

Context-Specific Barriers Affecting Women's Access to Decent Work in the Philippines.



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Abstract

Women have disproportionately been expected to balance paid and household-care work. This is perpetrated by traditionally enforced gender norms along with unfavourable legislation and economic systems. We employ a mixed-methods approach to investigate context-specific barriers to women's access to decent work in the Philippines. Our quantitative approach surveyed national trends, compiled multiple rounds of the quarterly Labor Force Survey from 2017 to 2021, and estimated selection-corrected binary response models of decent work. Our findings confirm that married women and those with children tend to have less access to more work hours but that their participation in higher-paying, permanent jobs tends to increase. We find suggestive evidence that married women and those with children are more likely to go into unpaid family business, a trend exacerbated for women in urban areas, those younger and those approaching retirement, and those with young children. We provide a novel measure for intrahousehold bargaining between members of married couples by calculating a power-distance variable based on age and educational attainment and find that equality is what leads to higher wages and access to decent work for women rather than greater bargaining capability. Our qualitative approach employs key-informant interviews and focus-group discussions with working women in formal and informal sectors, gender experts, and policymakers. Inductive thematic analysis reveal that the largest barriers to women's access to decent work are traditional gender roles and expectations, the lack of public child-care infrastructure, and issues in the implementation of women-focused laws. On the other hand, technology and digital work serve as equalizers for women. Policy recommendations include breaking cultural norms, enhancing digital training for women, expanding public childcare, and pushing for gender-responsive policymaking.

Keywords: Decent work, gender equality, gender norms, mixed methods

JEL Codes: J16, J21

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I. Introduction

Over the past few decades, advancement in narrowing the global gender gap in labour-force participation between men and women has been minimal. This discrepancy may be the result of variations in institutions, laws, economic structures, resource allocation, social norms, and culture (collectively referred to as “context-specific barriers”). Women often face unequal disadvantages in making household labour-supply decisions or bear an additional burden of balancing productive work with household-care responsibilities (Mercado, 2019; Yamauchi & Tiongco, 2013). Most studies have focused on women’s labour-force participation (labour-force participation) without delving into the quality of jobs they undertake. In many developing countries, women frequently find themselves in lower-paying and occupationally hazardous roles (Albert & Vizmanos, 2017). Only recently has the focus shifted toward women’s access to decent work. A notable example is the research by Lo Bue et al. (2022), which investigates gender inequality in vulnerable employment – jobs placing women in precarious situations with inadequate compensation. Aligning with the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), particularly SDG5 on achieving gender equality and SDG8 on promoting full and productive employment and decent work, it is imperative to identify and address the factors driving the gap in access to decent work.

In contrast to many developing countries, the Philippines has made noteworthy progress in advancing gender equality in economic opportunity, human capital development, and political participation (World Economic Forum, 2023). The country also has numerous laws and regulations aimed at providing equal treatment and protecting women, recognizing the importance of women in society, and facilitating their access to decent work. Despite these efforts, a gender gap in labour-force participation persists. In 2022, women’s participation was at 54.8% compared to 75.5% for men (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2023).

This study investigates the context-specific barriers that hamper women’s access to decent work in the Philippines. Using the Labor Force Survey published by the Philippine Statistics Authority, we used a selection-corrected equation to examine

empirically how household and individual characteristics affected women's access to decent work. Additionally, our comprehensive analyses encompassed examinations of heterogeneity of subsamples based on characteristics, a multinomial approach to determine the type of work women were more likely to engage in, and a test of intrahousehold bargaining power using a proxy for the power dynamics between husband and wife in a household. To identify gaps in measuring context-specific barriers within secondary data sources, we supplemented our approach with qualitative analysis, incorporating key informant interviews and focus group discussions. Ultimately, we present actionable policy recommendations aimed at addressing the barriers to accessing decent work in the Philippines.

This study aims to make a dual contribution to the literature. First, it investigates women's access to decent work, focusing on the unique case of the Philippines. Despite being a developing country, the Philippines stands out for its population empowered women, with higher concentrations of women in tertiary education and well-paying occupations. Additionally, the country has enacted supportive laws for women. Despite the seemingly favourable conditions, gaps in labour-force participation between men and women persist, and a substantial number of women do not enter the labour force because they are fulfilling household duties. Second, the study provides an innovative examination of barriers to decent work by adopting a mixed-methods approach. We begin with a rigorous empirical investigation using survey data and complement this with a qualitative approach, enabling a deeper identification of factors that may escape the scope of typical household surveys.

Decent work, as conceptualized in this study, is grounded in the principles of availability of employment that ensures freedom, equity, security, and human dignity (Zu, 2013). The United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (2018) encapsulates the four pillars of decent work outlined by the International Labour Organization in 1999: 1) the right to demand improvements in working conditions regardless of the nature of employment; 2) a guarantee of equal employment opportunities for productive work and decent income for all; 3) social protections for workers that ensure occupational safety, resilience to adverse shocks, and

responsiveness to labour-market dynamics; and 4) social dialogue between employees and employers to ensure conflict resolution, social equity, and effective implementation of workplace policies.

Building upon these pillars, we constructed an operational definition of decent work for the empirical aspects of this study, closely aligning it with the Philippine standard definition of full-time work, which entails paid work with a basic daily pay at least equal to the minimum wage, permanent employment, and a minimum of forty weekly working hours.

Results from our quantitative analysis show that higher educational attainment is the most significant catalyst for achieving access to decent work. Contrary to expectations reported in the literature that indicate lower labour-force participation among married women, our findings showed that married women were more likely to gain access to decent work. This suggests that marital status may introduce complexities in intrahousehold decision-making regarding women's labour-supply choices. A consistent deterrent to women's access to decent work is the presence of children of up to secondary school age, yet the presence of guardians in the household mitigates this hindrance.

Multinomial logistic regressions yielded slightly different results, indicating that marriage and having children tended to lead women more toward involvement in unpaid family businesses. Penalties for accepting decent work were exacerbated for women in urban areas and for younger women and those approaching retirement. We introduced a novel measure for intrahousehold bargaining among married couples by calculating a power-distance variable based on age and educational attainment. Our findings showed that, while wages and access to decent work increased for women, the highest levels were observed when husbands and wives were similar in both age and educational attainment. Our key-informant interviews and focus group discussions with working women in formal and informal sectors, gender experts, and key policymakers revealed that the primary barrier to women's access to decent work were traditional gender roles in Philippine culture, which placed the responsibility for household work and childcare predominantly on women. Although childcare infrastructure exists, it falls short of

meeting the demand of working parents. Additionally, the implementation of women-focused laws and gender and development activities at local government level faces challenges.

II. A Gendered Look at the Philippine Labor Market

We examined labour force statistics in the Philippines through a gender-specific perspective, employing data from the Philippines Statistics Authority’s Labor Force Survey, a nationally representative dataset of households and their members for the years 2017, 2019, 2020, and 2021. Descriptive statistics are presented in Figure 1.

Panel A of Figure 1 shows that men have higher labour-force participation and employment rates than women. More men work in jobs that pay below minimum wage, however, which accompanies the surprising result that average basic pay per day is higher for women than men. As Panel E makes clear, more women occupy higher-paying jobs (Managers, Professionals, Clerical Support, Services and Sales) than men, who are more likely to work in lower-paying jobs (Elementary Occupations, Assemblers, Crafts, Agriculture).¹ But women’s average basic daily pay is higher only because it is driven by this quantity effect. For identical occupations, however, a pay gap remains because men were still generally paid higher wages than were women (Table 1). Furthermore, women were more likely to work for more than forty-eight hours per week than are men (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2019).

We observed that the distribution of women was more concentrated around higher educational attainment—secondary, tertiary, and postgraduate—with respect to men. Women also had higher school-participation rates at all levels (David, Albert & Vizmanos, 2018). In terms of the nature of employment (Panel C), the largest share of working women occupy permanent positions, and their participation in these positions

¹ Occupations are classified using the Philippine Standard Occupational Classification listed in Box 1 of the Appendix.

is significantly lower than men's (around 17.36 percentage points lower). More men are engaged in casual employment and have different employers. Panel D shows that the largest share of working women is in private establishments, albeit significantly lower than for men (around 23.96 percentage points lower). The proportion of women working in private households, government, and unpaid family business is larger than that of men, and significantly more men work in private establishments, are self-employed, or are employers themselves. In terms of industry (Panel F), more women work in Wholesale and Retail Trade, Agriculture Forestry and Fishing, Other Services, Manufacturing, Public Administration and Defence, and Accommodation and Food Services. Women are notably higher in frequency in Wholesale and Retail Trade, Education, Accommodation and Food, Human Health and Social Work, and Financial and Insurance Activities industries.²

In Figure 2, we present men's and women's employment rates in decent work (defined as paid at least minimum wage, full-time, and of permanent nature) and, in Figure 3, in vulnerable work (either unpaid or below minimum wage).

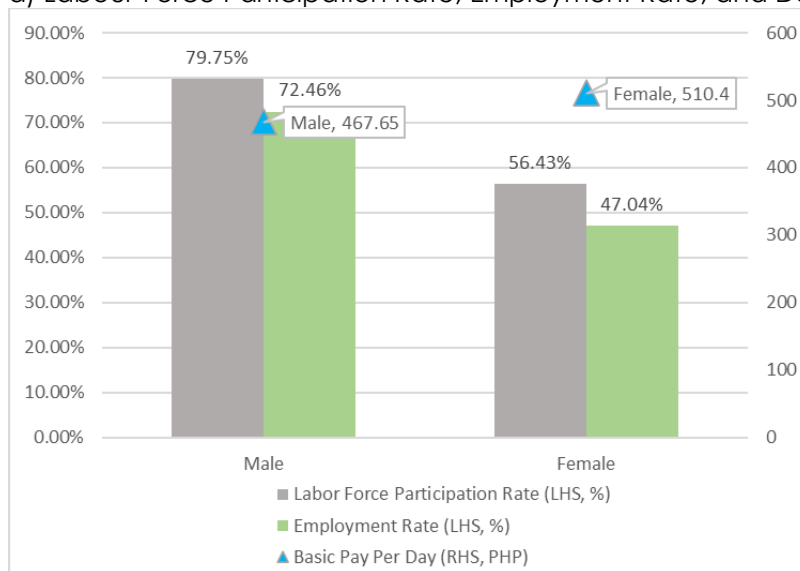
The employment rates for decent work, as reflected in Figure 2, show that men are slightly more likely to have decent work than women: 20% and 16%, respectively (Panel A). While access to decent work increases with educational attainment (Panel B), men have greater access to decent work for no grade completed and primary undergraduates. On the other hand, women have slightly higher access from primary graduate to postgraduate levels. Across occupations (Panel C), decent work is more likely for women in the Armed Forces, which may be expected because the Armed Forces are bound by civil-service requirements that are typically consistent with decent work. More notably, women have higher rates of decent work in Managerial, Professional, and Service and Sales-related occupations. This reinforces the earlier finding more women work in higher-paying occupations despite within-occupation wage differences. Across industries (Panel D), women in decent work are more likely to be found in Mining and Quarrying; Utilities; Water and Waste Management; Construction; Wholesale and Retail Trade; Transport and Storage; Information and Communication; Financial and Insurance;

² Industries are defined using the Philippine Standard Industrial Classification listed in Box 1 of the Appendix.

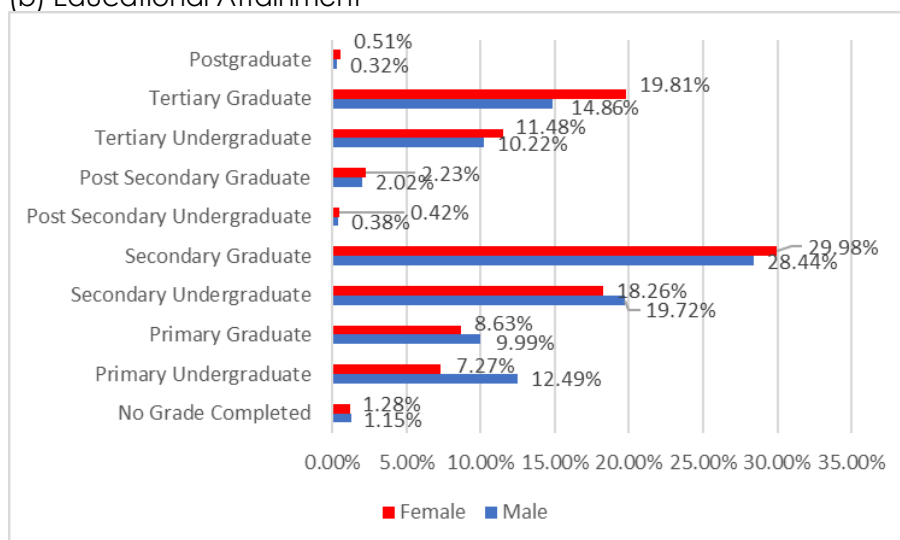
Professional; Scientific and Technical Services; Administrative Support; Education; and Health and Social Work. This paints women’s access to decent work in an optimistic light, at least for formal sectors. Regarding women’s participation in more vulnerable work, Figure 3 shows that women have higher employment rates in unpaid family-owned business (Panel A). This may indicate that women are more likely to be assigned to household care. Men, however, tend to have higher participation in work that pays below minimum wage (Panel B).

Figure 1. Descriptive graphs of the Philippine labour force, by gender

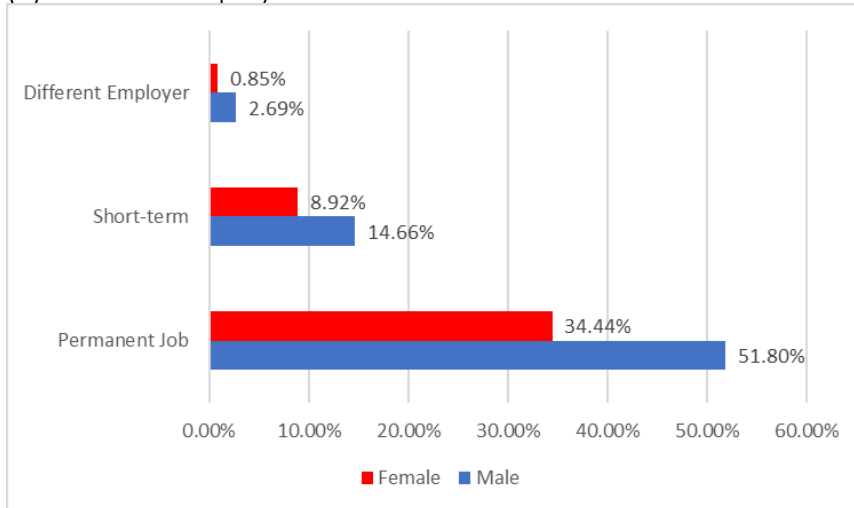
a) Labour-Force Participation Rate, Employment Rate, and Daily Wage



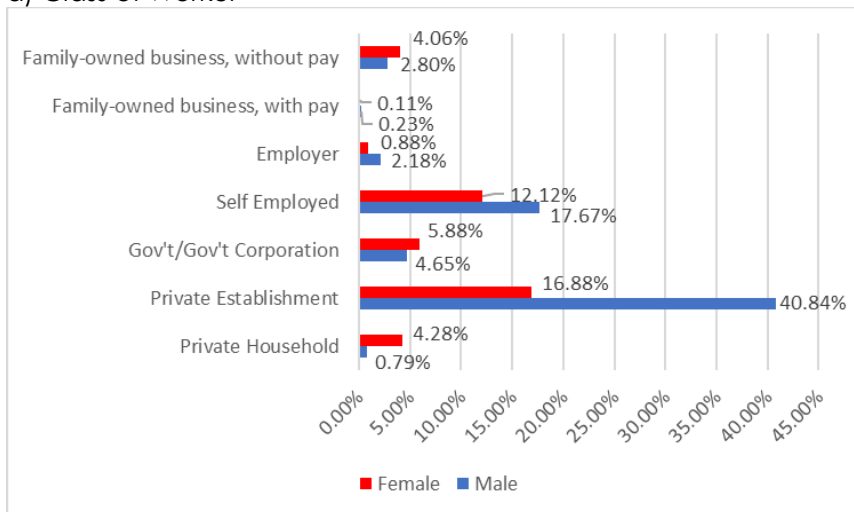
(b) Educational Attainment



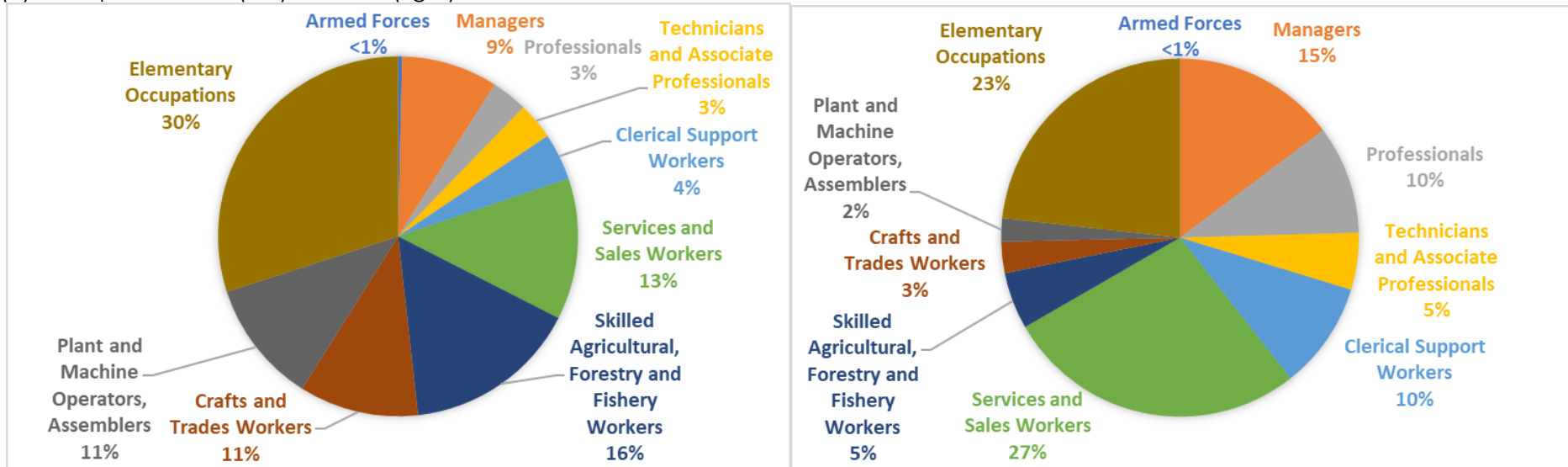
(c) Nature of Employment



d) Class of Worker



(e) Occupation, Men (left), Women (right)



(f) Industry, Men (left), Women (right)

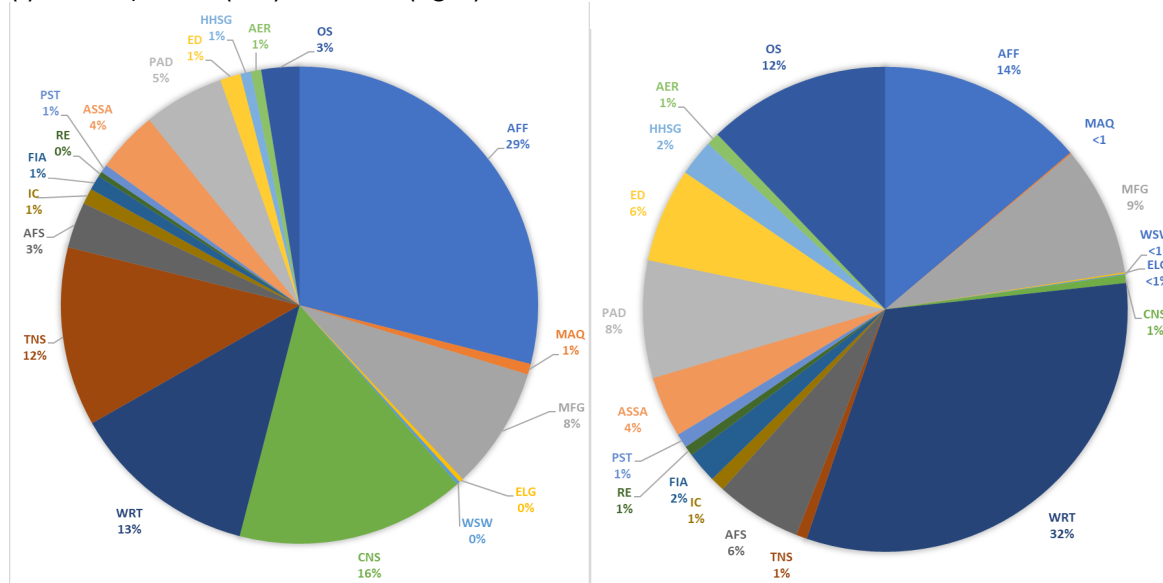
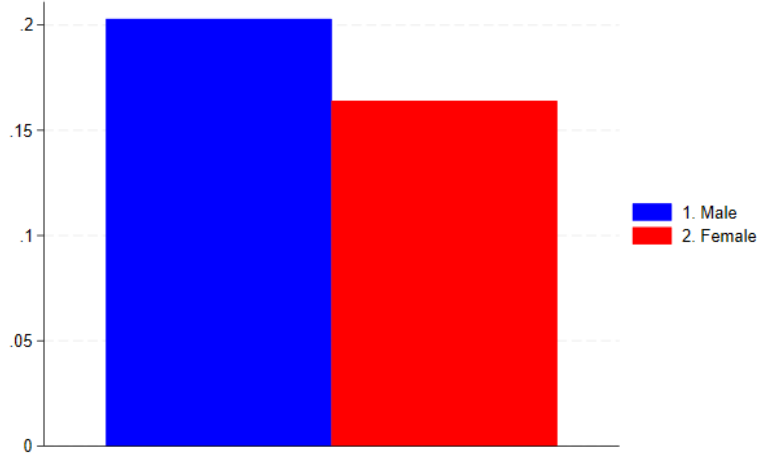


Table 1. Average Daily Basic Pay by Sex and Occupational Group, 2016 to 2018, in Philippine Pesos, in constant 2012 prices.

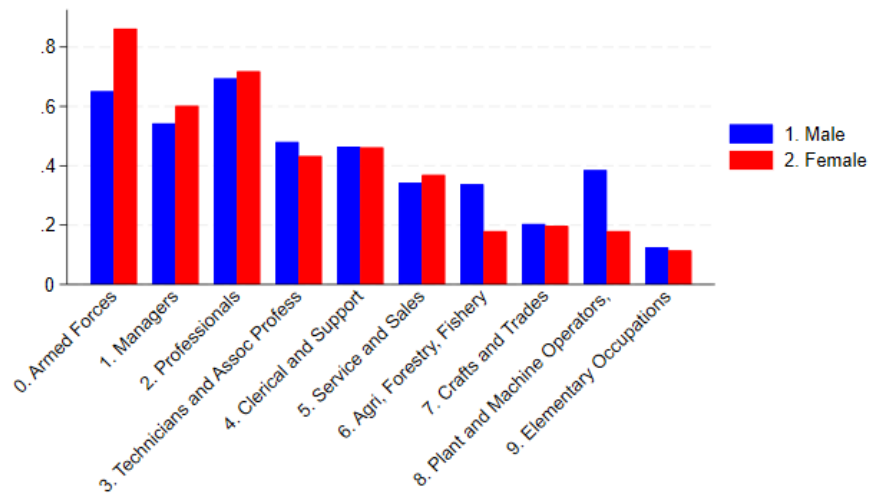
Occupation group	2016		2017		2018	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Managers	983.59	971.79	943.51	899.59	924.43	923.60
Professionals	922.42	832.36	921.05	834.99	953.28	871.43
Technicians and associate professionals	597.55	563.75	594.59	556.94	654.15	585.41
Clerical support workers	530.62	533.08	530.52	512.09	654.15	541.36
Service and sales	380.34	278.52	387.89	293.35	426.50	321.56
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery	387.11	400.31	292.02	390.08	388.50	563.43
Craft and related trade	370.40	278.96	383.05	285.54	408.49	309.86
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	393.02	363.42	414.16	373.34	443.46	393.37
Elementary occupations	253.36	187.62	272.09	208.19	296.14	222.50
Armed forces and special occupations	905.03	688.02	833.30	1297.91	999.39	1159.11

Source: Philippine Statistics Authority (2019).

Figure 2. Access to decent work by gender, and across educational attainment, occupations, and industries.

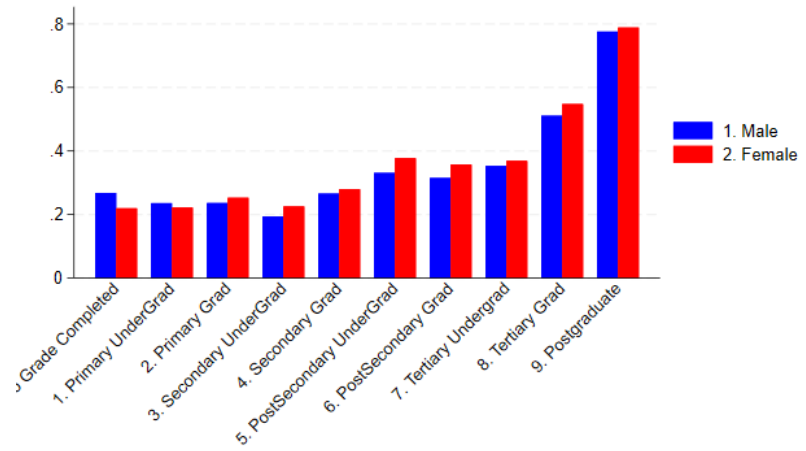


(a) By gender

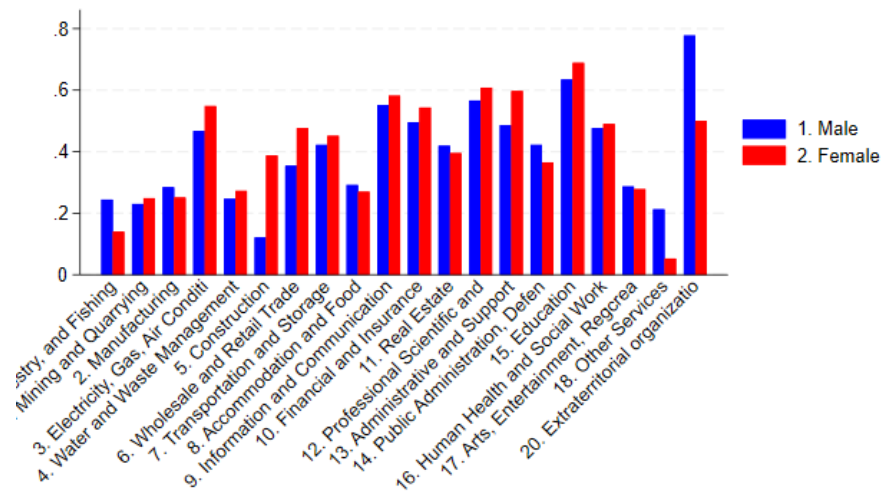


(c) Across occupational classifications

Source: Labor Force Survey, 2017, 2019, 2020, 2021, Authors' computation.

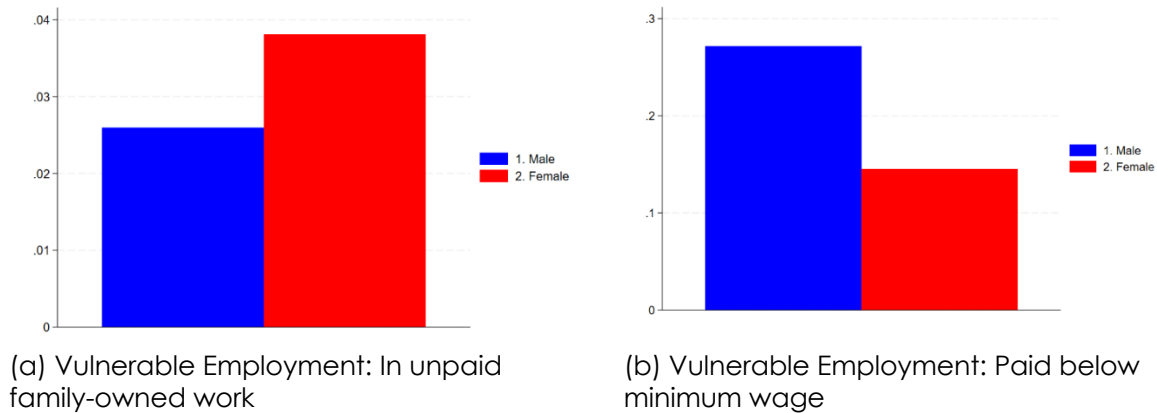


(b) Across educational attainment



(d) Across Industries

Figure 3. Employment rates in vulnerable work, by gender.



Source: Labor Force Survey, 2017, 2019, 2020, 2021, Authors' computation.

III. Related Literature on Context-Specific Barriers to Decent Work

3.1. Women-Focused Regulatory and Legislative Environment

The Philippines ranked 16th out of 146 countries in gender equality in the 2023 Global Gender Gap Index of the World Economic Forum (2023) and has been able to sustain equal representation for men and women in senior and technical positions. This implies that the country excelled in improving the environment for women in dimensions of Economic Participation and Opportunity, Educational Attainment, Health and Survival, and Political Empowerment.

A report by the International Labour Organization (2020a) described plans for attaining decent work in the Philippines from 2020 to 2024 and offered an assessment of the country's progress in achieving access to decent work. However, despite numerous pieces of legislation designed to provide decent work, however, many challenges in employment creation remain (e.g., underinvestment in infrastructure, low productivity), workers' rights (e.g., gender pay gaps), social dialogue (e.g., effectiveness of representation), and implementing social protection.

The Philippines was among the Asian countries that piloted the Decent Work framework. The Arroyo administration (2001 to 2010) included the Decent Work framework in the country's Medium Term Philippine Development Plan for 2001 to 2004, including the 2002 National Plan of Action on Decent Work which served as the main framework requiring trade unions, employer groups, and the government to align their work programs to the four pillars of decent work (Riguer, 2008).

The Magna Carta of Women Republic Act No. 9710 was enacted in 2009 and included provisions that ensured the protection, support, and representation of women in all aspects of Philippine society. Moreover, the law ensured that women would have access to decent work. One of the key provisions of the Magna Carta of Women was the inclusion of the Gender and Development Program budget, which required all government agencies to allocate 5% of their budgets for Gender and Development policies. Other laws and regulations for women in the Philippines are summarized in Box 2 in the Appendix.

It is important to point out, however, that few studies have examined the effectiveness of such laws. These laws are in place, regulated, and enforced but incidents (e.g., sexual harassment) and gender inequalities are still observed. The Philippine Institute for Development Studies (2018) reported that women themselves are unable to assert their rights in accordance with these laws due to persistent societal trends against women. In the Philippine Congress, women lawmakers are limited to leadership roles in health, nutrition, education, youth protection, children and women's health, family planning, and housing but are not given opportunities to lead in finance, economy, trade, and infrastructure (Philippine Institute for Development Studies, 2018).

3.2. Educational Attainment Affects Women's Job Opportunities

In reviewing the factors that affect women's labour-force participation and access to decent work, educational attainment, as expected, most heavily influences women's labour-force participation (hereafter, FLFP) and their access to decent work. Investing in schooling for women and girls can be the best response to challenge discrimination

against women in the labour market and to increase their likelihood of participating in the labour force (Yamauchi & Tiongco, 2013; David, Albert & Vizmanos, 2018). This provides reassurance because girls have higher participation rates in basic education compared to boys (David, Albert & Vizmanos, 2018).

The impact of educational attainment on FLFP and access to decent work, however, is more nuanced. Cabegin and Gaddi (2019) found that both the least and the most educated women had higher rates of being included in the labour force. The more educated women most likely held white-collar jobs, which tend to offer higher salaries (David, Albert & Vizmanos, 2018). Educated women, therefore, had better access to the conditions of decent work.

On the other hand, less educated women were most likely to end up in vulnerable employment (e.g., as domestic helpers), in the informal economy (e.g., as street vendors), or as unpaid family workers focused on domestic care work (Albert & Vizmanos, 2017; Philippine Commission on Women, 2020). The informal economy provides jobs and income generation in situations where there is high unemployment, poverty, and inequality (Philippine Commission on Women, 2020). Vulnerable employment and the informal economy typically have unsafe working environments and do not provide sufficient skills training, security for tenure, lower and irregular incomes, and social protection and bargaining rights (Asian Development Bank, 2013; Philippine Commission on Women, 2020). Thus, many women in the informal economy do not have access to decent work conditions. Many of these young women have no better option than low-skilled and low-income jobs because of the lack of educational opportunities. The World Bank (2022) points out that providing education means the development of the foundations of learning, which are cognitive, socioemotional, and technical skills. By providing the foundations of learning at an early age, individuals have a better chance of finding decent work and taking part in the labour force. This results in some individuals, who did not have a chance to complete their education, choosing to be employed in the informal sector.

3.3. Philippine Cultural Norms and Institutional Arrangements in Workplaces

Women's low labour-force participation in the Philippines has been attributed to inadequate employment and decent work opportunities, but also to cultural and social norms that disparately place the expectation that women will shoulder unpaid household-care work (Asian Development Bank, 2013). Philippine society is still arguably patriarchal, and men and women are brought up differently as dictated by age-old beliefs (Valdez et al., 2022). Boys are expected to do labour-intensive, often wage-earning work, while girls are left to do unpaid household-care work (Valdez et al, 2022; Cabegin and Gaddi, 2019; Samman, 2019, Liwag, De La Cruz & Macapagal, 1999).

Gender expectations are embedded in formal settings as well, as is evident in educational curricula, instructional materials, and policies (Philippine Commission on Women, 2022) and are further reinforced in such informal settings as the home and community (Torell et al., 2021; Mercado, 2019). As girls grow older, they are expected to manage both household and career. Such commitment to both work and household serves as a barrier to labour-force participation and can hinder women's work-life balance (Torell et al., 2021 and Mercado, 2019). Parents also expect to receive a larger share of the income of their educated daughters (Yamauchi & Tiongco, 2019). Household care and domestic work are deemed valuable, but, because these activities reside on the informal side of the economy, they are overlooked in traditional measures of growth and productivity (e.g., GDP), leading to the undervaluation of child- and home care and the implementation of unsustainable and unequal policies that disadvantage women (Rai, Brown & Ruwanpura, 2019).

Several factors that affect FLFP and women's access to decent work have been identified. David, Albert, and Vizmanos (2018) found that, as women aged, the probability that they would participate in the labour force dropped. Because of household or family duties, more working-age women were not in the labour force (Asian Development Bank, 2013). Cabegin and Gaddi (2019) noted that unemployment rates remained high among women aged 15 to 24 because of marriage, childbirth, and child-rearing responsibilities, and that increasing financial costs and the logistics of household-

care work have increased opportunity costs and reservation wages, causing women to choose unpaid household work and childcare over entering the labour force. Some women were averse to informal workplace practices such as entertaining and socializing with clients, drinking after working hours, etc., lowering the likelihood that they would participate in the labour market (David, Albert & Vizmanos, 2018).

Cabegin and Gaddi (2019) also noted that pregnant women faced discrimination from private employers because they were perceived to have lower productivity and their medical costs were presumed assumed to be higher, and that religion could also affect women's access to work: Muslim women, for example, are not employed in the arts and entertainment industries if they wear traditional religious clothing.

Trade unions help promote decent working environments in workplaces through collective bargaining agreements, especially in private companies (Edralin, 2016). Additionally, workers' unions provide workers the opportunity to demand greater protections and better working conditions from their employers.

3.4. Effect Of Economic Shocks on FLFP and Women's Access do Decent Work

Lockdowns during the COVID-19 pandemic caused many businesses to close, and others faced unprecedented transitions because of the digitalization of work. The pandemic provided opportunities for alternative working arrangements while some shifted to non-standard forms of work such as independent contracting and freelancing (International Labour Organization, 2020b). Further, more women were able to keep their jobs, relative to men, during the pandemic because of the shift to work-from-home arrangements and to other non-standard forms of work. In fact, more women perceived they were more productive during the pandemic than did men (Hill, Baird & Seetahul, 2020). Micro, small, and medium enterprises, particularly those led by women, improved their marketing and distribution channels as well as their online presence and adopted digital payments (Peña & Bayudan-Dacuycuy, 2022). Cabegin and Gaddi (2019) showed evidence that the flexibility of alternative working arrangements, virtual jobs, and/or e-commerce provided

opportunities for women to perform their domestic responsibilities while being employed.

Aside from the loss of employment, the pandemic adversely affected many dimensions of FLFP and decent work. School closures, for example, had negative impacts on private education institutions as well as on FLFP. Raitzer et al. (2020) estimated a 50.4% reduction in enrolment for school year 2020-2021 according to figures reported by the Department of Education. Mothers in particular experienced increased pressure because their time was divided between work and family responsibilities, including being more involved in online distance learning or at-home schooling. The other adverse effect was an increase in gender-based abuse and domestic violence during the pandemic (International Labour Organization, 2020b and United Nations Women, 2020).

Technological change had no significant effect on FLFP. Information and Communication Technology-sector or platform-based jobs increased in the Philippines as a top destination for Business Process Outsourcing work (Errighi, Kahatiwada & Bodwell, 2016). This trend, however, raises questions regarding how these industries ensure decent work. Bayudan-Dacuycuy and Baje (2021) examined decent work in the gig economy or platform work and found that more women were engaged in that sector because of flexible work arrangements. In addition, they found that there is no difference in compensation between men and women for platform workers in the Philippines (Bayudan-Dacuycuy & Baje, 2021), whereas globally, women were found to earn 18.4% less than men (Pinedo Caro, O'Higgins & Berg, 2021). Regardless, programs that aim to develop skills, social protection, protection of workers, and uptake of these programs among women are still lacking, and data collection on workers in platform-based work in the country is also lagging. Moreover, skill shortages, high stress, lack of trade unions, and an urban-rural divide also persist in the ICT industry and related training (Bayudan-Dacuycuy & Baje, 2021; Errighi, Kahatiwada & Bodwell, 2016); Peña & Yao, 2022).

IV. Analytical Framework

We developed a simple, yet flexible model that paves the way for how we integrated decent work and barriers to such work into our empirical analysis. The Becker-Gronau framework explains participation well under the condition that economic determinants matter. Traditional models perceive labour-force participation as a function of a utility threshold determined by nonlabour income. However, traditional models have paid little attention to the existence of non-economic barriers that act as wedges to optimal decisions. Such constraints are latent and formed through social phenomena, personal circumstances, and norms, which may occur within and outside the household. This may induce some bargaining among household members about labour-force participation (Pimkina & De La Flor, 2020). Women are usually expected to handle the bulk of non-market activities, like housework, elderly care, and childcare, pushing them out of the labour market. Internal constraints include aspirations, attitudes, market perceptions, confidence, the intrahousehold distribution of power, and other reservation wages. Human capital endows members with skills, and hence opportunities to engage in productive work. External constraints involve shocks and labour demand and, which interact with supply decisions made by women. Negative income shocks, for instance, may force women to participate in sectors with low productivity. Labor demand encompasses gender wage gaps and discrimination. Thus, a woman's labour participation hinges on observed and unobserved individual attributes, her household's circumstances, interactions within households, and access to opportunities.

Our proposed model of labour-force participation has two states: participation and non-participation. We assume that there are utility flows associated with non-participation. We denote this variable as the utility threshold or reservation wage.

To model participation propensity, Equation 1 defines the following linear process that generates a latent variable u_i^* ,

$$u_i^* = x_i' \beta + x_h' \delta + f(w_i; \theta_o) + g(z_f - z_m, \theta_d) + \epsilon_{i,h}, i = 1, 2, \dots, N \quad (1)$$

Vectors x and x_h refer to women's personal/individual attributes and household-level characteristics, respectively. Individual attributes encompass marital status, age,

educational attainment, and skills. Household attributes may include household composition, family income and other household attributes such as residential location. $f(w_i; \theta)$ is a function that contains other factors with their respective effects. w_i is a vector pertaining to measurable attributes linked to social norms, beliefs, perceptions, and aspirations $g(z_f - z_m, \theta_a)$ is a functional component that depends on the difference between the woman's and husband's attributes represented by the vector difference $z_f - z_m$. It is one way to capture the role of intrahousehold outcomes that play material roles in labor-force participation. The presence of the error $\epsilon_{i,h}$ means that latent utility may be affected by factors not included in the model. As the $\epsilon_{i,h}$ is stochastic, so is the latent utility process. In the context of labor-force participation, we do not observe u_i^* directly, but it determines the observed outcomes in d_i . d_i is dichotomous, with applicable threshold at \underline{U}_i .

$$d_i = \begin{cases} \text{not participate, } u_i^* \leq \underline{U}_i \\ \text{participate, } u_i^* > \underline{U}_i \end{cases} \quad (2)$$

\underline{U}_i may refer to reservation utility or minimum psychic costs. Participation ensures that the individual has a chance to earn income. Therefore, the utility threshold may be interpreted as the amount of utility that the worker will receive by not participating. Equation 1) serves as the basis for our empirical model which estimates how a woman's individual attributes, household circumstances, interactions, and external conditions may affect women's access to decent work.

In analysing women's access to decent work, we assumed that preference for jobs increases with decent work attributes: pay at least the minimum wage, hours are full-time, and the position is permanent in nature. A prospective worker, for instance would prefer a job that prescribes clear work hours and provides an opportunity to engage in collective bargaining, to have access to training, and to exercise various freedoms that will allow integration and independence. This would imply that access to decent work is conditional on characteristics that may be correlated with participation—intrahousehold arrangements that facilitate working (e.g., members who can provide childcare, power-sharing arrangements, etc.), educational attainment, industrial structure, and occupational characteristics. When women's latent attributes positively correlate with the

likelihood of getting decent work, then they are positively selected. An instance in which women's latent attributes make them likely to land in a non-decent job makes them disadvantaged or negatively selected. This reveals a potential selection issue which we account for in our empirical specification.

This model can be extended to account for multiple outcomes in the nature and class of work. For each woman who has decided to participate, we evaluated pairwise utilities associated with multinomial outcomes. Let the utility for each outcome be denoted by s .

$$U_{i,s} = V_{i,s} + \epsilon_{i,s}, s = 1, 2, 3, \dots, S \quad (3)$$

$V_{i,s}$ is known as the deterministic component of the random utility function. It contains variables that pertain to the characteristics of the decision maker and sectors, labour demand and supply conditions, and factors that are linked to societal norms. The decision rules are simple. The choice rule involves pairwise evaluation. An outcome $j \in S$ is chosen if $U_{i,j} \geq U_{i,k}, j \neq k$. To be consistent with the earlier model, we also introduce outcome specific barrier that modifies utility thresholds.

To account for heterogeneity and without loss of generality, let $g_1, g_2 \in G$, where g_1, g_2 are groups belonging to a set of groups G that partition an underlying population such that $g_1 \cup g_2 = G$. We assume that utility maximization will still be feasible when introducing a rule pertaining to heterogeneity.

We can rewrite Equation (1) from the main text as follows:

$$u_i^* = x_i' \beta + x_h' \delta + f(w_i; \theta) + \epsilon_{i,h}, i \in g_1 \quad (1')$$

$$u_j^* = x_j' \beta + x_h' \delta + f(w_j; \theta) + \epsilon_{i,h}, j \in g_2 \quad (1'')$$

We assume that, when the decision to participate is reached, we can compare u_i^* and u_j^* . Equation 1 focused on propensities to join the labour force and access to decent work. Introducing heterogeneity into the analytical framework may clarify why, even for the same outcome, different effects are observed across attributes.

4.1. Effects of Non–Income/Non-Economic Barriers

Barriers exist at diverse levels, including household/individual, community, and macroeconomy. For instance, women who are not given equal opportunity to quality education may lack the skills needed to find decent work. Even women who have achieved good education may feel they have no access to decent work if childcare is not available or if they live in neighbourhoods with less dependable transportation access. At the macro level, the availability of jobs may be a constraint, or workplace discrimination or biases may persist. Some of these barriers are realized within the household, plausibly induced by intrahousehold bargaining, cultural beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions of the labour market.

Let b_j index the elements of the set of barriers B . If these factors render the threshold endogenous by shifting it, then the women worker's utility valuation may not be enough to cross a modified threshold, making the probability of participation smaller. To adjust, we reflect the necessary modifications to (2):

$$\underline{U}_{i,b_j} > \underline{U}_i \text{ and } \Delta \underline{U}_{b_j} = \underline{U}_{i,b_j} - \underline{U}_i \geq 0 \quad (4)$$

where $\Delta \underline{U}_{b_j}$ is the differential between two thresholds. Condition 4 simply shows that the minimum threshold associated with a barrier is greater than when the barrier does not exist.

Letting $u_{i,b_j}^* = u_i^* + \Delta \underline{U}_{b_j}$, the adjusted utility is lower as non-monetary barriers may increase utility loss relative to the case when barriers are not present. Thus, in the presence of barriers,

$$d_i = \begin{cases} \text{not participate, } u_i^* \leq u_{i,b_j}^* + \Delta \underline{U}_{b_j} \\ \text{participate, } u_i^* > u_{i,b_j}^* - \Delta \underline{U}_{b_j} \end{cases} \quad (5)$$

Thus, barriers introduce a wedge into the labour-force decision, altering the utility flow associated with non–market activities, making reservation utility higher, and plausibly influencing the decision calculus of the worker.

The main takeaway from this model is that context-specific barriers are different

from economic constraints posed by nonlabour income. Some of the constraints may be mitigated by available resources. The presence of barriers increases the reservation wages or simply discourages women from participating in the labour market.

V. Data and Methodology

In identifying the context-specific barriers to women's access to decent work, we first used a quantitative approach with nationally representative data to establish empirical relationships. However, because of limitations in the information collected by surveys, we complemented our quantitative approach with a qualitative approach to delve deeper into the multidimensional nature of these context-specific barriers (Molina-Azorin, 2016).

5.1. Quantitative Approach

We used the Labor Force Survey, a nationally representative dataset of households and their members conducted on a quarterly basis. We gathered the Labor Force Survey rounds for Quarters 1-4 for 2017, 2019, and 2020, and Quarters 1-3 for 2021. The dataset included information for 744,318 households and 3,269,945 individuals. We included only individuals of working age 15-64 (2,091,453, or 63.96% of the sample). The structure is non-panel, but we constructed a repeated cross-sectional dataset for a time-consistent representation of the labour market and to capture the effect of COVID-19. All estimations include quarter and year dummies to capture within-year seasonality and yearly aggregate demand and changes.

Equation 1 provides the basis for our estimating equation for the likelihood that a woman will be able to access decent work. We augmented Klasen and Pieters' (2015)

specification with region, quarter, and year fixed effects and individual characteristics available in the Labor Force Survey. One caveat is that it is not possible to directly integrate variables on legal barriers, social context, and norms given how these are not observable in the Labor Force Survey. Considering the information in the Labor Force Survey, we estimated the following model of FLFP in decent work only for women of working age, 15-64:

$$Y_{irqt} = \alpha_0 + \mathbf{x}'_i \boldsymbol{\beta} + \mathbf{x}'_h \boldsymbol{\delta} + \boldsymbol{\Phi}_{o(i)} + \boldsymbol{\Psi}_{j(i)} + \boldsymbol{\mu}_r + \boldsymbol{\tau}_q + \boldsymbol{\gamma}_t + \varepsilon_{iqt} \quad (5)$$

where:

$i, r, q,$ and t refer to the individual (woman), region, quarter, and year, respectively.

Y_{irqt} = 1[woman i at time t is participating in what is considered Decent Work]

Our definition for decent work follows the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (2018) definition as closely as possible. Hence, decent work is defined

1[In paid work; weekly work hours ≥ 40 (based on Philippine definition of full-time work hours); basic daily pay \geq minimum wage; permanent nature of employment]

\mathbf{x}'_i = A vector of individual level indicators including
Age
Age squared
A vector of dummy variables for:
Highest grade completed
Marital status

\mathbf{x}'_h = A vector of household level indicators including
Indicators of having children at different developmental ages (0-5, 6-11, 12-14)
Indicators of having other household members that can provide childcare, and
An Urban/rural indicator

$\boldsymbol{\Phi}_{o(i)}$ = Is a vector of occupation fixed effects based on major groups of the Philippine Standard Occupational Classification. These reflect occupation-specific conditions of the labour market.

$\boldsymbol{\Psi}_{j(i)}$ = Is a vector of industry fixed effects based on major sections in the Philippine Standard Industrial Classification. These represent industry-specific characteristics of the labour market.

- μ_r = Is a vector of region fixed effects to account for region-specific, time-invariant factors such as differences in the level of development, institutions, and governance. This removes any region-specific correlated effects.
- τ_q = Is a vector of quarter dummies to account for seasonal changes in the trends of participation in decent work, such as effects that may be attributable to the start of school.
- γ_t = Is a vector of year dummies to account for yearly changes in aggregate demand and the Philippine economy.

One realization in the literature is that workers with attributes that are correlated with the possibility of accessing decent work are different from the average population profile. If the latent processes that determine the likelihood of joining the labour force and accessing decent work are correlated, Equation 5 may be inadequate, implying that estimates may not, on average, reflect population characteristics. However, as discussed in the analytical framework, access to decent work may be conditional on characteristics that are correlated with labour-force participation. To correct for this, we applied the Heckman correction using selection equations based on employment and labour-force participation for robustness. The labour-force participation expressed in Equation 1 may be specified as

$$\begin{aligned} Pr(u_i^* > u_{i,b_j}^* - \Delta U_{b_j} | \mathbf{x}, \mathbf{w}, \mathbf{z}) &= Pr(d_i = 1 | \mathbf{x}, \mathbf{w}, \mathbf{z}) \\ &= \Phi(x_i' \beta + x_h' \delta + f(w_i; \theta_o) + g(z_f - z_m, \theta_d)) \quad i = 1 \dots \dots, N \end{aligned}$$

When operationalized via the Heckman two-step method, we can compute the inverse of Mill's ratio, with the dependent variable of interest represented by the access to decent work. We assume that this variable enters the outcome equation linearly.

We augmented Equation 5 by adding the inverse Mills ratio pertaining to the evaluated ratios of the density and distribution functions of estimated index functions: Defining the ratio as

$$\lambda(\mathbf{z}_i' \hat{\boldsymbol{\pi}}) = \frac{\phi(\mathbf{z}_i' \hat{\boldsymbol{\pi}})}{\Phi(\mathbf{z}_i' \hat{\boldsymbol{\pi}})}$$

where $\mathbf{z}_i' \hat{\boldsymbol{\pi}}$ refers to the estimated index function which is equal to $x_i' \hat{\beta} + x_h' \hat{\delta} + f(w_i; \hat{\theta}_o) + g(z_f - z_m, \hat{\theta}_d)$.

The selectivity-corrected model now becomes

$$Y_{irqt} = \alpha_0 + \mathbf{x}'_i \boldsymbol{\beta} + \mathbf{x}'_h \boldsymbol{\delta} + \sigma \widehat{W}_{irqt} + \boldsymbol{\mu}_r + \boldsymbol{\tau}_q + \boldsymbol{\gamma}_t + \varepsilon_{iqt} \quad (6)$$

where

$$\widehat{W}_{irqt} = \lambda(\mathbf{z}'_i \widehat{\boldsymbol{\pi}})$$

W_{irqt} = Employment defined as 1[*has a job*], and
labour-force participation defined as 1[*has a job or looking for work*].

\mathbf{z}'_i is the full set of variables in Equation 5 plus an intrahousehold power-distance variable we specified to satisfy the exclusion restriction. The power-distance variable is our attempt to capture within-household collective labour supply decisions, where the decision for the woman to work may be influenced by bargaining between household head and spouse within a household. We calculated the proxy measure for power distance per household as the difference in (1) highest grade completed and (2) age between the married household head and spouse.³ We then assumed that, based on this power distance between husband and wife, the wife would make the decision to be employed or enter the labour force, and only after entering would be subjected to the uncertainty of access to decent work. As an additional check for robustness, we also provided a straightforward estimation of Equation 5 using probit with the full-sample of working-age women and another restricted to the employed-only subsample.

The power-distance measure also allowed us a separate extended analysis to test how social norms (proxied as the difference in bargaining power between husband and wife) may act as barriers to women's labour-force participation.

In addition to the extended power-distance analysis, we entertained the ways in which women's categorical placement across multiple, mutually-exclusive outcomes (i.e., nature of employment, worker class) may respond to women's characteristics (Equations 7a and 7b) to investigate women's labour-supply decisions in terms of the nature of their

³ This is calculated as level of the wife's attribute minus the husband's. Therefore, the values include $\{Z^-, 0, Z^+\}$, where Z^- is a set of negative integers implying the woman has lower educational attainment or is younger than the man, 0 if they are at the same grade completed or age, and Z^+ is a set of positive integers implying that the woman's educational attainment was higher or that she was older than her husband. We then classified the power distance into three categories: "Lower" for those in $\{Z^-\}$, "Same" for those in $\{0\}$, and "Higher" for those in $\{Z^+\}$, and treat it as a factor variable. We investigated whether disparities between men and women could explain women's access to decent work.

employment (permanent, short-term, different employers), and the class of their work (private household, establishment, self-employment, government, or unpaid work).

$$Pr(Y_{iqt} = j) = F(\beta_0 + \beta_E D_{Eiqt} + \beta_X X_{iqt} + \alpha_r + \tau_q + \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{iqt}) \quad (7a)$$

$\forall j$ outcomes of nature of employment

$$Pr(Y_{iqt} = k) = F(\beta_0 + \beta_E D_{Eiqt} + \beta_X X_{iqt} + \alpha_r + \tau_q + \gamma_t + \varepsilon_{iqt}) \quad (7b)$$

$\forall k$ outcomes of class of worker

Where:

Y_{it} = 1[woman i at time t is working a job of a particular nature of employment or class of worker]

$F(.)$ = A cumulative distribution function such that the independent variables are the same as in equation (7) less occupation and industry dummies to facilitate a more efficient calculation.

j = A set of three outcomes for nature of employment

k = A set of seven outcomes for class of worker

We estimated Equations (7a) and (7b) using multinomial logistic regressions where the base outcome for (8a) is “different employers,” and that for (7b) is “private household”. The relative risk ratios (RRR) are presented instead of the conventional marginal effects to show the likelihood of being in an outcome relative to the base outcome with respect to the changes in independent variables. We forego the test for independence of irrelevant alternatives considering the exhaustive, mutually exclusive nature of outcomes in both indicators – that is, we do not expect a red bus-blue bus problem to arise given that there are no undocumented or unobserved outcomes in employment and worker class variables.

Lastly, introducing heterogeneity into the analytical framework may clarify why, even for the same outcome, different effects are observed across attributes. We tested possibilities of heterogenous impacts across different subgroups: rural and urban areas, before and during the COVID-19 pandemic, and across developmental age groups.

5.2. Qualitative Approach

We conducted interviews with three classifications of employed women aged 15-64. Some of the interviews were conducted in pairs while some were done individually.⁴ First, we conducted online interviews with women working in formal sectors. We first conducted an online screening survey sent to working women's groups in professional networking and social media sites. This was also to collect demographic information and a preliminary check of perceptions on decent work and the context-specific barriers. We asked participants whether they were willing to participate in a longer, in-depth round of questioning through personal interviews. Around sixty-one women answered the screening survey. Of this number, around 44% (~ 27) were willing to be interviewed. We randomly ordered these women and contacted them in succession and let them choose the date and time convenient to them for us to engage them in an online interview.

Second, we conducted live interviews with women working in informal sectors, particularly those providing domestic care. They hailed from local low-income communities around the capital region. Lastly, we conducted policy-focused interviews and discussions with lawmakers and researchers who were considered gender and labour experts as well as with government workers. The gender experts were chosen based on their history of work and the centrality of their position in shaping the legislative landscape. We reached out to researchers from prestigious think tanks that have worked with policymakers on issues in labour, family, and gender. We also reached out to lawmakers who were heads of labour-related political parties to collect information and enter a discussion. Over the course of the primary data gathering, some barriers started to appear, particularly those surrounding the availability of daycare services. As a result, we engaged in a focus-group discussion with local government officials (barangay level) and government-operated daycare workers to identify the factors that contributed to the persistence of these barriers.

In total, we conducted seven interviews with women in formal work, two interviews

⁴ The authors initially scheduled the interviews to be conducted as focus-group discussions, but scheduling conflicts arose among the participants. The group decided to divide the interviews based on participants' availability.

with women in informal work, and four interviews with experts, lawmakers, and government workers.

Box 3 in the Appendix summarizes the research questions, which concerned perceptions of decent work and context-specific barriers to decent work. We recorded interviews using video conferencing software and mobile phones, and they were then transcribed, and translated into English. The responses were then analysed using NVivo.

We used inductive thematic analysis to process interview responses and identify codes and potential themes within the transcripts (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This entailed transcribing audio and video files and developing familiarity through repeated reading. Keywords and vital passages were identified and coded into themes under each context-specific barrier. For example, keywords and passages that revealed a patriarchal society, gender expectations of care work, and how these roles were instilled fell under cultural norms and biases. Repeated coding cycles helped identify all conceptual clusters and thus evolved into major themes, which were tallied and discussed in a roundtable discussion of the research team. Coding tallies for emerging major themes and their sub-themes, and a description of the women in the sample, are provided in Boxes 4 and 5 in the Appendix, respectively.

VI. Results and Discussion

6.1. Quantitative Results

Table 2 presents the results of estimating Equation 5 (probit regressions including the full sample and the employed-only subsample of working-aged women in Columns 1 and 2, and, in Equation 6, probit regressions using the Heckman correction for selection based on employment and labour-force participation (Columns 3 and 4, respectively). In all specifications, we have reported marginal effects of key variables. It may be noted

that coefficient signs and significance are generally consistent across estimations, though there were a few exceptions. It may also be noted that access to decent work is only statistically independent of employment but not labour-force participation, which necessitates the joint estimation of both equations using the selection-corrected probit model conditional on labour-force participation.

All estimations confirm several observations about factors influencing access to decent work. First, likelihood of access increases significantly with educational attainment. This increase is most pronounced for tertiary graduates and postgraduates. Penalties do exist, however, for those who are unable to finish higher than secondary education. This is consistent with findings from human-capital studies (Yamauchi & Tiongco, 2013). Consistent with the life cycle for labour-force participation (Epetia, 2019), access to decent work increases with age but at a diminishing rate. On the other hand, the findings for marital status go against the expectation that being married may mean that women are compelled to stay at home and shoulder unpaid care work (Valdez et al, 2022; Cabegin & Gaddi, 2019). Results of our estimates consistently reveal that married (and even widowed) women have higher likelihood of being in decent work compared to single women. It is possible that being married is not a barrier to women's access to decent work. At the same time, what is consistent with previous studies is the effect of the presence of children in the household: reported coefficients reveal that women have a lower likelihood of being in decent work for as long as they have infants or primary and even secondary school-age children. In fact, the main reason about 29% of women in the Labor Force Survey did not enter the labour force was the need to tend to family duties (Panel A of Box 6 in the Appendix). Our results confirmed that what may act as relief for these women are the presence of household members that can provide childcare (typically grandparents, other relatives, or domestic helpers). With guardians who provide de facto within-household childcare, women are less likely to report household duties as the reason they are not looking for work (Panel B of Box 6 in the Appendix).

In the multinomial logistic regressions (Box 7 in the Appendix), while evidence is suggestive at best, we found that higher levels of education and age were associated with a greater likelihood of working in more stable or permanent jobs usually in private

establishments, government, or self-employment. Being married and having children, however, tended to sort women into less stable employment such as unpaid family business. This supports how cultural factors and norms may enforce gender roles, thus discouraging women from looking for work.

Table 2. Factors That Influence the Ability to Gain Access to Decent Work

	Probit		Heckman Probit	
	Full sample	Employed-only sub-sample	Selection on Employment	Selection on Labor-Force Participation
Reference: No grade completed				
Primary Undergraduate	-0.00895 (0.00629)	-0.00906 (0.00629)	-0.00366 (0.00316)	-0.00567 * (0.00315)
Primary Graduate	-0.00987 (0.00630)	-0.01 (0.00630)	-0.00836 *** (0.00321)	-0.01074 ** (0.00322)
Secondary Undergraduate	-0.0186 *** (0.00630)	-0.0188 *** (0.00630)	-0.02513 *** (0.00315)	-0.02544 *** (0.00319)
Secondary Graduate	-0.0185 *** (0.00617)	-0.0187 *** (0.00617)	-0.02335 *** (0.00311)	-0.02477 *** (0.00314)
Post Secondary Undergraduate & Graduate	0.0118 * (0.00698)	0.0117 * (0.00698)	-0.00482 (0.00374)	-0.00605 (0.00380)
Tertiary Undergraduate	0.00254 (0.00638)	0.00231 (0.00638)	-0.00335 (0.00326)	-0.00189 (0.00330)
Tertiary Graduate	0.0782 *** (0.00635)	0.0781 *** (0.00635)	0.075052 *** (0.00325)	0.07408 *** (0.00329)
Postgraduate	0.185 *** (0.00879)	0.184 *** (0.00879)	0.174388 *** (0.00584)	0.17227 *** (0.00582)

Age	0.0223	***	0.0223	***	0.016559	***	0.0145	***
	(0.00038)		(0.00038)		(0.00062)		(0.00047)	
Square of age	-0.000216	***	-0.000216	***	-0.000166	***	-0.00014	***
	(0.00000)		(0.00000)		(0.00001)		(0.00001)	
Reference group: single								
Married	0.0258	***	0.026	***	0.030631	***	0.03278	***
	(0.00184)		(0.00184)		(0.00115)		(0.00119)	
Widowed	0.0197	***	0.02	***	0.014096	***	0.01644	***
	(0.00310)		(0.00310)		(0.00207)		(0.00211)	
Separated	0.00306		0.00318		-0.0051	**	-0.00406	*
	(0.00339)		(0.00339)		(0.00227)		(0.00231)	
Annulled	0.0762	**	0.0761	**	0.03203		0.03499	
	(0.03450)		(0.03450)		(0.02704)		(0.02749)	
Household has members who can provide childcare	0.0111	***	0.0109	***	0.007126	***	0.00773	***
	(0.00158)		(0.00158)		(0.00102)		(0.00103)	
Has Child Aged 0-5	-0.00316	**	-0.00319	**	0.000975		0.00075	
	(0.00136)		(0.00136)		(0.00082)		(0.00084)	
Has Child Aged 6-11	-0.0105	***	-0.0104	***	-0.00535	***	-0.00427	***
	(0.00129)		(0.00130)		(0.00083)		(0.00082)	
Has Child Aged 12-14	-0.0103	***	-0.0103	***	-0.00482	***	-0.00363	***
	(0.00140)		(0.00140)		(0.00090)		(0.00089)	
Obs.	458,141		457,387		2,946,752		2,414,455	
R ²	0.2444		0.2448					
Censored Obs					1,675,832		1,142,015	
Uncensored Obs					1,270,920		1,272,440	

LR test of independent equations		
Estimated rho	-0.01178	-0.09562
	-0.02113	-0.01661
Test statistics	0.31	32.8
Prob > chi2	0.5765	0

Source: Author's computation, Labor Force Survey. Notes: *, **, and *** represent significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively. Standard errors in parentheses. Pseudo R² is reported for Probit. All specifications include vectors of occupation, industry, region, quarter, and year dummies.

Looking at heterogeneity of effects (Box 8 in the Appendix), we found that women in urban areas tended to have greater returns to educational attainment and to experience greater penalties in access to decent work for being married. Women's age shows a similar pattern of greater returns to educational attainment and greater penalties for being married among women in their early career (aged 21-35) and late career to retirement (aged 48-64).

We note a few interesting results. While having children may reduce women's access to decent work on average, the returns to education and even marital status tend to be unclear, suggesting that children may be less of a burden, and women may eventually regain access to decent work as their children grow older. During the pandemic, returns to educational attainment were dampened, but the same applied to the penalties to married women.

The extended analysis (Panel A and Panel B of Box 9 in the Appendix) offers newer insight regarding bargaining spouses. While wages, decent work employment rates, and women's labour-force participation in general tend to be higher when the women's education and age is higher than the males, it appears that these rates are highest for women in households where they have the same level of education or age with men partners. Moreover, for the women not engaged in the labour force, those in households with same or higher levels of education and age than their men partners have lower frequencies of reporting household and family duties as reasons for not looking for work. This may suggest that equality in education and age may lead to better bargaining and may translate to better planning, or that perhaps teamwork is better between more equal

spouses than in situations in which differences in age and education between spouses are more striking.

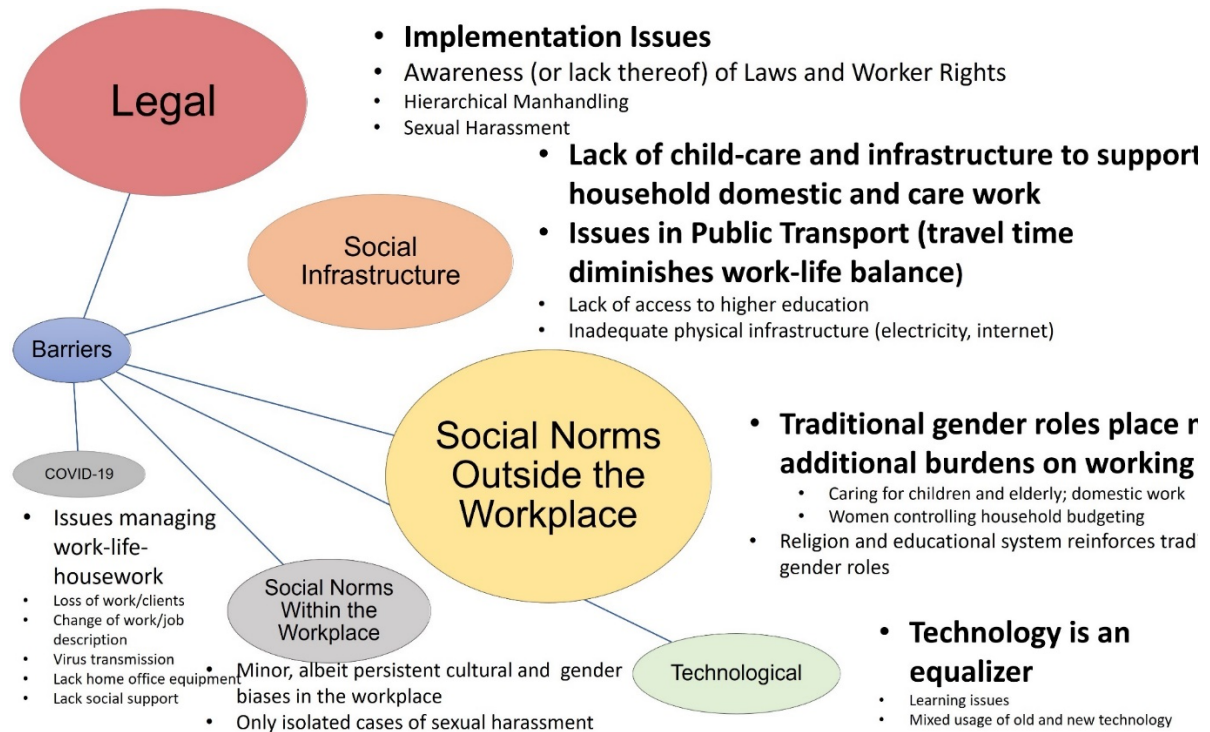
6.2. Qualitative Results

In our interviews, we first asked our respondents about their perception of decent work. Five major themes emerged: (1) Fair compensation that is enough to cover the costs of living, with (2) fair benefits (usually health cover for the worker and their family), a (3) conducive working environment that prioritizes health and safety and helps cultivate their growth in both personal life and career. As for other emerging themes, up to some extent, women view work that is decent as one that (4) promotes work-life balance (they do not have to bring their work home and can leave on time), and (5) fair treatment, meaning freedom and dignity. While some of these are consistent with United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific and International Labour Organization definitions of decent work, representation in collective decisions and social dialogue do not seem to be key priorities. What is interesting is the theme of being able to cultivate personal growth in addition to career growth as part of decent work.

Figure 4 reveals the major barriers to women's access to decent work. The size of the nodes and text reveal the gravity of these issues as reflected in the interviews, with much larger nodes and text representing larger hindrances to decent work for women (meaning the times they appeared across files and respondents is greater in number).

The greatest barriers to women's decent work are three-fold: 1) Social norms that create expectations about gender roles, 2) implementation issues in the enforcement of women-focused laws, and 3) the lack of public childcare facilities.

Figure 4. Major themes in context-specific barriers to women's access to decent work.



Source: Authors' analysis of interviews.

Working women, gender experts, and even lawmakers alike agree that deep-rooted beliefs and traditions continue to shape contemporary Filipino culture and that expectations about gender roles are still widely observed in society. “Bringing in the money is the man’s job” and “caring for children, the elderly, laundry, cleaning, and household budgeting is the woman’s job” are stereotypes that summarize these gender expectations. Household-care work remains the largest reason why women forego productive work, and some women shoulder this additional responsibility along with their own full-time jobs. Participants also noted that fathers are often uninvolved in teaching or raising children and doing household chores, thinking that their duty ends once they come home and hand their pay checks off to their wives. This uneven distribution of the household workload is what detracts from the decency of work. Participants noted how institutions such as religion and the educational system reinforce these beliefs and cited how these roles are instilled in children and are largely observable by their parents. For example, religion places fathers/husbands as head of the households whereas mother/wives are expected to be subservient. Another example is how learning modules

in basic education perpetuate gender stereotypes in colours (blue and pink), toys (cars vs. dolls), and roles in the household (hard labour vs. cooking and laundry).

From a legal perspective, the Philippines does not lack women-focused laws. However, respondents, experts, and local government officials agree that the greatest legal barrier is the implementation, monitoring, and enforcement of these laws and related programs. The Gender and Development budget is underutilized and varies wildly with political will and the availability of technical expertise in crafting gender-sensitive policies. Companies need to have a more proactive approach in making their workers aware of these laws because the resolution of gender issues within the workplace remains dependent on company culture which is prone to gender biases.

Following the disparate placement of childcare expectations upon women, the largest barrier pertaining to social infrastructure is inadequate childcare facilities. While the law mandates the establishment of daycare centres in local government units, these facilities lack human resources and supplies. Interviews conducted with barangay workers revealed that utilization rates and pupil-teacher ratios are remarkably high among lower income households. Barangay daycare workers are also underpaid, and daycare centres lack facilities and supplies to accommodate more children and for longer hours. Our respondents noted that the lack of public transportation detracted from the decency of work because long commutes consumed time that could be spent resting or fulfilling household duties. This is not, however, an issue experienced solely by women.

No major themes emerged around social norms within workplaces. While respondents cited difficulties in dealing with upper and middle management, cases of harassment were rare, and the women in our sample were content about their work, representation, protection, and empowerment. Nor was technology a barrier, and, in fact, the flexibility of work-from-home and digital-work setups helped women level the playing field in labour-force participation. It also allowed them to balance all their responsibilities. However, with the COVID-19 pandemic, the main barrier that women encountered was managing work-life-housework.

VII. Conclusion and Policy Implications

The Philippines has been actively pursuing gender equity, and this is evident in the comprehensive list of laws that protect women and encourage their market participation. As a result of such barriers as norms ingrained in Filipino culture, issues that plague the implementation of laws, and the scarcity of childcare arrangements (factors that are typically not captured in survey data), however, the gap between men and women in labour-force participation and access to decent work persists.

The quantitative analysis reveals that higher education is indeed the great equalizer and is the key to greater access to decent work. On the other hand, having children not surprisingly may prevent women from entering the labour force. With sufficient childcare facilities and arrangements, in contrast, they can secure more decent work. These penalties also disappear when power imbalances in educational attainment and age between spouses are narrowed.

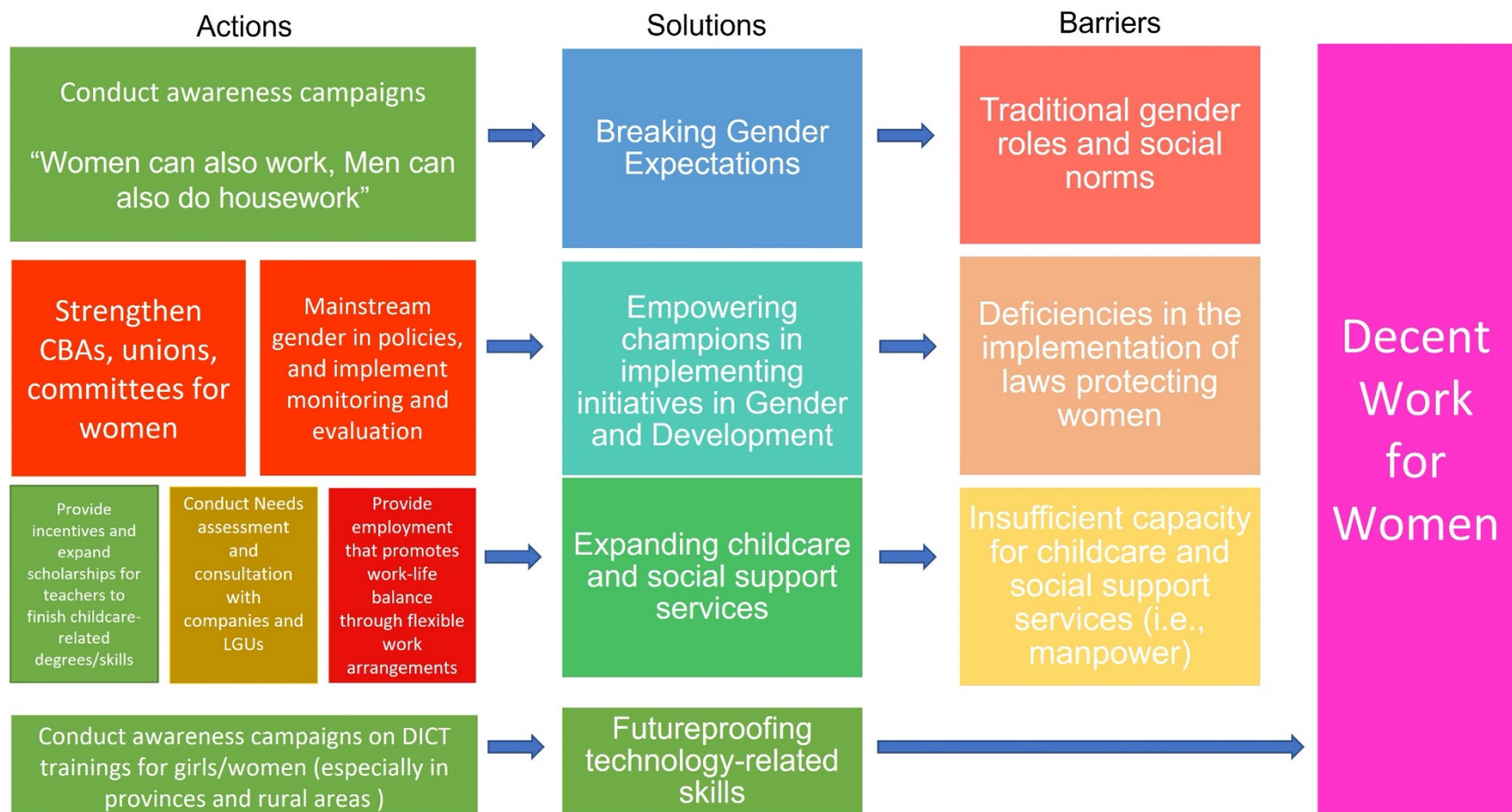
The qualitative analysis reveals that the greatest barrier to women accessing decent work is poor implementation of laws protecting women (and not the lack of or inadequacy of laws). Child-rearing and associated housework are by far what reduces labour-force participation among women, and this is perpetuated by age-old beliefs and enforcement of traditional gender roles that disproportionately place the burden of household-care work upon women. Lastly, daycare centres, which are supposed to alleviate the burden of mothers who have children may be spread too thinly in human resources and supply.

7.1. A Strategy for Policy

To address the barriers hampering women's access to decent work, we recommend four-broad solutions and actions that can be taken (Figure 5). First, the most feasible strategy

would be to raise awareness to break cultural norms reinforcing traditional gender roles. The visibility and value of care work to society and the economy need to be raised and captured more accurately in measures of growth and development. society's collective psyche needs to start distributing household duties more evenly between men and women.

Figure 5. Policy roadmap for addressing the largest barriers to women’s access to decent work.



Note: Different colors of actions indicate different levels of feasibility. Green = high, Yellow = medium, Red = low.

Source: Authors' quantitative and qualitative analyses.

Because can be an equalizer of work opportunities, women need to be more empowered to work in an increasingly digital workplace, including taking advantage of training programs offered by the Department of Information and Communications Technology. We recommend raising the visibility of these training programs through awareness campaigns to give women the nudge they need to help them pursue productive work.

With the increase of households in which both men and women are working, social childcare services are more urgently needed, and the availability of childcare services at the local-government level should be expanded. Greater incentives need to be put in place to help increase the number of teachers and daycare workers. Fortunately, members of the Philippine Congress are pushing the Magna Carta for Daycare Workers, which is aimed at improving remuneration of and benefits for daycare workers, and this should work well in conjunction with the existing Unified Student Financial Assistance System for Tertiary Education Act which provides scholarships and financial assistance to students. Supply and facility concerns of local government units also need to be investigated, and their budget utilization needs to be studied. Local government units and workplaces should also start providing livelihood programs for women, either through work-from-home options, workplace policies that allow them to bring their children, or more flexible working arrangements that allow them to balance all their responsibilities.

Lastly, improving the implementation, enforcement, monitoring, and evaluation of women-focused laws and programs warrants a stronger tripartite partnership of government-employer-employee. This entails applying a gender lens in policy making, enabling lawmakers and government workers to develop gender-responsive policies and improve coordination across various levels of government agencies. Champions for gender-responsive policies are needed, and they should be empowered to speak on behalf of women. These could be any organ of collective representation—collective bargaining agreements, unions, or committees, e.g. or they could be Gender and Development Program-focused persons in local government units and companies. The roles of experts in

gender mainstreaming can be strengthened and made more visible to help ensure that women are heard, that laws are enforced, that gender-related targets are met, and that resources are efficiently and effectively used to enhance the welfare of working women.

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Appendix

Box 1. Occupations and Industries under the Philippine Standard Industrial Classification and Philippine Standard Industrial Classification

Philippine Standard Occupational Classification	
Code	
0	Armed Forces Occupations
1	Managers
2	Professionals
3	Technicians and Associate Professionals
4	Clerical and Support
5	Service and Sales
6	Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishery
7	Crafts and Trades
8	Plant and Machine Operators, Assemblers
9	Elementary Occupations

Philippine Standard Industrial Classification		
PSIC Code	Abbreviation	Industry
A	AFF	Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing
B	MAQ	Mining and Quarrying
C	MFG	Manufacturing
D	ELG	Electricity, Gas, Steam and Air Conditioning
E	WSW	Water Supply, Sewerage, Waste Management
F	CNS	Construction
G	WRT	Wholesale and Retail Trade; Repair of Motor Vehicles and Motorcycles
H	TNS	Transportation and Storage
I	AFS	Accommodation and Food Service
J	IC	Information and Communication
K	FIA	Financial and Insurance Activities
L	RE	Real Estate Activities
M	PST	Professional, Scientific, and Technical Activities
N	ASSA	Administrative and Support Service Activities
O	PAD	Public Administration and Defence, and Public Security
P	ED	Education
Q	HHSG	Human, Health, and Social Work
R	AER	Arts, Entertainment and Recreation
S	OS	Other Services
T		Activities of Households as Employers; Undifferentiated Goods- and Services-Producing Activities of Households for Own Use
U		Activities of Extra-Territorial Organizations and Bodies

Box 2. Laws and Regulations for Women in the Philippines

Republic Act No.	Republic Act Name	Description
RA 11210	Expanded Maternity Leave	The law extends the maternity paid leave from 60 to 105 days with an option to extend for additional 30 days without pay. There is also an extension of 15 days for paid maternity leave for female solo parents.
RA 1186128	Expanded Solo Parents Welfare Act	The law promotes the rights of solo parents and provides adequate social protection programs such as monthly cash subsidy, discount, and exemption from value-added tax, among others. Though this is not exclusive for female solo parents, they comprise 95 percent of the 14-15 million solo parents in the Philippines as of 2021.
RA 6725	Prohibition on Discrimination Against Women	Discrimination based on gender is prohibited. This includes favouring male employees over females in promotion, capacity building, and other benefits.
RA 7882	Assistance for small-scale women entrepreneurs	All possible support to women owning, operating, and managing small business enterprises should be given to them.
RA 6972	Barangay-level Total Development and Protection of Children	All barangays are required to provide day care centres in their respective areas. These daycare centres care for the children of working mothers during the day, and at times can provide the same care for those mothers working at night.
RA 11313	Safe Spaces Act (Bawal ang Bastos)	Prohibits any form of gender-based sexual harassment to any individual in public places (includes public transportation, common carriers, and private vehicles under the Transport Network Vehicle Services), educational institutions, training institutions, workplace, and online platforms.
RA 7877	Anti-sexual harassment Act of 1995	Any form of sexual harassment, to any gender, in work-related environments is strictly prohibited. Employers are tasked to create committees or groups that observe the decorum and are given responsibility to investigate any gender-based harassment.

RA 10395	Act Strengthening Tripartism, Amending for the Purpose Article 275 of Presidential Decree No. 442 (Labor Code of the Philippines)	The act guarantees the legitimate involvement of employees in tripartite bodies. In order to reinforce tripartism, the law institutionalizes tripartite councils at all levels, which have evolved and grown to include migrants, youth, women, public and informal employees.
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-	Gender and Development (GAD) budget	It is a key provision under the RA 9710 or Magna Carta for Women. It requires that all government agencies should include 5 percent of their total budget appropriations for activities supporting GAD.
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Source: Philippine Congress.

Box 3. Summary of Research Questions and Sources Used in Primary Data Gathering

Dimension	Specific Research Objectives	Specific Research Question	Data Collection Method	Source/Informants
Decent Work Perceptions	Investigate common perception of decent work.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do women perceive decent work to be? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • KIIs/FGDs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women working in formal sectors
Legal	Identify and analyse the barriers that prevent the enforcement of legislations that promote gender equality and women's empowerment.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What policies seek to promote gender equality and women's empowerment? • What is the status of the implementation of these policies? How have companies and local government units institutionalized these policies in their respective jurisdictions and what mechanisms (e.g., formal, informal, monitoring/reporting) have been put in place? • Are all relevant stakeholders (working women, HR officers and managers of companies) aware of existing laws that seek to promote gender equality and women's empowerment? • What factors (e.g., institutional, governance, resources, politics) impede/promote the enforcement/implementation of these laws at the national, sub-national, and local government level? • How can existing laws and their implementation be improved? What new policies are needed? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of laws and policies • KIIs/FGDs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women working in formal sectors • Civil society groups • Companies and HR officers, managers, recruiters • Government agencies • Legislators • Local government units • Gender experts/specialists

Dimension	Specific Research Objectives	Specific Research Question	Data Collection Method	Source/Informants
Social infrastructure	Identify the role that social infrastructure (day care facilities, social protection, microfinance, domestic help, transportation) serve in access to decent work.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are women aware about available social infrastructure and laws that aim to provide them? • Are these social infrastructures readily available and accessible to all women? • Are women able to make use of these social infrastructure? How do they perceive the quality of existing infrastructure and services? • To what extent do working women think the previously mentioned social infrastructures can help improve access to or quality of decent work? • What factors (e.g., institutional, resources, politics) hamper the provision of these services? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review of laws and policies • KIIs/FGDs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women working in formal sectors • Civil society groups • Companies and HR officers, managers, recruiters • Government agencies • Legislators • Local government units • Microfinance institutions
Social norms outside the workplace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Probe how gender norms affect access to decent work, how unpaid care work is perceived among households, and whether women are given the same decision-making ability as men. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What role in the household do women perceive their immediate society/community expect them to fulfil? • Are women given the same decision-making ability as men? • Are women given the same access to and control over economic resources and social services? • What attitudes or perceptions do women and their immediate communities have about women engaging in productive work and contributing to household income, as opposed to being engaged in unpaid household-care work? • How do social gender norms affect women's labour supply decisions? • To what extent do social institutions (basic education, religious groups, ethnicity, family) enforce gender expectations in society? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • KIIs/FGDs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women working in formal sectors • Women in agriculture, and in informal sectors • Civil society groups, church groups • Gender specialists • Local government units

Dimension	Specific Research Objectives	Specific Research Question	Data Collection Method	Source/Informants
Social norms within the workplace	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Investigate the extent of discrimination against women in the workplace, and whether women have increased participation at top management positions. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What policies have companies implemented and what mechanisms (e.g., formal, informal, monitoring/reporting) have they established to institutionalize laws that ensure that women are treated equally in the workplace? Do women receive the same opportunities, incentives, and rewards that men are given? Are women able to actively participate in developing the workplace? Are women given fair representation in decision-making structures of their workplace? Do men and women have equal representation at middle and top management positions in companies? To what extent do women experience inequality or harassment in the workplace? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Review of laws and policies KIIs/FGDs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women working in formal sectors Women in agriculture, and in informal sectors Civil society groups Companies and HR officers, managers, recruiters Gender specialists Microfinance institutions
COVID-19 impact	Investigate how COVID-19 has impacted women's access to decent work.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What roles in the household did women take up during the COVID-19 pandemic? What effect did COVID-19 have on the labour supply decisions of women? How did it affect women's allocation of time between productive and household work? How did COVID-19 affect women's employment status and access to decent work? How did COVID-19 affect women's work arrangements? Did women experience harassment or violence during the respective lockdowns? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> KIIs/FGDs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women working in formal sectors Women in agriculture, and in informal sectors Civil society groups Companies and HR officers, managers, recruiters Local government units

Dimension	Specific Research Objectives	Specific Research Question	Data Collection Method	Source/Informants
Technology change impact	Explore how technological changes in industries and workplaces have affected women's access to decent work.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How did changes in industries'/companies' structure and technology affect women's employment? • Are women able to adapt to technological changes in the workplace? (Are available technologies gender-sensitive?) • What resources do women need to effectively work given the technological changes occurring in the workplace? • What skills or training do women need to help adapt to the changing work environment? What kinds of training are available? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • KIIs/FGDs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women working in formal sectors • Civil society groups • Companies and HR officers, managers, recruiters

Note: KII = Key Informant Interviews; FGD = Focus-Group Discussions.

Box 4. Summary Table of Interviewee Profiles

Transcript Alias	Age	Highest educational attainment	Marital status	Children and ages	Industry	Main income earner
FGD1	25–34 years	Masteral Degree	Single / never married	None	Government	Yes
FGD2	45–54 years	Tertiary education	Widowed	1 (adult)	Social Media	Yes
IND1	35–44 years	Tertiary Education	Married	None	Insurance	No
IND2	35–44 years	Primary Education (Grade 5)	Married	3 Children ages 12, 19, 9	Informal - Housekeeping	Yes (together with husband)
IND3	35–44 years	Tertiary education	Single / never married	None	Banking	Yes
IND4	25–34 years	Lower Secondary Education (4th Year HS)	Single	None	Informal - Housekeeping	No
IND5	25–34 years	Tertiary education	Single / never married	None	Energy	No
IND6	18–24 years	Tertiary education	Single / never married	1 (baby)	Banking	Yes
IND7	55–64 years	Masteral Degree	Married	2 Children, 35 and 30.	Utility (Power)	No

Box 5. Major Codes and Subcodes Emerging from Inductive Thematic Analysis

Codes	Files	References (Instances)
Social Norms Outside the Workplace Barrier (Parent Code)	8	142
Traditional Gender Roles Place Multiple Additional Burdens on Working Women	7	37
Religious, Educational Reinforcement of Traditional Gender Roles (Child Code)	4	7
Cultural Bias and Patriarchal, Gender Issues (Child Code)	7	31

Legal Barrier (Parent Code)	6	87
Awareness (or lack thereof) of Laws and Worker Rights	4	13
Sexual Harassment	2	6
Implementation Issues	6	21
Hierarchical Manhandling	3	7

Social Infrastructure Barrier (Parent Code)	7	85
Public Transportation Issues	6	14
Lack of Childcare and Infrastructure to Support Household Domestic and Care Work	5	15
Inadequate Physical Infrastructure	4	7
Education Issues	4	8

Social Norms Within the Workplace Barrier (Parent Code)	7	44
Sexual Harassment (Child Code)	2	5
No Sexual Harassment Experienced	5	5
Men and Women Treated Equally	5	10
Cultural Bias and Patriarchal, Gender Issues	2	7

COVID-19 Barrier (Parent Code)	5	32
Lack of Social Support	3	3

No Available Proper Working Environment	2	2
Loss of Work or Loss of Clients	2	2
Issues managing work-life-housework	4	5
Direct Contact or Near Contact with COVID-19	2	4
Change of Work or Job Description	1	1

Technological Barrier (Parent Code)	5	20
Technology is Advantageous to Women	4	5
Mix Usage of Old and New Gadgets and Software	1	2
Learning Issues	3	5

Greatest Barrier For Women to Obtain Decent Work	7	56
Traditional Gender Roles and Social Norms	7	16
Law Implementation Issues	3	3
Child Rearing	6	11

Best Solutions to Undertake	7	48
Social Support Systems	1	6
Social Norms Solutions	2	5
Social Infrastructure Solutions	6	10
Education Reform	2	4
Additional Legal Remedies	2	6

Decent Work	7	22	Adding responses from online survey
Proper Work-Life Balance (Child Code)	3	4	18
Legal, Legitimate, and No Maltreatment of Others (Child Code)	1	1	8
Healthy and Safe Work Environment Conducive for Growth and Productivity (Child Code)	6	32	56

Benefits and Workers' Rights are Given and Respected (Further Child Code of Health and Safe Work Environment)	6	17	32
Personal Growth and Development (Further Child Code of Health and Safe Work Environment)	1	1	10
Fair Compensation or Salary (Child Code)	7	11	43

Box 6. Reasons for Not Looking for Work

Panel A. Reasons Why Not looking for Work, by Gender		
	Male*	Female*
Community Quarantine/Lockdown	29,281 2.76%	19,970 1.94%
Tired/Believe no work available	8,976 0.85%	3,925 0.38%
Awaiting results of previous job application	9,389 0.89%	6,447 0.62%
Temporary Illness/Disability	19,075 1.80%	11,009 1.07%
Bad Weather	1,205 0.11%	325 0.03%
Wait for rehire/Job recall	10,012 0.94%	4,345 0.42%
Too young/old or Retired/Permanent disability	21,880 2.07%	14,442 1.77%
Household, family duties	22,694 2.14%	297,934 28.88%
Schooling	145,574 13.74%	153,776 14.90%

Panel B. Proportion of Women Not Looking for Work Because of Household Duties, by Presence of Guardian.		
	Without Guardian**	With Guardian**
Women not looking for work due to household duties	243,552 28.39%	39,580 22.7%
Difference		0.0569
t-test		48.6038
p-value		0.000

Source: LFS 2017, 2019, 2020, 2021, Authors' computations.

Note: *Column percentages are reported (proportion of gender totals).

**Guardians = grandparents, other relatives, and domestic helpers.

Box 7. Multinomial Logistic Regression Results |

	Nature of Employment		Class of Worker					
	Permanent Job	Short-term Job	Private Establishment	Government	Self-employed	Employer	Family, Paid	Family, unpaid
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Primary Undergraduate	0.98413 (0.0690)	0.9863068 (0.0738)	0.6584512*** (0.0419)	1.426376** (0.2154)	0.6152273*** (0.0350)	0.5957408*** (0.0614)	0.4519945** (0.1574)	0.438818*** (0.0267)
Primary Graduate	1.27422*** (0.0902)	1.170274** (0.0883)	0.6148461*** (0.0390)	2.38834*** (0.3564)	0.6379027*** (0.0362)	0.5752792*** (0.0594)	0.3107506*** (0.1100)	0.3375271*** (0.0206)
Secondary Undergraduate	1.686827*** (0.1206)	1.671253*** (0.1268)	0.6906589*** (0.0437)	4.933513*** (0.7325)	0.8419154*** (0.0479)	0.7921775** (0.0821)	0.5468091* (0.1848)	0.4157571*** (0.0253)
Secondary Graduate	3.037636*** (0.2143)	2.297291*** (0.1721)	1.151677** (0.0719)	8.696694*** (1.2829)	1.081565 (0.0607)	1.187978* (0.1193)	0.701972 (0.2321)	0.3330496*** (0.0200)
Post Secondary Undergraduate	5.525644*** (1.0747)	3.601579*** (0.7178)	3.282021*** (0.3736)	44.78841*** (8.1699)	2.821259*** (0.3169)	4.357628*** (0.8034)	2.85777** (1.3252)	0.6015413*** (0.0835)
Post Secondary Graduate	11.61202*** (1.6788)	6.680914*** (0.9887)	5.147581*** (0.4168)	108.2964*** (16.9932)	3.483584*** (0.2694)	6.056844*** (0.7634)	2.436448** (0.9345)	0.7198976*** (0.0635)
Tertiary Undergraduate	6.919973*** (0.5706)	4.707708*** (0.4071)	3.675818*** (0.2419)	50.45134*** (7.5217)	2.903083*** (0.1746)	4.681658*** (0.4908)	2.406129*** (0.8097)	0.874835** (0.0567)
Tertiary Graduate	20.33043*** (1.6773)	6.716684*** (0.5807)	16.0321*** (1.0817)	650.738*** (97.2660)	6.211026*** (0.3855)	20.25482*** (2.0977)	8.457365*** (2.8051)	1.498155*** (0.0996)
Postgraduate	31.88733*** (8.5333)	2.975232*** (0.8274)	138.2141*** (69.7588)	16163.25*** (8,430.1780)	20.28593*** (10.3072)	194.6049*** (101.0531)	99.91898*** (67.4862)	5.291303*** (2.7795)
Age	1.019121*** (0.0011)	0.9845107*** (0.0011)	0.9691836*** (0.0006)	1.021124*** (0.0007)	1.02255*** (0.0006)	1.040863*** (0.0012)	0.9825983*** (0.0032)	0.9896484*** (0.0007)
Married	0.8582744*** (0.0299)	0.6384794*** (0.0227)	1.549791*** (0.0249)	2.413848*** (0.0471)	3.42818*** (0.0594)	2.604446*** (0.0981)	0.8123693*** (0.0648)	1.488249*** (0.0296)
Widowed	0.6743578*** (0.0349)	0.5630429*** (0.0303)	1.316972*** (0.0367)	1.834163*** (0.0617)	2.612445*** (0.0695)	2.637545*** (0.1378)	0.4526681*** (0.0971)	0.102553*** (0.0063)
Separated	0.66442*** (0.0405)	0.544695*** (0.0342)	1.119752*** (0.0324)	1.121988*** (0.0418)	1.876547*** (0.0555)	1.673849*** (0.1053)	0.5293243*** (0.0978)	0.1688486*** (0.0108)
Annulled	369340.3 (2.34e+08)	354808.8 (2.24e+08)	2.18413 (1.3366)	2.207728 (1.3869)	4.332786** (2.6570)	6.616982*** (4.5976)	1.52E-05 (0.0084)	0.80317 (0.6648)

Has Child Aged 0-5	0.9435934 (0.0217)	0.974423 (0.0231)	0.9680696** (0.0126)	1.063765*** (0.0166)	1.121334*** (0.0145)	1.044591* (0.0276)	1.219688*** (0.0844)	0.3905181** (0.1512)
Has Child Aged 6-11	0.8380813*** (0.0186)	0.8565186*** (0.0196)	0.8670584*** (0.0107)	0.9311225** *	1.002044 (0.0123)	0.9441467** (0.0236)	0.940246 (0.0635)	0.9622123** (0.0152)
Has Child Aged 12-14	0.8618001*** (0.0195)	0.9295502*** (0.0217)	0.9083639*** (0.0118)	1.008974 (0.0158)	0.9531223*** (0.0122)	0.9690076 (0.0256)	0.7291027*** (0.0572)	0.9009019*** (0.0136)
Observations	458,149			458,149				
Pseudo R2	0.0780			0.1678				

Source: Author's computation, LFS.

Notes: *, **, *** represent significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively. Pseudo R2 is reported. Relative risk ratios are reported. Base outcome for nature of employment is "different employers," and for class of workers is "private household".

Box 8. Heterogeneity Analysis

Table S6. Heterogeneity of Factors Influencing Access to Decent Work by Urban-Rural Classification, Pre- and During COVID, and by Age Group									
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Dependent Variable: Decent Work	Urban	Rural	Pre-COVID	COVID	Secondary/ Tertiary Educ. (15-20)	Emerging Adulthood, Early Career (21-35)	Late career – near retirement (48-64)	No Children	With Children (0-14 yo)
Primary Undergraduate	0.0375*** (0.0139)	0.00150 (0.00733)	0.000917 (0.00934)	0.0121 (0.00910)	0.120*** (0.0462)	0.0265 (0.0172)	0.0109 (0.00876)	-0.00103 (0.0113)	0.00955 (0.00803)
Primary Graduate	0.0857*** (0.0138)	0.00322 (0.00738)	0.0214** (0.00938)	0.0185** (0.00910)	0.166*** (0.0465)	0.0494*** (0.0173)	0.0226** (0.00879)	0.0200* (0.0112)	0.0216*** (0.00806)
Secondary Undergraduate	0.0346** (0.0137)	-0.0290*** (0.00742)	-0.0284*** (0.00937)	-0.00791 (0.00907)	-0.000875 (0.0446)	0.0488*** (0.0169)	0.0161* (0.00907)	-0.0179 (0.0113)	-0.0142* (0.00801)
Secondary Graduate	0.123*** (0.0135)	0.0321*** (0.00727)	0.0746*** (0.00916)	0.0514*** (0.00890)	0.0690 (0.0447)	0.0977*** (0.0166)	0.0502*** (0.00878)	0.0626*** (0.0110)	0.0621*** (0.00787)
Post Secondary Undergraduate	0.109*** (0.0171)	0.0537*** (0.0161)	0.0843*** (0.0216)	0.0631*** (0.0129)	0.00766 (0.0632)	0.0887*** (0.0212)	0.0667*** (0.0189)	0.0525*** (0.0180)	0.0730*** (0.0133)
Post Secondary Graduate	0.138*** (0.0143)	0.113*** (0.00922)	0.124*** (0.00999)	0.0652*** (0.0120)	0.138*** (0.0503)	0.120*** (0.0174)	0.109*** (0.0119)	0.0933*** (0.0125)	0.118*** (0.00917)
Tertiary Undergraduate	0.0989*** (0.0136)	0.0240*** (0.00781)	0.0578*** (0.00962)	0.0444*** (0.00916)	-0.0927** (0.0453)	0.0700*** (0.0168)	0.0597*** (0.00958)	0.0374*** (0.0113)	0.0539*** (0.00818)
Tertiary Graduate	0.156*** (0.0135)	0.124*** (0.00761)	0.137*** (0.00936)	0.118*** (0.00910)	0.0588 (0.0475)	0.131*** (0.0167)	0.130*** (0.00922)	0.114*** (0.0112)	0.131*** (0.00808)
Postgraduate	0.157*** (0.0154)	0.170*** (0.0103)	0.159*** (0.0120)	0.154*** (0.0113)	0.274*** (0.0841)	0.127*** (0.0193)	0.185*** (0.0123)	0.146*** (0.0135)	0.160*** (0.0106)
Age	-0.000163* (9.26e-05)	0.000346*** (8.84e-05)	-0.000778*** (9.37e-05)	0.000905*** (8.71e-05)	0.0562*** (0.00206)	0.00138*** (0.000265)	-0.00313*** (0.000259)	-0.000966*** (0.000109)	0.000317*** (8.53e-05)
Married	-0.0379*** (0.00220)	-0.0189*** (0.00263)	-0.0423*** (0.00241)	-0.0230*** (0.00233)	0.00148 (0.0107)	-0.0669*** (0.00235)	-0.0593*** (0.00484)	-0.00509* (0.00287)	-0.0332*** (0.00229)
Widowed	-0.0548*** (0.00474)	-0.00481 (0.00471)	-0.0303*** (0.00487)	-0.0284*** (0.00452)	0.0152 (0.112)	-0.00683 (0.0130)	-0.0504*** (0.00557)	-0.0174*** (0.00510)	-0.0239*** (0.00451)

Separated	-0.0286*** (0.00446)	0.0175*** (0.00601)	-0.00600 (0.00529)	-0.00947* (0.00486)	0.0127 (0.0506)	-0.0353*** (0.00633)	-0.0353*** (0.00741)	-0.00922 (0.00648)	0.000610 (0.00445)
Annulled	0.0178 (0.0382)	-0.0136 (0.0695)	-0.0532 (0.0620)	0.0473 (0.0411)	-0.197*** (0.0130)	-0.0540 (0.0875)	0.0468 (0.0494)	0.0574 (0.0468)	-0.0140 (0.0487)
Obs.	221,403	236,746	199,195	258,954	23,408	163,485	140,352	160,748	297,401
R2	0.126	0.229	0.247	0.185	0.289	0.205	0.208	0.210	0.203

Source: Author's computation, LFS.

Notes: *, **, *** represent significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively. Robust standard errors are reported.

Box 9. Descriptives and Analyses with the Power-Distance Variable

Panel A. Wages, Employment in Decent Work, and Reasons for Not Looking for Work among Women, by Power Distance

	Power Distance (HGC)			Power Distance (Age)		
	Lower	Same	Higher	Lower	Same	Higher
Basic Pay per Day	344.13	569.77	526.15	490.19	612.12	544.96
Decent Work (at least 40 workhours per week)	56.71%	60.76%	59.84%	58.62%	63.25%	61.04%
Women's Labour-Force Participation	62.44%	65.36%	68.04%	64.95%	66.59%	67.92%

Reasons Not Looking for Work						
Community Quarantine/Lockdown	3,577 1.94%	5,806 1.71%	10,594 2.09%	9,741 1.76%	1,480 1.79%	8,756 2.22%
Tired/Believe no work available	716 0.39%	1,237 0.36%	1,973 0.39%	1,949 0.35%	265 0.32%	1,712 0.43%
Awaiting results of previous job application	1,135 0.61%	1,929 0.57%	3,385 0.67%	3,222 0.58%	458 0.55%	2,769 0.70%
Temporary Illness/Disability	1,827 0.99%	3,062 0.90%	6,124 1.21%	5,060 0.91%	650 0.78%	5,303 1.34%
Bad Weather	49 0.03%	100 0.03%	176 0.03%	171 0.03%	28 0.03%	126 0.03%
Wait for rehire/Job recall	739 0.40%	1,321 0.39%	2,286 0.45%	2,177 0.39%	311 0.38%	1,858 0.47%
Too young/old or Retired/Permanent disability	2,553 1.39%	4,885 1.43%	10,774 2.13%	7,281 1.32%	1,077 1.29%	9,855 2.50%
Household, family duties	63,352 34.30%	107,445 31.60%	127,237 25.08%	180,135 32.49%	24,916 30.08%	92,982 23.55%
Schooling	28,178 15.25%	50,610 14.89%	75,039 14.79%	82,854 14.94%	12,515 15.11%	58,458 14.81%

Source: LFS 2017, 2019, 2020, 2021, Authors' computations. Note: Column percentages are reported (proportion of gender totals).

Panel B. Power Distance and Decent Work

Dependent Variable: Decent Work	(1)	(2)
Power Distance (HGC): Same	0.0233*** (0.00200)	
Power Distance (HGC): Positive	0.0122*** (0.00190)	
Power Distance (age): Same		0.0132*** (0.00242)
Power Distance (age): Positive		0.0111*** (0.00145)
Obs.	459,044	459,044
R2	0.200	0.200

Source: Author's computation, LFS.

Notes: *, **, *** represent significance at 10%, 5%, and 1%, respectively. Robust standard errors are reported. All specifications include a vector of occupation dummies, industry dummies, region fixed effects, quarter dummies, and year dummies.