The global recession has had gender differentiated impacts on the world of work

What started as a financial recession in the United States has led to a global economic downturn and a job crisis, with its profound impacts being felt across many countries, both in the industrialized North and in developing South alike. Two years on, while the economic recovery of industrialized countries is still tentative, some emerging developing countries are showing a sign of stronger economic growth. However, the labour markets in many countries still remain in jeopardy, as hundreds of millions of workers have been coping with job losses, prolonged unemployment, reduced working hours, lost or reduced income and aggravated poverty. The social and poverty impacts and consequential human sufferings are immeasurable, and unfortunately, are likely to last for some time to come.

In the wake of the global recession, there has been a fear that the progress made in the past decades in advancing women's positions in the world of work is being reversed. Women, who were already in disadvantaged positions in the labour market prior to the recession, have suffered equally as men in terms of job losses, or in some countries disproportionately more than men. The global recession has increased the vulnerability of the working poor and caused job losses of millions of workers, in particular, poor working women who have been engaged in export-oriented labour-intensive manufacturing and agriculture, and in family businesses. Given that a number of countries are now adopting austerity measures, there is a renewed concern regarding further disproportionate negative impacts on women, not only because the public sector is an important employer for women, but also because it provides essential public services which are key to well-being of people, particularly of the poor and most vulnerable.

Since women play a pivotal role for the survival of the poor within the households in developing countries, especially at times of crisis, this policy brief focuses specifically on the gender dimensions of the impact of global recession on the world of work and suggested gender equitable responses for the recovery.

From financial and economic recession to job crisis: Gender dimensions of transmission

Financial market crunch has affected financial markets worst in the countries where the recession originated, the United States and United Kingdom, followed by other European countries where governments have had to intervene on a massive scale, in order to avoid a potential global financial catastrophe not seen since the Great Depression. As the downturn has ensued, the cost of borrowing has shot up and banks have become more stringent in lending across the board. This also has had a major impact on investments. Many small businesses
suffered from the lack of capital to operate their businesses. Two years on, the world’s major financial markets have stabilized, but their recovery remains fragile in the face of a looming sovereign debt crisis which threatens the future macroeconomic stability in the industrialized countries. Given that women, especially poor working women, have little or less access to financial resources than men, in particular, from the formal financial institutions, a tight financial market is generally bad news.

**Impacts on the real economy:** As the financial recession deepened, it became clear that it had had huge impact on both the production and consumption of economies. Export-oriented countries, both industrialized and developing, experienced substantial declines in export levels due to a drastic reduction in the demand from the larger economies, the US and EU. Manufacturing production levels had been impacted not only by the reduction of liquidity in the financial market, but also by the reduction of consumer demand, both domestic and external. Women’s businesses are, on average, smaller than men’s, which makes them particularly vulnerable to downturns. In fact, many small businesses have already gone bust.

**Narrowing fiscal space for development:** with massive bail-outs of financial institutions and spending on recovery packages by governments in industrialized countries, on top of lower tax revenues in the economic slow-down, the fiscal space of developed economies are severely constrained. Developing countries’ already narrow fiscal space has been further constrained in the aftermath of the global recession, while the downturn has negatively impacted on the donor countries’ capacities to provide overseas development aid.¹ There is a fear that both public investments and social expenditures would be reduced, which could have disproportionate negative impacts on women and children, who rely on common public goods and services funded by public social expenditures and sectoral subsidies, investments in health and education, as well as social services.

**Labour market – Job crisis:** all regions have seen a decline in employment-to-population rates, and many countries have recorded higher unemployment rates,² as a consequence of the labour-demand decline, which have followed the economic/consumer demand decline. What started as a financial recession has led to a job crisis in many countries, in particular, in the US, some European countries - especially those with housing bubbles such as Spain, as well as export-oriented developing economies. Those developing countries with mono-production.exports, in particular in labour-intensive manufacturing such as textile and clothing (T&C) have been particularly negatively affected by the downturn in the international trade. How women and men are being affected differs from country to country, depending on the gender composition of the labour force and which sectors have been most affected. Where a labour-intensive export industrial sector has been negatively affected, women have tended to be more disproportionately affected, given the higher concentration of female workforce in the sector, for instance, in such exports dependent countries as Cambodia and Mauritius.

**Impact on migrant workers and remittances:** as seen in the industrialized countries and the Middle East, in countries where there is a substantial number of (mostly male) migrants working in such sectors as manufacturing and construction, they were the first to be retrenched, or their contracts had been terminated, as construction came to a halt due to the lack of financial resources.³ For the sending countries, this meant a decline in remittances and overall national income, as well as loss of jobs for those migrant workers who were sent back home. At the household level, this meant reduced/loss of income for the families back home. The World Bank reports a 5.5 per cent decline in the total remittances to developing countries in 2009, and an expected increase of 6 per cent in 2010.⁴ About half of the world’s migrants are women, and how women and men migrants have been affected also would depend on which sector they have worked in. There has been a slow down of the departures of male migrants (for instance
from South Asia to the Gulf States), than women’s, as female migrants tend to work in the care and service sectors which have not been as negatively affected as construction or manufacturing sector to-date. However, there have been some cases where women migrants working in the manufacturing sector have been retrenched and sent back home. Generally speaking, given the tightening of migration permits by many countries, especially by those industrialized countries, this is likely to have negative impacts not only on men, but also women workers in both medium and long term.

**Social and poverty impacts:** as has been seen during the Asian financial crisis in the late 1990s, the poorer sectors of the population of countries are least capable of coping with economic shocks. Historically speaking, the recovery of labour market takes five to six times longer than the overall economic recovery, and this implies the long-term impact of the global recession on the poor and vulnerable, which is a major concern. The prolonged impact of the recession is likely to jeopardize the poor developing countries’ ability to achieve many of the Millennium Development Goals. Given that women workers constitute the bottom rung of the world’s working poor, the global recession could have a long-lasting negative socioeconomic impact on the most vulnerable parts of the population, particularly the female population.

When the resources and incomes available to poor households are being reduced due to the recession, women and children are likely to be worst affected. There have been reports of children dropping out of school as parents cannot afford to have them remain there, which would have an inter-generational impact on poverty. If parents have lost jobs or cannot earn sufficient income for the household, young women and girls can suffer disproportionately more, in terms of access to food and health provisions, due to gender bias against females within the households, which persists in many poor developing societies.

**Impact on well-being of girls and women:** As has been seen in the past financial and economic crisis, even when women may not be directly affected by the reduced employment and income opportunities as workers, they tend to increase the hours of both productive and reproductive work, in times of crisis as a household-level coping mechanism. Hence, those women who had not been previously engaged in remunerated work would try to seek income and job opportunities outside the household, in order to compensate for the loss/reduction of overall household income, when their male family members lose jobs or reduce their working hours. This is called ‘additional workers’ effect’. Furthermore, because mothers have to increase their hours of remunerated work, female children are likely to face a high risk of being withdrawn from schools, in order to take care of younger siblings and sick family members, undertaking unpaid work – replacing the mother’s role in the household. The reduction of income at the households could cause excessive hours of both paid and unpaid work (such as collecting water and fuel and caring families), having negative impact on the well-being of poor working women and girls. This could also be exacerbated by the cuts in the public expenditures financing public services and investments in infrastructures for improving water and energy access.

The most critical impact of the 2008-2009 global financial and economic recession has been on the overall reduction of employment and income especially for the poor and related impact on the well-being of the workers who have lost their jobs, and of their families. The job crisis continues in some industrialized countries, but compared to these countries where there is better coverage of social protection systems, given the lack of social floor and the limited coverage of social protection in developing countries, those who have lost jobs or income have been experiencing much more severe socio-economic consequences.
Dramatic global economic deceleration had a major impact on global demand and trade

The global deceleration of economies was dramatic, while the recovery has taking more time. Fortunately, the ‘global depression’ has been averted, thanks to the government intervention of a massive scale (Figure 1). Similarly, world trade has been drastically affected by the global decline of demand – by March 2009, global trade volume was down by 22 per cent indicating the magnitude of the downturns in the major markets of the EU and the US. As of October, 2009, world trade recovered, but still was 2.8 per cent lower than the pre-recession level. According to the World Bank estimates, in general, global trade volumes declined by 17.6 per cent in 2009, and due to the weakened overall global economy and demand, it was expected to grow by 4.3 per cent, which meant that globally total trade would be 5 per cent lower than its 2008 peak.

In Africa, under the framework of African Growth Opportunity Act (AGOA), which provides trade privileges of exemption of import taxes and source of origin to poor African countries for their exports to the US, the total imports from AGOA countries to the US declined substantially from $81.4 billions at its peak period in 2008 to 34.2 billion by the end of 2009.

Globally, a larger number of men lost jobs, but women’s unemployment rates have remained higher in the majority of countries

Women and men are affected differently by economic downturns, and the patterns of the impact on employment vary depending on which economic sectors are being affected, where women and men work. In some developing countries of early stages of industrialization, which have labour-intensive manufacturing, such as textile and garment, footwear, food processing and electronic machineries, there tends to be higher concentration of women in such sectors. Men are more concentrated in heavier manufacturing, construction and mining. The levels of job losses, therefore, would depend on which sectors are most impacted upon in the global recession in a given country. The past evidence also shows that women and men experience the economic downturn differently due to the gender division of paid and unpaid work.
In the current job crisis, in most developing countries, women in export-oriented labour-intensive manufacturing (in particular in T&C, footwear and assembly of electronics) and tourism are among those most negatively impacted. Women who have worked in service sectors such as domestic services and health have fared better in keeping their jobs. Men typically have worked across a broader range of sectors than women, but they tend to be more represented in such sectors as construction, mining and heavy manufacturing, which have been heavily affected by the global recession in many countries, especially in its onset. This meant that unemployment had impacted men more so than women in these sectors. However, as the recession ensued, the impact spread to other sectors where women had also worked.

The overall patterns of gender gaps in the unemployment rates have not substantially changed, but the global female unemployment rate has remained higher than men’s with regional variations. However, the male rate increase was higher among the youth (by 5.7% and 3.4% for men and women respectively) in developed regions, whereas, young women were much harder hit in developing regions. Historically, youth unemployment has been double or more than total unemployment with narrower gender gaps than among adults in most regions. In the wake of the global recession, the rates further increased faster than for adult workers, in general and much more so for young women workers in developing regions.

The developed economies, Central and South Eastern Europe, and CIS countries, as well as Latin American countries have been most affected, in terms of increases in the levels of open unemployment. Generally speaking, developed economies and EU countries recorded further increases in the unemployment rates for both women (8.6 per cent) and men (8.2 per cent) in 2009, but women facing higher unemployment rates, indicating the widespread impacts beyond construction and manufacturing sectors, which were initially hardest hit. In these industrialized countries, the female unemployment which initially converged with the male unemployment rate in 2008 again went up higher than the latter in 2009.

Among the developing regions, the most pronounced increase in unemployment rate, in particular for women was observed in the Latin America and the Caribbean (Figure 3). On average, female unemployment rates had been historically higher than male rates by 2–3 percentage points. Between 2007 and 2008, female unemployment rate remained at a higher 8.8 per cent, compared to men’s unemployment rate of 5.8 per cent in both years. The female unemployment rate rose faster - by 1.3 percentage points to 10.1 per cent, whereas men’s rate increased by 1.1 percentage points to 6.9 per cent in 2009. Behind the gender differences in unemployment rates in the region, there is a strong paternalistic culture which ascribes gender roles to women and men (i.e. women at home and men out at work), which continues to create a discriminatory environment against women’s full and equal participation in the economy. This is also one of the developing regions where, historically, women’s employment-to-population ratio has been increasing during the last 10 years.

![Figure 3. Unemployment rate in Latin America and the Caribbean, 2005-2009 (by sex, 15 yrs and over)](source: ILO, 2010)

The Middle East and North Africa had historically lowest female labour force participation rates (24.8 per cent and 27.3 per cent respectively in 2007) in the world, and substantially higher female unemployment rates than for men. Over the recent years, unemployment rates for both women and men had been declining, but since 2008, both had
been on a slight increase, due to the global economic recession. Female unemployment rates for the Middle East and North Africa were 14.4 per cent and 14.6 per cent, or at double the rate of the men’s 7.7 per cent and 8.4 per cent, respectively in 2007. Clearly, these data showed the difficulties that women faced in having access to employment and income opportunities – evidence of sex-based discrimination.

The ILO reports that female unemployment rates went up to as high as 15.0 per cent in the Middle East and 15.6 per cent and North Africa, compared to male 7.7 and 8.6 per cent respectively with substantial gender differences in 2009. In both these sub-regions, a minority group of women that were economically active were not being able to obtain jobs and income opportunities, searching for work but not getting any. In the aftermath of global downturn, the situation was getting even worse.

In Sub-Saharan Africa, the unemployment rates for women and men were not substantially different, and remained relatively high at 7.6 per cent for men and 8.5 per cent for women in 2008. The ILO estimated the overall female unemployment rate rose to 8.8 per cent, compared to 7.8 per cent for men in 2009.

In developing countries, vulnerable employment and poverty levels are generally worsening, but women’s employment remains more vulnerable

Vulnerable employment is a relatively new concept that combines both ‘own-account work’ and ‘contributing family work’, both of which are employment statuses that are correlated to low levels of development and high levels of poverty. The ILO report estimates that the overall declining trends in vulnerable employment prior to the global recession is reversing, and the world is likely to see an increased rate of those who are working in vulnerable category of employment by up to 2.9 percentage points for men, and by 1.7 percentage points for women compared to the levels prior to the recession, though with a higher estimated rate of 54.3 per cent for women (51.9 per cent for men) in 2009.

Across most regions, the share of vulnerable employment was higher for working women than for men, except in developed economies, the EU and Central and South Eastern Europe and CIS in 2007. Among the developing regions, poorer regions such as South Asia followed by Sub-Saharan Africa had the highest levels of vulnerable employment for both women and men even before the recession – 85.6 per cent for women (74.9 per cent for men) in 2007. Sub-Saharan Africa saw the biggest increases in employment vulnerability, by 4.2 percentage points to 71.2 per cent, and to 84.2 per cent by 3.8 percentage points for men and women respectively, also reversing the declining trends prior to the recession.

Across most regions, vulnerable employment rates were expected to rise in 2009, which implied increasing ‘working poverty’ – working, but earning less than US$1.25 a day. The ILO estimated that in 2009, some additional 215 million workers, as compared to 2008, were to fall into working poverty in the worst-case scenario, reaching a global total of 849 million people working in poverty. While the number of those in working poverty could not be easily disaggregated by sex, by the fact that a higher share of women’s employment was in vulnerable category of employment meant that women were more disproportionately affected than men by working poverty and decent work deficits. This has worsened in the aftermath of the global recession.

Renewed call for gender equitable policy response for economic recovery

As seen in the foregoing analysis, the impact of recession is gendered, or women and men are affected differently, given how the existing gender norms continue to affect the employment patterns of women and men in all countries. Due to the higher rate of women’s unemployment than men’s in many countries even before the recession, the policy response needs to be gender-aware in its formulation and delivery. The following provides some perspectives on
integrating gender equality concerns into various policy options.

**Integrating gender concerns into macroeconomic policies**

The macroeconomic policies of the past 20 years have focused on the control of inflation, while structural policies have been applied to reduce the role of the state, promote private sector development, deregulate domestic markets and liberalize international trade and capital flows. Under the increasing international integration of economies, external factors have increasingly determined the ‘policy space’ available to governments. Income inequality between and within countries has also increased, while the workers’ wage share in GDP has been declining across countries.28 The need to attract and retain internationally mobile capital has placed countries under pressure to maintain high interest rates, low rates of inflation, flexible labour markets and tax incentives to attract foreign direct investments. However, these neoliberal policy prescriptions are now being increasingly questioned, since the policy space, especially in poor developing countries, has been shrinking and adequate counter-cyclical responses are being constrained.29

Furthermore, during the past two decades of market liberalization in the aegis of globalization, macroeconomic policies have been mostly gender-blind. Given the unequal access to various resources by women and men, economic incentives provided by macroeconomic policies can have gender-differentiated impacts on the distribution of resources (such as natural resources, capital and land). This leads to sectoral change, and hence, changing patterns and distribution of the workforce (composed of women/men), as well as hours spent on both productive and unpaid care work by both women (and girls) and men (and boys).

Many developing countries have been negatively impacted upon by the recent declines in trade, foreign direct investments and remittances. Given the high concentration of women in labour-intensive export sectors in a number of developing countries, creating a conducive macroeconomic environment, both in terms of macroeconomic stability and monetary policy to keep exports competitive would be beneficial for maintaining and boosting employment in the export sector, particularly for women.30

Macroeconomic policies can ‘target’ employment levels, including a specific target for women’s employment, rather than aiming at an inflation target, as the first priority in macroeconomic policy making. Furthermore, expansionary fiscal policies are more conducive for increasing employment, than tighter fiscal policies, particularly for women.31 Creating a more favourable fiscal space for public investment in social sector development, such as health and education, can also create more jobs for women, given women’s higher concentration in these sectors.

Tax cuts, for instance value added taxes and maintaining/enhancing public subsidies for key basic foods and production inputs (such as fertilizer and fuel), are also useful for enhancing the purchasing power of the poor, particularly, of women in economic downturns. Women farmers are responsible for 60–80 per cent of staple crops in developing countries. They also work longer hours than men, if hours for both productive and unpaid work (such as collecting water and fuel and taking care of families) are combined.32 In order not to exacerbate poor women’s work burdens, such fiscal support measures are extremely useful, especially in the aftermath of a quadruple food, fuel, economic and job crisis.

Many developing countries have also undertaken gender responsive budgeting,33 which can be undertaken in the design and review of stimulus packages and recovery measures. Gender budgeting can enhance the chances of women equitably benefiting from counter-cyclical measures, both in public investment for job retention and creation, and expanding social protection, in particular for the poor and the most vulnerable.
Investing in girls and women for enhancing employability

Investing in the human development of the female population not only makes good economic sense, but is also good for sustainable development and breaking the intergenerational cycle of poverty. The health and nutrition of children of educated mothers are often better than those of uneducated mothers. These girls’ chances of education are also higher. Evidence has shown that ensuring equal opportunities for access to education and training is critical to increase the chances of girls to be productively employed in later stages of their life cycle.

In the design of stimulus packages and economic recovery measures, girls and young women can be targeted for education and skills development respectively, in response to the current and future labour market needs. The counter-cyclical measures in particular, can target those women workers retrenched from the formal sector for re-skilling, so that they can better adapt to new technologies and jobs in other sectors in economic and labour market adjustments. In many developing economies, typically, job opportunities for women are found in a narrower range of occupations and sectors (often those considered as ‘feminine’), as compared for men. There also remains gender-based discrimination in the labour market. Hence, it is justifiable to provide specific targeted support, in particular, for women workers in distress in the wake of the great recession.

Supporting women’s access to credit and entrepreneurship development

As mentioned earlier, the level of vulnerable employment is increasing in the aftermath of the recession. In poorer developing countries where formal sector jobs are scarce, self-employment would be the only alternative for many of those who have been retrenched from the formal sector. Rather than working as a contributing family worker, it would be better for retrenched women workers to engage in a small business to earn an income for themselves and their households. While the economic downturn has also constrained the financial markets for micro-credit, under the overall reduced financial liquidity, stimulus packages can include a special window for providing credits to small and micro-enterprises (SMEs), and for business training for those who are retrenched or unemployed, especially women.

Promoting employment intensive public investments: a gender-responsive approach

Public investments in the development of infrastructure which is often regarded as a ‘male’ sector can also create jobs for women. In India, the government has adopted a National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA). The Act established a policy of providing the rural population with ‘a right to work’, or ‘employment as the last resort’, for 100 days of work per year, mostly for the development of rural infrastructure, including the greening of communities (see Box). In the Republic of

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**Box: National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme in India**

The main feature of the programme promoting women’s employment and income opportunities entails:
- one third of jobs should be given to women;
- equal wages for work of equal value;
- requiring the provision of a crèche when there are more than five women on a programme.

The national average of women’s participation was 49 per cent. In 20 States, women made up at least 30 per cent of participants in 2008. The programme reduced distressed migration, and improved income and nutrition in the workers’ households. Due to the wage payment at post offices or through banks, the programme has introduced some sections of the community to use formal financial institutions for the first time.

*Source: 2009, UN New York: World survey on role of women in development: Women’s control over economic resources and access to financial resources, including microcredit, pp. 74–75.*
Korea in the post-Asian financial crisis, women eventually reached 50 per cent of the beneficiaries when the government relaxed both the types of work offered (to include social services and greening) and the restriction of eligibility of ‘household heads’.39

Promoting women’s equal access to social protection

In response to global recession, governments have expanded the coverage of various social protection measures. Given predominantly precarious and ‘atypical’ nature affecting women’s employment, women, particularly young women are more likely to be easily fired in the economic downturns. Specific measures should be taken to ensure that those who have been working under precarious and part-time contracts are able to claim unemployment benefits, where unemployment insurance exists. In developing countries, where mostly there is no unemployment insurance and a large majority of people work in the informal economy, various income support schemes, such as Conditional Cash Transfers and publicly funded social pension systems, can be introduced/further expanded, especially targeting poor women. In particular, poor single mothers or widowed women household heads could be targeted, since they are more vulnerable than those in households with two workers or male-headed households.

Women constitute half or more of migrant workers from Asia and Latin America.40 It would be useful for the receiving countries, particularly in the EU and the US to maintain the levels of migrant labour forces equitably for women and men, rather than restricting them. Where a system exists, countries can also extend unemployment insurance coverage to migrants on equal terms as for nationals who are entitled to the benefits, as a transitory measure.

Conclusion

As analysed in this policy brief, across the globe, the global recession has had profound impacts beyond the financial sector on both the real economy and the world of work, not only in the industrialized countries, but also in developing countries. At the time of writing of this brief, while some emerging developing economies are showing signs of recovery, the labour markets have not yet shown substantial improvements in the first half of 2010 in many countries. The unemployment rates are still excessively high in some of the major industrialized countries, and both poverty and vulnerable employment rates have been on the increase in developing countries. The long-term impacts of the 2008-2009 global recession, preceded by food, fuel and environmental crisis, on jobs and income, as well as well-being of millions of affected workers and their families are likely to last for a long time to come. The financial and economic recession has led not only to major job crisis, but has also created a looming long-lasting social crisis in many countries.

Given women’s pre-existing disadvantages in the world of work and higher poverty levels than men’s even prior to the global recession, it is absolutely essential that they equally benefit from the economic recovery measures, or more so. Granting equal benefits to women through recovery measures, generally, and also specifically, where they are more negatively affected, constitutes a key strategic element of faster and more sustainable employment, and income-led economic recovery. Finally, there should be policy coherence in macroeconomic, labour and employment policies at national, regional and international levels, to optimize policy impacts and to avoid downward wage competition and deflation.
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Current global economic crisis: Sectoral aspects, governing

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account work’ and ‘contributory family work’ are defined
as ‘vulnerable employment’, and such types of employment
are prevalent in the informal urban and rural economies,
which are characterized by low productivity, low
remuneration, poor working conditions, and the lack of
legal and social protection. This concept should be
differentiated from ‘flexible’, ‘precarious’ or ‘casual’
employment, such as part-time or short-term (in terms of
contractual status) employment undertaken in the formal
sector, which can provide some legal or social protection, if
not as fully as regular full-time employment. ‘Vulnerable
employment’ is also used for keeping track of the overall
working poverty levels in the UN’s 2010 MDG reports. See
2010 MGC Report found (New York) at:

26. Ibid, p. 54, Table A12a.
27. Vulnerably employment is typically characterised by informality and decent work deficits - lack of social protection, rights at work, and of representation.
29. United Nations: World survey on role in women development: Women’s control over economic resources and access to financial resources, including microcredit (New York, 2009).
31. Ibid.
32. In Tanzania and Benin, women work 14–17 hours more than men per week. See Fontana, Marzia with Paciello, Cristina. Gender dimensions of rural and agricultural employment: differentiated pathways out of poverty – a global perspective, draft report for the FAO-IFAD-ILO workshop (FAO, Rome, August 2009).
33. See UNIFEM’s website on Gender Responsive Budgeting (http://www.gender-budgets.org/).
34. The ILO also has developed a programme called Training for Rural Economic Empowerment (TREE), in which an increasing number of women are assisted.
36. The ILO has provided support countries through a rapid impact assessment, technical advice on a comprehensive employment strategy, and in Cambodia, also through the Better Work Programme.
40. UNIFEM’s website (http://www.unifem.org/).

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