurance systems such as Cabo Verde, Colombia, Mexico, India and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, when women do not qualify for contributory social security benefits. Finally, in another 16 per cent of the 185 countries surveyed, such as Germany, Egypt, Honduras, the Republic of Korea, Madagascar, Thailand and the United Kingdom, employers share some of the costs of maternity benefits ("mixed systems").

Even when the full direct costs of wage replacement are collectively borne, maternity protection might not be cost-neutral for employers, in terms, for instance, of leave administration, the temporary replacement of on-leave staff, the management of potential cash-flow shortages before social security reimbursement of cash benefits, and other administrative procedures. The data, however, show that, when measured, these indirect costs are often lower than anticipated or outweighed by a number of benefits, including productivity gains from lower turnover and absenteeism, higher worker commitment, better performance, improved work organization, skills preservation, lower turnover, and health cost reductions due to healthier parents and children (Gornick and Hegewisch, 2010; Cuomo and Mapelli, 2009; ILO, 2014i).

ILO research shows that for parenthood to become a normal fact of business life, there is a need for national laws and policies that protect maternity and support work-family harmonization at minimal or no cost to employers, in combination with targeted support measures designed, in particular, to take into account the specific characteristics and needs of small and medium-sized enterprises (ibid.). For instance, in Mexico, the government subsidizes the maternity insurance scheme on top of employers' and employees' contributions. This is a good way to protect low-income employees along with the employers in small and medium-sized enterprises. In the United Kingdom, small firms deduct statutory maternity payments from taxes. When taxes are lower than cash benefits, companies can apply for funding in advance of maternity payments. In addition, medium and large employers can claim back 92 per cent of the employees' previous earnings from public funds, while small companies are entitled to 103 per cent of this amount.

Other low-cost or cost-free good practices, which are also encountered in small and medium-sized enterprises, that appear to prevent potential disruptions include: information and training sessions on leave policies; occupational safety and health training during pregnancy and for nursing workers; maternity planning among workers, supervisors and employers; the provision of coaching and maintenance of contacts during leave; updating counselling and gradual return to work through good quality and temporary part-time and flexi-work arrangements. Social dialogue at the workplace is an essential element of a mutually agreed maternity planning strategy (ibid.).

Laws should also explicitly provide adequate and effective maternity protection coverage to frequently excluded categories of workers, including workers with non-standard contracts, in agriculture, in the informal economy and in small and medium-sized enterprises, self-employed workers (including contributing family workers), domestic workers, homeworkers and the unemployed. By 2015, domestic workers had access to maternity protection on the same terms as other workers in at least 54 countries. Several Latin American countries, such as Argentina, Brazil, El Salvador and Uruguay, have mounted initiatives to extend maternity leave cash benefits to domestic workers.

2. Guaranteeing adequate social protection to recognize, reduce and redistribute unpaid care work

Gender-based inequalities in the labour market and the unequal share of unpaid family responsibilities born by women are mediated through social protection systems, and in many cases have resulted in unequal access, coverage and provision of social security for women. In addition, gender inequalities and a lack of consideration for women's specific social protection needs (including maternity and a disproportionate share of unpaid care work) often put women at greater risk throughout their lives. Addressing economic and social risks related to maternity and care is a priority, in particular for women in the informal economy or those earning low incomes. Thus, the newly adopted Sustainable Development Agenda, through target 5.4 linked to Goal 5, to "Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls", emphasizes the role that social protection policies play in recognizing and valuing unpaid care and household work and therefore in attaining Goal 5. A gender-sensitive approach to social protection, which promotes gender equality and addresses women's specific needs, is thus crucial.

In its preamble, the ILO Social Protection Floors Recommendation, 2012 (No. 202) recognizes social security as an important tool to promote equal opportunity and gender equality. It also lists “non-discrimination and gender equality” among the principles that ILO member States should apply in giving effect to this instrument. Specifically, the Recommendation calls for at least an essential level of health care (including maternity care) and income security (including in case of maternity and for children) to be provided to all residents as part of the basic social security guarantees that constitute national social protection floors. Such nationally defined social protection floors can play a key role in enabling and empowering women and reducing gender inequalities. More recently, in its paragraph 18, the ILO Recommendation on Transition from the Informal to the Formal Economy, 2015 (No. 204) explicitly states that Members should progressively extend, in law and practice, to all workers in the informal economy, social security, maternity protection and decent working conditions. Complementing other ILO standards, these two Recommendations provide a powerful tool to strengthen women’s social protection in a coherent and coordinated way. Both reflect strong commitments to the progressive narrowing of gender gaps in social protection coverage and adequacy, which will not only enhance access to social protection but also enable women to participate more fully in decent employment.

In order to maximize these potential impacts, a gender dimension should be integrated at every stage of policy design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation for national social protection floors and systems. In effect, to ensure that gender inequality is properly tackled, social protection schemes should be designed to guarantee equality of treatment between men and women, take into account gender roles and serve as a mechanism for the promotion of gender equality. In addition, social protection floors can and should be a gender-transformative tool by addressing women’s specific life contingencies, such as maternity, and by reducing and redistributing unpaid care work. By adopting this two-fold approach to gender-sensitive social protection (promoting gender equality and addressing women’s specific needs), social protection, and especially social protection floors, offers an effective instrument for reducing poverty and inequality, in promoting equal treatment for men and women, and equitable outcomes which can partly compensate for the effects of discrimination and inequalities outside the social protection system.

Contributory and non-contributory social transfers, social care services and employment guarantee schemes, as yet still somewhat limited, have the potential to address labour market and intra-household inequalities over the life cycle. For social protection systems to contribute to transforming gender relations, they should support women’s reproductive needs, promote a more equitable sharing of family responsibilities and facilitate a more equal division of labour between women and men in the household and at work (Holmes and Jones, 2013). Research shows that social protection programmes can be enhanced to become more gender-transformative by supporting women’s participation and address their reproduction-related risks; tackling multiple forms of discrimination; providing safe, decent and family-friendly working conditions, including maternity protection; supplying the types of infrastructure and services that both reduce women’s and girls’ unpaid care work and increase their access to health care, education and employability services and decent work opportunities (Kabeer, 2013). Health protection is a key priority in ensuring adequate social protection for women (ILO, 2014c). Significant progress has been achieved with regard to maternity care in many parts of the world, yet major challenges remain with regard to women’s broader health needs throughout their lives and achieving universal health protection (ILO, 2015q).

Contributory programmes can also be designed in a way that is sensitive to gender inequalities and addresses the challenges of unpaid care work. Accumulation of pension contributions during leave periods is essential to recognizing and valuing both women’s and men’s care work, ensuring the provision of adequate pensions to all and decreasing gender inequalities in old-age pensions resulting from a parent’s time out of the labour force. In addition to leave periods, many – mostly developed – countries have introduced policies to recognize and reward periods of caregiving through pension credits. Some countries, such as France, have moved forward by extending pension credits to fathers (Fultz, 2011). In the United Kingdom, carers, regardless of sex, who provide at least 20 hours a week of care are eligible for “carer’s credits”, which help to fill gaps in national insurance (Gov UK, 2015). It should be noted, however, that benefit levels are often low when not linked to employment status.

Non-contributory programmes can play a key role in promoting gender equality and empowering women, yet they should be designed in a way that does not reinforce traditional gender roles (box 14). A comparative study of cash transfer programmes in Brazil, Chile, India, Mexico and South Africa has identified areas where Recommendation No. 202 is particularly relevant as guidance in programme structuring and restructuring, in particular with regard to benefit levels, which must be sufficient to enable women (and men) to save and invest in future income generation, and the legal status of benefits, which should be statutory entitlements with explicit provisions regarding transfer amount, eligibility, and appeal rights (Fultz and Francis, 2013).

In Peru, the government-led cash transfer programme known as “Juntos” (“Together”) targets the lowest income households with children under the age of 14 or pregnant women. In 2012, it covered over 490,000 households with a transfer of around \$70 every two months conditional, among other things, on attendance at antenatal and postnatal visits for the mother and the child, delivery in a health facility and information on reproductive health and family planning. Impact assessments showed a 65 per cent increase in access to maternal and infant health services, which is expected to improve health outcomes, given the high level of maternal mortality in poor rural areas. Beneficiaries also reported improved equity in the division of family responsibilities between women and men, with men reporting more involvement in childcare and domestic chores. At the same time, however, the programme still promotes the role of women as the main caregiver, which, combined with programme conditionalities, is likely to reinforce women's time poverty (Holmes and Jones, 2013). In fact, social transfers which come with education and health conditions often have no better results than unconditional social transfers, and may even burden women and harm their pursuit of paid employment, while reaffirming social expectations that caregiving is women's sole or primary responsibility (Molyneux, 2008; Fultz and Francis, 2013).

The programme “Brasil sem Miséria” (“Brazil without destitution”) is an expansion of the cash transfer programme “Bolsa Família” (“Family grant”) and covers the north-eastern regions of the country. The programme provides microcredit and skills training to women and is supplemented by publicly funded childcare services for children under the age of 6 under the “Brasil Carinhoso” (“Caring Brazil”) sub-programme (Fultz and Francis, 2013). The Brazilian Government reports that, by 2014, some 580,000 children had been enrolled in the childcare centres operating under the programme (Alfers, 2015).

Social protection schemes can be adjusted to accommodate the needs of parents with family responsibilities, as demonstrated in Ethiopia's productive safety net programme. This public employment programme reaches 9 million people, targeting very poor households. The programme offers public works, including in the area of soil or water conservation and the construction of schools, health-posts, roads and childcare centres. The public works take place after the harvest season, which ensures that participants have money during times of seasonal food shortages. This programme takes due account of women's maternal and childcare responsibilities by providing flexi-work arrangements to accommodate family responsibilities, including breastfeeding, without loss of earnings. Pregnant women may take time off and continue receiving payment, which is de facto paid maternity leave (Naqvi et al., 2015).

Public employment programmes can also be designed with the explicit objective to reduce unpaid work, by investing in the expansion of community social care services. As discussed below, investment in care sector holds the potential for significant employment creation – by freeing women's time for paid work – and pro-poor income growth (Antonopoulos and Kim, 2011). In South Africa, the country's “Expanded Public Works Programme” involves job creation in early childhood development and home and community-based care for people living with HIV, tuberculosis and malaria. The target workers are unpaid volunteers, unemployed or underemployed parents and caregivers. The early childhood development component provides paid jobs, although often temporary, training and accreditation to caregivers (South Africa Department of Public Works, 2009). Nevertheless, the programme has faced challenges in achieving the 60 per cent quota for women's employment. In addition, the project wages are extremely low and women beneficiaries have few prospects for labour market integration after graduating from the programme (Plagerson and Ulriksen, 2015).

Community social care services organized through public employment programmes face challenges concerning the quality of services, particularly with regard to the temporary nature of the programmes, which often do not allow the creation of longer-term relationships between carers and those being cared for. There are also concerns about displacement effects in respect of public services. Community social care services staffed through public employment programmes can be an important interim stage in the endeavour to fill gaps, but the objective should be to have more long-term, properly resourced and qualified care services, which are affordable and accessible, with a strong emphasis on public provision.

In addition, the extension of social security to previously unprotected workers, such as domestic workers, can also make a major difference for women workers. Domestic workers should enjoy conditions that are not less favourable than those applicable to workers generally in respect of social security protection, including maternity protection, as outlined in the Domestic Workers Convention (No. 189). Some governments, such as Belgium and France, have provided incentives to employers and workers to contribute to social insurance schemes through tax allowances or the simplified registration and payment of social security contributions (Addati and Cheong, 2013). Between 2002, when South Africa extended unemployment insurance to domestic workers – which also includes the granting of at least four consecutive months of paid maternity leave – and 2008, some 633,000 workers had been registered (ILO, 2015c).

These examples demonstrate that the careful consideration of gender issues in the design and implementation of social protection systems, and social protection floors in particular, is an essential contribution to the work of promoting gender equality and women's empowerment.

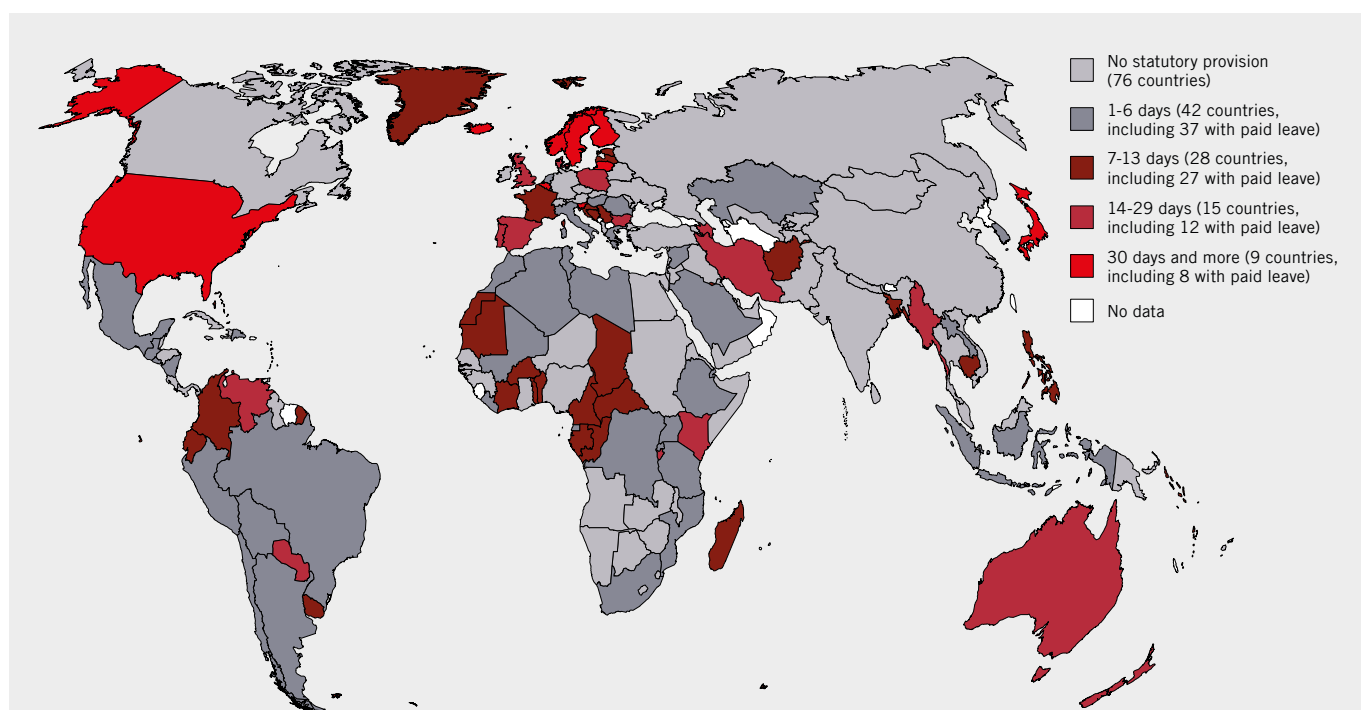
3. Implementing gender-transformative leave policies: Increasing provision for fathers and their take-up rates

The design of leave policies has enormous potential to promote a more egalitarian distribution of unpaid household and care work between women and men and therefore a shift to a model of equal breadwinners and caregivers (Castro-García and Pazos-Moran, 2015). Except for the time needed for recovering from childbirth and exclusive breastfeeding, much of the care work that a small infant needs is not directly related to women's biological role and can be divided between both parents. Research also shows that the healthy physical and psychological development of young children is not associated with the sex of the caregiver, but depends on the quality of caregiving and the child-caregiver interactions (Levtov et al., 2015; WHO, 2004).

Leave entitlements for fathers linked to the birth or adoption of a child, in the form of paternity leave or a non-transferable quota of parental leave, have been shown to benefit the health of the child, and also to lead to better job and home-life satisfaction for men and better health and labour-market outcomes for mothers (Levtov et al., 2015). Research also suggests that fathers' leave, men's take-up of family responsibilities and child development are all related. Fathers who take leave, in particular those taking two weeks or more immediately after childbirth, are more likely to be involved with their young children (Huerta et al., 2013; Nepomnyaschy and Waldfogel, 2007). This in turn is likely to have positive effects for gender equality in the home, which is the foundation of gender equality at work. Despite these recognized benefits, leave entitlements for fathers are only available in half of the countries in the world. When leave for fathers is provided, more often than not the leave duration is less than one week (42 countries), such as in Malta and Mozambique, or unpaid (at least eight countries), such as in Ethiopia or the United States (figure 37).

Figure 37

Countries providing paid and unpaid leave entitlements to fathers for the birth of a child, by duration (days), 170 countries, 2015



Note: This map covers leave provisions in national or federal legislation reserved for fathers in relation to the birth of a child or leave that can be used exclusively by fathers as paternity or parental leave. It does not include parental leave provisions that can be used by either the father or mother or parts of maternity leave entitlements that the mother can transfer to the father. It includes certain special leave provisions in addition to annual leave that may be used by fathers at the time of birth but which are not strictly categorized as "paternity leave".

Source: ILO data 2015.

This is changing, as countries are recognizing that men have both the desire and the obligation to be more involved at the critical early stage of the child's life and, more generally, more equally to share unpaid care and household work. Over time, the statutory provision of leave entitlements for fathers has increased. In 1994, statutory paternity leave provisions existed in 40 of the 141 countries for which data were available at the ILO. By 2015, leave entitlements for fathers were provided in at least 94 countries out of 170 for which data were available. In 2012, Mexico introduced a five-day paid paternity leave provision, the Plurinational State of Bolivia and Equatorial Guinea granted three days' paid paternity leave and Bahrain one day of paid leave. Myanmar extended paternity leave from 6 to 15 days, paid at 70 per cent of previous earnings by social insurance. In 2013, the Islamic Republic of Iran introduced compulsory leave for fathers for a duration of two weeks and the Lao People's Democratic Republic leave for the birth of a child of three days. Uruguay extended paternity leave from 3 to 10 days, paid by social insurance. In 2014, Nicaragua moved to five days' paid paternity leave and in 2015, Paraguay extended the duration of paid paternity leave from 3 to 15 days. The same year, Portugal increased the duration of compulsory leave from 10 to 15 days, out of a total allocation of 20 days.

Those developments notwithstanding, assumptions which frame women as caregivers and men as breadwinners remain extraordinarily persistent, including in the workplace. A 2015 survey covering the 28 Member States of the European Union showed that, although changing men's and boys' attitudes towards care was identified as essential to reducing gender inequality in the labour market by 41 per cent of women and men respondents, 60 per cent still believed that the family was negatively affected (or "suffered") when mothers had full-time jobs. In addition, 66 per cent of Europeans disagreed that fathers should prioritize their careers over looking after their children. That said, however, 29 per cent still believed that fathers should prioritize their careers over caring for their young children (European Commission, 2015b). Consequently, while men may feel valued as workers, their paternity and care responsibilities are often ignored. Fathers perceive that, while family-friendly policies might in theory be available to parents in general, socialization, lack of take-up by other men and the absence of a supportive workplace result in these options being used only by women (Burnett et al., 2013). This represents a barrier to the more extensive use of leave and other work-family policies by men and hence poses an obstacle to gender equality.

As discussed in Chapter II, the imbalance in the take-ups of leave has a knock-on effect on the gender wage gap. For instance, in Sweden, for each month of parental leave that they take, women's earnings decrease on average by 4.5 per cent and men's by 7.5 per cent. By contrast, for each additional month that the father stays on parental leave, a mother's salary rises by 6.7 per cent (Johansson, 2010). The gender gap in the take-up of leave also negatively affects all women's wages – not only those of mothers – because of the consequences of discrimination (the "unexplained" wage gap; see Chapter II). Accordingly, leave measures should be designed with the explicit objective of transforming the gender-based division of unpaid household and care work, in line with the ILO Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981 (No. 156).

An increasing number of countries are encouraging more men to take advantage of parental leave (see box 15). Ensuring that all working men, including the self-employed, are legally entitled to paid leave or leave benefits is a first step. Then granting both parents time off for prenatal and postnatal health care visits, as provided in France and Portugal, is a way to ensure men's early involvement. Moreover, by making leave entitlements compulsory and non-transferable, and by providing cash benefits linked to previous earnings which are paid by social insurance or public funds, the right incentives are created for more active participation. Research in 21 European countries based on available data on the take-up rates of parental leave shows that women usually take all the available highly paid leave (including the transferable share), while their take-up of low-paid or unpaid parental leave depends on two factors: the availability of affordable childcare services or men's assumption of care responsibilities during the first months after childbirth. On the other side, most men take their leave only when it is both non-transferable and fully – or nearly fully – paid (close to 100 per cent of previous earnings). The study concludes that men's balanced participation in caregiving (at 50 per cent) can only be promoted through equal duration, non-transferability and a high income replacement of parental leave (Castro-García and Pazos-Moran, 2015).

Box 15 Increasing men's parental leave take-up rates

Since 2007, Germany has moved away from a leave policy that supported mothers wishing to remain at home for three years after the birth of a child. Parental leave has now been reduced to 12 months. Its overall duration increases to 14 months, however, if both parents take at least two months of the paid parental leave (Geisler and Kreyenfeld, 2012). The benefit shifted from a means-tested flat rate to an income replacement modality at 67 per cent of previous earnings. The proportion of fathers taking leave increased from 3 per cent in 2006 to 28 per cent in 2012, with 83 per cent of these using their individual two-month entitlement. As Bünning (2015) shows, fathers who took up parental leave reduced their number of working hours per week while increasing the time that they spent on childcare and housework. The reform also resulted in the reduction of the overall number of parents taking more than one year of paid leave, which was a stated objective of the reform. In fact, just 11 per cent opted to prolong their paid leave to two years, paid at 33.5 per cent of prior earnings (Blum and Erler, 2013). In addition, Germany has invested heavily in the provision of childcare facilities (see figure 35) and since August 2013, every child between the age of 1 and school entry age has the legal right to early childhood support in a day-care centre or day nursery.

In France, the parental leave scheme was reformed under the 2014 act on equality between women and men, which was intended to promote men's uptake of parental leave from 18,000 to 100,000 by 2017. Parents with one child, who were previously entitled to six months of parental leave, are now allowed to take another six months, only if the co-parent is the beneficiary of leave as well. The leave remains available to parents even after the birth of their second child for the duration of three years, under the same condition that the co-parent is the beneficiary, or, failing that condition, for two and a half years. In addition and on an experimental basis, the act introduced a shorter period of better paid parental leave (18 months) for parents with at least two children (ILO, 2014d).

For instance, Iceland, which applies one of the world's most egalitarian parental leave policies, along with Norway, Portugal and Sweden, also has one of the longest periods of fathers' non-transferable leave entitlements (three months – to be extended to five months by 2016), paid over the entire period by social security at 80 per cent of previous earnings (with a cap). In 2009, 96 fathers took leave for every 100 mothers taking leave, using an average of 99 days compared to 178 for women (Eydal and Gíslason, 2013). In addition, according to a 2007 survey, 86 per cent of women and 73 per cent of men stated that their employer expressed a positive attitude towards their parental leave (Jónsdóttir, 2007, cited in Asher, 2011).

A growing number of countries, including Belgium, Germany and Norway, provide flexibility as to when parental leave may be taken, whether in one block directly after the birth of the child or as time off from work until the child reaches school age, and as to whether the leave can be taken on a full-time or part-time basis. In the Russian Federation, parental leave benefits can be transferred to grandparents or other caregivers. Other countries are also promoting the use of parental leave benefits to offset childcare costs and to encourage women's earlier return to work. In Slovakia, a 2011 reform of parental leave allows parents to receive the full parental leave benefit (around \$270 per month in 2014), regardless of the number of hours worked or level of earnings. If they opt to work, parents may choose to exchange the parental benefit for a childcare benefit to cover part of the documented childcare costs (up to a ceiling of around \$315 per month and per child up to three years) provided by a recognized institution or registered child-minder (EU, 2014).

4. Making quality early childhood care and education a universal right

Increasing public funds for early childhood education, in particular the provision of centre-based services for younger children when adequately paid leave periods expire, is crucial in promoting maternal employment and helps to empower women (Gornick and Hegewisch, 2010; Nollenberger and Rodríguez-Planas, 2011; Brilli and Del Boca, 2013; Lefebvre et al., 2009; Elborgh-Woytek et al., 2013). It is estimated that the labour force participation rates of young mothers would increase by 6.5–10 per cent if the price of childcare costs decreased by 50 per cent (Gong et al., 2010). Childcare also plays a role in supporting women's access to formal jobs (World Bank, 2011a; ILO, 2014j).

In its paragraph 21, ILO Recommendation No. 204 encourages the provision of and access to affordable quality childcare and other care services in order to promote gender equality in entrepreneurship and employment opportunities and to enable the transition to the formal economy. A universal right to quality childcare as part of adequate, comprehensive, inclusive and sustainable social protection systems is essential to efforts to reduce poverty and eliminate inequalities. There is also an important link to Recommendation No. 202, which, in its paragraph 5(b), sets out that social protection floors should also comprise basic income security for children, at least at a nationally defined minimum level, providing access to nutrition, education, care and any other necessary goods and services.

The extent to which the childcare needs of children, working parents, employers and early childhood care and education personnel are recognized and addressed by policies and services is heavily shaped by national and local contexts, with wide variation in government approaches to childcare. Childcare can be financed through government's tax revenues or social insurance following two main approaches: funding the delivery of childcare through the provision of subsidies (including fiscal incentives) to care providers or by supplying services directly; and funding the demand for childcare by offering subsidies to parents. These strategies are not mutually exclusive and can be combined as is the case, for example, in France and the United Kingdom.

By recognizing early childhood care and education as a universal right, directly and adequately financing it and setting up minimum standards, governments help to ensure that there is a supply of relatively affordable and quality services, in particular for lower income families (Hein and Cassirer 2010). As shown in figures 32 and 35, in countries such as Denmark, France and Iceland, public spending on early childhood care and education (in-kind benefits) measures more than 1.0 per cent of the GDP and participation rates for 0–2 year olds in formal childcare are higher than 50 per cent. On the whole, public spending is higher in pre-school centres for children aged from 3 to 5, where direct government funding and the provision of facilities are most common, than for crèches, day care centres and family day care for children under the age of 3 (OECD, 2014d).

In some countries, governments tend to prefer to provide financial support, often in the form of tax breaks, to families with children, who can then decide what service or facility they want to use. In the Netherlands, parents, employers and the Government jointly bear the costs of formal childcare for preschool and school-age children up to the age of 13. Each party pays one third of the cost, which makes childcare more accessible to all income groups. The Government's contribution is related to income, being higher for low-income families. Parents buy the service from a registered provider and are reimbursed through the tax system.

The disadvantage of demand-side subsidies is that parents still bear a high proportion of the childcare cost. In addition, those who profit from a tax-deductible benefit tend to be parents in the highest tax bracket while low-income workers who need it most derive little benefit. Workers earning near-minimum wages cannot even set aside tax-free money for care expenses because their salaries fall below the legal minimum required to benefit from tax-deductible benefits. In addition, demand-side subsidies can often be used to hire home-based caregivers. On the one hand, this is perceived as a way to formalize domestic workers and therefore improve their working conditions, in particular where extensive skill training to improve the quality of service is provided by public or private, profit or non-for-profit agencies in countries such as France. On the other hand, the emphasis on demand-side funding might accentuate the risk of proliferation of services with lower standards and quality than professional childcare centres (Hein and Cassirer, 2010). As a consequence, more support for childcare might not translate into more women in the labour market.

Since 2004, the Republic of Korea has promoted a policy of universal childcare provision, with a significant increase of public expenditure on childcare for children aged from 0 to 2 (Shin, 2015). The Free (Mu-sang) Care and Education Programme was launched in 2013 and offers free childcare for children under the age of 5, amounting to a cost of 5.5 trillion Korean won in 2013 (approximately \$4.5 billion) (OECD et al., forthcoming 2016). In parallel, the amount of demand-side subsidies increased significantly, reaching 86.2 per cent of total public expenditure on childcare provision in 2014. This resulted in 76 per cent of total childcare places being provided in private or home-care centres. Although the service offers 12 hours of childcare for full-time workers, other beneficiaries only receive between six and eight hours of childcare. Since around 44 per cent of women hold non-regular jobs in the Republic of Korea (OECD, 2013), many fail to meet eligibility criteria for full-time provision, which limits their participation in the labour force where working long hours is the norm. Over the last decade, women's employment rate only increased by 3.3 percentage points, from 53.0 per cent in 2004 to 56.3 per cent in 2014. Fertility rates also remained at 1.2 per cent in 2014, compared to 1.15 per cent in 2004 (Shin, 2015).

Among not-for-profit care providers, social enterprises and, in particular, workers' cooperatives, offer an effective way to provide social care services, especially in rural areas with lower service coverage (box 16).

Box 16**"Third way" for care provision: the not-for-profit sector and the case of care cooperatives in Italy**

Cooperatives are member-owned organizations that are guided by the principles of voluntary and open membership, democracy and concern for the community (ILO, 2015k). Cooperatives have served as vehicles for workers' rights, allowing workers jointly to negotiate for better wages, contracts, working conditions and employment protection. In addition, cooperatives provide many services to their members, including employment services, training, education, financial services, social services and care services (ILO, 2014k). In Italy, social cooperatives and enterprises provide social, health and educational services through community centres for children and the elderly, health-care facilities and home care for the elderly. For example, the PAN consortium, which provides services for children, brings together three large consortiums of Italian social enterprises and a bank with the aim of creating and strengthening childcare services that are of high standards and at ethical and sustainable prices. The quality of services is ensured by specialists in the field and a scientific committee that periodically publishes research and trains teachers. The quality trademark is registered by the European Union. In 10 years, more than 460 nurseries have been affiliated with the PAN consortium, resulting in the creation of 13,000 new nursery places. Despite the financial crisis, PAN has created more than 3,000 jobs. The cooperative approach also puts emphasis on training on the job, by involving families (who may be members of the cooperative), in addition to matching the schedules of working parents. Because the cooperative provides quality services at an affordable price, children from lower-income families across all regions of the country, including rural areas in the south of Italy, are able to take advantage of this service.

Source: Fiaschi and Carabini, 2015.

Even though some families may receive childcare subsidies, the cost of childcare is much higher for children with disabilities. For example, in the United Kingdom, the costs of childcare are eight times higher for families with children with disabilities than for other families. Consequently, 72 per cent of mothers reported cutting back on work hours or leaving work to provide childcare. Even if families are able to pay for childcare, the staff may not necessarily have the necessary training or experience in providing care to children with disabilities. To address this challenge, the Government plans to increase financial help to these families through a new tax-free childcare scheme, starting in 2017. Under the scheme, parents will pay for childcare via online childcare accounts. For every 80p that parents pay into their childcare account, the Government will contribute a top-up payment of 20p, with a cap of £10,000 per year. The Government will double its top-up payments to families with a disabled child under 17 years on childcare, covering a total of £20,000 a year (£16,000 from parents plus £4,000 in government top-up payments) (Cafamily, 2015).

An increasing number of countries are offering childcare services as a way to support women's participation in the labour force and access to formal jobs, with a focus on the needs of low-income families. Some programmes have begun taking on board the issue of the unequal distribution of care responsibilities between women and men (box 17).

Box 17**Early childhood education can also improve the share of unpaid care work between women and men**

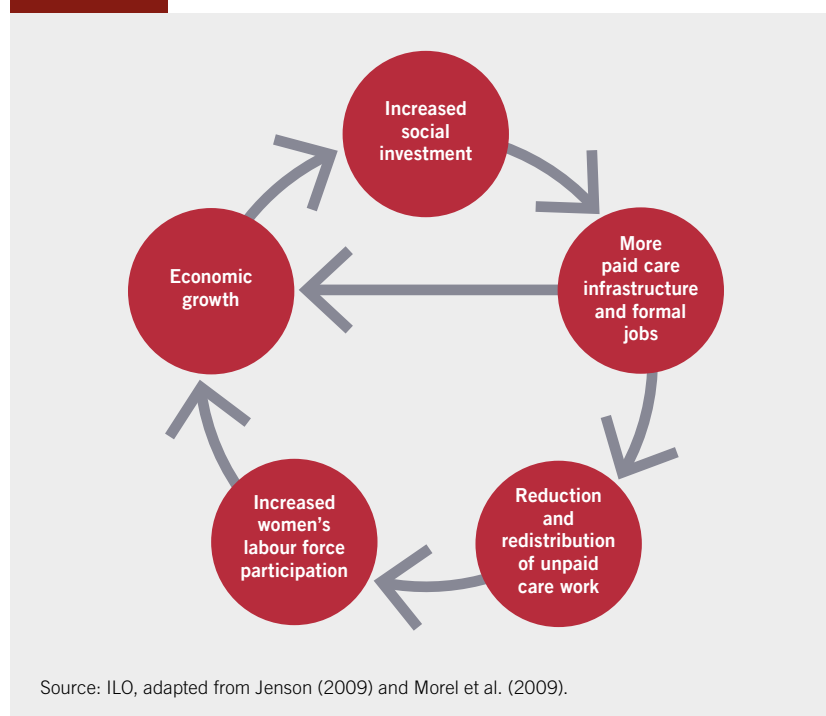
A review of 263 policies on early childhood care and education shows that only 40 recognize the breadwinning role of women and take into account the gender-based division of unpaid care responsibilities at home. Early childhood care and education programmes often rely heavily on mothers to ensure that children attend pre-school and health centres, which, in addition to regular family duties, might challenge women's participation in the labour force. Some programmes, however, have integrated the reduction of women's unpaid care into their mandate and try to promote women's economic empowerment and children's welfare at the same time. In Albania, the "Gardens of Mothers and Children" is an affordable community-based centre that provides children with pre-school education, offers training to mothers and encourages men to take on more care responsibilities. The centre hosts fathers' gatherings, at which men can get together and discuss child health and development, children's rights, nutrition and play. Similarly in Chile, the "Chile Crece Contigo" ("Chile Grows With You") programme combines childcare with support for fathers' roles in care and promoting women's access to paid work. Some programmes, which are tied to early childhood policies, offer ways for fathers to be involved with childcare. In Jordan, fathers help with childcare by preparing meals and spending time in play. In Ukraine, fathers attend special courses and receive training which combats gender stereotypes and promotes men's involvement in early childhood development.

Source: IDS, 2014.

5. Creating and protecting quality jobs in the care economy

With rapidly ageing societies and growing populations, the care economy is commonly identified as one of the two main sources for future job growth in both developing and industrialized countries (the other being the green economy) (ILO, 2015r). The provision of publicly funded childcare and other social care and health-care services (including jobs in the administration of more general social protection schemes) not only increases women's access to employment, but also contributes to job creation in the service sector, which in turn replaces some of the unpaid household and care duties mostly performed by women. This social investment (namely, childcare, disability and elderly care programmes) creates a virtuous circle of redistribution and reduction of unpaid care work, along with the creation of paid work which can support economic growth, minimize the intergenerational transfer of poverty and increase social inclusion (Jenson, 2009). By promoting employment creation, social investments are particularly effective as a countercyclical measure in times of economic downturn (Morel et al, 2009) (figure 38).

Figure 38 Virtuous cycle of social investment in the care economy



Simulation studies for the United States suggest that a \$50 billion investment in the social care sector would generate 1.2 million jobs in the economy or 8 out of 10 new jobs. By contrast, the same level of infrastructure expansion in the construction sector would create 4 out of 10 new jobs (Antonopoulous et al., 2010). Similar research on Turkey estimates that the investment of 20.7 billion Turkish liras (TRY) per year (or US\$ 9.5 billion, equivalent to 1.18 per cent of GDP in 2014) would create 719,000 new jobs in the care sector (specifically, early childhood care and preschool education), compared to 290,000 new jobs in the construction and related sectors. In addition, the authors suggest that the jobs in the care sector would lead to more jobs with social security benefits, as 85 per cent of jobs in care would have benefits, compared to only 30 per cent of construction jobs (Ilkkaracan et al., 2015).

As previously discussed, cuts to public sector jobs are disproportionately affecting women and harm the essential services which sustain societies and make them thrive. In the face of fiscal adjustments, governments should safeguard and promote the provision of quality and efficient public services, which are adequately financed. Social dialogue with the active involvement of public sector workers' organizations should drive measures designed to guarantee the effectiveness and inclusiveness of service delivery and, at the same time, suitable wages and working conditions.

6. Promoting decent work for care professionals, including domestic and migrant workers

The shortage of care professionals poses a challenge and, at the same time, offers crucial employment opportunities to both women and men. To accommodate the decent work deficits in the care professions, including for domestic and migrant workers who provide care services, the profession needs to be re-evaluated in terms of the type of work that this demanding occupation entails. Where there are gaps in labour and social protections, these must be remedied to ensure decent work for workers providing care services in institutions or in private homes. The overall level of public valuing and recognition for care work should also be improved. These measures should be matched with adequate skills training and recognition to ensure that quality care services are provided to households willing to pay for them. The resulting better working conditions, including wages and better employment relations, would encourage younger workers to enter into this profession. Similarly, changing the perception of care work is crucial in encouraging more men to work in this sector, as is necessary to fill the gap in the supply of care workers in both youthful and ageing societies. In the case of domestic and migrant workers, the provisions of ILO Domestic Workers Convention (No. 189) and Recommendation (No. 201), 2011, together with the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143), should underpin laws, policies and practices to achieve non-discrimination, decent work and professionalization in this profession.

In the context of LTC, some countries have established programmes that focus on recruitment from underrepresented or inactive populations. Such programmes can provide income and meaningful work for persons with low prospects of finding jobs, and making the pool of LTC workers more heterogeneous. These programmes should, however, provide adequate training and support to potential carers to ensure that they are equipped with the skills necessary to deliver LTC. Higher diversity among care workers is likely to increase acceptance of formal care, including in cultures where there is stronger resistance to professional (as opposed to family) care. Sufficient numbers of skilled formal LTC workers with decent working conditions are required to ensure the accessibility of LTC services, increase retention and reduce the burden of informal care.

In addition, in view of the crucial role that migrant workers play in responding to care deficits in high and middle-income countries, steps should also be taken to combat the phenomena of the brain drain and brain waste of skilled women migrants. Governments should be encouraged to set up more skills recognition programmes to ensure that qualified women migrants can continue to work in their professions without experiencing the downgrading of skills and jobs.

The ILO Policy Guidelines on the promotion of decent work for early childhood education personnel (2014) provide guidance for early childhood care and education stakeholders on how to improve quality through decent work. For early childhood educators, improvement of their status, training, remuneration and working conditions would mean that the importance of their work was recognized and would enhance the service quality. This can be accomplished through compensating overtime, evening and weekend shifts and providing incentives to recruit educators to work in rural and remote areas (ILO, 2014b). In addition, providing on-the-job training may improve career progressions in the field of early childhood education. Some countries have started investing in their early childhood educators by improving working conditions and providing in-service training. For instance, the Republic of Moldova doubled early childhood care and education teachers' salaries between 2002 and 2008, while China and Singapore offer special incentives. New Zealand and Portugal reported pay parity for teachers at all levels (ILO, 2012d). In Bhutan, 50 per cent of educators receive annual training, while in Cambodia, educators are trained for five days a year. In Viet Nam, educators undergo training during school breaks and weekends, and in Nauru, early childhood educators participate in distance learning courses from Australia (Shaeffer, 2015).

One way to promote decent work for care professionals is to adopt job evaluations that are free of gender bias, which would ensure that the care work is not seen as a purely feminine skill and that some of the job characteristics in care work are adequately valued. Analytical job evaluation methods break jobs down into multiple factors and sub-factors, such as skills and qualifications, responsibility (for equipment, money and people), effort (physical, mental and psychosocial), and working conditions. Points are attributed to these factors, which allow for the comparison of the value of two different jobs (Oelz et al., 2013).

7. Extending long-term care coverage for older persons

Recognizing LTC as a social risk and right of its own is a crucial prerequisite for the universal provision of such care. Thus, LTC protection needs to be a universal right anchored in national legislation. The most appropriate framework for rights-based universal LTC coverage is outlined in ILO Recommendation concerning National Floors of Social Protection, No. 202 (2012). According to Recommendation No. 202, States should establish and maintain national social protection floors, which comprise guarantees of basic income security and access to goods and services constituting essential health care for all in need, throughout the life cycle (paras 4 and 5). The provision of such guarantees can contribute to minimizing the social risk of LTC.

Since the ageing of the global population has a disproportionate impact on women, the provision of adequate in-kind and in-cash LTC benefits (for both dependent persons and informal carers) would significantly help to reduce gender inequalities. LTC benefits can be financed through taxes and income-related contributions. Private insurance schemes and out-of-pocket payments are the most regressive forms of financing and not appropriate for universal and equitable access to LTC services. Large risk pools are needed to ensure burden sharing and sustainability of financing.

To ensure the affordability of care it is essential to set up eligibility rules that are sufficiently broad and co-payments that reflect the individual's ability to pay, so that persons who are in need of care are not left out. Narrow means-testing regulations that force older persons in need to become poor before they become eligible for LTC services should be avoided. While in many countries the public provision of LTC is means-tested and thus restricted to poor households, others, such as Sweden, concentrate on individuals with the highest care needs without applying a means test and limit co-payments to certain income levels. Moreover, sufficient numbers of formal LTC workers are needed (see above) and coordination between different health and social care schemes and systems must be improved.

8. Promoting family-friendly flexible working arrangements

Providing flexible working arrangements can be mutually beneficial to both workers and employers when these measures are designed taking into account both parties' needs and preferences, as encouraged by international labour standards. When combined with regular childcare measures, flexible work arrangements can contribute to work-family harmonization. Under such arrangements, workers, primarily mothers, do not have to take a career break or leave the workplace entirely to provide care. A 2014 report shows that, by having flexible workplaces, women's career aspirations increased by nearly 30 per cent and the retention of women improved by as much as 40 per cent (CEB, 2014). For employers, even small and medium-sized enterprises, these schemes improved staff retention, motivation and engagement without detrimental costs or implementation challenges for business (CIPD, 2012).

Flexible working arrangements are a variation of an employee's normal working pattern that provides workers with the ability to adjust their hours of work, work schedules and place of work in line with their individual circumstances and family status. They include such arrangements as flexitime, time-bank, compressed work week, part-time with equivalent terms and conditions and pro-rata benefits, flexible use of annual leave and telework or telecommuting. For instance, flexitime allows workers to choose their daily working hours, as long as they are working during established core hours. A compressed work week would allow workers to work their 40 weekly hours in four days.

A number of countries have introduced laws to provide workers with the right to request flexible work schedules or other types of flexible working arrangements, such as teleworking, including Argentina, Australia, Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands and Portugal. In the United Kingdom, as of June 2014, all employees with 26 weeks or more of service with an enterprise are allowed to request flexible working arrangements, and employers are required to consider such requests in a reasonable manner (ILO, 2015c). In order to reduce the penalty associated with being a worker with family responsibilities, these schemes should be accessible to all workers, irrespective of their sex and family status, as in Denmark and the Netherlands.

In Latin America, collective bargaining has proven a crucial tool for advancing family-friendly working arrangements. Almost 91 per cent of gender-specific clauses are intended to protect maternity and family responsibilities. Just over half (55 per cent) go beyond minimum legal requirements, while the remaining specify rights already covered by law (Abramo and Valenzuela, 2005).

9. Encouraging individual income taxation to boost the participation of women in the labour force

Taxes and social security benefits have been widely used to support the cost of family responsibilities and play a key role in creating incentives to labour supply, especially in the formal labour market. In particular, the degree of progressivity of taxes and the extent to which income is taxed individually or at the household level (known as “joint income taxation”) have consequences for the labour supply decisions of women in couple households. Empirical studies show that labour income taxation affects labour force participation for women more than for men (Meghir and Phillips, 2009; Blundell et al., 2008; Evers et al., 2008). A higher tax-burden on workers with lower earnings may therefore have a disproportionate negative effect on female employment outcomes, as women typically earn less than men (Gonzales et al., 2015; Elborgh-Woytek et al., 2013; Pissarides et al., 2005; Jaumotte, 2003) and global welfare (Immervoll et al., 2009). This “marriage tax” or “marriage penalty” under a system of joint filing, combined with the high cost of childcare, has been viewed as particularly discriminatory against women. Many advanced economies’ tax systems impose strong disincentives for female labour force participation rates through high tax wedges on lower-income workers (OECD, 2012; Rastrigina and Verashchagina, 2015).

Several developed countries have a joint taxation system, or one with options for joint taxation: the Czech Republic (for couples with children), France (families), Germany (married couples), Ireland (married couples), Luxembourg (married couples), Norway (optional), Poland (married couples), Portugal (families), Spain (optional), Switzerland (married couples), and the United States (married couples). Simulations based on the OECD tax-benefit model show that tax-benefit systems appear to be largely neutral between dual and single-earner couples in the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia. In France and in Germany, the tax-benefit system significantly favours single-earner couples over dual-earner families, in particular those at higher earning levels in Germany (OECD, 2015d). In the United States, when one spouse’s income goes up, the other’s marginal tax rate increases as well. This system of joint filing with a progressive marginal rate schedule may discourage lower-income workers, because the tax on their income starts at the highest marginal tax rate of the higher-income worker (Frankel, 2014). In addition, when combined with high childcare costs, family-income-based tax credits also discourage the participation of lower-income earners (ILO, 2012a; OECD, 2011).

10. Offering work reintegration measures

Employment services providing vocational training, retraining and skills upgrading for parents after leave periods (as in the Russian Federation) or childcare services for jobseekers (as in France) are also critical in supporting workers with family responsibilities in their efforts to reintegrate into the workforce following care-related interruptions. Many reintegration measures involve training, cash benefits, skills development, job-matching, mentorship and career guidance (ILO, 2014d).

Reintegration programmes have emerged in the field of science, technology, engineering and mathematics, given the difficulties in retaining female scientists after career breaks. As shown by Mavriplis and fellow authors, women are leaving their science, technology, engineering and mathematics careers in greater numbers than men because of care responsibilities (Mavriplis et al., 2010). The absence of flexible work arrangements in this field means that women take career breaks but cannot return to work. The major barrier preventing women from returning to work in this field is the stigma against non-linear careers and workplace flexibility. In addition, women who return to their careers after a longer break face the issue of age discrimination (Tanenbaum and Upton, 2014; Herman, 2015; Mavriplis et al., 2010; Ceci et al., 2009). Consequently, women in science careers who take a few years off work could find that their careers have ended entirely. Some women reported that employment placement agencies would not take clients that had taken a year or two off (Williams et al., 2013). Consequently, programmes that provide training and funding to female scientists and engineers would encourage the retention of female scientists after their career breaks (box 18).

Box 18 Retraining women scientists after career breaks

To facilitate the transition from career break to re-entry into science, technology, engineering and mathematics careers, in 2011 the Ministry of Finance and Economics in Germany established a pilot project called “WING”, which seeks to assist women engineers and scientists who have taken a family-related career break through a programme involving training, networking and certification. WING offers various courses to women to enhance their competence for future job applications, including courses on project management. Alongside courses, the programme sets up round tables with companies to enable women to interact with practitioners in the field and to network. The women participating in WING have an opportunity to meet with representatives in the German Association of Women Engineers. Upon completing the programme, the German Aerospace Academy presents the participants with a certificate which, for instance, certifies them as project managers in the field of engineering. The Government bears the bulk of the €260,000 fee for the re-entry program, while the participants each pay €750 (German Aerospace Academy, 2013).

Similarly, in the United Kingdom, the Daphne Jackson Trust offers fellowships to science, technology, engineering and mathematics professionals who have taken a break of two years or more to return to a career in research. The fellowship combines mentoring and retraining to enable women and men to obtain the skills and confidence that they need to return to their careers or to compete for positions. The retraining entails lectures in undergraduate and postgraduate courses, participation in training workshops, attending research meetings and conferences and learning new analytical techniques. In addition, the fellowship offers training courses in work-life balance, presentation skills, media and public relations and professional skills. The fellowship offers part-time options for returning scientists who may have family responsibilities, through a two-year part-time fellowship. The fellowship has made it possible for many women and men who have taken career breaks to return to work, as seven out of ten fellows remained in research for at least two years after their fellowship (Daphne Jackson Trust, 2015).

From the above outline of the main issues and policy measures required to achieve gender equality at work, and the focus on three key dimensions: sectoral and occupational segregation, the gender wage gap and the global care deficits, it is clear that there is a need to set up a comprehensive framework to address the root causes of gender inequality at work. In particular, cultural and gendered norms, which fail to value unpaid care and household work and mostly consider it a women's responsibility, result in barriers to women's access to more and quality jobs. The principles and measures set out in ILO international labour standards and the country examples discussed above, in Part Two of the report, provide guidance on how to promote equality of opportunity and treatment at work between women and men, guarantee social protection for all, and harmonize work and family responsibilities as key policy drivers to make gender equality at work a reality.

Conclusion

The present report undertakes to demonstrate that, for substantive gender equality to be achieved, it is essential that societies recognize that both women and men have a right to work and care. In particular, failures to address workers' family responsibilities underlie sectoral and occupational segregation, gaps in wages, working hours and access to social protection. Thus, gender inequalities at work can be eliminated only by neutralizing the disadvantages stemming from women's reproductive function and promoting the equal sharing of unpaid care work between women and men, and between the family and society at large. This requires integrated and transformative measures guided by ILO international labour standards that put the elimination of discrimination and the achievement of gender equality at home and at work at the very heart of policy interventions.

In view of the implications of the economic crisis on the global care economy, as discussed in the preceding pages, international policy action also entails a profound reorganization of the relations between the finance, the production and the reproduction spheres, with the objective of guaranteeing a sustainable, crisis-free and gender-equitable global economy. In this shifted paradigm, finance and production should serve the needs of reproduction, namely the realm of care which is core to human well-being (Elson, 2014). Achieving gender equality also depends on positioning the issues of the global care deficits and chains and their ramifications in the care economy on the migration agenda, as this issue goes to the heart of the demand for and supply of migrant workers in many contexts. Ensuring that migration, labour and social protection policies are harmonized to protect the rights to care and be cared for will be fundamental in this endeavour (Hennebry 2014; ILO 2014).

As discussed in the present report, genuine gender equality benefits our societies and economies in terms of increased job-rich economic growth, reduced poverty, inequality and social exclusion, and overall improved well-being. It is therefore time to take action. The following overview summarizes the key policy measures discussed in the report and informed by ILO Conventions and Recommendations that would be needed to realize, in line with the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda, a sustainable development that leaves no one behind.

Overview of the main policy interventions to achieve gender equality at work in line with ILO international labour standards

Tackling the root causes of sectoral and occupational segregation

- Encouraging young girls and boys to break gender stereotypes through education and outreach;
- Offering training to women and men to enter into non-stereotypical fields;
- Promoting women's entrepreneurship;
- Supporting women's participation and leadership in decision-making, including in governments, employers' and workers' organizations.

Addressing the gender wage gap

- Eliminating unequal treatment of men and women in the labour market;
- Promoting equal pay for work of equal value through wage transparency, training and gender neutral job evaluations methods;
- Supporting adequate and inclusive minimum wages and strengthening collective bargaining;
- Promoting and normalizing good quality part-time work;
- Limiting long paid hours and overwork;
- Transforming institutions to prevent and eliminate discrimination;
- Changing attitudes towards unpaid care work to overcome the motherhood wage gap.

Implementing a comprehensive framework to achieve the harmonization of work and family responsibilities

- Providing maternity protection to all women according to international labour standards;
- Guaranteeing adequate social protection to recognize, reduce and redistribute unpaid care work;
- Ensuring the provision of basic infrastructure, in particular in rural areas;
- Implementing gender-transformative leave policies: increasing leave entitlements for fathers and boosting their take-up rates;
- Making quality early childhood care and education a universal right;
- Creating and protecting quality jobs in the care economy;
- Promoting decent work for care professionals, including domestic and migrant workers;
- Extending long-term care coverage for older persons;
- Promoting family-friendly flexible working arrangements;
- Encouraging individual income taxation to increase women's labour force participation;
- Offering work reintegration measures.

Country, regional and income groupings

Africa

Northern Africa

Algeria
Egypt
Libya
Morocco
Sudan
Tunisia
Western Sahara

Sub-Saharan Africa

Angola
Benin
Botswana
Burkina Faso
Burundi
Cameroon
Cabo Verde
Central African Republic
Chad
Comoros
Congo
Congo, Democratic Republic of the
Côte d'Ivoire
Djibouti
Equatorial Guinea
Eritrea
Ethiopia
Gabon
Gambia
Ghana
Guinea
Guinea-Bissau
Kenya
Lesotho
Liberia
Madagascar
Malawi
Mali
Mauritania
Mauritius
Mozambique
Namibia
Niger
Nigeria
Réunion
Rwanda
Sao Tome and Principe
Senegal
Seychelles
Sierra Leone
Somalia
South Africa
South Sudan
Swaziland
Tanzania, United Republic of
Togo
Uganda
Zambia
Zimbabwe

Americas

Latin America and the Caribbean

Antigua and Barbuda
Argentina
Bahamas
Barbados
Belize
Bolivia, Plurinational State of
Brazil
Chile
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cuba
Dominica
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
French Guiana
Grenada
Guadeloupe
Guatemala
Guyana
Haiti
Honduras
Jamaica
Martinique
Mexico
Netherlands Antilles
Nicaragua
Panama
Paraguay
Peru
Puerto Rico
Saint Kitts and Nevis
Saint Lucia
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
Suriname
Trinidad and Tobago
United States Virgin Islands
Uruguay
Venezuela, Bolivarian Republic of

Northern America

Canada
Greenland
United States

Arab States

Bahrain
Iraq
Jordan
Kuwait
Lebanon
Oman
Qatar
Saudi Arabia
Syrian Arab Republic
United Arab Emirates
Occupied Palestinian Territory
Yemen

Asia and the Pacific

Eastern Asia

China
Hong Kong, China
Japan
Korea, Democratic People's Republic of
Korea, Republic of
Macau, China
Mongolia
Taiwan, China

South-Eastern Asia and the Pacific

Australia
Brunei Darussalam
Cambodia
Cook Islands
Fiji
French Polynesia
Guam
Indonesia
Kiribati
Lao People's Democratic Republic
Malaysia
Marshall Islands
Micronesia, Federated States of
Myanmar
Nauru
New Caledonia
New Zealand
Palau
Papua New Guinea
Philippines
Samoa
Singapore
Solomon Islands
Thailand
Timor-Leste
Tonga
Tuvalu
Vanuatu
Viet Nam

Southern Asia

Afghanistan
Bangladesh
Bhutan
India
Iran, Islamic Republic of
Maldives
Nepal
Pakistan
Sri Lanka

Europe

and Central Asia

Northern, Southern and Western Europe

Albania
Andorra
Austria
Belgium
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Channel Islands
Croatia
Denmark
Estonia
Finland
France
Germany
Greece
Iceland
Ireland
Italy
Latvia
Liechtenstein
Lithuania
Luxembourg
Macedonia, the former Yugoslav Republic of
Malta
Monaco
Montenegro
Netherlands
Norway
Portugal
San Marino
Serbia
Slovenia
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
United Kingdom

Eastern Europe

Belarus
Bulgaria
Czech Republic
Hungary
Moldova, Republic of
Poland
Romania
Russian Federation
Slovakia
Ukraine

Central and Western Asia

Armenia
Azerbaijan
Cyprus
Georgia
Israel
Kazakhstan
Kyrgyzstan
Tajikistan
Turkey
Turkmenistan
Uzbekistan

Developed economies

Andorra
 Antigua and Barbuda
 Argentina
 Australia
 Austria
 Bahamas
 Bahrain
 Barbados
 Belgium
 Brunei Darussalam
 Canada
 Channel Islands
 Chile
 Croatia
 Cyprus
 Czech Republic
 Denmark
 Equatorial Guinea
 Estonia
 Finland
 France
 French Guiana
 French Polynesia
 Germany
 Greece
 Greenland
 Guam
 Hong Kong, China
 Hungary
 Iceland
 Ireland
 Israel
 Italy
 Japan
 Korea, Republic of
 Kuwait
 Latvia
 Liechtenstein
 Lithuania
 Luxembourg
 Macau, China
 Malta
 Martinique
 Monaco
 Netherlands
 Netherlands Antilles
 New Caledonia
 New Zealand
 Norway
 Oman
 Poland
 Portugal
 Puerto Rico
 Qatar
 Russian Federation
 Réunion
 Saint Kitts and Nevis
 San Marino
 Saudi Arabia
 Seychelles
 Singapore
 Slovakia
 Slovenia
 Spain
 Sweden
 Switzerland
 Taiwan, China
 Trinidad and Tobago
 United Arab Emirates
 United Kingdom
 United States
 United States Virgin Islands
 Uruguay
 Venezuela, Bolivarian Republic of

Developing economies

Afghanistan
 Albania
 Algeria
 Angola
 Armenia
 Azerbaijan
 Bangladesh
 Belarus
 Belize
 Benin
 Bhutan
 Bolivia, Plurinational State of
 Bosnia and Herzegovina
 Botswana
 Brazil
 Bulgaria
 Burkina Faso
 Burundi
 Cabo Verde
 Cambodia
 Cameroon
 Central African Republic
 Chad
 China
 Colombia
 Comoros
 Congo
 Congo, Democratic Republic of the
 Cook Islands
 Costa Rica
 Côte d'Ivoire
 Cuba
 Djibouti
 Dominica
 Dominican Republic
 Ecuador
 Egypt
 El Salvador
 Eritrea
 Ethiopia
 Fiji
 Gabon
 Gambia
 Georgia
 Ghana
 Grenada
 Guadeloupe
 Guatemala
 Guinea
 Guinea-Bissau
 Guyana
 Haiti
 Honduras
 India
 Indonesia
 Iran, Islamic Republic of
 Iraq
 Jamaica
 Jordan
 Kazakhstan
 Kenya
 Kiribati
 Korea, Democratic People's Republic of
 Kyrgyzstan
 Lao People's Democratic Republic
 Lebanon
 Lesotho
 Liberia
 Libya
 Macedonia, the former Yugoslav Republic of
 Madagascar
 Malawi
 Malaysia
 Maldives
 Mali
 Marshall Islands
 Mauritania
 Mauritius
 Mexico
 Micronesia, Federated States of
 Moldova, Republic of
 Mongolia
 Montenegro
 Morocco
 Mozambique
 Myanmar
 Namibia
 Nauru
 Nepal
 Nicaragua
 Niger
 Nigeria
 Pakistan
 Palau
 Panama
 Papua New Guinea
 Paraguay
 Peru
 Philippines
 Romania
 Rwanda
 Saint Lucia
 Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
 Samoa
 Sao Tome and Principe
 Senegal
 Serbia
 Sierra Leone
 Solomon Islands
 Somalia
 South Africa
 South Sudan
 Sri Lanka
 Sudan
 Suriname
 Swaziland
 Syrian Arab Republic
 Tajikistan
 Tanzania, United Republic of
 Thailand
 Timor-Leste
 Togo
 Tonga
 Tunisia
 Turkey
 Turkmenistan
 Tuvalu
 Uganda
 Ukraine
 Uzbekistan
 Vanuatu
 Viet Nam
 West Bank and Gaza Strip
 Western Sahara
 Yemen
 Zambia
 Zimbabwe

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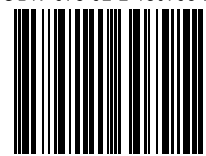
WOMEN AT WORK

TRENDS
2016

Since it was founded in 1919, gender equality and non-discrimination have been pillars of the ILO's mission to promote social justice through the world of work. As the Organization approaches its second century, it has chosen to focus on women at work as one of its centenary initiatives. The ILO's Women at Work Centenary Initiative takes on particular significance in view of the sweeping new Sustainable Development Agenda adopted by the global community, with the aim of transforming our world by 2030. Twenty years after the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action, the 2030 Agenda has reaffirmed the universal consensus on the importance of gender equality and women's empowerment, which are at the centre of the 2030 vision, and are critical to the realization of all the Agenda's goals.

Women at work: Trends 2016 is a key contribution to the ILO's Women at Work Centenary Initiative. It provides a picture of where women stand today in the world of work and how they have progressed over the past 20 years. It examines the global and regional labour market trends and gaps, including in labour force participation rates, employment-to-population rates and unemployment rates, as well as differences in the type of and status in employment, hours spent in paid and unpaid work, sectoral segregation, gender gaps in wages and social protection. It also presents an in-depth analysis of the gender gaps in the quality of work and explores the key policy drivers for gender transformative change. The discussion and the related recommendations focus on three main dimensions: sectoral and occupational segregation, the gender wage gap, and the gaps in the policy framework for work and family integration.

ISBN 978-92-2-130795-2



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