## Gender Equality in the Irish Labour Market: A work in progress?

Helen Russell, Fran McGinnity \& Philip O’Connell
ESRI 50 Year Conference: Inequalities Old and New 29 November 2016


## Outline of Presentation

- Women in employment - a view from the 1960s/early 70s drawing on two very early ESRI studies (Walsh, 1971 ; Walsh \& O’Toole, 1973)
- 5 themes - patterns of participation, segregation, sectoral demand, attitudes, policy debates.
- Major social, economic changes (e.g. fertility, economic structure, Education patterns)
- Current situation across same themes - including effect of boom and bust on gender inequalities.


# Women in Employment a view from the 60s/70's 

- Brendan Walsh paper to SSISI May 1971 Aspects of labour supply and demand with special reference to the employment of women in Ireland.
- ESRI Walsh \& O’Toole (1973) ESRI research report Women and Employment in Ireland : results of a National Survey.


## Female Employment 1966 Census (Walsh 1971)

- $34 \%$ of women aged $15-64 y$ rs in 'gainful employment'; $75 \%$ of single women and only $6 \%$ of married women
- Women's work on family farms undercounted: only $11 \%$ of family farm workers female in IRL compared to $46 \%$ in UK (see also Fahey, 1990)
- Part-time employment undercounted because of PES definition
- Decomposing change 1961-66 - increase F employment mainly due to rise in total employment in services (growth effect)


## Female Employment by Marital Status, Age \& Farming (ESRI survey 73)



15-19 20-24 25-29 30-34 35-39 40-44 45-54 55-64 all
ages
Farm women only defined as working if they were the head of hh or if they were doing 'non-farm work'.
Higher employment rate for married women compared to Census 66 (included part-time)

## Sex Segregation: Occupation \& Sector

Sex Segregation of Occupations, 1966

- $25.6 \%$ female share of total labour force; 35\% nonagricultural labour force
- Female share of manufacturing jobs (37\%) > than in UK (32\%)
- Seven occupations 90\%+ female = sewers, typists, boarding housekeepers, housekeepers, maids, nurses, probation nurses

| Sex <br> composition <br> of Job | \% of all <br> women <br> employed | \% of all <br> employed |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| $90 \%+$ <br> Female | 25.2 | 6.7 |
| $70 \%+$ <br> female | 42.9 | 12.8 |
| Sex <br> composition <br> of Job | \% of all men <br> employed | \% of all <br> employed |
| $90 \%+$ male | 79.1 | 62.2 |
| $70 \%+$ male | 84.8 | 67.4 |

Source: Walsh 1971, based on Census 66

## Attitudes to Married Women working (ESRI survey 1973)

## All women

## Married Women

| Approve unconditionally | 15.2 | 14.4 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Approve conditionally* | 58.6 | 62.0 |
| No strong feelings | 5.7 | 5.2 |
| In general disapprove | 10.9 | 10.2 |
| Strongly disapprove | 9.5 | 8.3 |
|  | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| N | 5,061 | 3,303 |

* What Conditions?: no children (29\%), need income (14\%), flexible hours (12\%); has help with children (13\%); not taking mans job (2\%)


## Policy Issues in 70s studies

- Equal pay legislation
- Removal of marriage bar
- Tax reform
- Childcare -majority (56\%) with kids <4 no childcare arrangements. Unpaid live-in help most common (12\%), followed by paid help live-out (9\%), paid help live-in (9\%), neighbours (7\%), care centre (4\%)
- Among women surveyed in 1973 most helpful policy: flexible hours (19\%), change in tax laws (16\%), state provided daycare (10\%), equal pay (8\%)

What has changed?

## Period of significant legislative change

| Year | Legislative Change |
| :--- | :--- |
| 1973 | Removal of Marriage Bar |
| 1974 | Equal Pay Act |
| 1977 | Employment Equality Act (replaced 1998) |
| 1979 | Legalisation of contraception - Health (Family <br> Planning) Act. Further liberalisation in 1985 |
| 1977 | Unfair dismissals Act - some protections against <br> dismissal for pregnancy |
| 1981 | Introduced paid maternity leave (previously maternity <br> allowance for insured but not protected leave) |
| 1998 | Introduction of Parental Leave |
| 2000 | Tax Individualisation |
| 2000 | National Minimum Wage introduced |

## Educational Attainment by Birth Cohort \& Gender



Source: Bercholz \& FitzGerald 2016

## Sharp fall in Fertility Rates


$\simeq$ Ireland
$\rightarrow$ France
--Germany

* Italy
--USA

Source: http://data.un.org

## Continued shift in sectoral composition of employment



Source: 1971-1991 Census data; 2001-2011 QNHS

## Changing Gender Culture: \% agreeing with statement 1994,2002 and 2012



Source: Authors' analysis of ISSP data 1994, 2002 and 2012 Whelan et al. (1994) analyse first 2 items in EVS 1990.

Back to the Present

## Changes in Labour Market Participation



Source: Census, Labour Force Surveys and Quarterly National Household Surveys.

## Recent participation trends: boom and recession

- Changing participation patterns (by education, family status etc) - mostly 'A Woman's Place?' Russell, McGinnity, Callan, Keane 2009. Also 'How Unequal? Barrett, Callan et al 2000'?
- Segregation - what jobs did women get? (Russell et al 2009; Keane et al., 2016)
- What effect did recent recession have on gender differences in participation (Russell et al., 2014; Bercholz and Fitzgerald, 2016)
- Policy debates
- Ongoing and future research questions


## Reports on Gender Equality in the Irish Labour Market, Equality Research Series



A Woman's Place
Female Participation in the Irish Labour Market Helen Russell, Frances McGinnity, Tim Callan \& Claire Keane


Gender and the Quality of Work
From Boom to Recession
Helen Russell, Frances McGinnity \& Gillian Kingston


Winners And Losers?
The Equality Impact of the Great Recession in Ireland

Frances McGinnity, Helen Russell, Dorothy Watson, Gillian Kingston \& Elish Kelly

## Participation patterns in the Boom

- Education - Powerful predictor of women's participation; in 2007-35 \% for primary education, $82 \%$ for third level quals; education, inc education facilitated rise in participation.
- Though Bercholz and Fitzgerald (2016) find a large rise in participation even controlling for educ change, esp in the 1992-2000 period
- Using 2005 data, Russell, McGinnity, Callan and Keane (2009) find that having young children has a strong impact on participation, but partner's wages no longer significant.
- Participation of women with children varies strongly with earnings potential (Russell et al 2009)
- In contrast to others, the participation of lone mothers, esp those with preschool children, didn't rise during the boom


## Women's Jobs, Men's Jobs? Occupational Segregation

- What kind of jobs were women moving into?
- International research in the US and Europe show diverging trends
- Did occupational segregation persist in Ireland, or has the increase in FLMP led to a de-segregation in employment (analysis from A woman's place, 2009 and Keane, Russell, Smyth, 2016)?


## Female Share, Broad Occupations Census 1991, 2006



## Changes in Summary Segregation Measures Ireland, 1991-2006 (higher score=more segregated)

|  | 1991 | 2006 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 24 Occupations |  |  |
| Dissimilarity Index | 49.19 | 49.44 |
| Index of Association | 5.17 | 4.46 |
|  |  |  |
| 225 Occupations |  |  |
| Dissimilarity Index | 79.11 | 70.49 |
| Index of Association | 12.38 | 7.26 |

Source: Keane et al 2016 using Census data.

## How did the recent recession effect women's participation?

What would we expect?

- 'Reserve army of labour' (or buffer) women pulled into lab market in high demand (boom) and withdraw from labour market in recession (Holst 2000, also Walsh discusses in early 1970s)
- Gender Segregation (Rubery, 1988; Bettio and Verashchagina 2013). Job losses for men and women affected by sectoral employment losses. If women are working in protected sectors, they may be less likely to lose jobs than men.
- Differential integration of women into employment - p-time, temporary jobs, shorter job tenure, will influence vulnerability.


## Male and Female Employment Rates in Ireland 1998-2012 (QNHS, 15-64)



## Female Share by Sector, pre-recession 2007 (QNHS Q4, employed age 15+)



## Summary of Recession Effects

- Downward levelling - employment gap narrowing due to falls in male employment
- Segregation by sector protected women from rise in unemployment (Kelly et al. 2016/Winners and Losers)
- Higher educational qualifications for women also played a role, as education became more salient in the recession
- Bercholz and Fitzgerald (2016), analysing participation find for over 30s, rising educational attainment led labour participation to increase, though controlling for education, some fall in participation during the recession (2007-15).
- No evidence of substantial withdrawal from Labour Market (buffer role/reserve army) in recession.


## Summary of Long-term changes

Long-term changes

- Sustained increase in participation of women
- Still marked differences by age of child and education level/wages
- Some decline in occupational segregation
- Although women still more concentrated in a few occupations
- Changes driven by shift to services (demand) and increased education (supply)
- Slowly shift in attitudes to working women/mothers
- Gender pay gap fell during boom, but increased since the recession
- Significant policy shifts in 1970s, much remains to be done


## Current policy debates on work and caring

- Female participation and demand for childcare places rose rapidly in absence of government investment in childcare
- Childcare in Ireland largely market-based and very expensive
- Recent developments universal preschool (2010) and Affordable Childcare Scheme (2017), targeted at lower income families
- Reignited debate about whether state should support care for pre-school children outside the home
- Further extensions to parental/maternity leave?
- Less public debate in Ireland around flexible and/or reduced working hours


## Ongoing and future research

- Gender differences in education and early lab mkt integration
- Quality of work - job security; skills mismatches; work pressure, job autonomy
- Gender and career progression in the Civil Service
- Gender impact of the budget
- Work-life conflict
- Gender division of labour between home and work crucial impact on gender inequality;
- Caring and housework typically not recorded and undervalued - like farm work in 1966....

