Persistent Gender Inequality in the World of Work

Jeni Klugman, Henriette Kolb, and Matthew Morton

THE PERSISTENT PUZZLE OF GENDER EQUALITY

Today, many more girls are going to school and living longer, healthier lives than thirty, or even ten, years ago. Yet this has not translated sufficiently into broader gains in economic opportunities. Too many women still lack basic freedoms and opportunities and face huge inequalities in the world of work. Globally, fewer than half of women have jobs, compared with almost four-fifths of men. Girls and women still learn less, earn less, and have far fewer assets and opportunities. When women do work, they

Jeni Klugman is the Director of Gender and Development at the World Bank Group. She serves on several advisory boards, including that of the World Economic Forum on Sustainability and Competitiveness. She was the director and lead author of three global Human Development Reports published by the United Nations Development Programme. She holds a Ph.D. in Economics from the Australian National University, as well as postgraduate degrees in both Law and Development Economics from Oxford University, where she was a Rhodes Scholar. Matthew Morton is an economist at the World Bank, where he works on social protection, jobs, and gender and development issues. Before joining the Bank, he received a B.A. in Political Science from Stetson University and a M.Sc. and D.Phil. in evidence-based social intervention from the University of Oxford. Henriette Kolb is Head of the Gender Secretariat at the International Finance Corporation. Prior to joining IFC, Henriette was the Chief Executive of the Cherie Blair Foundation for Women. She also served as a sub-committee member of Secretary Hillary Clinton’s International Council on Women’s Business Leadership. Henriette previously served as the UN Representative advising Quartet Representative Tony Blair in Jerusalem. She holds an M.Sc. in Development Studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies in London and received her M.A. from Freiburg University, Germany. The views expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not reflect the views of the World Bank Group.
farm smaller plots, work in less profitable sectors, and face discriminatory laws and norms that constrain their time and choices. They are also limited in their ability to own or inherit property, open a bank account, access technology, or take out a loan—to buy fertilizer, for example, which would boost food production. To close these gaps, we need to examine existing constraints and understand the policies and practices that can bring about gender equality in the world of work.

Gender equality in the world of work does not suggest that all women should participate in the workforce instead of staying home to take care of the house, children, or elderly family members. Rather, it signifies that women and men should have an equal range of choices. It also means that they should have the ability to make choices and act upon them—in other words, they should have ‘agency.’ Jobs are an essential part of agency, as they can expand women’s life choices, these might include leaving an abusive relationship, better supporting their families and facilitating more active participation in their communities and wider societies. But what do we mean by ‘jobs’? This is broadly defined to include various forms of wage and non-wage work in both formal and informal settings. Jobs can range from running a small, unregistered household enterprise in Dhaka to working in subsistence farming in northern Kenya. In developing countries, these types of jobs account for the vast majority of economic activities, particularly for women.

So where do we stand? A new World Bank publication, “Gender at Work,” finds sizeable, persistent gender gaps at work around the world, and advances our understanding of key trends, patterns, and constraints that underlie these inequities. Some of the report’s findings may be surprising. In the last two decades, female labor force participation has, fallen slightly, from 57 to 55 percent. Regional patterns vary; for example, sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean have witnessed increased female participation, while, it has declined in South Asia, especially in India, since 2005. Some of the recent decline in female labor force participation in India may reflect urbanization, as women in rural communities often participate in subsistence farming.
These trends may also be attributable to the U-shaped curve in women’s labor force participation identified by Goldin and others. At very low levels of development, women tend to be highly active in low-skilled work as secondary earners; as GDP increases, they may withdraw from the labor force given high stigma and barriers to work and less necessity for women’s subsistence-based jobs; and as societies develop further, with women’s higher levels of education and more complex, urbanized economies, women’s economic activity may again rise. But this pattern is characterized by significant variation, suggesting that broader social, cultural, and political barriers can continue to thwart women’s labor supply despite increased levels of education and development. In Qatar, for example, a high-income country, there are more than five women enrolled in higher education for every man, yet there are twice as many men as women in the labor force. Indeed, in India, from 2005 to 2011, female labor force participation (among those aged 15 to 64) declined by nine percentage points. During the same period, gross female school enrollment increased by sixteen percentage points for secondary education and eleven percentage points for tertiary education. Participation gains in school may also be somewhat misleading, as significant education segregation persists in many countries. As “Gender at Work” underscored, women are frequently concentrated in disciplines such as arts, humanities, and human services, which are often associated with less pay and fewer jobs than science, technology, engineering, and mathematics-related disciplines, which are more typically dominated by men. Some forecasts suggest that women’s labor force participation in India will rebound once the country begins to reap the dividends of increased education, but this is yet to be seen.

Gender gaps in labor force participation exist across all regions and age groups. In all regions (except Europe and Central Asia), the largest widening in gaps took place in the 15 to 24 and 25 to 34 age groups, with the onset of childcare responsibilities. Additionally, in most regions, the largest gender gaps are found between men and women over fifty-five years, suggesting that women leave the workforce earlier, probably due to care commitments in societies with ageing populations. In China, for example, age differentiations in retirement and pension laws result in women leaving the workforce earlier.

The report notes two paradoxes that surround equality at work. First, economic growth does not guarantee gender equality. Jobs tend to improve with development and gender inequality is sometimes viewed as a symptom of low development. Consequently, it is often assumed that if policymakers focus on economic growth, gender equality will inevitably
follow. Showing wide heterogeneity in the relationship between economic development and equality, Figure 1 plots GDP per capita against the World Economic Forum’s Gender Gaps in Economic Participation and Opportunity sub-index, a composite measure of inequality in outcomes related to labor force participation, wages, earned income, and presence in high-level professional jobs (with zero representing total inequality). Several high-income countries, including Japan, Kuwait, and Qatar, have high levels of gender inequality; among countries with low GDP per capita, the size of the gender gaps vary considerably. Both Lesotho and Pakistan, for example, have a per capita GDP of approximately USD 1,200, yet, Pakistan fares much worse on equality of economic opportunities. Duflo (2011) investigates the relationship between women’s empowerment and economic growth and found that, while these factors are closely correlated, the connections between them are too weak to expect that changes in one will bring about shifts in the other. Kabeer and Natali (2013) found that improvements in gender equality, especially in education and employment status, contribute substantially to economic growth, but evidence regarding the effects of economic growth on gender equality was less consistent.

Figure 1: Countries range widely in the extent of gender gaps in economic opportunities despite levels of per capita GDP

Source: Hausmann et al. 2013 (y-axis data) and World Development Indicators (x-axis, latest year available [2011-12]).

The relationship between education and gender equality presents another paradox. Advances in education for females do not automati-
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Figure 2: In the Middle East and North Africa, little improvement in female labor force participation, despite gains in schooling

Source: World Development Indicators
MULTIDIMENSIONAL GAPS IN THE WORLD OF WORK

It is important to underscore that labor force participation is but one dimension of gender inequality in the world of work. Other gaps, such as differences in earnings and job quality, also affect well-being, agency, and further economic opportunities. In some cases, a narrow focus on labor force participation can even be misleading. In Tanzania and Rwanda, for example, women participate in the labor force at a rate of almost 90 percent. Much of this work, however, is subsistence-based and lacks basic protections for those dependent upon this type of activity.16 Figure 3 illustrates the importance of a multidimensional perspective. It captures the ten most populous countries for which we have data, representing one-third of the world’s population. In these countries, women are less likely to participate in the labor force and they earn less than men. In all but Brazil, working women are less likely than working men to be employed in wage jobs. Notably, in Turkey, gender wage gaps appear small; however, there are large inequalities in labor force participation and employment in wage jobs, thus, underscoring the importance of a multidimensional approach.17

Figure 3: A multidimensional perspective of gender equality in the world of work is needed

Source: World Development Indicators and WDR 2013 statistical annex (for wage gaps, except for Mexico, which comes from UN Statistics).

Gender gaps at work arise in multiple forms and for multiple reasons; sorting is one of these determinants. Women and men sort into different types of economic activities, including varying occupations, sectors, industries, and types of firms. In wage labor, men tend to dominate manufac-
turing, construction, transport, and communications, while women are concentrated in education, health, and social work. Differences in education, training, preferences for job security, and the need for flexible working hours help to explain this segregation. Gender stereotyping also plays a role. According to the International Labor Organization (ILO), as compared to men, women’s employment is more heavily concentrated in occupations such as clerks, service workers, and retail sales employees in both developed and developing countries. Meanwhile, men dominate jobs in plant and machine operations, crafts, as well as managerial and legislative occupations.18

It is well known that women are underrepresented in science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) fields. Of the eighty-four countries with available data, men constitute the majority of graduates in engineering, construction, and manufacturing in almost all of them. Mongolia, Uruguay, and Brunei Darussalam are the closest to gender parity, which refers to having equal participation for males and females in education.19 Gender inequality also persists in the field of information and communication technology (ICT). In Jordan, women’s share of the ICT workforce stands at less than one-third, and in South Africa, Sri Lanka, and the United Kingdom, this share is only 20 percent.20

Women consistently earn less than men for doing the same jobs, with no country achieving gender parity on this issue.21 Evidence from eighty-three countries shows that, on average, women in paid work earn 10 to 30 percent less than men.22 Further, most of the pay gap in wage work is due to differing jobs and hours. For example, the ILO documents substantial differences in earnings between male- and female-dominated sectors.23 Even when controlling for industry and occupation, women earn less than men. In Chile, for example, women earned 86 percent of what men earned, and in Pakistan, this share stood at 36 percent (2010 figures).24 Unfortunately, earlier progress in reducing gender pay gaps on average appears to have stagnated over the last decade across forty-three countries for which data exists.25 The reasons for this change of trend are unclear.

Gender wage gaps are, in large part, traced to gender sorting into different types of jobs and industries as previously mentioned. Women’s jobs are more likely to be part-time when compared to men as seen in

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Figure 4. While this form of work can increase flexibility and help to bring women into the workforce, it also provides fewer benefits and protections, limits career mobility, and involves lower earnings. These disparities are also evident in the informal sector, where the gender wage gap is actually larger. Women are largely concentrated in “invisible” activities, such as unpaid care work, which includes domestic work, such as meal preparation, cleaning and water collection, as well as the direct care of children, the elderly, and persons with disabilities. Recent data indicate that 27 percent of all female wagemakers in Latin America and the Caribbean, and 14 percent in Africa, are domestic workers. Many of these workers are not covered by labor laws, including those guaranteeing maximum weekly working hours, minimum wages, and maternity leave. Furthermore, it is estimated that women account for 58 percent of all unpaid contributing family work. South Asia exhibits the largest unpaid contributing family worker gap, with 51 percent of women doing unpaid work in the home, compared to 14 percent of men. It is essential to note, however, that despite more pronounced inequalities, the informal sector also serves as an engine for job creation in many economies, for both women and men. This reality necessitates a nuanced approach that can address vulnerabilities without restricting access to this channel of livelihoods.

**Figure 4: Women’s employment is more likely to be part-time**


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UNDERLYING CONSTRAINTS TO INEQUALITY

Social norms and overlapping disadvantages throughout the lifecycle contribute to the persistence and prevalence of gender gaps in the world of work. “Social norms,” defined as widely held beliefs by a group or society concerning what people should and should not do, can be held at multiple levels, including the individual, community, school, workplace and society.\(^35\) These norms interact with attitudes and behaviors at the individual and household levels, and they are a key factor underlying deprivations and constraints throughout the lifecycle. “Biased gender norms” set different expectations of what women and men or girls and boys can and should do. They can dictate time use, limit aspirations, and influence behavior due to the social exclusion that can occur because of deviations.\(^36\) Some norms, especially those related to gender roles, are rooted in cultural heritage and are particularly “sticky.”\(^37\) This “stickiness” helps to explain the pervasiveness of gender inequality at work. Yet, despite their “stickiness,” norms are not static. Dramatic changes are possible. For example, in the 1930s in the United States, fewer than 20 percent of people supported the idea of wives working if their husbands could support them; by the late 1990s, this figure increased to over 80 percent.\(^38\)

Market and institutional failures can also limit women’s opportunities in the world of work. When employers have imperfect information about workers’ skills and abilities, they make inferences based on observable characteristics, such as gender or race.\(^39\) Women are often on the losing end of these inferences. People have been shown to have a higher propensity to negatively evaluate women in several settings, including a well-known case of auditions for orchestras. Previously, the musical director handpicked the members of orchestras in the United States. Despite all candidates auditioning, most of the contenders were male students. In the 1970s and 1980s, major orchestras tried to overcome this bias by advertising positions more widely, and although this helped to democratize the process, it did not eliminate the bias. Among other measures, some orchestras used physical screens designed to hide the identity of the candidate. Researchers found that these increased the probability that a woman would advance from preliminary rounds by 50 percent, and substantially increased the probability that the winner in the final round would be a woman.\(^40\)

Overlapping disadvantages throughout the lifecycle contribute to the persistence of gender inequality in the world of work. Overlapping disadvantages refer to the systematic exclusion that many people face as a result of multiple inequalities that limit their life chances.\(^41\) These are often
associated with compounding factors such as gender, age, income, sexual orientation, ethnicity and race. Women often face multiple constraints to their agency at once, and this affects both women who are and are not in the labor force. The Venn diagram depicted in Figure 5 highlights the challenges visually, using Demographic and Health Surveys Program (DHS) data from fifty-four countries. When looking at whether women tolerate domestic violence, their ability to control household spending, and early marriage—all indicators of agency—45 percent of women experience two constraints or more, and 13 percent experience all three. These are all manifestations of gender inequality and the adverse repercussions associated with constrained agency. In the case of gender-based violence, the repercussions are manifold. In addition to damages to health, violence also reduces women’s economic opportunities. In Nagpur, India, for example, women had to forgo seven days of paid work, on average, as a result of a violent episode.  

*Figure 5: Overlapping constraints in fifty-four countries*

These deprivations are compounded by marginalized identities. Another World Bank report, “Inclusion Matters,” illustrates these intersecting axes of exclusion. An individual who is female, lives in poverty, and belongs to an indigenous community is likely to face a greater burden of overlapping disadvantages than an individual who only has one of these characteristics. In Guatemala, the gender gap in illiteracy is four times higher among the indigenous population than for the “ladino” population. A recent multi-country
analysis of census data in Latin American and African countries shows that the interaction between being female and belonging to a minority group (defined as native speakers of a minority language within the country) has a compounding effect on educational attainment.\textsuperscript{44} Poverty is perhaps one of the most pervasive axes of exclusion that compounds gender disadvantage. Research in rural India has found that parents express a desire to educate their sons and daughters equally, but favor sons when resource constraints require choices.\textsuperscript{45} In other words, while norms may favor boys’ education in many settings, a family’s circumstances determine whether the norm translates to outcomes. When households can afford for male and female children to receive equal education, pro-male biases may exist without causing differential access to education. When economic stress or shocks influence household’s decision making, however, families are more likely to act on male prioritization by withholding girls from school or reserving resources for boys to attend fee-based private schools, while girls attend public schools often associated with lower educational quality. In other words, the interactions between economic and social-cultural factors can be important.

Legal restrictions also frequently limit women’s access to economic opportunities. The extent of legal discrimination varies across regions and is most common in the Middle East and North Africa, South Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa (as shown in Figure 6). As the World Bank and International Finance Corporation’s (IFC) 2014 study, Women, Business and the Law (WBL), demonstrates, formal barriers can restrict a woman’s ability to access institutions, own or use property, build credit, or get a job. Of the 143 economies studied in 2013, 128 had at least one legal difference, and the number of differences exceeds ten in twenty-seven of these economies. When exploring restrictions on women’s work, women who are not pregnant or nursing are prohibited working in several occupations. For example, in the Russian Federation, women are barred from 456 types of jobs, including freight train conductor, bulldozer machinist, and mining rig operator.\textsuperscript{46} In economies with higher numbers of legal gender differences,
women are less likely to participate in the labor force, own businesses, or serve in management.\textsuperscript{47}

\textit{Figure 6: Percentage of countries with different numbers of sex-based legal differentiations by regions, and regional average numbers of legal differences}

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td>East Asia &amp; Pacific</td>
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<tr>
<td>Europe &amp; Central Asia</td>
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<tr>
<td>High-Income OECD</td>
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<td>Latin America &amp; Caribbean</td>
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<td>Middle East &amp; North Africa</td>
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<td>South Asia</td>
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<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
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Number of legal differentiations: 0, 0< # <3, 3 ≤ # <5, 5 ≤ # <10, ≥10


\textbf{Multi-Sectoral Solutions to Address Jobs Challenges}

Given the sizeable and multiple challenges to gender equality in the world of work, how can we surmount them? While there are no ‘magic formulas,’ effectively tackling gender inequality at work is likely to be an integral part of addressing a country’s jobs challenges. Overcoming gender inequality involves understanding local contexts and developing bold, coordinated actions to address multiple constraints. It requires investments in people’s skills and capabilities and support for their abilities to contribute to higher productivity activities and economy-wide competitiveness over their lifecycles.

\textit{In economies with higher numbers of legal gender differences, women are less likely to participate in the labor force, own businesses, or serve in management}

Leveling the playing field through government policies is one important element needed to address gender inequality at work. Here in particular, a lifecycle approach is required. Biases can begin very early in life, sometimes in subtle ways, and early biases can start trajectories of inequality that become increasingly difficult and costly to resolve. Policy actions across the lifecycle to advance gender
equality in the world of work will typically include broad-based actions that both impact women’s economic opportunities and deliver public benefits, as well as targeted actions to remove or offset gender-specific constraints.

During childhood and youth, policy actions can tackle inequalities through education and training. A growing body of evidence demonstrates the value of conditional cash transfers, with special incentives around girls’ educational outcomes as a demand-side tool for boosting equality in schooling. Examples of supply-side strategies that have shown positive results by addressing gender-specific constraints include increasing the proximity of schools to homes in Afghanistan and building “girl-friendly” schools in Burkina Faso that improve facilities and incentives for girls’ education while engaging parents and teachers. Education systems can also challenge stereotypes through curricula. Tanzania’s education system, for instance, includes substantial gender-related material in its secondary school civics curriculum. Multi-component skills development programs can also make a difference. In Liberia, a World Bank-supported youth employment program with gender-sensitive features that provided vocational and life skills training and job placement support boosted young women’s employment by 47 percent and average weekly earnings by 80 percent.50

For women of working age, actions can focus on removing legal and formal barriers to getting paid work. Reforms should focus on removing restrictions to women’s work in labor and employment; removing unequal status provisions, such as head-of-household provisions, in family law; allowing and encouraging women’s ownership and joint-titling of land; enforcing equitable inheritance laws; and applying nondiscrimination principles to customary laws. Most countries have made significant progress toward more equitable laws over recent decades, but there has been less progress in some regions, notably in the Middle East and North Africa and in South Asia.

Targeted policies can address less visible constraints. Time is a critical one. The appropriate policy approach depends on the extent to which women’s work is concentrated in formal versus informal employment and the specific demands that consume women’s time in a particular country context. Strategies can include establishing family-friendly leave and flexibility policies, extending affordable childcare and early child development programs, and promoting technology and infrastructure developments.
to reduce burdens on women’s time for household chores and care work. The World Bank estimates that adding one year of preschool education in Turkey, for example, could increase female labor force participation by nine percent. Father-friendly leave policies in the UK and Nordic countries have also strengthened opportunities and incentives for men to share in domestic responsibilities. A World Bank-supported program in Cambodia reduced women’s time devoted to collecting firewood and increased their incomes by selling low-cost, fuel-efficient cook stoves through local female vendors.

During elderly years, governments can support equitable old-age labor regulations combined with appropriate social protection. The importance of this demographic cannot be ignored. In developing countries, the old age dependency ratio is expected to increase by 144 percent between 2010 and 2050, whereas the child dependency ratio is projected to fall by 20 percent during the same period. This translates to increased elderly care responsibilities, most of which will likely fall on working aged women, as well as potential challenges for elderly people themselves. Many governments have removed gender differences in retirement and pension ages, but gaps remain in forty-nine countries. World Bank analysis showed that mandatory earlier retirement causes early labor force withdrawal of urban women in China. Women in the formal sector face mandatory retirement at age fifty in blue-collar occupations and at age fifty-five in white-collar jobs. In developing countries, many elderly women are outside the scope of formal social protection, although studies in Brazil and South Africa have shown that pensions received by elderly women significantly increased granddaughters’ education and health. More policy experimentation is needed on interventions for updating older women’s and men’s skills and increasing connections to the labor market.

Government actions alone, however, will not be sufficient. The private sector accounts for nine out of ten jobs in the developing world, primarily as self-employment; therefore promoting proactive private sector leadership is a critical part of addressing the jobs challenge.
and by helping women entrepreneurs’ grow their business and gain access to financial services. In fact, forward-looking companies increasingly recognize that this is not only the right thing to do, it is also good for the bottom line. A recent IFC report highlights how investing in women’s employment can bring dramatic benefits to both women and businesses. Programs that improve work-life balance for women and men, such as childcare support, health services, and alternative work arrangements, can ameliorate the time constraints women face due to domestic and childcare responsibilities. These relatively low-cost measures can dramatically reduce staff turnover and absenteeism through increased employee satisfaction. Nalt Enterprise, a Vietnamese garment factory, reduced staff turnover by one third by offering an on-site kindergarten and health services for its primarily female workforce.

Companies can also do more to counteract the occupational segregation that occurs, in part, due to different educational streams and variations in aspirations. Increasing women’s access to traditionally male-dominated sectors—such as chemicals, construction, and mining—which tend to be more productive and higher paying, is one such example. Some examples of successful interventions include: publicizing training and job opportunities for women through active community outreach, ensuring that job advertisements make it clear that women and men can apply, installing female restrooms and other women-only facilities, and setting numerical targets for the inclusion of women in recruitment and selection.

Private sector actors can also reduce barriers to women’s entry into management and non-traditional roles by providing targeted training and skills development. This, in turn, gives businesses a competitive advantage by expanding the pool of job candidates and ensuring that women are part of the “talent pipeline.” Inclusive recruitment policies have helped Odebrecht, a global construction and engineering firm, to expand its pool of job candidates and increase the quality of its workforce. It has achieved this by strongly encouraging local men and women to apply for its pre-hire skills training program, even though construction is often considered a “man’s job.” As a consequence, women represent up to 10 percent of workers on Odebrecht’s sites, compared to a national industry average of 3 to 5 percent. Site managers attest that new women recruits have improved productivity and teamwork, while for women in the local community; it is a welcome opportunity to learn new skills and earn higher salaries.

Improving women’s access to financial services is a central part of improving gender equality in the world of work. In this regard, commercial banks have an important role to play, particularly in banking women entrepreneurs. Worldwide, women own one third of small and medium enter-
prises (SMEs), which are top drivers of job creation in emerging markets, although evidence suggests that only 6 percent of the SME banking portfolio is allocated to women. Overall, women face a global credit gap of between USD 260 and 320 billion. And according to the World Bank Group’s “Global Financial Development Report 2014: Financial Inclusion,” women in developing economies are 20 percent less likely than men to have a bank account, even though they make 80 percent of consumer goods purchasing decisions. Without financial access, women are at a disadvantage when it comes to growing their businesses, which in turn denies economies jobs and tax revenue.

The World Bank Group is helping to make headway in addressing women’s access-to-finance needs by producing evidence-based policy advice for governments, working with regulators, engaging directly with banks to better serve women, and providing capacity-building training to women entrepreneurs. In addition, the IFC recently started the first women’s bond program, raising around USD 165 million to increase access to finance for women-owned businesses. The program is part of the IFC’s Banking on Women initiative, which was created in 2010 to encourage development partners and financial institutions to profitably and sustainably serve women-owned businesses.

These types of programs help increase the number of women with financial power and raise awareness about the challenges women entrepreneurs face. Financial service providers can improve access for women business owners by changing or reducing the burden of collateral requirements, developing adequate products, linking women to mentorship and networking opportunities, providing business training and financial education, and expanding financial service delivery through mobile phones.

Global action is needed to help fill knowledge gaps about the problems of, and solutions to, gender inequality in the world of work. This involves addressing data gaps in such areas as earnings disparities, control over assets, and gender-based violence in homes and workplaces. But it also means contributing to stronger evidence on what works for increasing gender equality in the world of work. The World Bank recently launched enGENDER IMPACT, a gateway to its gender-related impact evaluations. This effort complements gender innovation and evaluation initiatives taking place in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean, and efforts by the IFC to highlight good business practices.

To address constraints to gender equality at work over the lifecycle, a multipronged approach that engages a range of actors is needed. Eliminating legal discrimination and improving public service delivery to
meet gender-specific needs are key starting points. Moreover, as the largest source of jobs, the private sector must be engaged in order to improve gender equality in the world of work. The agenda is challenging but the costs of inaction are too great to ignore.

The authors gratefully acknowledge Alicia Hammond for her excellent support on this article.

ENDNOTES

6 World Development Indicators, 2011 data.
16 World Development Indicators, World Bank.


26 Gender at Work team’s calculations based on UN Statistics Division, <unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/indwm>.


33 “Unpaid family worker: usually a person who works without pay in an economic enterprise operated by a related person living in the same household. Where it is customary for young persons, in particular, to work without pay in an economic enterprise operated by a related person who does not live in the same household, the requirement of “living in the same household” may be eliminated. If there are a significant number of unpaid family workers in enterprises of which the operators are members of a producers’ cooperative who are classified in
category (e), these unpaid family workers should be classified in a separate subgroup.” ILO, “International Classification by Status in Employment (ICSE),” <laborsta.ilo.org/applv8/data/icsee.html>.


42 Ibid.


51 World Bank, “Programmatic Concept Note: Turkey: Women’s Access to Economic
Opportunities in Turkey Trust Fund (P146215),” Supplementary Description, 2013.
52 World Bank, “Building on Tradition as the Way to Women’s Empowerment in Cambodia,” East Asia and Pacific Region Social Development Notes, 2009.
56 Ibid.