EPS PEAKS Our Expertise. Your Knowledge.

ECONOMIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR

PROFESSIONAL EVIDENCE AND APPLIED KNOWLEDGE SERVICES

HELPDESK REQUEST

Are cities working for women?

Urbanisation, women's employment and their economic empowerment

Amina Khan

Overseas Development Institute

September 2016

coffey international development

ODI

UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

NATHAN

LSE Enterprise

Oxford Policy Management

EPS-PEAKS is a consortium of organisations that provides Economics and Private Sector Professional Evidence and Applied Knowledge Services to the DfID. The core services include:

1) Helpdesk
2) Document library
3) Information on training and e-learning opportunities
4) Topic guides
5) Structured professional development sessions
6) E-Bulletin

To find out more or access EPS-PEAKS services or feedback on this or other output, visit the EPS-PEAKS community on http://partnerplatform.org/eps-peaks or contact Alberto Lemma, Knowledge Manager, EPS-PEAKS core services at a.lemma@odi.org.uk.

Disclaimer Statement:

The views presented in this paper are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of Consortium partner organisations, DFID or the UK Government. The authors take full responsibility for any errors or omissions contained in this report.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Women's economic empowerment is a process through which women succeed and advance economically and gain the power to make and act on economic decisions. Even though there are differences between countries, at this moment in history, more women are participating in paid employment than at any other time, (Heintz, 2010 and Tacoli, 2012). The global export-manufacturing, services and Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) sectors - the hubs of which are located in cities - employ millions of women.

Women contribute to the economic prosperity of cities through their paid work (UNHABITAT, 2013). They also contribute to urban economies through their unpaid domestic and care work. In Gross Domestic Product and the System of National Accounts mostly paid work carried out by men gets recorded but women's unpaid domestic and care work does not. This is one of the key weaknesses of the International Labour Organization's (ILO's) definition for work and why it is under review.

The terms on which women, in particular poor women, enter the labour market, the way women's contributions are valued and women's ability to negotiate a fairer deal for themselves, including in relation to the benefits of economic growth (Eyben et al., 2008 cited in OECD, 2012; Eyben, 2011) are all equally important indicators of women's economic empowerment (or lack thereof).

Although no country has ever achieved significant economic growth without urbanisation the current concentration of poverty, slum growth and social disruption in cities does paint a threatening picture (UNHABITAT, 2013), especially for women.

It is now the right time to ask: Are cities working for women? In other words, what impact is urbanisation having on women's employment rates (in both rural and urban contexts) and on their economic empowerment?

Unfortunately, there are no straightforward answers to these questions.

Firstly, in many regions, countries with high levels of urbanisation have not necessarily seen high rates of female employment in urban areas. For instance, in Mexico, Costa Rica, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Venezuela, Belgium and Luxembourg where urbanisation levels are the highest in comparison to their peers, urban employment rates for females are some of the lowest. Equally, low levels of urbanisation have not meant low rates of female employment in urban areas. In these instances, it is hard to establish any clear cut pattern. For instance, countries with moderate levels of urbanisation (30-40%), Bangladesh, Bhutan, Viet Nam, and least urbanised countries (less than 20%) like Uganda and Malawi see some of the highest rates of female employment in urban areas.

Rather than looking at urbanisation in and of itself to explain patterns in urban employment, the production structure of the economies (distribution of the labour force across agriculture, industry and services) should be better understood.

Secondly, countries that have become more urban over time (between 2006 and 2015) have not necessarily seen urban employment rates for females rise over the same time. This is evident in 18 out of 31 countries (based on the available data).

Thirdly, the *social and spatial transformation* brought on by urbanisation, and the *structural transformation* brought on by economic development can be both *empowering* and *disempowering* for women, for female workers and entrepreneurs. For instance:

- Countries with a growing export-oriented manufacturing sector typically have high rates of female wage employment, as the sector shows a preference for hiring women. Women gain because they have access to a relatively stable source of income, but equally they suffer from wage-gaps, insecure contracts, next to no benefit schemes, long working hours, gender-based discrimination, and unsafe working conditions.

- A major category of employment for women in urban areas is paid house work. Ease of entry and accommodation provided by the employer make it attractive, especially for vulnerable categories such as migrant women. Low wages, social isolation, limited rights' protection and potential abuse by employers make this type of activity particularly disempowering.

- Women are highly entrepreneurial. Female-owned businesses are growing everywhere in the world, but women usually face additional constraints to those faced by men in carrying out these activities, such as lack of mobility, limited access to finance, lower capacity and technical skills, discriminatory practices – for example in land and property inheritance, and lack of recognition from their family and the wider community.

- Unpaid care work remains a quintessential component of women's life in cities, often compounded by difficulties such higher prices for food, water and transport in contrast to rural areas, inadequate shelter, often characterised by overcrowding, insecurity of tenure and lack of access to basic services.

- Most women in cities juggle between their domestic duties, their paid job, and tough commutes between their home and their workplace. The greatest deprivation for women in cities is time poverty.

Fourthly, while sectoral data on male and female employment in agriculture, industry and services captures some of the aspects of men's and women's economic contributions in the context of urbanisation and economic development, the available data is also deficient in many ways. There is an urgent need to fill in the data gaps. Disaggregating data by age, sex, rural/urban location, by city as well as within cities, alongside the different features of employment (including but not limited to employment type, status, work conditions, time allocation for different activities and informality) will help to illustrate the nature and scale of women's work as well as highlight some of the challenges they face in working in urban contexts.

The ILO needs to ensure that the recent changes in definitions of work and its measurement (both paid and unpaid including care work, and other types such as informal work) are incorporated in countries' statistics and economic accounts.

International agendas led by the High Level Panel on Women's Economic Empowerment and through the Sustainable Development Goals and the New Urban Agenda (the outcome of the Habitat III conference) should push for the right changes in policy at national and global levels.

To ensure that urbanisation is more economically empowering to women than disempowering the following areas should be considered (Hunt and Samman, 2016; and author's additions):

- Increasing education, skills development and training
- Increasing access to quality, decent paid work
- Addressing unpaid care and work burdens
- Increasing access to property, assets and financial services
- Encouraging collective action and leadership
- Improving policies on social protection
- Improving the legal, regulatory and macroeconomic policy framework
- Eliminating discriminatory social norms
- Making labour markets work for women, and
- Making the urban form work for women (through better mobility, safety, and urban service provision).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEFINITIONS OF AND DISCUSSIONS ON KEY TERMS

Urbanisation: A shift in population from rural to urban settlements. It accounts for the net migration of people from rural to urban areas, as well as the expansion of urban boundaries and the formation of new urban centres (McGranahan and Satterthwaite, 2014). It is not urban population growth.[1]

Urbanisation level: Share of a country's population living in urban areas (put simply, the urban population share).

Urbanisation rate: The rate at which the share of the country's population living in urban areas is growing (i.e. the rate at which the urban population share is growing). It is also not urban population growth (see footnote below).

Empowerment: A way to access decision-making and to change the ways in which people think about themselves in relation to three core dimensions: the *personal*, *close relationships* and the *collective* (Rowlands, 1996). A typology Rowlands presents of different types of power that are interrelated and need to be integrated includes: *power over, power from within, power with, power to, and power as resistance.*[2] Many pathways to empower people exist, and all involve time, effort, and structural change (UNHABITAT, 2013).

Women's empowerment: A process of personal and social change, taking place over interlinked and mutually reinforcing psychological, political, social and economic domains, and through which women individually and collectively gain power, meaningful choices and control over their lives (O'Neil et al., 2014; Hunt and Samman, 2016). It is not a linear, uncontested process but a journey characterised by negotiation and compromise, and uncertain outcomes (Cornwall and Edwards, 2016; Hunt and Samman, 2016).

Women's economic empowerment: Many different definitions for this term exist, including but not limited to some widely used ones:

- women's ability to succeed and advance economically and the power to make and act on economic decisions as advocated by the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW);
- the ability to make and act on decisions and control resources and profits (UNHABITAT, 2013). It requires the skills and resources to compete in markets, to gain fair and equal access to economic institutions, and to increase assets (ibid);
- the process of achieving women's equal access to and control over economic resources, and ensuring they can use them to exert increased control over other areas of their lives (Taylor and Pereznieto, 2014);

[1] 'Why the rate of urbanisation is not population growth: When urban and rural populations grow together this is not really urbanisation, and because of overall population growth, the current rate at which urban populations are growing globally is about twice the rate at which the urban share is growing (McGranahan and Satterthwaite, 2014).

[2] *Power over*: power over others. This may be overt. *Power from within:* Self-generated strength combining self-confidence, self-awareness, and assertiveness. *Power with:* people organising with a common purpose or understanding to achieve collective goals. This type of power involves a sense of communion and solidarity. *Power to:* power to gain access to a full range of abilities that in turn, allow women to make decisions. *Power as resistance:* compliments *power over* and may be subtle or overt (Rowlands, 1996).

- a process whereby women's and girls' lives are transformed from a situation where they have limited power and access to economic assets to a situation where they experience economic advancement (ibid).

It goes beyond women's economic position (in terms of work, income, education and assets), and encompasses social and political dimensions. Such dimensions extend beyond the scope of this paper, but are recognised here as equally central to discussions and actions around empowering women economically.

Labour force: This definition is based on the resolution adopted by the 13th International Conference of Labour Statisticians in 1982. "Labour force" comprises all persons above a specified minimum age of either sex who furnish, or are available to furnish, the supply of labour for the production of goods and services included in the System of National Accounts (SNA) production boundary, during a specified time reference period, usually one week or one day.

The SNA production boundary includes the production of goods and services for the market (for pay or profit); some types of non-market production (such as services provided by governments and non-profit institutions); and own-account production of all goods that are retained by their producers for their own final use (production and processing of primary products for own consumption, such as subsistence agriculture, own-account construction and other production of fixed assets for own use). It excludes services produced by a household for its own use, such as cleaning, cooking, caring for household members and volunteer community services (ILO, 2016).

Labour force participation rate: the share of people in the labour force – employed and unemployed – among working age population.

Employed: "Employed" comprises all persons above a specified age who, during the short reference period, either worked for pay or profit or contributed to a family business (farm and non-farm) without receiving any remuneration, or produced/processed products/goods for their own (or their family's) consumption.

Unemployed: "Unemployed" comprises all persons above a specified age, who, during a specified reference period:

- Did not have any work/job—that is, were not employed.
- Were currently available for work—that is, were available for paid employment or self-employment.
- Were seeking work—that is, had taken specific steps in a specified recent period to seek paid employment or self-employment (this condition is relaxed in situations where the conventional means of seeking employment are not relevant).

These international standards used by countries to produce their statistics on the labour force, employment and unemployment have been recently replaced.

In October 2013, the 19th International Conference of Labour Statisticians adopted a resolution concerning statistics of work, employment and labour underutilisation. Activities to implement the new standards are currently under way in a number of countries, and updated data on the labour force, employment, unemployment and underemployment are expected in the coming years.

The new standards introduce a number of important revisions that redefine the way the work of women and men is to be captured and reflected in official statistics. These revisions aim to support the

comprehensive but separate measurement of all forms of work—both paid and unpaid. Among the most important revisions are the introduction of:

- The first international statistical definition of **work**, aligned with the SNA general production boundary. The new definition recognizes all productive activities, including unpaid household services provided by household members or by volunteers, as work.
- A refined concept and measure of **employment** that refers to "work for pay or profit". This will support more targeted monitoring of participation in remunerated work needed to inform labour market policies aimed at promoting job creation and reducing gender disparities in access to remunerated work opportunities.
- A new concept and measure of **own-use production work,** comprising production of goods and provision of services for final use by the household or family. This will support the valuation of their common contribution to household material welfare, household income and well-being. At the same time, it will enable an assessment of gender and age differences in the allocation of labour within the household.
- A new concept and measure of **volunteer work** covering non-compulsory work performed without pay for others. This will support the measurement of organisation-based volunteering and direct volunteering to households, resulting in more comprehensive assessments of their prevalence and contributions to social cohesion, well-being and national production.
- A set of measures of labour underutilisation beyond the traditional measurement of unemployment. This will encourage wider monitoring of situations of unmet need for employment due to insufficient working time among the employed, and to the lack of access to remunerated work among those outside the labour force, including due to labour market conditions as well as to social and cultural barriers to employment.
- Finally, the terms "economically active population" and "economically inactive population" were replaced by more neutral terms — "labour force" and "persons outside the labour force". This recognises that persons outside the labour force may be engaged in other forms of work, particularly in own-use provision of services that also contribute to production and economic growth.

These new concepts are expected to be relevant in countries and areas where subsistence activities are widespread, where labour markets have limited scope and where labour absorption is insufficient. They will also be relevant for groups predominantly engaged in forms of work that are unpaid, especially women, youth and workers in rural areas.

Decent work: Formal sector work is considered 'decent'. It is central to economic empowerment, given its inherent importance to women's well-being and ability to advance in areas such as acquiring income and assets (Hunt and Samman, 2016).

INTRODUCTION

In 1975, the United Nations launched the Decade for Women. In 1979, governments the world over committed to the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). In 1995, at the Fourth World Conference for Women in Beijing, the agenda to empower women was pronounced most visibly and vocally in the international arena. Concerns around women's work were raised at the time and these are equally if not more relevant today. The world has large shares of the female population in employment, in education, and living in cities.

In 1996, in Istanbul 171 countries adopted the Habitat Agenda – a worldwide plan of action for sustainable human settlements. One of its seven commitments under the agenda was to empower women: the empowerment of women and their full and equal participation in political, social and economic life, the improvement of health and the eradication of poverty are essential to achieving sustainable human settlements, the agenda stated (UNHABITAT, 1996).

The Habitat Agenda recognised the human rights of women, including those pertaining to land, housing and property. There were calls to take into account the special needs of women and to value women's knowledge and contribution in planning and managing towns and cities. There was a commitment to integrate gender perspectives in legislation, policies and projects through the application of gender-sensitive analysis and to incorporate gender in human settlements planning and monitoring and evaluation, including collecting, analysing and disseminating sex-disaggregated data and information on human settlements issues (UNHABITAT, 1996).

The UN Secretary General's High Level Panel on women's economic empowerment (WEE) was set up recently. This High Level Panel still finds in the world large and persistent gender gaps in economic opportunities and outcomes. Women are less likely in paid and formal employment, they are largely concentrated in vulnerable and low-paying jobs and sectors, most likely to work part-time, and tend to earn less than men for the same jobs and skill-sets. They have fewer assets and property rights. They hold fewer top management and leadership positions. They often face overt and subtle forms of discrimination, and take on most of the unpaid household and family/care work (UN, 2016).

Prosperity is not an inevitable outcome of urbanisation, with poor living standards, socioeconomic disparities and lack of decent work opportunities for women often accompanying each other. Although no country has ever achieved significant economic growth without urbanisation the current concentration of poverty, slum growth and social disruption in cities does paint a threatening picture (UNHABITAT, 2013), especially for women.

It is now the right time to ask: Are cities working for women? In other words, what impact is urbanisation having on women's employment rates (in both rural and urban contexts) and on their economic empowerment?

Unfortunately, there are no straightforward answers to these questions.

In spite of the widely used argument that women's access to income generated by paid labour opportunities provided in urban spaces enables women's control over their lives, many feminist economists have challenged the direct positive link made between empowerment and women's participation in paid employment through urbanisation (Action Aid, 2012). They draw attention to work conditions, quality of jobs, and recognition of and remuneration for women's paid and unpaid work.

This helpdesk request surveys the available literature and analyses data to identify the aspects of urbanisation that empower and disempower female workers. This introductory part covers the methodology followed and limitations of the data and literature. Section 1 presents the urban landscape, and Section 2 the employment landscape. Section 3 unpacks what urbanisation means for women. Section 4 examines migration patterns. Section 5 deals with urban demographics and Section 6 with urban economics. Section 7 explores which kinds of work empower women. The final section concludes and recommends next steps.

METHODOLOGY

The helpdesk request comes under the DFID Economics and Private Sector Professional Evidence and Applied Knowledge Services (EPS-PEAKS) framework. It relies on a desk-top review of the available and recent literature on the subjects of urbanisation, female employment and women's economic empowerment produced by international development agencies, think-tanks and academia. It synthesises to the extent possible the key findings from these publications. It complements the review with an analysis of the available data on male and female employment rates from the International Labour Organization (ILO) and data on urbanisation (levels and changes over time) from the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA).

The lines of inquiry are posed as the following questions:

- What impact is urbanisation having on women's employment rates in rural and urban contexts and on their economic empowerment?
- What patterns of female employment emerge in rural areas as countries experience significant urbanisation?
- What patterns of female employment emerge in urban areas as countries experience significant urbanisation? In other words, how do women's roles in economic activity change within urban areas as urbanisation continues over time? Is there more than one pattern?
- Does urbanisation produce a convergence in women's and men's employment patterns or widen gender-based differences? Is there more than one pattern?

LIMITATIONS

The ability to answer these questions confidently is restricted by the quality of the available data on employment. Less than half of all developing countries have information disaggregated by sex on labour force participation, unemployment, status in employment, and employment by occupation for at least two points over the period 2005–2015. Data on labour force participation disaggregated by sex and location (rural/urban) is available for some years, but not by type of employment.

There are problems with the existing definitions of 'work'. The ILO's definition for work from 1982 is widely used and the current production boundary of the System of National Accounts (SNA) excludes services, such as cleaning, cooking, caring for household members – a lot of this work is unpaid and undertaken by women. While a UN resolution was adopted in 2013 to amend the definition, the fact is, the 'actual' amount of work women do (especially the unpaid household and care work) is not captured in the current one.

Macro-level (i.e. global and/or regional level) literature that cuts across urbanisation, female employment and women's economic empowerment is also inconclusive about the real impacts of urbanisation on women.

This paper has wrestled with these challenges, in particular in establishing what patterns of male and female employment emerge in both rural and urban areas as countries urbanise, and when and where these patterns converge. The available data is analysed cross-sectionally for a large number of countries across many regions as well as over two time periods for a limited number of countries.

The exercise lends some interesting insights on women working in cities and identifies the gaps that exist in the data and the mainstream literature on this.

1 THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

Urbanisation refers to the processes and growth of human settlements deemed urban, especially with reference to increasing population density, the accompanying processes of economic growth and the concentration and expansion of infrastructure and services to accommodate the population growth (ActionAid, 2012).

Usually the level of urbanisation in a country is related to its economic base. If a country is mainly rural and has an agrarian economic base, it also tends to be less urbanised. We have generally seen that countries that have become the most urban in the last half-century are also the ones that have performed the best economically.

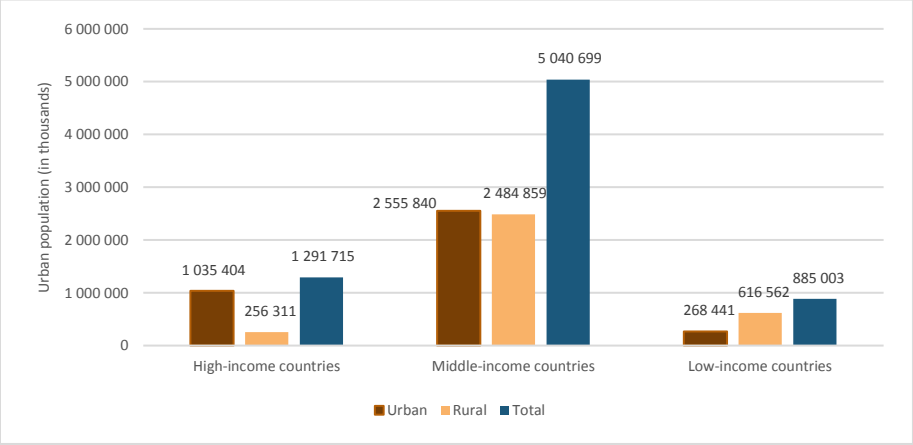
The recent histories of most developing countries have been marked by rapid urbanisation processes, and urban centres have emerged as highly significant in the global economy. Increasing birth rates have been a major contributor to urban population growth, along with the extension of urban boundaries to include surrounding areas and redefinition of urban areas by national governments. Rural to urban migration (both permanent and seasonal) has been an equally important contributor (ActionAid, 2012).

Today, the world is 54% urban and 46% rural (UNDESA, 2015). The global urban population is 3.9 billion, while the global rural population is 3.4 billion (ibid).

Low income countries (LICs) are found to be the least urbanised countries in the world and high income countries (HICs) the most. The level of urbanisation in HICs is 80.2%, i.e. the share of their total populations living in urban areas is 80.2%, followed by middle income countries (MICs) (50.7%) and LICs (30.3%) (UNDESA, 2015).

Africa and Asia are the least urbanised and least developed regions in the world. The level of urbanisation is 40.4% in Africa and 48.2% in Asia. In comparison, it is 70.8% in Oceania, 73.6% in Europe, 79.8% in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) and 81.6% in Northern America (UNDESA, 2015).

Figure 1. Urban population (in thousands), 2015



Source: UNDESA (2015)

Figure 1 demonstrates that in absolute terms middle income countries have the highest urban population in the world, 2.6 billion people, and the highest rural population, 2.5 billion people, in comparison to high income and low income countries. In absolute terms, the rural population is lowest in high income countries.

The rate of urban growth (i.e. the rate at which the urban population share is growing) across high, middle and low income countries is markedly different.

Even though high income countries are the most urbanised now, the least urbanised low income countries will experience the most urban growth in the next fifteen years. Between 2015 and 2030, the rate at which the share of high income countries' urban populations will grow annually is 0.55%. For middle income countries, this annual rate of growth will be higher than in high income countries at 1.8%, and even higher in low income countries at 3.5% (UNDESA, 2015).

The least urbanised region in the world - Africa - will see the most urban growth in the next fifteen years. The average annual rate of urban growth in Africa between now and 2030 will be 3.27%, in Asia it will be 1.76%, in Oceania it will be 1.28%, in Latin America and the Caribbean it will be 1.12%, in Northern America it will be 0.95%, and in Europe it will be 0.24% (UNDESA, 2015).

2 THE EMPLOYMENT LANDSCAPE

Employment by sector at global level: agriculture, services and industry

Over the past 20 years, agriculture has declined in importance as a source of employment, more so for women than for men. The difference between women's and men's share of employment in this sector has disappeared (from 44% for women and 41% for men in 1995 to 30% for both in 2015) (UNSD, 2015).

The sector of employment with the fewest women and men is industry. The proportion of employed persons working in this sector remained fairly stable from 1995 to 2005, at around 16% for women and 25% for men. After 2005, both women and men saw a slight increase in employment in industry, 18% in employed women and 27% in employed men in 2015 (UNSD, 2015).

Globally, the services sector is currently the largest source of employment for both women and men. In 2015, 52% of employed women and 43% of employed men were engaged in the services sector. By comparison, in 1995, agriculture was the main source of employment for both sexes and in particular for women (UNSD, 2015). Globally, the transition from agriculture to services is set to have occurred in 2000 for women and in 2004 for men (ibid).

Employment by sector at regional level: agriculture, services and industry

Agriculture remains the largest sector for women's employment in three regions - Oceania, South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa - with around 60% of women employed in it. In Oceania and sub-Saharan Africa, agriculture is also the primary source of employment for around 60% of men (see Annex table 1) (UNSD, 2015).

The diminishing gender gap in agricultural employment at the global level masks differences across regions. In six out of 12 regions - North Africa, Oceania, South Asia, sub-Saharan Africa, the Caucasus and Central Asia, and West Asia - women are more likely than men to be working in agriculture. One region - South-East Asia - shows no gender difference in the percentage of women and men working in agriculture (37% for both). In the other regions - East Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Eastern Europe, Southern Europe and other developed regions - men are more likely to be working in agriculture than women (UNSD, 2015).

In 2015, between 20 and 40% of male employment was in the industrial sector in most regions, with the exception of sub-Saharan Africa and Oceania. Among women, the share engaged in industry is under 20% in most regions except East Asia (30%) and South Asia (215). In all regions, men are more likely to work in the industrial sector than women, with a gender difference ranging from 3 percentage points in Oceania to 22 percentage points in Eastern Europe, which is also the region with the highest share of men working in this sector, around 40% (UNSD, 2015).

In four regions - Latin America and the Caribbean, Eastern Europe, Southern Europe and other developed regions - more than 70% of employed women worked in the services sector in 2015. In those regions male employment in the services sector, while relatively high compared to agriculture and industry, was at least 20 percentage points lower than that of women (UNSD, 2015).

South Asia and, to a lesser extent, Oceania, are the only regions where the services sector is a more important source of employment for men than for women (36% for men versus 20% for women in South Asia, and 33% for men and 30% for women in Oceania) (UNSD, 2015).

Employment by status

Employment by status entails classifying jobs with respect to the type of employment contract a person has with her or his employer or other persons. Such classification provides the statistical basis for analysing employment conditions in terms of a job's level of security, protection and rights.

The extent to which women have access to wage and salaried employment can reflect their integration into the monetary economy and access to a regular income. This, in turn, could have a positive impact on their autonomy and financial independence within the household and enhance their personal development and decision-making power.

Wage and salaried workers

Globally, wage and salaried workers constituted half of all employed persons in 2015. This is true for both women and men. Across regions, however, significant variations are found in terms of status in employment and gender (UNSD, 2015).

- In Eastern Europe and other developed regions, the vast majority of employed women and men are wage and salaried employees (around 90% with little gender difference).
- In Southern Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean, wage and salaried workers also represent a big portion of employed women and men (around 60 to 70%), with women even more likely than men to be in these types of employment, particularly in Southern Europe.
- There is no gender difference in the share of wage and salaried employment in total employment in the Caucasus and Central Asia, with around 60% of both women and men engaged in this type of employment.
- In the other developing regions, men are more likely than women to be engaged in wage and salaried employment, although some variations are found among regions.
- In East Asia, North Africa and West Asia, more than half of employed women are in wage and salaried employment, while for men the percentage is higher (57% in East Asia and 70% in West Asia and North Africa).
- In South-East Asia, the share of wage and salaried employment for women is 37%; for men it is 41%.
- In Oceania, South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, the share of wage and salaried employment is low for both women and men (below 20% for women and slightly below 30% for men) and the majority of women and men are either own account or contributing family workers.

Vulnerable employment

People working as own-account workers and contributing family workers tend to lack basic social protection and are subject to low income and difficult working conditions. Because of their precarious employment conditions, they are considered to be in "vulnerable" types of employment.

Globally in 2015, the share of vulnerable employment was 48% for women and 46% for men, hence a very small gender difference. However, among all forms of vulnerable employment, women were more likely than men to work as contributing family workers (UNSD, 2015).

- The proportion of employed men working as contributing family workers was 7%, compared to 19% among employed women.
- On the other hand, own-account workers made up 39% of male employment compared to 29% of female employment.

Part time employment

Part-time work may offer an effective way to balance time spent on paid work, household responsibilities and childrearing. The possibility of being able to work for fewer hours is also seen as a means to increase

employment levels, particularly among women. In addition, part-time work facilitates the gradual entry into, participation in and exit from the labour market.

However, part-time work also comes at a cost. Part-time workers face difficult working conditions, including lower hourly wages and lesser job security, and receive less training and promotion opportunities than their full-time counterparts. They are also at a higher risk of falling into poverty and are less likely to have access to social protection such as unemployment benefits. Some forms of part-time work in developed countries are non-standard types of work with employment conditions similar to those described for informal employment.

- In 2012, developed regions (except Eastern and Southern Europe) recorded the highest proportion of women working part time (28%). Part-time employment was particularly prevalent among women in Northern and Western European countries. Sixty% of employed women in the Netherlands worked part time, the highest percentage by far in the world, and over 35% in Germany, Ireland, the United Kingdom and Switzerland.

- Latin America and the Caribbean also recorded high proportions of employed women in part-time work (26% in 2012). Among countries within the region, Argentina and Nicaragua registered the highest proportion of women working part-time, at 35% or more.

- Women's part-time employment was not as prevalent in Eastern and Southern Europe, where, in 2012, the average proportion of employed women working part-time was 9 and 15%, respectively.

In all four regions with data, part-time employment was more common among women than men, with prevalence rates for women almost twice or higher than those of men.

- In 2012, employed men in Latin America and the Caribbean constituted the highest proportion of part-time workers (13%), followed by developed regions (except Eastern and Southern Europe, 10%). As was the case for women in Eastern and Southern Europe, men's part-time employment was also low in those two regions.

Part-time employment continues to increase for men in most countries, but the trend with regard to women is mixed. Between 1995 and 2012, out of 31 countries with available data, part-time employment increased for men in 30 countries. For women, 17 countries showed an increase of part-time employment while 14 countries showed a decrease.

Time related underemployment rate

Part-time employment is not always a choice. A substantial number of part-time workers would prefer to be working full-time. This phenomenon is measured by the time-related underemployment rate. In four regions with data, more than 10% of employed women working part-time indicated that they would like to work additional hours.

- Women in South Asia recorded the highest rate of time-related under-employment (21%), followed by women in North Africa (17%), sub-Saharan Africa (16%), and Latin America and the Caribbean (10%).

- Among employed men working part time, more than 10% in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia indicated that they would like to work more hours.

Women are more likely than men to be in time-related underemployment in most regions. The largest gender difference is observed in North Africa and South Asia. In North Africa women's time related

underemployment rate is 17%, compared to 4% for men. Women in South Asia recorded 21% underemployment, compared to 12% for men.

Unpaid work

Although their participation in the labour force has increased in most countries, women continue to bear the majority of responsibilities at home and perform most unpaid work including taking care of children and other adult household members, cooking, cleaning and other housework. These activities, although productive, are not included within the SNA production boundary.

Based on available data, women in developing countries spend on average 4 and a half hours per day on unpaid work, and men an hour and 20 minutes. The gender difference is smaller in developed countries, where women spend about 4 hours and 20 minutes and men spend more than 2 hours per day on unpaid work than their counterparts in developing countries.

Occupational segregation

Women and men tend to work in different occupations (horizontal segregation) and in different positions within the same occupation or occupational group (vertical segregation).

The segregation of women and men in different occupations is closely associated with gender roles or stereotypes about women (for example, that they are caring or home-based). Gender-based occupational segregation also reflects the difference between women and men in terms of their education and vocational training.

Occupational segregation can negatively affect the flexibility of the labour market and the economy as a whole. It also has direct negative effects on women in particular, partly because women's employment is concentrated in a more limited number of occupations than that of men. Such concentration imposes more restrictions on women than on men in terms of what types of jobs they can undertake.

Occupational segregation, both horizontal and vertical, also contributes greatly to the pay differentials between women and men.

Differences between women and men in terms of the distribution of their employment by occupation or type of job performed can be observed in some regions.

- In East Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Southern Europe and other developed regions, women predominantly work as services and sales workers, while men tend to be craft and trade workers.
- For regions that are heavily agricultural such as Oceania, South Asia and South-East Asia, both women and men tend to work as skilled agricultural and fishery workers.
- In sub-Saharan Africa, also dominated by a large agricultural sector, men are most likely to be employed as skilled agriculture and fishery workers, while women mostly work in "elementary" occupations, such as unskilled labourers in agriculture, fisheries or mining or in refuse collection, cleaning or food preparation industries. This pattern of women working in elementary occupations and men in skilled ones also applies to women and men in the Caucasus and Central Asia, and Eastern Europe.

Maternity and paternity leave and related benefits

Maternity protection is a fundamental human right and an important element of policies aimed at balancing the participation of women and men in family and work life. Maternity protection covers various aspects, including: the prevention of exposure to health and safety hazards during and after pregnancy;

entitlement to paid maternity leave and breastfeeding breaks; maternal and child health care; protection against discrimination in employment and occupation, including with respect to recruitment and dismissal; and the guaranteed right to return to the job after maternity leave.

Maternity protection not only contributes to the health and well-being of mothers and babies; it also promotes effective gender equality at work. Three maternity protection conventions were adopted by the ILO in 1919, 1952 and 2000.

The latest one is the Maternity Protection Convention (No. 183), adopted in 2000, which stipulates that women should be entitled to no less than 14 weeks of maternity leave, with paid cash benefits of at least two thirds of their previous earnings.

Many countries have adopted maternity and paternity benefits through legislation. Both mothers and fathers benefit from the legislation. However, the coverage is not universal.

Workers in specific sectors or categories of employment (defined by working-time, type of contract, etc.) are often explicitly excluded from maternity and paternity benefits in legislation in many countries. More specifically, workers such as paid domestic workers, own-account workers and contributing family workers, casual and temporary workers, and agricultural workers are usually not eligible for maternity and paternity benefits.

Data analysis of female and male employment rates in rural and urban areas

The data on employment of males and females by location (rural and urban) is extremely limited. At best, the paper is able to provide snapshots of the current state of play, and attempts to answer to the extent possible whether high levels of urbanisation in countries have meant low rates of employment for males and females in rural areas and high rates in urban areas (see Annex for data on specific countries and sub-regions from Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, and Europe).

Cross-sectional data analysis of female and male employment rates in rural areas

Here, the paper analyses data on countries' average levels of urbanisation, and average employment rates for men and women in rural areas in the years between 2011 and 2015. The most salient findings on the patterns are as follows.

- Countries that had the highest urbanisation level in a sub-region and the lowest employment rate for females in rural areas between 2011 and 2015 include: Iran (out of 5 countries in South Asia on which we have data), Malaysia (out of 5 in South East Asia), Algeria (out of 3 in North Africa), South Africa (out of 4 South African countries), Bulgaria (out of 7 in Eastern European), and Belgium (out of 7 in Western Europe).

- Countries that had the lowest urbanisation level in a sub-region and the highest employment rate for females in rural areas between 2011 and 2015 include: Armenia (out of 5 in West Asia), Uganda (out of 8 countries in East Africa), and Burkina Faso (out of 5 in West Africa).

- In comparison to other regions, countries in East and West Africa had some of the highest rates of rural female employment (between 60% and 90%).

- Rural employment rates for males were generally higher than for females in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. The only exception was the sub-region, East Africa, where rural employment rates for both men and women were not only very high; in some countries, Mozambique, Rwanda and Zimbabwe, female employment rates exceeded that of males.

- In many regions, high levels of urbanisation did not necessarily accompany low rates of female employment in rural areas. Equally, low levels of urbanisation did not accompany high rates of female employment in rural areas. In these instances, it was hard to establish any clear cut pattern. In Afghanistan for example, the urbanisation level was 26% while the average rural employment rate for females was very low (16%). It mirrored the same female employment rate in Iran that had a very high level of urbanisation (72%).

- In some countries, apart from Afghanistan and Iran, e.g. Jordan, Palestine, Algeria, Egypt, and Bosnia & Herzegovina (with varying levels of urbanisation, both high and low), rural female employment rates were some of the lowest (less than 20%). It is therefore essential to understand whether cultural attitudes towards women and the prevailing social norms have acted as barriers to their ability to work in general and regardless of location. Urbanisation, whether high or low, in these conditions will have probably mattered less.

- Moreover, in many regions countries with higher levels of urbanisation in comparison to their peers have accompanied higher levels of male and female employment in rural areas. For example, in comparison to Cambodia, Viet Nam has a higher level of urbanisation (32% versus 20%) and a higher rate of male employment (80% versus 68%) and of female employment (72% versus 68%). Rather than looking at urbanisation in and of itself to explain patterns in rural employment, the production structure of the economies (distribution of the labour force across agriculture, industry and services) should be better understood. If countries' sectoral composition is biased towards agriculture, more men and women are likely to work in rural areas in spite of moderate to high levels of urbanisation, if the bias is towards industry and services located in cities, more men and women are likely to work in urban areas.

Cross-sectional data analysis of female and male employment rates in urban areas

Here, the paper analyses data on countries' average levels of urbanisation, and average employment rates for men and women in urban areas in the years between 2011 and 2015. The most salient findings on the patterns are as follows.

- Countries that had the highest urbanisation level in a sub-region and the highest employment rate for females between 2011 and 2015 in urban areas include: Israel, Ghana, and Iceland.

- Countries that had the lowest urbanisation level in a sub-region and the lowest employment rate for females between 2011 and 2015 in urban areas include: Ireland (out of 10 in Northern Europe) and Bosnia & Herzegovina (out of 9 in Southern Europe).

- Within sub-regions in Asia, we found urban employment rates for females in South East Asia fairly higher than in South Asia.

- Urban employment rates for males were generally higher than for females in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. The only exception was Malawi, urban female employment rates exceeded that of males.

- In countries like Afghanistan, Iran, Jordan, Palestine, Algeria, Egypt, and Morocco, urban female employment rates were some of the lowest (less than 20%) and gaps between male and female employment very high. Again, it is possible that cultural attitudes towards women and the prevailing social norms acted as barriers to their ability to work even in urban areas, that are expected to have less gender bias and a more open outlook on women working.

- In many regions, high levels of urbanisation did not necessarily accompany high rates of female employment in urban areas. For instance, in Mexico, Costa Rica, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Venezuela, Belgium and Luxembourg where urbanisation levels are the highest in comparison to their peers, urban employment rates for females were some of the lowest.

- Equally, low levels of urbanisation did not accompany low rates of female employment in urban areas. In these instances, it is hard to establish any clear cut pattern. For instance, countries with moderate levels of urbanisation (30-40%), Bangladesh, Bhutan, Viet Nam, and least urbanised countries (less than 20%) like Uganda and Malawi, saw some of the highest rates of female employment in urban areas. Again, rather than looking at urbanisation in and of itself to explain patterns in urban employment, the production structure of the economies (distribution of the labour force across agriculture, industry and services) should be better understood. If countries' sectoral composition is biased towards industry and services, more men and women are likely to work in urban areas in spite of low to moderate levels of urbanisation.

Data analysis of changes over time in employment rates of males and females in rural areas

Here, the paper calculates the change in average levels of urbanisation from 2006 to 2015 using two data points, the first covers 2006-2010 and the second 2011-2015. The paper also calculates changes in employment rates of males and females in rural and urban areas between 2006 and 2015. The paper finds that in countries that have become more urban, rural employment rates for females have not necessarily fallen. This is corroborated by evidence from 14 out of 31 countries. Similarly, urban employment rates for females have not necessarily risen, as evident from changes in 18 out of 31 countries.

In countries like Uganda and the Dominican Republic that have become more urban, both rural and urban female employment rates have increased. This has probably to do with the pattern of growth and the pattern of employment. If economic production is agriculture as well as industry/services-based based, and women overall are becoming more economically active, women could be engaging in higher numbers in both agricultural work (based in rural areas) and industry/services-oriented work (in urban areas).

In many countries that have urbanised and rural female employment rates have risen, rural male employment rates have mostly fallen or risen little in comparison (so women could be replacing men in agricultural work).

Many countries that have urbanised and seen urban female employment rates fall over 2006-2015 have also seen urban male employment rates fall. This is the case with most developed countries. It is possible that the global economic downturn and the negative impact it has had on jobs for both men and women is driving this.

3 WHAT DOES URBANISATION MEAN FOR WOMEN?

Urbanisation is often associated with greater independence for women. This is the result of better opportunities in comparison to rural areas to engage in paid employment outside the family, greater access to services, lower fertility rates, and less rigid social values and norms attached to women's roles and responsibilities (Tacoli and Satterthwaite, 2013).

Nonetheless, many urban women are profoundly disadvantaged in their daily lives compared to men (Tacoli and Satterthwaite, 2013). Chant (2013) finds that even though women make significant contributions to their households, to neighbourhoods and the city through their paid and unpaid labour, building and consolidating shelter and compensating for shortfalls in essential services and infrastructure, they face persistent inequalities in accessing decent work, physical and financial assets, mobility, personal safety and security, and representation in formal structures of urban governance.

While urban women share a common identity based on the prevailing social norms in taking on the major share of reproductive work (not only biological but also social reproduction or care work), they are an extremely diverse group. Poor urban women face different constraints than affluent urban women; the latter can access education, and better income-generating opportunities that allow them to hire domestic workers. These domestic workers are often poor urban women or female migrants from rural areas (Tacoli and Satterthwaite, 2013).

Urban centres also have higher proportions of female-headed households. These women bear multiple responsibilities and a heavy work burden. They also tend to be more independent than women who live with a male partner.

The stage at which a woman is in her lifecycle – whether she is a young girl, a young woman with young children or an older woman − also makes a difference, as it determines her care responsibilities and her ability to combine these with paid work. It also largely defines her identity within the household as daughter, wife, mother or grandmother, each of which entails different gender relations (Tacoli and Satterthwaite, 2013).

Men have different perceptions of women engaging in paid work. Banks (2013) describes the case in Dhaka city. Even though low-income households cannot survive without women's earnings, wives working outside the home can lower families' social status in the neighbourhoods in which they live. This can affect households' access to patronage networks and the benefits these provide. Daughters working in garment factories, however, is encouraged as it is not perceived in the same way as wives working. It is not seen as a failure of the male breadwinner to provide for his family. From a social perspective, daughters' work does not count; from a financial perspective it is crucial. Like all social relations, gender relations intersect with a multitude of other socially constructed positions that include age, class, race, ethnicity, sexuality and disability.

Paid employment and the generally greater opportunities for income generation offered by urban centres are a critical element of transformations in gender relations. But, as Chant (2013) demonstrates, women tend to work in less remunerated and more insecure jobs. Women are more likely than men to be employed informally and to earn less. Even in emerging new economic sectors such as information technology services, women tend to be concentrated in low-end occupations as labour markets remain heavily segregated along lines of gender, caste and class. Despite these limitations, paid employment is widely seen as providing opportunities for independence and self-development.

Bradshaw (2013) describes how paid employment does not necessarily translate into more equal relations between men and women within the household, especially with regard to decision-making. Comparing the perceptions of rural and urban women and their male partners, she suggests that it is not so much income and earnings but, rather, the value attached to women's contributions to the household that is important. Crucially, a large proportion of men and rural women do not recognise unpaid care work as a contribution, unlike urban women who appear to understand the opportunity costs of paid work. However, as Banks (2013) puts it, it is important to take into account the fact that, in many cases, women's work is not so much a choice but rather a lack of choice. Women's work is essential for the survival of the urban poor and is very high among the poorest households; at the same time, it is not a guarantee of moving out of poverty. Balancing paid work and care work remains one of the major constraints for urban women, and especially so for poor urban women.

Life in the city is more expensive than in rural areas and, in many cases, is more expensive for the residents of low-income settlements and slums who have to pay higher prices for inadequate housing, for water provided by private vendors and for access to latrines, where these exist. The cost of poor health, exacerbated by lack of sanitation and living in locations with high concentrations of environmental hazards, is also high, when missing a day's work means a considerable reduction in income, even if the pay is already low. But there are also huge costs for those who are responsible for unpaid care work. Poor housing conditions, distance from health services and schools, unsafe neighbourhoods – both because of environmental hazards and high rates of violence and crime – and limited access to water and sanitation places an additional burden on those who are responsible for child care, food preparation, cleaning and washing. These are typically women's responsibilities to which they often have to add paid work. The resulting time poverty and emotional stress are important non-income elements of urban poverty, which are made much worse at times of economic crises when prices rise, incomes decline and public services provision is cut (Tacoli and Satterthwaite, 2013).

4 MIGRATION PATTERNS

Migration and urbanisation processes are shaped by gender roles and relations. Although single male migration is more common, female migration (single and family), has been on the rise in developing countries, which some theorists have called the 'feminisation of migration' (ActionAid, 2012). Rates of female migration are higher than previously observed and more complex than was believed.

Female migration is increasing despite the constraints of women's subordinate and dependent position within the family and society, as households need to find additional sources of income, and in some areas where more employment opportunities are available to women.

The scale and nature of migration into urban areas is influenced by decisions in rural households about who should migrate and for what reason, by constraints placed on women's work outside the home by households, and by the demand for female labour in urban areas.

Although urbanisation by definition reflects a shift from people living in rural areas to living in urban areas, Tacoli (2012) argues that the directions of migration are determined mainly by the level of urbanisation within a specific country. She finds that in highly urbanised countries, in particular in Latin America, people migrate from one urban centre to another. In less urbanised countries, where agriculture remains a major economic activity, for instance in sub-Saharan Africa, she finds that people migrate from one rural settlement to another. In Asia, an exception to this trend is China. With a low level of urbanisation and a concomitantly high level of industrial development in coastal areas in the last 30 years, large scores of people in China are moving from rural to urban areas.

Migrant data disaggregated by sex from Demographic and Health Surveys (DHSs) for 46 countries illustrates a similar direction of migration for women (Tacoli, 2012). In other words, rural-rural migration is the most common pattern for women in 26 countries in the least urbanised regions of Africa and South Asia. This direction of movement is mainly related to marriages in these regions, where women move from one rural area to another when they marry outside their villages of origin. Urban-urban migration is the most common pattern for women in 15 countries, located in Latin America, a highly urbanised region (ibid).

Apart from countries' urbanisation levels, Tacoli (2012) argues that the direction of migration is also determined by the changing sectoral shares of countries' economies. The author finds that women migrate from rural to urban areas in countries with growing export-oriented manufacturing sectors. Manufacturers in these countries prefer female workers.

Tacoli and Mabala (2010) show that in Mali, Nigeria, Tanzania and Vietnam many young women migrate from rural to urban areas to improve their economic options and their social and cultural rights. Urbanisation can offer girls and women employment and education opportunities unavailable in rural areas. These opportunities can offer women greater social and cultural options and economic independence. They can marry at a later age if they are in urban areas. In sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, 50% of young women in rural areas are married by the time they are 18, which is about twice the rate of young women in cities (ActionAid, 2012).

While women's migration patterns may well be a result of urban areas offering greater employment opportunities (commonly known as 'pull' factors), in many instances, these may also be the result of 'push' factors including but not limited to abusive family relations and widespread discrimination against women (especially those heading households) in accessing rural land and inheriting property (Tacoli, 2012). Daughters are expected to work the land for free until they get married. They do not have

inheritance rights to land as do men. They are also forced into marriages and sent off to live in cities with their husbands. In slums in Addis Ababa for example, 25% of women migrated under forced marriages (Action Aid, 2012).

Some societal and cultural changes taking place in rural areas are also influencing migration. Whereas previously migration of single women was seen badly, the frequency of environmental hazards and declining agricultural incomes have made families reorient their views on this as long as the female migrants send money home (Tacoli, 2012). Many of them are sending remittances but at the cost of their health and safety. They tend to live in cheap and unsafe areas to cut down on the costs of living in the city and send the rest of their earnings back home (ActionAid, 2012).

Age compositions are also changing for female migrants. Girls are part of a growing group of those moving to cities. An older adolescent girl is more likely to find employment in the city than in a village (ActionAid, 2012). Many of these migrants are becoming domestic workers.

Migration is also caste-based. For example, studies have analysed the migration of lower caste/class rural women to work as domestic workers in urban middle- and upper-class households (ActionAid, 2012).

5 URBAN DEMOGRAPHICS

Cities are associated with lower levels of fertility than rural areas (UNHABITAT, 2013). These lower fertility rates can signify women's empowerment, in that they are better able to determine how many children they want to have and at what age. In cities, women can have higher levels of education, different lifestyle patterns, including marriage at an older age, and access to contraception (Tacoli, 2012). Equally, the costs (in terms of both time and money) for parents (especially for mothers) to raise each child are higher, hence women might opt to have fewer children in cities.

Yet, even though total fertility rates in urban areas as a whole are lower than in rural areas, when disaggregated by income and residence, access to sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) is uneven in cities (ActionAid, 2012).

Fertility rates are higher among poorer segments of the population and in slum areas than in more affluent areas. These contrasting levels of access to safe and adequate contraception are attributed to the lack of information on reproductive health, unmet needs for family planning, men preventing women from exercising birth control, and an above-average incidence of teenage pregnancies and early marriages of girls living in slums and dropping out of schools early (UNHABITAT, 2013).

Demographic growth is also a largely urban phenomenon. Most future demographic growth in the world is going to be urban and this will occur, as discussed earlier, in developing regions of the world – in Asia and in Africa. This growth will see females in the majority (Chant, 2011 and UNHABITAT, 2013).

Cities in the future, especially in developing countries will see more feminised urban sex ratios and in older cohorts (those above 60 years, and those above 80 years) (Chant, 2011 and UNHABITAT, 2013). Already, in sub-Saharan African and Latin American countries, women above 80 outnumber men above 80 roughly two to one, while in East Asian countries the ratio is about 1.5 to 1. In South Asian countries too, in particular in India, women above 80 outnumber men of the same age.

The changing urban demographics (and an ageing female urban population) has implications for women and the cities in which they live (UNHABITAT, 2013). 'What this means for gendered shares of urban prosperity is not yet established, but given a common association between advanced age and poverty, especially among women, this is a challenge to be faced in light of ongoing trends, particularly as younger female cohorts will undoubtedly be implicated in unpaid care provision for elderly people as well as for the infirm' (Chant, 2011).

Many urban households will be headed by women (UNHABITAT, 2013). This is not just a function of demographics, but of socio-economic features distinct from rural areas, e.g. better access to jobs, independent earnings, less patriarchy-based discrimination, and higher levels of urban female land and property ownership (ibid).

6 URBAN ECONOMICS

Urban women more so than rural women rely on income-generating activities given the dependence of urban residents, and especially the urban poor, on a monetised economy (Beall and Fox, 2007, and Tacoli, 2012).

Women contribute to the economic prosperity of cities through their paid work (UNHABITAT, 2013). Even though there are differences between countries, at this moment in history, more women are participating in paid employment than at any other time, (Heintz, 2010 and Tacoli, 2012). The global export-manufacturing, services and Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) sectors - the hubs of which are located in cities - employ millions of women.

Women also contribute to urban economies through their unpaid domestic and care work. Unpaid care work is invisible and its contribution to what is called the 'productive economy' is completely unaccounted for. In GDP and the System of National Accounts mostly paid work carried out by men gets recorded but women's unpaid domestic and care work does not. This is one of the key weaknesses of the ILO's definition for work and why it is under review.

Urbanisation and the 'feminisation' of the global labour force seem to be going hand in hand (Kabeer, 2007). Some of this is reflected in the internationalisation of production and trade, reduced fertility rates, declining family size, rising levels of education and changing aspirations especially among young women and their families. It is now both possible and desirable for women to take up paid work (ibid; ActionAid, 2012).

In addition, women are being 'pushed' into the labour market by the decline in agricultural production and growing levels of landlessness, the rising costs of living associated with the privatisation of public welfare services and withdrawal of subsidies and declining levels of male employment and male wages as a result of the retrenchments associated with structural adjustment programmes and the dismantling of state owned enterprises (Kabeer, 2007).

Feminisation of labour describes changes in labour trends and conditions in two ways. First, it refers to the substantial increase in the participation of women in paid employment in developing countries, largely in urban areas, over the last few decades. There has been a gradual decline of the labour force participation differential between men and women. Except Africa, since 1980 women's employment has escalated at a much higher rate than men's employment (which has been either slightly decreasing or largely stagnating). This change in labour patterns has been accompanied by a shift from manufacturing to services in the richer countries, and from agriculture to manufacturing and services in the poorer countries. International outsourcing has meant a shift of production from richer to poorer countries, where labour and capital costs are lower. Production is now fragmented into various stages scattered across different parts of the world (ActionAid, 2012).

Sassen (2001) talks about how off-shoring manufacturing jobs from richer to poorer countries has mobilised "a disproportionately [young] female workforce in poorer countries", who had mostly contributed to the agricultural sector before that. This has also involved large-scale migration from rural to urban areas and sometimes, international migration (ActionAid, 2012).

Second, feminisation of labour is also used to describe the phenomenon of increasing 'flexibilisation of labour'. The deregulation of financial markets and the liberalisation of trade that characterises the recent history of most developing countries under neoliberalism and globalisation have given rise to new forms of production. While arguably generating employment, this has resulted in highly exploitative

conditions of work. To increase their 'competitive advantage' in the international market and to present themselves as attractive to investors, developing countries have adopted policies to cultivate so-called 'flexible labour markets'. The need for flexibility, especially in contexts of urbanisation and industrialisation, has also involved a move towards more irregular, casual, informal and insecure forms of employment as well as a reversal of existing labour rights and legislation (ActionAid, 2012).

Over 60% of female workers in developing countries are employed in the informal sector, while among men this proportion varies between 48% in Latin America and 65% in Asia (Chen, 2010). In urban India, the self-employed constitute 45% of men and 48% of female workers; of these, more than half the men and nearly two-thirds of the women have earnings below the official minimum wages of respective states (Ghosh, 2010). Whereas women are not the only informal-sector workers, they are more likely than men to be employed informally, and to earn less (Chant, 2007).

Multinational and national corporations have increasingly outsourced and subcontracted production activities that had previously been carried out within the formal economy to the informal economy to reduce labour costs and obligations required under formal employment regulations.

Women's large-scale entry into paid work across developing countries thus, coincides with high rates of informalisation of labour markets and the economy, especially in urban areas. There is a clear trend demonstrating that women dominate those urban industries/sectors characterised by low wages, semi-skilled, short-term and contingent work. Women tend to be segregated into the most exploitative and casual forms of labour within increasingly informalising economies. This is seen more and more in urban contexts with rapid migration and precarious livelihood conditions. For example, most of the jobs held by women in the garment, textile and food processing sectors in Dhaka are part of the informal economy and most of these women are the main breadwinners. In sub-Saharan Africa, 84% of women's non-agricultural employment is informal (ActionAid, 2012).

Working conditions for most of these women include: low wages, delay or non-payment of wages/bonuses, long working hours, deadline pressure, job insecurity, lack of medical insurance, sexual harassment, health and safety hazards, harsh work discipline, use of intimidation to mitigate dissent, restricted toilet/lunch breaks to retain efficiency and absence of nursery facilities (ActionAid, 2012).

The outsourcing of production has also resulted in the rapid emergence of home-based work in poor urban areas. This is dominated by women and children, who, because it is almost impossible to regulate the conditions of work in such arrangements, are made particularly vulnerable; pay is largely piece-meal and below minimum wage, there are no opportunities for women's mobility outside the household and because workers are dispersed, it is very difficult to unionise (ActionAid, 2012). A growing proportion of female workers in export-oriented industries are home-based and their earnings depend on the number of pieces produced. This blurs the distinction between this form of employment and work in the informal sector (Dedeoğlu, 2010).

Home-based enterprises in urban poor contexts, which form an integral part of manufacturing industries (clothes, textiles, shoes, carpets, electronics), subsidise the costs of production for urban industry by providing capital (space, tools) and by eliminating the costs of factory-based work such as complying with basic job/social security regulations. This also means that national governments boost economic growth figures by failing to ensure good labour conditions, instead relying on women's cheap and irregular employment (ActionAid, 2012).

Besides sub-contracted home-based work, women in urban areas engage in a wide range of self-employed activities in the informal economy such as domestic work, street vending, sex work and waste picking.

Domestic work is a large and growing sector of employment, especially for women. Three quarters or more of domestic workers worldwide are female. They are concentrated in cleaning and care services, while male domestic workers tend to have the better paying jobs as gardeners, drivers, or security guards. Domestic workers provide essential services that enable others to work outside the home, thus facilitating the functioning of the labour market and the economy.

In South Africa, in 2004 domestic service was the second-largest sector of employment for black women, employing roughly 750,000 workers, with a large share of internal migrants from rural areas (Peberdy and Dinat, 2005). Work in private households is a major source of employment for rural–urban migrant women in Vietnam (Hoang, Dinh, and Nguyen, 2008) and in Tanzania as well.

For many urban women, street vending is a significant occupation. Although finding reliable data in this sector is difficult, there are certain studies that demonstrate a high concentration of women in street vending due to its low entry costs and flexible hours.

Women constitute more than two thirds of street traders in the main cities of Benin, Côte D'Ivoire, Ghana, Mali, and Togo, and more than half in Kenya, Madagascar, Senegal, and South Africa. Women also form a majority of street traders in some cities in Asia and Latin America, including Hanoi (79%), Ho Chi Minh City (67%), and Lima (65%). In only a few countries where cultural norms restrict women's economic activities do women account for 10% or less of street vendors. Most female street vendors earn less than men.

Another significant employment source for many poor urban women is sex work, which may be their main profession or complement another job. In both street vending and sex work, women face numerous risks of violence and abuse.

7 WHAT KIND OF WORK IS EMPOWERING?

Formal/semi-formal employment is most consistently empowering for women (Hunt and Samman, 2016).

Kabeer (2012) proposes that the empowerment potential of different forms of employment can be determined by their location on a continuum.

In the case of wage labour, 'good' jobs (with many of the characteristics of formal work such as a contract recognising the relationship between workers and their employers, a regular and predictable form of income and place of work, legal and social protection and indirect benefits such as membership of workplace organisations and access to financial institutions (Kabeer, 2012; Domingo et al., 2015) are at one end.

'Bad' jobs (often informal jobs that are not subject to labour market regulations, lack basic social or legal protections and offer few or no employment benefits, are poorly paid, highly exploitative and demeaning, and in which women experience violence and abuse), are at the other end. These include domestic work, sex work and work on construction sites, with casual and unskilled agricultural labour seen in many places as an occupation of last resort, owing to its low remuneration, physical demands, seasonal variability and low social status (Kabeer, 2012). The poorest, including the chronically poor, are more likely to be working at the 'bad' end of the scale (Chronic Poverty Research Centre, 2005).

Women also engage in distress-driven work (engaging in economic activity to survive when household income falls below sustenance levels), which often forces them into the least empowering forms of work. This is frequently informal employment characterised by low earnings and high risk (Chen, 2010), including 'own account work'. A large proportion of women in developing countries as seen earlier are classified as 'own account workers', particularly in sub-Saharan Africa (42.5%) and South Asia (47.7%) (ILO, 2016). Again, a continuum can be envisaged, this time of women's self-employment: informal 'survival-oriented income-generation' is at one end, and 'formal, growth-oriented' enterprise is at the other.

Self-employed women are predominantly found closer to the survival, distress-driven end, where opportunities to increase profitability are limited and 'there is very little evidence of active choice' (Kabeer, 2012: 24). Importantly, women are also found – albeit in far fewer numbers – towards the 'accumulation-oriented enterprise' end, heading up the type of successful businesses often typified as formalised women-led enterprises. Moving women along the spectrum is a core challenge to make self-employment more empowering.

Strategies to support women's equal economic participation and the equal distribution of growth gains should recognise that:

Economic transformation strategies aimed at expanding employment and added value in more productive sectors 'will not automatically increase the demand for female labour [and] the extent of opportunities for women will be context specific' (Fox, 2016: 10). The extent to which expanding economic opportunities will lead to women's increased labour force participation depends highly on specific social norms operating in that context.

Increasing women's individual capabilities, for example through increased educational attainment, will also have limited impact on women's economic outcomes if decent, well-remunerated employment is scarce. Increasing girls' educational attainment and improving access to employment opportunities in highly skilled sectors are mutually reinforcing elements of long-term economic and labour market development strategies.

Starting a business can be an optimal choice for women with access to the resources to build a profitable enterprise, such as credit. Expanding labour market opportunities is an important means to increase poor women's engagement in better work.

8 RECOMMENDATIONS

The genuine economic empowerment of women will be a *dynamic* and *powerful* process of change in the world. This process of change however will not happen in isolation; it will happen alongside two highly complex transformations of our time, *urbanisation* and *economic development*. This means that:

- Women will need to be more economically active.
- They will also need to move from less productive to more productive income-generating sectors.
- Most of this economic activity will take place in cities.
- Women will likely migrate from rural to urban areas to take up employment.
- The proportion of women in the urban population will grow.

While sectoral data on male and female employment in agriculture, industry and services as well as the current data on employment/labour force participation are useful to capture some of these aspects, they are also deficient in many ways. There is an urgent need to fill in the data gaps. Disaggregating data by age, sex, rural/urban location, by city and within cities, as well as by all the different features of employment (including but not limited to employment type, status, work conditions, time allocation for different activities, and informality) will help to demonstrate some of the challenges of working in urban contexts, in particular for women.

The ILO needs to ensure that the recent changes in definitions of work and its measurement (both paid and unpaid including care work, other types such as informal work) are incorporated in countries' statistics and economic accounts.

International agendas on women's economic empowerment (via the High Level Panel), on the Sustainable Development Goals (via member countries of the UN, development partners as well as established UN agencies) as well as on the New Urban Agenda (via Habitat III) should push for the right changes in policy.

To ensure that urbanisation is more economically empowering to women than disempowering the following should be considered (Hunt and Samman, 2016; and author's additions):

- Increasing education, skills development and training
- Increasing access to quality, decent paid work
- Addressing unpaid care and work burdens
- Increasing access to property, assets and financial services
- Encouraging collective action and leadership
- Improving policies on social protection
- Improving the legal, regulatory and macroeconomic policy framework
- Eliminating discriminatory social norms
- Making labour markets work for women, and
- Making the urban form work for women (better mobility, safety, urban service provision).

REFERENCES

ActionAid. 2012. 'Young women: life choices and livelihoods in poor urban areas.' Johannesburg: ActionAid.

Banks, N. 2013. 'Female employment in Dhaka, Bangladesh: participation, perceptions and pressures' in *Environment and Urbanization.* April 2013 Volume 25 Number 1. London: SAGE.

Beall, J. and Fox, S. 2007. 'Urban Poverty and Development in the 21st Century: Towards an Inclusive and Sustainable World', Oxfam GB Research Report. Oxford: Oxfam.

Bradshaw, S. 2013. 'Women's decision-making in rural and urban households in Nicaragua: the influence of income and ideology' in *Environment and Urbanization.* April 2013 Volume 25 Number 1. London: SAGE.

Chant, S. 2011. 'Introduction', UN-HABITAT State of Women in Cities 2012/13. Nairobi: UNHABITAT.

Chant, S. 2013. 'Cities through a ''gender lens'': a golden ''urban age'' for women in the global South?' in *Environment and Urbanization.* April 2013 Volume 25 Number 1. London: SAGE.

Chen, M. 2010. 'Informality, poverty and gender: evidence from the Global South', in *The International Handbook of Gender and Poverty: Concepts, Research, Policy*, Sylvia Chant (ed), Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK, pp 463-471.

Chronic Poverty Research Centre. 2005. *The chronic poverty report 2004-05*. Manchester: CPRC.

Cornwall, A. and Edwards, J. 2016. 'Introduction: Negotiating empowerment', IDS Bulletin 47(1A).

Dedeoğlu, S. 2010 'Visible Hands – Invisible Women: Garment Production in Turkey', *Feminist Economics*, vol 16, no 4, pp1-32.

Domingo, P., Holmes, R., O'Neil, T., Jones, N., Bird, K., Larson, A., Presler-Marshal, E. and Valters, C. 2015. 'Women's voice and leadership in decision-making: Assessing the evidence.' London: ODI.

Eyben, R. 2011. 'Supporting pathways of women's empowerment: A brief guide for international development organisations.' Brighton: IDS.

Fox, L. 2016. 'Will women in low income countries get lost in transformation?' London: SET.

Ghosh, J. 2010. 'Poverty reduction in China and India: Policy implications of recent trends.' DESA Working Paper No. 92, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, New York.

Heintz, J. 2010. 'Women's employment, economic risk and poverty', in *The International Handbook of Gender and Poverty: Concepts, Research, Policy*, Sylvia Chant (ed), Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK, pp 434-439.

Hoang, X. T., Dinh, T.T.P. and Nguyen, T.H. 2008. 'Urbanization, fruit production and rural livelihood transformations in the Mekong Delta'. Rural-Urban Interactions Working Paper 14. London: IIED.

Hunt, A. and Samman, E. 2016. 'Women's economic empowerment: navigating enablers and constraints.' London: ODI.

ILO. 2016. *Women at work trends 2016*. Geneva: International Labour Organization.

Kabeer, N. 2007. 'Marriage, Motherhood and Masculinity in the Global Economy: Reconfigurations of Personal and Economic Life', IDS Working Paper 290. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies.

Kabeer, N. 2012. 'Women's economic empowerment and inclusive growth: Labour markets and enterprise development', International Development Research Centre 44(10): 1–70.

McGranahan, G. and Satterthwaite, D. 2014. 'Urbanisation: Concepts and trends'. London: IIED.

OECD. 2012. *Women's economic empowerment.* Paris: OECD.

O'Neil, T., Domingo, P. and Valters, C. 2014. *Progress on women's empowerment: From technical fixes to political action.* London: ODI.

Peberdy, S. and Dinat, N. 2005. 'Migration and domestic workers: worlds of work, health and mobility in Johannesburg'. Southern Africa Migration Project, Cape Town.

Rowlands, J. 1996 'Questioning Empowerment: Working with Women in Honduras'. Oxford: Oxfam.

Sassen, S. 2001. 'The Excesses of Globalisation and the Feminisation of Survival.' *Parallax*, 7:1, 2001, p 100-110.

Tacoli, C. 2012 'Urbanization, gender and urban poverty: paid work and unpaid carework in the city'. Urbanization and Emerging Population Issues Working Paper 7. IIED and UNFPA.

Tacoli, C. and Malaba, R. 2010. 'Gender, Poverty and Migration.' London: IIED.

Tacoli, C. and Satterthwaite, D. 2013. 'Editorial: Gender and urban change'. *Environment and Urbanization.* April 2013 Volume 25 Number 1. London: SAGE.

Taylor, G. and Pereznieto, P. 2014. *Review of evaluation approaches and methods used by interventions on women and girls' economic empowerment.* London: ODI.

UNDESA (2015) World Urbanization Prospects. New York: UNDESA.

UNHABITAT. 1996. 'The Habitat Agenda': Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements. Istanbul: Un Habitat.

UNHABITAT. 2013. 'State of Women in Cities 2012/13'. Nairobi: UNHABITAT.

UNSD (2015) The World's Women 2015. New York: UNSD.

UN (2016) Framing Paper of the UN Secretary General's High Level Panel on Women's Economic Empowerment. New York: UN.

Annex 1 Table 1. Distribution of employed persons by economic sector of employment, by sex and region, 2015

Region	Sex	Agriculture	Industry	Services
Oceania	Women	63.3	6.5	30.2
	Men	57.4	9.3	33.3
Sub-Saharan Africa	Women	62.2	6.0	31.8
	Men	59.6	11.0	29.4
Southern Asia	Women	58.5	21.3	20.3
	Men	38.7	25.7	35.6
South-Eastern Asia	Women	37.2	16.0	46.8
	Men	37.3	23.5	39.1
Caucasus and Central Asia	Women	36.5	11.8	51.6
	Men	30.7	27.3	41.9
Northern Africa	Women	29.7	12.2	58.1
	Men	20.8	29.3	49.9
Western Asia	Women	29.5	10.0	60.5
	Men	12.3	28.6	59.1
Eastern Asia	Women	25.9	30.1	44.0
	Men	28.7	34.4	36.9
Eastern Europe	Women	8.9	17.7	73.3
	Men	11.8	39.2	49.0
Latin America and the Caribbean	Women	8.1	12.2	79.7
	Men	18.6	27.2	54.2
Southern Europe	Women	6.4	12.0	81.6
	Men	8.5	32.6	58.9
Other developed regions[3]	Women	1.4	9.9	88.7
	Men	2.7	30.4	66.9

Source: UNSD (2015).

[3] Other developed regions include countries in Northern and Western Europe, as well as Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand and the United States.

Annex 2 Table 1. South Asian countries – Urbanisation levels and rural employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
SOUTH ASIA			
Afghanistan	26	16	77
Bangladesh	33	35	80
Bhutan	37	65	69
Iran	72	15	59
Sri Lanka	18	29	65

*No data for India or Pakistan. Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 2. South East Asian countries – Urbanisation levels and rural employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
SOUTH-EAST ASIA			
Cambodia	20	68	68
Indonesia	52	49	79
Malaysia	73	26	47
Philippines	45	47	71
Viet Nam	32	72	80

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 3. West Asian countries – Urbanisation levels and rural employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
WEST ASIA			
Armenia	63	66	72
Cyprus	67	47	58
Israel	92	61	68
Jordan	83	9	52
Palestine	75	10	54

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 4. North African countries – Urbanisation levels and rural employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
NORTH AFRICA			
Algeria	70	14	58
Egypt	43	18	71
Morocco	59	35	76

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 5. East African countries – Urbanisation levels and rural employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
EASTERN AFRICA			
Ethiopia	19	76	87
Madagascar	34	75	80
Malawi	16	70	72
Mozambique	32	73	67
Rwanda	27	57	52
Tanzania	30	80	83
Uganda	15	86	89
Zimbabwe	33	88	70

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 6. West African countries – Urbanisation levels and rural employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
WESTERN AFRICA			
Burkina Faso	28	68	91
Ghana	53	72	75
Guinea	36	74	80
Liberia	49	62	69
Senegal	43	44	71

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 7. Southern African countries – Urbanisation levels and rural employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
SOUTHERN AFRICA			
Botswana	57	26	36
Lesotho	26	33	50
Namibia	45	45	49
South Africa	64	21	32

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 8. Central American countries – Urbanisation levels and rural employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
CENTRAL AMERICA			
Belize	44	34	76
Costa Rica	75	32	72
El Salvador	66	35	81
Guatemala	51	34	88
Mexico	79	30	77
Panama	66	38	81

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 9. South American countries – Urbanisation levels and rural employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
SOUTH AMERICA			
Bolivia	68	75	92
Brazil	85	48	78
Chile	89	37	72
Colombia	76	28	62
Ecuador	63	43	78
Paraguay	59	46	78
Peru	78	72	88
Uruguay	95	49	80
Venezuela	89	29	73

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 10. Northern European countries – Urbanisation levels and rural employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
NORTHERN EUROPE			
Denmark	87	52	61
Estonia	68	48	59
Finland	84	49	56
Iceland	94	74	83
Ireland	63	45	58
Latvia	68	45	55
Lithuania	67	42	50
Norway	80	62	66
Sweden	86	62	67
United Kingdom	82	53	63

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 11. Eastern European countries – Urbanisation levels and rural employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
EASTERN EUROPE			
Bulgaria	73	33	43
Czech Republic	73	45	64
Hungary	70	38	53
Poland	61	41	59
Romania	54	42	60
Slovakia	54	71	57
Ukraine	69	62	68

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 12. Western European countries – Urbanisation levels and rural employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
WESTERN EUROPE			
Austria	66	54	66
Belgium	98	46	56
France	79	48	56
Germany	75	53	65
Luxembourg	90	49	62
Netherlands	89	54	66
Switzerland	74	61	74

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 13. Southern European countries – Urbanisation levels and rural employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average rural employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
SOUTHERN EUROPE			
Bosnia and Herzegovina	40	18	41
Croatia	58	33	50
Greece	77	30	48
Italy	69	33	52
Malta	95	34	58
Portugal	62	44	59
Serbia	55	32	47
Slovenia	50	47	59
Spain	79	34	48

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 14. South Asian countries – Urbanisation levels and urban employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
SOUTH ASIA			
Afghanistan	26	11	67
Bangladesh	33	32	76
Bhutan	37	42	70
Iran	72	10	53
Sri Lanka	18	24	61

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 15. South East Asian countries – Urbanisation levels and urban employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
SOUTH-EAST ASIA			
Cambodia	20	50	62
Indonesia	52	45	78
Malaysia	73	53	76
Philippines	45	47	75
Viet Nam	32	67	77

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 16. West Asian countries – Urbanisation levels and urban employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
WEST ASIA			
Armenia	63	34	54
Cyprus	67	52	61
Israel	92	53	63
Jordan	83	13	60
Palestine	75	15	60

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 17. North African countries – Urbanisation levels and urban employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
NORTH AFRICA			
Algeria	70	9	64
Egypt	43	16	62
Morocco	59	14	62

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 18. East African countries – Urbanisation levels and urban employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
EASTERN AFRICA			
Ethiopia	19	47	66
Madagascar	34	60	66
Malawi	16	62	60
Mozambique	32	43	49
Rwanda	27	42	51
Tanzania	30	61	75
Uganda	15	69	82
Zimbabwe	33	49	58

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 19. West African countries – Urbanisation levels and urban employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
WESTERN AFRICA			
Burkina Faso	28	36	67
Ghana	53	61	64
Guinea	36	31	55
Liberia	49	47	51
Senegal	43	32	55

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 20. South African countries – Urbanisation levels and urban employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
SOUTHERN AFRICA			
Botswana	57	30	37
Lesotho	26	43	50
Namibia	45	49	59
South Africa	64	41	66

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 21. Central American countries – Urbanisation levels and urban employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
CENTRAL AMERICA			
Belize	44	47	68
Costa Rica	75	45	71
El Salvador	66	52	72
Guatemala	51	46	78
Mexico	79	44	73
Panama	66	48	74

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 22. South American countries – Urbanisation levels and urban employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
SOUTH AMERICA			
Bolivia	68	54	58
Brazil	85	39	57
Chile	89	46	67
Colombia	76	50	68
Ecuador	63	45	71
Falkland Islands	75	90	97
Paraguay	59	51	69
Peru	78	59	77
Uruguay	95	51	70
Venezuela	89	42	64

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 23. Northern European countries – Urbanisation levels and urban employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
NORTHERN EUROPE			
Denmark	87	56	64
Estonia	68	52	65
Finland	84	53	59
Iceland	94	74	79
Ireland	63	49	58
Latvia	68	49	59
Lithuania	67	54	61
Norway	80	66	71
Sweden	86	64	69
United Kingdom	82	53	64

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 24. Eastern European countries – Urbanisation levels and urban employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
EASTERN EUROPE			
Bulgaria	73	49	57
Czech Republic	73	47	64
Hungary	70	43	56
Poland	61	44	58
Romania	54	44	58
Slovakia	54	47	62
Ukraine	69	56	67

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 25. Western European countries – Urbanisation levels and urban employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
WESTERN EUROPE			
Austria	66	51	61
Belgium	98	44	54
France	79	46	55
Germany	75	51	62
Luxembourg	90	49	63
Netherlands	89	55	66
Switzerland	74	59	71

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 26. Southern European countries – Urbanisation levels and urban employment rates for females and males

Country	Average level of urbanisation, (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, female (2011-2015), %	Average urban employment rate, male (2011-2015), %
SOUTHERN EUROPE			
Bosnia and Herzegovina	40	29	41
Croatia	58	40	49
Greece	77	33	48
Italy	69	35	53
Malta	95	37	63
Portugal	62	47	55
Serbia	55	32	47
Slovenia	50	47	56
Spain	79	42	51

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 27. Comparing changes in rural employment rates of males and females over time, 2006-2015

Country	% increase in urban population share 2006-15	% change in rural employment, female 2006-15	% change in rural employment, male 2006-15
Austria	0.1	4.6	**-0.5**
Belgium	0.2	4.6	**-2.5**
Brazil	1.7	**-12.6**	**-6.4**
Bulgaria	2.3	**-13.7**	**-10.9**
Canada	1.1	1.6	0.9
Croatia	2.3	**-15.7**	**-15.2**

Cyprus	-1.0	-5.0	-14.4
Czech Republic	-0.4	1.9	-1.8
Denmark	0.9	**-5.9**	**-7.9**
Dominican Republic	8.1	17.8	12.8
Estonia	-0.9	0.7	-0.1
Finland	0.8	**-1.3**	**-2.8**
France	1.5	4.2	**-0.2**
Germany	1.3	7.4	4.0
Greece	2.3	**-9.9**	**-15.4**
Hungary	3.6	7.3	5.2
Iceland	0.6	2.8	4.2
Ireland	2.2	**-6.0**	**-6.6**
Italy	0.9	1.9	**-3.5**
Kyrgyzstan	0.6	**-5.0**	**-0.3**
Latvia	-0.5	-3.1	-2.7
Lithuania	-0.3	-0.9	-5.5
Luxembourg	2.0	4.8	**-2.5**
Malta	0.9	23.5	0.9
Netherlands	4.5	**-0.9**	**-3.3**
Norway	1.8	**-3.9**	**-3.0**
Panama	2.3	**-3.6**	**-0.9**
Poland	-0.8	1.9	2.9
Portugal	5.0	**-10.2**	**-9.4**
Romania	1.3	**-2.1**	**-0.3**
Slovakia	-2.0	-0.4	-2.0
Slovenia	-0.9	-7.3	-8.0
South Africa	4.3	**-23.3**	**-14.4**
Spain	1.5	**-3.7**	**-16.1**
Sweden	0.9	1.0	0.3
Switzerland	0.3	6.2	**-0.9**
Uganda	11.1	4.2	7.1
United Kingdom	1.7	**-0.1**	**-3.6**
Viet Nam	10.9	**-6.2**	**-3.7**

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)

Table 28. Comparing changes in urban employment rates of males and females over time, 2006-2015

Country	% increase in urban population share 2006-15	% change in urban employment, female 2006-15	% change in urban employment, male 2006-15
Austria	0.1	1.9	**-1.5**
Belgium	0.2	0.4	**-3.1**
Brazil	1.7	**-6.1**	**-3.8**
Bulgaria	2.3	**-2.9**	**-6.4**
Canada	1.1	**-0.6**	0.6
Croatia	2.3	**-3.0**	**-10.8**
Cyprus	-1.0	-5.1	-11.8
Czech Republic	-0.4	0.8	-0.6
Denmark	0.9	**-4.0**	**-4.7**
Dominican Republic	8.1	17.8	10.6
Estonia	-0.9	-2.5	-1.1
Finland	0.8	**-7.1**	**-6.9**
France	1.5	**-2.6**	**-3.8**
Germany	1.3	6.1	2.6
Greece	2.3	**-15.0**	**-20.1**
Hungary	3.6	2.1	2.2
Iceland	0.6	2.5	2.8
Ireland	2.2	**-4.9**	**-6.3**
Italy	0.9	**-0.4**	**-6.1**
Kyrgyzstan	0.6	**-4.4**	1.4
Latvia	-0.5	-2.4	-3.1
Lithuania	-0.3	0.4	2.3
Luxembourg	2.0	4.9	3.5
Malta	0.9	19.1	**-0.6**
Netherlands	4.5	**-4.3**	**-5.5**
Norway	1.8	**-2.7**	**-4.0**
Panama	2.3	3.2	1.0
Poland	-0.8	3.3	2.6
Portugal	5.0	**-6.3**	**-10.8**
Romania	1.3	**-1.7**	2.3
Slovakia	-2.0	-2.6	-2.8
Slovenia	-0.9	-5.9	-6.4

South Africa	4.3	**-6.7**	15.0
Spain	1.5	**-6.4**	**-15.2**
Sweden	0.9	**-0.8**	**-1.7**
Switzerland	0.3	1.1	**-0.03**
Uganda	11.1	11.1	7.8
United Kingdom	1.7	0.1	**-1.8**
Viet Nam	10.9	11.1	8.1

Author's calculations based on UNDESA (2015) and ILO (2016)