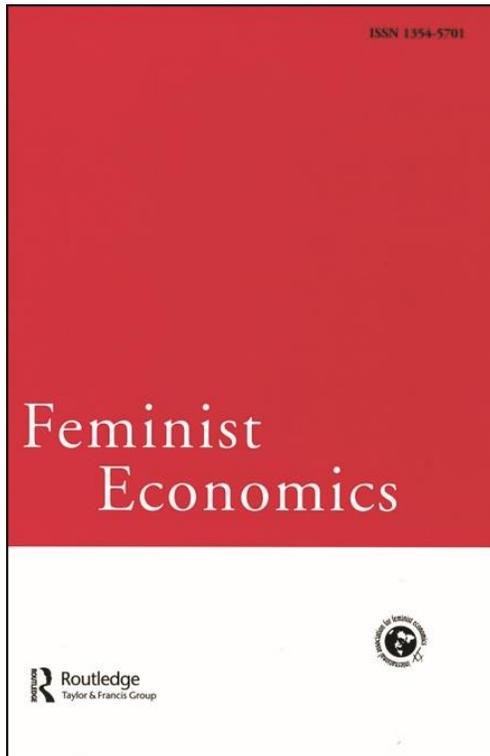


FERNS Volume 25 Issue 1



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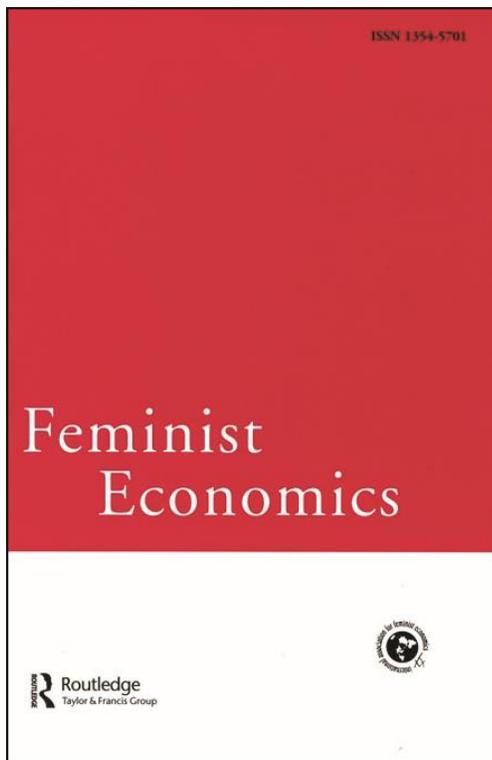
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Poverty in US Lesbian and Gay Couple Households



Alyssa Schneebaum and M. V. Lee Badgett

People who are poor have low incomes that make it challenging or impossible to meet their health, nutritional, housing, educational, and other life needs, highlighting an important economic problem. Poverty is more common among some communities than others, revealing groups that face exclusion in labor markets, educational institutions, or other social and economic contexts. In particular, past research has found that lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people in the United States are more likely to be poor than non-LGBT people, but we know little about why that gap exists. This study by Alyssa Schneebaum and M. V. Lee Badgett asks whether LGB people are more likely to be poor, and if so, why.

Methodology. The study uses data from the American Community Survey (ACS) in the US, pooling couples participating in that survey from 2010–14. The ACS does not have questions on sexual orientation but does allow researchers to identify same-sex couples (who are likely to be gay, lesbian, or bisexual) and different-sex couples. The ACS also has detailed information on the incomes of families.

Schneebaum and Badgett use the data to predict the likelihood of being poor by comparing poverty in different-sex couples to poverty in same-sex couples. The statistical model takes into account differences in the presence of children, location of the household, and the education, employment, age, race, ethnicity, and disability status of both people in the couple to isolate the effect of sexual orientation. In a second step, the authors create predictions for four separate groups of couples – married different-sex couples, unmarried different-sex couples, male same-sex couples, and female same-sex couples – to pull apart the reasons for the different levels of risk of poverty.

Main findings. The simple or raw poverty rate varies for the four groups: 5.9 percent of married different-sex couples and 14.6 percent of unmarried different-sex couples are poor, compared with 3.9 percent of male same-sex couples and 6.6 percent of female same-sex couples. At this simple level, gay male couples appear to be the least likely to be poor, while lesbian couples are in between the poverty rates of married and unmarried different-sex couples.

However, once Schneebaum and Badgett take into account the different characteristics of people in couples, the comparison looks different. Male same-sex couples are actually more likely to be poor than married different-sex couples, and female same-sex couples are more likely to be poor than all different-sex couples.

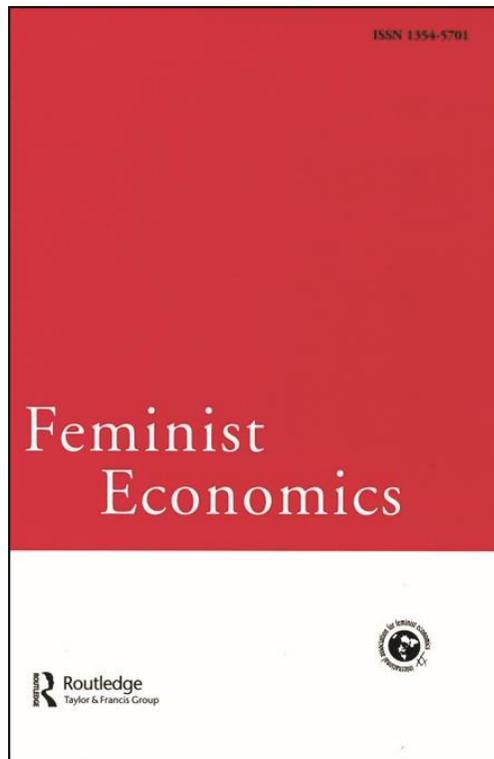
What explains this hidden poverty gap? The second stage of the study shows that people in same-sex couples have more characteristics that protect them from poverty than do different-sex couples. Compared to different-sex couples, same-sex couples are more likely to work and less likely to have children, and they have higher levels of education – factors that correlate with a lower risk of poverty for everyone. The disadvantage for people in same-sex couples comes from the fact that they get less protection from those characteristics. If people in same-sex couples had the same characteristics as different-sex couples, they would have a higher raw poverty rate.

Research implications. This study makes the existence of LGBT poverty more visible and more urgent for policymakers. Social service providers should assess how well income support programs and human services meet the needs of low-income LGBT people. Local, state, and federal agencies could commission research and initiate data collection that would lead to a better understanding of these needs and challenges. Finally, policies designed to reduce employment discrimination and to raise the minimum wage would reduce poverty for all, including LGBT people.

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Introducing the Historical Gender Equality Index

Selin Dilli, Sarah G. Carmichael, and Auke Rijpma



Gender equality is not a one-dimensional concept. Therefore, multidimensional indicators are needed to measure it. Various international organizations have developed a number of these indicators over the past twenty years, but a consistent composite measure that tracks progress toward gender equality over a longer period of time is lacking. Selin Dilli, Sarah G. Carmichael, and Auke Rijpma develop such an indicator – the Historical Gender Equality Index (HGEI) – for the period 1950 to 2003 using measures of inequality in life expectancy, sex ratios, schooling, marriage ages, representation in parliament, and labor force participation. They find that, while great strides have been made toward achieving equality between men and women, no country has achieved equality and some parts of the world, such as the MENA region and South and Southeast Asia, have seen far less progress than others.

Methodology. Following the methodology of the Global Gender Gap Index, Dilli, Carmichael, and Rijpma construct the HGEI in terms of ratios, allowing for comparisons between countries as well as to a notion of an ideal level of equality. The equality benchmarks are fixed over time, meaning one can compare between years. The authors' goal was to construct an indicator that was comparable across both time and countries. They use panel regression to determine whether there has been convergence in gender equality between countries.

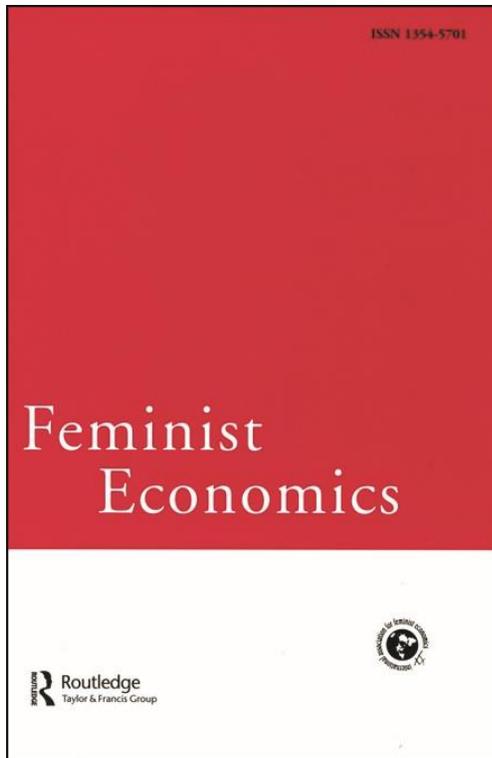
Main findings. Dilli, Carmichael, and Rijpma find three main results. First, between 1950 and 2003, there has been steady progress in gender equality as measured by the HGEI. On average, the world has gone from a situation where women were at 61 percent to 67 percent of the equality benchmark. Second, while there is progress, there are also great differences between countries and regions. While Western Europe and its offshoots now show the highest gender equality, in the 1950s, Denmark, Canada, and Australia had gender gaps similar to the current gaps in countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe (for example, Botswana, Uruguay, and Albania). The MENA and South Asia regions have the lowest gender equality on average. However, Libya, for instance, was the least gender equal in 1950, but made the most progress (a similar growth rate to the Netherlands), whereas progress

was much more limited in Egypt. In Yemen and Mauritania, the gender gap actually grew. Finally, there has been no convergence in gender equality between countries over time, even if comparing countries at a similar level of economic development. Only if looking at countries that are institutionally similar is convergence seen.

Policy implications. Dilli, Carmichael, and Rijpma's index reveals that while there has been progress in gender equality in the long run, the passing of time and economic development alone do not guarantee progress toward gender equality. Thus, attention should be paid to the institutional and cultural obstacles toward gender equality

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Can Empathy Explain Gender Differences in Economic Policy Views in the US?



Linda Kamas and Anne Preston

It is well established that women's policy views are more progressive than men's in that women are more likely than men to: support an activist government, favor the redistribution of income and wealth, question the benefits of free markets and free trade, and vote for Democratic candidates in the US. Linda Kamas and Anne Preston test the hypothesis that people who are more empathic support government interventions that improve the economic welfare of others, even when they are potentially not in their own self-interest. Further, they examine the possibility that differences in empathy may account for gender differences in public policy views.

Methodology and contribution. While many researchers identify empathy and feelings of compassion as factors responsible for gender differences in political, social, and economic views, there has been little empirical testing of this hypothesis. Kamas and Preston construct a survey that asks questions about personal views on various economic policy actions. Participants in the study also complete the Davis Interpersonal Reactivity Index questionnaire, which is a widely used and well-validated measure of empathy. The authors utilize regression analysis to evaluate how empathy affects economic policy views and whether gender differences in empathy can explain the gender differences in economic policy views.

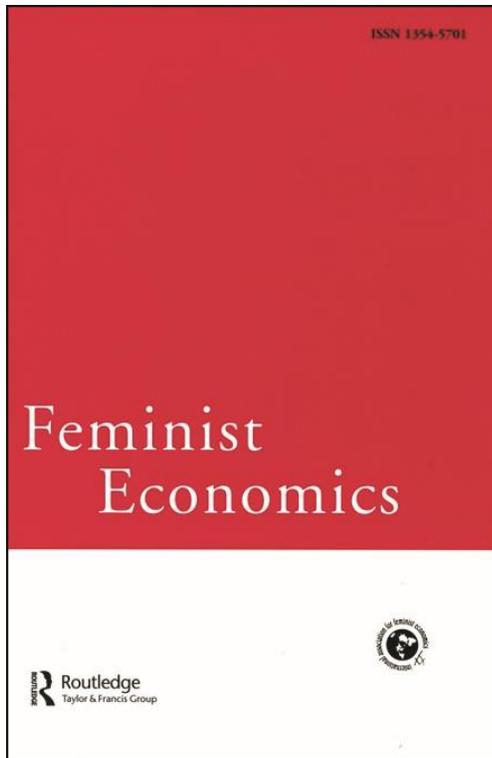
Main findings and implications. Kamas and Preston find a large gender difference in economic policy views in the US, with women favoring a more interventionist government, and they find that higher empathy is associated with valuing a larger role for the government. Most importantly, empathy explains gender differences in economic policy views for the entire policy survey; that is, there is no gender difference once empathy is accounted for. Empathy leads both men and women to support more government action, and there is no gender difference in the effects of empathy on economic policy views. These findings are robust to the inclusion of controls for demographic characteristics, social preferences, and self-identified political category (conservative, moderate, or liberal).

Differentiating economic policy views into categories (views on free markets, regulation, government budgets, poverty and inequality, and social welfare), Kamas and Preston find that empathy has a significant effect in all five sub-categories with more empathetic people having more interventionist policy views. There are gender differences in all the categories except regulation and budgets. Accounting for empathy, gender differences persist in views on free markets while they disappear in views on poverty and inequality, and social welfare. More empathetic people, whether men or women, are more likely to favor government intervention, particularly when policies favor or protect those who are less advantaged. Persisting gender differences in support for free markets may not be surprising however. If women believe that market outcomes are biased against women, and that women are treated unfairly in market systems (meaning for example, women earn less, are more likely to be poor, and suffer from discrimination), they will be more likely than men to favor government intervention to protect their rights and economic well-being, regardless of how empathetic they may be.

Kamas and Preston's findings are clear: more empathetic individuals are more supportive of an interventionist government to rectify what they perceive to be negative market outcomes. Women tend to be more empathetic than men, so the gender differences found in views on government economic policy are explained by gender differences in empathy, and empathetic men are as supportive of a larger role for the government as similarly empathetic women. This is the first empirical paper in which gender differences in economic public policy views are wholly attributed to a personal characteristic that differs between men and women.

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Improving Assessments of Gender Bargaining Power: A Case Study from Bangladesh



Mieke Meurs and Rita Ismaylov

Gender bargaining power has entered into mainstream economic theory and public policy. Empirical research has not produced consistent results regarding the causal chains underlying women's empowerment, and it is unclear whether the problem lies with the theory underlying the empirical work or measurement techniques, or whether consistent relationships do not exist across time and place. In this study, Mieke Meurs and Rita Ismaylov ask whether the commonly used empirical measures of bargaining power accurately reflect theory about women's bargaining power and how common measures might be improved.

Methodology. Gender bargaining power is defined as a woman's ability to control a share of the gains from cooperating with her spouse in a marriage. Common

measures of bargaining power in empirical work are generated from survey data on decision-making in households. Meurs and Ismaylov use data from the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) for one country, Bangladesh, over a twelve-year period (the 1999, 2004, and 2011 surveys).

The DHS ask about women's participation in decisions about healthcare, daily purchases, large household purchases, cooking, and visiting of friends and relatives. Response choices were: decides alone, decides with husband, decides with someone else, husband makes the decision, someone else makes the decision, and other. Because the study is concerned with the modeling of spousal bargaining power, it includes only married women.

The authors examine whether the six decision-making questions measure a consistent characteristic of the woman, and whether participation in these decisions is statistically significantly correlated with factors theoretically linked to bargaining power. They also examine whether these statistical relationships are consistent over time, and whether these questions capture spousal bargaining power of married women who live in extended-family households or women who make most decisions alone. Meurs and Ismaylov consider whether the common practice of combining the response "decides alone" with "decides together with spouse" into a

single measure is justified and whether deciding alone is properly considered a bargaining outcome.

Main findings. Meurs and Ismaylov find that questions about participation in decision making can provide a consistent and theoretically supported measure of bargaining power in Bangladesh. Still, participation is not consistent across decisions, and the individual and household characteristics associated with different types of decisions vary.

Factors associated with bargaining power vary over time and appropriate measures may vary with household position. Women who make one decision alone also make others alone and have distinct characteristics compared to women who make decisions with their spouse. The analysis also suggests that in extended households, women often participate in decisions with someone other than their spouse.

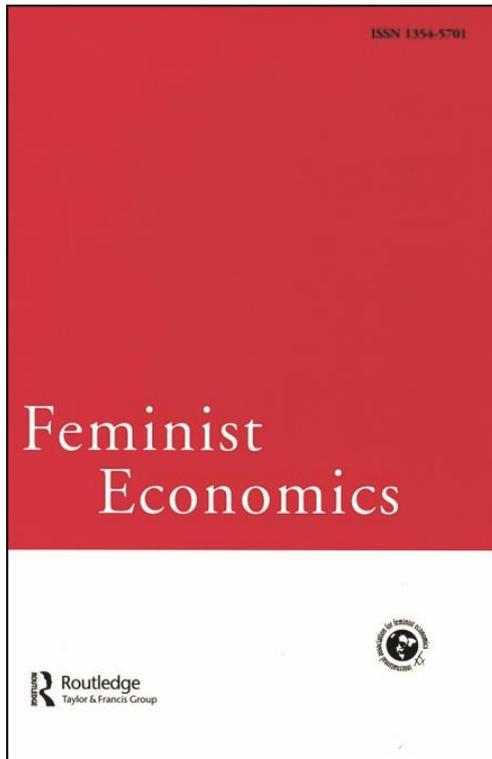
Research implications. Meurs and Ismaylov's findings suggest the need for changes to how decision-making data are used. Combining participation in multiple types of decisions into a measure of participation contributes to more robust identification of associated characteristics than using a small group of decisions.

Women in extended family households appear to engage in bargaining with household members other than their husbands. Research is needed into these types of intrahousehold bargaining. Different decision-making questions may be needed to capture spousal bargaining in such households (qualitative work may reveal which decisions are made by spouses in such households). Until data is available, researchers should consider carefully whether spousal bargaining models are appropriate for extended-family households.

Making decisions alone may not reflect a woman's bargaining power so much as specific household characteristics that produce a single decision maker (a disabled or frequently absent spouse, for example). For this reason, it may not be appropriate to combine "decides alone" with "decides with spouse" into a single outcome or a common model. More detailed analysis of the household may be needed to determine whether these women's decisions should be modeled as bargaining outcomes.

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Challenges and Changes in Gendered Poverty: The Feminization, De-feminization and Re-feminization of Poverty in Latin America



Sarah Bradshaw, Sylvia Chant, and Brian Linneker

In this study, Sarah Bradshaw, Sylvia Chant, and Brian Linneker examine how to measure trends in the “feminization of poverty,” and how to explain the apparently anomalous situation in which poverty in Latin America, which has shown signs of decline since the early 2000s in general, has been “re-feminizing” in this period, both in terms of “person poverty” and “household poverty.” This feminization of poverty has occurred despite a decided feminization of anti-poverty programs in the region, most notably conditional cash transfer (CCT) schemes, which have been implemented in many countries following the seeming successes of pioneer initiatives in Mexico and Brazil.

Methodology. Bradshaw, Chant, and Linneker combine insights from small-scale qualitative studies, as well as their own analyses of macro-level quantitative data produced by the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). These data have been analyzed differently by ECLAC (2014) itself and by two Brazilian economists, Marcelo Medeiros and Joana Costa (2006, 2008). Bradshaw, Chant, and Linneker seek to identify how different poverty cut-off points have historically (particularly between the early 1990s and early 2000s) affected interpretations of feminization of poverty trends.

The authors also explore some of the reasons why women’s poverty since the early 2000s may have risen despite a discernible feminization of anti-poverty programs in Latin America. Given the limitations of macro-level quantitative data in explaining this paradox, they draw from case studies as well as their own longitudinal research to suggest reasons why women in general, and female-headed households in particular, may not have been favored in exiting poverty. Bradshaw, Chant, and Linneker propose that the “standard” patriarchal heteronormative model utilized as a basis for targeting resources to the poor, directs resources to women but not in an especially gender-sensitive way.

Main findings. Bradshaw, Chant, and Linneker’s findings show that how poverty is measured has considerable significance for identifying the incidence of gendered poverty at particular points in time, highlighting that existing data is rarely adequate for gender analysis.

They also observe that women may become further impoverished at a personal level through their involvement in CCT programs due to the disbursements of unpaid “volunteer” labor required. This detracts from time available to invest in paid work, which generally offers higher returns than the relatively small amounts of monetary aid given to women to invest time in building capabilities in children, primarily in the spheres of education and health. This is arguably particularly injurious for female heads of household who, through want of a male breadwinner, have to maximize labor market earnings and thus are often “priced-out” of anti-poverty initiatives. The de facto exclusion of female heads seems at odds in a situation in which they have routinely been typecast as the “poorest of the poor.”

Research implications. Bradshaw, Chant, and Linneker observe that there remains considerable scope to track the implications of women’s, and female household heads’, participation in anti-poverty programs. They conclude that more analysis is needed of the interplay between the feminization of poverty, the feminization of household headship, and the feminization of poverty-reduction initiatives in Latin America and beyond. This is particularly important in the context of Agenda 2030’s aims to eliminate poverty in all its forms everywhere, and to simultaneously promote gender equality and women’s empowerment.

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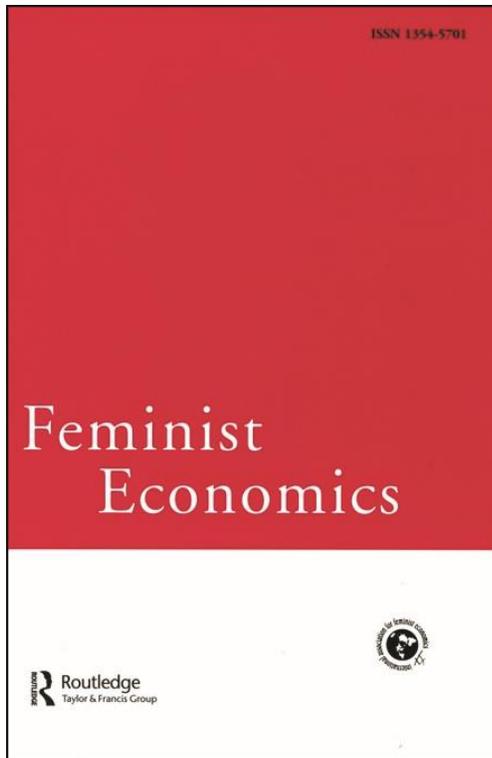
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Why Women Have Lower Retirement Savings: The Australian Case



Jun Feng, Paul Gerrans, Carly Moulang, Noel Whiteside, and Maria Strydom[†]

In response to population aging, and accompanying fiscal pressures, governments in developed economies are curbing state-sponsored pensions and promoting personal retirement savings to provide an adequate income in old age. These policies operate to the disadvantage of women given that, on average, women have lower retirement savings than men do: a fact acknowledged in the literature. Jun Feng, Paul Gerrans, Carly Moulang, Noel Whiteside, and Maria Strydom go further, to explore the role of labor market disadvantage and investigate whether gendered savings gaps are likely to disappear in future. By examining the experience of different age cohorts at different levels of income over time, they assess the consequences of low pay, broken careers, and fractured labor force participation (the common result

of caring obligations). The case study of Australia is pertinent as this country introduced mandatory superannuation (pension) savings in 1992, allowing the study to address the longer-term consequences of pension policy changes and their impact on gender inequality.

Methodology. The study uses a large administrative dataset from a major provider (Mercer, Australia) to examine pension (superannuation) accumulation trends over a ten-year period (2002/3–2011/12). The experiences of three birth cohorts (born in 1956–58; 1966–68; 1976–78) show how the gender retirement gap is constructed and the impact of low pay, job precarity, and temporary labor force withdrawal. A range of accepted measures applied to the data quantify the specific consequences of low pay and varied career trajectories that create unequal savings accumulations and accompanying returns. Examining the experience of gendered cohorts at similar ages at different points in time reveals whether (or not) younger women's labor market behavior has changed to allow the gender retirement gap to disappear in future.

Main findings. The study shows that over the ten-year period, labor market volatility was most marked in younger cohorts and was more frequent among women. As a result, while all balances rose, men's increased more than women's, owing to falling contributions that may

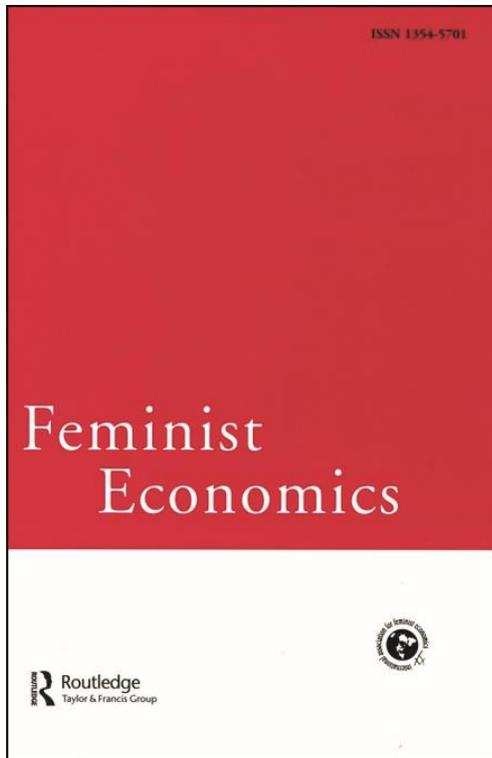
signal a period of labor market absence or lower pay consequent on taking part-time work. This damages both career prospects and future savings. As contributory rates are calculated as a percentage of salary, men's and women's accumulation rates are unequal in early working life and subsequently compound. Thus wealth inequality increases as people age, as the combination of lower contributions and lost opportunity for compounded returns cannot be recouped by a return to the full-time labor force once family formation is complete. Thus a gendered savings gap is constructed. Finally, there is little evidence to suggest that changing employment among younger women means these discrepancies will disappear

Policy implications. The structural features of employment-based defined contribution retirement schemes generate a gender retirement savings gap compounding the gender income gap. The paper argues promotion of such schemes as a partial replacement for state pensions contradicts principles of gender equality as the consequences of smaller employment-based contributions are compounded by lost tax advantages and foregone investment returns. In the absence of collective provision via state schemes, which allow some redistribution from the privileged to the disadvantaged, compensation for lower contributions when they happen offers possible improvement. For example, the continuation of contributions during workplace absences could be required. This issue needs serious and early attention.

† Deceased

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How Do Household Tasks Shape Employment Contracts? The Provision of Care in Portugal



Fátima Suleman and Abdul Suleman

There is growing demand for workers to perform household tasks that have traditionally been assigned to women family members. A set of factors contributes to this trend, notably demographic changes, population aging, and women's increasing participation in the labor market. As a consequence, unpaid and informal care provision done by family members has become scarce, which has led households to hire domestic workers for casual and non-casual employment, for shorter or longer time. Past literature shows domestic work is performed mostly by women and migrants from developing countries, and in poor employment conditions. In this study, Fátima Suleman and Abdul Suleman provide a different picture of the labor market of the domestic work in Portugal. Public support is scarce in South European countries, which leads families to assume the responsibility of providing care.

Budget constraints cause families to seek cheap labor and employ migrant domestic workers under precarious employment arrangements. In this study, Suleman and Suleman examine how particular tasks, notably caring, interact with and explain households' options for contractual arrangements. They conclude that the idiosyncrasies of care work and the need for quality care dictate employment practices aimed at ensuring the protection of assets and family members.

Methodology. Suleman and Suleman carried out empirical work using an original dataset comprising 684 paid domestic workers in Portugal. Next, they employed fuzzy clustering to identify the occupational configurations in domestic work, highlighting the types of contracts families use to hire domestic workers. Subsequently, they use a Tobit regression model to ascertain the potential impact of other factors in these configurations. This includes job characteristics, such as wage levels, pay benefits, paid work hours, degree of formality of the employment contract, type and number of employers, and trust issues; and workers' demographic characteristics, notably marital status, migration status, and education level.

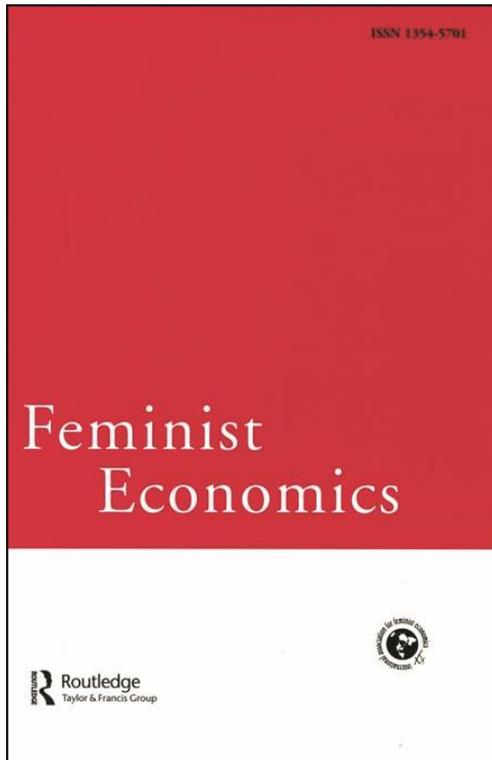
Main findings. Suleman and Suleman find four types of jobs within domestic work in Portugal, which they label helpers, cleaners, elderly caregivers, and child caregivers. The results show that contractual arrangements vary with the tasks performed by domestic workers. Helpers and

cleaners are more likely to be occasional workers, hired on an hourly or daily basis, perform cleaning tasks, and are often engaged in informal or flexible contracts. However, households are more cautious when allocating caring chores. Caregivers are paid on a monthly basis and hired on a formal contract, that is, households register the worker for social security. Formal and stable contracts seem to be suitable for caring work because it involves inflexible tasks that must be performed at specific times, particularly making food, taking children to school or administering medicine to elderly people. Nevertheless, the wages paid to caregivers are lower than that of helpers or cleaners. Furthermore, households seem to prefer Portuguese, Brazilian, and European migrants for care services, and this may explain why cleaning tasks are mostly assigned to African women. While African migrants are therefore less likely to have formal and stable jobs, the occasional nature of their work, with no guarantee of a stable income, entails higher wages.

Research implications. Suleman and Suleman argue that policymakers should be aware of the role families play in fostering employment conditions and job quality in the labor market of domestic workers, especially in Southern European countries. Although enforcement is complicated by the fact that paid domestic work is performed in private houses, both employers and employees should be informed about the benefits of formalization, and measures should be taken to force them to comply.

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[A Feminist Review of Behavioral Economic Research on Gender Differences](#)

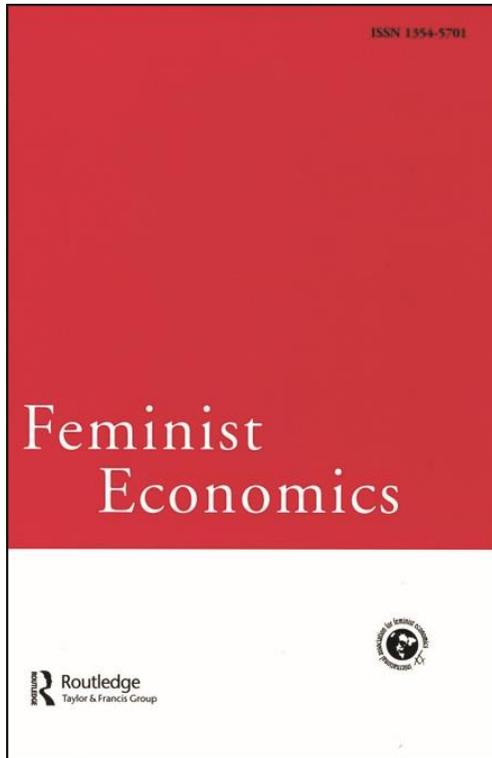
[Does Fathers' Care Spill Over? Evaluating Reforms in the Swedish Parental Leave Program](#)

[Sexual Orientation and Labor Force Participation: Findings from Chile and Uruguay](#)

[Women's Employment and Child Care Choices in Spain Through the Great Recession](#)

[Exploring Impacts of Community-Based Legal Aid on Intrahousehold Gender Relations in Tanzania](#)

A Feminist Review of Behavioral Economic Research on Gender Differences



Esther-Mirjam Sent and Irene van Staveren

This study reviews two hundred articles in experimental economics that report gender differences in economic behavior. Four different types of behavior are analyzed, of which two are generally stereotyped as feminine (altruism and trust) and two are commonly stereotyped as masculine (risk appetite and overconfidence). The article's main question is to assess the extent to which the reported gender differences are in fact reflecting differences in the average behavior of men and women. Esther-Mirjam Sent and Irene van Staveren do this by focusing on eighty articles, which provide sufficient statistical information to calculate the size effect of the gender differences reported. For their assessment, the authors use Cohen's d to assess the significance of the difference of the means between the two groups, and the Index of Similarity to assess the extent of overlap of the distributions of the two groups.

Main Findings. Sent and van Staveren's review shows very mixed results for each of the four types of behavior. They find no category of behavior with consistent size effects large enough to justify claims that the average behavior of women and men is significantly different. Instead, they find, on average, that the overlap in the distributions for men and women is much larger than the differences between them. At most, the authors find some small average differences in line with the gender stereotypes but they do not reflect statistical significance and size effects. More importantly, this limited number of small average behavioral differences does not necessarily reflect natural differences but may very likely be attributable to adaptations in behavior according to gender roles, gender beliefs, and gendered institutions. Many behavioral studies in economics do not take such gendered contexts into account.

Sent and van Staveren explain their findings through a combination of the biosocial-constructionist framework used in social psychology and management studies, and insights from feminist economics. In particular, they find that most of the studies they review do not take crucial gender factors into account. The factors that are often ignored include gender beliefs, socialization into gender roles, identities and stereotypes, structural gender inequalities

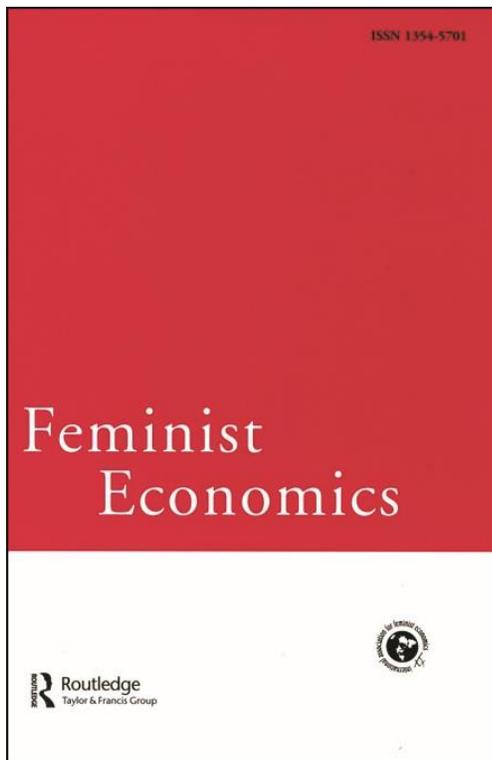
in access to and control over resources, male–female interaction effects, and gendered institutions in society. Moreover, in studies analyzing effects of hormones, the authors find that the researchers often ignore the two-way relationship between hormones and behavior, so that it is unclear to what extent measured bodily differences should be attributed to a particular behavioral context or to natural sex differences.

Research implications. Sent and van Staveren’s review has important implications to prevent unjustified essentialist claims about gender differences in economic behavior. First, the authors advise that both statistical significance and size effects be reported, irrespective whether they indicate significant gender differences or not. Second, they advise controlling for gendered context factors in the design of experiments. Third, they advise that results be explained in relation to these context factors, in particular, socialization, gender norms, gender beliefs, priming effects, costs and incentives, interaction effects of men and women based on stereotypes of each other, and reactions to expected punishments for behavior that transgresses dominant gender norms.

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Does Fathers' Care Spill Over? Evaluating Reforms in the Swedish Parental Leave Program

Ann-Zofie Duvander and Mats Johansson



Family policy is often used as a policy instrument for certain goals, not least to enhance gender-equal parenting. Swedish parental leave is an example of such a policy and since its introduction in the 1970s has given mothers and fathers the right to share the leave. One step further was taken when part of the leave was reserved for each parent, and forfeited if not used by the same parent. In 1995 one month of leave out of fifteen months' parental leave was reserved for each parent, and in 2002 government reserved a second month. The aim of reserving months was to increase fathers' use of leave as well as promote gender equality in the home sphere and the labor market. The reforms had substantial effects on both the proportion of fathers using leave and on the number of days they used, but less is known about how the increase in fathers' leave use affected other dimensions of gender equality. Ann-Zofie Duvander and Mats Johansson's

study investigates the effects of the reforms that reserved months for fathers on gender equality in homes.

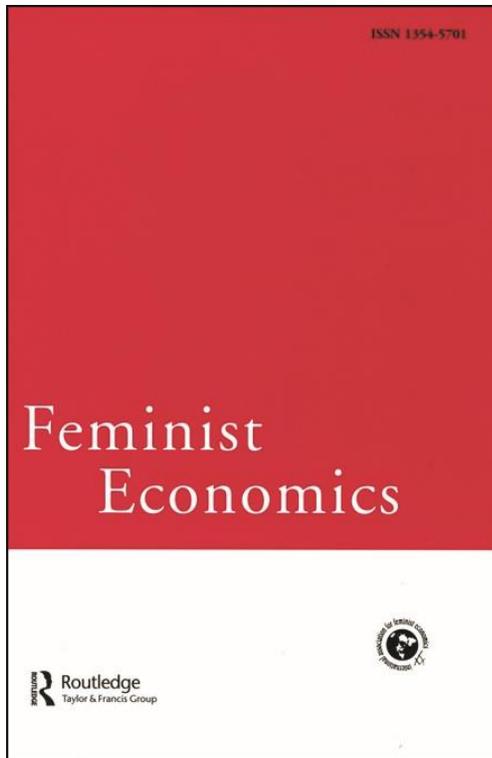
Methodology. Duvander and Johansson use Swedish administrative data on parents of all children born just before and after the reforms. Data include individual characteristics of both parents as well as their use of national social insurance. The parental benefit for the care of sick children is used as a proxy for gender equality in the home. This benefit is available to all working parents for up to 120 days a year, for children up to age 12, when the child is sick and cannot attend preschool or school. The earnings-replacement is 77.6 percent and parents may share the benefit as they see fit. Per the data, the number of days used per child depends on the age of the child, and on average less than a tenth of the maximum days are used. This study uses a difference-in-difference approach to investigate whether the sharing of parental benefit for the care of sick children was more equal between the mother and the father after reforms of the reserved months were introduced.

Main findings. Duvander and Johansson's results indicate that the first reform in 1995 led to more equal sharing, mainly because use of the benefit decreased among mothers with low education. On average mothers decreased their use of days from 28.9 to 27.1 days for the entire twelve years the benefit could be used, but the mothers with low education (in families where the father had high education) decreased their use from 29.8 to 23.3 days. After the second reform in 2002, similar effects on sharing of care for sick children were not found. Also, it seems that mothers' days (not fathers') were affected by the reforms, as a change in number of days used is not found among fathers.

Policy implications. Even though Duvander and Johansson find relatively small effects, the results indicate that the reforms reserving months of leave for fathers at least in part fulfilled the aim of increasing gender equality in the homes in addition to sharing parental leave. These results lead the authors to conclude that reforms in the parental leave policy may have wider implications outside the policy. It is thus likely that reforms facilitating gender equality will affect a wider area than the specific policy concern.

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Sexual Orientation and Labor Force Participation: Findings from Chile and Uruguay



Camila Brown, Dante Contreras and Luis Schmidt

Economic literature about sexual orientation has grown in the last twenty years, but research has mostly focused on developed Western countries. To our knowledge, there are no studies about differences in labor participation between heterosexuals and LGBT people in Latin America. The most recent censuses in Uruguay (2011) and Chile (2012) allowed same-sex couples living together to report having a romantic relationship, explicitly differentiating them from straight couples and roommates in the survey, thus making it possible to study the topic.

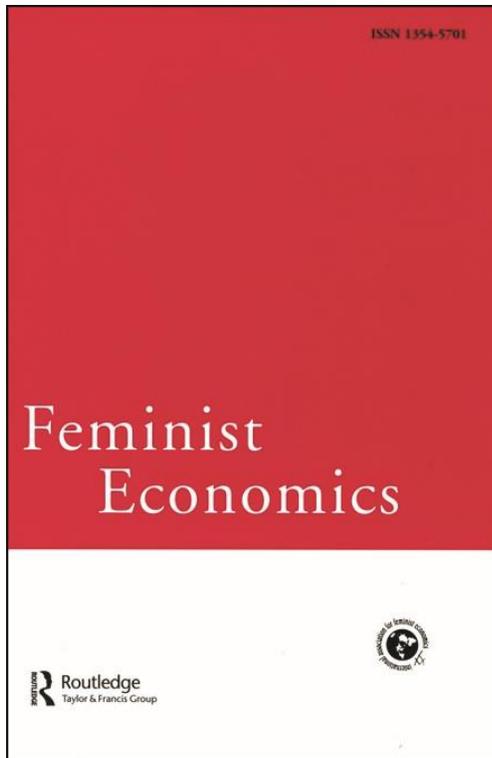
Chile and Uruguay are selected for this study not only because they both have data available on sexual orientation, but also because despite having the same levels of economic development, they show

considerably different levels of conservatism and attitudes toward sexual minorities. These differences are reflected in the two countries' varying legal protections for sexual minorities and women, and comparative surveys showing higher negative attitudes toward homosexuals in Chile than in Uruguay.

We first provide an account of family composition, mating patterns, and educational levels of both the gay and straight populations in Chile and Uruguay. Then, using a sample of the heads of households and their partners, and a logit model, we measure the impact of sexual orientation on labor participation, juxtaposing individuals who are part of straight and same-sex couples. We further determine if this effect is different depending on gender. Among other results, we find that partnered gay men are up to 5.0 percentage points less likely to participate in the workforce compared to married straight men, whereas lesbians are up to 32.7 percentage points more likely to participate in the labor force compared to married straight women. Trends in the two countries are similar, but the magnitude of the effect on participation differs significantly between them. Therefore, we conclude that conservatism arises as a possible explanation.

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Women's Employment and Child Care Choices in Spain Through the Great Recession



Nuria Legazpe and María A. Davia

The Great Recession (2008–13) changed patterns in employment and use of external childcare among mothers of young children in Spain. First, it challenged the prevalent male-breadwinner model by severely affecting men's jobs, resulting in a larger share of female-headed households. Second, as men's unemployment increased, informal nonparental childcare, usually provided by non-coresident relatives, became less common, possibly because of – unobserved – changes in fathers' involvement in childcare during the recession. At the same time, the steady provision of places in preschool education prevented a shrinkage in the use of formal childcare. As a result, the connection between mothers' time in paid employment and the amount of time they demanded for external childcare softened over the observation period. Legazpe and Davia analyze these changes, taking into account

interdependencies across women's decisions regarding employment and demand for nonparental childcare.

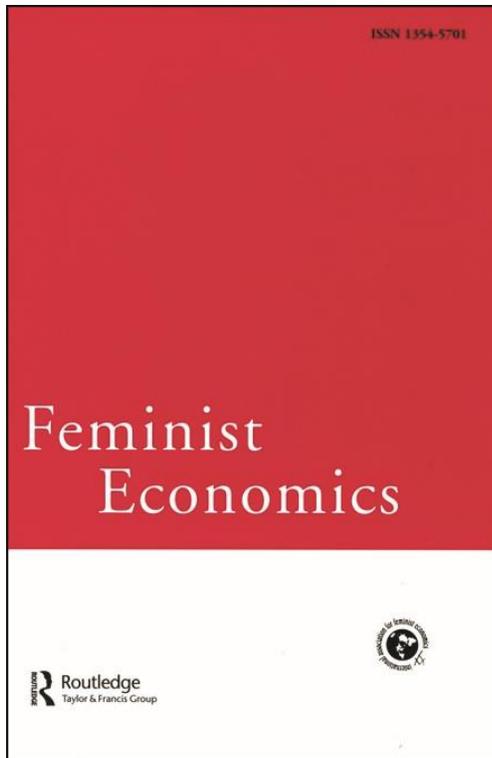
Relevant information external / nonparental on childcare use. The Spanish Living Conditions Survey (SLCS) within the European Union Survey on Income and Living Conditions records the number of weekly hours every child in the household spends in two non-mutually exclusive types of care or education. The authors combine this information with diverse parental and household features, namely, parental employment status and time in paid work, household income, family benefits receipt, and household composition, among others. With this data set, the prevalence of the usual drivers for the use of childcare services in Spain is confirmed: mothers' time in paid employment is positively correlated with the demand for both formal and informal nonparental child care, which are mutual substitutes. The negative correlation between household income and mothers' time in paid employment – which is positive with the use of both informal and formal care – does not hold true for 2008–10, probably due to the implementation of a universal birth grant, the so-called *cheque-bebé*, during the period.

Macro-economic conditions affect women's outcomes and decisions. Legazpe and Davia simultaneously analyze mothers' paid working time and the time their children younger than three years old spent in formal and informal nonparental care over the period 2005–2013. They compare a prerecession (2005–2007) and a recession period, split into two stages: early (2008–2010) and mature (2011–2013). In this sense, their study is linked to international research on the influence of macro-aggregates on intra-household allocation of time. They find an added-worker effect at the beginning of the crisis and trace some hints of substitution of informal nonparental care by parental care in the context of reduced employment opportunities during the recession.

These results further indicate the need to invest on formal childcare and the early- education system in Spain in order to improve its quality and keep it in good shape so it is ready to fuel female employment in the post-recession period. Future research will test whether the above-mentioned trends have come to stay and fathers of very young children are really getting more involved in childcare at home, or pre-crisis behavioral patterns will return.

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Exploring Impacts of Community-Based Legal Aid on Intrahousehold Gender Relations in Tanzania



Valerie Mueller, Amber Peterman, Lucy Billings, and Ayala Wineman

A number of grassroots interventions aimed at improving access to justice for marginalized groups have gained popularity in low- and middle-income countries, including community-based legal aid (CBLA) programs. Although program designs vary, CBLA typically provides underserved, often rural populations access to legal services by training local individuals to serve as paralegals within their own communities. Community paralegals may conduct a variety of activities related to community education and sensitization on legal rights and procedures, dispute mediation, or provision of referrals for individuals who choose to pursue their cases in the legal system. While there are few rigorous evaluations of the effectiveness of these programs, they are seen by many practitioners and donors as a promising approach to improving

access to justice for underserved populations. In this paper, we evaluate a 12-month CBLA program in northwestern Tanzania.

Methodology. Seventy out of 139 villages in two districts were randomly assigned to have a community member receive comprehensive paralegal training and implement a CBLA program under the guidance of a local nongovernmental organization. We examine whether the following women's outcomes varied by their village's receipt of the CBLA program: self-reported referrals to paralegals for domestic issues, knowledge of marital law, intrahousehold decision-making, and 12-month experience of intimate partner violence (IPV). The randomized design of the study allows for unbiased comparisons of the outcomes of interest among women in villages with and without the CBLA program.

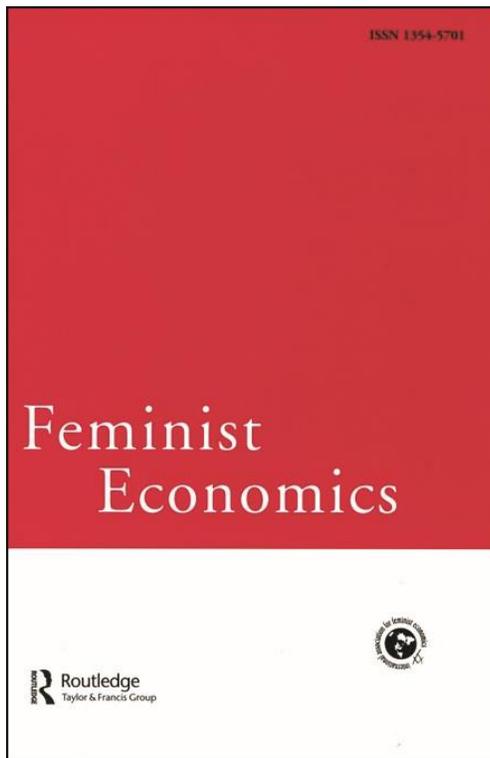
Main Findings. The results indicate that impacts were modest. Women in villages with CBLA programs were more likely to refer others to paralegals for domestic issues, largely in relation to child-support payments. In addition, there were positive impacts of participation in household decisions regarding clothing. However, there were no measureable impacts on women's knowledge of marital law or reported experience of 12-month IPV. These overall results are robust to a number of other sensitivity analyses, including accounting for spillovers,

attrition bounds, and modeling choices. While these estimates indicate limited potential for intrahousehold and gender-progressive change, program duration and intensity likely affected the measurable positive impacts.

Implications for future research. The current landscape of NGOs that operate CBLA programs is diverse, with wide-ranging international coverage across Africa and Asia. Although these programs are multipurpose, and often focused on women’s economic security and property rights, there is a clear need to optimize program design among similar interventions. Qualitative assessments of paralegal programs in East Africa show there is high paralegal attrition and low sustainability of programming. Many programs suffer from a lack of consistent funding streams and a lack of sufficient compensation for individual paralegals. Since paralegals are provided with minimal compensation for their services, it is probable that regular compensation, instead of largely volunteer efforts, would increase effectiveness and sustainability through decreased paralegal attrition. In addition, our study’s program assigned paralegals to a specific village, whereas a typical program in Tanzania trains a single paralegal to cover multiple villages. Thus, the typical paralegal would be expected to suffer from greater challenges in terms of logistics, access, and program intensity. Existing qualitative and quantitative evidence suggests there is great need for further assessments, including both impact evaluations and operational work within CBLA programs using “optimized” models over longer time periods.

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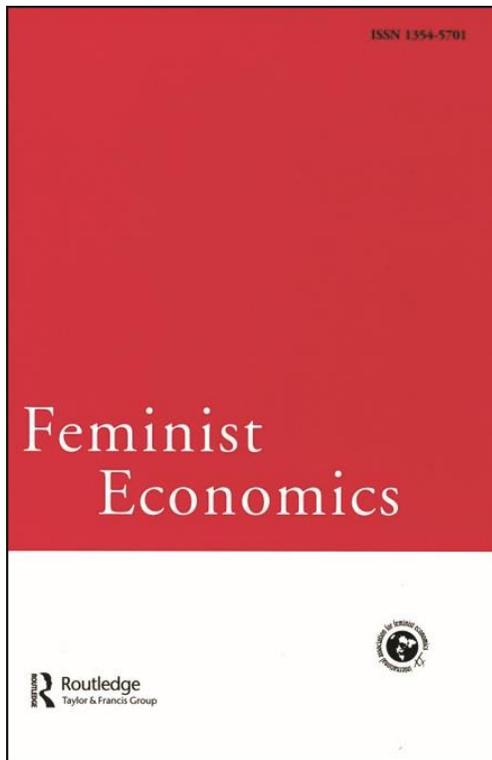
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Time-Use Analytics: An Improved Way of Understanding Gendered Agriculture-Nutrition Pathways

Sara Stevano, Suneetha Kadiyala, Deborah Johnston, Hazel Malapit, Elizabeth Hull, and Sofia Kalamatianou



Main question. As development and agricultural interventions increasingly target women as key participants, researchers and policymakers want to discover if women's greater participation in the labor market and agricultural work may have unintended negative consequences on well-being. Why does such concern arise? Because if women increase their time spent in agriculture, they may have less time to prepare nutritious foods and for care work. The study of time use, or how people allocate time to a variety of activities in their daily lives, can help shed light on these trade-offs. But are time-use data useful to explore these pathways between agriculture and nutrition?

Methodology. In this paper, we look at 89 studies that examine people's time use in relation to agriculture

and/or nutrition and assess whether time-use data are useful to study the gendered pathways between agriculture and nutrition. We analyse how time use is conceptualized, operationalized (that is, collected), and interpreted in these 89 studies. Our benchmark is a conceptual framework that captures the intersections between productive and reproductive work as well as the importance of household socioeconomic status, family composition, seasonality, and work intensity in mediating the relationship between agricultural work and nutrition outcomes.

Main findings. We find that time use is considered primarily as a metric or a type of data, and elaborations of the conceptual underpinnings are lacking. At the same time, the methods used to collect time-use data are very diverse. On the one hand, methodological diversity is of course an advantage, but, on the other, it reveals the weakness of conceptual framing that informs time-use data collection processes in some agriculture-nutrition research. For example, we note a lack of clarity in the contextualization of women's agricultural work in relation to nonagricultural and care work. Furthermore, interpretation of time-use data is mostly descriptive and a significant gap is the lack of analysis of time constraints, which means we know little about the circumstances under which time becomes critically scarce.

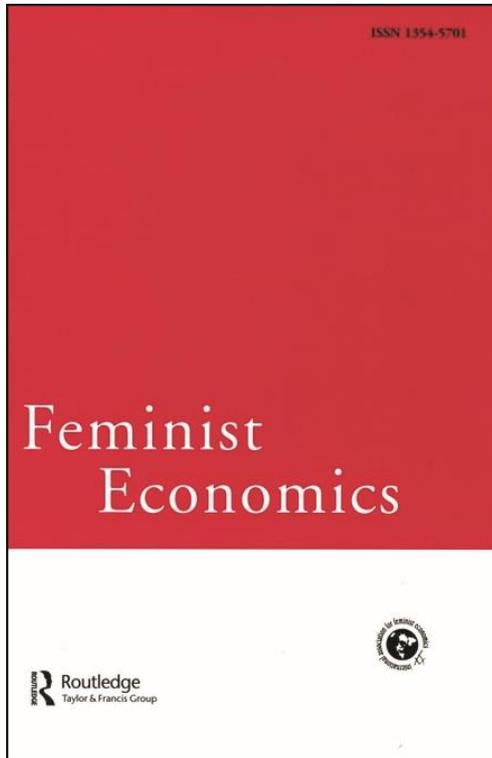
Implications. Time-use data can help us understand two crucial aspects: the diversity of agricultural work and the organization of care and food practices. To do so, time-use data collection needs to improve its accuracy and coverage of contextual information and include

seasonal and longitudinal data, a wider selection of respondents, work intensity, and consideration of employment in the off-farm sectors. Furthermore, conceptualizations of the use of time need to capture the intertwined intrahousehold allocation of reproductive and productive work and provide the basis for understanding how other household factors (income, composition) and extra-household factors (seasonality, work intensity) shape the use of time and the associated nutrition outcomes. These stronger conceptual grounds offer a way to move beyond descriptive analyses of time use, which despite being useful for providing a picture of inequality, do not tell us anything about trade-offs, time constraints, and, eventually, the incidence of time poverty.

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Women's Work and Agency in GPNS During Economic Crises: The Case of The Greek Table Grapes Export Sector

Eleni Sifaki



Existing literature has extensively studied the effects of the expansion of export agriculture on gender relations and women's work. Supermarket requirements that exporters and producers provide high-quality produce at low cost led to the increased use of female skilled labor in different sectors of agriculture, which is often underpaid and gendered. In times of economic and financial crises, commercial pressures intensify and interact with gender relations and government austerity measures, increasing women's precarious work. However, the impact of the economic crisis and austerity on women workers and their agency in export agriculture is underexplored, both empirically and analytically.

Methodology. This article investigates how the tensions between commercial pressures and societal relations and institutions in a time of economic crisis lead to women's precarious work, and to new forms of women's agency. Analytically, the study combines the feminist political economy and global production networks (GPN) literatures. The GPN literature offers insights into interfirm commercial dynamics and how these affect labor. However, the influence of gendered intrahousehold relations and state policies on women's agency remains underexplored. Feminist political economy contributes to a gender analysis of labor agency through analyzing the gender dimensions of labor markets, intrahousehold relations, and state policies, but it does not have an analysis of interfirm bargaining dynamics. Through combining the two approaches, the author opens up space for understanding women workers' agency in a context of low wages, worsening rights and working conditions, and increased use of unpaid female labor.

The study focuses on the table grapes export sector in the town of Archanes in Crete, Greece. The article is based on qualitative interviews with women waged and/or unwaged workers in the table grapes export sector, spouses of women workers, and a range of key informants. Further, participant observation at sites of women's work, as well as focus-group discussions with men and women of different generations were carried out. The Greek grapes sector is based on small-scale family production, where women often work as unwaged workers in family units, as well as on using waged workers in harvesting and packing. The global financial

crisis led to a contraction of table grape production and export due to the reduction in consumer demand and the intensifying pressures to lower prices. These pressures were compounded by the ongoing economic crisis and resulting austerity measures in Greece since 2009 that created problems in liquidity for producers and exporters and contributed to rising production costs.

Main Findings. The author finds that producers and exporters channelled pressures for high quality and low costs to workers. They did so by increasing the use of unpaid women's labor in family farms and lowering wages and worsening working conditions for women workers in harvesting and packing. This downward pressure on workers was compounded by the sweeping changes in labor and social policy occurring as part of the austerity measures. However, the necessity for women's skilled labor persisted in a time of crisis due to the quality requirements of buyers.

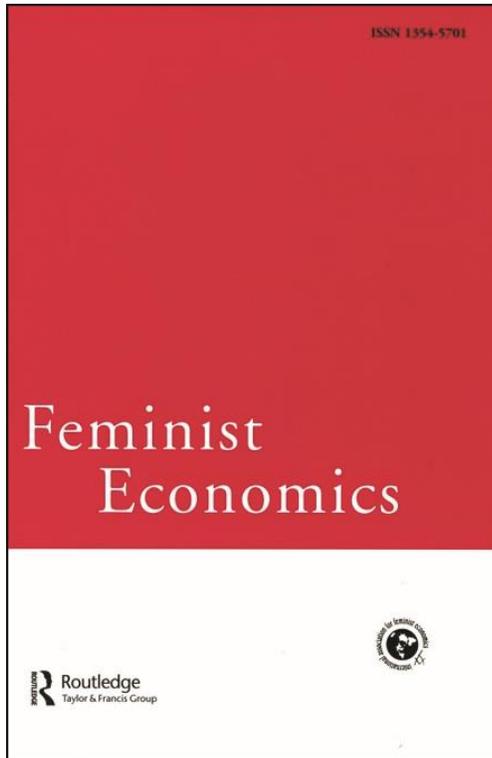
In the face of job scarcity and precarious work off-farm, many of the women interviewed, who had previously moved out of work in grapes, moved back to waged and/or unwaged work in table grapes during the crisis period. Although their position worsened as compared to before the crisis, these women utilized the need for their skilled work in grapes to retain some bargaining position. This suggests an "adaptive" and nonlinear form of agency whereby, although there is a regression in their position, women adapt in adverse circumstances using their double role as waged and unwaged workers. The study finds differences in the degree of women's ability to adapt, reflecting the differences in gender norms and relations between generations. The gender GPN analysis developed here therefore sheds light on how commercial requirements for women's skilled work in a time of crisis and austerity can give rise to adaptive and nonlinear forms of agency, which previous approaches were not able to explore.

Policy implications. The findings reflect the need for promoting recognition and better remuneration for women in export agriculture in an era of crisis through advocating for collective organization and improvements in wages and working conditions. The author argues, however, that these actions alone are not sufficient and should be done in conjunction with introducing macroeconomic policies that are gender sensitive and target employment-generating growth. As the findings show, the existence of alternative work options for women can significantly enhance their bargaining position and agency.

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How Do Longer Parental Leaves Affect Women's Workplace Tasks? Evidence from Germany

Anton Nivorozhkin and Laura Romeu Gordo



Can extending the period of the legally protected parental leave affect the types of tasks that women carry out at work? Anton Nivorozhkin and Laura Romeu Gordo explore this question by examining the consequences of a radical extension in the period of the legally protected parental leave in Germany, which occurred in 1992, when protected parental leave doubled from 18 to 36 months. In approaching their research question, the authors classify the tasks performed at work into “creative” and “codifiable” tasks. Creative work involves tasks that contain a component involving improvements in processes and/or innovation. Codifiable assignments contrast with creative tasks in that they can be easily described in writing in the form of step-by-step procedures. This essential difference has the direct consequence that workers who perform more codifiable tasks can be replaced more easily than their colleagues who do

more creative work. If employers are confronted with a risk of having to deal with longer periods of parental leave, they may prefer to give young women tasks for which finding replacement workers is less difficult; that is they assign younger women to more codifiable tasks. It may also be that after such an extension of the period of protected parental leave, women of childbearing age who plan to have children will themselves tend to engage more in codifiable and less in creative tasks, as they might expect to stay out of work for longer and hence will accumulate less of the experience they need to perform the creative tasks.

Methodology. The authors use The German Qualification and Career Survey to trace changes in the types of task carried out in the workplace. To assess the impact of the reform on the two types of tasks the authors estimate difference-in-difference model and consider women between 20 and 35 years old – prime childbearing age – as a treatment group, since the reform was targeted at potential mothers. The control group consists of women between ages 41 and 55.

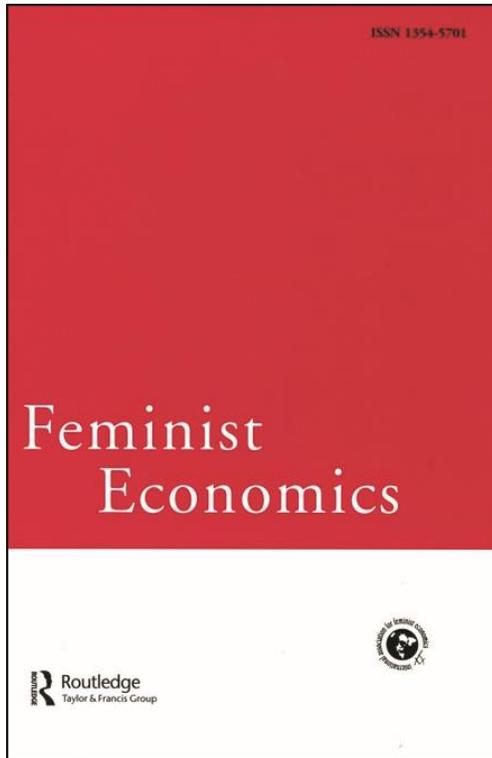
Main findings. As a result of the reform, young women tended to perform more codifiable tasks – tasks for which workers are more easily replaced – and fewer creative tasks as compared to older women. These results apply even to young women who have not yet had children, suggesting that the policy has had a considerable spill-over effect. It can therefore be

concluded that the extensions to periods of protected parental have an effect on more than just participation in the labor market – an effect that the literature has already shown – but also on the type of work performed by those actively or potentially affected by it.

Research and policy implications. Establishing the costs and benefits for society of introducing an extension to parental-leave entitlements and drawing out the implications for policy is a complex task, as any such extensions will have implications that stretch beyond the field of labor research and may well have effects that are specific to the affected country and policy context. This study adds to the debate by showing that an extension of parental leave has an effect not only on labor participation but also on the job functions and duties of young women. Political debate about extension of parental leave needs to take this new evidence into account and design anti-discrimination regulations that consider discrimination in job content. Further, it is highly important to improve incentives (and/or stronger obligations) to encourage fathers to take periods of parental leave in order to reduce the discrimination effects of parental leaves.

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Why Can't I Keep My Surname? The Fairness and Welfare of the Japanese Legal System



Makiko Omura

More than thirty years have passed since Japan ratified the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women in 1985, and yet the country still maintains many of its gender-biased laws. One such law requires married couples to have a unified surname upon marriage. The law is prima facie egalitarian; nonetheless, 96 percent of married couples adopt the husband's surname. The only option for women wishing to retain their surnames is to compromise with de facto marriage or use of aliases. Although discussion on legal revision has been ongoing since the late 1970s, strong opposition continues from the ruling party and the revision is yet to be realized. The paper examines whether the proposed legal revision is welfare increasing, and whether it is fairer.

Methodology. Makiko Omura tackles the main questions of welfare and fairness both theoretically and empirically. The main pillars of the analysis are the choices individuals make about marriage, surnames, and legal state. First, the welfare of a couple based on their marriage-surname choice is compared in two legal states, under current and revised law. Second, the validity of external preferences is considered in whether people, based on their own preferences, have the right to deny or limit others' preferences or choices. The fairness criteria of putting oneself in another's shoes is scrutinized through Rawls' (1999) original position, Harsanyi's (1955) equiprobability, and Suppes' (1966) extended sympathy, all of which ensure impersonality and impartiality of judgement.

Omura employs two types of empirical analysis using 2009 web-survey data collected for the study. The willingness to pay (WTP) for surname retention and legal support is analyzed in order to assess the strength of each desire – to retain one's original surname, to revise the law, or to maintain the law, using nonparametric rank analysis and parametric analysis. Fairness is essentially examined through the choices made in a hypothetical situation in which an individual who prefers to marry and to keep his surname upon marriage faces a partner who must keep her own. In addition, Omura conducts a structural-equation analysis via a multiple-indicators multiple-causes (MIMIC) model, assessing how two unobservable latent variables – surname

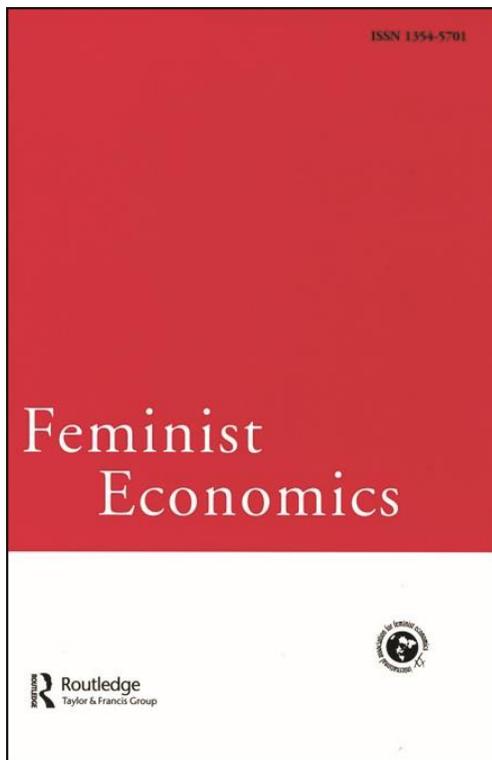
attachment and fairness, determined by socio-demographic characteristics – affect different choices regarding marriage, surname, and legal preferences.

Main Findings and Contribution. Omura finds that those who prefer legal revision and those who wish to have dual surnames have higher magnitude of utility associated with such choices. Comparing WTP to retain surname and WTP to support a preferred legal state, the former is more prevalent and larger in magnitude, indicating smaller anti-revisionists' external disutility from the revision compared to pro-revisionists' utility from the revision. Thus, societal welfare is expected to increase if the law is revised. A striking gender difference is observed between pro-revisionist and anti-revisionists. Strong opposition comes mostly from men. These opposing men fail to meet the fairness criteria in that although they wish to marry and have a common surname with their spouses, they are not willing to change their own surnames but expect their female counterparts to do so. The analytical framework and methodology used here offer a completely novel approach and may be applied to other social issues that involve intangible notions.

Policy implications. Although a relative majority of people support the legal revision to allow dual surnames, the majority would also make a conservative surname choice. Thus, the proposed revision is most likely to result in more options rather than a radical change in the social institution or family values, which the opponents fear. From both the welfare and fairness perspectives, the legislative amendment allowing the selective dual-surname system should be pursued.

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More Educated Sex Workers Earn More in Indonesia



Kitae Sohn

Main Question. It has long been known that education increases earnings in the conventional labor market. However, few studies have examined the role of education in determining the price paid to sex workers (SWs) and hence their potential earnings. This omission is unfortunate given sex work's prevalence, long history, and economic size. This study expands the literature on the role of education, which has recently investigated outcomes beyond the conventional labor market, and at the same time contributes to the economic literature on sex work. The country of study is also of interest because microdata for countries with income levels as low as Indonesia's are difficult to obtain; therefore, little beyond anecdotes is known about sex work in low-income countries. The dataset is also valuable because the sample size and the number of SW types are greater than those of others in the literature. Another appealing feature is that sex work in

Indonesia is tacitly accepted, so one can observe the free choice of SWs and clients in a competitive market.

Methodology. Kitae Sohn analyzed the Behavioral and Drug-Taking Risk Behavior among Female Sex Workers and Men in Mobile Occupations in Indonesia, 2002–2004, and conducted a regression analysis of the relationship between education and price of sex. The independent variable of interest was years of schooling. The dependent variable of interest was the amount of money received by the SW for the last act of commercial sex. We additionally drew on the 2007 Indonesian Family Life Survey to extract comparable non-SWs and compared the relation of education to the price of sex among SWs and that of education to hourly earnings among non-SWs.

Main Findings. When the author controlled for demographic variables, an additional year of schooling was related to a 10-percent increase in the price. About half of this relation was explained by the location of sex, implying that education provided SWs with access to higher-paying clients via better locations (for example, karaoke, disco, and drinking bars). The study provided evidence that the relation did not indicate a spurious correlation; causality was implied. Although the relations of other-worker characteristics to the price of sex were

dramatically different from those of education to hourly earnings among non-SWs, the relation of education to the price of sex was remarkably similar in size to that of education to earnings.

Implications. The findings are consistent with the growing body of research that highlights the beneficial effects of education on outcomes beyond the conventional labor market. The author notes she is not advocating that girls receive more education to be better SWs. She regards sex work as just another service job and so thinks it is against women's rights to attempt to move SWs out of sex work by morally condemning sex work. In light of this conviction, she does not advocate that girls be better educated in order to be non-SWs, but states it is up to women to choose to be SWs or not to be. The author concludes by arguing that as girls are better educated, they tend to earn more, whether in sex work or not. More earnings offer more financial freedom to women whether they are in sex work or not. A key policy implication naturally follows: more education should be provided to women.

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