



Gender equality in the G20 – Additional analysis from the time dimension

Paper prepared for the 2nd Meeting of the G20 Employment Working Group
under Japan's Presidency 2019, 22-24 April, Tokyo



Contents

Executive summary	3
Introduction	4
Women are over-represented in part-time work, while men are more likely to work very long hours	4
Unpaid care work: the root cause of gender imbalances in hours spent in paid work	6
Labour markets reward parenthood unequally: the 'motherhood penalties'	8
<i>The 'motherhood employment penalty'</i>	8
<i>The 'motherhood wage penalty'</i>	9
<i>The 'motherhood leadership penalty'</i>	10
Policies to improve gender balance in paid and unpaid work	12
<i>Paid parental leave</i>	12
<i>Child care services</i>	13
<i>Out-of-school-hours care services</i>	14
<i>Long-term care services</i>	15
<i>Campaigns</i>	16
General policy directions	17
Endnotes	18

Executive summary

In brief. This note examines how the unequal distribution of unpaid care work between women and men in G20 countries affects their respective levels and patterns of participation in, and rewards from, the labour market. Achieving a suitable balance between paid work and care for children, older or disabled persons is a common challenge for workers, especially women workers, in many G20 countries.

Unpaid care work: the root cause of the gender gap in hours spent in paid work. In G20 countries, women still carry out the bulk of unpaid care work. It is not surprising therefore that, across G20 countries, women are more likely to be in employment when there is a more equal sharing of time spent in unpaid care work between women and men. Even when in employment, women are more likely to work short hours (less than 35 hours per week) and men are more likely to work very long hours (more than 48 hours a week). Unless an equal sharing of time spent in unpaid care work between women and men is achieved, it will not be possible to achieve gender equality in labour market outcomes.

Labour markets reward parenthood unequally: the ‘motherhood penalties’. Without exception, the amount of time women dedicate to unpaid care work increases notably with motherhood, and, in particular, with the presence of children under five years old. Estimates for selected G20 countries with available data show that mothers face a triple penalty in the labour markets. A motherhood employment penalty, as women with young children are less likely to be employed than women without children. On a positive note, this penalty has decreased in most of the G20 countries with available data. There is also a motherhood wage penalty with working women with children earning less than working women without children, and which can persist across a woman’s working life. The combination of long working hours in managerial and leadership positions, the unequal distribution of time spent in unpaid care work, and the long-lasting belief of “think manager-think man” make it even more difficult for mothers of young children to be managers. As a result, a motherhood leadership penalty is observed across G20 countries with available data. By contrast, fathers have better employment and pay prospects and access to managerial positions compared to mothers but also to men without children, due to their perceived role of being breadwinners.

General policy directions. Tackling large gender gaps in unpaid work and caregiving could help promote greater gender equality in the labour market. This could be achieved through a range of measures including:

- Expanding the use of social policy measures to encourage more gender balanced childcare. Well-paid paternity leave and father-specific parental leave have been found to encourage take up of leave by fathers and can help to establish more equitable caregiving.
- Changing stereotypes and norms around caregiving and housework. This is crucial but challenging. Governments should apply a range of measures and tools, including awareness campaigns, to reduce bias against male caregiving and highlighting women workers significant contribution to family income and national GDP, thereby promoting gender-equitable sharing of unpaid work.
- Closing the coverage gaps in early childhood education and care as well as in long-term care by increasing investments in care services. This would help to promote a more equal distribution of time spent in unpaid care work between women and men, and more and better-quality jobs in care sectors.
- Closing data gaps on gender differences in work-life balance. This could include carrying out more frequent time-use surveys, better collecting data on fathers’ leave-taking, and conducting public opinion surveys before and after public awareness campaigns and publicly disseminating the results.

Introduction

Looking after spouses, partners, children or other family members can be rewarding for the care provider and beneficial for those who receive the care. Care is indispensable to human wellbeing and the development of people's capabilities to lead the life they find valuable.¹ It is equally necessary for the existence and reproduction of societies and for a healthy and productive workforce.² However, depending on who provides the care and for how many hours a day, unpaid care work can prevent or reduce the chances of people with family responsibilities to engage, remain and progress in paid employment.³

This note examines how the unequal distribution of unpaid care work between women and men in G20 countries affects their respective levels and patterns of participation in and rewards from the labour market. The note also reviews the policy measures that can help achieve a more gender equal division of work at home in order for women and men to attain more equal outcomes in respect of both the quantity and quality of work.

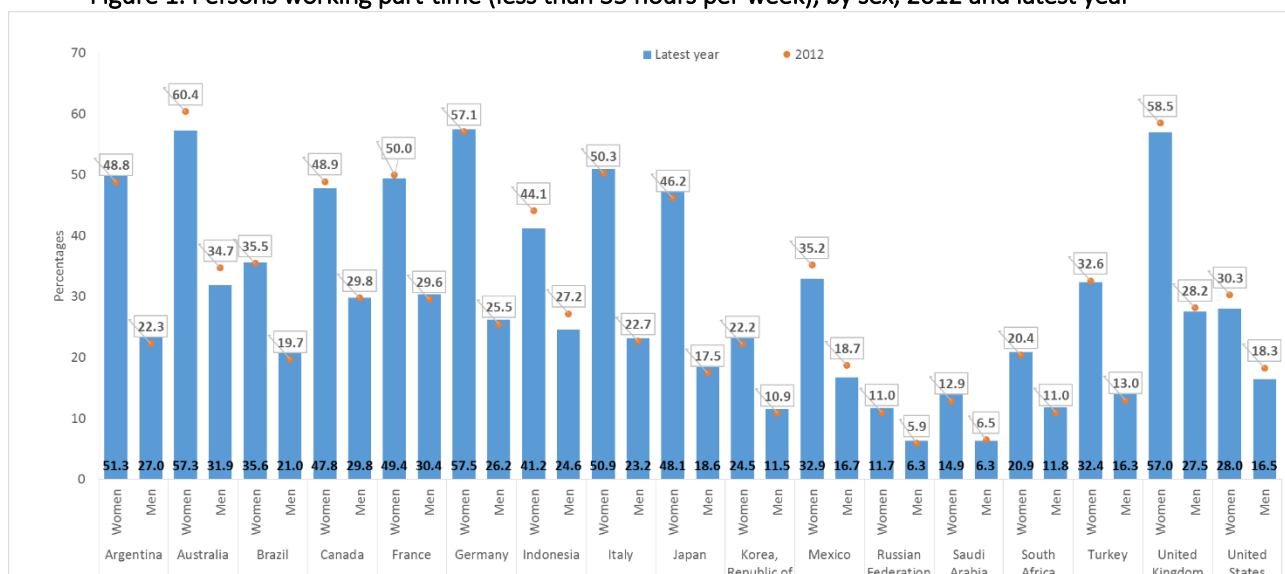
Women are over-represented in part-time work, while men are more likely to work very long hours

Despite progress in achieving educational parity with men, women still face challenges in gaining access to decent work in the G20 countries. Their outcomes in the labour market are often a reflection of their work at home, with women carrying out the bulk of unpaid care work.⁴ This explains why women are more likely to work short hours (less than 35 hours per week). In 2017, in all G20 countries, the share of part-time employment in total employment, measured using usual hours of work, was higher for women than men. Women were about or over 30 percentage points more likely than men to be in part-time in Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, Argentina, Australia and Japan.^a The gender gap in the incidence of part-time work remains high also when measuring part-time work by looking at actual hours of work instead of usual hours of work (Figure 1).

There is also a substantial gender difference in the incidence of very long hours of work. Across the G20, without exception, men are more likely than women to work more than 48 hours per week, with rates ranging from 38.0 per cent in Turkey to 4.0 per cent in the Russian Federation (Figure 2).

^a See ILO_OECD (2019), *Women at Work in G20 countries: Progress and Policy Action since 2018, background paper for 2nd G20 EWG meeting*, for part-time rates using usual hours of work. 'Usual hours of work' and 'actual hours of work' can be used to measure part-time work. 'Usual hours of work' may help avoid overestimating part-time work as they do not take into account temporary absences from work. 'Actual hours of work' may be especially relevant to instances in which the self-employed, including digital workers, and informal workers, represent a sizeable share of total employment. Given the high variation of working hours associated with these categories of workers, it may be easier for them to recall actual hours worked instead of usual hours of work.

Figure 1. Persons working part-time (less than 35 hours per week), by sex, 2012 and latest year

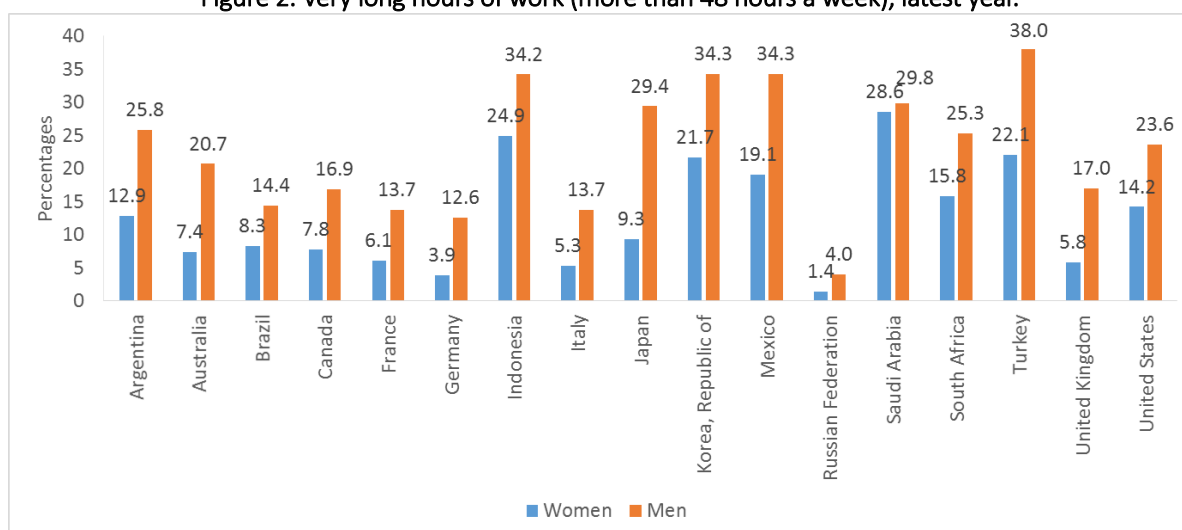


Note: Estimates based on hours actually worked. Latest year is 2015 in: Saudi Arabia. Latest year is 2016 in: Australia and Russian Federation. Latest year is 2017 in: Argentina, France, Germany, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Republic of Korea, Turkey and United Kingdom. Latest year is 2018 in: Brazil, Canada, Mexico, South Africa and United States.

Source: ILOSTAT, 2019.

Part of the reason why women are less likely than men to work very long hours in paid employment is that they tend to spend more of their time doing unpaid care work. A culture of long working hours may not only have detrimental effects on workers' health and productivity, but may also lead to stigma against workers who choose flexible working time arrangements, such as reduced hours or teleworking.⁵ "Choices" of working time, paid and unpaid, remain highly constrained by social pressures and the absence or limited provision of public services. An absence of working-time autonomy for both women and men remains a considerable obstacle to gender equality and decent work.⁶

Figure 2. Very long hours of work (more than 48 hours a week), latest year.



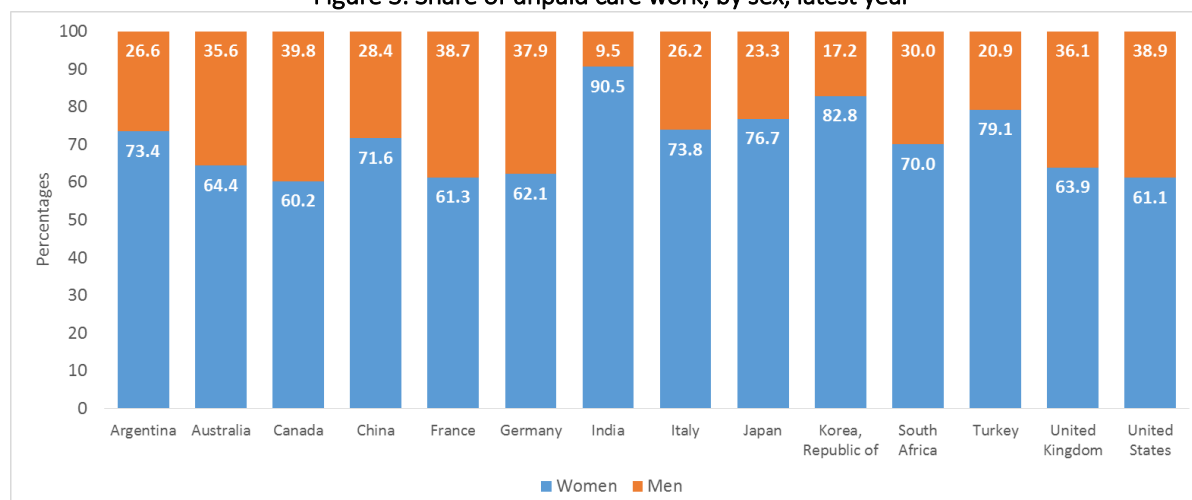
Note: Estimates based on hours actually worked. Latest year is 2015 in: Saudi Arabia. Latest year is 2016 in: Australia and Russian Federation. Latest year is 2017 in: Argentina, France, Germany, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Republic of Korea, Turkey and United Kingdom. Latest year is 2018 in: Brazil, Canada, Mexico, South Africa and United States.

Source: ILOSTAT, 2019.

Unpaid care work: the root cause of gender imbalances in hours spent in paid work

Time is a finite resource. Long hours at home spent cooking, cleaning and caring for family limits the amount of time women can spend in paid work. Across G20 countries, without exception, women on average perform the majority of the daily time spent on unpaid care work, ranging from 90.5 per cent in India to 60.2 per cent in Canada (Figure 3). It is not surprising therefore that, across G20 countries, women are more likely to be in employment when there is a more equal sharing of time spent in unpaid care work between women and men (figure 4).

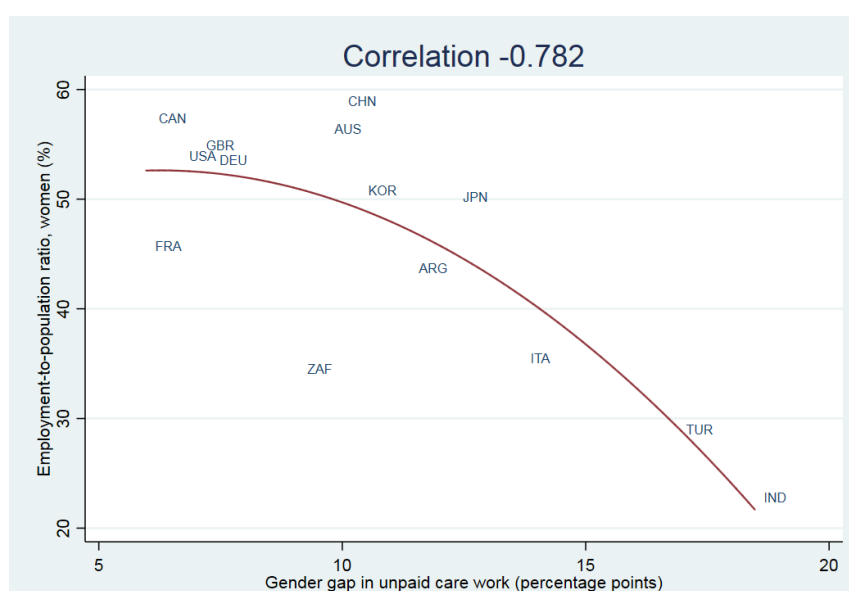
Figure 3. Share of unpaid care work, by sex, latest year



Note: Time-use estimates are based on time-use surveys that collect information with a diary method. Latest year in parentheses: Argentina (2005); Australia (2006); Canada (2015); China (2008); France (2010); Germany (2012); India (1998-1999); Italy (2013-2014); Japan (2011); Republic of Korea (2014); South Africa (2010); Turkey (2014-2015); United Kingdom (2015); United States (2016). Age group in parentheses: Argentina (15-74); Australia (15+); Canada (15+); China (15-74); France (15+); Germany (10+); India (6+); Italy (15+); Japan (10+); Republic of Korea (10+); South Africa (10+); Turkey (10+); United Kingdom (8+); United States (15+).

Source: ILO 2018. Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work (Geneva).

Figure 4. Relationship between the women's employment-to-population ratio and the gender gap in the share of time spent in unpaid care work and, latest year

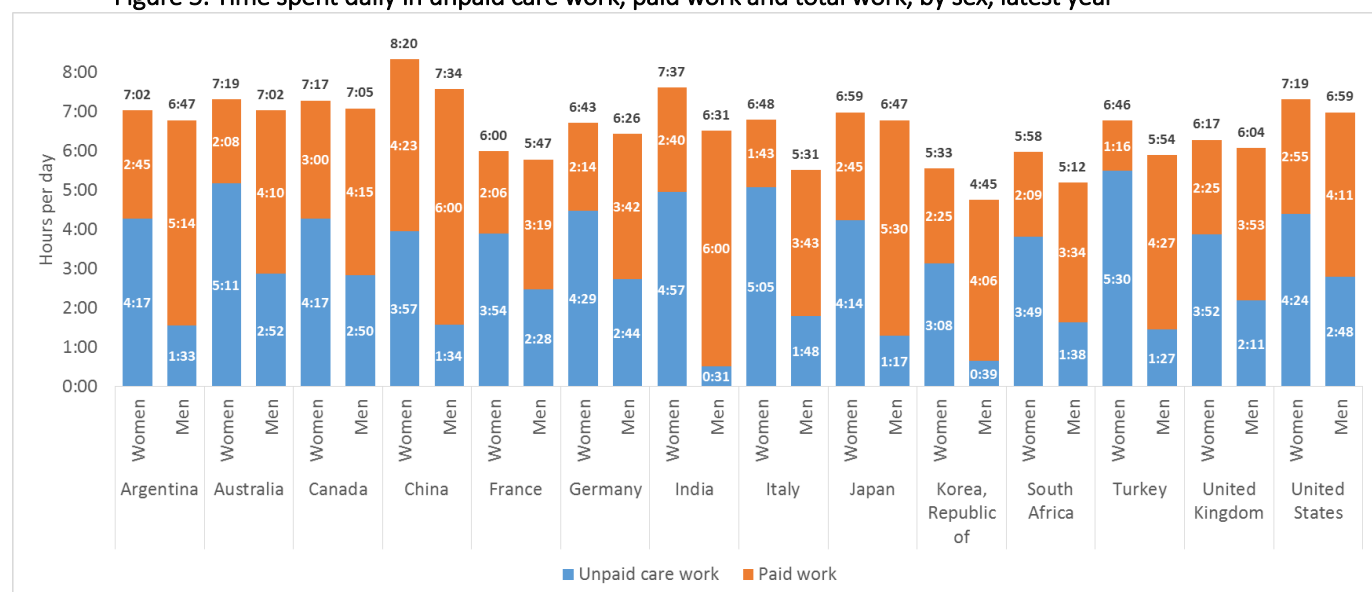


Note: Employment-to-population ratio latest year is 2018. Gender gap in unpaid care work latest year: see figure 3's note.

Source: Employment-to-population ratio: ILO calculation based on ILO modelled estimates, November 2018. Gender gap in unpaid care work: ILO 2018. Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work (Geneva).

Traditionally, women have been seen as the primary caregivers, and many societies and labour markets continue to function largely on this assumption. Latest available time use survey data show that in G20 countries, women's time spent on unpaid care work ranges from 5 hours and 30 minutes per day in Turkey, to 3 hours and 8 minutes in the Republic of Korea. In contrast, men's time spent on unpaid care work ranges from 2 hours and 52 minutes per day in Australia to only 31 minutes in India (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Time spent daily in unpaid care work, paid work and total work, by sex, latest year



Note: Time-use estimates are based on time-use surveys that collect information with a diary method. Latest year in parentheses: Argentina (2005); Australia (2006); Canada (2015); China (2008); France (2010); Germany (2012); India (1998-1999); Italy (2013-2014); Japan (2011); Republic of Korea (2014); South Africa (2010); Turkey (2014-2015); United Kingdom (2015); United States (2016). Age group in parentheses: Argentina (15-74); Australia (15+); Canada (15+); China (15-74); France (15+); Germany (10+); India (6+); Italy (15+); Japan (10+); Republic of Korea (10+); South Africa (10+); Turkey (10+); United Kingdom (16+); United States (15+).

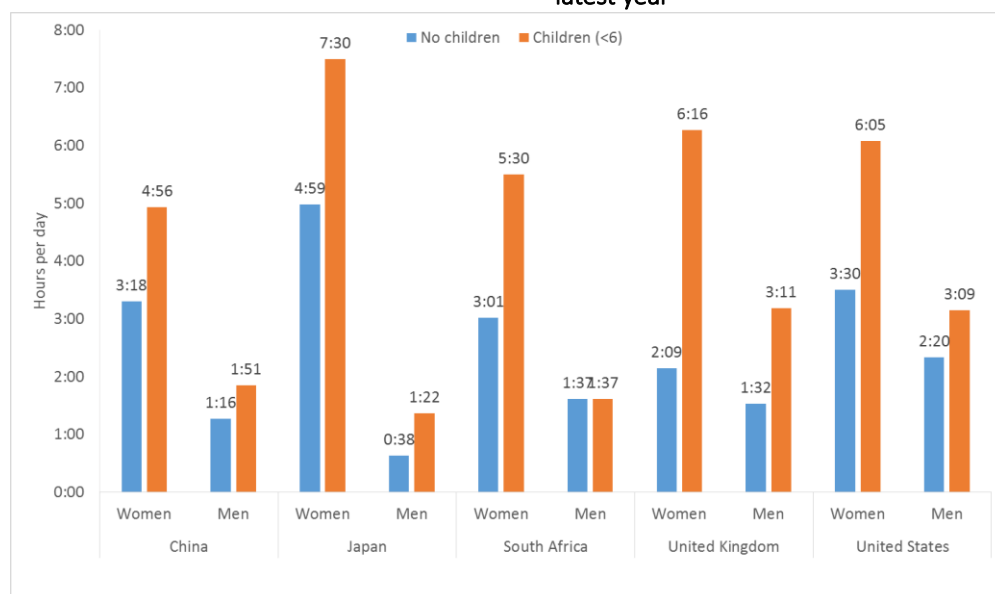
Source: ILO 2018. Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work (Geneva).

As a result of the disproportionate share of time spent in unpaid care work, women who work for pay are often said to work a “second shift” – one at work and another at home.⁷ Not surprisingly, across the G20, when the number of hours spent in paid and unpaid work are combined, women's working days are longer than men's. The gender gap in total daily time spent working is highest in Italy, where women spend 1 hour and 17 minutes more working than men, followed by India (66 minutes), Turkey (52 minutes), Republic of Korea (48 minutes), South Africa and China (46 minutes), United States (20 minutes), Australia and Germany (17 minutes), Argentina (15 minutes), France and United Kingdom (13 minutes), United Kingdom and Japan (12 minutes) (Figure 5). A large representative study of adults in the United Kingdom shows that long working days for women with children have worse consequences on their health and well-being, in the form of sleep deprivation and anxiety, compared to other women.⁸ Women and men agree that unpaid care responsibilities, including balancing work and family and lack of access to care services and infrastructure, constitute a substantial challenge for women.⁹ Yet, while women and men recognize the challenges, little progress has occurred in closing the gender gap in unpaid work. This is also a reflection of the fact that, to a large extent, social protection systems continue to be designed based on the assumption that women will keep taking on the lion's share of unpaid care work.¹⁰

Labour markets reward parenthood unequally: the ‘motherhood penalties’

Without exception, the amount of time women dedicate to unpaid care work increases notably with the presence of children in the household,¹¹ and in particular with the presence of children under five years old. In the United Kingdom, mothers of young children spend three times as long on unpaid care work as women without children. Men’s unpaid care work also increases with the presence of young children but considerably less than for women, ranging from 35 per cent in the United States to more than 100 per cent in the United Kingdom and Japan, while men in South Africa do not experience any change (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Time spent daily in unpaid care work by sex, presence of children under six years in the household, latest year



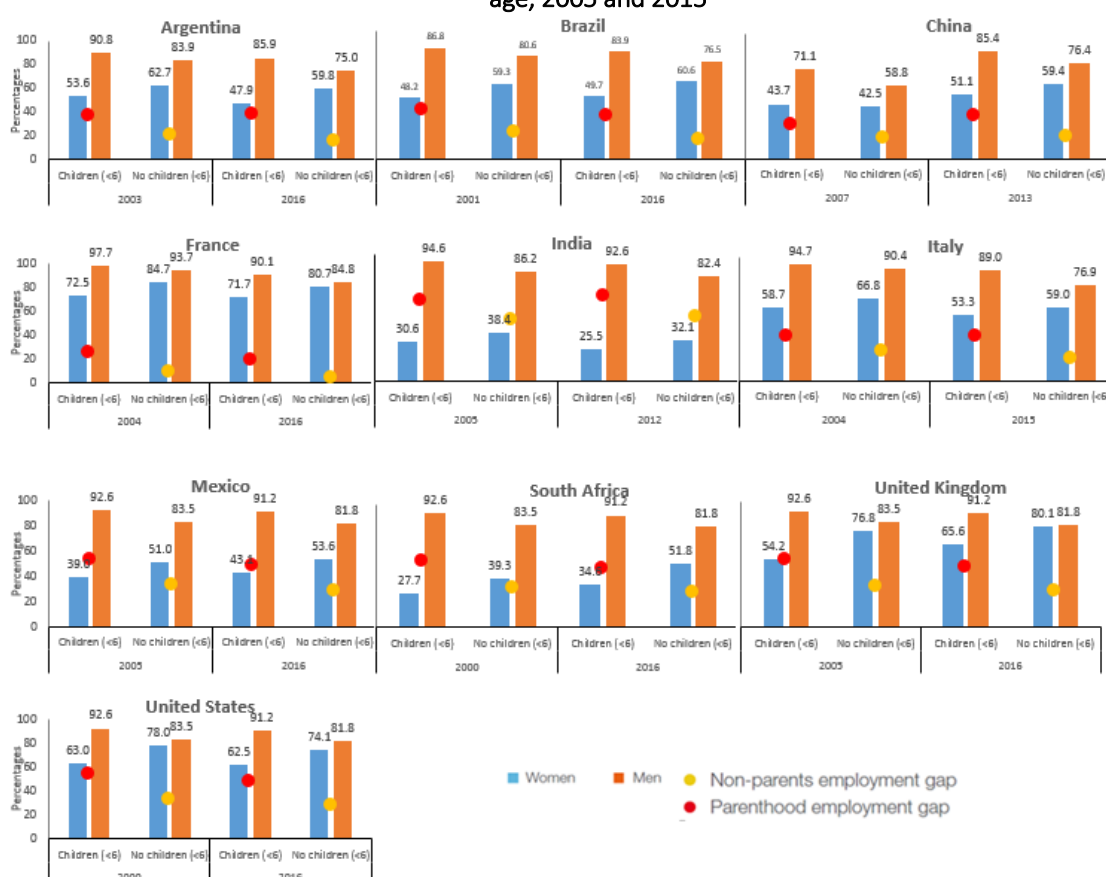
Note: Time-use estimates are based on time-use surveys that collect information with a diary method. Latest year in parentheses: China (2008); South Africa (2010); United Kingdom (2015); United States (2016). Age group in parentheses: Argentina (15-74); Australia (15+); Canada (15+); China (15-74); France (15+); Germany (10+); India (6+); Italy (15+); Japan (10+); Republic of Korea (10+); South Africa (10+); Turkey (10+); United Kingdom (8+); United States (15+).

Source: ILO 2018. Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work (Geneva).

The ‘motherhood employment penalty’

Estimates for selected G20 countries with available data show that there is a *motherhood employment penalty* – namely the difference in employment rates between women without and with young children – ranging from 17.2 percentage points in South Africa to 5.7 percentage points in Italy. On a positive note, this penalty has decreased in most of the G20 countries with available data (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Employment-to-population ratios of women and men with and without children under 6 years of age, 2005 and 2015



Note: The age group for high-income countries is 25–54 years, and for middle-income countries 18–54 years. Survey used: Argentina-Encuesta Permanente de Hogares (EPH); Brazil-Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios Contínua (PNAD); China-Chinese Household Income Project (CHIP); France-European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC); India-National Sample Survey (NSS); Italy-European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC); Mexico-Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo (ENOE); South Africa-Quarterly Labour Force Survey; United Kingdom-European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC); United States-Current Population Survey (CPS).

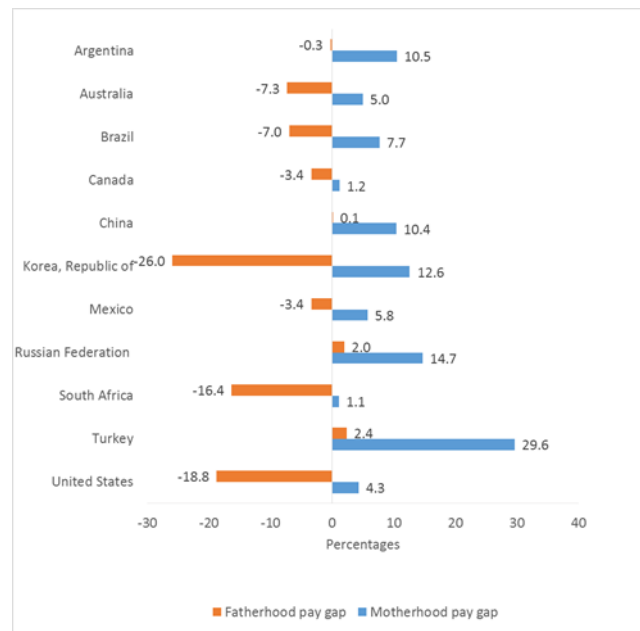
Source: ILO, 2019. A quantum leap for gender equality. For a better future of work for all (Geneva).

The 'motherhood wage penalty'

Mothers tend to earn less than women without children, and this pay gap is known as the *motherhood pay penalty*, while fathers are more likely to receive better pay than other men, which is referred to as the *fatherhood premium*. Lower wages for mothers may be related to a host of factors, including career breaks for paid and unpaid maternity leave, reduction in hours of work and gender-biased hiring and promotion decisions at the enterprise level – all of which penalize the careers of mothers.¹² In other words, motherhood brings about a wage penalty that can persist across a woman's working life. The lowest pay penalty for mothers is observed in South Africa, where mothers' wages are 1.1 per cent lower than non-mothers' wages. Turkey has the highest wage penalty for mothers, at almost 30 per cent.

On the other hand, fathers tend to make more money than men without children because they are perceived to be more in need of an income due to their role of breadwinners. The *fatherhood pay premium* is highest in the Republic of Korea, where fathers earn 26 per cent more than non-fathers. It is lowest in Turkey, where fathers actually earn 2.4 per cent *less* than men without children (Figure 8).

Figure 8. Motherhood and fatherhood wage gaps in selected G20 countries, latest year



Note: Latest year in parentheses: Argentina (2015); Australia (2016); Brazil (2015); Canada (2015); China (2013); Korea, Republic of (2016); Mexico (2016); Russian Federation (2015); South Africa (2015); Turkey (2015); United States (2016). Survey used: Argentina-Encuesta Permanente de Hogares (EPH); Brazil-Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios (PNAD); Canada-Labour force survey; China-Chinese Household Income Project (CHIP); Korea, Republic of-Korea Labour and Income Panel Study; Mexico-Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo (ENOE); Russian Federation-Survey of Income Participation in Social Programmes; South Africa-Labour Force Survey; United States-Current Population Survey (CPS).

Source: ILO 2018. Global Wage Report 2018/19: What lies behind gender pay gaps (Geneva).

As mentioned earlier, in G20 countries men work on average longer hours for pay or profit than women everywhere, regardless of their parental status. However, gender differences in the number of hours devoted to paid work start to widen with the arrival of the first child. While men's working hours for pay or profit are not affected by the number of young children, women's hours of paid work decline as the number of children increases, with significant variations across countries (Figure 9).

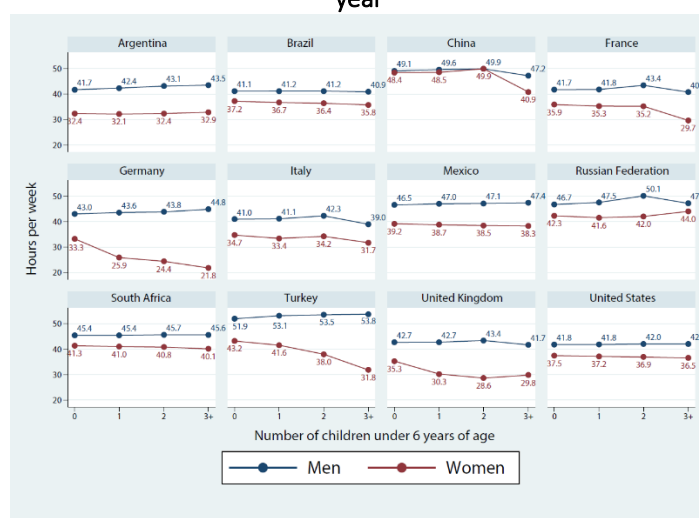
As long as social pressure continues to compel women to be the main caregivers and men to work longer hours, mothers will not be able to reduce their workload at home, or to increase their hours of paid work.¹³ As a result, when men work exceptionally long hours their partners are more likely to quit their own jobs.¹⁴

The 'motherhood leadership penalty'

Long working hours have adverse consequences on both women's and men's sleep, biological rhythms, and family social life.¹⁵ Evidence from Japan shows that women working long hours during the first trimester of pregnancy have higher risk of spontaneous abortion and premature birth.¹⁶ Indeed, the expectation of long working hours in some male dominated jobs, such as managerial and leadership positions, acts as a deterrent for women to pursue such career paths, contributing to occupational segregation.¹⁷

Labour force and household survey data available for thirteen G20 countries show that in high-income countries women in high-skills occupation, such as managerial and leadership positions,¹⁸ are more likely to work longer hours than other women (Figure 10), as they may be expected to work whatever hours are required to complete their assignments or may work long hours to show their commitment to the organization.¹⁹ For instance, women managers in Germany work 9 hours per week more than the overall average for women, while in Australia and Italy they add 8 hours to their working week. Men in managerial positions are also more likely to work longer hours compared to average male working hours across all occupations. For instance, in Australia male managers work 7 hours more, followed by Germany and France with additional 6 hours and Italy with five.

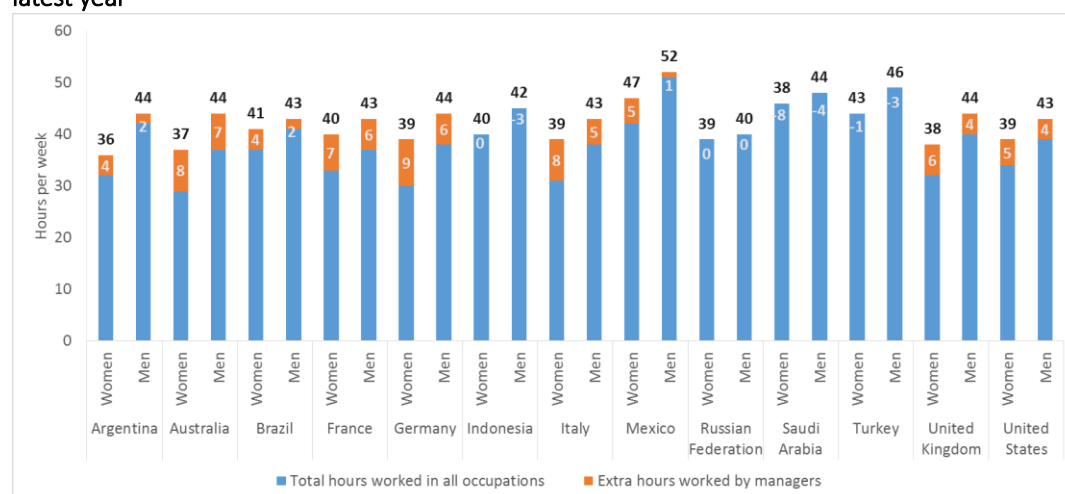
Figure 9. Weekly hours worked for pay or profit, by sex and number of children under six years of age, latest year



Note: Latest year in parentheses: Argentina (2016); Brazil (2016); China (2013); France (2016); Germany (2012); Italy (2015); Mexico (2016); Russian Federation (2014); South Africa (2016); Turkey (2016); United Kingdom (2016); United States (2016). The age group for high-income countries is 25–54 years, and for middle-income countries 18–54 years. Latest year is: Survey used: Argentina-Encuesta Permanente de Hogares (EPH); Brazil-Pesquisa Nacional por Amostragem de Domicílios Contínua (PNAD); China-Chinese Household Income Project (CHIP); France-European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC); Germany-European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC); Italy-European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC); Mexico-Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo (ENOE); Russian Federation-Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey; South Africa-Quarterly Labour Force Survey; Turkey-Household Labour Force Survey; United Kingdom-European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC); United States-Current Population Survey (CPS).

Source: ILO, 2019. A quantum leap for gender equality. For a better future of work for all (Geneva)

Figure 10. Mean weekly hours worked per employee in all occupations and in managerial positions, by sex, latest year

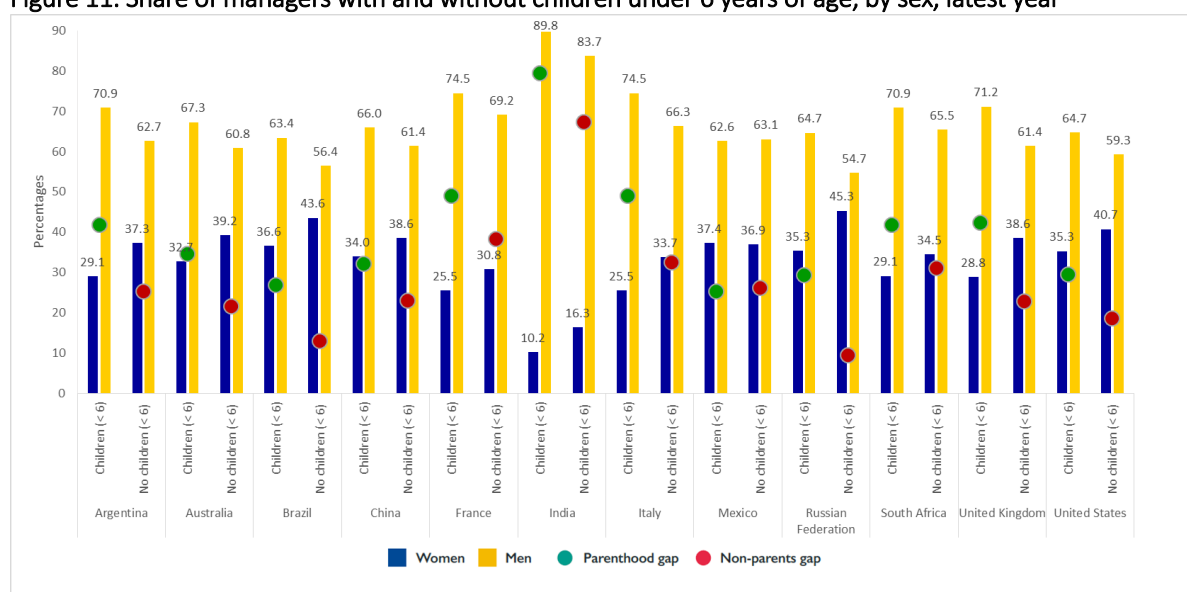


Note: Estimates based on hours actually worked except in Saudi Arabia where hours usually worked are used. Latest year is 2014 in: Saudi Arabia. Latest year is 2016 in: Australia. Latest year is 2017 in: Argentina, France, Germany, Indonesia, Italy, Russian Federation, Turkey and United Kingdom. Latest year is 2018 in: Brazil, Mexico and United States.

Source: ILOSTAT, 2019.

The combination of long working hours in managerial and leadership positions, the unequal distribution of time spent in unpaid care work, and the long-lasting belief of “think manager-think man”²⁰, which is often internalized in the corporate culture,²¹ make it even more difficult for mothers of young children to have managerial positions. Data for G20 countries show that mothers of children aged 0–5 have the lowest participation rates in managerial and leadership positions compared with both their male counterparts and with men and women without young children. In the G20²² the *motherhood leadership penalty*, namely the difference between the share of managers without children who are women and the share of managers with children who are women, ranges from 10 percentage points in the Russian Federation to parity in Mexico, where women with or without young children have the same chances of becoming managers (Figure 11).

Figure 11. Share of managers with and without children under 6 years of age, by sex, latest year



Note: Latest year in parentheses: Argentina (2016); Australia (2015); Brazil (2016); China (2013); France (2016); India (2012); Italy (2015); Mexico (2016); Russian Federation (2014); South Africa (2016); United Kingdom (2016); United States (2016). The age group for high-income countries is 25–54 years, and for middle-income countries 18–54 years. Latest year is: Survey used: Argentina-Encuesta Permanente de Hogares (EPH); Australia-Household, Income and Labour Dynamics in Australia (HILDA); Brazil-Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios Contínua (PNAD); China-Chinese Household Income Project (CHIP); France-European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC); India-National Sample Survey (NSS); Italy-European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC); Mexico-Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo (ENOE); Russian Federation-Russia Longitudinal Monitoring Survey; South Africa-Quarterly Labour Force Survey; United Kingdom-European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC); United States-Current Population Survey (CPS). Source: ILO, 2019. A quantum leap for gender equality. For a better future of work for all (Geneva).

Policies to improve gender balance in paid and unpaid work

A range of public policy options are available to countries seeking to redress gender imbalances in paid and unpaid work. Since gendered divisions in labour market outcomes often emerge after parenthood, focusing on changing men's and women's behaviours around and immediately after childbirth is crucial. In this regard, policies that seek to influence the division of labour straight after birth, such as paid parental leave, are particularly important. However, public support cannot end there. Parents continue to face challenges as children enter compulsory schooling and beyond. Long-term care responsibilities for older persons or disabled partners and relatives are also becoming an increasingly common challenge for workers in many G20 countries. Policies should work in a coherent 'joined-up' manner to offer men and women workers a continuum of support from childbirth right through to their children's teenage years, as well as when care responsibilities for partners and other relatives emerge.

Paid parental leave

Paid leave policies have a central role to play in addressing gender imbalances in paid and unpaid work. Historically, most paid leave policies have been targeted at mothers, usually in the form of paid maternity leave and longer paid parental leaves. As well as protecting the health of working mothers and their newborn children, paid leave also plays an important role in helping keep working women connected to the labour market following childbirth. Evidence suggest that a judiciously chosen period of paid maternity/parental leave can boost female employment, increase maternal employment continuity, and promote women's labour market re-entry after childbirth, at least up to a point.²³ Very long leave for mothers (1 year or more), however, can have negative effects on women's wages and careers.²⁴

Just as important as paid leave for mothers is paid leave directed at, or preferably reserved for, fathers. Evidence from across the OECD suggests that fathers who take leave are more likely to be involved in

childcare activities²⁵ and, importantly, these effects are likely to last well after leave has finished. Fathers who are engaged early are more likely to remain involved as their children grow up.²⁶ This helps promote women's labour market outcomes in several ways. Besides helping lessen women's unpaid work responsibilities, the social normalisation of leave-taking by fathers may also help reduce gender discrimination in the workplace. It also lowers the risk that only women take care-related leave –with the subsequent negative effects on female earnings and career advancements.²⁷

Most G20 countries provide fathers with at least the opportunity to take paid parental leave. However, too often this comes in the form of a sharable leave, to be divided between parents as they see fit. While on paper this means that both parents have the opportunity to take paid parental leave, in practice, shareable leave is almost always taken by mothers.²⁸ Fathers often earn more than their partners,²⁹ so unless leave benefits (almost) fully replace previous earnings it usually makes economic sense for the mother to take the bulk of the leave. Societal attitudes towards the roles of mothers and fathers in caring for young children and concerns around potential career implications also contribute to a general reluctance among many fathers towards taking long leave.³⁰

To help encourage men to spend more time at home caring for their children, a growing number of G20 countries have introduced “fathers-only” paid leaves that cannot be transferred to the mother. Many countries now offer paid paternity leave, a short but typically well-paid period that fathers can use within the first few months after a baby's arrival. An increasing number of countries also reserve longer periods of non-transferable paid parental leave just for fathers. These can take several forms. Most common are “father quotas” – specific portions of an overall parental leave period that are reserved exclusively for each parent, most often associated with the Nordic countries but, among G20 countries, also seen in France. Other options include “bonus periods” – where a couple may qualify for some extra weeks of paid leave if both parents use a certain amount of shareable leave, as in Germany, for instance – or more simply the provision of paid parental leave as an individual entitlement in its own right. Father-specific paid parental leave periods usually last for a couple of months. However, both Japan and Korea provide fathers with around one year of non-transferable paid parental leave each.³¹

It can take some time for changes in policy to influence behaviour, but evidence from several OECD countries suggests that providing fathers with their own leave entitlements can help increase fathers' use of parental leave, especially when it is well paid.³² In Sweden, for instance, the introduction of one-month “mother and father quotas” in 1995 was followed not only by an increase in the number of fathers using any type of leave, but also a steady increase in the share of days of paid leave used by men.³³ Three months are now reserved for each parent.

Among G20 countries, Germany offers one of the most interesting and explicit leave policies to promote the equal sharing of paid and unpaid work. In 2015, Germany introduced the Parental Allowance Plus (*ElterngeldPlus*) and Partnership Bonus (*Partnerschaftsbonus*) measures, which provide financial incentives for both parents to work part-time (between 25-30 hours per week) and share caregiving when children are very young. The stated goal of the programme is to give parents more time for family, support a partnership of family and vocation, promote shared parenting and ensure the livelihood of mothers.³⁴

Partly in response to these reforms, the proportion of children in Germany with a father using leave increased from 21% for children born in 2008 to 36% for those born in 2015. It is difficult to compare across countries but there has also been some increase in take up of paternity leave by fathers in other G20 countries. For example, in Korea, the male share of parental leave users increased from 5.6% in 2015 to 8.5% in 2016. In Japan, around 3% of employed men whose spouse had given birth between October 2014 and October 2015 had started or applied for parental leave by October 2016.

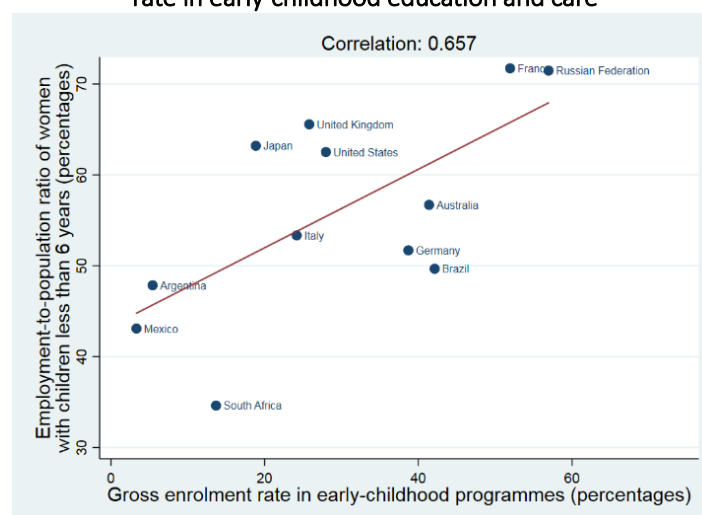
Child care services

The availability, affordability and quality of public care services, is crucial for reducing women's unpaid work responsibilities and advancing gender equality. Care services – ranging from the direct provision of services

for children, older persons, and people with disabilities or illnesses to social protection transfers and benefits given to workers with family or care responsibilities, unpaid care workers or people who need care – play a transformative role in advancing gender equality.³⁵ Evidence from 41 countries for which data are available shows that women (18- to 54-year-olds) with family responsibilities are more likely to be employed when they live in countries that invest a higher share of GDP in public expenditure on pre-primary education, long-term care services and benefits, and maternity, disability, sickness and employment injury benefits.³⁶

In addition, available data in G20 countries confirms a strong and positive correlation (0.66) between the employment-to-population ratios of women with young children and the number of children enrolled in early-childhood education and care (ECEC). This finding suggests that policies aimed at increasing the coverage of such enrolment could trigger an increase in women's participation in employment (Figure 12). Indeed in recent years, some G20 countries have invested in early childhood education with positive outcomes for mothers' employment. Where the gross enrolment ratios are lower, many families rely on grandmothers or older sibling daughters for childcare provision, with disadvantageous effects for young girls' education. This perpetuates women's time poverty and occupational segregation³⁷.

Figure 12. Employment-to-population ratio of women with young children (0–5 years) and gross enrolment rate in early-childhood education and care



Source: ILO calculations based on ILO, 2019. A quantum leap for gender equality. For a better future of work for all (Geneva)

Out-of-school-hours care services

Childcare issues do not disappear once children enter pre-primary or primary school. Children in the educational system spend a large amount of time at school, but opening hours are frequently incompatible with a full-time working week and school holidays are almost always longer than annual leave entitlements for employees. Informal care services provided by friends or relatives can help, but these are not always available. Absent of good-quality and affordable out-of-school-hours care services, many parents (usually mothers) are forced to work reduced hours and/or find private solutions both before and after school, and also during school holidays.

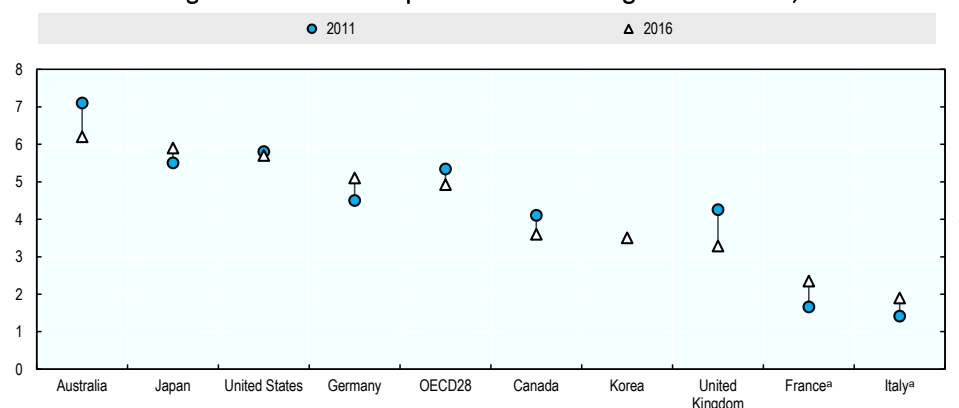
Few G20 countries have well-developed out-of-school-hours care systems. In France, Japan and the United Kingdom, fewer than one in four children aged 6 to 11 attend a centre delivering out-of school-hours care services during a typical week.³⁸ In Germany, Italy and the United States, this drops to around one in ten or less. Among OECD countries, Denmark and Sweden have two of the most advanced out-of school-hours care systems, with close to two-thirds of children aged 6 to 11 attending these centres during a typical week.³⁹ In both countries, out-of-school –hours care services are often co-ordinated with school authorities to provide all-day care for children, with services normally provided on school premises or nearby, and opening hours usually stretching until at least 5pm. Costs are also subsidised. In Denmark, services are often offered free to

low-income families, while in Sweden there is a maximum fee of around 2% of gross household income for the first child and lower rates for subsequent children, ensuring that these services are generally affordable for most families.⁴⁰

Long-term care services

G20 countries are currently undergoing a significant demographic change due to ageing over the next decades, as discussed in the ILO-OECD joint paper *New job opportunities in an ageing society* prepared for the 1st EWG in February 2018. The growth in the share of the older population points to the major role that long-term care will play in future job creation. Despite the increasing importance of long-term care, however, there is a global shortage of 13.6 million long-term care (LTC) workers⁴¹, and in some G20 countries, the supply of LTC workers per 100 older persons has increased only moderately since 2011 (Figure 13). Average long-term care expenditure remains low and mostly below 1.5 per cent of GDP in G20 and high-income countries. Concerns about the costs of an ageing population – which will more than double by 2060 – have led some advanced G20 economies to start reducing the generosity of LTC coverage, either through explicit reforms or by squeezing budgets.⁴² However, limiting LTC coverage and adequacy may result in greater inequalities of access, as well as greater risks that higher out-of-pocket expenditure on LTC may lead to higher poverty risks for older persons in need of LTC, as well as their children.⁴³

Figure 13. Number of long-term care workers per 100 individuals aged 65 and over, in 2011 and 2016

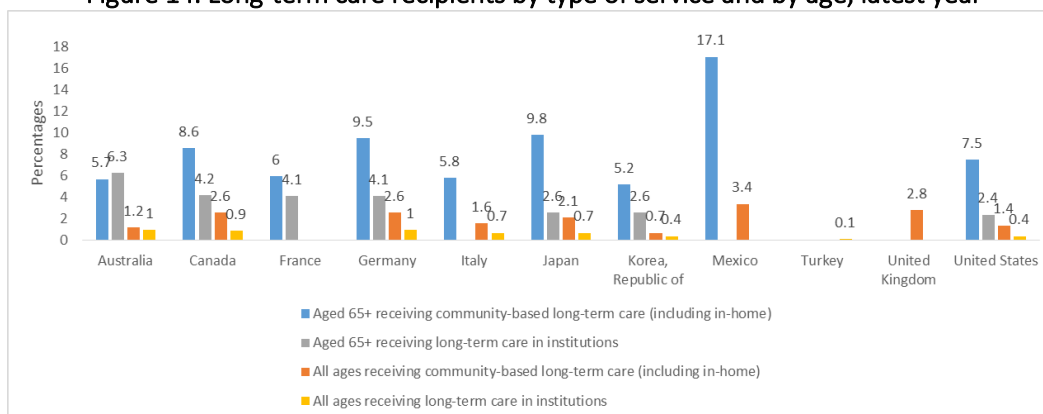


Note: Data must be interpreted with caution, as sample sizes are small. OECD28 is an unweighted average and excludes Chile, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Mexico, New Zealand, Switzerland and Turkey. ^a Data were calculated based on ISCO 3-digit and NACE 2-digit.

Source: EU-LFS, QLFSUK, ASEC-CPS, OECD Health Statistics 2018, and Eurostat for population demographics.

Access and affordability of services vary according to health systems and whether LTC is part of a universal health-care system or not. In South Africa, for example, LTC is provided as part of public works programmes. In most countries, family members – mainly daughters, daughters-in-law or female spouses – still provide unpaid care services, even though attitudinal data suggest that a majority of people would prefer some extra-family support. In the G20, the share of population aged 65 and above receiving long-term either in institutions or communities is highest in Mexico (20.5 per cent), followed by Germany (17.2 per cent), Canada (16.3 per cent), Japan (15.2), Australia (14.2 per cent), United States (11.7 per cent), France (10.1 per cent), Republic of Korea (8.9 per cent), Italy (8.1 per cent), United Kingdom (2.8 per cent) and Turkey (0.1 per cent) (Figure 14).

Figure 14. Long-term care recipients by type of service and by age, latest year



Source: ILO calculations, based on OECD Statistics data for 2016 or most recent year.

LTC benefits also exist, with a large variety of systems depending on country specificities and patterns of development in the LTC sector. Collective LTC benefits may be financed through social insurance contributions or by general taxation,⁴⁴ with only a few countries having large private LTC insurance markets. Benefits can be in cash or in-kind. Where services are provided in cash, these may enable older people with long-term care needs to hire a care worker or be cared for by their close relatives. Care leave and related benefits paid to care for sick or older family members are thus examples of the second option. LTC leave provision has been increasing in G20 countries over the past decade although these leave entitlements remain less generous than childcare-related leave. Several countries make a distinction between short-term and long-term care leave. Short-term care leave ranges from two days leave to 8 weeks for family members at risk of dying (in Canada) and 36 days (in Italy).⁴⁵ While in many countries the leave is paid, other countries grant only statutory unpaid leave (e.g. Germany and the United Kingdom) or only provide regulation through collective (e.g. Canada) or individual agreements (e.g. the Russian Federation). LTC leave varies between a few weeks and up to three years. In Italy, unpaid care workers may receive full earnings replacement (but up to a ceiling) for a period of up to 24 months. However, leave for medical assistance or palliative care may also be unpaid, or paid at lower replacement rates or as a lump sum. It is important to ensure the continued social protection coverage of unpaid care workers in such instances, which is the case in some countries, e.g. for old age pensions.⁴⁶

In Canada, France, Germany and Italy women accounted for at least 60 per cent of care leave beneficiaries, due to continuing traditional gender roles. Men often do not ask for leave, for fear of social stigmatization or other forms of career disadvantage.⁴⁷ Further, as men typically earn more than women, if they take care leave this would result in a larger reduction of the family's income.⁴⁸

Many countries aim to keep workers with care responsibilities attached to the labour market. This is a challenge. While these measures contribute to recognizing the unpaid care work provided by relatives, the amount of social benefits is usually small and does not replace full earnings when employment is temporarily or permanently interrupted. For instance, on a basis of 22 hours of unpaid care work provided to a relative with moderate needs, unpaid care workers would receive 100 per cent of the median wage in Canada (Nova Scotia province), about half of the median wage in France and below 30 per cent of the median wage in the Republic of Korea and the United Kingdom.⁴⁹

Campaigns

Public policy can only go so far in promoting gender equality at home if inequalities and sexism persist in society. Survey data show that public opinion towards the roles of men and women have changed slowly over time in many countries.⁵⁰ While public care supports and fathers' leave-taking can help reduce women's unpaid work responsibilities, they are unlikely to eliminate the imbalance entirely. The effects of early gender socialisation⁵¹ at school and at home are strong and long-lasting, and parents are one of the strongest predictors of an individual's gendered behaviours and expectations. Across countries, adult

children tend to mimic (both in attitudes and behaviours) their parents' division of paid and unpaid labour.⁵²

In addition to implementing fathers' leave programmes and public care supports, countries should commit to changing gender stereotypes through public awareness-raising campaigns. In recent years, several G20 countries, including Australia and Korea, have carried out such campaigns, using a mixture of traditional and online media channels. Among these, Australia's joint public-private campaign was novel: the "Equilibrium Man Challenge" was an online micro-documentary series attempting to raise awareness of work-life balance by following a group of men who are pursuing flexible work arrangements, often to care for family members. Australia reports that the documentaries reached nearly 30,000 views, and were successful in generating awareness of flexible work and promoting uptake of flexible work arrangements in the partner organizations.

Information campaigns are a soft measure for changing opinions and behaviours, and evidence on their durable impact is limited. Randomised control trials have not been used to evaluate campaigns aimed at reducing gender stereotypes. Some studies suggest that mass media interventions and other brief stimuli alone are not usually effective in durably reducing prejudice⁵³, while others have found evidence of information interventions reducing prejudice against transgender individuals in the United States⁵⁴ and reducing opposition to migrants in Japan.⁵⁵ It would be desirable that at the design stage of information campaigns, governments envisaged assessing the campaign's effects on gender stereotypes to ensure a cost-effective use of public resources.

General policy directions

Tackling large gender gaps in unpaid work and caregiving could help promote greater gender equality in the labour market. This could be achieved through a range of measures including:

- *Expanding the use of social policy measures to encourage more gender balanced childcare.* Well-paid paternity leave and father-specific parental leave have been found to encourage fathers' leave take-up and can help to establish equitable caregiving.
- *Changing stereotypes and norms around caregiving and housework is crucial* but challenging. Governments should apply a range of measures and tools, including awareness campaigns, to reduce bias against male caregiving and highlighting women workers significant contribution to family income and national GDP, thereby promoting gender-equitable sharing of unpaid work.
- *Closing the coverage gaps in early childhood education and care as well as in long-term care by increasing investments in care services.* This will result in a more equal distribution of time spent in unpaid care work between women and men, and more and better-quality jobs in care sectors.
- *Closing data gaps on gender differences in work-life balance.* This could include carrying out more frequent time-use surveys, better collecting data on fathers' leave-taking, and conducting public opinion surveys before and after public awareness campaigns and publicly disseminating the results.

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