

GENDER DYNAMICS IN EMPLOYMENT AND LABOUR FORCE TRENDS IN SOUTH AFRICA

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—Abstract —

Culture, tradition, norms and stereotypes have always contributed to the gender division of labour. Women often assume much more of the household and care responsibilities which inhibit their ability and opportunity to participate in the labour market. The fact is that career and family decisions coincide in terms of timing call for systems which would allow a concordant time investment in both market work and nonmarket activities. The aim of this paper is to provide facts through a gender-based comparative analysis of the information on labour force, employment, and unemployment trends in South Africa, covering the period from 2010 to 2016. The paper analyses secondary data collected from the South African Quarterly Labour Force Survey covering the period from 2010 to 2016. The analysis of data is descriptive in nature. The results revealed that women were more likely than men to be unemployed or underemployed. Women's share of the total informal workforce is higher than men's share and they (women) are more likely to do unpaid household than men. The gender gap in employment, occupation and sector translates into limited access to employment-related social protection among females. Efforts need to be made in enabling environment towards women's economic empowerment, through the expansion and improvement of the infrastructure for care services.

Key words: Employment, unemployment, labour market, South Africa, Gender dynamics

JEL: J21, J22, J24

1. INTRODUCTION

Globally, the probability for women to join the labour market is estimated at 27 percentage points lower than those for men (International Labour Organisation, 2016). Women's lower participation rates relate to fewer employment opportunities, which negatively affect women's earning capacity and economic security. Hess (2018) reported that Cumberbatch stated that "equal pay and a place at the table are the central tenets of feminism". He further stated that looking at your quotas, ask what women are being paid. Lastly, the actor voiced out that "if my female co-star is not paid the same as the male co-star (referring to himself), therefore, he is not taking the role". The gender wage gap is estimated to be 23%; in other words, women earn 77% less of what men earn (UN Women, 2017). These gaps cannot only be described based on the differences in education or age, however, they are related to the underestimation of the women's work and capacities required. Women also face discrimination and career disruptions related to household care tasks (Levendale, 2017). The author further advocates that in both developed and developing countries, women continue to carry out the enormous household unpaid work which results in fewer hours for paid employment. On average, women carry out at least two and a half times more unpaid household duties than men (Levendale, 2017). Therefore, this suggests that one of the main objectives of development strategy should be to maximise the women integration in the economy.

In South Africa, Levendale (2017) claims that a sizeable segment of the population is considered as out of labour force. Women constitute around 51% of the working age population (15-64 years), but only 45% of women are employed within the formal labour force. The Research Brief on Gender and Equality in South Africa (2013-2017) states that South Africa remains one of the most unequal countries in the world and women have historically been marginalised and regarded as unequal compared to their male counterparts. Cultural and social practices continue to be blamed for these structural gender divisions. South Africa has taken great strides in terms of policy and legislative frameworks to address the structural or systemic

inequalities, however, these seemingly cement the existing inequalities (Research Brief, 2013-2017). When government designs and implements policies, it is important to acknowledge the labour market hindrances that women experience via the equity challenge and to take into account explicit employment growth targets for women.

The aim of this paper is to analyse facts on employment, labour force and unemployment trends in South Africa, covering the period from 2010 to 2016, through a gender based comparative analysis. This will reinforce existing information on labour market trends and gender dynamics in order to sensitise stakeholders and the public in general. The engagement will foster insight around gender dynamics in the labour market and assist in devising accurate policies and strategies. This paper starts with a discussion on the background of the study and the conceptual framework. This is followed by an explanation on the source of data and the methodology utilised. The paper further presents and discusses the results, with the last part providing the concluding remarks.

2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

South Africa has one of the most interesting labour markets in the world. Its sharp segmentation, high unemployment (26.7% in 2018 first quarter) and low non-farm informal sector employment make it an international outlier (Kingdon & Knight, 2007 & STATS SA, 2018). Despite high rate of unemployment noted in South Africa, there has been a dramatic increase in labour force participation of both men and women in South Africa since the mid-1990s. Beukes *et al.* (2017) complain that the policies around job creation tend to focus on the quantitative aspect, or on the number of jobs created, with little attention given to the capacity of labour which relates to utilisation of skills and qualifications in employment opportunities created. Female employment has largely been concentrated in the informal sector, where income is low and they dominate in employment that offers less job security and where benefits are non-existent. In the political arena, however, large increases in the number of parliamentary seats occupied by women (45%) have been noted and South Africa has

been identified as one of the countries with the highest proportion of female members of parliament. Yet, women remain under-represented in senior management positions in the private sector, with only 13% of women on the boards of listed companies (OECD, 2012). What aggravates the situation is the issue of persistent gender wage differential which exists in the formal South African labour market (Casale, 2004; Levendale, 2017).

Historically, culture, tradition, mindsets, norms and stereotypes have always contributed to the gender division of labour. Women are generally in charge of reproductive role which involves performance of household duties and caring for children, the disabled and elderly in the household (Evandrou & Glaser, 2003; ILO, 2016). Women work fewer hours or cease working to carry out household activities which are unpaid for (Evandrou & Glaser, 2003; Levendale, 2017). These responsibilities limit the opportunities for women to climb the job ladder, develop and improve their skills and accumulate assets. Women's jobs continue to be mostly in the informal sector and part-time work and are described in four Cs: caring, cleaning, catering and cash registers, which pay less or involve 'payment in kind' (Chen *et al.*, 2005; World Bank, 2005; ILO, 2016).

For women who work part-time, motherhood is frequently a problem trigger of poverty as they get paid only when they work. Women generally accept underpaying jobs with flexible working hours fully aware of the consequences, as this allows them to fulfil their traditional tasks of taking care of their homes (Bellamy & Rake, 2005; ILO, 2016). Most of these part-time jobs are frequently insecure, with low status, low occupational benefits and inadequate protection. Unlike other factors of production (i.e. capital and land), labour cannot be saved and used later. If labour is not used when it is available, it is lost forever. Yet, despite the advantages to be gained from employing women at their capacities, women continue to be underutilised. This underutilisation of women in the labour force results in a waste of valuable resources as women could make a large contribution to productivity and the economic prospects of a society.

The Human Science Policy Brief (2016) asserts that gender disparities in the South African labour market remain a festering problem and

gender equality remains a far-fetched dream for the majority of women, despite notable and significant strides in economic and social development. The gender employment gap is defined as the difference between the employment rate of men and women in which the gap seems to be wider with the majority of one group remaining outside the labour market (Eurofound, 2016). In most cases, the majority of women tend to remain outside the job market and the reality is that they are more likely to be unemployed and/or underemployed than their male counterparts. The Eurofound (2016) further asserts that women tend to be disadvantaged in the type of employment they engage in.

A person is considered unemployed if not working, currently available for work and seeking work (Byrne & Strobl, 2004). However, the rate of unemployment is in theory straightforward, but difficult in practice. Byrne and Strobl (2004) argue that the unemployment rate can only be determined if the category or subgroup to which the unemployed people belong, is considered. An emerging group of the unemployed, those who have given up looking for work, are not considered in the definition, and Bhorat and Khan (2018) refer to the group as the non-searching unemployed who are discouraged and remain unabsorbed by the labour force.

Despite the observed consistent inability of the economy to generate a sufficient number of jobs to fight higher levels of unemployment in the country, an increase in employment rates is noted (Festus, *et al*, 2015). The female share of employment has substantially increased from 39.1% in 1995 to 43.9% in 2013 (Festus, *et al.*, 2015). However, this assertion about the increase in female employment has raised questions on labour market issues around female employment such as underemployment and the type of employment (productive or unproductive) females tend to engage in.

The concept of underemployment is complex in nature because the different type of underemployment exists. The definition may be determined by the context, sector, time and other aspects such as possession of skills and experience. Beukes *et al.* (2017) defines underemployment as a situation reflecting over-qualification or underutilisation of the productive capacity of the employed

population. The time-based or time-related approach used in the paper refers to the type of underemployment characterised by a situation where the skills and experience are under-utilised because workers are forced to work for a few hours. This implies that the workers are not given the opportunity to utilise their productive abilities in full. Underemployment amongst women manifests itself in various forms such as over-qualification and under-qualification. Women may possess skills and experience required but may not be given recognition deserved due to gender inequality and other socio-cultural aspects. Furthermore, underemployment may be due to under-qualification which translates to lack of skills required for the job, a major force which drives women to be absorbed in casual or seasonal employment. Gender differentiation with reference to access to education generally informs the latter where lack of investment in education is deliberate for women in most households, particularly where it is believed that investment in education is tantamount to waste of resources. Better labour market outcomes guaranteed by investment in education are non-existent and not considered, which relegates women to underemployment.

3. METHODOLOGY

The paper analyses secondary data selected from the South African Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) covering the period from 2010 to 2016 based on second-quarter (Q2) results. The QLFS is a household-based sample survey conducted by Statistics South Africa. The data were obtained from the labour market activities of individuals aged 15 years or older who live in South Africa. The year 2010 has marked the recovery of international crisis and during economic crises women lose more employment in percentage terms than men (Braunstein & Heintz, 2006). Hence, the inclusion of year 2008 and 2009 would have an impact on analysis and results of the paper. The economic crisis affects the labour market. The analysis of data is descriptive in nature. Quantitative data gathered is summarised and described using tables.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Labour force characteristics

The world made collective commitments to reduce the gender gap in labour force and agreed on a set of key principles to improve the quality of women's employment. These commitments are in line with the goal number 8 of the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which is devoted to promoting sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth, full and productive employment and decent work for all. Particularly, through SDG target 8.5, the world committed to achieving full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value by 2030. Despite some progress in recent years, the gender gaps in labour market participation remains large in South Africa. Table 1 depicts the information regarding labour force characteristics by sex based on strict definition of unemployment.

Table 1: Labour force characteristics by sex based on strict definition of unemployment (2008 Q2-2016 Q2)

Labour force characteristics	2010		2016		Gender gap (%)	
	F (%)	M (%)	F (%)	M (%)	2010	2016
Working age (15-64 years)	51.2	48.8	50.6	49.4	-2.4	-1.2
Labour Force participation	48.8	63.7	51.4	64.5	14.9	13.1
Employed	72.6	76.8	70.9	75.4	4.2	4.5
Formal sector (non-agriculture)	63.6	74.1	67.9	72.1	10.5	4.2
Informal sector (non-agriculture)	16.3	16.8	14.2	17.6	0.5	3.4
Agriculture	3.7	5.5	3.5	6.7	1.8	3.2
Private households	16.4	3.5	14.5	3.6	-12.9	-10.9
Unemployment rate	27.4	23.2	29.1	24.6	-4.2	-4.5
Not economically active	51.2	36.3	48.6	35.5	-14.9	-13.1
Discouraged work-seeker	6.4	5.5	7.4	6.4	-0.9	-1.0
Other (not economically active)	44.8	30.9	41.2	29.1	-13.9	-12.1

Source: QLFS 2010-2016 (Statistics SA); Own Calculations

The labour force participation of both females and males has slightly increased from 2010 to 2016. There are higher rates of female working age population compared to their male counterparts, but female labour force participation remains lesser. In 2010, the gender gap in labour participation has been very high (14.9 %) and, it has slightly decreased to 13.1% in 2016. This emphasises the fact that women often assume much more of the household and care

responsibilities which inhibit their ability and opportunity to participate in labour market. Table 1 indicates that women are more likely to be discouraged work-seekers and not economically active than men.

The labour force participation of females slightly increased between 2010 and 2016 from 48.8% to 51.4%, and male participation from 63.7% to 64.5%. The rate of employment for females, however, decreased from 72.6% to 70.9% from 2010 to 2016. The corresponding estimates for males are 76.8% and 75.4% respectively. This drop in employment might be attributed to the fact that labour force participation increased to a greater extent than its demand and as a result, women are overrepresented among the unemployed. Notwithstanding the slight decrease in the proportion of both females and males employed in 2010 compared to 2016, the gender gap in employment is consistently substantial (4.2 % in 2010 to 4.5% in 2016). Both male and female unemployment rate increased between 2010 and 2016, with women being less employed. Between 2010 and 2016 the national unemployment rate has also been increasing from 25.1% to 26.6% but the female employment is higher and increased at a higher ratio (27.4% & 29.1% respectively) than the national average.

The formal sector outside of agriculture is a larger source of work for males than for females. From 2010 to 2016, the gender gap in formal sector employment shows a declining tendency and it has narrowed from 10.5% in 2010 to 4.2% in 2016. Women's share of the total informal workforce outside of agriculture (informal sector non-agriculture and private households) is higher than men's share

4.2. Gender difference in employment occupation

Occupational segregation contributes significantly to gender gaps, both in terms of the number and the quality of jobs. Women in employment are overrepresented in a range of sectors and occupations. Globally, estimates show that women remain overrepresented (compared to their share in total employment) as 'Clerical, service and sales workers' and in 'Elementary occupations' (ILO, 2016). Table 2 depicts the estimates regarding 'employed by sex and occupation'.

Table 2: Employed by sex and occupation (2010 Q2-2016 Q2)

Occupation	2010		2016		Gender gap (%)	
	F (%)	M (%)	F (%)	M (%)	2010	2016
Manager	4.9	9.8	6.0	10.3	4.9	4.3
Professional	5.9	5.7	6.7	4.6	-0.2	-2.1
Technician	14.1	8.5	11.8	7.9	-5.6	-3.9
Clerk	17.5	6.4	17.3	5.1	-11.1	-12.2
Sales and services	14.7	14.2	17.4	14.4	-0.5	-3.0
Skilled agriculture	0.6	1.0	0.2	0.6	0.4	0.4
Craft & related trade	3.1	19.0	3.0	19.2		16.2
Plant & machine operator	2.6	12.9	2.3	12.1	10.3	9.8
Elementary	20.9	22.0	21.2	25.1	1.1	3.9
Domestic worker	15.6	0.5	14.1	0.7	-15.1	-13.4

Source: QLFS 2010-2016 (Statistics SA); Own Calculations

In South Africa, estimates indicate that women continue to be concentrated in elementary occupations (21.2%), Clerical (17.3%) and domestic work (14.1%) in 2016. These were the major sources of employment for women, housing more than half of the employed females in 2016 and they are regarded as the lowest paying occupations in developing countries (ILO (2016)). Domestic work is highly female-dominated and females consistently outnumber males in the domestic work occupational field. In 2016, approximately 94.1% of all domestic workers in South Africa were females. Domestic work forms part of the largest area of employment for Black women in South Africa. With no education and very little information about their rights, domestic workers' daily lives remain characterized by various sorts of abuse and exploitation (Tolla, 2013).

Women are emerging in the so-called highest paid occupational groups classified as managers, professionals and technicians. The rate of management occupation held by women and men increased from 4.9 to 6.0% and 9.8 % to 10.3 %, respectively, between 2010 and 2016. Notwithstanding these increases, the percentage of management occupation is more than twice as high for men as for women. This could indicate that females remain poorly represented in decision-making positions with males continuing to lead management positions. Therefore, traditional beliefs and cultural attitudes regarding the role and position of females in society are still coarse. Occupational segregation is a concern, as highlighted by the 16th Commission for Employment Equity (CEE) (2015-2016) annual

report, which pinpoints that men represent the majority of top and senior management positions in every sector. According to Sustainable Development Goal number 5, women should access full and effective participation and enjoy equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision making in political, economic and public life (SDG, target 5.5).

During the same period there has been a drop in the rate of professional men from 5.7% to 4.6% and technicians from 8.5% to 7.9%. The decrease in professional and technician males against the increase in professional and technician females led to a gender gap in these occupations in women’s favour. There is a slight overrepresentation of women in the professional and technical occupations. However, the professional posts in South Africa mostly include teachers and nurses.

4.3. Status in employment

Women’s daily lives around the world bring out one important feature which is unpaid care work as this is viewed as a female duty (Ferrant, Pesando & Nowacka, 2014). Defining women’s personality to the domestic arena is one of the hindrances to women’s entry into the paid labour force. Table 3 shows figures on ‘employed by sex and status in employment’ from 2010 to 2016.

Table 3: Employed by sex and status in employment (2010Q2-2016 Q2)

Status in employment	2010		2016		Gender gap (%)	
	F (%)	M (%)	F (%)	M (%)	2010	2016
Employee	85.8	83.6	87.9	82.9	-2.2	-5
Employer	2.4	7.3	2.8	7.6	4.9	4.8
Own-account worker	10.5	8.4	8.6	9.2	-2.1	0.6
Unpaid household member	1.3	0.6	0.7	0.3	-0.7	-0.4

Source: QLFS 2010-2016 (Statistics SA); Own Calculations

The period between 2010 and 2016 has witnessed an increase in the number of women employees and employer status. The share of women employers is consistently lower compared to their male counterparts. Particularly in 2016, the proportion of women employers (2.8%) was more than two times less than men’s (7.6%).

Over the same period, the proportion of male employees decreased, while their number as employers and own-account workers increased. Table 3 indicates that the share of female employees is higher than that of males. Own-account worker seems to be the second employment status that house workers after the status of employee in South Africa. For women, barriers including lack of capital, lack of entrepreneurial skills, and inability to penetrate informal community networks that control opportunities, generally prevent their participation in self-employment (employer and own-account worker) (Levendale, 2017).

In Table 3, women are more likely to do unpaid work than men. The share of women in unpaid work is consistently more than twice that of men. Each individual has to decide how to divide his or her time between work and leisure, productive and reproductive activities, paid and unpaid work. The quantity of labour supplied decreases as the quantity of leisure demanded increases. Therefore, every minute more that a woman devotes to unpaid work denotes one minute less that she could be possibly using on market-oriented activities. The unequal distribution of unpaid care work between women and men does not only denote violation of women's rights, but also a limitation on their economic empowerment (Ferrant *et al.*, 2014). However, time spent cooking, cleaning and care-providing for children, the sick and the elderly forms part of unpaid work which principally contributes toward the world of strong families, societies, and nations. Such domestic work has been labelled as 'the work that makes all other work possible' (Slaughter, 2016).

4.4. Employed by sex and usual hours of work (2008-2016)

According to 9th International Conference of Labour Statisticians in 2013, the statistical notion of 'time-related underemployment' refers to persons who are willing and available to work additional hours and whose working hours are below a given threshold relating to working time. Usual working hours per week include the number of hours during which an individual may exercise during a typical workweek. Table 4 indicates the estimates of employed by sex and usual hours of work.

Table 4: Employed by sex and usual hours of work (2010Q2-2016Q2)

Hours of work	2010		2016		Gender Gap (%)	
	F (%)	M (%)	F (%)	M (%)	2010	2016
Working less than 15 hours/week	3.0	1.3	3.3	14	-1.7	1.9
Working 15-29 hours per week	9.3	3.7	9.7	43	-5.6	-5.4
Working 30-39 hours per week	10.6	4.6	9.5	4.5	-6.0	-5.0
Working 40-45 hours per week	52.4	55.3	54.9	55.6	2.9	0.7
Working more than 45 hours/week	24.7	35.0	22.5	34.1	10.3	11.6

Source: QLFS 2010-2016 (Statistics SA); Own Calculations

Table 4 indicates that the predominant working hours among women and men is 40 hours or more. The incidence of men and women working 40-45 hours per week has grown between 2010 and 2016. Over the period between 2010 and 2016, the gender gap in working 40-45 hours per week appears to show a reasonable reduction over time from 2.9% in 2010 to 0.7%. The share of women in time-related underemployment exceeds that of men. In 2016, the share of employed women working less than 30 hours per week estimate is almost double (22.5%) that of their male counterparts (10.2%). On the contrary, the share of men working more than 45 hours outnumbers that of females, hence, men tend to work longer hours than women. Underemployment is consistently higher for women than it is for men. This is in line with Niyimbanira's (2016) findings that confirmed that the probability of a female being underemployed is more than that of a male.

Time is an extremely valuable and limited resource. Individual preferences for women's roles as wives, mothers, and economic agents affect women's decision to apportion time to market-oriented work. The fact is that career and family decisions coincide in terms of timing calling for systems which would allow a concordant time investment in both market work and nonmarket work (care provider). Women take up flexible working time arrangements that may ease the combination of these duties, and therefore, supply fewer hours of market work than males. As a consequence, women are over-

represented in part-time jobs, with both positive and negative effects (OECD, 2010). Flexible work often does carry a penalty in lower wages, fewer promotions, a lower probability of full-time employment and a lower access to social security benefits (OECD, 2010).

4.5. Condition of employment

Social protection policies and programs aim to address workers' living standards and economic security. Nevertheless, the extent to which some social security plans are projected and implemented can obstruct women's access to them. This is particularly the situation with social insurance kind of plans that are closely applied to formal employment. By considering full-time formal employment as the standard, such programs are absolutely gender biased since females are more likely than males to be in informal employment and work fewer hours.

The gender gap in employment, occupation and sector translates into limited access to employment-related social protection among females. For this reason, the affiliation to contributory pension schemes is strongly correlated with a regulated employment relationship through a contract and, even more strongly, with a permanent contract (ILO, 2015). As indicated in Table 5, women are consistently less well covered by pension arrangements. Approximately, 54.6% of women had no pension savings, compared to 49.2% of men in 2016. Table 5 reports on 'condition of employment by sex'

Table 5: Condition of employment by sex (2010 Q2-2016 Q2)

Condition of employment	2011		2016		Gender Gap (%)	
	F (%)	M (%)	F (%)	M (%)	2010	2016
No Pension/retirement fund contribution	54.8	48.3	54.6	49.2	-6.5	-5.4
Not Entitled to any paid leave	35.7	31.5	35.0	31.8	-4.2	-3.2
Not Entitled to paid sick leave	34.3	31.6	30.9	28.8	-2.7	-2.1
Not Entitled to maternity/paternity leave	44.4	47.7	42.3	45.4	3.3	3.1
No UIF contribution	47.5	38.4	42.5	33.6	-9.1	-8.9
Medical aid benefits	30.6	32.1	29.4	30.1	1.5	0.7
Written contract	76.2	80.0	79.5	80.3	3.8	0.8
Verbal agreement	23.8	20.0	20.5	19.7	-3.8	-0.8

Source: QLFS 2010-2016 (Statistics SA); Own Calculations

Eventually, almost everyone will need to take time off from work to deal with personal or family circumstances, including illnesses, or to care for a new born. Table 5 indicates that more women than men continue to be concentrated in jobs which do not offer paid leave and paid sick leave. Approximately, 42.3% of women did not have access to maternity leave compared to 45.4% of men in 2016. Maternity leave benefits and medical aid are particularly important for women's particular needs, including the interruption to their working lives created by childbearing.

Social protection policies play a critical role in reducing poverty and inequality, supporting inclusive growth and increasing gender equality. Many informal workers are women who may interrupt paid employment to take care of children, elderly parents, and sick relatives, thereby compromising their access to social protection. Well-designed social protection schemes can narrow gender gaps in poverty rates, enhance women's access to personal income and provide a lifeline for families (UN, 2016).

The South African economy experiences devastating consequences of very high unemployment rates, with women and men disproportionately affected. The unemployment insurance system is a scheme which provides subsistence income to unemployed candidates who were previously employed and contributed towards the scheme. Table 5 indicates that 42.5% among women did not contribute to

Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) compared to 33.6% among the men. This emphasises the gender role of the employment occupation, sector and hours of work vis-à-vis the access to social protection plans. In South Africa, both employers and employees contribute to the UIF, and this fund is then used to provide income replacement benefits including unemployment, illness, maternity, adoption and dependant's benefits (Bhorat, Goga & Tseng, 2013).

The way some medical aid schemes are designed and carried out can hinder women's access to them. Some employers contribute towards the employees' medical aid plans and it might be hard for those who take full responsibility of their medical aid due to the type of the employment. The overall access to medical aid benefits is low and it has decreased among both females and males between 2010 and 2016. The gender gap in medical aid benefits access show a declining tendencies (from 1.5 % in 2010 to 0.7 % in 2016). The rate of employed females with written contracts has increased from 76.2% to 79.5 from 2010 to 2016. The corresponding estimates for males are 80.0% and 80.3%, respectively. This indicates that a higher share among employed women work with verbal agreement with their employers compared to the percentage among men.

5. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The paper demonstrates areas for substantive gender equality to be realised. These include among others, occupational segregation, working hours and access to social protection. It is important that the world acknowledges that both women and men have equal rights to work and care.

In South Africa, numerous government policies that address discrimination and promote women's economic empowerment are in action. However, efforts need to be made in providing an enabling environment towards women's economic empowerment through the expansion and improvement of the infrastructure for care services. The National Health Insurance needs to kick-start to ensure the universal health coverage. Terms and conditions of maternity/paternity leave, including the benefits around it, need to be revised and the benefits need to be extended to all workers in all sectors, including domestic workers.

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