

Gaps in the EU Labour Market Participation Rates:

an intersectional assessment of the role of gender and migrant status

Grubanov-Boskovic S.

Tintori G.

Biagi F.



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Contact information

Name: Sara Grubanov Boskovic

Email: sara.grubanov-boskovic@ec.europa.eu

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Contents

EXE	ECUTIVE SUMMARY	6
1.	Introduction	9
2.	Overview of relevant policies enhancing gender equality	10
-	The EU gender equality acquis: A brief overview with special focus on labour participation	10
[European Gender Equality Strategy	12
3.	Literature review on gender gap and intersectionality with migrant status in the labour marke	ets13
4.	Trends in gender gap and intersectionality with migrant status in the EU labour market	17
	4.1. A descriptive analysis of labour market participation by gender and migrant status: a slow-converging trend	-
	Labour market participation by gender and migrant status	18
	The role of human capital, marital status and parenthood	20
2	4.2 Regression analyses: the probabilities of being active in the labour market	23
-	The role of education	25
-	The role of marital status and parenthood	27
(Changes over time	30
5.	Conclusions	32
Ref	rences	34
APF	PENDIX 1 Gender gap, migration gap and overall gender-migration gap by EU MSs	39
APF	PENDIX 2 – OLS full model, 2005 and 2018	40

Abstract

This KCMD study uses data from the EU Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS) to analyse how intersecting social statuses shape labour market participation.

The report focuses on the intersection between gender and migrant status and assesses the likelihood of EU mobile and non-EU born women to participate in the EU's labour market. Additionally, it considers how education, marital status and parenthood, highlighted by research as key determinants of labour market participation, interact with gender and migrant status.

Overall, our report confirms that *intersectionality* is a fruitful analytical approach for improving the understanding of the different and complex mechanisms that may shape labour market participation of women. In particular, in light of the interrelated effects of gender and migrant status, the report points to the need for a comprehensive strategy for the integration of non-native women (both EU mobile and non-EU born) in the labour market.

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Authors

Sara Grubanov Boskovic¹² Guido Tintori¹² Federico Biagi²

¹European Commission's Knowledge Centre on Migration and Demography ²European Commission, Joint Research Centre

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the Gender Equality Strategy (COM(2020) 152 final), adopted in March 2020, the Commission committed to a systematic inclusion of a gender perspective "in all stages of policy design in all EU policy areas, internal and external". The Commission went even further by recognising that **intersectionality**, i.e. "the combination of gender with other personal characteristics or identities", should be adopted as a cross-cutting principle.

In this vein, the Commission's <u>Knowledge Centre on Migration and Demography</u> (KCMD) has integrated an intersectional perspective also in its line of research on integration of migrants in the EU. This KCMD study aims to better understand how multiple and intersecting social statuses shape the labour market participation. In terms of the individual's origin, the study distinguishes between native population and two groups of non-native populations: EU mobile and non-EU born.

The report analyses how the intersection between gender and migrant status shapes the likelihood that non-native women – both EU mobile and non-EU born – participate in the EU's labour market. Additionally, it considers how education, marital status and parenthood, highlighted by research as key determinants of labour market participation, interact with gender and migrant status.

In its empirical exercise, the report looks at 'Gender gap' as the difference in labour market participation between men and women of same origin, with the same education level, marital status and parenthood (captured by the presence of children of any age). Adopting the intersectional approach, the analysis then assesses how the gender gap interacts with the 'Migration gap', the latter measured as the difference between native and non-native population (EU mobile or non-EU born) of the same gender, with the same education level, marital status and parenthood. Finally, it makes considerations also on the 'Migration-gender gap', defined as the difference between native men and non-native women (EU mobile or non-EU born) with the same education level, marital status and parenthood.

The analysis is based on the EU Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS) covering the years from 2005 to 2018. It adopts a multivariate approach to estimate and compare the likelihood of labour market participation of women and men, further divided between native, EU mobile and non-EU born, while taking into account the dimension of education and family composition (measured in terms of marital status and parenthood). The analysis is limited to the participation in paid labour.

The **key findings** of the study corroborate the Commission's strategy of mainstreaming gender equality and adopting intersectionality as a guiding principle. This approach seems especially relevant in relation to the integration in the labour market of immigrant women. It provides scientific support to the strategic vision of making further progress in building a larger and more inclusive labour market and increasing productivity through skills and education, as outlined in the European Commission *Report on the Impact of Demographic Change* and the Council Conclusions on 'Demographic Challenges – the Way Ahead' (2020/C 205/03).

Closing the gender gap, a slow-paced trend

The overall condition of women moderately improved over the 2005-2018 period, as their likelihood of being active in the labour market has slightly increased for most of the groups. Nevertheless, **the gender gap is still remarkable**.

The report shows that efforts to include women in the labour market should be particularly focused on non-EU born women. On one hand, native and EU born women mainly benefited from the improvements in their likelihood of participating in the labour market; on the other hand, the conditions of non-EU born women, especially married ones, did not change over the years.

Consequently, for non-EU born women the gender gap has remained high while the migration gap has increased.

At the same time, the migration gap has remained larger for non-EU born women, compared to the migration gap of EU mobile women.

Investments in education, a key measure for closing the gender gap

Increased educational attainment among women has been one of the main determinants of reducing the gender gap in the labour market. The analysis confirms that the **gender gap narrows as the educational attainment increases, still remaining however a persistent feature of EU's labour markets.**

In 2018 the gender gap was closed only in two specific cases 1) between tertiary educated women and men who are not married, but have children in the households and 2) between secondary educated women and men who are not married and do not have children. At the same time, the results show that the labour market participation of women with low education remains very low.

Interestingly, the effect of education in reducing the gender gap does not have the same magnitude for all: it is the largest for natives and the smallest for migrants born outside the EU. This is indicating that **the migrant status of women shapes the relationship between gender and education.**

On the other hand, when comparing women of different origin but with the same educational level and family composition, the analysis shows that the migration gap in labour force participation rates is the smallest among those with primary education and the highest among those with tertiary education. This widening of the migration gap as the level of educational attainment increases implies that returns to education (in terms of labour market activity rates) apply differently to native and non-native women.

The analysis confirms that investments are needed to increase labour market participation of all women, native, EU mobile and non-EU born. It is, therefore, paramount that the first and second principles of the European Pillar of Social Rights – the right to inclusive Education, training and lifelong learning and the right to Gender equality – give direction to policies regarding participation in the labour market, terms and conditions of employment and career progression for all women. An approach that has been confirmed through the Updated Skills Agenda and the European Education Area.

In the case of non-EU born migrants, the findings suggest the need for additional efforts to facilitate the transferability of their qualifications. The new Europass platform, launched on July 2020 in the context of the Updated Skills Agenda, and the EU Skills profile tool for Third Country Nationals go in this direction by giving the support to migrants to 'showcase their skills and qualifications and facilitate their recognition through better information.'

Persistence of the traditional "male breadwinner/female care provider" model

Stark gender differences in labour force participation rates (LFPR) **exist across different types of family composition**, defined in terms of marital status and parenthood, and apply to both natives and non-natives (EU mobile and non-EU born).

The gender gap for both natives and non-natives is the highest between married men and women with children and the smallest between men and women who are not married and have no children in the household.

Married men, both native and non-native, are associated with the highest LFPR. As for the women, those who are not married and do not have children living in their household register the highest LFPR among women across all educational levels. On the contrary, women who have children (either married or not) report the lowest predicted LFPR at all educational levels.

Similarly to native married women, also married EU mobile and non-EU born women across all educational levels have higher predicted LFPR in absence of children in comparison to those that have children.

These findings suggest that, to a certain extent, both native and non-native men in the EU assume the traditional role of breadwinner, all else being equal. Similarly, native and non-native women, to a certain extent, embody the role of the family carer, especially in the presence of a child in the household.

Despite great similarity between native and non-native populations, there are some indications that women's carer role – both in relation to marriage and childbearing – changes with the intersection between level of education and the migrant status. As a matter of fact, the migration gap (i.e. difference in labour participation rates between women of different origin but with the same educational level and family composition) widens with the increase in the educational attainment. These findings suggest that further investigation is needed to unveil whether this is mainly due to the *lack of recognition of degrees* acquired outside the EU, due to the *different effect of education on social and cultural norms surrounding family formation*, or due to a combination of both.

Increasing the female labour market participation of women is not only a matter of adopting policy instruments targeting women specifically. Such actions could support the gender equity model, based on the equal participation of both women and men in both paid and unpaid work, if effectively paired with a range of structural measures reforming the tax and welfare systems in a way that would enhance men's participation in household and family care.

Overall, these findings corroborate even further the Commission's call on the MSs to transpose the Work-Life Balance Directive by August 2022 as well its announcement of a proposal for a revision of the Barcelona objectives on the development of childcare facilities for young children with a view to increase female labour participation.

The benefits of adopting the lens of intersectionality

The report confirms that *intersectionality* is a fruitful policy approach for combatting gender stereotypes and for improving the understanding of the different and complex mechanisms that may shape labour market participation of women. Taking stock of the interrelated effects of gender and migrant status is essential to undertake a fully-fledged strategy for the integration of non-native women in the labour market.

The empirical evidence of this report adds to the argument of incentivising the labour market participation of all women, native and non-native. However, it should be noted that increasing women's participation is just a first step towards women's labour market integration. It has been extensively documented that once women enter the labour market they encounter, among others, occupational segregation and lower wages than men. Migrant status further exacerbates these labour market penalties.

In this vein, the intersectionality approach adopted in this study is particularly fit to look at sectoral employment and labour market dynamics across EU MSs, which we leave for future research.

1. Introduction

Gender equality is a core value of the European Union as well as a key provision of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights and the European Pillar of Social Rights (C(2017) 2600 final).

The current European Commission (2019-2024) called for a new European Gender Strategy and for a full implementation of the Work-Life Balance Directive (2019/1158) in order to promote the equal sharing of responsibilities between women and men and, *inter alia*, to promote a greater participation of women in the labour market.

In March 2020, the European Commission adopted the Gender Equality Strategy (COM(2020) 152 final) setting out the policy objectives for the 2020-2025 period and committing to a systematic inclusion of a gender perspective 'in all stages of policy design in all EU policy areas, internal and external'. At the same time, the Gender Equality Strategy recognised the relevance of intersectionality defined as 'the combination of gender with other personal characteristics or identities' and the need to implement it as a cross-cutting principle'.

In this vein, the Commission's <u>Knowledge Centre on Migration and Demography</u> (KCMD) has added the gender perspective in its line of research on integration of migrants in the EU. This KCMD study strives to better understand how multiple and intersecting social statuses shape labour market participation.

Specifically, the **report aims to analyse how gender has intersected with migrant status in shaping the likelihood of non-native women to participate in the EU's labour market since 2005**. Moreover, the report aims to identify how **the gender and migrant status have interacted** with key determinants of labour market participation such as **education, marital status and parenthood**.

The report analyses the 'Gender gap' as the difference in labour market participation between men and women of same origin, with the same education level, marital status and parenthood (captured by the presence of children of any age). Adopting the intersectional approach, the analysis then assesses how the gender gap intersects with the 'Migration gap', the latter measured as the difference between native and non-native population of the same gender, with the same education level, marital status and parenthood. Finally, it makes considerations also on the 'Migration-gender gap', defined as the difference between native men and non-native women with the same education level, marital status and parenthood.

In terms of the individual's origin, the analysis distinguishes between native population and two groups of non-native populations: EU mobile and non-EU born.

The report is organised as follows: Section 2 provides an overview of EU policies addressing gender equality; Section 3 offers a synthesis of the main theoretical and empirical literature on intersectionality and gendered labour market participation; Section 4 describes the methodology applied; Section 5 illustrates the descriptive results from the EU-LFS dataset; Section 6 discusses the regression analyses. The last section presents a few concluding considerations.

2. Overview of relevant policies enhancing gender equality

Among the 17 Global Goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 2015 (A/RES/70/1), Goal 5 strives to achieve gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls in all aspects of society on a global scale. In the EU area, both the EU legislator and the European Court of Justice have contributed to the progress of gender equality law constantly since 1957, including the integration of migrants and their participation in the labour force (Senden et al. 2019; Burri et al. 2008). In the EU's acquis, gender equality is a core value and a fundamental right enshrined in the Treaties, as well as a key provision of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights and the European Pillar of Social Rights (C(2017) 2600 final). In this respect, gender mainstreaming, that is the integration of the gender perspective into all policies, and equal treatment legislation, represent a binding obligation for Member States, which are required to align their national legislation accordingly.

The EU gender equality acquis: A brief overview with special focus on labour participation

The European legislation for gender equality and non-discrimination embraces a wide array of policy domains in the EU, from the promotion of equal economic independence for women and men and the closing of gender pay gap¹, to advancing gender balance in decision making and ending gender-based violence. It also extends to enhancing gender equality beyond the EU by actively supporting women's empowerment across the globe in external actions of international cooperation and development aid.

Already the EU Primary law contains fundamental elements of gender equality. The Consolidated version of the Treaty on European Union (TEU - Art. 2-3 and 6) and the Consolidated version of the Treaty on the functioning of the European Union (TFEU – Art. 8-10, 18-19 and 157 A) set equality between men and women and non-discrimination based on sex as fundamental rights, including with regard to labour market opportunities and treatment at work, as well as the application of equal pay for equal work. The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union (2012/C 326/02) in its Title III (esp. Art. 20-38) further reinforces the framework of general provisions on equality before the law and the prohibition of any form of discrimination.

The body of law that comes from the principles and objectives of the Treaties, known as secondary law, is where the EU legislation promotes gender equality provisions in a specific and targeted fashion. Currently, six Directives primarily address the question of equal treatment between men and women with particular reference to labour market participation and labour-related issues:

- Directive (EU) 2019/1158 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 20 June 2019 on worklife balance for parents and carers and repealing Council Directive 2010/18/EU;
- Directive 2010/41/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 7 July 2010 on the application of the principle of equal treatment between men and women engaged in an activity in a self-employed capacity;
- Directive 2006/54/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 5 July 2006 on the implementation of the principle of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation (recast);
- Council Directive 2004/113/EC of 13 December 2004 implementing the principle of equal treatment between men and women in the access to and supply of goods and services;

¹ See, for example, Commission Staff Working Document, Evaluation of the relevant provisions in the Directive 2006/54/EC implementing the Treaty principle on 'equal pay for equal work or work of equal value SWD(2020) 50 final; Implementation of the measures set out in the EU Action Plan 2017-2019 on tackling the gender pay gap SWD(2020) 101 final; Report from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions on the implementation of the EU Action Plan 2017-2019 on tackling the gender pay gap COM(2020) 101 final; and Council conclusions of June 2019 "Closing the Gender Pay Gap: Key Policies and Measures" (9804/19).

- Council Directive 92/85/EEC of 19 October 1992 on the introduction of measures to encourage improvements in the safety and health at work of pregnant workers and workers who have recently given birth or are breastfeeding;
- Council Directive 79/7/EEC of 19 December 1978 on the progressive implementation of the principle of equal treatment for men and women in matters of social security.

Similarly, the principle of gender equality informs the EU work and actions in the context of the integration of non-EU nationals, such as the European agenda for the integration of non-EU migrants COM(2011) 455 final, the European Agenda on Migration COM(2015) 240 final, the Action Plan on the integration of third country nationals COM(2016) 377 final². By the same token, the importance to use the available labour force in full by integrating women in the labour market, among other underrepresented groups, features prominently in the strategic vision of the EU in light of the undergoing demographic transformation. Both the European Commission *Report on the Impact of Demographic Change* (2020, pp. 15-16) and the Council Conclusions on 'Demographic Challenges – the Way Ahead' (2020/C 205/03) underline the need for Europe and its labour market to draw on all of its strengths, talents and diversity, starting from women, as a crucial measure to address the shrinking working-age population and strengthen the basis for long-term sustainable and inclusive growth³.

This body of law establishes an extensive legal framework that guarantees protection against gendered discrimination in access to work (including selection criteria), self-employment, occupations, vocational training, career advancement, working conditions and insurance contracts, including legally resident non-EU nationals. It prohibits and sanctions less favourable treatment of women, including gender pay inequality and with reference to marital or family status, pregnancy or maternity leave.

It is important to underline that through time the extensive case law of the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) refined the legal definition of direct and indirect discrimination, harassment, victimisation, sharing of the burden of proof, right to complain and sanctions in the area of gender equality. In particular, the CJEU has been instrumental in extending the application of these concepts from the Race Equality Directive (2000/43/EC) to the gender equality acquis⁴.

In the context of equal opportunities and equal treatment of men and women in matters of employment and occupation, therefore, Directive 2006/54 (Art 2.1b) specifies that indirect discrimination occurs 'where an apparently neutral provision, criterion or practice would put persons of one sex at a particular disadvantage compared with persons of the other sex, unless that provision, criterion or practice is objectively justified by a legitimate aim, and the means of achieving that aim are appropriate and necessary'. By the same token, the CJEU has provided for the legitimacy of positive action with a view to ensuring full equality in practice, in that the principle of equal treatment shall not prevent any Member State from maintaining or adopting specific measures to eliminate or counteract the prejudicial effects on women in employment or seeking employment which arise from

² Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, European agenda for the integration of third-country nationals COM(2011) 455 final {SEC(2011) 957 final}; Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, A European Agenda on Migration COM(2015) 240 final; Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions, Action plan on the integration of third country nationals COM(2016) 377 final.

³ European Commission *Report on the Impact of Demographic Change*, 2020 https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/demography_report_2020_n.pdf: Council Conclusions on Demographic Challenges – the Way Ahead (CM 2525/20), 8 June 2020 https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A52020XG0619%2801%29; see also Council Conclusion Reskilling and upskilling as a basis for increasing sustainability and employability, in the context of supporting economic recovery and social cohesion (8323/1/20 REV 1), 8 June 2020 https://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/44351/st08682-en20.pdf.

⁴ For a list of relevant rulings, see the Background Documentation EU Gender Equality Law by the ERA – Academy of Law, http://www.era-comm.eu/oldoku/SNLLaw/kiosk/pdf/Table_of_Content_GENDER_EN.pdf

existing attitudes, behaviour and structures based on the idea of a traditional division of roles in society between men and women.

Beyond this brief overview, the EU gender equality acquis and actions are complemented by a range of regulations, decisions, recommendations, opinions, strategies and agendas, which are mentioned throughout the report when relevant.

European Gender Equality Strategy

The Gender Equality Strategy follows the Commission's 2016-2019 strategic engagement for gender equality, frames the European Commission's work on gender equality and sets out the policy objectives and key actions for the 2020-2025 period. The EU is a global leader in gender equality: 14 of the top 20 countries worldwide on gender equality are EU Member States (as regards the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goal 5 on gender equality, according to the 2019 EM2030 SDG Gender Index). However, no Member State has achieved full gender equality and progress is slow. Member States on average scored 67.4 out of 100 in the EU Gender Equality Index 2019, a score that has improved by just 5.4 points since 2005.

Through the strategy, the Commission aims to promote equality between women and men in all its activities, reaffirming it as an objective for the Union required by the Treaties. The strategy will be implemented using intersectionality – the combination of gender with other personal characteristics or identities, and how these intersections contribute to unique experiences of discrimination – as a cross-cutting principle. The intersectionality of gender with other grounds of discrimination will be addressed across all EU policies.

In particular, the strategy focuses on a series of objectives through, *inter alia*, the following concrete measures and actions:

Ending gender-based violence: ratify the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention on combating violence and harassment in the world of work (No. 190) and Recommendation (No. 206).

Challenging gender stereotypes, the Commission calls on the Council and the Member States to: conclude the EU's accession to the Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence and ensure swift EU ratification; ratify and implement the ILO Convention to combat violence and harassment in the world of work; implement the Victims' Rights Directive, the Child Sexual Abuse Directive and other relevant EU law protecting victims of gender-based violence; systematically collect and report data on gender-based violence; support civil society and public services in preventing and combating gender-based violence and gender stereotyping, including with the help of EU funding available under the "citizens, equality, rights and values" programme (2021-2027).

Closing gender gaps in the labour market: Directive (EU) 2019/1158 on work-life balance for parents and carers to be transposed by Member States by 2 August 2022 (and by 2 August 2024 as regards payment of the last two weeks of the minimum of two months of parental leave); Gender equality challenges in the Member States continue to be monitored through the European Semester; Structural Reform Support Programme (SRSP); Horizon Europe European Innovation Council; InvestEU programme.

Achieving equal participation across different sectors of the economy: Digital Education Action Plan; Ministerial declaration of commitment on 'Women in Digital'⁷; Updated Skills Agenda for Europe; Council recommendation on vocational education and training; reinforced Youth Guarantee; communication on the European Education Area

⁵ https://data.em2030.org/em2030-sdg-gender-index/

⁶ European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE): https://eige.europa.eu/gender-equality-index/2019

⁷ https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/news/eu-countries-commit-boost-participation-women-digital

Addressing the gender pay and pension gap: binding measures on pay transparency by the end of 2020; Pension Adequacy Report.

Closing the gender care gap: Barcelona targets for the provision of early childhood education and care arrangements for children; Child Guarantee; European Social Fund Plus, the European Regional Development Fund, the InvestEU programme and the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development; Green Paper on Ageing; transpose the Work-Life Balance Directive and properly implement EU gender equality and labour law; follow up on the Council conclusions of June 2019 "Closing the Gender Pay Gap: Key Policies and Measures"; ensure adequate investments in early childhood education, care services and long-term care services including from available EU funding; implement the Ministerial declaration of commitment on "Women in Digital".

Achieving gender balance in decision-making and politics: Commission will push for the adoption of the 2012 proposal for a Directive on improving the gender balance on corporate boards (COM(2012)614 final), which sets the target of a minimum of 40% of non-executive members of the under-represented sex on company boards; EU Platform of Diversity Charters⁸; European Gender Diversity Index; Mutual Learning Programme in Gender Equality⁹; reach gender balance of 50% at all levels of Commission's management by the end of 2024 and increase efforts towards reaching a larger share of female managers in EU agencies.

Addressing gender equality and women's empowerment across the world: GAP III will be launched in 2020, following action plan on gender equality and women's empowerment in external relations (2016-2020) (GAPII); EU will adopt the EU Action Plan on Human Rights and Democracy (2020-2024) in 2020 and will continue to implement the EU Strategic Approach and Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2019-2024; EU Strategy with Africa.

3. Literature review on gender gap and intersectionality with migrant status in the labour markets

The EU gender equality acquis (see section 2) resonates with most of the scholarly evidence on the drivers of women's labour market integration. The following section aims at providing an overview of the most relevant empirical evidence on gender gap, migration gap and the intersection of gender with migrant status. Additionally, it highlights the underlying mechanisms behind recent trends.

The "gender equity model" has been defined as the equal participation of both women and men in paid and unpaid work (Hobson 2004). Today, the gender equity model is at the centre of the "dual earner-carer" model of the welfare state approach (Olivetti and Petrongolo 2017; Keisu 2016). The development of the "dual earner-carer" model and the decline of the traditional model "male breadwinner/female care provider" took place in Western countries since the second half of the twentieth century, along with women's growing labour market participation (Keisu 2016). There is a wide consensus in the literature that **the major determinants of the increasing labour market participation of women have been the rise in women's educational attainment and in their real wages** (Blau and Kahn 2017; Olivetti and Petrongolo 2017; Heath and Jayachandran 2016). At the same time, the greater availability of household technology (Algan and Cahuc 2007), the reduction in fertility and the availability of birth control pill (Bailey, Hershbein, and Miller 2012) as well as the demand shifts that have favoured cognitive over physical skills have been all factors that made both market and household productivity more gender equal (Juhn and McCue 2017). Furthermore, the adoption of family friendly policies incentivizing parental leave for men has proved useful in reducing the gaps in labour participation for women, even though findings are more mixed

⁸ <a href="https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/combatting-discrimination/tacklingdiscrimination/diversity-management/eu-platform-diversity-charters_en_discrimination/tacklingdiscrimination/diversity-management/eu-platform-diversity-charters_en_discrimination/tacklingdiscrimination/diversity-management/eu-platform-diversity-charters_en_discrimination/tacklingdiscrimination/diversity-management/eu-platform-diversity-charters_en_discrimination/tacklingdiscrimination/diversity-management/eu-platform-diversity-charters_en_discrimination/tacklingdiscrimination/diversity-management/eu-platform-diversity-charters_en_discrimination/tacklingdiscrimination/diversity-management/eu-platform-diversity-charters_en_discrimination/tacklingdiscrimination/diversity-management/eu-platform-diversity-charters_en_discrimination/tacklingdiscrimination/diversity-management/eu-platform-diversity-charters_en_discrimination/tacklingdiscrimination/diversity-management/eu-platform-diversity-management/eu-p

⁹ https://ec.europa.eu/info/policies/justice-and-fundamental-rights/gender-equality/who-we-work-genderequality/mutual-learning-programme-gender-equality_en

about their effects on contrasting the gendered division of labour and improving full equality in salaries and career opportunities (Andersen 2018; Mandel and Shalev 2009; Mandel and Semyonov 2006; Petersen, Penner, and Høgsnes 2014).

However, despite decades of an increasing participation of women in the labour market, gender gaps continue to exist in most parts of the world, including Europe. Still today, women are less active on the labour market than men, they receive lower wages, face occupational segregation and carry the larger chunk of care burden of dependent household members (Averett, Argys, and Hoffman 2018; Parpart and Stichter 2016; Cabrita et al. 2020; Kleven, Landais, and Søgaard 2019; Klasen 2019; Blau and Kahn 2017; Juhn and McCue 2017). In addition, numerous recent studies have confirmed the persistence of the so called "motherhood penalty" or "child penalty" described as a negative relationship between having children and a range of women's labour market outcomes. Motherhood not only reduces the likelihood of being employed, it also implies a wage penalty for employed mothers in comparison to both men and childless women (Kleven, Landais, and Søgaard 2019; Blau and Kahn 2017; Juhn and McCue 2017; Angelov, Johansson, and Lindahl 2016; Boeckmann, Misra, and Budig 2015). According to Kleven et al. (2019), this motherhood penalty unfolds in two ways: 1) as a 'pre-child effect of anticipated fertility' which is reflected either in lower investment in education and a preference for more family-friendly work arrangements, or in reluctance of employers to hire or invest in training of women employees in anticipation of motherhood; and 2) as a 'post- child effect' which implies opting for working arrangements and occupations that respond to actual motherhood needs. At the same time, the empirical evidence shows that labour markets award a small positive 'fatherhood premium' and a larger 'male marriage premium' (Juhn and McCue 2017). The literature has identified three main mechanisms underlying the 'male marriage premium': the first one is the productivity mechanism as married men work longer hours as breadwinners; the second one is the selection mechanism as men with better labour market prospects have also better marriage prospects; and the third one is the employers' preference to hire married workers (McDonald 2020).

When an individual or family decides to relocate beyond national borders, a standard assumption in the migration literature is that migrants tend to be favourably 'self-selected' for labour-market success (G. Borjas 1988). Empirical evidence challenged the validity of such proposition beyond some selected cases of economic migrants and led to a more nuanced application of the favourable selectivity paradigm, especially when the scrutiny contemplates various categories of migrants (refugees, family members, temporary and circular migrants) (Chiswick 1999). In fact, migrant status by itself implies a series of well-documented disadvantages¹⁰ on the labour market that can largely be attributed to the limited transferability of migrants' human capital.

The human capital theory (Becker 1964; Schultz 1961) and signalling theory (Stiglitz 1975; Spence 1973) are the most commonly used frameworks for interpreting the depreciation of migrants' human capital due to its limited transferability. According to the human capital theory, the depreciation of migrants' human capital occurs when migrants are lacking host country-specific skills, such as the language and other skills related to social customs and business culture of the host country. According to the signalling theory, the depreciation is determined by the asymmetric information on workers' ability between employers and employees. In a context of uncertainty, it is the educational credential that provide a signal on workers ability making, therefore, the signalling effect proportional to the information that the employer has about the specific foreign credential (Wiers-Jenssen 2008). The formal recognition of foreign credentials by the host country can represent thus a mediation to the uncertainty about their value (Grubanov-Boskovic, Mazza, and Belmonte 2020). In the formal recognition of the information that the employer has about the specific foreign credential (Wiers-Jenssen 2008). The formal recognition of foreign credentials by the host country can represent thus a mediation to the uncertainty about their value (Grubanov-Boskovic, Mazza, and Belmonte 2020).

¹⁰ Overall, migrants are more likely to be underemployed, poorly matched when employed, earn lower wages, being affected by unemployment and labour market shocks (OECD and European Union 2018; Ubalde and Alarcón 2020; Kogan 2007; G. J. Borjas et al. 1997).

¹¹ In the EU specifically, the recognition of qualifications obtained in Third countries is competence of MS and their regulatory frameworks vary to a great extent (OECD, 2019).

Since the 1990s, scholars, as well as policy-makers, have been paying particular attention to what has been defined as the 'gendered dynamics of mobility'. From a purely statistical point of view, the world, Europe included, has registered a steady increase in the share of female migrants. This 'feminisation of migration' has triggered much consideration concerning the specific pathways and challenges of migrant women in regard to their settling into the new society, including their labour market opportunities and participation (Oso and Ribas-Mateo 2013; Piper 2008; Docquier, Lowell, and Marfouk 2009; Chant 1992). By the same token, social science expanded the dissection of 'the multi-layered meanings of "gender" and their intersectional expression in all stages of migration' (Truong et al. 2014, 374), drawing scholars' attention to the many factors that may reiterate or assign novel forms to the hierarchical and asymmetrical power relations between men and women. States (of origin, transit and destination), migrant recruiting agencies, families, migration chains and networks do act in gendered ways, thus impacting on the gender composition of flows and chances of integration in the labour market (Antman 2018; Boyd and Grieco 2003; Parpart and Stichter 2016; Pedraza 1991; Pessar and Mahler 2003; Fleury 2016; Mahler and Pessar 2006; Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993). Thanks to a wealth of theoretical and empirical studies disentangling the gendered structures of international migration, there is an articulated set of tools and lenses through which migration research tries to assess and understand the cumulative effects of intersectionality.

Ester Boserup's classic work on the role of women in economic development brought to the fore how deeply intertwined is the structuring of the economy and labour-market with social norms and cultural values that rely on the notion of an asymmetrical gender order as 'natural' (Boserup 1970). Boserup's theory is still largely influential in inspiring work that strive to explain lower female participation in the labour force and entrepreneurial activities (Alesina, Giuliano, and Nunn 2011). In her seminal work on immigrant women in Canada, Boyd (1984) first defined the concept of **double disadvantage** as a "combined negative impact of sex and birthplace" - what in this report has been labelled "gender gap" and "migration gap". The double disadvantage hypothesis has ever since been widely adopted in migration studies highlighting the complexity of intersection mechanisms (Biletta et al. 2019; Ballarino and Panichella 2018; Donato, Piya, and Jacobs 2014).

Another factor relevant for explaining the migrants' gender gap on the labour markets is the **"family location effect"**. When determining where to migrate, families may often decide to prioritise the location that maximises husband's career prospects over the wife's one (Blau and Kahn 2017; Cooke et al. 2009; Adsera and Chiswick 2007; Mincer 1978). This decision can be based on traditional gender role beliefs, but it can also be based on an economic rational of prioritizing the career of the larger earner who, traditionally, is male (Blau and Kahn 2017). In this decision process, the wife becomes the so-called 'tied spouse' who can either migrate together with the husband – becoming a 'tied mover'– or not migrate – becoming a 'tied stayer' (Mincer 1978). The relocation from a place where the tied mover has accumulated firm–specific training to a location that does not necessary offer the same or better career opportunities puts the tied mover in a less favourable economic position. As a result, the tied mover status – often held by women – leads to a higher likelihood of being unemployed or being out of the labour force (Lersch 2016; Adsera and Chiswick 2007).

Systematic observations of how gender inequalities translate into occupational segregation and the feminisation of specific labour sectors within a competitive context encouraged scholars to explore the theories of segmented assimilation and split labour market. The former provides a theoretical framework for comparing the assimilative dynamics of single groups of migrants, by assessing outcomes in host societies where mechanisms of structural exclusions are in place (Portes and Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997; 2014). The resulting stratification in the degrees and different domains of integration is thus explained by considering in what ways combined individual, group, and contextual factors determine employment trajectories, labour market advancement and rewards. The latter posits that intergroup antagonism occurs in a labour market where there are at least two groups of workers whose price of labour for the same work differs (Bonacich 1972). Especially when the two – or more – groups overlaps with ethnic or other societal categories, including gender, the labour market splits, showing measurable hierarchical constraints in employment opportunities and trajectories. Intersectional approaches to segmented assimilation and split labour market proved

particularly useful to unveil gendered patterns in immigrants' participation in the labour market and to explain the underlying mechanisms that enhance occupational segregation along gender lines (Nawyn and Park 2019; 2019; Restifo, Roscigno, and Qian 2013; Valdez 2012; 2015; Vermeulen 2010)

Finally, any understanding of labour market integration of migrant women cannot disregard the role played by migration policies of both the host and origin countries (Boyd and Grieco 2003). In particular, in the case of receiving States, albeit immigration policies are often presented as gender-neutral, in reality they may influence or reinforce 'gendered dynamics of mobility'. For example, the adoption of immigration quotas or regularisations selectively applied to feminised labour sectors may contribute to reproduce traditional prejudices concerning immigrant women and work, segregating them into occupations such as domestic service, caregiving and nursing (Marchetti and Salih 2015; Debusscher 2012). Similarly, privileging the administrative categorisation of migrant women's entry status as family reunification may reinforce gender biases in the migrant family and the society at large that women are 'dependent' from men, and confined to a 'family role'. Studies on labour market integration of migrant women have put a special focus on the implications of family reunification for the integration of migrant women joining their husbands (Vickstrom 2019; Vickstrom and Gonzitatioerrer 2016; Lesselier 2008).

In the EU, the conditions for reunification of legally staying Third Country Nationals (TCNs) with family members who are also TCNs, as well as the rights of the latter, are predominantly regulated by the Family Reunification Directive (2003/86/EC).¹² Although the Directive provides for favourable conditions to exercise the right of reunification by family members, it also leaves to Member States' discretion critical aspects that can affect their chances to participate in the labour market. For example, Member States may limit access to employment for a period up to 12 months, as well as to an autonomous residence permit independent of that of the sponsor for a period up to five years. In 2014, the European Commission recommended "keeping restrictions on labour market access for family members, in particular migrant women, to a minimum". ¹³

In the light of the above-summarised state of the art in gender and migration studies, we formulate a series of hypothesis for the purpose of this study (see Box 1).

Box 1 - Main hypothesis

First, we expect that the educational attainment is positively correlated with the likelihood of being active in the labour market in a scenario of full transferability of migrants' human capital. On the other hand, in the absence of full transferability, the relationship between educational attainment and labour market participation would be stronger for natives.

Second, under the traditional "male breadwinner/female care provider" model married men are expected to participate prominently in the labour market while women would more likely take the role of the care provider within the family. According to such model, we should observe both a "motherhood penalty" for women and a "marriage premium" for men. Vice versa, if the "dual earner-carer" model were to be the prevalent one, we would expect to find relatively similar participation of men and women in the labour market.

Finally, under the double disadvantage hypothesis we expect that gender, education and family composition affect differently the labour market participation of migrants in comparison to natives.

¹³ Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on guidance for application of Directive 2003/86/EC on the right to family reunification (COM/2014/0210 final). See also (EMN 2016).

 $^{^{12}}$ Family Reunification Directive applies to all EU MSs except Denmark and Ireland.

4. Trends in gender gap and intersectionality with migrant status in the EU labour market

The report aims to analyse how gender has intersected with migrant status in shaping the likelihood of non-native women to participate in the EU's labour market since 2005. Moreover, the report aims to identify how the intersectionality gender-migrant status has been influenced by key determinants of labour market participation such as education, marital status and parenthood. In terms of the individual's origin, the analysis distinguishes between native population and two groups of non-native populations: EU mobile citizens and non-EU born migrants.

The proposed methodology (see Box 2-3) allows analysing different types of differences/gaps in terms of labour market participation, specifically:

Gender gap¹⁴: defined as the difference between men and women of same origin, with the same education level, marital status and parenthood (captured by the presence of children of any age).

Migration gap: defined as the difference between native and non-native population (EU-mobile and non-EU born) of the same gender, with the same education level, marital status and parenthood.

Overall migration-gender gap: defined as the difference between native men and non-native women (EU-mobile and non-EU born) with the same education level, marital status and parenthood.

Box 2 - Data sources and definitions

The analysis is based on cross-sectional EU Labour Force Survey (EU-LFS) data covering the period 2005-2018.

The **migration status** of an individual is defined on the basis of the country of birth criterion. Therefore, the report distinguishes between 1) non-EU born individuals, i.e. those born outside the EU; 2) EU mobile citizens, that is those born in an EU country different from the country of residence; and 3) natives – that is those born in the country of residence. The analysis offers a consistent comparison of the condition of women by migrant status to corresponding men. It should be noted that non-EU born migrants are a highly heterogeneous group whose region of origin can be further disaggregated into 6 categories: 1) non-EU Europe; 2) North Africa & Middle East; 3) Sub-Saharan Africa; 4) East & Southeast Asia; 5) North America & Oceania; and 6) Latin America.

Labour market participation is defined following the ILO classification according to which an individual is considered to be active on the labour market if s/he is either employed or actively seeking work (i.e. unemployed), and inactive otherwise. Consequently, the labour market participation rate (LFPR) is defined as the ratio between active population and the overall population of reference.

Considering different retirement age patterns between women and men, the analysis focuses on the population aged 20-59 to account for lower retirement age from paid work of women (OECD, 2018).

The **geographical coverage** comprises 23 EU Member States: Austria, Belgium, Croatia, Cyprus, Czechia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain and Sweden. Bulgaria, Germany, Malta and Romania as destination countries are excluded from the sample, given that the coding of their respective samples does not allow distinguishing between natives, EU mobile citizens and non-EU born throughout the entire period considered.

¹⁴ Although it is more correct to use the plural term "*gaps*" as we compute the gap for different subgroups, for the purpose of simplicity we use in the remaining text the singular term "*gap*".

4.1. A descriptive analysis of labour market participation by gender and migrant status: a slow-paced converging trend

This section adopts a gendered approach to offer a first account of what the EU-LFS data can unveil in terms of developments of labour market participation in the period 2005-2018 for the population described in the previous section. It breaks down the trends of labour participation rates by migrant status and according to some of the factors highlighted in the literature review (see Section 3) that have an influence on occupational outcomes, such as education, place of origin, marital status and presence of children in the household.

Labour market participation by gender and migrant status

Figure 1 shows how the labour market participation rates evolved for men (native, EU mobile and non-EU born) and women (native, EU-mobile and non-EU born) in the considered period. It is possible to observe that, overall, a converging trend between the two sexes is visible, albeit at a slow pace and with some distinctions among the various sub-groups.

Irrespective of the migrant status, men show higher rates of participation than women (Figure 1). However, while native men's and EU mobile rates remain substantially stable around 80% and 85%, respectively, the one for non-EU born men show a declining trend.

Women record growing rates of participation between 2005 and 2018, even though this is particularly true in the case of native and EU mobile women, for which the increase is relatively steep and consistent throughout the whole period. On the other hand, the participation rate of non-EU born women is more prone to fluctuations and mostly ranging between 61% and 65%. A closer look at within-group dynamics shows that native and EU mobile women have been closing the gap relative to men more evidently, thanks to their higher participation in the labour market vis-à-vis stable or growing rates of their male counterparts. Whereas the realignment between non-EU born women and men is sluggish and negligible in the context of a stagnant or declining participation in the labour market.

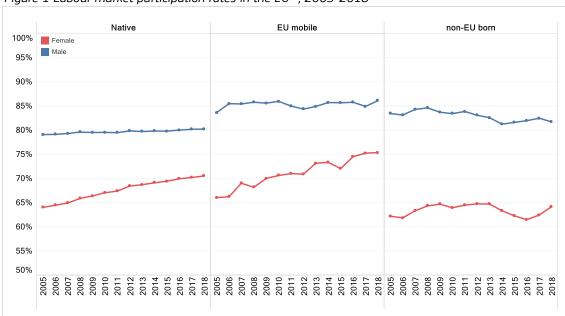


Figure 1 Labour market participation rates in the EU¹⁵, 2005-2018

Source: KCMD elaborations of EU-LFS data.

 $^{^{\}rm 15}$ Data on gender and migration gap for each EU Member States reported in the Appendix 1.

In this vein, when it comes to non-EU born women and men, a further disaggregation of the data by region of origin could provide additional insight and reveal underlying dynamics that are otherwise lost at the aggregated level. Figure 2 shows how in the case of men, despite some fluctuations, the rates by region of origin are substantially bundled between 80-86%. When it comes to women, the variation is much more accentuated, ranging from 48% to 78%. In addition, women from all regions record an increase in their participation rate trend between 2005 and 2018, though with several fluctuations in the intermediate years. The trend is particularly notable in the cases of women from the East and Southeast Asia and non-EU Europe. Women from North Africa and Middle East are an exception, since their rate declines, if only slightly.

Figure 2 also shows the extent to which the gender gap in the participation rate has been closing for each region of origin. It is possible to observe evident signs of convergence between the sexes in the cases of non-EU Europe, Latin America, North America and Oceania. In the case of East and Southeast Asia, the concurrent particularly positive trend of men slightly lessens the catching up of women, while the gaps remain substantially unvaried in the cases of Sub Saharan Africa and North Africa and Middle East.



Figure 2 Labour market participation rates of non-EU born migrants by region of origin, 2005-2018

Source: KCMD elaborations of EU-LFS data.

In this respect, it is worth reminding that each region of origin within the non-EU born sub-group holds a different relative weight, mirroring the composition of the immigrant population in the EU area. Figure 3 provides the relative size of the migrant population originating from each one of the six non-EU regions of birth within the overall population of non-EU migrants. The share is computed for males and females separately. Interestingly, women from North Africa and Middle East count for about one fourth of non-EU born women and show a consistently significant gap in their labour market participation rate in comparison to women originating from other non-EU regions of origin (see Figure 2-3).

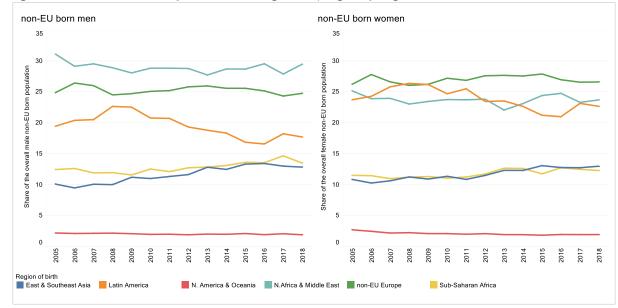


Figure 3 Relative distribution of non-EU born migrants by region of origin, 2005-2018

N.B. The sum of all regions of birth for a specific gender in a given year is equal to 100%. Source: KCMD elaborations of EU-LFS data.

The role of human capital, marital status and parenthood

The EU-LFS data allows describing the sampled population through the lenses of their educational attainment level, marital status and whether there are children in the household. The descriptive review of the data is not enough to infer causal associations between these factors and the labour market participation rate, but it outlines a useful snapshot of the data landscape and lays the groundwork for the more refined empirical exercise of the next section.

Figure 4 breaks down the labour market participation rates disaggregated by migrant status, sex and educational attainment for the years 2005 and 2018, thus providing a descriptive snapshot of the data that are going to feed into our regression model. Three levels of educational attainment are considered, according to the ISCED 2011 classification: primary, secondary and tertiary education. As expected, **labour market participation rises with the level of educational attainment**. For both 2005 and 2018, men and women with tertiary degrees participate more in the labour market than men and women with secondary degrees who, in turn, participate more than men and women with primary education, across all groups as defined by migrant status. Native women with primary education record the lowest participation rates among all groups.

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¹⁶ Primary education comprises ISCED 1 and ISCED 2 (incl. ISCED 3 programmes of duration less than 2 years); Secondary education comprises ISCED 3 programme of duration of 2 years and more and ISCED 4; and Tertiary education includes ISCED 5, ISCED 6, ISCED 7 and ISCED 8.

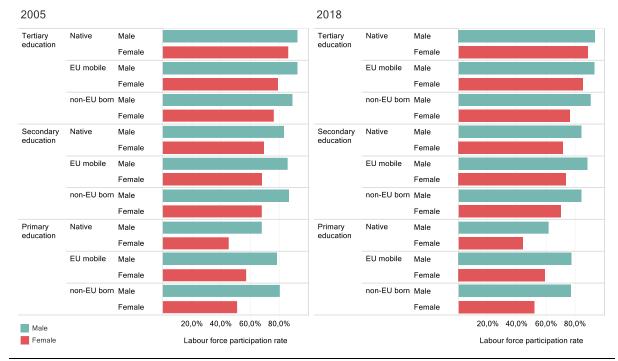


Figure 4 Labour market participation by education level, migrant status and sex, 2005 and 2018

Source: KCMD elaborations of EU-LFS data.

However, it should be noted that the human capital reward does not apply as consistently when the attention shifts to the comparison between sexes. For example, non-EU born men with primary education register higher participation rates than all categories of non-EU born women, including the ones with tertiary education.

In 2018, at all educational attainment levels, men show higher participation rates, across all subgroups defined by migrant status. Interestingly, when comparing participation rates across migrant background sub-groups in 2018 a clear pattern emerges. For those who have at most primary education, participation rates are higher among EU mobile citizens and non-EU born migrants, relative to natives (both for men and women). As we move to secondary education, natives (both males and females) tend to have lower values than EU mobile. When we look at tertiary education, the evidence points to higher participation rates for natives, especially when compared to non-EU born.

Through Figure 5, it is possible to appreciate further the interactions between education, gender and marital status in shaping labour participation rates of both men and women across all groups. Married men tend to have higher participation rates than the unmarried across all education groups and origins; the trend is especially clear for the two groups with lower and middle educational achievement. In the case of women the evidence is mixed. For native women, the participation rates are higher among married women across all education groups, however the opposite happens for non-EU born women. As for EU mobile women, participation rates are higher among married women only for the groups with lower educational attainment.

Finally, Figure 6 showcases a similar disaggregation considering the presence/absence of children in the household. In the case of women, the "motherhood penalty" appears to be in place across all the categories, irrespective of educational level and/or migrant status. Conversely, men's participation rates show a "fatherhood premium" only for those with tertiary educational attainment, irrespective of their origin.

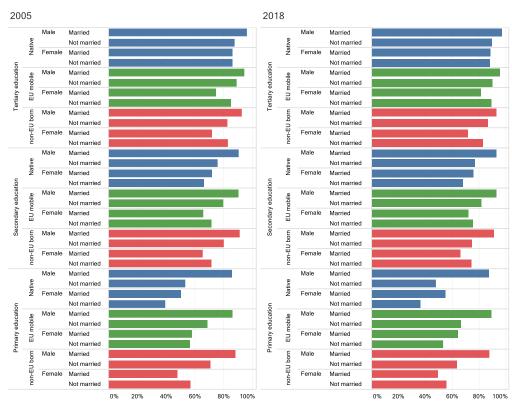
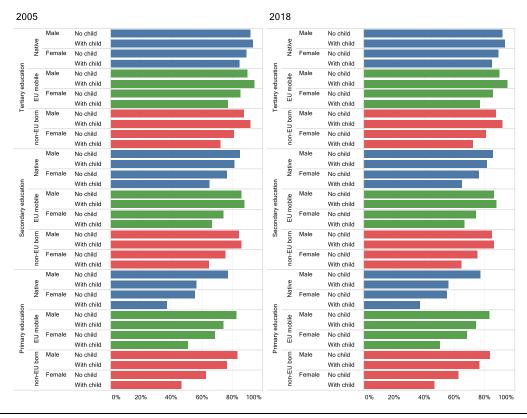


Figure 5 Labour market participation by education level and marital status, 2005 and 2018

Source: KCMD elaborations of EU-LFS data.

Figure 6 Labour market participation by education level and presence of children in the household, 2005 and 2018



Source: KCMD elaborations of EU-LFS data.

4.2 Regression analyses: the probabilities of being active in the labour market

The summary statistics presented in Section 4 provide interesting insights, but they cannot satisfy the *ceteris paribus* property. By that we mean the possibility of estimating the marginal effect of each individual factor (e.g. gender, education, migrant status etc.) while keeping all the other factors fixed. For instance, we would like to know whether the participation rates of females of a given age who have higher education, are married and have children, change across individuals who have different migrant status. For this, it is necessary to estimate the effect of "migrant status", while keeping all the other factors fixed. The model proposed in this study and described in Box 3 allows for such possibility.

Figures 7 and 8 offer a complete overview of the probability of labour market participation of native and non-native women and men as well as the variation of such probability according to the education level, marital status and parenthood (measured in terms of presence of children in the household) for the years 2005 and 2018. These results represent the basis of the following, more targeted empirical assessment. The rest of this section delves into the specific results of our analysis, providing a more detailed description of the most relevant findings based on the Figures 7-8.

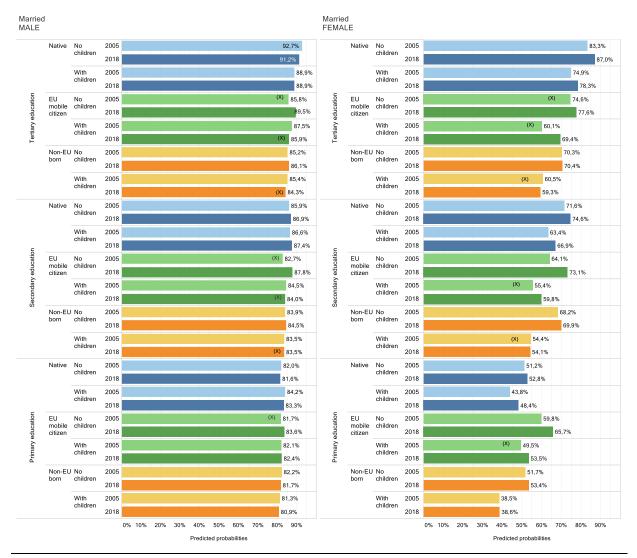
Nevertheless, the synopsis of Figures 7 and 8 allow advancing a few introductory considerations.

First, the likelihood of being active on the labour market increases with the level of educational attainment. Secondly, there is a clear effect of the "motherhood penalty" with women having a lower probability of participating in the labour market when they have (at least) a child. Finally, there is a clear men's "marriage premium" as married men have higher likelihood of being active on the labour market.

Although the sign of the relationship between labour market participation and education, marital status and parenthood respectively is the same for all three sub-groups (natives, EU mobile citizens and non-EU born), the magnitude of its effect varies across the three sub-groups.

Interestingly, a large part of the 72 levels predicted probabilities are statistically significant, confirming thus our initial hypothesis that **gender**, **education** and **family composition** affect to a different extent the labour market participation of non-natives (EU mobile citizens and non-EU born) in comparison to natives.

Figure 7 Predicted probability of being active on the labour market, category of married individuals



N.B. values with (X) are not statistically significant.

Full model in Annex 2.

Source: KCMD elaborations of EU-LFS data.

Not married (single, separated, divorced or widow) Not married (single, separated, divorced or widow) MALE **FEMALE** Native 2005 86,0% Native 2005 86,7% children children 2018 2018 73.0% With 2005 73.6% With 2005 children children 2018 2018 ΕU 2005 (X) 82,3% ΕU 2005 (X) 82.7% mobile children mobile children 2018 2018 citize With 2005 80.2% With 2005 68.4% Tertiary Fertiary children children 2018 (X) 81,4% 2018 (X) 77.2% 79,9% Non-EU No 2005 77.7% Non-EU No 2005 (X) children children (X) 84.1% 72.6% With 2005 77.4% With 2005 children children 2018 76,3% 2018 70,2% Native 2005 85.7% Native 2005 83.0% children children 2018 2018 With 2005 65.1% With 2005 57.8% children children 2018 2018 62,2% education ΕU 2005 80.2% ΕU 2005 (X) 75,4% mobile children mobile children 2018 80.2% citizer Secondary With 2005 (X) 72 8% With 2005 64 2% children children 2018 75.8% 2018 68.8% Non-EU No 2005 81,3% Non-EU No 2005 75,4% children children 2018 80,5% 2018 With 2005 75,9% With 2005 66,0% children children 2018 71,9% 2018 (X) 69,8% Native 2005 Native 2005 79,9% 68.6% children children 71,3% 2018 2018 62,9% With 2005 57 4% With 2005 48.6% children children 2018 2018 48.7% 54.6% 2005 ΕU 2005 82 2% ΕU (X) 76,2% mobile children mobile children (X) 76,4% 2018 2018 81,2% With 2005 66,6% With 2005 (X) 54,1% Primary children 2018 2018 (X) 66,4% 49,7% 2005 Non-EU No 2005 84.8% Non-EU No (X) 74.6% children 2018 77,0% 2018 67,3% With 2005 70.8% With 2005 57.8% 2018 2018 66,5% 56,9% 20% 30% 40% 70% 80% 20% 30%

Figure 8 Predicted probability of being active on the labour market, category of not married individuals

N.B. values with (X) are not statistically significant.

Full model in Annex 2.

Source: KCMD elaborations of EU-LFS data.

The role of education

Increased educational attainment among women is considered one of the main determinants of the reduction in the gender gap on the labour market (see Section 3). This would suggest a positive relationship between educational attainment and the likelihood of being active on the labour market, all else being equal. Indeed, this hypothesis is confirmed for both native and non-native, women and men across all family types and years.

Considering the predicted LFPR of married individuals in 2018 (see Figure 9) – given that the statistical significance for this category permits to grasp differences across all educational levels – it can be observed that **educational attainment plays a fundamental role in shaping the gender gap**. The labour force participation rate is lower – and the gender gap is higher- among individuals with primary education; as educational attainment increases, the differences in participation rates between men and women decrease by a large extent, and more so for natives.

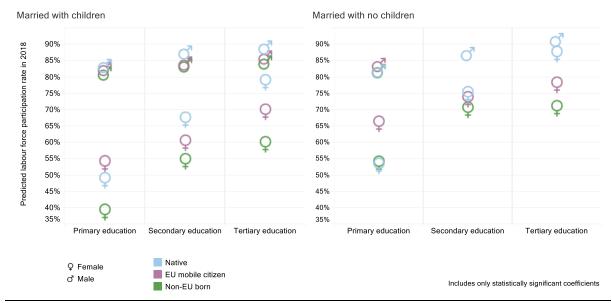


Figure 9 Predicted labour force participation rate, married individuals, year 2018

 $\label{eq:N.B.For comparison} \text{N.B. For comparison across all groups, see Figures 8-9.}$

Source: KCMD elaborations of EU-LFS data.

In spite of the fact that the **gender gap narrows as the educational attainment increases, it remains a persistent feature of EU's labour markets.** As a matter of fact, in 2018 among tertiary educated married without children, the gender gap was 4.2 p.p. for natives, 12.1 p.p. for EU mobiles and 15.7 p.p. for non-EU born. This pattern is confirmed also for other types of family composition (Fig. 8-9).

Moreover, the relationship between the gender gap and education is shaped by the migrant status of women. Taking as an example married women without children in 2018, EU mobile women with primary education have a predicted LFPR higher than native women by 11 p.p., however the pattern reverses for secondary educated among which native women register predicted LFPR higher by 2 p.p. than EU mobile women and this gap increases further to 12 p.p. in case of tertiary educated women. Likewise, non-EU born with primary education have a predicted LFPR that is 1 p.p. lower than native women with the same level of education but this migration gap widens to 5p.p. among secondary educated and reaches 17 p.p. in case of tertiary educated. This pattern can be observed also for all other types of family composition.

In other terms, higher levels of educational attainment are accompanied by higher values of the migration gap. This finding points to a **different incremental gains in terms of predicted LFPR for each sub-group by migrant status, in association with higher educational level**.

Native women register the highest increase in predicted LFPR as the education level increases from primary to secondary and from secondary to tertiary education (around 20p.p.). The corresponding increases for EU mobile women are much more contained (below 10p.p.). At the same time, non-EU born women exhibit a significant increase in predicted LFPR when comparing primary to secondary education attainment levels (increase of around 16 p.p. for both married with and without children), while the additional gains in terms of predicted LFPR are smaller for tertiary educated in comparison to secondary educated (5 p.p. in case of married with children and 0.5 p.p in case of married without children).

One of the possible explanations of a small difference in the likelihood of being active on the labour market between secondary and tertiary educated non-EU born women might be linked to the barriers in terms of recognition of degrees acquired outside the EU that apply to non-EU migrants.

The role of marital status and parenthood

Interpreting the results in relation to family composition is a challenging exercise given the complexity of social and cultural norms that underline the gender and family roles.

Specifically, our analysis allows distinguishing between 4 types of family compositions:

- 1. Married individuals without children;
- 2. Married individuals with children;
- 3. Not married individuals without children;
- 4. Not married individuals with children.

The category "not married" comprises all marital statuses different from the "married status", that is single, widow, divorced and cohabitating.

In light of the empirical evidence summarised in the literature review, we could expect that under the traditional "male breadwinner/female care provider" model, married men would be more incentivised to participate to the labour market as family breadwinner, contrary to women who would more likely take the role of the care provider within the family. If the "dual earner-carer" model were the prevalent one, we would expect to find relatively similar participation of men and women on the labour market. Moreover, in a presence of the so called "motherhood penalty" we would expect that those women who live with children in their household are less likely to be active on the labour market compared to men in general and to women without children. Finally, we would expect that the gender gap for non-natives (EU mobile citizens and non-EU born) is exacerbated to the extent that women migrate together or following the husbands as "tied spouses", that is by prioritising husbands' employment prospects over their own.

As a starting point of our analysis, we observe how the probability of being active on the labour market varies across native men and native women with different family compositions (see Figure 11), for which we have a full statistically significant overview. Given that we do not find statistically significant probabilities for all categories of non-native individuals, in the second step we study the pattern for non-natives on the basis of the significant values only and relate it to the general context.

Figure 11 shows stark gender differences in predicted LFPR across different types of family composition for native populations.

Among men, those who are not married and have children register the lowest predicted LFPR at all educational levels in comparison to the remaining three family types that tend to have similar predicted LFPR. Among men with primary and secondary education, those married with children register the highest predicted LFPR, whereas in case of men with tertiary education the highest predicted LFPR is registered for married men without children. For native men thus being married is associated with higher labour market participation rates suggesting that, to a certain extent, EU native men tend to take the traditional role of a breadwinner, all else being equal.

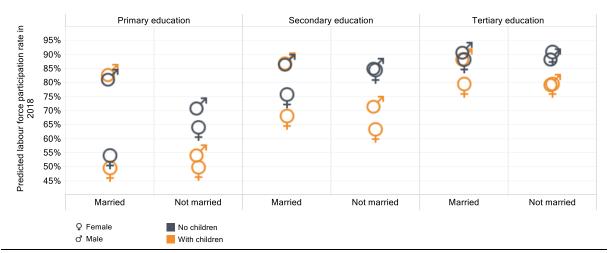


Figure 10 Predicted probabilities according to family composition and education, native population, year 2018

N.B. The predicted LFPR for secondary educated native women who are not married, but have children in their households is not statistically significant.

For comparison across all groups see Figures 8-9.

Source: KCMD elaborations of EU-LFS data.

On the contrary, native women who are not married and do not have children living in their household register the highest predicted LFPR across all educational levels. At the same time, women who have children (either married or not) report the lowest predicted LFPR at all educational levels.

The relative importance of the "marriage" vs "child" penalty seems to depend upon educational attainment. For native women with primary education, the highest drop in their labour market participation rate is related to marriage (which, in most cases, happens before children are born). On the other hand, the presence of children at home seems to play the biggest role among native women with tertiary education, with marriage playing only a minor role (i.e. in this case women remain active on the labour market after marriage but they are more likely to exit after the birth of a child). Complementary to the interpretation offered for native men, the findings suggest that native women, to a certain extent, tend to take the role of the carer in the presence of a child in the household.

Consequently, among natives, the **gender gap is the highest between married men and women with children.** On the other hand, among those with primary and tertiary education the smallest gender gap is registered between men and women who are not married and have children in the household; while for those with secondary education the gap is the smallest among those who are not married and have no children.

As a matter of fact, for natives, in 2018 the gender gap appears to be closed among 1) tertiary educated men and women that are not married, but have children in the households and 2) among secondary educated who are not married and do not have children. The evidence also shows that the gender gap is almost closed for tertiary graduates who have children, irrespective of whether they are married or not.

Although, the findings suggest the **prevalence of a "dual earner–carer" model among native populations**, the atypical case of the category "married without children" points to an existence of somewhat nuanced gender roles in the family context, very much affected by education.

This pattern emerges clearly for native women. Looking at the group of primary educated women, the likelihood of participating on the labour market for a married woman without a child is similar to that of married and not married women with children. On the contrary, within the group of tertiary educated, those women that are married and without a child have a likelihood of being active on the labour market similar to that of women that are not married and do not have children in their

household. Overall, this atypical pattern suggests that **women's carer role - both in relation to marriage and childbearing - changes with the level of education**.

Before delving into analyses on gender gaps among non-natives (EU mobile citizens and non-EU born migrants), it should be pointed out that there are several important caveats to take into consideration. First, as shown in the Figure 3, the non-EU born population is highly heterogeneous which implies that patterns that emerge are reflecting only the average of highly differentiated social and cultural beliefs that migrants bring. Secondly, there are several non-statistically significant values for non-natives, especially for those that are not married, which prevents us from making comparisons across all four types of family compositions.

Nevertheless, the statistically significant values for non-natives (EU mobile citizens and non-EU born migrants) who are married still provide us with some relevant insights.

Similarly to native married women, also married EU mobile and non-EU born childless women across all educational levels have higher predicted LFPR in comparison to those who have children. There are thus indications that **also for non-natives the gender gap in terms of labour market participation is, among others, correlated to the woman's role of the carer**. At the same time, married non-native men have similar predicted LFPR regardless of the presence of children in the household similarly to the native married men.

Moreover, as previously pointed out, in the presence of a "male breadwinner/female care provider" model, the largest gender gap is expected to be seen within the category of married with children while the smallest gender gap within the category of not married and without children. In order to test this hypothesis for non-natives, we look at the gender gap on subsamples for which we have statistically significant values for both genders (see Figures 7-8).

Predicted LFPRs for secondary educated EU mobile citizens in 2018 confirm that the gender gap is much larger within the category of married individuals with children (with men having a predicted LFPR higher by 24 p.p.) and relatively smaller gender gap within the category of not married individuals without children (for which male predicted LFPR is 6 p.p. higher). The gender gap among secondary educated EU mobile citizens is largely in line with the native gender gap for the same education level.

For non-EU born citizens, we look at the data for tertiary educated individuals in 2005, for which we observe statistically significant probabilities for both categories and both genders. The data show a large gender gap within the category of married with children (with non-EU born men having LFPR higher by 25p.p.) and no gender gap between non-EU born men and women that are not married and are without children. This gender gap among non-natives that are married and have children appears to be larger than the respective gender gap for natives in 2005 (equal to 14 p.p. in the same year), while being in line with the gender balance achieved by natives that are not married and have no children.

As already pointed out in the section examining the educational dimension, the gender gap is accompanied by a migration gap, particularly relevant when comparing native and non-EU born women and less so when comparing native and EU mobile women.

The migration gap widens with the increase in the educational attainment and is thus the highest among tertiary educated individuals. One of the plausible explanations of this trend could be linked to the limited transferability of human capital, which affects mostly those holding a tertiary degree. Another hypothesis that could be advanced in this regard is that the difference in gender roles among women with different migrant status are also shaped by the agency of social and cultural norms within families. However, the current methodology does not allow testing these hypotheses, which we reserve to address in future analyses.

Finally, it is interesting to present the changes in LFPR that would be needed –on average and for each sub-group of EU-mobile and non-EU born women- to close the gap with the LFPR of men with the same characteristics. The results from the analysis of 2018 suggest a need to substantially

improve (and incentivise) the participation to the labour market of non-native women, especially among those with low education. In particular, for EU mobile women who are married, have children and hold primary education, the predicted LFPR would have to increase by 30 p.p. to reach that of native men with analogous characteristics (for non-EU born women with the same characteristics, the predicted LFPR would have to increase by 45 p.p.). On the other hand, among married women with children who have tertiary education, the predicted LFPR would have to increase by 19p.p. for EU mobile women and by 25p.p among non-EU born women to reach the condition of native men with analogous characteristics.

Changes over time

The analysis was run separately for years 2005 and 2018, which allows studying how the relationship between labour market participation, and gender, migrant status, educational level, and family composition evolved over this period (see Figures 7-8).

Among **tertiary educated** men, the probability of participating to the labour market has largely stayed stable, with the exception of those who are not married and have children, which registered an improvement (equal to +6p.p.). On the other hand, tertiary educated women registered a relatively higher increase in their probability of being active. The only exception is the group of married non-EU born women who did not experience an increased likelihood of being active in the labour market.

A similar picture is registered also for individuals with **secondary education**. For men the predicted probabilities of being active remained constant over time, with the exception of native men that are not married and have children (+7p.p.). At the same time, for secondary educated women the probability of being active generally increased over time, with the exception of married non-EU born women who did not register any improvement.

In conclusion, the condition of women relatively improved over the 14 years span, as their likelihood of being active in the labour market has increased for most of the groups, although the gender gap remains present. Additional efforts to bring women to the labour market should be focused to those non-EU born women that are married and have children.

A different trend is observed for individuals having **primary education**. Men with primary education who are not married have mainly seen a reduction in their probability of participating in the labour market, whereas the trend has remained largely unchanged for married man. On the contrary, married women reported an increase in their likelihood of being active, while those not married did not register any relevant improvement.

Overall, considering women by their migrant status, two different trends can be noted: on one hand, native and EU born women mainly benefited from the improvements in their likelihood of participating in the labour market, reducing thus the combined gender and migration gap; on the other hand, the conditions of non-EU born women, especially married ones, did not change over the years and both the gender and migration gaps remain high.

The dependent variable is a dummy equal to 1 if the individual i is active on the labour market in country c in a year t. The main explanatory variables – selected on the basis of the relevant literature– are: sex, edu (three levels of completed education according to the ISCED 2011 classification: primary, secondary and tertiary education), $migrant\ status$ (native, EU mobile citizen, non-EU born), married (married versus not married) and child (the presence of children of any age in the household). The model also includes controls \textbf{X}_{ict} for age, age squared and the urbanization level of the place of residence with separate dummies for living in the city and for living in towns and suburbs.

In the empirical analysis the variables *edu* and *migrant* have been transformed into categorical variables, with *edu1* (*edu2*) having a value of one for those individuals with at most secondary (tertiary) education, and *migrant1* (*migrant2*) having a value of EU migrants (non-EU born).

We run an OLS regression according to the following specification:

```
y_{ict} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 sex + \beta_{21} edu1 + \beta_{22} edu2 + + \beta_{31} migrant1 + \beta_{32} migrant2 + \beta_4 married + \beta_5 child + \beta_6 [Full interactions between sex * edu1 * edu2 * migrant1 * migrant2 * married * child] + \beta_7 X_{ict} + \varepsilon_{ict}
[1]
```

We introduce full interactions among the five main variables (gender, education level, migrant status, marital status and presence of children in the household) because we want to allow the relationship between the gender and labour market participation to differ by migrant status, by education level and by family composition. The vector $\boldsymbol{\beta}_6$ captures all these interactions. The vector $\boldsymbol{\beta}_7$ represent the effects of the \boldsymbol{X}_{ict} variables age, age square and degree of urbanisation of the place of residence.

At this stage it is important to briefly discuss the flexibility allowed by our model. The reference group is made by native males, with primary education, not married (married equal to 0), without children (child equal to 0), living in a city. The coefficient β_1 captures the change in the probability of labour market participation (lmp) characterizing females with the same characteristics of the reference male. The coefficients β_{21} and β_{22} represent the change, relative to the reference group, of increasing the level of educational achievement to, respectively, secondary or tertiary. When it comes to the interactions, our model allows for all possible combinations. For instance, we can estimate profiles for females who are non-EU born, have high education, are married and have children, live in a city and compare it to the profile of females who are non-EU born, have high education, are married, live in a city but do not have children. The results for all possible combinations are shown in Appendix 2, while Figures 8-9 present the estimated probabilities for each level of the interaction (for a total of 72 levels) while holding the control variables at their mean value. As a robustness check we run the logistic model of the specification [1] which confirmed our OLS results.

We run the model separately for year 2005 and 2018.

The results of the full models can be found in Appendix 2.

5. Conclusions

The results of our analysis show that, between 2005 and 2018, women's likelihood of participating to the labour market increased. Nevertheless, the gender gap remains wide. The analysis by migrant status reveals that native and EU mobile women recorded notable improvements in closing the gender gap, whereas the advances for non-EU born women were substantially negligible.

The intersectional approach, adopted in this report, implies considering jointly the gender gap (that is to compare the situation of men and women of the same origin and socio-demographic characteristics) and the migration gap (i.e. to compare women of different origin and same socio-demographic characteristics).

Overall, our report confirms that *intersectionality* is a fruitful analytical approach for improving the understanding of the different and complex mechanisms that may shape labour market participation of women. In particular, taking stock of the interrelated effects of gender and migrant status is essential to undertake a fully-fledged strategy for the integration of non-native women (both EU mobile and non-EU born) in the labour market.

Among the determinants of labour market participation, *education* proves to be one of the most important factors in closing the gender gap: the higher the educational level, the smaller the gender gap is.

At the same time, however, with the increase in the educational attainment the migration gap widens: the gap in labour force participation rates between non-native women and native women is the smallest among those with primary education and the highest among those with tertiary education, and its magnitude appears to be particularly large for non-EU born women and smaller for EU mobile women.

These two opposite effects, education overall closing the gender gap but widening the intra-group migration gap, implies that the human capital of native women and non-native women operates in opposite ways in terms of its contribution to the increase in labour market participation. One of the plausible explanations of this finding could be linked to the limited transferability of human capital, which affects mostly non-EU born women holding a higher qualification. Social and cultural norms might as well be at play in this context, but this hypothesis remains speculative since the available data does not allow testing it empirically.

The analysis confirms that investments in education and skills are effective measures to increase labour market participation of (native) women. It is, therefore paramount that the first and second principles of the European Pillar of Social Rights – the right to inclusive Education, training and lifelong learning and the right to Gender equality – give direction to policies regarding participation in the labour market, terms and conditions of employment and career progression. An approach that has been confirmed through the Updated Skills Agenda and the European Education Area.

For migrants, increasing educational attainment -and hence human capital- is not sufficient, because it is also necessary to remove barriers to the full transferability of human capital. For example, the new Europass platform, launched on July 2020 in the context of the Updated Skills Agenda, and the EU Skills profile tool for Third Country Nationals go in this direction by giving the support to migrants to 'showcase their skills and qualifications and facilitate their recognition through better information.'

Two additional factors that exert a strong impact on the gender gap are *marital status* and *parenthood*. The results show that the gender gap for both natives and non-natives (EU mobile and non-EU born) is the highest between married men and women with children and the smallest between men and women who are not married and have no children. More specifically, women who have children (either married or not) have the lowest likelihood of being active on the labour market. This pattern is consistent for natives, EU mobile citizens and non-EU born migrants.

These findings corroborate even further the Commission's call on the MSs to transpose the Work-Life Balance Directive by August 2022 as well its announcement of a proposal for a revision of the Barcelona objectives on the development of childcare facilities for young children with a view to increase female labour participation.

The empirical evidence of this report adds to the argument of incentivising the labour market participation of all women, native, EU mobile and non-EU born. However, it should be noted that increasing women's participation is just a first step towards women's labour market integration. It has been extensively documented that once women enter the labour market they encounter, among others, occupational segregation and lower wages than men (see Section 3). For non-natives, these labour market penalties are further exacerbated by their migrant status (see Section 3).

Increasing the female labour market participation of women is not only a matter of adopting policy instruments targeting women specifically. Such actions could support the gender equity model, based on the equal participation of both women and men in both paid and unpaid work, if effectively paired with a range of structural measures reforming the tax and welfare systems in a way that would enhance men's participation in household and family care.

In this vein, the intersectionality approach adopted in this study is particularly promising for sectoral employment and labour market dynamics across EU MSs, and assess the current status of gendered equal participation across different sectors of the economy and the 'equal pay for equal work' right. We leave this to future research.

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APPENDIX 1 Gender gap, migration gap and overall gender-migration gap by EU MSs

	Gender ga	p (natives)	Gender gap citiz		Gender gap (r migra		Migratior mobile v		Migration g born w			gender- ion gap		gender- ion gap
	Native women - native men		EU mobile women - EU mobile men		non-EU born women-non- EU born men		EU mobile women- native women		Non-EU born women - native women		EU mobile women - native men		non-EU born women - native men	
Destination											2005/2006 2017/2018			
country		2017/2018	2005/2006	2017/2018		2017/2018		2017/2018						2017/2018
AT	-11%	-5%	-13%	-9%	-22%	-17%	-2%	-1%	-13%	-15%	-12%	-6%	-24%	-20%
BE	-12%	-6%	-19%	-12%	-29%	-24%	-6%	1%	-19%	-19%	-18%	-5%	-32%	-25%
CY	-17%	-6%	-15%*	-16%	-4%	-6%	1%*	-2%	14%	-1%	-15%*	-7%	-3%	-7%
CZ	-15%	-12%	-13%	-18%	-24%*	-16%	2%	1%	-3%*	0%	-13%	-11%	-18%*	-11%
DK	-5%	-3%	-9%	-8%	-17%	-13%	-8%	0%	-22%	-17%	-13%	-3%	-27%	-20%
EE	-6%	-7%	2%*	1%*	-4%	-12%	9%*	5%*	13%	1%	4%*	-2%*	7%	-6%
ES	-21%	-9%	-19%	-11%	-19%	-12%	8%	4%	8%	1%	-13%	-5%	-13%	-8%
FI	-2%	-2%	-11%	-6%	-13%	-15%	-8%	0%	-16%	-16%	-10%	-3%	-18%	-18%
FR	-10%	-6%	-20%	-7%	-23%	-22%	-2%	4%	-12%	-15%	-12%	-2%	-22%	-21%
GR	-23%	-15%	-19%	-19%	-31%	-25%	7%	4%	1%	1%	-16%	-11%	-22%	-14%
HR	-11%	-8%	-20%*	-4%*	-20%	-16%	-6%*	10%*	-7%	-2%	-16%*	2%*	-18%	-10%
HU	-12%	-12%	-18%	-15%	-12%*	-2%*	3%	4%	5%*	4%*	-9%	-8%	-8%*	-8%*
ΙE	-19%	-10%	-22%	-13%	-21%	-19%	5%	5%	-7%	-8%	-14%	-6%	-26%	-19%
IT	-24%	-18%	-26%	-18%	-31%	-27%	6%	6%	3%	-1%	-18%	-12%	-21%	-19%
LT	-4%	-2%	-32%*	-9%*	-6%	-1%	-12%*	-5%*	11%	5%	-17%*	-7%*	7%	4%
LU	-18%	-5%	-19%	-7%	-28%*	-18%*	12%	10%	-2%*	-6%	-7%	6%	-21%*	-11%
LV	-8%	-5%	-22%*	-6%*	-7%	-11%	-6%*	-3%*	12%	4%	-14%*	-8%*	3%	0%
NL	-13%	-6%	-15%	-8%	-22%	-16%	-4%	-4%	-20%	-21%	-17%	-10%	-33%	-27%
PL	-12%	-12%	1%*	-15%*	-21%*	-9%	-2%*	2%*	-19%	5%	-14%*	-10%*	-31%	-6%
PT	-11%	-5%	-9%	-3%	-9%	-8%	2%	12%	7%	4%	-9%	7%	-4%	-1%
SE	-3%	-1%	-7%	-3%	-9%	-11%	-2%	0%	-15%	-11%	-5%	-1%	-19%	-13%
SI	-8%	-4%	-7%*	-3%*	-8%	-16%	6%*	1%*	4%	-10%	-2%*	-2%*	-4%	-13%
SK	-14%	-12%	-26%*	-22%*	-25%*	-18%*	-7%*	1%*	4%*	10%*	-21%*	-11%*	-10%*	-2%*

N.B. values with * have low reliability; average biannual values 2005/2006 versus 2017/2018 Source: KCMD elaborations of EU-LFS data.

APPENDIX 2 – OLS full model, 2005 and 2018

Dependent variable: active on the labour market	Coeff year 2005	Coeff. – year 2018
Ago	.081***	.070***
Age Age ²	001***	001***
Female	114***	084***
Education: reference Primary	-,114	064
Secondary education	.058***	.142***
Tertiary education	.060***	.175***
Migrant status: reference Native	.000	.175
EU mobile citizen	.023	.099***
Non-EU born	.049**	.057***
Married (versus not married)	.021**	.103***
Household with children of any age (versus household without	225***	167***
children)	.225	.107
Cities	013***	020***
Towns	.001	008***
5-way interaction term: sex*education*migrant status*married*chi		.000
Male Primary Native married with children	.247***	.184***
Male Primary EU mobile not married with children	.070	.019
Male Primary EU mobile married no children	025	079*
Male Primary EU mobile married with children	.205***	.075*
Male Primary 20 mobile married with children	.085***	.062**
Male Primary non-EU born married no children	047*	057*
Male Primary non-EU born married with children	.170***	.103***
Male Secondary Native not married with children	.019*	.031***
Male Secondary Native Married No children	019*	089***
Male Secondary Native married with children	.213***	.082***
Male Secondary EU mobile not married no children	078*	098***
·	.074	029
Male Secondary EU mobile not married with children Male Secondary EU mobile married no children	073	179***
	.170***	
Male Secondary EU mobile married with children Male Secondary non-EU born not married no children	094***	051 107***
	.078*	
Male Secondary non-EU born not married with children Male Secondary non-EU born married no children	088**	027 170***
Male Secondary non-EU born married with children	.133***	014
	.101***	.076***
Male Tertiary Native not married with children Male Tertiary Native married no children	.047***	079***
Male Tertiary Native married with children	.234***	.065***
Male Tertiary Native Maried With Children	059	141***
Male Tertiary EU mobile not married not children Male Tertiary EU mobile not married with children	.145*	141
Male Tertiary EU mobile Thot married With Children Male Tertiary EU mobile married no children	044	195***
Male Tertiary EU mobile married with children	.198***	064
Male Tertiary Lo mobile married with children Male Tertiary non-EU born not married no children	131***	104
Male Tertiary Not PEO Born Not married Not children	.091*	017
Male Tertiary non-EU born married mit children Male Tertiary non-EU born married no children	077*	187***
·	.150***	
Male Tertiary non-EU born married with children Female Primary Native not married with children	.025**	038 .024*
	195***	204***
	195*** 043***	204***
Female Primary Native married with children Female Primary EU mobile not married no children	.054	
		.036
Female Primary EU mobile not married with children	.059 130***	-,064*
Female Primary EU mobile married no children		174***
Female Primary EU mobile married with children	008	130***
Female Primary non-EU born not married no children	.011	013
Female Primary non-EU born not married with children	.069**	.050*
Female Primary non-EU born married no children	238***	255***
Female Primary non-EU born married with children	145***	236***
Female Secondary Native not married no children	.086***	.062***

Female Secondary Native not married with children	.059***	.018
Female Secondary Native married no children	049***	128***
Female Secondary Native married with children	.095***	038*
Female Secondary EU mobile not married no children	012	068*
Female Secondary EU mobile not married with children	.102*	016
Female Secondary EU mobile married no children	146***	242***
Female Secondary EU mobile married with children	007	208***
Female Secondary non-EU born not married no children	039	019
Female Secondary non-EU born not married with children	.093***	.037
Female Secondary non-EU born married no children	132***	232***
Female Secondary non-EU born married with children	043	223***
Female Tertiary Native not married no children	.121***	.092***
Female Tertiary Native not married with children	.209***	.146***
Female Tertiary Native married no children	.067***	037*
Female Tertiary Native married with children	.207***	.043*
Female Tertiary EU mobile not married no children	.059	037
Female Tertiary EU mobile not married with children	.141*	.036
Female Tertiary EU mobile married no children	042	230***
Female Tertiary EU mobile married with children	.037	145***
Female Tertiary non-EU born not married no children	.003	020
Female Tertiary non-EU born not married with children	.157***	.008
Female Tertiary non-EU born married no children	113***	260***
Female Tertiary non-EU born married with children	.014	204***
Country (23 EU MSs)	Yes	Yes
Number of observations	155,303	179,904

p values: *p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001 Source: KCMD elaborations of EU-LFS data.

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