



MIND THE GAP

Anna Giulia Ingellis (Ed.)

Gender gaps in the
education-to-work transition
in Mediterranean European
countries

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Free to Choose



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Foreword

Since the Beijing Conferences (1995), the available data [e.g. Eurostat, LFS, Eurofound, ILO] and the numerous analyses published by the European Commission have shown very considerable progress in the participation of women in the labour market, education, politics and society. Progress has been achieved in the last 20 years in the labour market and in education, as witnessed, for example, by the highest employment rate ever recorded for women (64% in 2014) and their increasing participation in economic decision-making. Women have made inroads into decision-making positions in many spheres of life, although they still represent only 21% of board members in the largest listed companies.

Despite these positive achievements in EU countries, research and available data demonstrate the *persistence of gender gaps* in all indicators regarding the labour market (participation, employment and unemployment, career opportunities, pay and retirement prospects) and the other abovementioned fields. Furthermore, gender gaps are increasing as a consequence of the economic crisis and some groups, *especially younger women*, have been affected more than others.

Women's growing participation in the labour market (which differs among EU countries) has been mainly related to an increase in part-time work; there has been an increase in job insecurity for women; the gap between qualified and unqualified women has widened; and parenthood is unbalanced, as women devote an hour and a half more each day to housework and parental duties than men, who never allow domestic responsibilities to threaten their careers. Last but not least, there are more women than men gaining qualifications upon completion of their initial training, but their qualifications are less valued in the labour market.

These factors will have to be taken into account to achieve the target of 75% of men and women in employment in 2020 and, in particular, to close the gender gap in employment (Eurofound, 2014).

Another goal achieved in the last decade is that women have outnumbered men among new graduates and as a consequence, female employees are now generally more educated than male employees (Eurostat, 2016; European Commission, 2015]), but as the EU report *Strategic engagement to gender equality 2016-2019* underlines, "attitudes towards equality are evolving, but today's labour market, education system and also younger generation are not yet [sufficiently] immune to gender stereotypes and disparities". The persistence and reproduction of gender stereotyping and forms of segregation in education, training and career counselling are likely to penalize mainly the girls, while the gender segregation within different fields of study reinforces gender segregation in the labour market and is in some way related to the gendered expectations and behaviours of both teachers and pupils. Cultural factors are very important and should be taken into account and managed, especially in the field of training, career and vocational guidance (European Commission, 2009).

The main purpose of our project is precisely to work on the cultural environment, to eliminate or at least reduce gender stereotyping. We are working on the subjective perceptions both of youngsters and of educators, trainers and career counsellors, seeking to raise awareness of the power of stereotypes and the ways in which they still determine individuals' decisions in education and the education-to-work transition.

The Free to Choose project team

Part I

The Research and the Project

Anna Giulia Ingellis (University of Valencia)

1 Introduction

1.1 The project framework

The present report presents the main results of the *Mind the Gap* research, the quantitative element of a more complex mixed-method study, *Operational Map*. Its main aim has been to produce evidence-based knowledge on which to found the intervention part the EU-funded *Free to Choose* (FtC) project: the design, testing and implementation of a game addressing the reduction of gender stereotypes which act against gender equality at work. Therefore, we can state that the Operational Map research project has pursued two general objectives. The first is to draw an overall picture of gender gaps in the labour market and educational systems of the countries involved. The second is to provide a deep analysis of stereotypes existing in the two main groups targeted by the project: young people and adults with key roles in education, orientation and training. Work stream 1 of the FtC project compares the statistically based model emerging from the quantitative arm of the research (*Mind the Gap*) with the subjective perceptions of the actors involved in the complex and multidimensional phenomenon of youngsters' education-to-work transition, explored and analysed in the qualitative arm of the research, *Coming Out*. While *Mind the Gap*, whose results are presented in the present report, has explored and analysed the several forms of gender gap present in the Southern European countries involved in the project (Cyprus, Italy, Portugal, Slovenia and Spain), *Coming Out* has explored the existence and persistence of gender stereotypes and their influence in the transition from education to work, from a subjective perspective.

Both arms of the FtC project have a double objective. The first is to generate new findings to augment the existing scientific knowledge of existing gaps and the impact on them of gender stereotypes within the labour market and educational systems, and to disseminate our contribution among the international academic community interested in gender studies. On the other hand, the project aims to transmit the knowledge obtained to the diverse stakeholders, such as the other partners who will develop the game and carry out the training, young people and key actors in education, training and orientation systems in each country, in addition to local authorities potentially interested in policies to counter gender gaps. The present report focuses exclusively on the *Mind the Gap* results.

1.2 Actually “free to choose”? Individual opportunities & structural constraints

Free to Choose is the title of a celebrated book by Milton and Rose Friedman (1980) which rapidly became a sort of manifesto of neoliberalism, a broad social, political and economic movement that spread rapidly around the world from its origin in the USA. The economic crisis of the 1970s in Western countries provoked a crisis of the Fordist society as a whole, questioning the equilibrium and the reciprocal relationships among all the social structures belonging to the state, the market and civic society, on which Fordism was founded. In the four decades since then, globalization, new

communication technology, the diffusion of the financial economy and the crisis of the Fordist manufacturing system have radically changed societies at a global level.

The crisis of social structures gave rise to a process well studied by sociologists, known as the individualization of society, according to which lives and biographies are increasingly less determined by social structures and more by individual decisions. The decline of social structure gave more centrality to individuals, above all in the rhetoric of the neoliberal perspective. Direct access to all information via the internet, direct access to commodities and increasing mobility all over the world gave the individual a key place in post-Fordist society. The neoliberal rhetoric permeated political discourse at the national level and was adopted by the governments of most Western countries, with a wide range of consequences for labour market regulation, social policy and so on. Nevertheless, sociological research has produced abundant evidence that social structures such as class, gender, age, social capital or cultural capital continue to carry great weight in determining some outcomes in the labour market, education, the allocation of social roles and so on.

If, notwithstanding the rhetoric of individual centrality, social structures continue to strongly influence individual biographies, are we as individuals really free to choose? We must distinguish freedom to choose as a concrete reality, as proposed by the neoliberal prospectus, from freedom to choose as an aspiration, a social reality that we desire to build, starting from the consciousness that we currently have no such freedom. This is the starting point of our research, remembering that it is first of all necessary to mind the gap: to pay special attention to the gaps that still exist and to the strength of the barriers to gender equality that they represent. No individual freedom to choose can be constructed without a favourable or at least equitable structural framework. This is why gaps, cultures and policies at the national level still matter.

2 Objectives

The general objective of the Mind the Gap study has been to produce an up-to-date depiction of the several gaps existing between women and men in the two fields between which youngsters have to transit in becoming adults: education and work. Actually, as we will assert in the theoretical framework of this report, gender inequality is a complex, multidimensional and constantly evolving phenomenon. Education and work are two of the main domains where this inequality is most evident, but in some way they are the results of a wide range of factors affecting the performance or position of women and men at work. The theoretical framework provides an interesting overview of the other areas where inequalities have an impact on inequality at work. Nevertheless, this report will focus on education and work, providing data on the outcomes in the labour market of a more complex phenomenon.

The specific objectives of this piece of research have been:

1. To offer a cross-national comparison for each of the main indicators analysed
2. To compare gender gaps for the total population and the situation of youngsters

3. To draw national profiles providing the most updated account of gender gaps in each of the five participating countries
 - a. in education
 - b. in the labour market
4. To compare the actual situation of each of the countries with the EU-28¹ and EU-15² averages.

Although the current membership of the European Union comprises 28 countries, we have included the EU-15 data in this report because those countries represent a sort of model of what Europe represents in terms of economic and social standards.

3 Methodology

The main methodology employed to achieve the above objectives was the analysis of secondary data from a wide range of sources:

1. Scientific literature
2. Official documents the institutions most closely involved in challenging gender gaps in Europe
3. Statistical data from Eurostat and the OECD
4. Key OECD reports on education

The key results delivered in this report have been discussed and validated by a focus group panel of experts in each of the countries involved in the project.

The main indicator used throughout the text, the Gender Gap, was calculated in the following way for each of the variables considered.

$$\text{Gender Gap} = \text{male value/datum} - \text{female value/datum}$$

E.g. Gender employment gap = employment rate for men – employment rate for women.

Therefore, in some cases a positive value indicates a better position for men than for women, while in others, such as in numbers of early leavers from education, a negative value indicates a favourable position for women (fewer women leave early). Unless specified otherwise, we will consider a positive value to indicate the existence of a gap unfavourable to women.

¹ Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom.

² Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom.

Part II

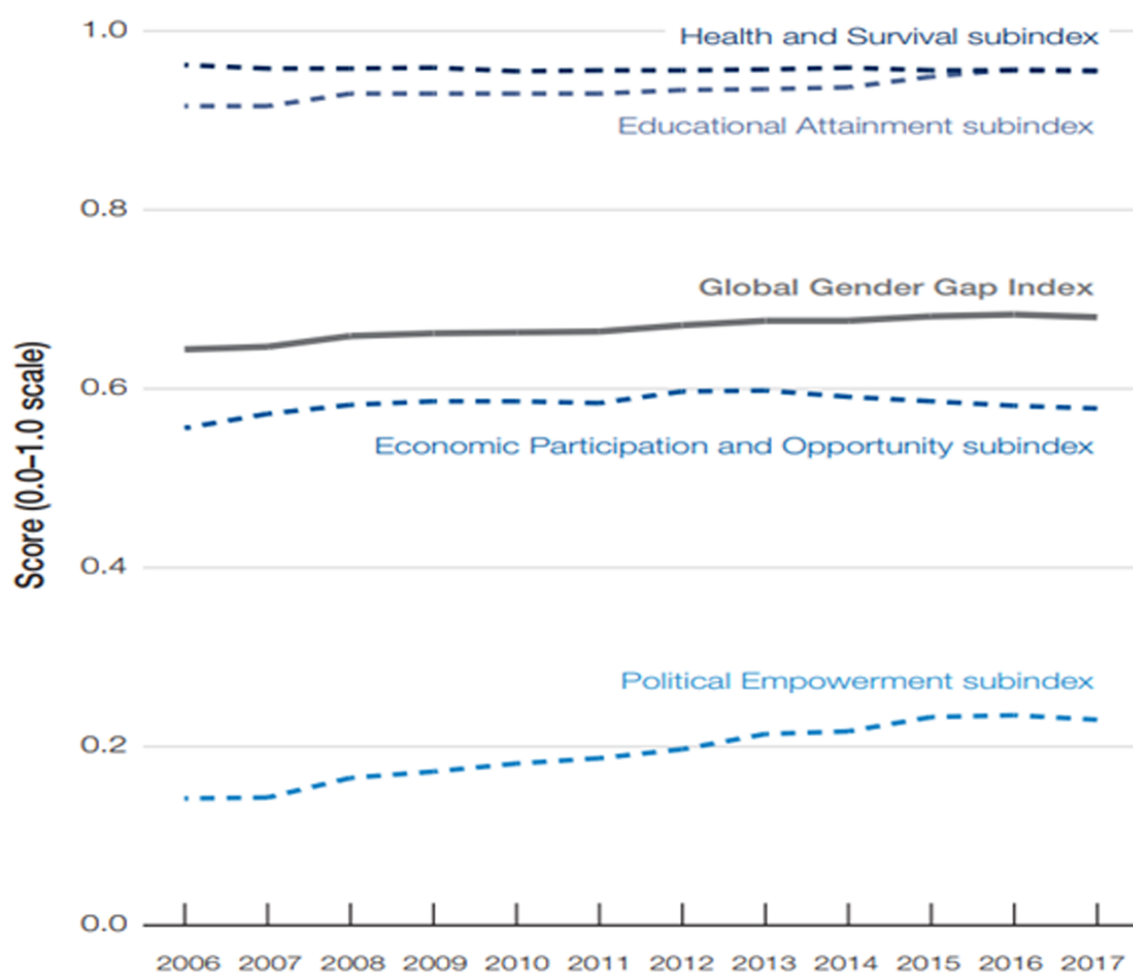
Theoretical framework

Capitolina Diaz Martinez (University of Valencia)

4 Theoretical framework: the diverse forms of gender gap

To begin this section, we will define the social phenomenon of the gender gap and offer some general data on it. According to *Dictionary.com*, gender gaps are the differences between women and men, especially as reflected in social, political, intellectual, cultural or economic attainments or attitudes.³ The Gender Equality Index, produced by the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), measures gender gaps between women and men and considers those that are to the detriment of either women or men as being equally problematic.⁴

Figure 6: Global Gender Gap Index and subindexes evolution, 2006–2017



Source: Global Gender Gap Index 2017.

Note: Covers the 106 countries which have consistently been featured in the Index since 2006.

³ <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/gender-gap>. Accessed 04/04/2018.

⁴ <http://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/about>

The concept of the gender gap is being increasingly frequently used in sociological analyses intended to inform public policy. Perhaps the best-known publication presenting global gender gap data is the report issued periodically since 2006 by the World Economic Forum (WEF), entitled the *Global Gender Gap Index*.⁵ It classifies 144 countries (in 2017) according to the extent of women's disadvantage compared to men, measured in terms of economic, educational, health and political participation indicators. Having accumulated data over a decade, the 2017 edition shows that while the world has progressed in general, gender inequalities remain severe and stubborn, to the point that at the current rate, 216 years will be needed to close the gender gaps. Before going into details about the phenomenon to be studied, it is convenient to have an idea, albeit approximate, of its dimensions. In the graph below, the WEF's global index and the four subindexes for 2017 were calculated by dividing female values by male values, so that 1.0 indicates no gap and a low score indicates a large gap.

These synthetic data show that in education and health, the women of the world (or at least of the 106 participating countries) enjoy something close to equality with men, but that there remains a very large gap in economic participation and an even greater one in political empowerment. There are other gaps, not raised in this simplified although fundamental presentation, that limit the expectations and lives of women and harm their development and general well-being. Some of these will be discussed in detail later. There are other very important gaps, such as the artificial one between the numbers of women and men, a phenomenon labelled "missing women" by Amartya Sen (1992), which are beyond the scope of this research and are therefore not addressed here.

We will begin by focusing on one of the best known and most well-studied gender gaps, often referred to in economics as simply 'the gender gap', namely the *gender wage gap*. We will continue with others such as the *gender care gap*, which involves a somewhat different approach to the persistent sexual division of labour. We will go through others one by one, after several conceptual clarifications and general considerations.

The gender wage gap and its counterpart the gender care gap directly affect youngsters' decisions in our societies. The divergent distribution of family and domestic care affects their choices on which studies to follow and their job preferences, especially among the females. An immediate consequence of the gender care gap is the gender wage gap. Those women who prioritize taking care of their family or plan to do so often leave the labour market or reduce their participation in it. This implies lower salaries (hence a salary gap and ultimately a pensions gap) and the slowing or disruption of their career paths. The long history of the sexual division of labour, which is at the origin of the gender care gap, has produced gendered perceptions of the worth, interest and dedication of women and men in relation to employment and to care (Chemaly, 2016). The gender identity of young people is built on such gendered perceptions.

The *gender data gap* and the *gender semantic gap* are only indirectly linked to our attempt to identify the gender gaps operating in youngsters' worldview and in their everyday lives, but it is worth referring to them here because they indicate that our interpretation of the world around us is limited and conditioned by the information we have on it. As long as this information is not enlarged with more data and with data

5 <https://www.weforum.org/reports/the-global-gender-gap-report-2017>.

collected without gender bias, we will continue to reproduce sexist identities and sexist behaviours. There are other gaps, such in political empowerment and in economic participation, which although they have very important roles in the gendered distribution of power globally, do not seem to be appropriate topics for detailed analysis at this level in the present study, primarily concerned as it is with the educational and occupational expectations of young people.

4.1 The concept of a social gap and its contribution to sociology

To address the phenomenon of the diverse forms of gender discrimination as gender gaps, it seems necessary to elaborate, albeit briefly, on the concept of a gap in itself and on its potential value for feminist analysis and for understanding why and how young people continue to take educational, occupational and cohabitation choices differentiated by gender.

The concrete use of the word ‘gap’ suggests an opening in the surface of a wall or some other object, initially straight, so that both sides of the opening remain at the same level, but with a separation between them. There is, in other words, no hierarchical distance between the two sides of the opening. However, when we transfer the concept from the physical world to the social realm, although the sense of an opening is retained, a hierarchy is now established between the two sides of it. One is higher than the other. One represents the optimum to achieve while the other presents a deficit that has to be filled to reach the optimum.

Thus, the gender wage gap indicates the distance between women’s (lower) and men’s (higher) salaries. Implicitly, it suggests that women ought to have the same salaries as men. In the same way, the gender digital gap represents the heavier and more sophisticated use of the Internet by men and implies that women should achieve the same use, and so on. In all of the types of gender gap studied so far, the situation of men represents the optimum and that of women the deficit.

At this point, it seems appropriate to deal with two aspects of the question. We should begin by stating our understanding that a more cohesive and just society would be one free of social gaps (whether gender gaps or any other type) or where such gaps were minimal. This does not mean that women have to reach the current position of men. The point of equilibrium is probably not at the highest current level, but at an intermediate level where women and men can have the same opportunities for choice and action.

Secondly, it would be advisable to reconceptualize the phenomenon of inequality in domestic work and in care and characterize it as a *care gender gap*. This would be a different type of gap, in which the high side is occupied by women: they are the ones who provide most care, while men notably perform very little caring work. Again, the balance should be somewhere in the middle of the gap. We therefore propose the extension of the gap concept to include this male deficit, in order to show what men have to their credit. We understand that the use of the same term to denote both the deficits of women and those of men has added value, due to its semantic continuity. It appears that this semantic continuity allows us to understand that in order to achieve greater social cohesion in a more balanced world, men and women should compensate

for inherited gender imbalances and avoid reproducing gender deficits, whether in care or in employment.

Thus, in the same way that we believe that women should receive the same pay as men for work of equal value, it seems logical to argue that men's contribution to domestic work and the care of their homes should be proportional to that of women. Only if young people (girls and boys) envisage their future professional, personal and family lives without gender gaps will we progress towards a more egalitarian society (OECD, 2016). Therefore, this section could be subtitled: *Mind the gender care gap*.

There is also a political reason to refer to the concept of the gender care gap. We seek to influence equality policies; therefore we adopt this terminological innovation to make visible and denounce the injustices and discrimination against women that occur in the care domain. The male deficit in care work is a very difficult form of injustice to tackle and the lack of a specific term to denote it prevents its identification. If there is no linguistic conceptualization of the phenomenon, the male care gap will remain hidden and the discrepancy will not be tackled. The need for a clear, strong definition of the concept is of particular interest because this gender gap underlies and is at the root of all other gender gaps. If the gender care gap is not closed, the position of women and men will not be equalized. This is why we insist on coining a term that clearly identifies this gap and its dimensions while indicating that men are the ones to close it. In the process of acquiring a gender identity, the naturalization of the care gender gap can have enormous consequences for the propagation of inequalities.

Currently, in a large part of the world, most gender gaps imply a distance between women and men on a continuum. As in the physical world, where a gap is a fracture in a continuous space, so a gap in the social space occurs in a continuum. For example, there is a wage continuum between the lowest and the highest salary possible. In the societies of the past (as in some nowadays) there were discontinuities of many kinds between women and men. There have been physical spaces, occupations and other domains totally forbidden to women. It is not that men and women had more or less of something with a gap between the two quantities, but that women had none of some things and were denied access to certain opportunities or social roles altogether. Therefore, there was—and remains—some discontinuity. It makes no sense to refer, for example, to the gap between women and men in the Catholic priesthood, because there are simply no female priests in the Catholic church. Little by little, however, such discontinuities have mostly disappeared and we recognize that more or less all gender gaps occur in a continuum. Indeed, even one of the foundational discontinuities of personal identity, between being a woman and being a man, is progressively becoming seen and lived as a continuity comprising diverse modalities of human identity, with multiple graduations between bio-socio-woman and bio-socio-man.

One consideration to make before moving forward is that there are many more gaps between women and men than those analysed in this study. In fact, most inequalities between women and men can be expressed in the form of a gap. In addition to the World Economic Forum's abovementioned annual report, the OECD has a Gender Data portal and there are hundreds of publications on diverse types of gender gap and measures thereof, issued by the National Bureau of Economic Research, the International Labour Organization (ILO), the World Bank, the European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), among many others.

A social phenomenon as persistent as gender inequality can be better understood and consequently, potential solutions and appropriate policies conceived, if its dimensions are known. To conceptualize inequalities as gaps facilitates the measurement of the dimensions of the phenomenon. When inequalities are expressed in the form of gaps, they can be quantified by numerical data. Indeed, public, national and international institutions have shown greater concern for the phenomenon of inequality since they have had numbers to prove its existence, including in the UN Human Development Indexes,⁶ the WEF's Gender Gap Index (WEF, 2017) and the OECD's diverse indexes.

4.2 Children's socialization and gender gaps

At the WEF meeting in Davos in January 2016, Sheryl Sandberg, board member and chief operating officer of Facebook and founder of the Lean In campaign, surprised the audience by declaring: "We have a toddler wage gap". She clarified this by explaining that in homes in America—where this gap is unlikely to be at its widest—boys and girls are typically allocated different tasks. Boys take out the trash (which takes a short time), while girls do the dishes (which takes longer) and the boys are paid more than the girls. Different expectations are created from the earliest childhood and from the very basis of human socialization. Sandberg went on to claim that mothers systematically overestimate their sons' crawling and underestimate that of their daughters. Such apparently trivial biases accumulate, according to Sandberg, creating barriers that have profound effects in the workplace:

We attribute success differently. We attribute a man's success to his abilities, while for women, we attribute it to hard work, help from others and luck ... Men are promoted based on their potential, women on what they've proven. Same as race. A white-sounding name on a resumé versus a black-sounding name is worth eight years of work on a resumé.⁷

In a very similar way, in a general review of the literature on the social determinants of child socialization, Gela Oswalt (2010) states that

children's interests, preferences, behaviours and overall self-concept are strongly influenced by parental and authority figure teachings regarding sexual stereotypes occurring in or before the early portion of middle childhood. Children who are taught that certain traits or activities are appropriate or inappropriate for them to engage in because they are a girl or a boy do tend to internalize and be influenced by these teachings in later life. For instance, girls who are informed that boys are innately better at math than they are may report that they dislike math and disclaim their interest in that subject. They may go on to believe that they are not good at this academic subject, and to perform poorly on math tests and homework assignments. Children learn vicariously, in part, through their observation and imitation of what they see their primary caregivers doing. They tend to imitate and internalize what they see, then repeat those patterns in their own lives as though they had come up with them independently. Children raised

⁶ dr.undp.org/en/content/the-gender-index-index

⁷ <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/01/we-have-a-toddler-gender-gap-says-sheryl-sandberg/>

watching their parents adhering to strict gender-stereotyped roles are, in general, more likely to take on those roles themselves as adults than are peers whose parents provided less stereotyped, more androgynous models for behaving.

4.3 Gender pay gap

The gender pay gap has, since the 19th century, been studied more than any other gender gap. This prolonged study has unsurprisingly generated abundant literature on the salary gap (8,920,000 results on Google and 3,350,000 on Google Scholar on 08/04/2018). The paucity of references to other gender gaps may show either that they are rarely studied, or else that when they are, it is most often not explicitly as gaps.

Studies to do with pay (whether concerned with the gender gap or some other aspect of pay), naturally belong primarily in the field of economics. When economists talk about the gender gap, they are usually referring to the wage or pay gap, meaning the systematic difference between the economic benefits that men and women obtain in the labour market. This difference has causes in multiple dimensions: the proportional participation of men and women in the labour force, the types of occupation that each gender chooses (or achieves) and their relative income and hourly wages. These economic gender gaps, which were the subject of very strong demands by the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s and which continue to be the focus of attention and central to public policy decisions in certain countries, supranational institutions and the labour world in general, have constituted a topic of interest for economists at least since the 1890s, according to Goldin (2008) and to Blau and Khan (2000).

The EIGE's Gender Equality Index measures the salary gap under the indicator "money" and divides it into several measures, the most interesting for our purposes being the financial resources index, which is calculated by dividing the mean monthly earnings of women (€2.266) by those of men (€2.831) to give a value of 73.0.⁸

This significant wage inequality makes the matter a cause of concern for global economic organizations (the European Commission itself, the WEF, OECD, UN, etc.) and certain governments. Thus, the first law approved in January 2009 by the incoming president of the USA, Barak Obama, was precisely against the wage gap, the so-called Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act (Gary Siniscalco, 2010). This concern of the president for equal pay, in US public institutions and private companies, has moved hundreds of large companies from all sectors to support the White House initiative in favour of fair pay, with a potential impact beyond the USA, since many of these companies operate throughout the world. Thus, IBM, Apple, Facebook, Microsoft, General Motors, PepsiCo and others have committed to reviewing their data on salaries. The Fair Pay Act requires all companies with more than 100 employees to disaggregate wages by sex and if they find gender gaps, to change their salary policies to ensure equal pay for equal work or work of similar value.

Despite the significant number of policies intended to combat the wage gap, it has reduced relatively little in Europe. The Gender Equality Index for the EU-28 rose from 60.9 in 2005 to 73.0 in 2015.⁹ The European Commission (2015) affirms that at the

⁸ <https://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index>

⁹ *ibid*

current slow pace of reduction, the wage gap between women and men will not close completely for about 70 years. The WEF (2015) is even more pessimistic, stating that “it is to be assumed that the world will take 118 years (until 2133) to close the economic gap completely”. These forecasts show the urgent need to change the focus of young people, both as to their career options and on living together at home.

4.4 Importance of the wage gap in the options of young people

Among the literature on the wage gap, the work of Blau and Khan (2000) is particularly appropriate for understanding their effect on young people’s choices. Assigning a weight to each of the variables affecting the wage gap among employees in the USA, the authors calculate that the observable determinants of salary, such as education, work experience and hours worked, explain less than 33% of the wage gap. While the factors that would explain the remaining two thirds of the wage gap are not obvious or easily observable, Blau and Khan (2000) suggest that they could be related to the choices made by workers or to gender discrimination. Surprisingly, however, they warn that only 10% of the gap can be explained by the choice of occupation, since most of the gap occurs within occupations and part of it is observable. Thus, according to Blau and Khan, these choices do not have much weight in explaining wage differences; rather, what has the greatest effect are the gendered differences shown in subtle acts of discrimination, derived largely from behaviours learned in the earliest socialization.

These are insidious factors, difficult to detect because they are embedded in people’s daily and naturalized practices. Overcoming these discriminatory factors would require continuous reflection on the part of all members of society as to whether in their interactions with their children, students, employees, partners, colleagues, friends and other people in general, they treat both sexes equally. These are factors that do not affect the wage gap directly, in the sense that they do not form a specific part of the calculation of monthly salaries. Instead, they are subtly discriminatory factors that generate, from earliest childhood, differentiated expectations and self-perceptions in girls and boys which are reinforced with consistently discriminatory treatment in almost all social relationships throughout life. This is why this project seeks, through a game, to influence subtly these gendered self-perceptions and their derived gendered choices.

Two examples will serve to illustrate how familiar most of us are with this type of subtle discrimination, which ultimately affects the wage gap and many other gender gaps: one concerning home life and the other the common working environment. In our homes, children do not usually see male models of care, nor are they asked to take care of others, but they do see female models of care and girls are often asked to do care work. Practicing care involves skills that are learned. Leadership skills are also learned, but how many families think of leadership positions for their daughters? How many girls are told that they can be whatever they want to be in adult life? In the workplace, women tend to be penalised for sympathetic behaviour. When a man is successful, his colleagues usually not only admire or envy him, but also respect him more, whereas when a woman is successful, both men and women often underestimate her success and relate it to her character. If a woman is competent, she may be perceived as not pleasant enough; conversely, if she seems very pleasant, she will be considered

less competent (Heilman & Chen, 2005). This presents women with the dilemma of choosing between success and likability as a goal, a choice which men do not usually face and which can have a great influence on a woman's career and therefore on her salary (Sandberg & Scovel, 2013).

4.5 The original gender inequality: the care gap between women and men

This section seeks to develop and to determine the extent of the abovementioned novel concept of the care gap, on which we have written elsewhere (Díaz et al., 2016). We maintain in that publication that the care gap is at the origin of the historical discrimination against women. In its Gender Equality Index, the EIGE classifies this domain under the heading of Time and divides it into Care Activities and Social Activities, each of which has its own measure. The EIGE data below show that the care gap for specific care activities is 70.0, on a scale where 1 represents maximum inequality and 100 total equality, meaning that women perform 70% of care activities. Social activities are less unequal, at 61.6, indicating that women have 61.6% of their time free for their own social activities, whereas men have 100%.

Care activities

70.0

People caring for and educating their children or grandchildren, elderly or people with disabilities, every day (%)

EU-28-W: 37.5

EU-28-M: 24.7

Source: EQLS (Eurofound, 2016). EIGE calculation with microdata.

People doing cooking and/or housework, every day (%)

EU-28-W: 78.7

EU-28-M: 33.7

Source: EQLS (Eurofound, 2016). EIGE calculation with microdata.

Social activities

61.6

Workers doing sporting, cultural or leisure activities outside of their home, at least daily or several times a week (%)

EU-28-W: 27.5

EU-28-M: 31.9

Source: EWCS (Eurofound, 2015). EIGE calculation with microdata.

Workers involved in voluntary or charitable activities, at least once a month (%)

EU-28-W: 12.2

EU-28-M: 11.4

Source: EWCS (Eurofound, 2015). EIGE calculation with microdata.¹⁰

¹⁰ <http://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/2015/domain/time>

4.6 The relationship between three gender gaps: salary, care and free time

It is not surprising that the EIGE places the care gap under the heading of Time. There is a close relationship between three gaps, in salary, care and free time, but while the wage gap has been the subject of numerous investigations (Dolado & Llorens, 2004; Gardeazábal & Ugidos, 2005; Simón, 2006; de Cabo & Garzón, 2007; de la Rica et al., 2010; Dueñas et al, 2014, to mention only Spanish research), the concept of a gender gap in care, referring to the unequal distribution of domestic work, had not been used until Díaz et al. (2016).

The considerable body of pay gap studies, despite its long history, has offered no definitive conclusion as to the elements at the origin of the pay gap. For a long time, the postulates of human capital theory were considered valid. The theory holds that women's personal attributes, particularly their inferior level of educational attainment, made them less competent in the labour market (Becker, 1964). However, Catherin Hackim (2000; 2004), in her development of preference theory, asserts that this hypothesis has been falsified, since women have reached an educational level equal to or higher than that of men, while wage inequality has not been corrected. Hackim nevertheless attributes women's position in the labour market to their choices and assumes that this explains the gender pay gap, or part of it.

The care gap and the time gap are at the root of the wage gap. Our thesis is that there is a negative reinforcement for women between these three gender gaps and that the original one is the care gap. In other words, the Gordian knot of inequality rests on the intersection of the three gaps. The interrelated analysis of the three gaps suggests that one reason for the lack of success of equality policies intended to reduce gender gaps may be that they have too closely identified women with female workers, focusing on women in the labour market while ignoring women in the domestic sphere and failing to take account of men's non-performance of care tasks. Most EU countries have legislated against paying less for equivalent work, have tasked labour inspectorates or equivalent bodies with preventing salary discrimination against women, have established awards for companies without a wage gap and have promoted labour and family conciliation, among many other initiatives; yet the salary gap persists, even in those countries such as Iceland and Norway which are seen as models of gender equality (Eydal & Gíslason, 2008; Farstad, 2014).

The poor results of the gender equality policies centred on working women and the limited number of policies encouraging men's responsibility in care should form one of the axes of the game that we are trying to create.

The gender care gap in the five countries of this study, according to the EIGE's Gender Equality Index of 2015, is quite marked:

Care Activities

EU-28: 70¹¹

Italy: 61.2

¹¹ As stated above, 100 is equality and the figures show how far from 100 are the EU average and our five countries.

Portugal: 63.3
Cyprus 65.7
Slovenia: 69.5
Spain: 75.5

The gender care gap is also the cause of females' lack of free time. It explains why many women, even in the most egalitarian European countries, work part time (Nätti, 1995; Blossfeld & Hakim, 1997; Lanninger & Sundström, 2013). There are direct consequences of part-time working for women's salaries, careers and future pensions.

The relationship between care and the labour market has been established by numerous feminist scholars. Thus, Heidi Hartman (1979) explains that the care role assigned to and assumed by women is prior to the creation of the market itself. She asserts that patriarchy is antecedent to capitalism and that what we have today is a patriarchal capitalism:

The crucial elements of patriarchy, as we usually experience them, are: heterosexual marriage (and the consequent homophobia), the upbringing of children and domestic work by women, the dependence of women on men (imposed by labor market devices), the State and numerous institutions based on social relations between men: clubs, sports, unions, professions, universities, churches, corporations and the army. All these elements have to be examined if one wants to understand patriarchal capitalism. (1979: 13-14)

The Spanish authors Carrasco, Borderías and Torns (2011) adopt a historical perspective, noting that domestic work has shown great variability over time, but they also maintain that "the devaluation of care work was a social construction that accompanied the development of mercantile production" (p. 16). This increasing devaluation of care work is one of the reasons why men tend to move away from care and not to perceive themselves as co-responsible parents. It also motivates young women with a strong career commitment to live alone (Vogtman, 2017).

Elisabeth Badinter (1981) traces the history of the social assignment of roles in a study of maternal attitudes from the 17th to 20th centuries, concluding that the maternal instinct is a myth: "We have not found any universal and necessary behaviour of the mother. On the contrary, we have verified the extremely variable character of her feelings, according to her culture, her ambitions, her frustrations" (p. 390).

In short, the strengthening of early capitalism widened the gap between domestic and paid work, devaluing the former, perhaps due to the difficulty of the direct extraction of surplus value from the work of care. As capitalism has advanced, women have increasingly entered the labour market, but men have not been recruited in an equivalent way to unpaid work at home. Within advanced capitalism, only formal equality has been realized in the labour market. It remains merely formal because despite legislation establishing equality in employment, men and women enter employment under conditions which differ from the outset. Men are free to do whatever work is demanded of them and to work wherever they are sent, while women have less time and less freedom to pursue paid work, since they still have to perform the bulk of domestic work and care, which reduces their availability and flexibility in relation to both time and mobility.

The degree to which women are subjected to caregiving responsibilities is what makes a differential impact on their careers. Young women know this and it frequently

determines their educational and occupational choices: they foresee the potential impacts of work and of family on the course of their lives and choose accordingly (Díaz Martínez, 1996). Care for the family can generate discontinuous employment trajectories which will result in a greater pay gap and later in life, a wider pension gap (Cebrián & Moreno, 2015). Furthermore, according to Eydal and Gíslason (2008), it leads many women to reduce their commitment to paid work, to lower their own status and to resign from management positions in order to make work compatible with family life. This view contrasts with the position of Hackim (2006), who maintains that women resign from management positions because they lack aspiration and prefer domestic work. Whether women choose to reduce their work commitments or whether they are forced to do so by the unwillingness of their partners to help with domestic tasks, the truth is that there is a lack of compatibility (in terms of time, of scheduling and of functions) between home care and management positions. The multiple demands and targets to be achieved in care work can exhaust or fulfil the aspirations of many women subjected to the double burden of care and paid work, limiting their employment opportunities, especially if their partners accept little co-responsibility.

The impact of the care gap on the wage gap is found in mixed activity sectors as well as in feminized ones, although in the latter women suffer an even greater impact on their salaries, since the work tends to be less valued and the wage gap more accentuated, as pointed out by Torns et al. (2016) in their analysis of the correspondence in Spain between a wider wage gap and a greater female presence, with the exception of the health and education sectors:

The sectors with the lowest wage gap are Extractive Industries (7.03%), Transport and Storage (9.07%) and Construction (10.54%), which have a lower feminization index. Likewise, the sectors that present a higher wage gap, such as Other Services (35.19%), Administrative Activities and Auxiliary Services (33.07%) and Professional, Scientific and Technical Activities (30.73%), are characterized by a high feminization index. (2016: 98)

4.7 Women's and men's uses of their own time

Time is not cumulative; it is not possible to manipulate it or to recover lost time with new doses of time. The more time is devoted to one activity, the less is left for others. Time spent on paid work is not normally decided by the worker, while that spent on domestic and care work depends on the agreement (explicit or implicit) of the couple and the balance of power between them. Care time is discontinuous, has fixed and inflexible elements (meal times, school pick-up, day centre hours, etc.) and others related to unexpected and emergent events (illnesses, damage to the home, etc.). Care can take a long or short time but always demands availability to deal with tasks whenever they arise, which generates great stress (Valls-Llobet, 2009). This stress arises from the lack of time for oneself. Perhaps for this reason, a clock on a podium is the image on the cover of the first edition of Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own*, published in 1929. It must be recognized that women's lack of free time is not a new concept. We are seeking a sociological formulation of the phenomenon of women's lack of free time to highlight its effect on other forms of gender discrimination. We reformulate it here under the name of "free time gap" in order to give it a semantic and analytical continuity with gender gaps studied previously.

According to the Gender Equality Index 2015, there is a noticeable time gap in the five countries of our study:

Time / Social activities

EU-28: 61.26

Slovenia: 76.4

Italy: 57.4

Spain: 55.0

Portugal: 43.0

Cyprus: 40.0

Although these figures expose and illuminate the gender gap in care, it should be noted that they take account of only one aspect of care work (manifested in certain easily measurable activities), while another equally important component remains in the shade. Hochschild (1980) terms this hidden element “emotional labor”, observing that women, as well as the majority of those who care for children and the elderly, prioritize the happiness of the others over their own feelings.

To reveal these other dimensions of care, invisible to the accounting of time, we need to develop new concepts.

4.8 Towards a definition of the care gap

Socialist feminists, especially in the 1970s but including Maureen Mackintosh (1981), have preferred the term “reproductive work” rather than “care”. The care which is considered in this study is unpaid and usually performed in the home, but sometimes also in the homes of family members or friends. It consists of the tasks necessary to sustain one’s own life and that of the family and to maintain family and social ties. It includes physical activities performed on inanimate objects (cleaning, preparing food, driving, etc.), physical activities performed on people (relatives and/or friends) and mental activities, such as planning and time management, managing economic resources, the prioritization and sequencing of tasks and routines, the control of the work of other people (family or contractors) and the management of emotions and interpersonal links in the family and with friends. From the 1970s to the present, there has been a notable controversy as to whether such care should be paid and if so, by whom (Satz & Sutton, 2010; Mullin, 2005).

Care includes the care of people in the sense of personal attention given to those who need it because they are very young, very old or have some disease or disability, as well as to those without biological or circumstantial limitations but who do not take care of themselves, whether entirely or at all. The most common example of the latter case is that of healthy men of working age who transfer their own care and their ‘fair share’ of domestic work to other people in the family, usually mothers, wives or daughters.

To summarize this section of the report, the concept of a gender gap in care and domestic work, or more simply the care gap, refers to the unequal dedication of women and men to the care of the home and of the members of the household, especially of infants, the elderly and other dependents, within the framework of family relationships.

Part III

The institutional framework

Maria Angeli, Chiara Cristini, Fulvia Riccardi

5 Institutional framework

5.1 Policy levers to address the underrepresentation of women in the EU labour market - *Chiara Cristini and Fulvia Ricciardi (IRES-Friuli Venezia Giulia)*

There are a number of policy levers that are intended to tackle the challenge of women's low participation in the labour market. These include work-life balance policies such as the provision of gender-balanced family-related leave, flexible working arrangements and formal care services, as well as policies to limit the economic disincentives for women to work.

5.1.1 Work-life balance policies to address the unbalanced sharing of caring responsibilities

5.1.1.1 Gender-balanced family-related leave

The provision of compensated family-related leave tends to boost female labour-force participation by helping women to reconcile work and family life, by allowing them some time off when they have a young child to care for and by strengthening their attachment to the labour market.

Evidence also shows that effective protection against dismissal for pregnant workers or those returning from leave can play an important role in keeping women in the labour market. On the other hand, excessively long leave has been shown to have a harmful effect on women's careers, making it more difficult for them to resume employment.

A balanced use of leave entitlement between women and men after childbirth has also been shown to have positive effects on the distribution of household and care responsibilities and on female labour market outcomes. The use of leave arrangements by fathers reduces some of the burden of care on mothers, thus enabling women to return to the labour market sooner. However, fathers' take-up of paternity and parental leave is generally very low and when fathers do take leave, it is usually for a very short time. The level of the benefit and the degree of flexibility (i.e. whether or not leave can be taken on a piecemeal or part-time basis) can help to improve take-up by men, as can reserving leave periods for fathers (paternity leave and non-transferable parental leave). Adequate leave to take care of other dependent relatives can also have a positive impact on female employment. Where there is no provision for carers' leave, it is generally women who will work part time or drop out of the labour market to take care of a relative for a short time.

5.1.1.2 Flexible working arrangements

Insufficient availability of flexible working arrangements, such as telework and flexi-time, and of reduced hours (part-time working) can lead people with caring responsibilities, particularly women, to exit the labour market. Key drivers of effectiveness are the presence of consensus among the social partners that flexibility is valuable,

a workplace culture supportive of flexible working, and responsiveness to changing needs over the course of one's life. However, the availability of part-time work can lead to gender wage gaps and in the longer run reinforce the gender pension gap, because women often take on part-time work in response to their heavier share of caring responsibilities. Ensuring both the quality of flexible work and a gender-balanced take-up of these arrangements is key to ensuring gender equality.

5.1.1.3 Accessible, affordable and quality formal care services

Formal care services are important tools to remove obstacles to employment. The headline indicator of the Social Scoreboard for early childhood care is the enrolment of children aged less than three years in formal childcare. In 2015, only 31% of children under three were enrolled in formal childcare. Low attendance rates may reflect possible shortfalls in the provision of formal childcare services, especially for children up to three years of age. In addition to a lack of available places, difficulties in access (distance, opening hours, strict eligibility criteria), the high out-of-pocket cost of these services and poor quality have all been shown to be obstacles to the use of these services.

Demographic ageing leads to a rise in demand for long-term care services, one that is expected to continue in the future. However, these services remain underdeveloped in many Member States. The lack of adequate long-term care arrangements negatively affects the labour market participation of informal carers, a disproportionate share of whom are women.

5.1.2 Policy levers to address economic disincentives for women to work

5.1.2.1 Adjusting tax-benefit systems to reduce financial disincentives for second earners

A key feature of the tax-benefit system affecting the incentives for second earners to work is the degree of jointness of taxation and of eligibility for benefits, transferable tax credits and dependent spouse allowances. In most EU countries, the unit of taxation is the individual. However, in some countries couples are taxed jointly (e.g. Germany, France, Ireland, Luxembourg and Portugal) or may opt for joint taxation (e.g. Spain). Shifting from joint to individual taxation systems can help reduce disincentives, particularly in countries with highly progressive taxation. Eliminating transferable tax credits between partners can also help to reduce work disincentives for the lower earner, as can eliminating dependent spouse allowances.

5.1.2.2 Tackling the gender pay gap

Part-time work and career breaks for care responsibilities have a negative impact on women's hourly wages and on their career prospects. Strengthening public awareness of anti-discrimination laws, promoting pay transparency and improving enforcement of equal pay provisions also contribute to reducing wage inequalities. Initiatives to tackle gender imbalances in education, training and in the labour market can help women to access higher-wage professions and sectors. Policies to improve students'

awareness of fast-growing industries and high-paying jobs may reduce gender stereotypes in the choice of field of study at university and increase female representation in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM). Raising awareness among men about some of the top growth occupations that are predominantly occupied by women can also help.

5.2 EU policy measures promoting women's labour-market participation

Many EU Member States have undertaken reforms to enhance work-life balance policies and increase the labour-force participation of women. To increase the provision of childcare, most Member States have committed to providing a place for all children, either by establishing a legal entitlement to these services or by making attendance compulsory for at least the last pre-primary year (three countries, namely Italy, Lithuania and Slovakia, have not yet introduced either of these measures). Nevertheless, in many Member States gaps remain between the end (maximum duration) of adequately paid leave (maternity or parental) and the start of childcare entitlement or compulsory school age. Currently only six Member States (Germany, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Estonia and Slovenia) do not have such a gap.

In many Member States, reforms are currently ongoing to significantly expand childcare. For instance, in 2014 Malta introduced a free childcare scheme for children under the age of three years to incentivise more parents, particularly mothers, to return to or remain in work. This reform has contributed to a significant increase in the number of children enrolled in childcare centres. In 2017, some Member States also introduced measures to develop services for children in disadvantaged communities (Hungary) and for job-seekers' children (France). Austria has announced investments to increase the number and availability of places in all-day schools and to improve the quality of their services. Some Member States have launched reforms to encourage a more equal sharing of family-related leave entitlement between women and men. In 2016, Luxembourg adopted a reform of its parental leave system to make it more flexible and better compensated. In 2017, the Czech Republic and Cyprus both introduced new entitlements to paternity leave and Portugal extended the period of leave. In 2016/2017, Belgium, the Czech Republic and Italy introduced measures to facilitate more flexibility in the organisation of work.

Some Member States have introduced targeted measures to encourage women to re-enter the labour market while their children are still very young. For instance, in 2017 Bulgaria adopted a measure to provide some childcare benefit to mothers with children under one year old who return to employment. Similarly, in Romania, such benefits increased in 2017 (the incentive is granted until the child is three, if the parents start working at least 60 days before the child turns two years old). Other Member States have developed schemes targeted at women who have already taken lengthy career breaks. This is the case of the 'returnship' scheme in the UK, launched in 2017. Likewise, Luxembourg has passed a law to strengthen the principle of equal pay for women and men, and supported awareness-raising campaigns and other actions to eliminate barriers to female employment.

5.3 Policy developments on gender and education - *Maria Angeli (Mediterranean Institute of Gender Studies)*

5.3.1 European level

European Member States are responsible for their own education and training systems. However, EU policy provides relevant support to national action to address common challenges. This support takes many forms: the EU facilitates and encourages the exchange of good practices and mutual learning, gathers and shares data and evidence that can support policy reforms, and funds and coordinates specific programmes (e.g. the Erasmus+ funding programme for education, training, youth and sport).¹² The following paragraphs provide an overview of the most recent policy initiatives and programmes developed at the EU level, both by the Commission and by the Parliament.

5.3.1.1 *European Commission*

- *EU cooperation in education and training (ET 2020)*

In 2009 the European Commission adopted a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training (ET2020),¹³ which sets the EU's main common targets and objectives to address by 2020 the challenges facing education and training systems. ET2020 supports Member States in the exchange of good practices, mutual learning, and the collection and dissemination of information, as well as advice or support measures for strategic educational reforms. The implementation of the ET2020 strategic framework is ensured by a number of working groups,¹⁴ tasked with the definition of common tools and policy guidelines at European level. In 2013, the working group on Early School Leaving (ESL 2011-2013) and the Thematic Working Group on Mathematics, Science and Technology (2010-2013) produced reports including an analysis of gender patterns in early school leaving and in reading literacy respectively.

- *Joint report on progress in the implementation of the ET2020 strategic framework*

In 2015 the European Commission and the European Council drafted a joint report on progress in the implementation of the ET2020 strategic framework,¹⁵ on the basis of which new priority areas were agreed. The priority area of “inclusive education, equality, equity, non-discrimination and the promotion of civic competences” covers the issues of gender gaps in education and training, and the elimination of gender segregation in subject choices.

12 http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/index_en.htm

13 <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=URISERV%3Aef0016>

14 Working groups are composed of experts nominated by Member States and other key stakeholders

15 [http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52015XG1215\(02\)&from=EN](http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:52015XG1215(02)&from=EN)

- *DG EAC Education and Training Monitor*

Every year, the Directorate General for Education and Culture issues a monitoring report on issues directly related to the ET2020 priority areas, such as the Europe 2020 headline targets, education investment and educational poverty. The 2017 edition¹⁶ provides an analysis of the gender-related differences in educational performance, providing a comparison across Member States.

- *Paris Declaration on promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education*

The EU Ministers of Education and the European Commissioner for Education, Training, Youth and Sport agreed to ensure inclusive education for all children and young people, respecting gender equality. The agreement was made within the framework of the 2015 Paris Declaration on promoting citizenship and the common values of freedom, tolerance and non-discrimination through education,¹⁷ which calls for renewed efforts to reinforce the acceptance of common European fundamental values and recalls the importance of laying the foundations for more inclusive societies through education.

- *Strategy for equality between women and men (2010–2015 and 2016–2019)*

The first priority of the strategy for equality between women and men (2010–2015) of the European Commission, equal economic independence, foresees actions focused on reducing gender segregation in education and training in the scientific and ICT fields.¹⁸ Within this framework, the Commission the EU have been especially concerned with the issue of inequalities and differences in access to education, with the segregation of tertiary education and in particular with bridging the gender gap in STEM and ICT to meet the need for qualified workers in science and technology. This commitment is reaffirmed in the Commission's staff working document (Strategic engagement for gender equality 2016–2020),¹⁹ which includes actions to promote gender equality in all educational fields, in line with the priorities set out in the ET2020 framework (2016–2019).²⁰

- *EU plan of action on gender equality and women's empowerment in development (2010–2015 and 2016–2020)*

The European Commission also underlines the importance of equal access to education in non-EU countries in the EU plan of action on gender equality and women's

16 https://ec.europa.eu/education/sites/education/files/monitor2017_en.pdf

17 https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/fpfis/mwikis/eurydice/images/1/14/Leaflet_Paris_Declaration.pdf

18 Strategy for equality between women and men (2010 – 2015), http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/strategy_equality_women_men_en.pdf.

19 http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/documents/151203_strategic_engagement_en.pdf

20 http://ec.europa.eu/justice/gender-equality/files/documents/151203_strategic_engagement_en.pdf, p. 8

empowerment in development (2010–2015)²¹ and in the new EU plan of action, the new framework for gender equality and women’s empowerment: transforming the lives of girls and women through EU external relations (2016–2020).²²

- *European funded programmes*

The gender equality dimension is also mainstreamed in several European funded programmes, such as Erasmus+, the EU funding programme for education, training, youth and sport (2014–2020),²³ which provides opportunities for gender-related work, and its predecessor, the Lifelong Learning Programme (2007–2013), which supported transnational projects on gender issues and enabled gender-sensitive learning mobility.

Additionally, the Rights, Equality and Citizenship/Justice programme (2014–2020) funded transnational projects to promote good practices on gender roles, to overcome gender stereotypes in education, training and in the workplace and to tackle gender segregation in education.

Another programme that aims at conveying the value of education, especially to girls, is the ROMED II programme (2013–2015). Jointly funded and managed by the Council of Europe and the European Commission, ROMED II is devoted to community empowerment with the support of mediators, providing training for Roma mediators in the fields of school, culture and health. The programme supports women/mothers to help address gender imbalances in literacy and gender-based discrimination in traditional settings, also by helping them understand the importance of education for their children.

- *Other initiatives and projects*

Among other initiatives and projects relevant to the issues of gender and education is the European Tertiary Education Register (ETER).²⁴ The aim of the ETER project is to map higher education institutions in Europe, providing comparable data on the number of students, graduates, international doctorates, staff, fields of study, income and expenditure, as well as descriptive information on their characteristics, with a breakdown by gender for most variables. ETER was funded by the European Commission in 2013 (first phase) and in 2015–2017 (second phase). Another initiative worth mentioning is “Science: it’s a girl thing”,²⁵ by which the European Commission aims to increase the number of girls and women in STEM fields of study and employment. Within the framework of this initiative, several campaigns, events, competitions and other activities have been organized, along with the promotion of women in sciences.

21 EU Plan of action on gender equality and women’s empowerment in development (2010–2015), <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/doc/srv?l=EN&f=ST %207261 %202010 %20INIT>.

22 European Commission, Factsheet on the new framework for gender equality and women’s empowerment: Transforming the lives of girls and women through EU external relations (2016–2020), 2015, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-15-5691_en.htm.

23 <http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/erasmus-plus/>

24 http://ec.europa.eu/education/tools/education-register_en.htm

25 <http://science-girl-thing.eu/en/splash>

5.3.1.2 *European Institute for Gender Equality*

- *Gender mainstreaming in education and training*

The European Institute for Gender Equality has created an online platform to support policymakers and all relevant institutions in their efforts to promote gender equality and gender mainstreaming. The policy areas of gender mainstreaming include the field of education. More specifically, the platform provides specific expertise, knowledge and good practice on gender mainstreaming in educational systems around Europe. In 2016, EIGE drafted a report on Gender in Education and Training²⁶ with the collaboration of national experts. The report provides data on gender inequalities in education, gender equality objectives and policy priorities at the EU level, as well as guidelines on how to integrate the gender dimension into education and training.

5.3.1.3 *European Parliament*

- *EU strategy for equality between women and men post-2015*

The EU strategy for equality between women and men post-2015,²⁷ adopted by the European Parliament in 2015, highlights the importance of education in combating gender stereotypes and gender-based discrimination. It also stresses the persistent problem of gender segregation in many educational institutions, where the educational tools often reinforce gender stereotypes and the traditional roles of men and women in society.

- *European Parliament resolution on empowering girls through education*

The European Parliament Resolution 2014/2250(INI) on empowering girls through education in the EU,²⁸ adopted in September 2015, reaffirms the importance of education in combating gender stereotypes and in empowering women. It also underlines the persistent differences between boys and girls in terms of equal attainment and access to education. This resolution specifically stresses the issue of discrimination against vulnerable groups of women and girls, such as those with disabilities and with special educational needs, and stresses the importance of informal education.

- *European Parliament resolution on the EU and the global development framework after 2015*

In resolution 2014/2143(INI) on the EU and the global development framework after 2015,²⁹ the European Parliament underlines the importance of enhancing girls' access

26 <http://eige.europa.eu/rdc/eige-publications/gender-education-and-training>

27 The EU Strategy for equality between women and men post-2015, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/summary.do?id=1392612&t=d&l=en>

28 European Parliament Resolution on empowering girls through education in the EU (2014/2250(INI)), <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+REPORT+A8-2015-0206+0+DOC+XML+Vo//EN>

29 European Parliament Resolution of 25 November 2014 on the EU and the global development framework after 2015 (2014/2143(INI)), <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P8-TA-2014-0059+0+DOC+XML+Vo//EN>.

to all levels of education and removing gender barriers to learning, emphasising the central role women will play in the global development framework post-2015.

5.3.2 National level

5.3.2.1 CYPRUS

In Cyprus, the Ministry of Education and Culture has established a committee to monitor and coordinate activities promoting gender equality in education. One of its most important activities was the **Strategic Action Plan on Gender Equality in Education (2014–2017)**³⁰, which includes the following measures:

- Structural reform of the education system (i.e. the introduction of programmes to increase girls' participation in technical fields of study, the use of new technologies and the development of a New Modern Apprenticeship for girls).
- Training and workshops in gender equality and gender sensitisation for teachers and career guidance counsellors.
- Strengthening school resources on gender, i.e. developing up-to-date educational material to combat gender stereotypes from an early age, particularly by encouraging boys to participate actively in family life and girls to take part in politics/public life; by encouraging relationships based on equality and mutual respect between the sexes; and by introducing vocational and social education.

The **Cypriot Educational Reform Programme (2010-2011)** introduced a number of changes throughout the primary and secondary school curricula. In this process, the gender dimension was recognised as one of the parameters of the reformed school curriculum. Specific learning objectives related to gender equality were introduced under the subjects of Health and Life Skills Education (Agogi Ygeias) in elementary schools and under Home Economics in secondary schools (gymnasium level, up to the age of 15).

In addition, the Cyprus Pedagogical Institute of the Ministry of Education and Culture has launched a **webpage dedicated to gender equality**,³¹ offering easy access to relevant material and information on good practice. The webpage includes useful material for teachers on promoting gender equality through education, reducing negative gender stereotypes and providing equal opportunities to girls and boys in the learning process.

³⁰ Available in Greek here

³¹ Cyprus Pedagogical Institute http://www.pi.ac.cy/pi/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=910&Itemid=383&lang=el.

5.3.2.2 ITALY

The recent Italian **National Plan for Digital**³² includes actions to encourage and support girls in STEM under the heading of “Schoolgirls in Tech & Sciences”. Some of the most relevant planned activities are the following:

STEM Month - Girl Students Want to Count! is an initiative of the Italian Ministry of Education in collaboration with the Department for Equal Opportunities of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. The STEM Month initiative provides schools with several tools to promote STEM, eradicate the stereotype that STEM fields “are more appropriate for boys” and inform students about career opportunities in STEM.

The **Girls code it better** project foresees 1,800 hours of afternoon club lessons for girls to learn creative technologies (3D printing, Arduino, apps, gaming, etc.) through the design and creation of one or more products, together with a coach and a coach-maker.

In summer, we learn STEMS: the Department for Equal Opportunities of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers published, in agreement with the Italian Ministry of Education, a call for proposals in late 2016 to fund projects offering science courses to girls and boys during the summer months.

The Girls can project was launched in 2014 and used different tools such as mentoring in schools, motivational workshops, and information helpdesks to attract girls to STEM fields of study.

5.3.2.3 SPAIN

The gender equality unit (Unidad de Igualdad de Género) of the Spanish Ministry of Education has, since its establishment in 1980, initiated periodic action plans to promote gender equality at all levels (Valiente, 2006). The latest **action plan for gender equality 2014-2016** includes a chapter on education. Actions for gender equality include the regular revision of textbooks and other teaching materials in order to remove gender stereotypes, balance the representation of women and men in textbooks and include gender equality values in them (Flecha, 2014).

Also in Spain, gender-sensitive career counselling sessions are provided to secondary education students in schools and other institutions and organizations. For example, in 2016, the Royal Academy of Engineering launched the **Woman and engineering** project to encourage girls and women to study STEM, as well as to support and promote women in engineering and women in decision making (Real Academia de Ingeniería, 2017a). In addition, some technical universities have established **girls’ days**, when girls in the final years of their secondary education visit a university and receive information and encouragement to choose STEM fields of study. The first girls’ day was organized in 2008 by the University of Zaragoza and other universities followed (Asociación de Mujeres Investigadoras y Tecnólogas, 2017). Within this framework,

32 National Plan for Digital helps school in their innovation and digitization process <http://www.miur.gov.it/scuola-digitale>

the Universidad Carlos III in Madrid launched a mentoring programme whereby female engineering students received support and advice from other female engineering students and female engineers (Real Academia de Ingeniería, 2017b).

5.3.2.4 PORTUGAL

The **5th National Plan for Gender Equality, Citizenship and Non-discrimination (2014–2017)**³³ is an inter-ministerial initiative of the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality designed to promote gender equality in Portugal. The plan includes “Education, Science and Culture”; more specifically, within this framework are guidelines on education, gender and citizenship, for gender mainstreaming in primary and secondary education and in school curricular programmes, approved by the Directorate-General for Education of the Ministry of Education.

The 5th Plan also includes financing of €78,000 for 28 training courses for education professionals, to promote the integration of gender equality from pre-school to upper-secondary education (Directorate-General for Education and the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality, 2015).

5.3.2.5 SLOVENIA

The Slovenian **National Programme for Equal Opportunities of Women and Men (2005–2013)** included the aim to tackle gender-based segregation in subject choices in secondary and higher education levels and in both in-school and out-of-school activities. With a focus on the equal participation of girls and boys in school and extra-curricular activities and on reducing gender segregation in education and employment, the plan included the use of European Structural Funds to support projects in schools that challenge the dominant stereotypical assumptions about certain fields being “more appropriate” for women or men. The activities of the plan included the development of curricula concerning equal opportunities; the development of teaching materials to raise awareness of gender equality and gender segregation; teacher training; the development of indicators to monitor gender equality in educational opportunities, especially in fields that are segregated by gender; and the development of indicators on the inclusion of girls and boys in school and extra-curricular activities.

In addition, the **Resolution on the National Programme for Equal Opportunities (2015–2020)**³⁴ aims at combating gender stereotypes and gender segregation in education and employment. Activities within the framework of this resolution include the Girls’ Day project, with workshops, seminars and visits to male-dominated companies. Girls’ days are organized each year by the ministries of Education and Labour, in collaboration with employers’ organizations.

33 Source: http://www.mddsz.gov.si/fileadmin/mddsz.gov.si/pageuploads/dokumenti____pdf/enake_moznosti/NFMPublikacijaResolucijaAN.pdf

34 <http://eige.europa.eu/gender-mainstreaming/countries/slovenia/laws-and-policies>

Part IV

Results of statistical analysis

Anna Giulia Ingellis (University of Valencia)

6 Gender gaps in education and at work - *Anna Giulia Ingellis* (University of Valencia)

The education-to-work transition is a particularly significant moment in any individuals' biography, because it will have substantial consequences throughout life. Furthermore, it occurs during adolescence, which itself is a transitional phase from childhood to youth. It is a stressful period for both youngsters and their parents. The present research has aimed to draw a picture of the gender gaps young people have to deal with when making decisions about their future. To focus on the education-to-work transition, we have analysed gaps both at work and in education. In this section, we present the main results of our analysis, referring as much as possible to the year 2017; where data for that year were not available, we have used the most recent data available.³⁵

6.1 Gender gaps at work: an up-to-date comparative analysis (2017)

This section describes, from a comparative perspective, the position of women in the labour markets of FtC countries. It first considers to what extent women are included in the labour market, then it explores the quality of women's work and elucidates the differences between women and men. Finally, it seeks to establish the extent to which we can speak about inequalities, exploring a wide range of types of discrimination: horizontal and vertical segregation, the glass ceiling and precariousness, among others.

6.1.1 The presence of women in the labour market

6.1.1.1 *Active population*

The active population rate is a clear indicator of the proportion of the population involved in the labour market. Nevertheless, being active does not necessarily mean having a job; the Eurostat definition of "active population" comprises both the employed and those available for work but unemployed.³⁶

As Table 1 and Figure 1 show, the proportion of women aged 15-64 in the EU labour market (both the EU-28 and the EU-15) is more than 10 points lower than for men. As for the countries participating in the FtC project, they vary considerably. First, it

³⁵ For further details, see Section 3 (Methodology).

³⁶ "The labour force or workforce or economically active population, also shortened to active population, includes both employed (employees and self-employed) and unemployed people, but not the economically inactive, such as pre-school children, school children, students and pensioners." Eurostat Labour Force Glossary
https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Glossary:Labour_force

is striking that the extent to which women are absent from the labour market in Italy exceeds that of all other participating countries: the Italian gender gap (19.1) is almost double the EU average. Conversely, Slovenia has the narrowest gender gap (5.9) among the FtC five, at half the European average, and Portugal has a similar gap (6.3), while Spain and Cyprus have slightly better figures than the EU average.

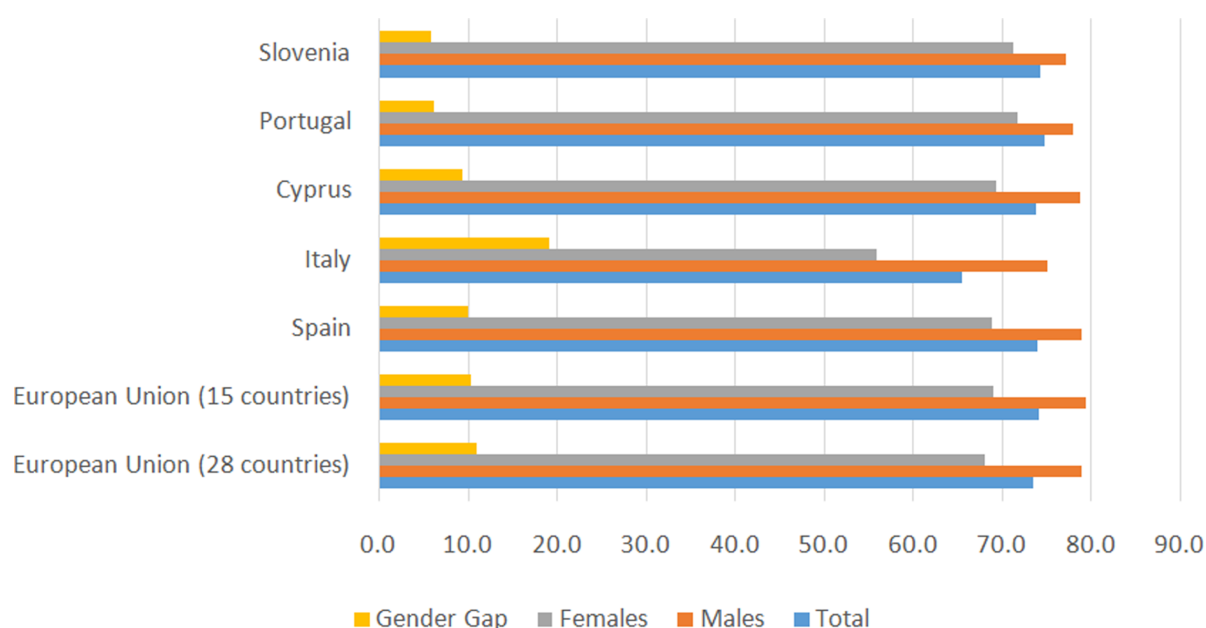
Table 1. Active population (15-64) by sex and gender gap, 2017

	Total	Males	Females	Gender Gap
EU-28	73.4	78.9	67.9	11.0
EU-15	74.1	79.3	68.9	10.4
Spain	73.9	78.9	68.8	10.1
Italy	65.4	75.0	55.9	19.1
Cyprus	73.7	78.6	69.2	9.4
Portugal	74.7	77.9	71.6	6.3
Slovenia	74.2	77.1	71.2	5.9

Source: Eurostat (lfsi_emp_a) extracted 09.05.18

As to the total active population rate, this is more or less similar in four of the five countries, around the EU average, but noticeably lower in Italy. Comparing the Italian and EU-28 data shows that the difference in total active population rate (8 points) is exactly the same as the difference in active population gender gap. In other words, the number of women ‘missing’ from the labour market accounts for the difference in the total Italian active population rate. It is easy to imagine the disadvantage that this fact represents, in terms not only of equality but also of productivity and gross national product. Women’s absence makes the difference.

Figure 1. Active Population (15-64) by sex, gender gap, 2017



Source: Eurostat (lfsi_emp_a) extracted 09.05.18

To sum up, a greater proportion of the female population than of the male is absent from the labour market, that is to say not involved in the formal productive system, and not contributing to the officially recorded gross national product. This is not only a matter of fairness and equality between men and women, but a waste of human and economic resources.

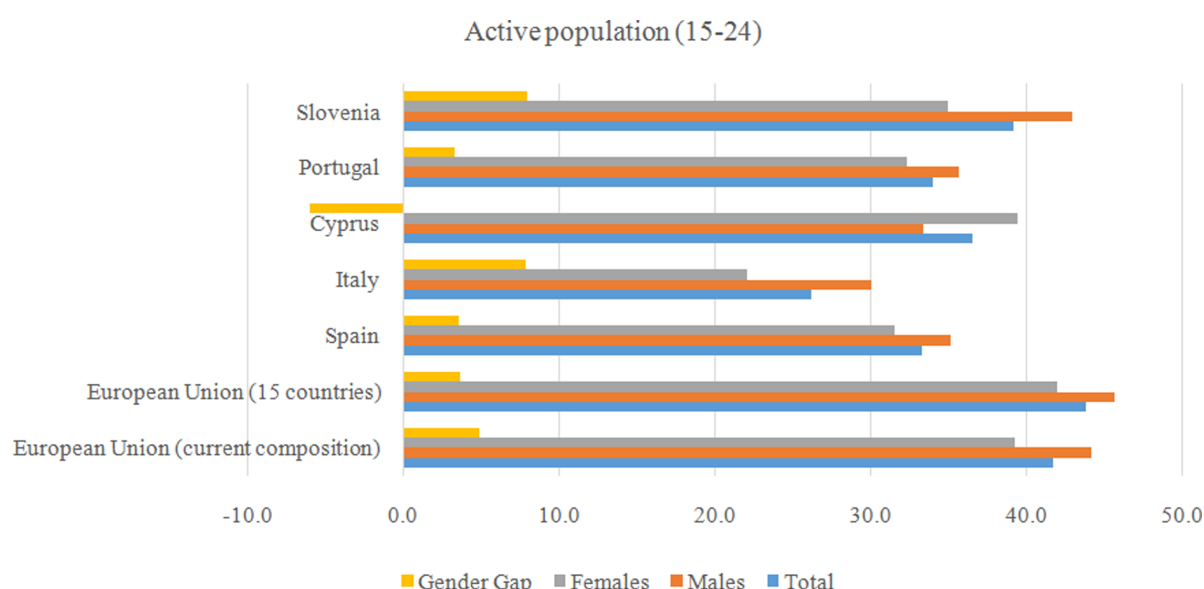
Turning to young people, Table 2 and Figure 2 show that Spain and Portugal lead equality in terms of young people's presence in the labour market. All of the FtC countries are characterized by a reduced presence of young people in the labour market: ten points less, on average. Nevertheless, the average conceals a broad spread and reveals nothing, as explained below, about the segment of the labour market in which they are involved or the quality of their jobs.

Table 2. Active population (15-24) by sex and gender gap, 2017

	Total	Males	Females	Gender Gap
EU-28	41.7	44.1	39.2	4.9
EU-15	43.8	45.6	41.9	3.7
Spain	33.3	35.1	31.5	3.6
Italy	26.2	30.0	22.1	7.9
Cyprus	36.5	33.4	39.4	-6.0
Portugal	34.0	35.6	32.3	3.3
Slovenia	39.1	42.9	34.9	8.0

Source: Eurostat (*lfsi_emp_a*) extracted 09.05.18

Figure 2. Active population /(15-24) by sex, gender gap, 2017



Source: Eurostat (*lfsi_emp_a*) extracted 09.05.18

The country with a youth active population rate closest to the EU average is Slovenia, while the furthest is Italy, at about 15 points below the average. It is in Italy that young people are the most excluded from the labour market: Not only does the country have

the lowest proportion of its population involved in the labour market, but young people and women are even more excluded than male adults. It is true that the active population gender gap among young people in Italy, at 7.9 points, is 11 points less than in the population overall, but this difference is not as relevant as it may appear, since the gender gap in Italy is considerably wider than in Portugal, Spain or Cyprus and only marginally narrower than in Slovenia. Whilst the Italian figure is consistent with the global data, the situation in Slovenia is surprising. In marked contrast to the gender gap in its total active population, which is half of the EU-28 average, Slovenia has a gap among young people of 8.0 points, which is double the EU-28 average and significantly higher than for the population of Slovenia as a whole (5.9 points). Furthermore, the youth active population rate in Slovenia is higher than in any of the other FtC countries. This means that in a more favourable context in Slovenia, young women suffer a deeper exclusion from the labour market. Strongly contrasting with this result is the position of young females in Cyprus, whose rate of enrolment in the active population is significantly better than among young males. Spain and Portugal have gender gaps close to the EU-15 average, indicating that young women in those two countries have good opportunities for participation in the labour market.

Regarding this issue, it is worth investigating the reasons for economic inactivity from a gender perspective. The most recent available data, set out in Tables 3, 4 and 5, refer to 2011. Table 3 compares the five FtC countries on percentage of inactive population by gender, showing that in all five and in the EU-28 on average, the inactive condition affected women more than men. Among the FtC countries, Spain, Italy and Cyprus had a very similar distribution by sex in 2011, slightly more than two points higher than the EU-28 average, while Portugal and Slovenia are notable for a more gender-equal distribution of inactivity, almost 10 points more favourable to women than in the other three countries.

Table 3. Inactive population by sex, %, 2011

GEO/SEX	Males	Females
EU-28	37.08	62.92
Spain	34.84	65.16
Italy	34.99	65.01
Cyprus	34.07	65.93
Portugal	43.37	56.63
Slovenia	44.30	55.70

Source: Eurostat (hlth_dlmo6o) extracted 09.10.18

Given these figures, it must now be asked to what extent the condition of not actively seeking employment may be voluntary and, where it is voluntary, what the reasons may be for not doing so. The possible reasons considered by the Eurostat Labour Force Survey are these: awaiting recall to work (on lay-off); suffering from an illness or disability; meeting other family or personal responsibilities; looking after children or incapacitated adults; being in education; having retired from work; believing that no work is available; and other reasons. The data on reasons given for inactivity are presented in Table 4.

Which of the reasons considered in the survey are more gender unbalanced? The data show that more than half of the inactive people were either in education or retired; in

Table 4. Reasons for being inactive, %, 2011

REASONS	Awaiting recall to work (on lay-off)	Own illness or disability	Other family or personal responsibilities	Looking after children or incapacitated adults	In education or training	Retired	Think no work is available	No response	Other	Total
EU-28	0.44	1.66	7.75	10.04	35.58	17.53	4.96	12.55	9.50	100
Spain	0.43	2.57	21.73	9.73	38.41	7.38	6.85	3.52	9.37	100
Italy	1.34	1.23	6.31	11.15	32.28	15.20	9.83	1.01	21.64	100
Cyprus		1.27	19.28	11.39	51.34	6.60	4.39	1.12	4.59	100
Portugal	0.77	2.32	7.91	5.69	56.90	13.24	6.45	1.95	4.77	100
Slovenia		2.33	7.85	2.33	54.81	27.30	2.09	1.22	1.77	100

Source: Eurostat (hlth_dlmo6o) extracted 11.11.18

other words, they had not yet entered the labour market or had left it permanently. Among other reasons, care work and other personal and family responsibilities are seen to have a considerable weight, totalling almost 18%. A further five percent of inactive people believed that no work was available and were thus discouraged from searching for a job. Other reasons and ‘no response’ together account for more than 22% of respondents, all of which means that the reasons for economic inactivity are not sufficiently clear from the data in Table 4. It would therefore be interesting to explore them more deeply.

Table 5 sets out the data on reasons for not actively seeking employment by gender, for the EU-28 and the FtC five. It shows that in Italy, which was shown above to have a significant inactive population, not only were “other” reasons adduced twice as frequently as the EU-28 average and four times as frequently as in the other FtC countries, but female respondents accounted for almost 80% of those giving this response. This suggests that cultural factors may underlie many of these other responses. The Coming Out Italian national report (IRES FVG, 2018) and the Coming Out comparative report (Ingellis and Diaz, 2019) present evidence that among Italian women, the traditional family model and the very extended role of the housewife could explain their nonparticipation in the active population.

Interrogating the reasons for not actively seeking employment from a gender perspective, it is clear that care work was one of the main reasons for women to stay at home and out of the labour market. This was a female issue in more than 90% of the responses. As for those discouraged by a belief that no work was available, the percentages for women were twice as high as for men in all of the FtC countries except Slovenia, where the gender unbalance was strikingly slender, at 48% male to 52% female. Overall in the five FtC countries and in the EU-28, considerably more women than men said they thought no work would be available, an attitude that reflects a condition of exclusion.

As noted at the beginning of this subsection, people involved in the labour market as members of the active population can be either in work (employed³⁷) or actively searching for work (unemployed³⁸).

37 An “**employed person**” is a person aged 15 and over (or 16 and over in Iceland and Norway) who during the reference week performed work - even if just for one hour a week - for pay, profit or family gain. The **employment rate** is the percentage of employed persons in relation to the comparable total population. For the overall employment rate, the comparison is made with the population of working-age.” Eurostat Labour Force Glossary https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Glossary:Employed_person

38 An **unemployed** person is defined by Eurostat, according to the guidelines of the International Labour Organization, as:

- someone aged 15 to 74 (in Italy, Spain, the United Kingdom, Iceland and Norway: 16 to 74 years);
- without work during the reference week;
- available to start work within the next two weeks (or has already found a job to start within the next three months);
- actively having sought employment at some time during the last four weeks.

The **unemployment rate** is the number of people unemployed as a percentage of the labour force

<https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Glossary:Unemployment>

Table 5. Reasons not to be actively searching for a job, by sex, 2011

REASON	Awaiting recall to work (on lay-off)		Own illness or disability		Other family or personal responsibilities		Looking after children or incapacitated adults		In education or training		Retired		Think no work is available		No response		Other	
GEO/SEX	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
EU-28	50.89	49.11	46.98	53.02	9.22	90.78	3.90	96.10	49.48	50.52	46.15	53.85	41.01	58.99	36.22	63.78	28.41	71.59
Spain	71.32	28.68	60.82	56.12	6.10	93.90	3.11	96.89	50.89	49.11	70.92	29.08	31.03	68.97	41.68	58.32	36.32	63.68
Italy	43.68	56.32	67.31	54.31	14.22	85.78	1.13	98.87	47.86	52.14	59.49	40.51	33.75	66.25	41.05	58.95	21.20	78.80
Cyprus	:	:	0.71	51.93	7.88	92.12	:	99.29	46.97	53.03	55.74	44.26	29.51	70.51	:	69.17	52.69	47.31
Portugal	:	:	10.09	63.53	:	92.28	:	96.68	50.34	49.66	57.63	42.37	34.31	65.69	43.66	56.35	42.02	57.98
Slovenia	:	:	3.78	39.56	21.87	78.13	:	86.81	49.97	50.03	39.53	60.47	47.71	52.29	54.09	45.95	51.56	48.46

Source: Eurostat (hlth_dlmo6o) extracted 11.11.18

6.1.1.2 Employment

Having analysed the different rates of involvement in the labour force for women and men, let us now consider the gender differences in terms of employment. Table 6 shows that the EU-28 average gender gap is about 10.5 points and that the gap in all of the FtC countries except Italy and Spain is narrower than this; Spain has a gender gap more or less the same as that of the EU-28 average, while in Italy the disparity is once more at its greatest among the FtC five. Not only are Italian women twice as likely to be inactive as the EU average, but those who are active in the labour market are less likely to be in work than women in the other countries, by a margin of almost eight points. Portugal and Slovenia have the narrowest employment rate gender gaps, significantly better than the EU-28 average and only a little more than a third the size of the gap in Italy.

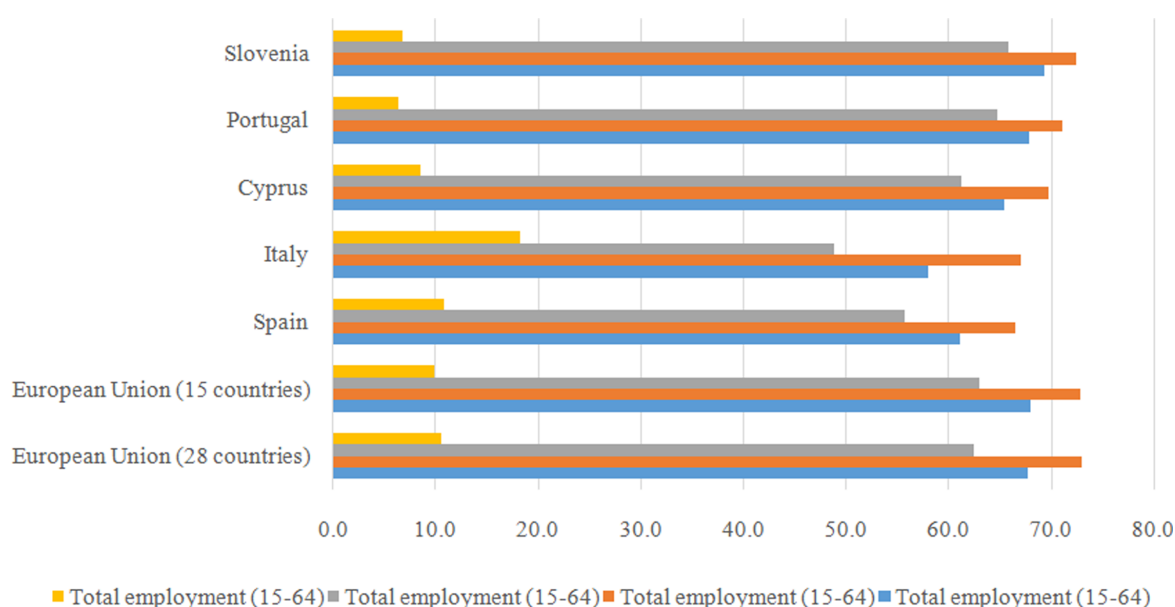
Table 6. Total employment (15-64)

	Total	Males	Females	Gender Gap
EU-28	67.7	73.0	62.5	10.5
EU-15	68.0	72.9	63.0	9.9
Spain	61.1	66.5	55.7	10.8
Italy	58.0	67.1	48.9	18.2
Cyprus	65.4	69.8	61.3	8.5
Portugal	67.8	71.1	64.8	6.3
Slovenia	69.3	72.5	65.8	6.7

Source: Eurostat (*lfsi_emp_a*) extracted 09.05.18

Once more, the disadvantaged position of women has an impact on the global indicators: the total employment rate in Italy is 10 points below the EU average and the weight of the difference suggests that it could depend on women's exclusion.

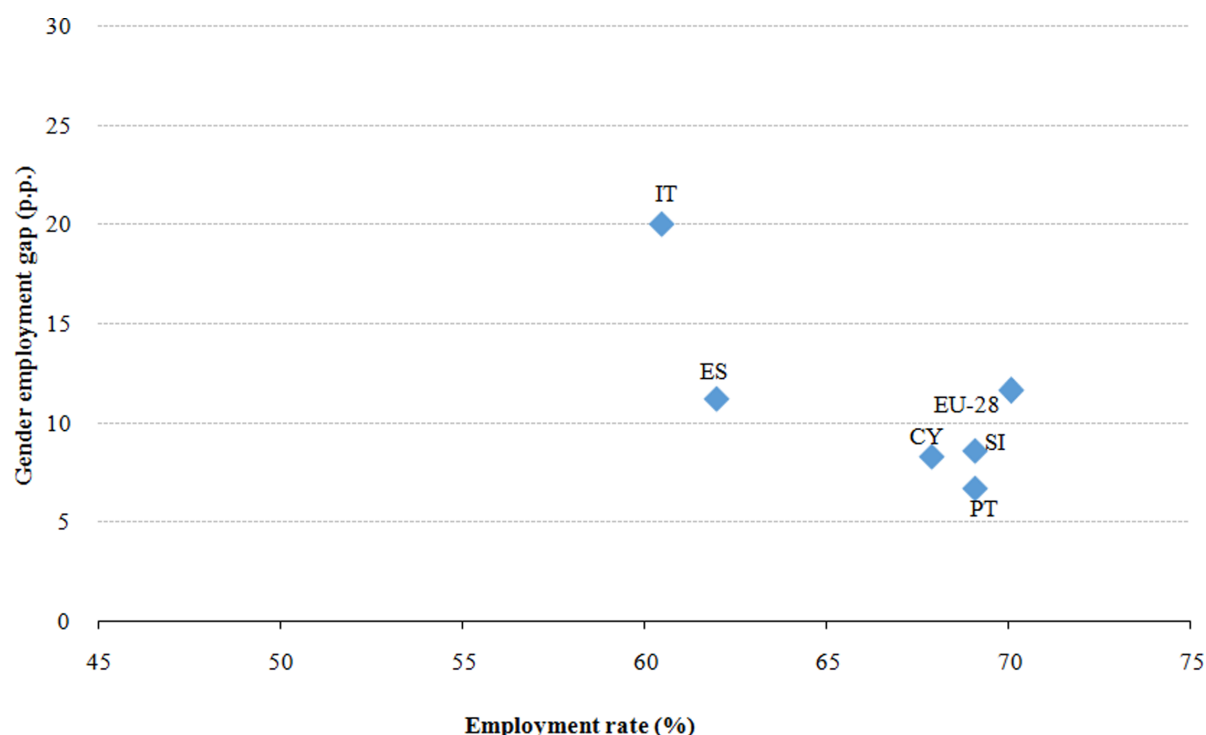
Figure 3. Total employment (15-64) by sex, gender gap, 2017



Source: Eurostat (*lfsi_emp_a*) extracted 09.05.18

The graph in Figure 4 shows that on one hand, Italy and Spain are similar in employment rate (ER) but very different in gender employment gap (GEG), which is twice as wide in Italy as in Spain, while on the other hand, Cyprus, Slovenia and Portugal have data similar to the EU-28 average: a higher employment rate and a lower GEG than in Italy.

Figure 4. Employment rates and gender employment gap (15-64), 2015



Source: Eurostat extracted 09.05.18

This seems to indicate that increasing the employment rate would be the first step towards better gender equality in employment: the higher the ER, the lower the GEG. Nevertheless, a lower ER does not necessarily mean a higher GEG, as illustrated by the case of Spain: despite a difficult situation in terms of ER, its GEG is very close to the EU-28 average and not much wider than in Cyprus, Slovenia or Portugal, all of which have a significantly better employment rate.

In the case of young people, Table 7 and Figure 5 reveal two phenomena: on one hand, in the five countries analysed in our study, the total employment rate is notably lower than the EU average, but on the other hand, the gender gaps are less significant in general. Within this trend, we can identify a wide range of different positions, above all regarding the total employment rate compared with the EU-28 average: from nine points lower in Portugal to almost 18 points lower in Italy. Slovenia is the only country of the FtC five with the same ER as the European average. Paradoxically, Slovenia is the country with the widest gender gap among young people. Despite having a good youth employment rate, Slovenia shows the widest gender gap of all the FtC countries and of the EU-28 average. In sharp contrast, young women in Cyprus are more likely to be employed than their male peers, with an employment rate about

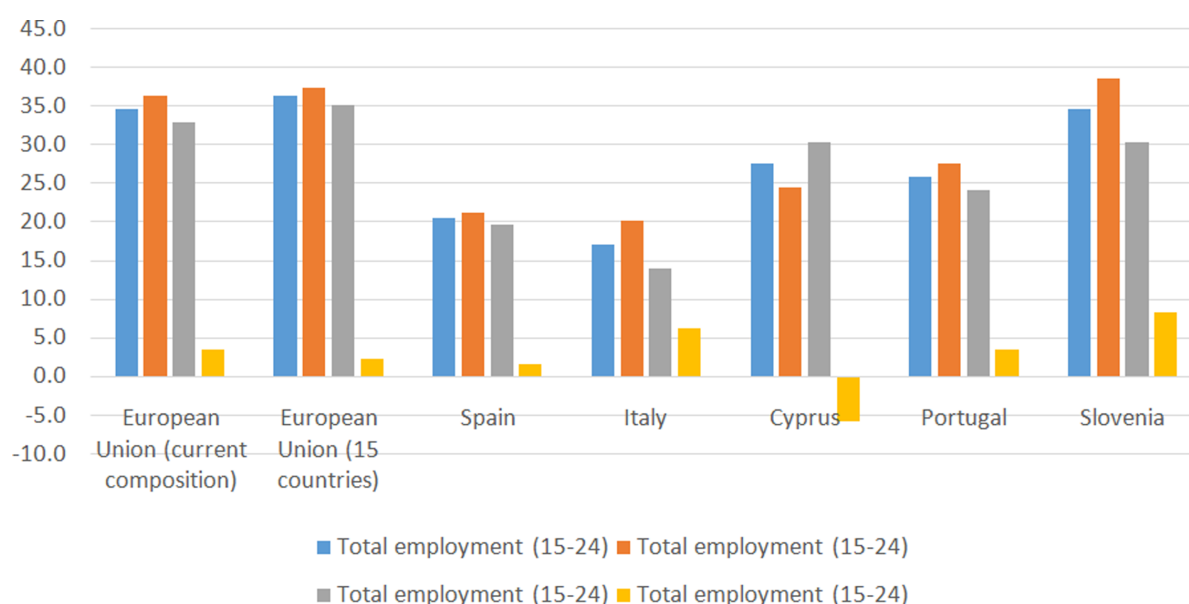
six points higher. The narrowest gender gap among young people is in Spain, at under half of the EU-28 average, although its total employment rate is one of the lowest in Europe. Thus, even in a situation of scarcity of work, young Spanish females have been able to significantly reduce the gap in terms of employment, regardless of its quality, as we shall see.

Table 7. Employment (15-24) by sex, gender gap, 2017

GEO/SEX	Total	Males	Females	Gender Gap
EU-28	34.7	36.4	33.0	3.4
EU-15	36.4	37.5	35.2	2.3
Spain	20.5	21.2	19.7	1.5
Italy	17.1	20.1	13.9	6.2
Cyprus	27.5	24.5	30.4	-5.9
Portugal	25.9	27.6	24.1	3.5
Slovenia	34.7	38.6	30.4	8.2

Source: Eurostat (*lfsi_emp_a*) extracted 09.05.18

Figure 5. Employment rates and gender employment gap (15-24), 2017



Source: Eurostat (*lfsi_emp_a*) extracted 09.05.18

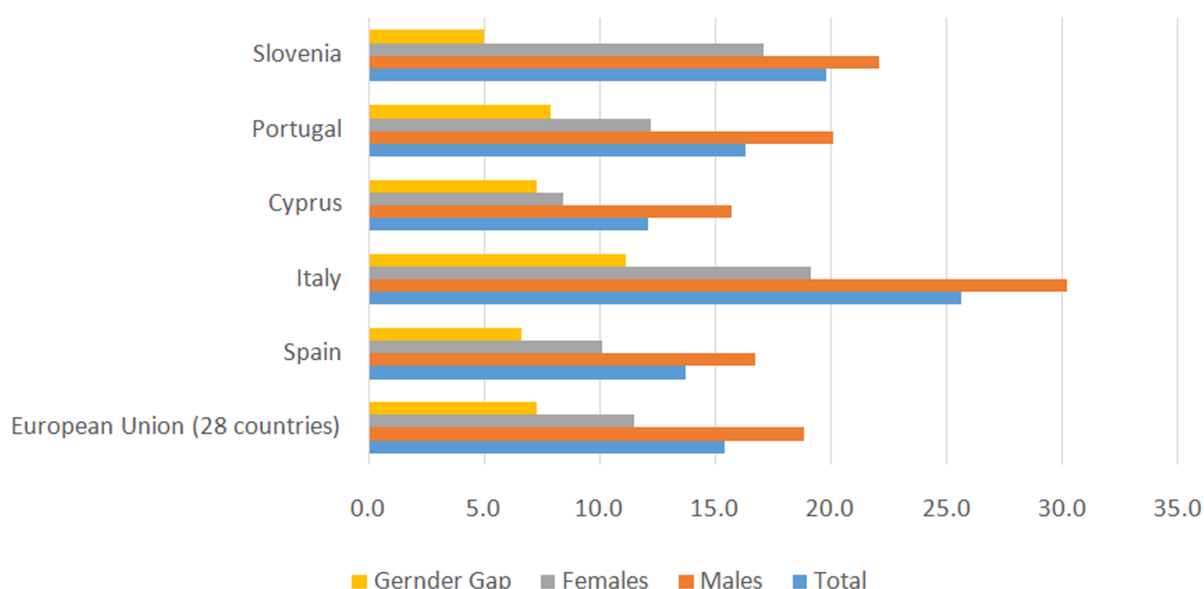
With regard to the gender gap in self-employment, Table 8 and Figure 6 show that in the EU-28 there is a gender gap of more than seven points. In all of the countries considered, the gender gap is around the EU-28 average, except that in Italy it is one and a half times the European average. This exception seems significant, considering that self-employment as a percentage of total employment is ten points higher in Italy than the EU-28 average. Despite a rate of self-employment significantly higher than in other countries, there seems to be no room in Italy for female entrepreneurship.

Table 8. Self-employment as % of total employment by sex, gender gap, 2014

	Total	Males	Females	Gender Gap
EU-28	15.4	18.8	11.5	7.3
Spain	13.7	16.7	10.1	6.6
Italy	25.6	30.2	19.1	11.1
Cyprus	12.1	15.7	8.4	7.3
Portugal	16.3	20.1	12.2	7.9
Slovenia	19.8	22.1	17.1	5.0

Source: Eurostat (lfsi_grt_a) extracted 09.05.18

Figure 6. Self-employment rates as % of total employment and gender gaps, 2014



Source: Eurostat (lfsi_grt_a) extracted 09.05.18

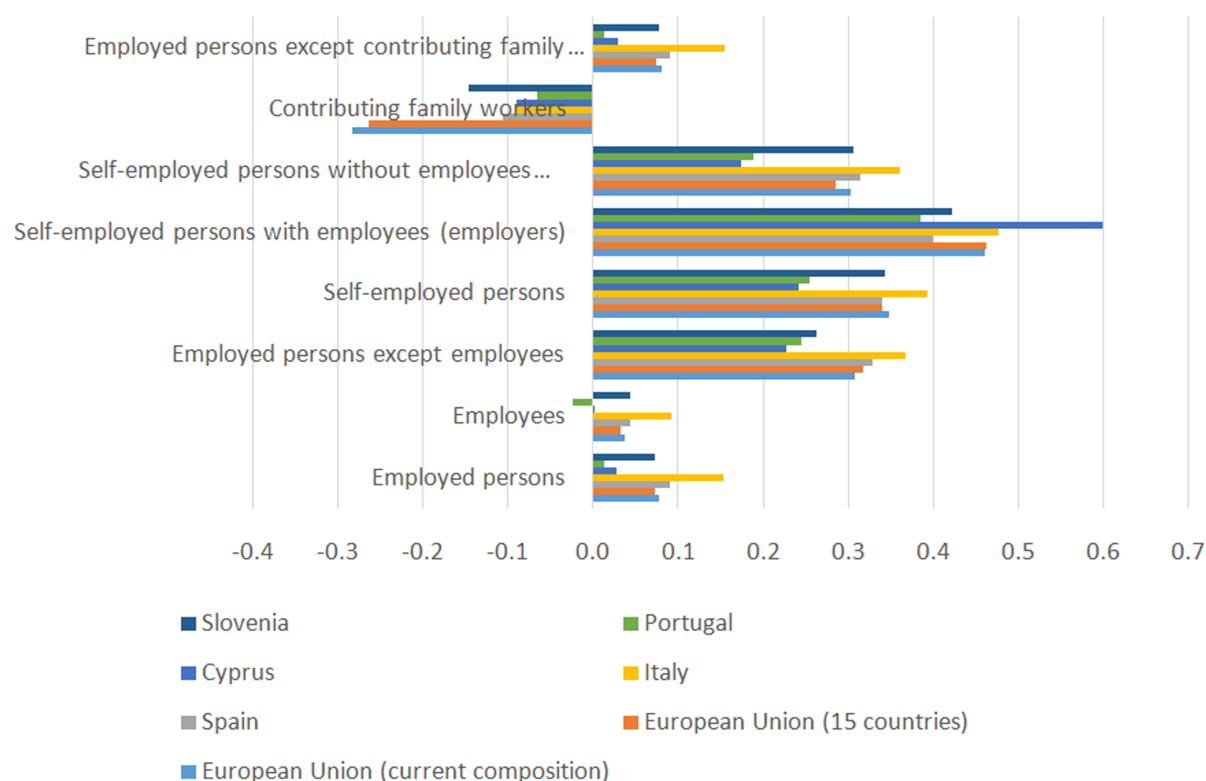
The main conclusion to be drawn from these initial labour market gender gap data is that the Mediterranean countries perform well on the whole compared with the EU-28 but vary greatly among themselves: Portugal and Cyprus have undoubtedly the best gender gap situations, while Italy performs the worst and Spain is in a slightly better situation than the EU-28 on average. Slovenia performs well in general in terms of gender equality, except among its young people: young women in Slovenia are excluded from the labour market in a similar way to their female peers in Italy.

6.1.1.3 Gender gap index by occupational status

As stated at the beginning of Part IV, although women's participation in the labour market has increased throughout the last two decades, the quality of their work and their positions are not the same as for men. Figure 7 shows a breakdown of gender gaps in employment by occupational status, revealing that the gender gap is particularly wide among the various categories of self-employment, with the widest gap of all

among self-employed people with employees. Among employed people, and particularly among employees, we find the lowest gender gaps and, not surprisingly, the presence of women is greatest among contributing family workers. In other words, women are most likely to work in family businesses or to be employees, while their absence from self-employment status is very striking.

Figure 7. Employment by occupational status, gender gaps 2017



Source: Eurostat (lfsa_egaps) extracted 31.03.2018

6.1.2 Employment quality gender gap: diverse forms of gender segregation at work

As noted in the theoretical framework, there is a wide range of gender gaps in almost all aspects of social life. In the labour market, the reduced presence of women is not the only aspect of discrimination to be addressed; the quality of female employment is rendered overwhelmingly inferior to that of males by a great diversity of forms of discrimination, such as precariousness, horizontal and vertical segregation.

6.1.2.1 Precariousness

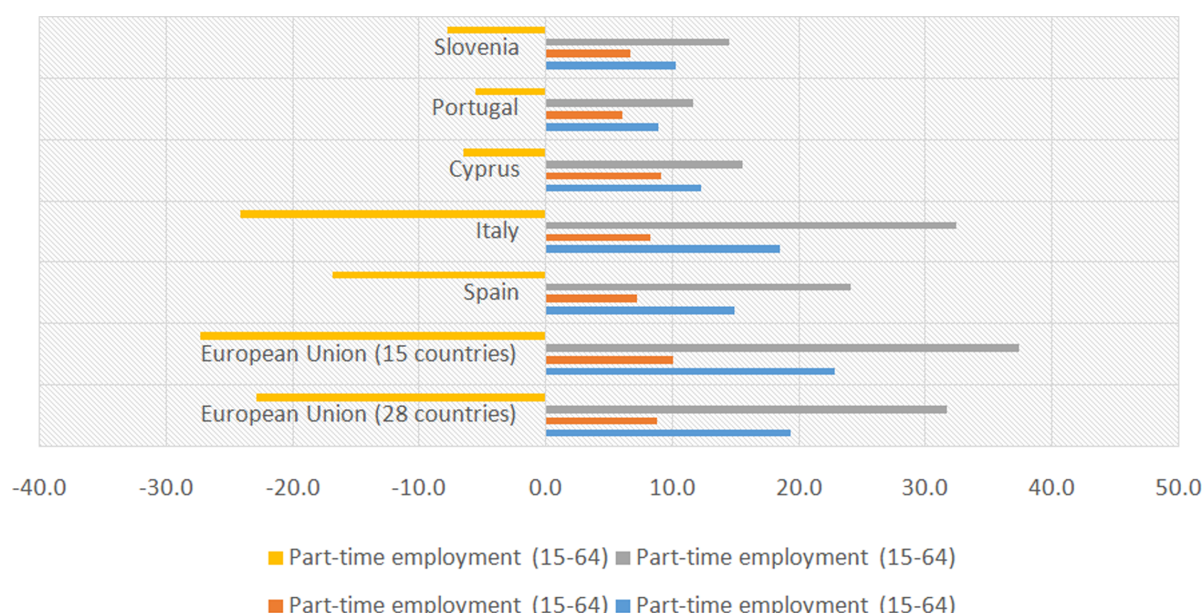
Firstly, there are clear and significant differences between female and male employment as to hours worked. Table 9 and Figure 8 show that part-time work is a characteristic of female employment in both the EU-28 and the EU-15. There seems to be a correlation between total part-time employment and the gender gap, whereby the higher the rate of part-time employment the wider the gender gap. In other terms, high rates of part-time employment in the EU can largely be explained by the employment of females in such work.

Table 9. Part-time employment as % of total employment by sex and gender gap (15-64), 2017

	Total	Males	Females	Gender Gap
EU-28	19.4	8.8	31.7	-22.9
EU-15	22.8	10.1	37.4	-27.3
Spain	14.9	7.2	24.1	-16.9
Italy	18.5	8.3	32.5	-24.2
Cyprus	12.3	9.1	15.6	-6.5
Portugal	8.9	6.1	11.7	-5.6
Slovenia	10.3	6.7	14.5	-7.8

Source: Eurostat (lfsa_eppgan) extracted 14.03.2018

Figure 8. Part-time employment as % of employment by sex and gender gap, 2017



Source: Eurostat (lfsa_eppgan) extracted 14.03.2018

Among FtC countries, we observe two different and polarized situations. On one hand, Spain and Italy present both high rates of part-time employment in the total population and correspondingly wide gender gaps, in the case of Italy as wide as the EU average and in Spain eight points lower than Italy. On the other hand, Slovenia, Cyprus and Portugal all have low rates of part-time employment both in the total population and among women. The part-time work gender gap has not been totally eliminated here, but is much narrower than in Spain or Italy.

Table 10 and Figure 9 show that the gender gap for part-time work among young people is significantly narrower than that in the total population in the case of the EU-28 and EU-15. Among the FtC countries, the most striking case is that of Slovenia: the gender gap is 7.8 points in the total population but almost three times as wide among young people, at 22.2, with half of total employment among young women being part

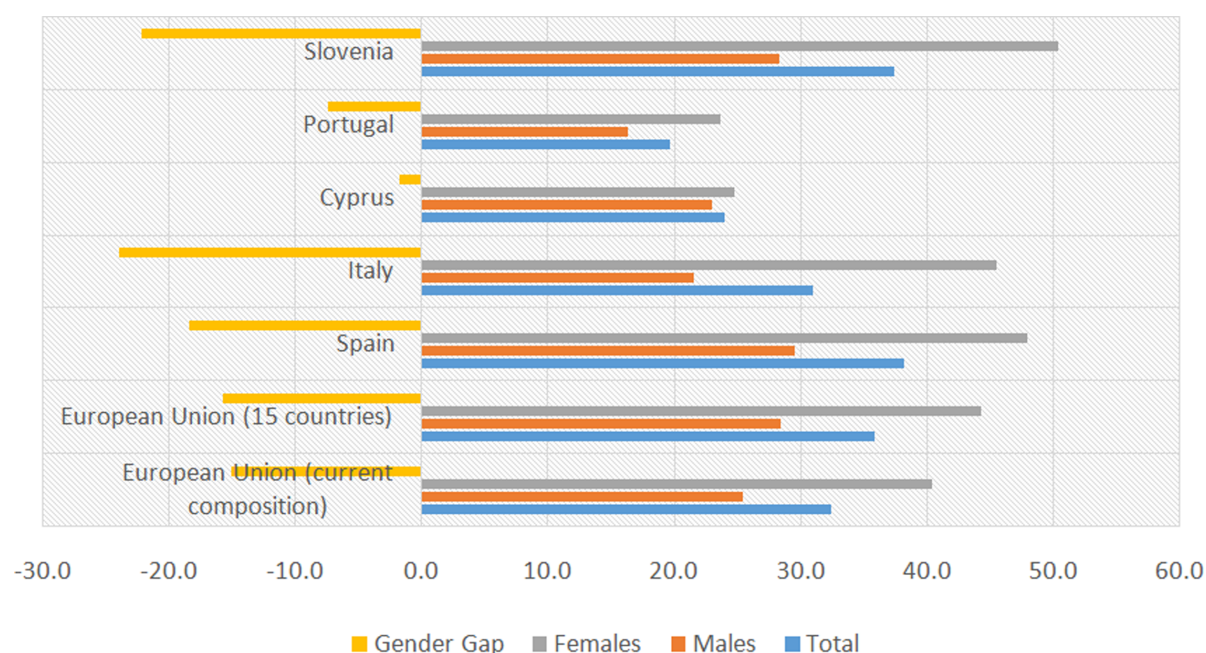
time. Italy has a gender gap similar to that of Slovenia, but this is consistent with the cross-generational problem of gender discrimination in that country. Cyprus is the country with the smallest gender gap for this indicator; indeed, at 1.8, it is practically non-existent.

Table 10. Part-time employment as % of total employment by sex and gender gap (15-24), 2017

	Total	Males	Females	Gender Gap
EU-28	32.4	25.4	40.5	-15.1
EU-15	35.9	28.5	44.3	-15.8
Spain	38.2	29.6	48.0	-18.4
Italy	31.0	21.6	45.6	-24.0
Cyprus	24.0	23.0	24.8	-1.8
Portugal	19.7	16.3	23.7	-7.4
Slovenia	37.5	28.3	50.5	-22.2

Source: Eurostat (lfsa_eppgan) extracted 14.03.2018

Figure 9. Part-time employment as % of total employment by sex (15-24), 2017



Source: Eurostat (lfsa_eppgan) extracted 14.03.2018

Without any doubt, the rates of use of part-time and temporary contracts are the most widely recognized and frequently used of the numerous indicators which contribute to measuring the multidimensional concept of precariousness in the labour market. Table 11 and Figure 10 therefore present the percentages of total employees on temporary contracts. Regarding the statistics for employees of all ages, two facts should be underlined. Firstly, across the EU, an average of about 15% of total employees are in temporary employment and the figures for three of the FtC countries are close to this

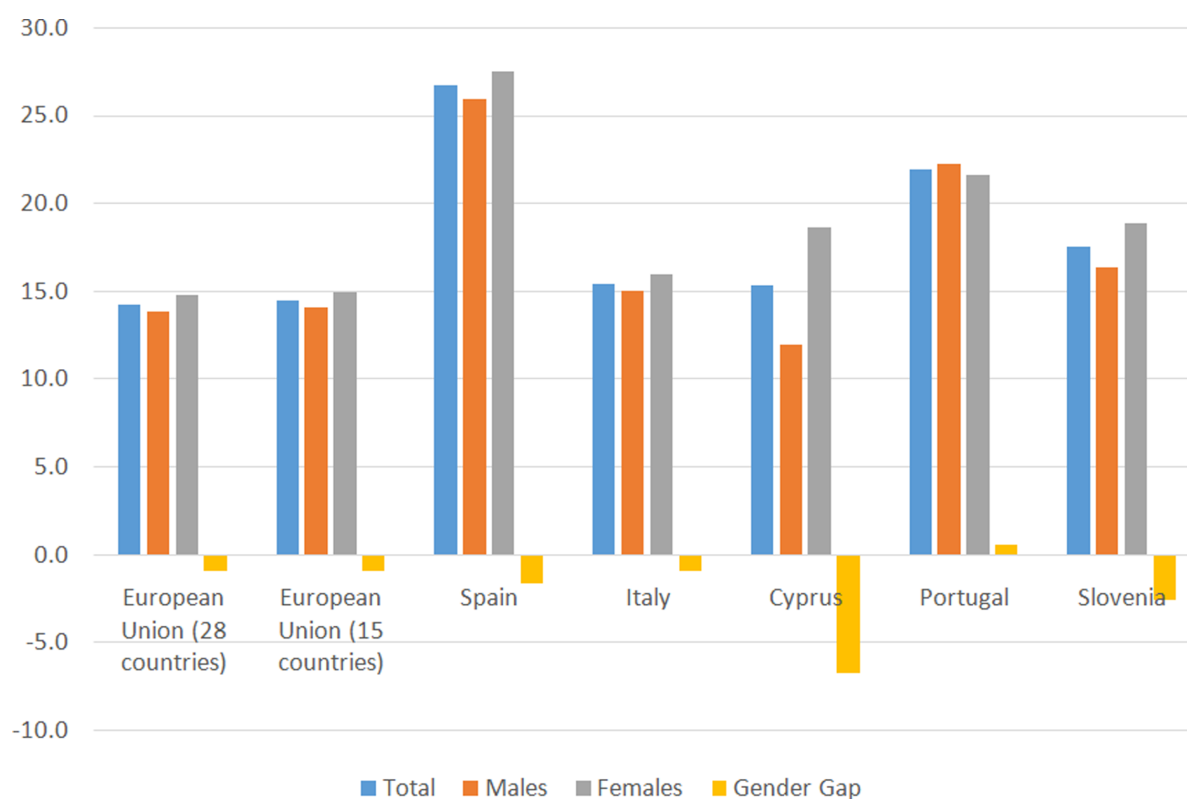
average. Spain and Portugal, however, are characterized by a much heavier use of temporary contracts, at 26.8 % and 22% respectively. In this context, the only country with a significant gender gap, showing that temporary contracts are more frequently used among women, is Cyprus (6.7 points). Slovenia is next, with a temporary work gender gap of 2.5 points. Thus, this indicator is far from representing the most important gap in the labour market between women and men.

Table 11. Temporary employees as % of total employees by gender (15-64)

	Total	Males	Females	Gender Gap
EU-28	14.3	13.9	14.8	-0.9
EU-15	14.5	14.1	15.0	-0.9
Spain	26.8	26.0	27.6	-1.6
Italy	15.5	15.1	16.0	-0.9
Cyprus	15.4	12.0	18.7	-6.7
Portugal	22.0	22.3	21.7	0.6
Slovenia	17.6	16.4	18.9	-2.5

Source: Eurostat (lfsa_etpgan) extracted 14.03.2018

Figure 10. Temporary employees as % of total number of employees by gender, 2017



Source: Eurostat (lfsa_etpgan) extracted 14.03.2018

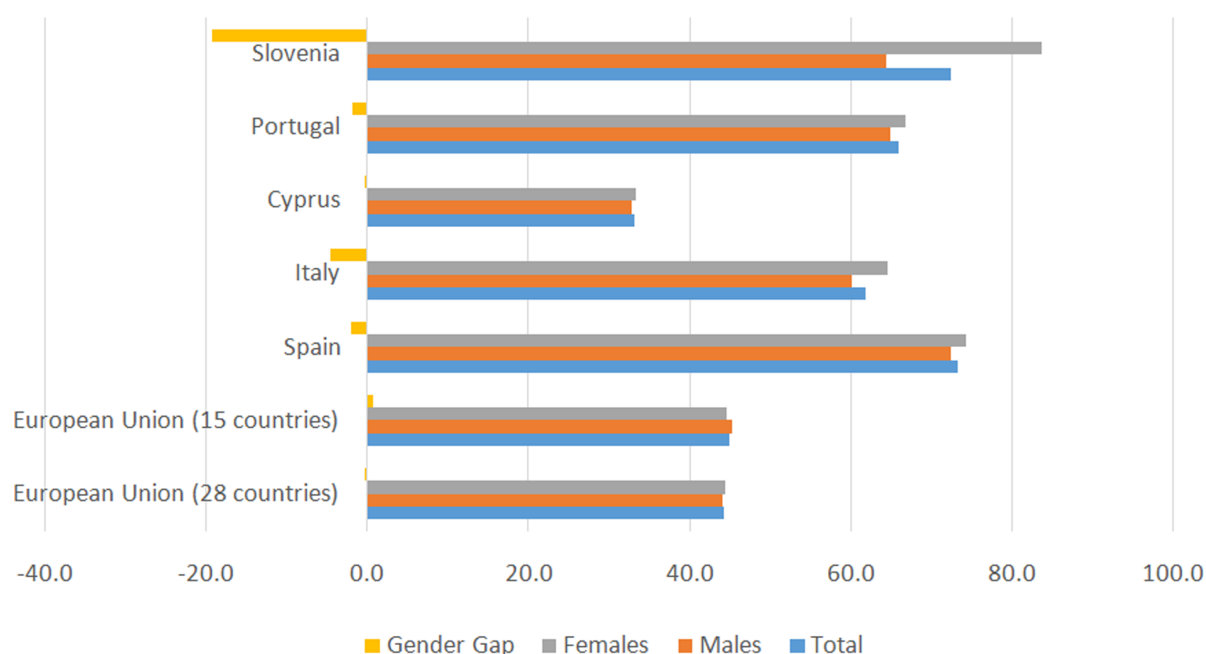
Table 12 and Figure 11 reveal a much greater use of temporary contracts among young people than in the overall population in the EU-28, the EU-15 and all FtC countries. Indeed, the percentages are very high in all five except for Cyprus, where the rate is around half of that in the other FtC states. However, the gender gap is inconsequential in all but Slovenia, where not only is the total rate of temporary employment among young people as high as in Spain, but the gender gap is also extremely wide, presenting a condition of double exclusion for young women compared with older males.

Table 12. Temporary employment as % of total employees by sex and gender gap (15-24), 2017

	Total	Males	Females	Gender Gap
EU-28	44.2	44.1	44.4	-0.3
EU-15	45.0	45.3	44.7	0.6
Spain	73.3	72.4	74.4	-2.0
Italy	61.9	60.1	64.7	-4.6
Cyprus	33.1	32.9	33.3	-0.4
Portugal	65.9	65.0	66.9	-1.9
Slovenia	72.5	64.5	83.8	-19.3

Source: Eurostat (lfsa_etpgan) extracted 14.03.2018

Figure 11. Temporary employees as % of the total number of employees by sex (15-24), 2017



Source: Eurostat (lfsa_etpgan) extracted 14.03.2018

To sum up, we can state first that the gender gap in part-time work is so wide as to make this kind of employment a definitively female characteristic. The reason is not to be sought in the labour market itself, as the need to balance family and work commitments is sufficient to explain the difference. Secondly, if part-time employment

is “female” work, temporary employment is strongly associated with young people, regardless of gender except in Slovenia and to a lesser extent in Italy and Spain.

6.1.2.2 Unemployment

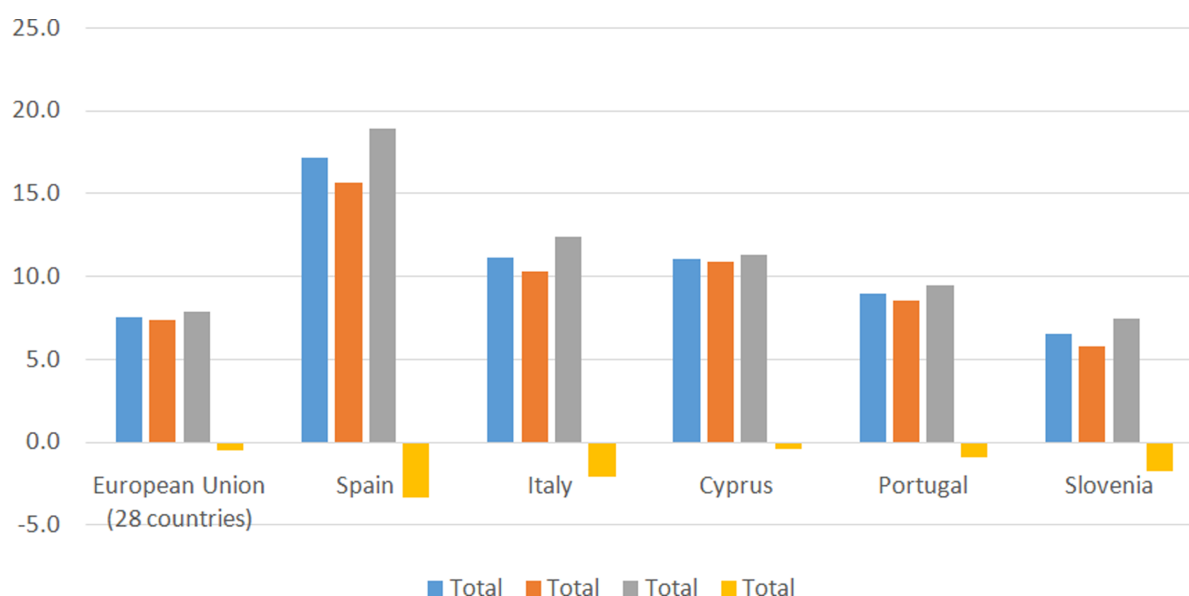
The most complete form of exclusion from the labour market is unemployment. This subsection therefore considers statistics on numbers of people actively but unsuccessfully searching for work. Table 13 and Figure 12 show that while the outstanding country for its total unemployment rate is Spain, at 17.2%, all FtC countries apart from Slovenia have a higher rate than the European average. High unemployment is a characteristic of Mediterranean Europe. As with temporary employment, however, the unemployment gender gap is small in all of the countries concerned when compared with other gender gaps addressed in this report, the widest being those of Spain and Italy, at 3.3 and 2.1 points respectively.

Table 13. Total unemployment rate as % of active population, 2017

	Total	Males	Females	Gender Gap
EU-28	7.6	7.4	7.9	-0.5
Spain	17.2	15.7	19.0	-3.3
Italy	11.2	10.3	12.4	-2.1
Cyprus	11.1	10.9	11.3	-0.4
Portugal	9.0	8.6	9.5	-0.9
Slovenia	6.6	5.8	7.5	-1.7

Source: Eurostat (une_rt_a) extracted 10.05.2018

Figure 12. Unemployment rates by sex and gender gap, 2017



Source: Eurostat (une_rt_a) extracted 10.05.2018

The analysis presented thus far suggests that women’s exclusion takes the form of being inactive rather than unemployed, that their being out of work is a structural

exclusion rather than a contingent condition. Women who enter the labour market as members of the active population do not suffer particularly strong discrimination in terms of unemployment.

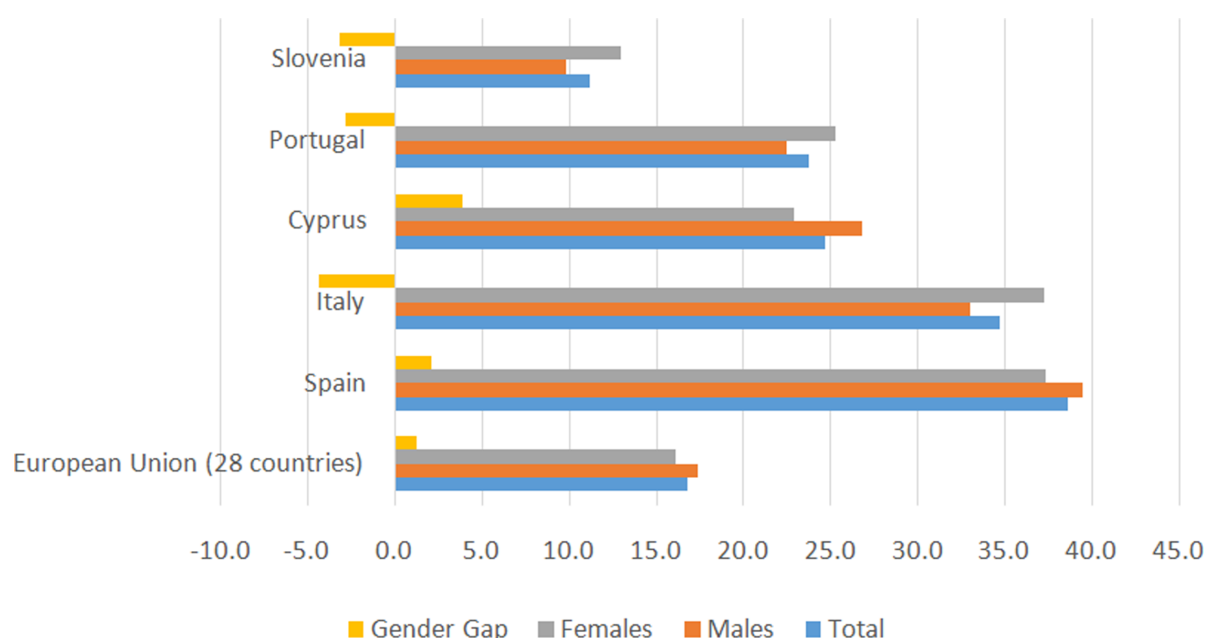
As to young people (under 25 years old), Table 14 and Figure 13 show that total unemployment rates are more than double those in the total population and that the gender gap seems to put women in a more favourable situation in both Spain and Cyprus, where young males have a higher unemployment rate. The worst situation in terms of gender gaps is found in Italy, Slovenia and Portugal.

Table 14. Total unemployment rate as % of active population (under 25)

	Total	Males	Females	Gender Gap
EU-28	16.8	17.4	16.1	1.3
Spain	38.6	39.5	37.4	2.1
Italy	34.7	33.0	37.3	-4.3
Cyprus	24.7	26.8	22.9	3.9
Portugal	23.8	22.5	25.3	-2.8
Slovenia	11.2	9.9	13.0	-3.1

Source: Eurostat (une_rt_a) extracted 10.05.2018

Figure 13. Youth unemployment rates by sex, gender gap (less than 25), 2017



Source: Eurostat (une_rt_a) extracted 10.05.2018

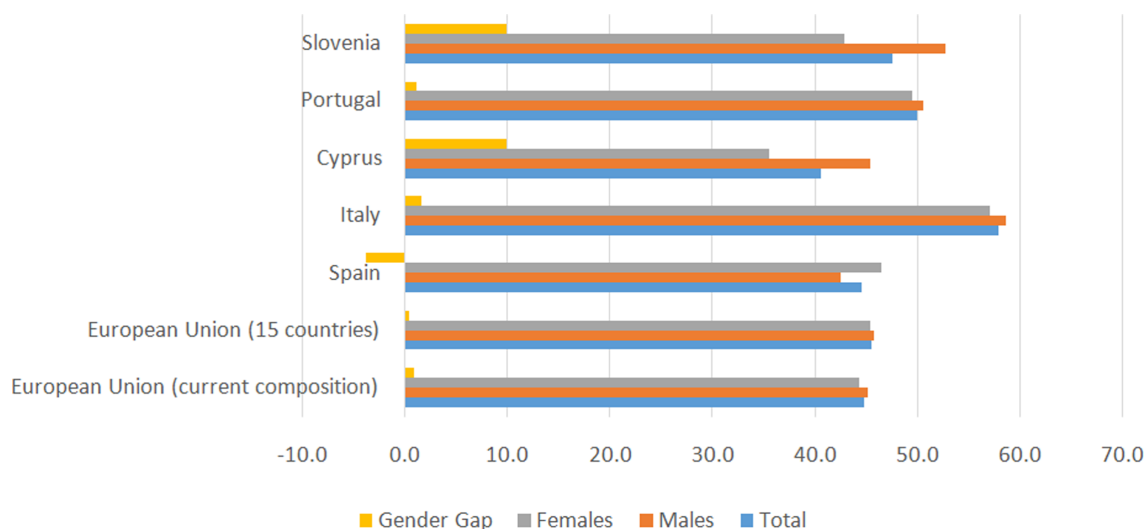
One of the worst manifestations of unemployment is its long-term form. As Table 15 and Figure 14 reveal, the average long-term unemployment gender gap in Europe is quite insignificant at less than one percentage point. Nevertheless, the situation is very diverse in the five countries considered here.

Table 15. Long-term unemployment (15-74) as % of total unemployment, 2017

	Total	Males	Females	Gender Gap
EU-28	44.7	45.1	44.3	0.8
EU-15	45.5	45.7	45.3	0.4
Spain	44.5	42.5	46.4	-3.9
Italy	57.8	58.6	57.0	1.6
Cyprus	40.5	45.3	35.5	9.8
Portugal	49.9	50.5	49.4	1.1
Slovenia	47.5	52.7	42.8	9.9

Source: Eurostat (une_ltu_a) extracted 10.05.2018

Figure 14. Long-term unemployment by sex and gender gap (15-64), 2017



Source: Eurostat (une_ltu_a) extracted 10.05.2018

Long-term unemployment is the anteroom of inactivity, because it promotes the belief that it is impossible to find a job, thus discouraging the active search for work.³⁹ It is not by chance that the FtC country in which the long-term unemployment rate is the highest (13 points above the European average) is Italy, which also has the highest inactivity rate. Nevertheless, the long-term unemployment gender gap in Italy is narrower than might be imagined, considering the female inactivity rate in that country. This suggests that long-term unemployment is not a specifically female problem in Italy, but a feature of the national labour market as a whole (Ingellis and Calvo, 2015). Conversely, the inactivity rate is indeed a gender issue, as noted above. It thus appears that female inactivity in Italy is related to women's social role as care givers rather than workers and to the correlated problems of reconciling family and work commitments, more than with long-term unemployment.

³⁹ Recall that according to the Eurostat definition, the active search for work is a defining criterion of unemployment: an unemployed person has no job and has actively searched for one during the last four weeks. Without that search, people automatically become part of the inactive population.

Cyprus and Slovenia have gender gaps of almost ten points. In these two countries, long-term unemployment is clearly a male problem: men have more difficulties and their unemployment lasts longer, as they spend more time searching for a job than women. Portugal has an insignificant gender gap in this domain, while there is a noticeable one in Spain, of 3.9 points, with women more badly affected than men.

6.1.2.3 Horizontal and vertical gender segregation in the workplace

Gender differences are visible not only in terms of inclusion or exclusion from the labour market (being active or not), nor only in terms of having a job or not (being employed or unemployed). Although great advances have been made, the inclusion of women in the labour market has not yet reached equality. There remains considerable bias in several respects. This subsection seeks to illustrate the wide range of gender gaps affecting the position of women in the labour market. The sociological literature speaks of gender segregation in two senses, horizontal and vertical, referring respectively to the different domains in which men and women are employed and to the differences in the hierarchical positions that the two sexes occupy in the organizations, both public and private, which employ them.

Table 16 shows the extent of the employment gender gap in ten sectors of the economy, revealing that different sectors remain more or less masculinized or feminized. At the two extremes of the distribution, construction is the most masculinized sector in all five FtC countries and in the EU averages, while health/social work and education are the two most feminized. Electricity, gas, etc. and manufacturing are still male domains and so, to a lesser extent, are agriculture, forestry and fishing, and information and communication. The most gender-balanced sectors are financial and insurance activities, professional, scientific and technical activities, and administrative and support service activities.

Among the five countries of interest, Portugal is seen to have a generally low rate of horizontal segregation, but those sectors which are feminized tend to be more so than in all or most other FtC countries. This is the case for education, for health and social work and for professional and scientific activities. Furthermore, economic sectors which are in general strongly masculinized are less so in Portugal, examples being manufacturing and electricity, gas, etc. In Cyprus the same is true of information and communication. In Spain, the education sector appears less feminized than in other countries. Finally, the statistics show that in Portugal and Cyprus, unlike in other countries, the professional, scientific and technical sector is quite feminized.

If this is the situation in terms of horizontal segregation, the position of women in the socio-economic hierarchy is notably unfavourable. They are clearly overrepresented in positions of lower status, while conversely, men are more likely than women to occupy managerial positions and to be small entrepreneurs. As for skilled employees, once again the situation differs by sector: skilled industrial employees are predominantly men and those in the service sector are more likely to be women. This division by sector of economic activity is consistent with and symmetrical to the gender gap in education, as discussed later in Section 6.2.

6.1.2.4 Earnings gap

In addition to the gender inequalities in the labour market analysed thus far, another relevant gender gap is that in earnings. As examined earlier, in the theoretical framework, this is a gap with significant consequences in terms of the division of productive

Table 16. Employment gender gap index* by economic activity (15-64), 2017

	All Nace _R2_ activities	Agriculture, forestry and fishing	Manufac- turing	Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply	Construc- tion	Information and communi- cation	Financial and insurance activities	Professional, scientific and technical activities	Administrative and support service activities	Education	Human health and social work activities
EU 28	0.08	0.33	0.41	0.52	0.80	0.39	-0.02	0.04	0.03	-0.45	-0.57
EU-15	0.07	0.42	0.46	0.50	0.78	0.40	0.02	0.06	0.01	-0.42	-0.56
Spain	0.09	0.53	0.48	0.60	0.83	0.38	0.04	0.02	-0.08	-0.34	-0.57
Italy	0.15	0.47	0.48	0.53	0.87	0.40	0.10	0.04	-0.06	-0.52	-0.42
Cyprus	0.03	0.60	0.35	n.a.	0.79	0.26	-0.25	-0.17	-0.20	-0.48	-0.47
Portugal	0.01	0.35	0.20	0.45	0.86	0.39	0.09	-0.22	0.08	-0.55	-0.67
Slovenia	0.07	0.20	0.38	0.61	0.81	0.43	-0.25	-0.05	-0.08	-0.59	-0.56

**Gender gap index: employment expressed in thousand (male-female)/total*

Source: Eurostat (from 2008 onwards, NACE Rev. 2) - 1 000 (lfsa_egan2)extracted 31.05.2018

Table 17. Employment gender gap by European socio-economic group, 2017

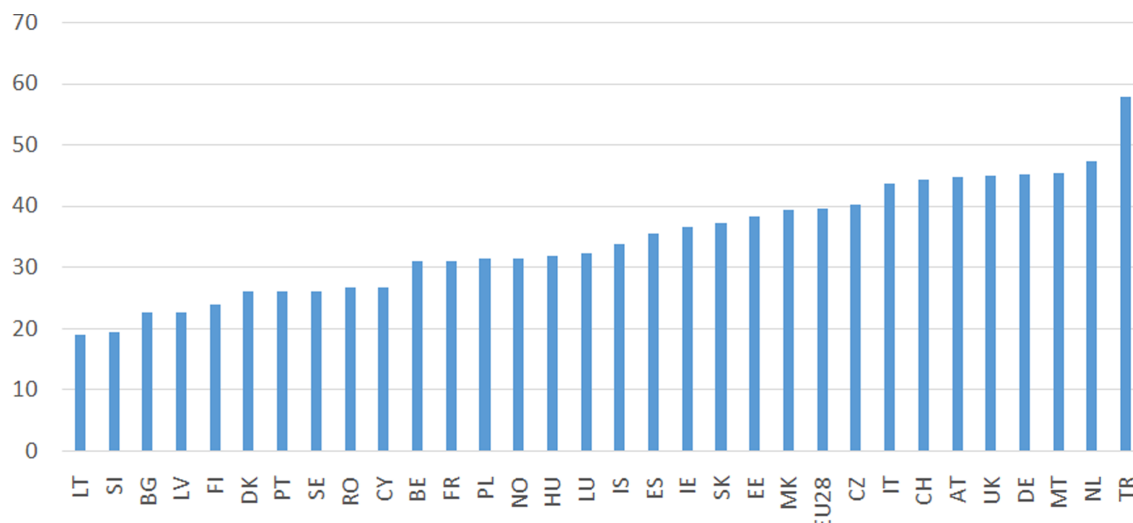
	Total	Managers	Professionals	Technicians and associate professional employees	Small entrepreneurs	Clerks and skilled service employees	Skilled industrial employees	Lower status employees
EU-28	0.08	0.33	-0.04	-0.03	0.34	-0.30	0.71	-0.18
EU-15	0.08	0.35	-0.01	-0.02	0.37	-0.33	0.76	-0.16
Spain	0.09	0.40	-0.13	0.19	0.37	-0.24	0.80	-0.19
Italy	0.16	0.47	-0.09	0.17	0.43	-0.24	0.72	-0.05
Cyprus	0.04	0.61	-0.10	0.05	0.32	-0.37	0.83	-0.18
Portugal	0.03	0.32	-0.21	0.07	0.30	-0.23	0.52	-0.30
Slovenia	0.08	0.18	-0.23	0.05	0.29	-0.04	0.61	-0.33

**Gender gap index: employment expressed in thousand (male-female)/total*

Source: Eurostat (lfsa_esegg) extracted 31.05.2018

and reproductive labour between women and men. Furthermore, it is a complex index, used to calculate and include several factors. Let us begin by explaining the overall earnings gender gap (Figure 15).

Figure 15. Overall earnings gender gap (%), 2014



Source: Eurostat (earn_ses_14_12) extracted 27_02_17

The Eurostat data in the graph show that there is a considerable earnings gender gap in all EU countries. Among the five considered in this report, Italy has the largest gap, in excess of the EU-28 average of 40%, while Slovenia has the smallest, at less than 20%. Portugal and Cyprus have earnings gaps somewhat above 25% and in Spain it is above 35%.

The overall earnings gender gap (OEGG) is a complex index based on three factors, one being hourly earnings, which perhaps carries the least weight, while average number of hours paid per month and employment rate are also taken into consideration (Table 17). The situation of women on this parameter is better than the EU-28 average in all of the FtC countries except Italy. Portugal and Slovenia perform best on this measure of equality and Italy is the worst, for each of the factors considered.

Table 18. Overall earning gender gap%, 2014

	Average hourly earnings (EUR)		Average number of hours paid per month		Employment rate for age group 15-64 (%)		Overall earnings gender gap (%)
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	
EU-28	16.73	13.85	161	138	70.1	59.6	39.7
Spain	12.76	10.86	162	145	60.7	51.2	35.7
Italy	15.85	14.88	175	145	64.7	46.8	43.7
Cyprus	11.94	10.25	169	162	66.0	58.6	26.9
Portugal	8.08	6.88	168	161	65.8	59.6	26.1
Slovenia	9.14	8.50	179	174	67.5	60.0	19.6

Source: Eurostat (earn_ses_14_12) extracted 27_02_17

Each of the three factors considered has a different weighting in the OEGG. Furthermore, their relative importance differs from country to country. Table 18 shows clearly that in the country with the worst situation, Italy, it is the employment rate gender gap which contributes most strongly to the OEGG, while the gender hours gap, that is to say the reduced time women spent at work, also has considerable weight. When women in Italy work the same hours as their male peers, they do not suffer as much discrimination as the OEGG might lead one to suppose. The problem in Italy is the scarcity of women in the labour market, both as members of the active population and as (especially full-time) employees, rather than any difference in the salary they receive for equivalent work.

Table 19. Contribution to the overall earning gender gap, 2014 (%)

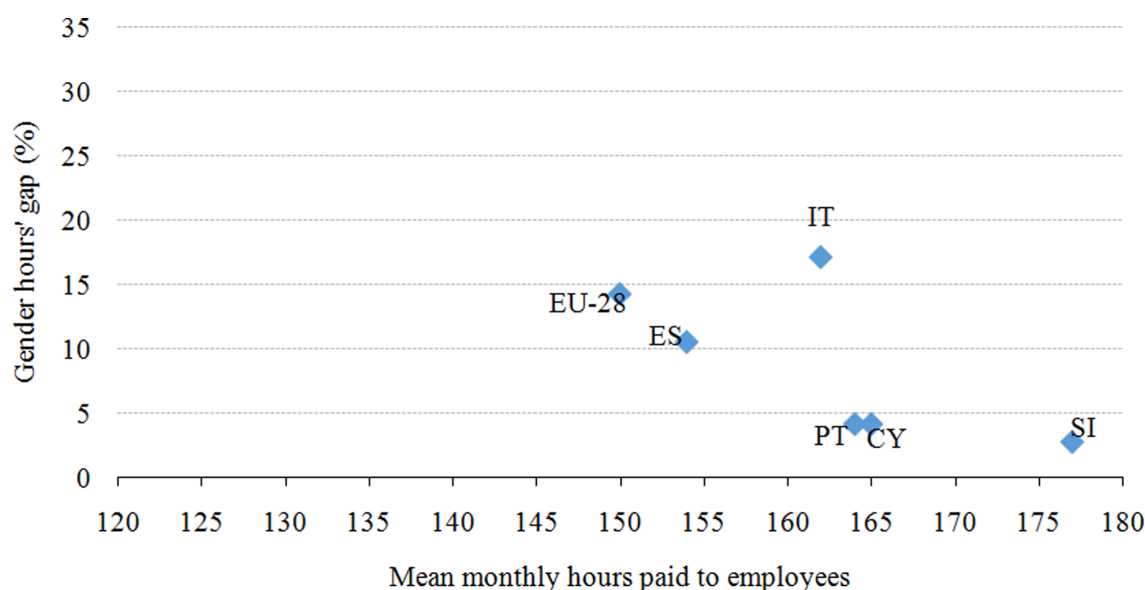
	Gender pay gap	Gender hours gap	Employment rate gender gap
EU-28	37.4	30.5	32.1
Spain	36.5	25.1	38.5
Italy	11.0	32.7	56.3
Cyprus	48.6	13.5	37.9
Portugal	53.2	14.1	32.7
Slovenia	33.2	13.0	53.9

The component gender gaps—the gender pay gap (GPG), gender hours gap (GHG) and employment rate gender gap (ERGG)—do not add up to the overall earnings gender gap (OEGG). However, the following relationship holds: $(1 - \text{GPG}/100) \times (1 - \text{GHG}/100) \times (1 - \text{ERGG}/100) = (1 - \text{OEGG}/100)$, which can be transformed logarithmically into the following additive relationship: $\text{LN}(1 - \text{GPG}/100) + \text{LN}(1 - \text{GHG}/100) + \text{LN}(1 - \text{ERGG}/100) = \text{LN}(1 - \text{OEGG}/100)$. This allows contributions to be calculated as follows (e.g. for GPG): $\text{LN}(1 - \text{GPG}/100) / \text{LN}(1 - \text{OEGG}/100) \times 100$.

Source: Eurostat (earn_ses_14_12) extracted 27_02_17

Figure 16 plots the relationship between the mean monthly number of hours paid to employees and the gender gap in terms of working hours. The graph shows that for most countries, the greater the number of hours paid per month, the smaller the gender gap in hours worked. Women are more severely penalized in countries where there are fewer hours paid. The case of Italy is, once more, an outlier. Its situation is relatively good in terms of hours paid, but the gender gap in hours is wider than the EU-28 average and much wider than in Portugal and Cyprus, countries in roughly the same position regarding monthly hours paid. As to Spain, it once more performs well in gender gap terms, despite its less favourable labour market, with a relatively poor supply of work.

Figure 16. Gender gap in hours worked by mean monthly hours paid to employees, 2014



Source: Eurostat extracted 23.02.2017

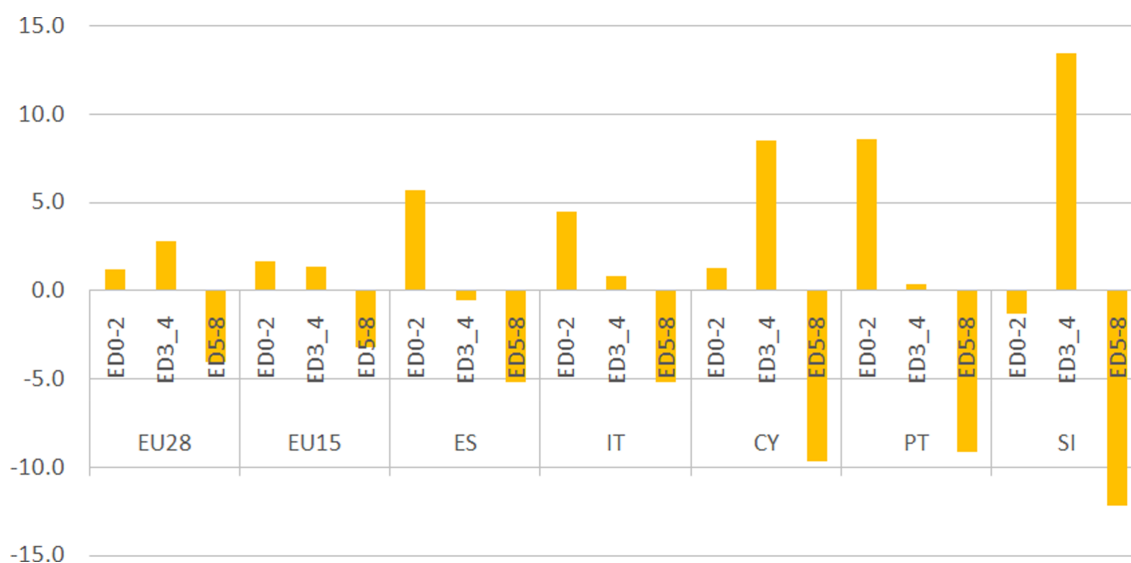
6.2 Gender gaps in education - Anna Giulia Ingellis and Marcela Jabbaz Churba

In pursuit of the main objectives of the project, this second section of the results presentation considers the operation of gender gaps in education. The phenomenon of women outperforming men in education is well known and our data confirm this general trend. Looking a little deeper, we will describe how the gender gaps in education have a remarkable influence on women's presence in the labour market. Throughout this section of the report we will use the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) definition of educational level. The following table sets out the extended definition and the three ISCED codes we will use for figures and data tables.

Less than primary, primary and lower secondary education	ED0-2
Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education	ED3_4
Tertiary education	ED5-8

First of all, let us analyse the educational attainment level in the total population (15-64 years). Figure 17 shows the gender gaps in educational attainment level, clearly demonstrating that in all of the countries considered, males tend to stop studying before females, specifically at the ED3_4 level. In Italy, Portugal and Spain there is a polarizing tendency, whereby there are more males at the lowest level, ED0-2, and more women achieving the tertiary educational level, while in the middle the gender gap is relatively narrow. In Cyprus and Slovenia the dichotomy is between ED3_4 and ED 5-8: there are more males in the former group and more females in tertiary education. Females' overwhelming outperformance of males in tertiary education is an irrefutable reality, both in the wider EU and in Southern European countries. It is a consolidated trend, similar for youngsters.

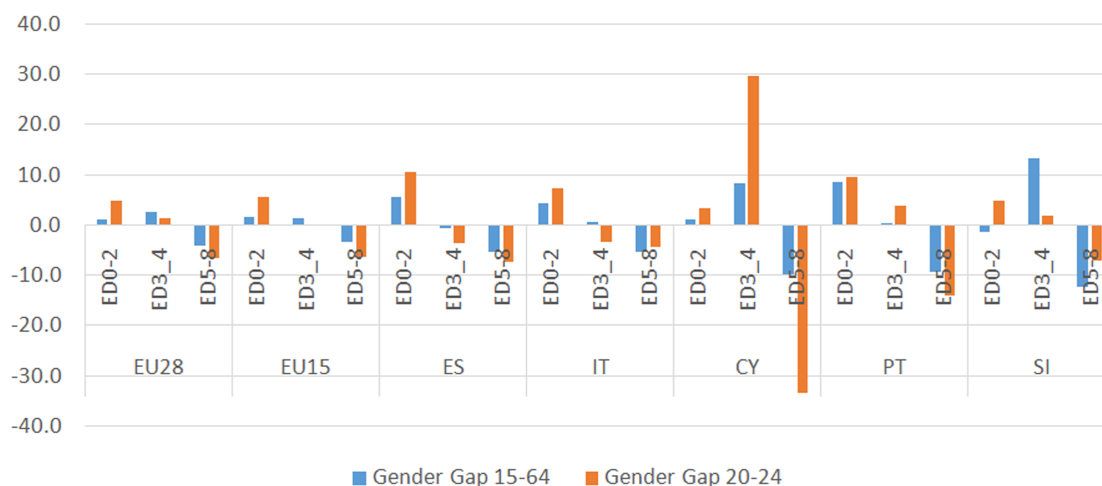
Figure 17. Gender gap in educational attainment (15-64), 2017



Source: Eurostat (edat_lfse_o3) extracted 13.04.2017

Figure 18 compares the gender gaps among the total population (15-64) with those for young adults (20-24), showing that the situation is similar. Among young people, the gender gap favourable to women is wider in almost all of the countries considered. Only in Slovenia and in Italy do young women outperform their colleagues less markedly than in the overall population. This means that the better results of females in education is a consolidated trend.

Figure 18. Gender gap in educational attainment (15-64/20-24 years), 2017



Source: Eurostat (edat_lfse_o3) extracted 13.04.2017

Considering the opposite indicator, the worst performance in education, Table 18 and Figure 19 show that both in the EU averages and in all five FtC countries, fewer females than males leave education early. Nonetheless, there are important differences among the five. Cyprus and Slovenia have fewer early leavers than the other countries and the situation there is more equitable. Spain, Italy and Portugal all have rates of early leaving above the EU averages and they also have wider gender gaps. Spain has both

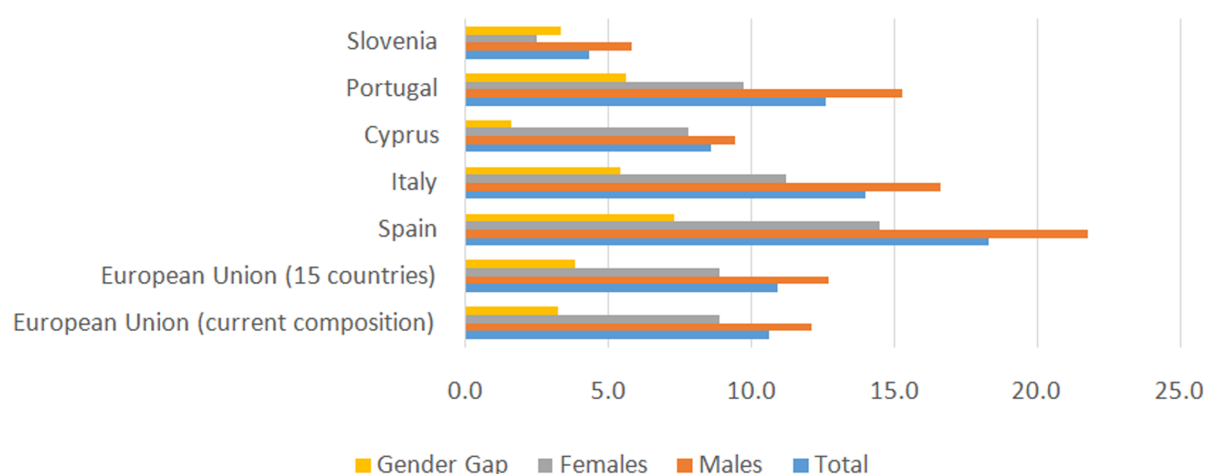
the highest early leaver rate among the Southern countries in our study and the widest gender gap. Portugal and Italy, which, for all the other indicators, are the two most divergent countries, in this case are similar in terms of both early leaver rates and gender gaps. Cyprus clearly outperforms all other FtC countries in having the narrowest gender gap among early leavers.

Table 20. Early leavers from education and training by sex, 2017
(18-24 years)

	Total	Males	Females	Gender Gap
EU-28	10.6	12.1	8.9	3.2
EU-15	10.9	12.7	8.9	3.8
Spain	18.3	21.8	14.5	7.3
Italy	14.0	16.6	11.2	5.4
Cyprus	8.6	9.4	7.8	1.6
Portugal	12.6	15.3	9.7	5.6
Slovenia	4.3	5.8	2.5	3.3

Source: Eurostat (edat_lfse_14) extracted 13.04.2017

Figure 19. Early leavers from education and training by sex
(18-24 years), 2017



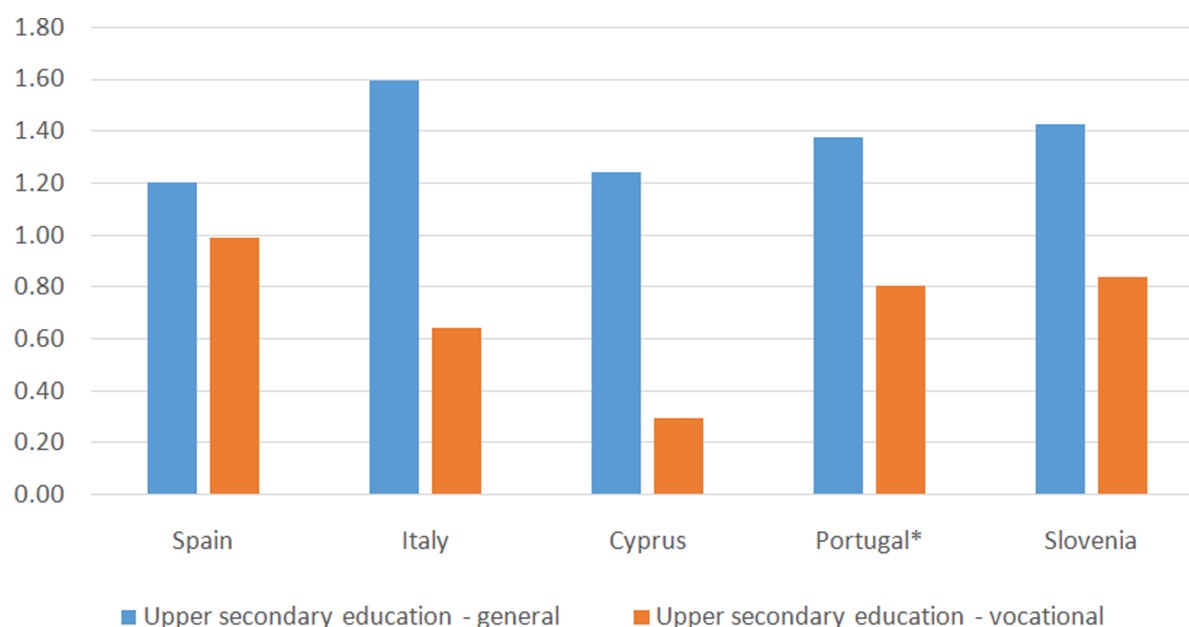
Source: Eurostat (edat_lfse_03) extracted 13.04.2017

6.2.1 Secondary educational attainment

Thus far, we have considered educational attainment among the entire population at all levels of education. This subsection analyses some peculiarities in terms of the gender gap at the secondary level. It is immediately evident from Figure 20 that females have a preference for general programmes over vocational ones. This applies to all FtC countries as well as to the OECD countries. Spain stands out as being more equitable in gender terms than the other four countries as to numbers of females per male completing general or vocational programmes at this level.

Conversely, Cyprus and Italy show a markedly reduced presence of females in vocational programmes.

Figure 20. Number of women per man graduate in upper education, general vs vocational programmes, 2016



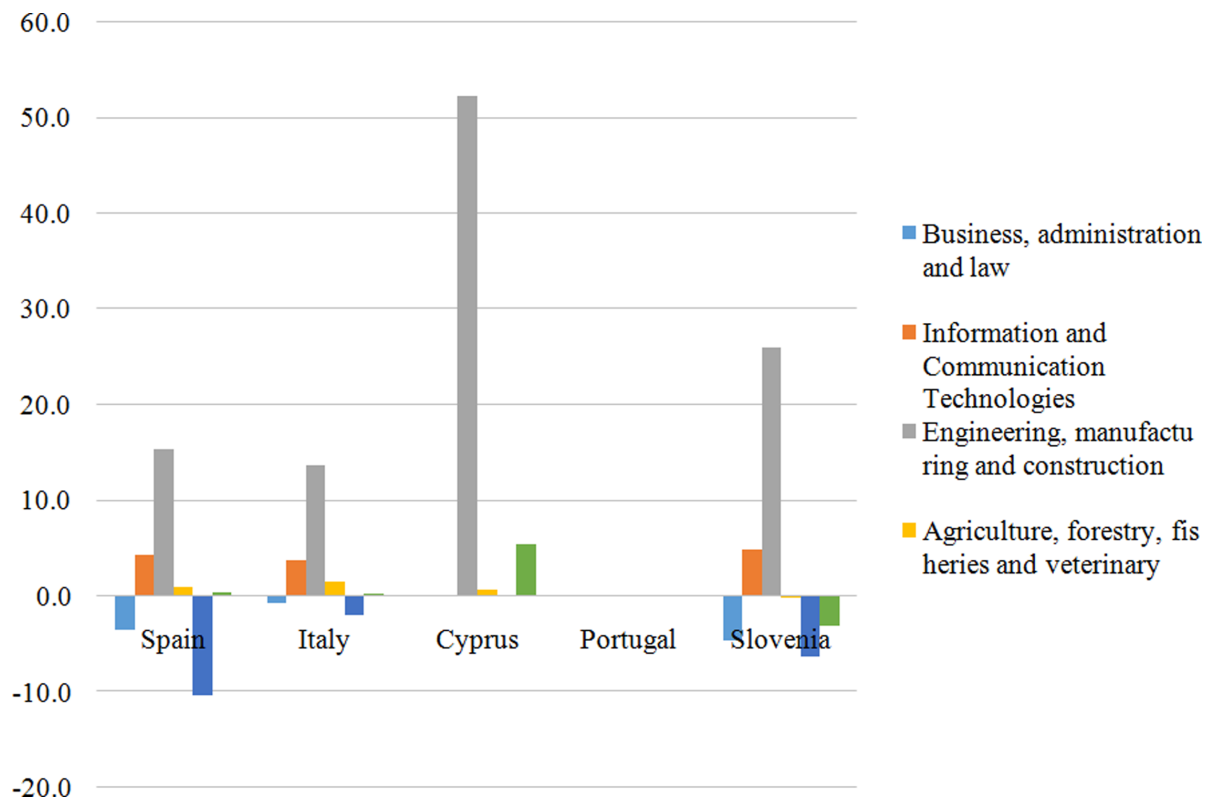
Source: Eurostat (*educ_uoe_grado1*) extracted 15.06.2018, except Portugal (OECD, 2014)

6.2.2 The gender gap in career orientation

The gender bias in vocational programmes is most visible when we consider the various disciplines within vocational further education. In the countries considered, as Figure 21 shows, there is an overwhelming gender gap in engineering, manufacturing and construction, where male graduates heavily outnumber females. There is also a male bias, albeit much narrower, in information and communication technologies. In all of the other vocational fields considered, the situation is much more gender balanced according to the Eurostat data. Business, administration and law is a feminized area in Spain and Slovenia, and to a lesser extent in Italy, while the service sector is quite feminized in these terms in Slovenia.

These data suggest that the Fordist society pattern of a gendered division of productive and care work is reproduced both in education and at work.

Figure 21. Gender gap in further education-vocational programmes, per field of education, 2016

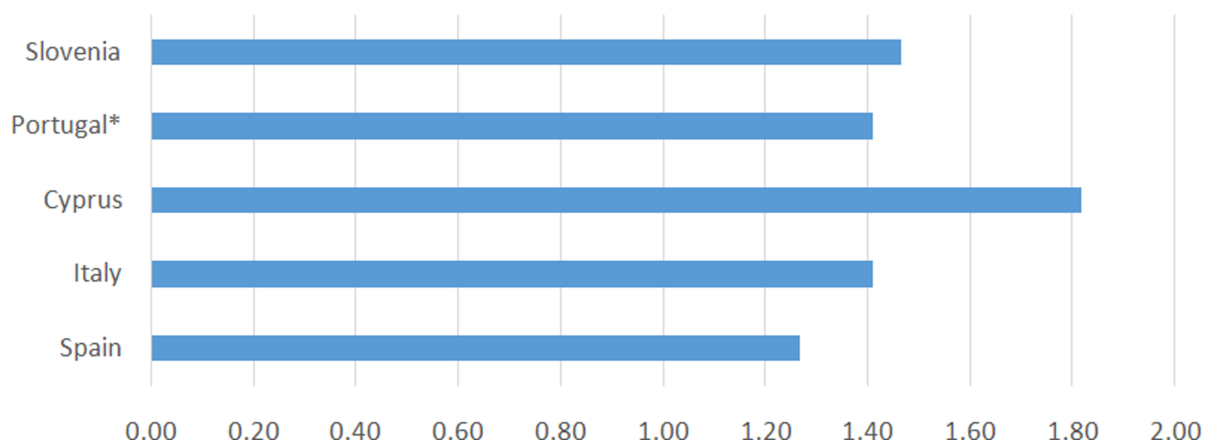


Source: Eurostat (educ_uoe_grado3), extracted 23.11.2018

6.2.3 Tertiary education

If we consider tertiary education, the gender bias is even more evident. It is clear from Figure 22 that in all of the countries studied there are more female than male graduates.

Figure 22. Number of women graduates per man in tertiary education, 2016



Source: Eurostat edat_lfse_o3, except Portugal (OECD, 2014)

As shown in Table 19, men are more than ten percentage points less likely to graduate from tertiary education than women in all of the countries considered. If we break down the total percentages by tertiary cycles, the most remarkable differences are at bachelor's and master's levels. Women are less strongly represented on doctoral courses; therefore there is less gender bias at this level than in the other categories. It may be that doctoral courses are of long duration and thus overlap with the reproductive phase of women's lives. If we were to analyse the academic careers that normally follow doctoral graduation, we would see that the gender bias increases as one ascends the academic hierarchy, so that women are far less numerous in the highest positions than in the lowest ones. Among the countries studied, Cyprus stands out in terms of the proportion of females in tertiary education at all levels, from short cycles to doctoral studies. The low numbers of women in short cycles, vocational or not, in Italy seems to be linked to the scarcity of these courses within the educational system.

Table 21. Women graduates in tertiary education,
% of total graduates, 2016

	Tertiary education (levels 5-8)	Short- cycle tertiary education	Short-cycle tertiary education - vocational/ professional, sufficient for level completion	Bachelor's or equivalent level	Master's or equivalent level	Doctoral or equivalent level
Spain	56	51	51	59	57	51
Italy	59	26	26	59	59	52
Cyprus	65	62	62	58	71	60
Portugal		:	:	:	:	:
Slovenia	59	45	45	58	62	61

Source: Eurostat, educ_uoe_grad01extracted 07.06.2018

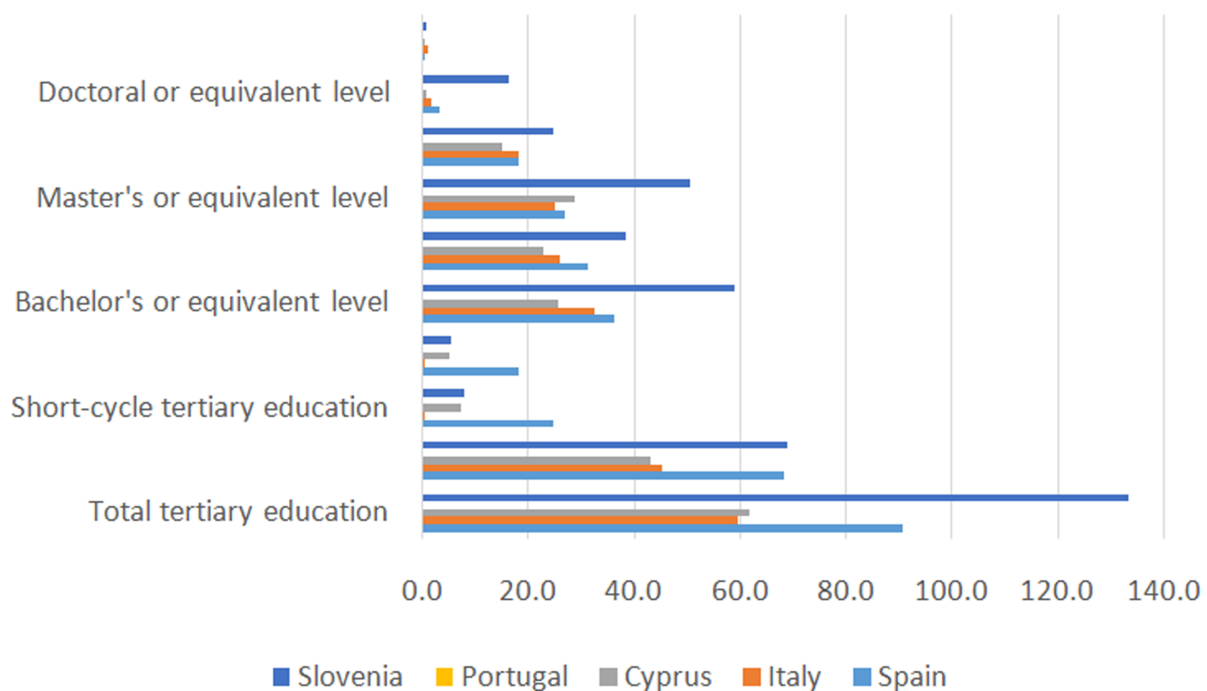
Comparing total population data with those for young adults (Table 22, Figure 24), we see that the majority of graduations occur between the ages of 20 and 29 years, although a considerable minority (around 30%) obtain a tertiary qualification at an older age. There are some outstanding differences among the FtC countries: Graduates are twice as numerous per head of population in Slovenia as in Cyprus or Italy, many of them graduating when they are older than 29. This suggests the provision of a better organized lifelong learning system in Slovenia than in the other FtC countries.

Table 22. Graduates from tertiary education by age group, per 1000 inhabitants, 2016

	Total tertiary education		Short-cycle tertiary education		Bachelor's or equivalent level		Master's or equivalent level		Doctoral or equivalent level	
	Total	20-29 years	Total	20-29 years	Total	20-29 years	Total	20-29 years	Total	20-29 years
Spain	90.5	68.1	24.7	18.2	36.0	31.2	26.8	18.2	3.0	0.4
Italy	59.4	45.0	0.3	0.3	32.4	25.7	25.0	18.0	1.6	1.0
Cyprus	61.6	42.8	7.0	5.0	25.5	22.8	28.5	14.8	0.7	0.2
Portugal	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:
Slovenia	133.1	68.8	7.9	5.2	58.8	38.2	50.3	24.6	16.2	0.7

Source: Eurostat educ_uoe_grado5, extracted 07.06.2018

Figure 23. Graduates in tertiary education per 1000 inhabitants, by country, 2016



Source: Eurostat, educ_uoe_grado5, extracted 15.06.2018

Table 23 and Figure 24 identify Spain as the FtC country with the smallest gender gap in total tertiary education: women outnumber men but not as remarkably as in the case of Cyprus, which has the widest gender gap, favourable to women. Slovenia, Portugal and Italy present intermediate values.

While tertiary education as a whole is a female domain, with a gender gap of 11.8 to 29 points in FtC countries, there are fields which are particularly feminized, such as education, health and welfare, followed by arts and humanities and then by social sciences,

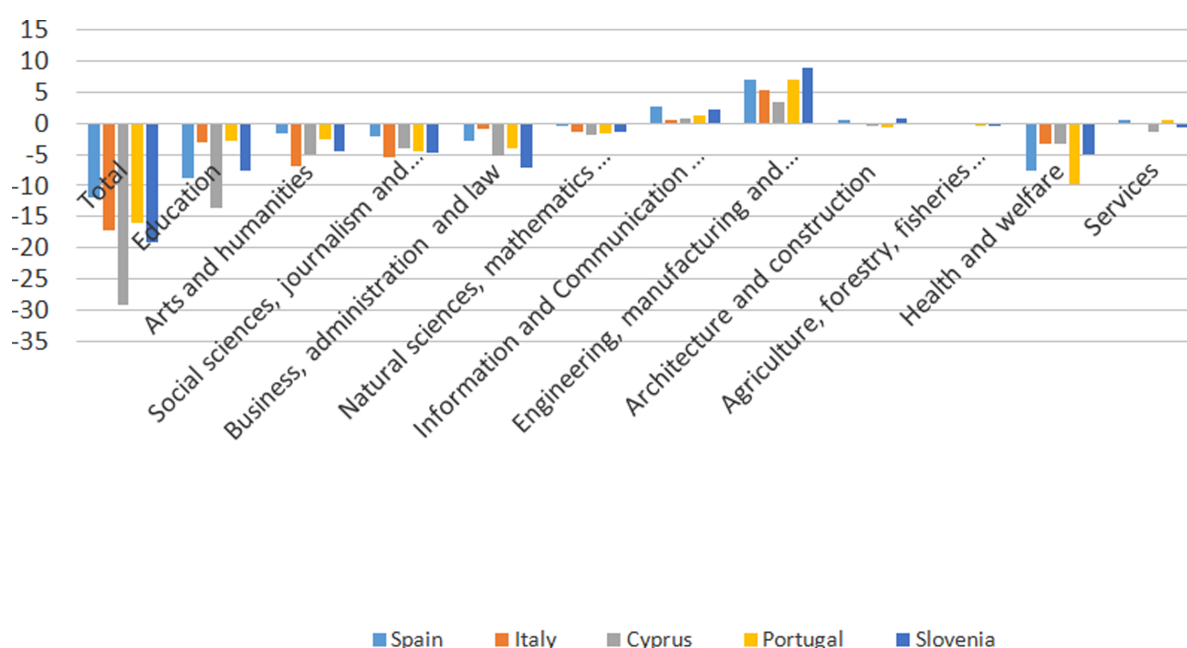
Table 23. Graduates at tertiary education level, gender gap
by field of education, 2016

	Total	Education	Arts and humanities	Social sciences, journalism and information	Business, adminis- tration and law	Natural sciences, mathe- matics and statistics	Information and Communi- cation Technologies	Engineering, manufa- cturing and construction	Archi- tecture and construc- tion	Agriculture, forestry, fisheries and veterinary	Health and welfare	Services
Spain	-11.8	-8.7	-1.6	-1.9	-2.6	-0.1	2.8	7	0.6	0.2	-7.4	0.6
Italy	-17	-2.9	-6.8	-5.4	-0.8	-1.2	0.6	5.4	:	0	-3.3	0.1
Cyprus	-29	-13.4	-4.8	-3.8	-5.1	-1.8	0.9	3.4	-0.3	0	-3.2	-1.2
Portugal	-15.8	-2.8	-2.4	-4.3	-3.9	-1.5	1.3	7.1	-0.6	-0.4	-9.7	0.6
Slovenia	-19	-7.4	-4.3	-4.5	-7.1	-1.2	2.4	8.9	0.9	-0.4	-4.9	-0.5

Source: Eurostat (educ_uoe_grado3) extracted 07.06.2018, except Portugal: National Institute of Statistic

journalism and information, especially in Spain and Portugal, together with business, administration and law. Conversely, male graduates predominate in information and communication technologies, in engineering, manufacturing and construction, especially in Portugal and Slovenia, in architecture and construction and in agriculture, forestry, fisheries and veterinary studies. In Cyprus, Spain and Slovenia, the most strongly feminized field is education, while in Italy, it is arts and humanities. In Portugal, the most strongly feminized field is health and welfare, followed by social sciences, journalism and information. Education is not as feminized as one might expect.

Figure 24. Gender Gap in tertiary education level by field of education, 2016



Source: Eurostat (educ_uoe_grado3) extracted 07.06.2018 except Portugal: National Institute of Statistic

In the current system of production, the heritage of the Fordist society, the male-dominated fields are those which pay the highest wages, offer the best career prospects and include the best qualified and most socially prestigious professions. However, to foster collective reflection and to peer further into the future, can we be sure that those same fields will continue to play key roles? The current male predominance in the most attractive areas of work results in discrimination against females. Contributors to the literature on the transformation of the productive economy, the world of work and the labour market are increasingly advising that in the future, robots will replace human beings in a wide range of tasks and that as a consequence, many jobs will disappear.

In the transformed labour market of the post-Fordist society, empathy, emotional intelligence and the capacity to care will become increasingly indispensable, together with more specialist qualifications and higher educational achievement. These are qualities more characteristic of feminized fields than of the currently male-dominated ones. Are we sure that the way to reduce the gender gap is to improve women's representation in STEM fields, or might it be more beneficial to work to grant the necessary

prestige to the emerging areas of economic activity in tomorrow's society? In those areas, the fact that women outperform men is not yet in question.

6.2.4 The impact of educational level on employment

To what extent does educational level affect the employment rate, and above all the employment rate gender gap? Table 22 and Figure 24 show that among all employed people (aged 15-64), a higher educational level is unarguably associated with a higher employment rate. It is evident that studying protects people from unemployment. The highest employment rate is registered among people who have completed tertiary education and the difference is striking: a graduate of tertiary education is almost twice as likely to be employed as someone who has not progressed beyond the lower secondary education level. Gender gaps in total employment rate in the EU, regardless of educational level, are around 10 points on average.

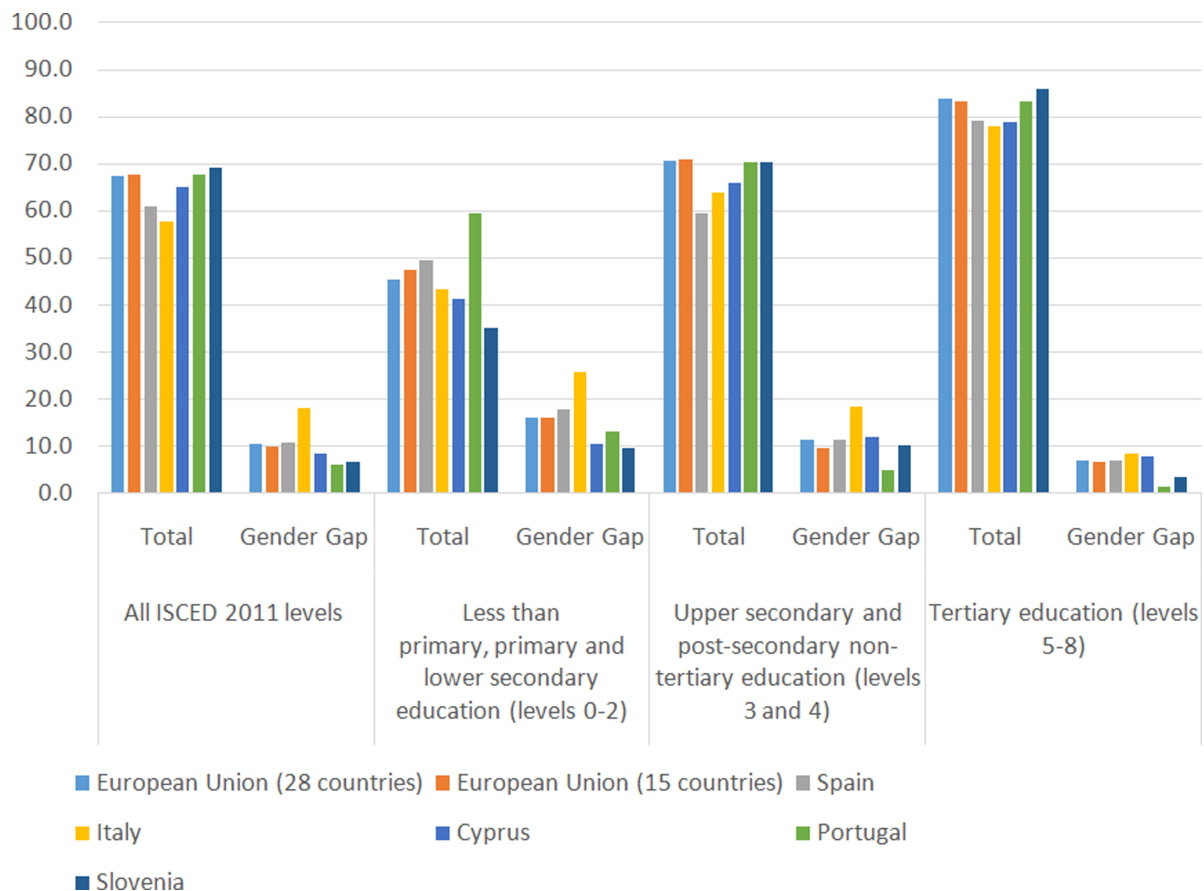
The situation is worst in Italy, with a gender gap almost double that of the EU-15. Portugal and Slovenia have the smallest gender gaps at all educational levels. At the ISCED 5-8 level in Portugal there is close to equality between the sexes and Slovenia has a gender gap which is half of the European average. Among people with tertiary education, Spain and Cyprus have gender gaps more or less the same as the European average. Italy still suffers more gender-based difficulties than the other countries. In Cyprus, the ISCED level at which gender equity is most evidently compromised difficult is 3_4, that is to say for women moving from education to work with an upper secondary or post-secondary non-tertiary education.

Table 24. Employment by educational attainment level and gender gap % (15-64), 2017

ISCED11	All ISCED 2011 levels		Less than primary, primary and lower secondary education (levels 0-2)		Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education (levels 3 and 4)		Tertiary education (levels 5-8)	
GEO/SEX	Total	Gender Gap	Total	Gender Gap	Total	Gender Gap	Total	Gender Gap
EU-28	67.6	10.5	45.5	16.1	70.9	11.4	84.0	7
EU-15	67.9	9.9	47.6	16.3	71.3	9.8	83.6	6.8
Spain	61.1	10.8	49.6	17.8	59.8	11.6	79.4	7.1
Italy	58.0	18.2	43.4	25.9	64.1	18.6	78.2	8.4
Cyprus	65.4	8.5	41.5	10.6	66.2	12.2	79.1	7.8
Portugal	67.8	6.3	59.8	13.3	70.5	4.9	83.5	1.4
Slovenia	69.3	6.7	35.4	9.7	70.7	10.3	86.2	3.6

Source: Eurostat, (*lfsa_ergaed*), extracted 09.05. 2018

Figure 25. Employment by educational attainment level and gender gap % (15-64), 2017



Source: Eurostat, (*lfsa_ergaed*), extracted 09.05. 2018

Table 23 and Figure 25 reveal that among young people, the situation is very different from that among the total population, above all at the tertiary education level, where the gender gap is negative in terms of the EU averages and for all of the FtC countries except Slovenia. In other words, female graduates are more strongly represented in the labour market than women with a lower level of educational attainment and than their male peers at the same educational level. Slovenia is the only country in which the gender gap for employed people with tertiary education is positive, that is to say where young men with tertiary qualifications are more likely to be employed than the equivalent women.

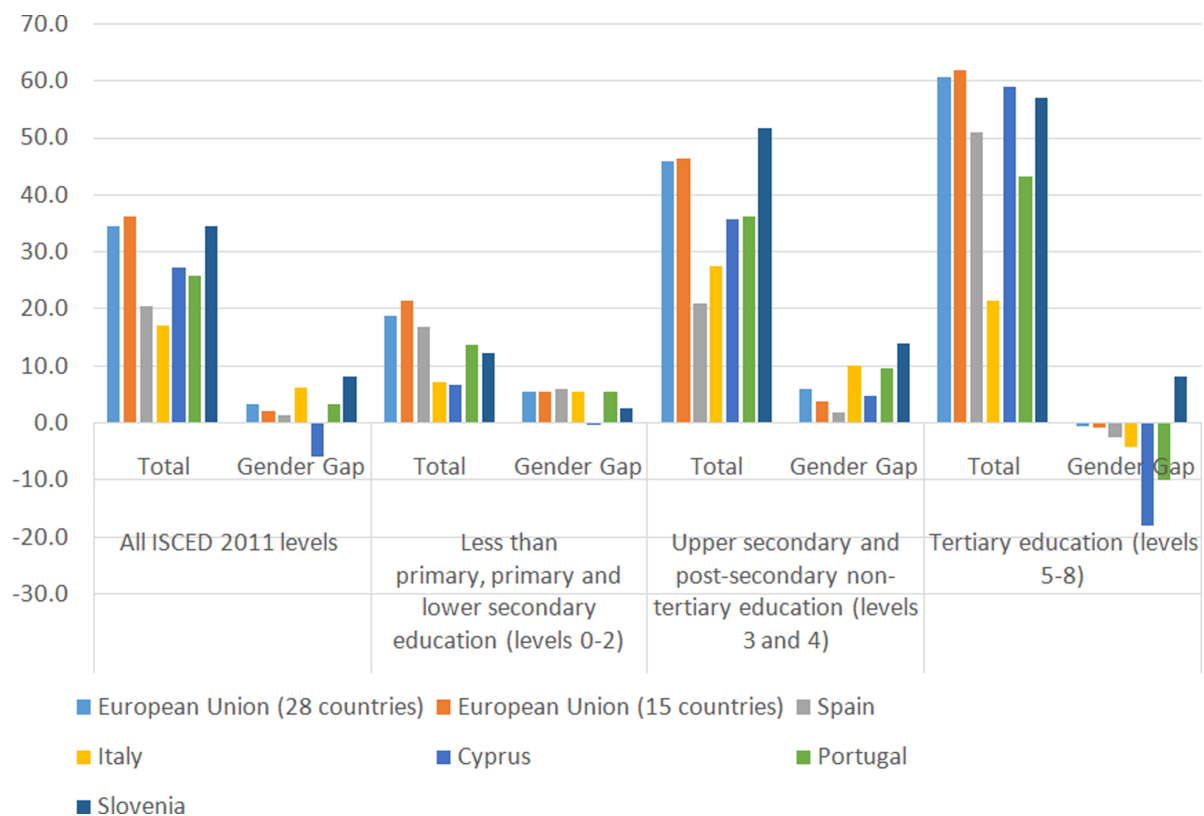
There remains a gender gap for women with less than tertiary education, albeit with less intensity than in the total population. While this is the trend for all FtC countries, Cyprus again differs from the others by having higher rates of employment among females at all educational levels, with the most favourable gender gap of almost 18 points at the ISCED 5-8 level.

Table 25. Employment by educational attainment level and gender gap % (15-24)

ISCED11	All ISCED 2011 levels		Less than primary, primary and lower secondary education (levels 0-2)		Upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education (levels 3 and 4)		Tertiary education (levels 5-8)	
GEO/SEX	Total	Gender Gap	Total	Gender Gap	Total	Gender Gap	Total	Gender Gap
EU-28	34.7	3.4	18.9	5.7	46.1	6.1	60.9	-0.5
EU-15	36.3	2.3	21.6	5.6	46.6	4.0	61.9	-0.8
Spain	20.5	1.5	16.9	6.1	21.1	2.0	51.0	-2.4
Italy	17.1	6.2	7.4	5.5	27.7	10.2	21.6	-4.2
Cyprus	27.5	-5.9	6.9	-0.1	35.9	4.8	59.1	-17.9
Portugal	25.9	3.5	13.8	5.6	36.4	9.7	43.4	-9.8
Slovenia	34.7	8.2	12.3	2.8	51.8	14.1	57.2	8.3

Source: Eurostat, (lfsa_ergaed), extracted 09.05. 2018

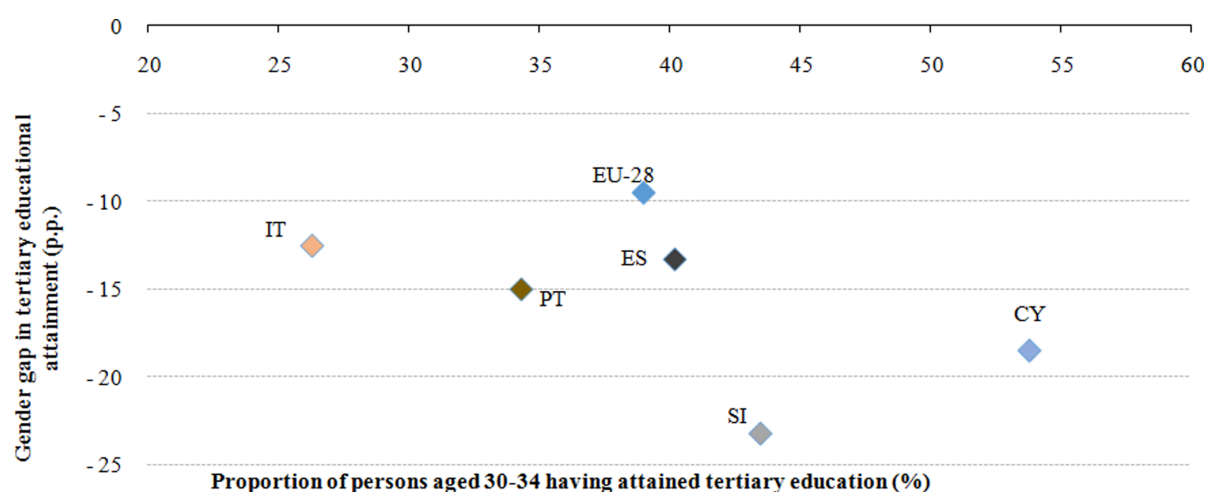
Figure 26. Employment by educational attainment level and sex (15-24), 2017



If tertiary education has a significant positive impact on employment, the employment rate gender gap represents a double disadvantage and a more unequal situation for women than the rate alone can explain. Despite their outstanding performance in tertiary education, women enjoy poorer employment prospects both quantitatively and qualitatively. As educational level is positively correlated with employment rate, if women performed only as well as men in education, that is to say less well than they actually do currently, they would be in a worse employment situation. The advances in employment equality actually conceal a deeper discrimination: women apparently have to perform better and work harder to reduce inequality. Thus, inequality passes from labour market indicators to educational ones and this makes females less visible. Real equality would mean the same education level and the same employment rate. Instead of speaking of the great advances of women's inclusion in the labour market, we should perhaps discuss the hidden gender gap between education and employment.

Furthermore, if we plot the gender gap in tertiary educational attainment against the overall level per country (Figure 26), we find that among the FtC countries, the greater the proportion of the population aged 30-34 who have attained tertiary education, the narrower the gender gap. This demonstrates that the educational system is able to improve the educational level of the population and that policies oriented to this end have a good impact on reducing gender gaps in terms of tertiary educational attainment. Yet again, Cyprus stands out as having the highest percentage of tertiary attainment and a gender gap in tertiary educational attainment in favour of females second only to that of Slovenia. Conversely, Italy has the smallest proportion of people having attained tertiary education and the narrowest female-favouring gender gap.

Figure 27. Population by educational attainment level, gender gap (%), 2016



Source: Eurostat (edat_lfse_o3) extracted 23.02.2017

6.3 National gender gap profiles - Anna Giulia Ingellis (University of Valencia)

This final section of the report draws national portraits of each of the five participating countries, indicating the main features in terms of gender gaps in education and the

labour market. In this way we seek to underline the particular features of each country considered in the study.

We have summarized gender gap data on the participation of women in the labour market, the quality of their work, their educational attainment and the impact of education on employment.

The stereotyped image of Southern European countries and of the Mediterranean area might lead one to imagine that the so-called Mediterranean model, characterized by “more traditional societies, similar labour market regulations and welfare models” (Ferrera, 1996; Pugliese, 1996), would produce similar situations in terms of gender gaps; however, our data analysis shows that on the contrary, these countries are differentiated by a wide diversity of gender equality circumstances. The fact that some Mediterranean countries have registered significant advances in this direction suggests that there may be diverse routes to improved equality. The North European model is not the only way to enhance gender equality.

Spain

The strength of women in a difficult context

The presence of women in the labour market

Spanish women are actively present in the labour market: the active population gender gap is narrower than the EU average. Once they join the workforce, Spanish women are employed as often as their EU peers in respect to men. Although the Spanish labour market presents considerably problems and difficulties compared with other European countries, the gender gap is not significantly wider than that of other European countries with better performing labour markets. Gender gaps are considerably narrower among young people than among the total population.

The quality of women's work

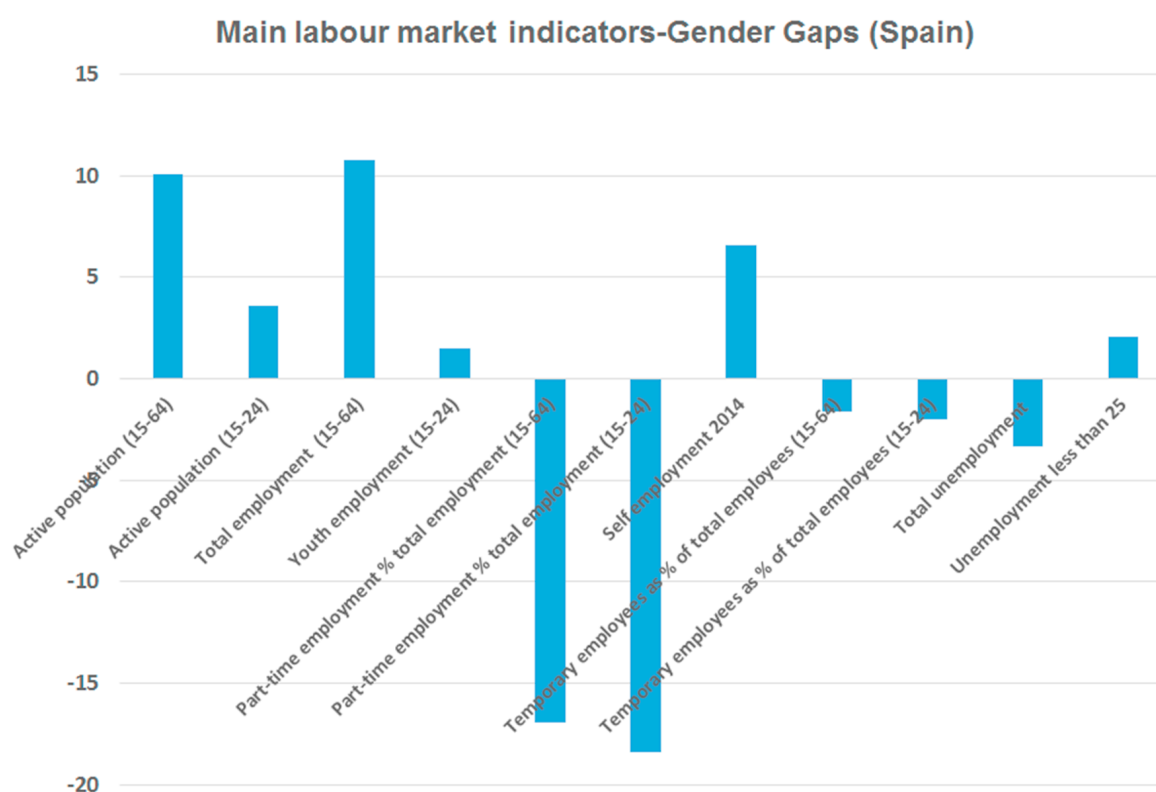
Part-time contracts are extensively used for women, more than for men, but considerably less than the EU on average. Temporary contracts are not a specific feature of women's work; they are used above all for young people regardless of sex. The overall earnings gender gap is quite similar to the EU average.

Educational attainment

General educational attainment among women is better than among men. The early leavers gender gap is particularly significant in Spain: Spanish men leave education before their female peers to a greater extent than in other countries. Vocational programmes are less gendered than in other countries and the most feminized vocational fields are health and welfare, and business, administration and law. Women outperform men in tertiary education but less so than in the other countries considered. The most feminized fields in tertiary education are health and welfare, and education.

Between education and work

As is well known, studying protects people from unemployment. Tertiary education more than halves the employment gender gap compared with people who have not surpassed lower secondary education.



Italy

Missing female resources

The presence of women in the labour market

Italian women are twice as likely to be inactive as the EU average, thus depriving the labour market of a large amount of (female) human capital. Those Italian women who do join the active population are less often employed than their European peers by about eight percentage points. Young women suffer less discrimination than older ones. Even in self-employment, which is particularly common in Italy, the gender gap is wider than the EU average and the widest of the FtC countries.

The quality of women's work

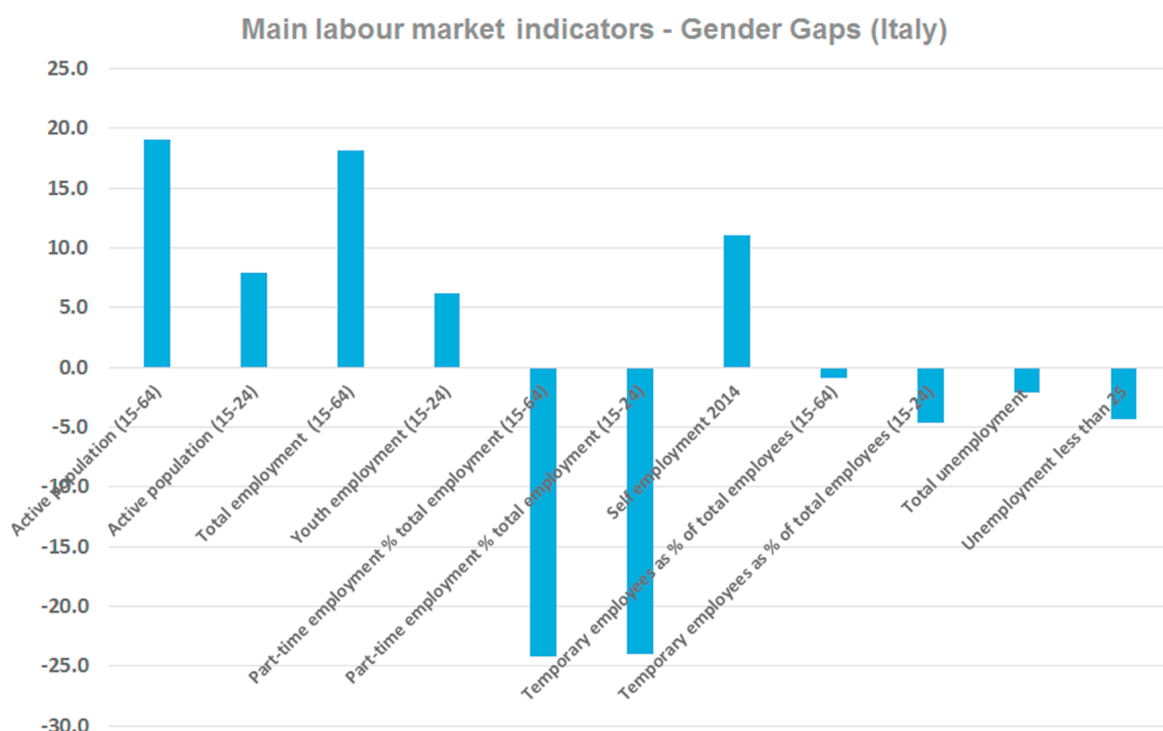
The part-time employment gender gap is the largest among the FtC countries and exceeds the EU average. There is little difference in gender gaps between the total population and young people. The Italian OEGG is wider than those of the other FtC countries and the EU-28 average, essentially because of the weight of the employment rate gender gap. Conversely, the gender pay gap is the smallest.

Educational attainment

There is a sort of polarization of the gender gap in educational attainment of males and females. Males are more heavily represented at the compulsory schooling level and females in tertiary education. Vocational programmes are actually a male domain, while young women tend to choose general programmes. The most feminized fields of tertiary education in Italy are the social sciences, journalism and information, and the arts and humanities.

Between education and work

The gender employment gap among graduates of tertiary education is almost the same as in the other countries. Considering that the total gender employment gap is higher in Italy than elsewhere, we can state that in Italy a tertiary education protects women from unemployment more than in the other countries.



Cyprus

Only one more step towards gender equality

The presence of women in the labour market

Women are actively present in the labour market in Cyprus, where gender gaps in activity and employment are slightly better than EU-28 averages. Young women are considerably more active than men. Cyprus is the only country where young women (15-24) are more active than men.

The quality of women's work

As in the other countries, part-time employment is more common among women in Cyprus. Nevertheless, the gender gap for this indicator is a quarter of the EU-28 average. Unlike in other countries, female employment in Cyprus is more often temporary than among males. The better condition of women in Cyprus is reflected in an overall earnings gender gap lower than in the other FtC countries and less than half of the EU-28 average. The strongest contributory factor is the gender pay gap; Cypriot women are more involved in the labour market, more likely to be employed but paid less than their FtC peers.

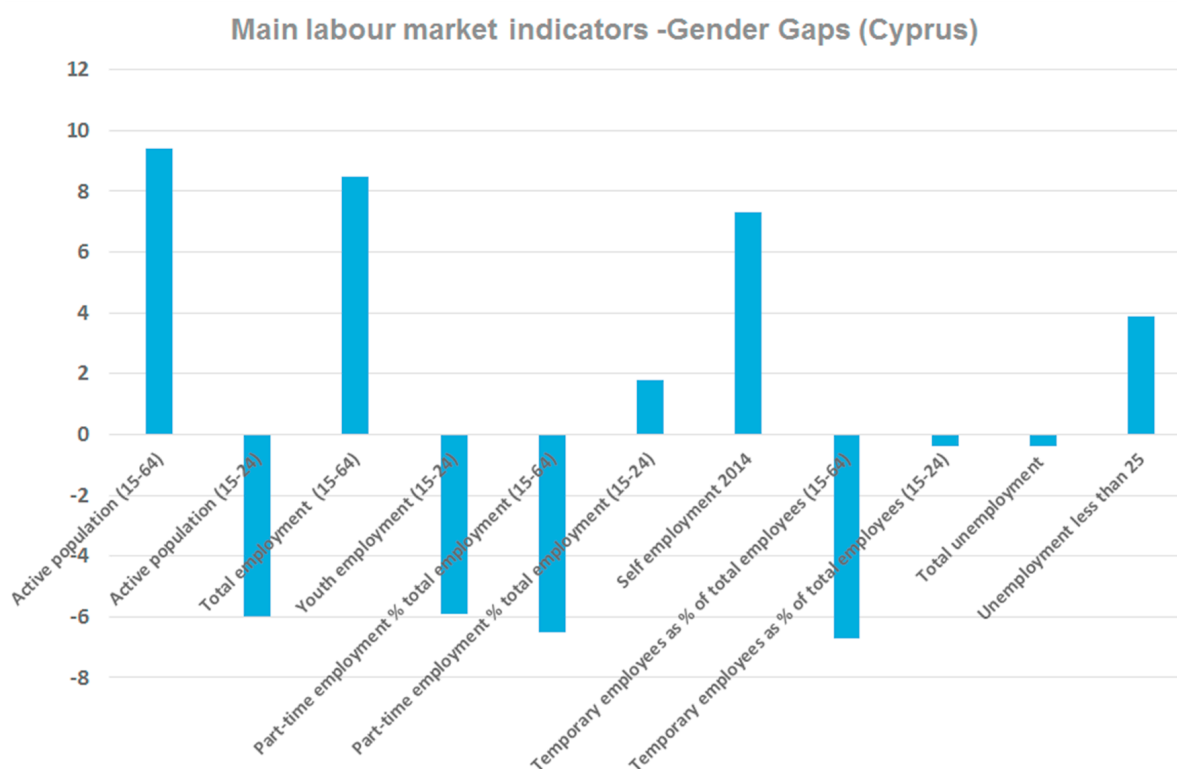
Educational attainment

In the case of Cyprus, the polarization of the gender education gap sees males more present in upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education, while there are more females in tertiary education. The rates of early school leaving are quite similar for the two sexes and the presence of

women in vocational programmes is quite unimpressive. Cyprus has a record attendance of women in tertiary education, where the two most feminized fields of study, education and business, administration and law, have almost twice as many females as males.

Between education and work

The impact of educational level on the employment rate is also apparent in Cyprus. Nevertheless, the gender gap is quite narrow, not only in tertiary education but also at lower levels, indicating that the impact of a high level of education is less significant than in the other countries.



Slovenia

Young women's paradoxical exclusion

The presence of women in the labour market

Slovenia is remarkable for the difference between young people and the general population in the size of the labour market gender gaps. It strikingly outperforms the other FtC countries and the EU-28 average on gender equality in the total population, having the smallest gender gaps in almost all indicators including active population and employment, with an OEGG half of the EU-28 average. In sharp contrast, indicators among young people are the worst, pointing to the heavy exclusion of young women from the labour market. All the main indicators show a similar contrast, whether referring to inclusion or to quality of work.

The quality of women's work

Gender gaps in part-time employment, temporary work and unemployment again manifest a polarization between data on the total population and on young people, where Slovenia's performance is respectively better and worse than the other FtC countries and than the EU-28 averages. Particularly striking are the statistics on temporary contracts. In none of the other FtC countries is temporary work a specific feature of young women's employment, yet in Slovenia the temporary work gender

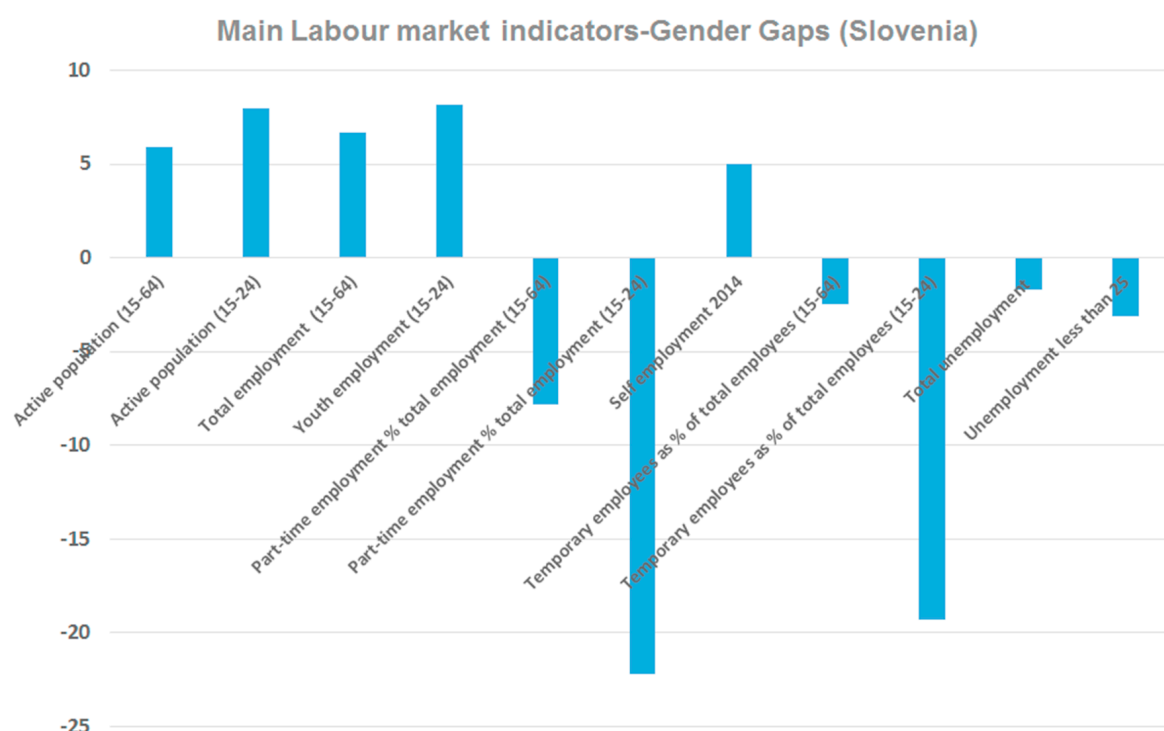
gap is much wider than the EU-28 average. All the data considered, Slovenia seems to present a kind of downgrading of women's condition in the most recent generation.

Educational attainment

In Slovenia the polarization in gender educational level gaps indicates that men are more present in upper secondary and post-secondary non-tertiary education, while women are more present in tertiary education. Rates of early school leaving are quite similar for the two sexes and the presence of females in vocational programmes is half that of males. Slovenia takes second place for women graduating from tertiary education: almost one and a half times the men's rate in all fields except information and communication technologies, engineering, manufacturing and construction, and architecture and construction, all of which are traditionally masculinized fields.

Between education and work

As is well known, studying protects people from unemployment. The gender employment gap among employed people with tertiary education is one third the size of than among people with at most a lower secondary education.



Portugal

The best performer on gender equality

The presence of women in the labour market

Portugal is without doubt the FtC country with the most inclusive and gender-equal labour market. All of the main indicators among the total population and young people suggest that Portugal performs best on gender equality. This does not mean that there are no gender gaps, only that they are narrower than in the other FtC countries for active population, employment and earnings.

The quality of women's work

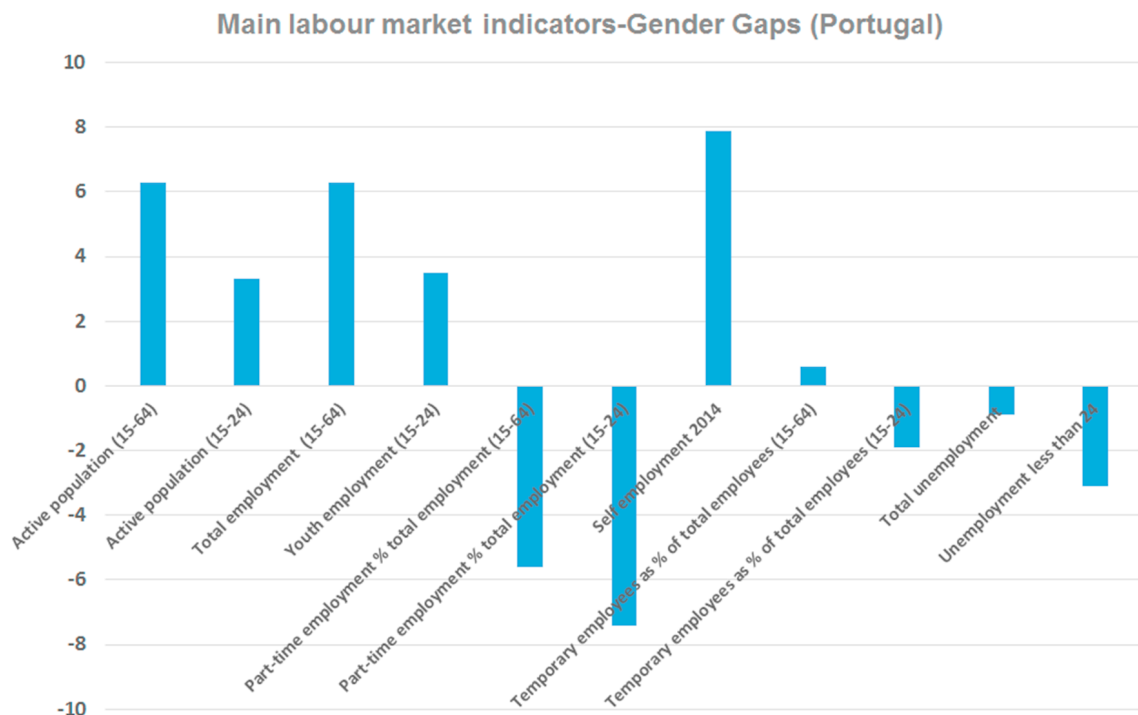
On work quality, Portugal has small gender gaps for part-time work and for temporary contracts. Nevertheless, female employment is very much concentrated in three main economic activities, namely in human health and social work activities, in education and in professional, scientific and technical activities.

Educational attainment

There is a sort of polarization of the gender gap in educational attainment. Males are more heavily represented in compulsory education and females in tertiary education. The early leavers gender gap is about twice as wide as the EU-28 average. Males leave school early more than females do. Vocational programmes are less gendered than in other countries. Females outperform males in tertiary education but less so than in the other countries considered. The most feminized fields are health and welfare, social sciences, journalism and information, and business, administration and law.

Between education and work

The impact of educational level on the employment rate is quite remarkable in Portugal. The gender gap falls from 13.3 points among employed people with at most lower secondary education to 1.4 (the lowest of all the FtC countries) among tertiary educated employed people.



7 Conclusion

A great number of reports and studies show that the last two decades represent the best historic period in terms of reducing gender gaps in Europe. Nevertheless, the present report clearly shows that the goal of gender equality is still a long way off, for a number of reasons. Firstly, a larger proportion of the female population than the male remains outside the labour market, that is to say not participating in the formal productive system or contributing to the generation of wealth as recorded in official national statistics. Not only is this a matter of fairness and equality between men and women; it also represents a waste of human and economic resources.

Secondly, following the theory of the segmentation of the labour market (Piore, 1983), we can state that women and men regrettably occupy two distinct labour markets which overlap to only a small extent. Adult men mainly occupy the primary segment of the labour market (well-paid jobs in key sectors, high professional status, etc.), whereas women tend to languish in the secondary segment (poorly qualified, more precarious, part-time jobs, etc.). Furthermore, while the gender gap has been significantly reduced for salaried work, this is not true for self-employment, where the gender gap remains very wide and much further progress is needed.

The analysis of gender gaps in the worlds of education and work gives cause to reflect on the great challenges still facing young people in the education-to-work transition, notwithstanding the efforts made so far by previous generations.

The growing rates of female employment and the progressive reduction of gender gaps suggests that greater equality is being achieved. Nevertheless, the existing gaps in education and at work exposed by this research demonstrate that what is actually happening is that part of this inequality, rather than being eliminated, is becoming hidden by moving from the labour market to the educational level.

Females strongly outperform males in tertiary education, yet in terms of employment their opportunities are both quantitatively and qualitatively weaker. If instead females performed only as well as males educationally, then since educational achievement is positively correlated with employment rate, women's employment position would be even worse than it is now. Recent advances in employment equality actually hide a deeper discrimination: women have to work harder and perform better to achieve an apparent reduction in inequality. Thus, inequality passes from labour market indicators to educational ones and this relocation renders it less visible. Real equality would mean that the same education level resulted in the same employment rate.

Instead of acclaiming the great advances of women's inclusion in the labour market, we should perhaps deplore the hidden gender gap between education and employment. Women's superior performance in education is perceived as a great achievement by all of the social actors and in some ways it certainly is so. Nevertheless, regarding women's position in society and above all in the transition between education and work, the fact that a significant gender gap in the work domain persists despite this

superior educational performance tells us two things: that education is relevant but not sufficient and that we need to intervene in other social structures.

Among the countries considered here, we have reported a wide range of situations. Although they are all seen to have been represented by a generic Mediterranean model in terms of labour markets (Pugliese, 1996) and welfare regimes (Ferrera, 1996; Rhodes, 1997; Guillen et al., 2016), these countries actually vary considerably in terms of gender equality in their labour markets. The received idea is that within Europe, Mediterranean countries perform less well in terms of gender equality, but we have shown that this is not so. National stereotypes should also be challenged (Andreotti, 2001; Ingellis, 2016; 2017; Guillen et al., 2016). Our analysis suggests that it is possible to create more gender-equal labour markets in very diverse contexts.

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