# Gender in firms

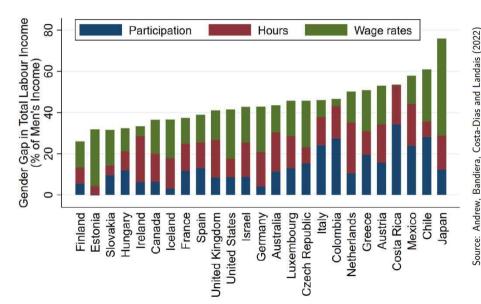
Barbara Petrongolo (University of Oxford and CEP (LSE))

Inequality and the Role of Firms Paris, 20 July 2023

### Gender inequality at a glance

- Despite decades of progerss and convergence, gender inequality is rife
- Large and persistent gaps in employent and wages;
- women are under-represented in high-income careers;
- bear most of the **penalty from parenthood**, even if primary earners in household.
- Vast literature and debates on causes and policy responses
- Zoom-in on the role of firms

# Gender gaps in earnings in high-income countries



# Why do gender inequalities matter?

- Distributive justice
- Allocative efficiency
  - not a zero-sum game

### A variety of views

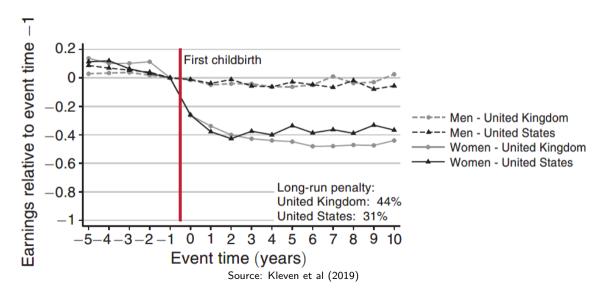
#### Gender differences in traits

- Are risk-aversion, under-confidence, altruism ... interfering with women's professional success?
- In fact differences in such traits are fairly small and context-dependent

#### Barriers and constraints

► Work-life balance and gender norms

## The motherhood penalty



## Role of public policy and firms

- Many countries have introduced public policies aimed at reducing the career cost of children for women (job-protected parental leave; subsidized child care; tax credits, etc)
- But firms may incur costs too, in particular when labour is scarce:
  - Workers are not easily substitutable
  - Qualified personnel may not return to work after childbirth, or return after a lengthy career break
  - Recruitment costs are high
- ▶ Do firms have an incentive to provide family-friendly amenities to their workers?

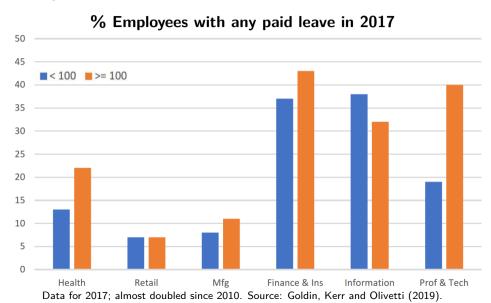
## The rationale for family-friendly practices

- Why would firms that compete in product markets choose to offer such perks?
- ► If labour markets were perfectly competitive, it would not be viable to offer non-wage amenities on top of competitive wages
- But labour markets are imperfectly competitive
- Jobs and workers are differentiated
  - varying willingness to pay for amenities
  - source of pay differentials if for example men and women place different values to non-wage amenities
- ► In a dynamic setting: amenities ease worker recruitment and retention
  - source of employer market power

## More and more firms provide family-friendly amenities

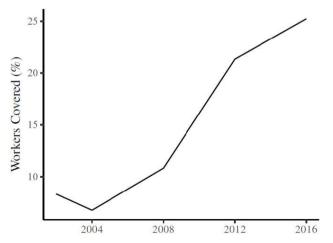
- ▶ Paid family leave
- **▶** Childcare
- Working from home

## Paid family leave in the US



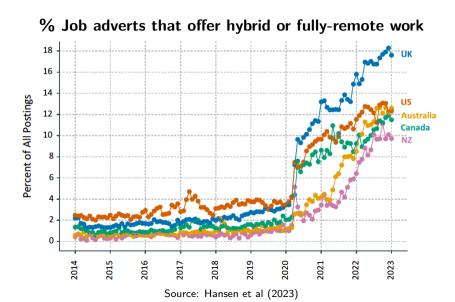
## Childcare provision in Germany

#### % Employees with access to childcare through employers



Source: Costas-Fernandez, Findeisen, Raute and Schoenberg (2023)

### WFH across countries

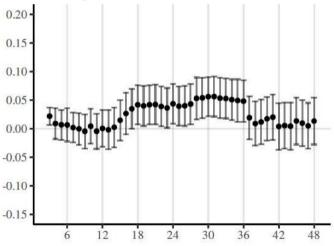


## 1. Employer-provided childcare

- Which firms offer childcare? (from Survey of German employers, Costas-Fernandez, Findeisen, Raute and Schoenberg, 2023)
  - larger and more productive firms,
  - pay higher wages,
  - have more educated workforce,
  - ▶ have larger share of mothers (though not women more generally),
  - report general staffing problems and skill-specific shortages

### Impacts: Employee retention

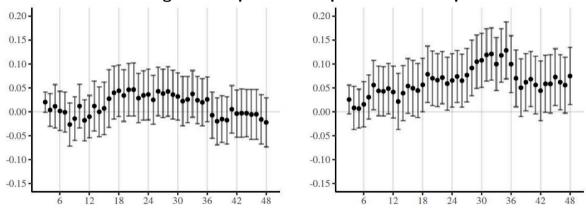
#### % Mothers returning to work in providers vs non-provider firms



Source: Costas-Fernandez, Findeisen, Raute and Schoenberg (2023)

### Impacts mostly driven by high-wage mothers

#### % Mothers returning to work part-time in providers vs non-provider firms



(a) Low Wage

(b) High Wage

Source: Costas-Fernandez, Findeisen, Raute and Schoenberg (2023)

### Firm-provided childcare: What's in it for firms

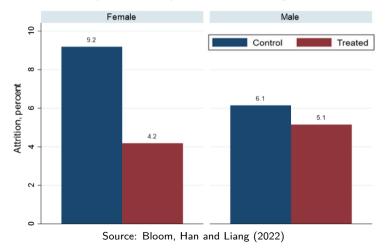
- Adopting firms grow more
- ► Retention of mothers, especially high-wage mothers
- ► Higher employment growth via increased hiring, especially mothers
- Share of mothers increase
  - Firms have more monopsony power over mothers
  - ► Impact on earnings gap in ambiguous
- Further consequences
  - Part-time work and fertility increase
  - ► Future take-up also likely increases

## 2. Working from home

- ► Women, especially mothers, have higher commuting costs than men and likely value WFH opportunities more than men
- After covid-related surge in WFH, hybrid work is here to stay, especially among educated workers.
- What's in it for firms and are there any gendered impacts?
- ► Evidence from field experiment in global travel agent HQ in Shaghai; 35k employees (Bloom, Han and Liang, 2022)
  - No direct impacts on measured performance
  - lower quits (-33%), higher employee satisfaction

### Gendered impacts of WFH?

#### Women disproportionally less likely to quit if assigned to WFH treatment

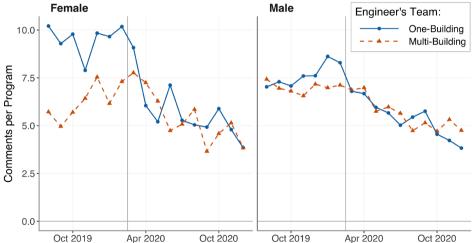


### Gendered impacts of WFH?

- ▶ But women less likely to volunteer for WFH, and ex-post no difference in take-up
- Possibly gender differences in concerns over costs of actively signalling a preference for WFH
- Additional concern regarding WFH: value of presence at work and proximity to co-workers
- Evidence from personnel data on US software engineers shows that
  - Proximity at work stmulates learning from peers and seniors both in person and online
  - Proximity particularly valuable for women

## Gender gaps in feedback received in person vs online





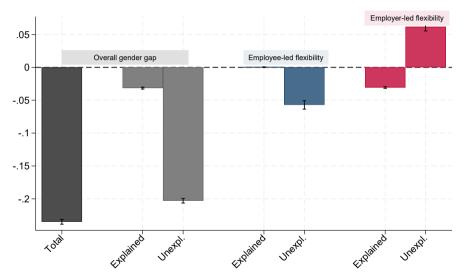
Source:

Emanuel, Harrington and Pallais (2023)

### 3. Work flexibility

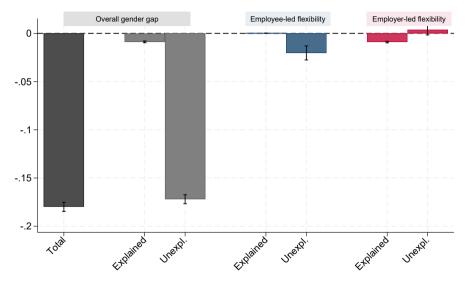
- ▶ Women (mothers especially) value control over their schedules more than men
- There may be career costs of job-related demands (WFH, flexibility)
- Extract information on flexible work from universe of job adverts in Denmark (Adams-Prassl, Jensen and Petrongolo, 2023)
- Classify job adverts using ML on large sets of words
- Cases of employee-led or employer-led flexibility
  - plan your own day, flexible working hours, etc.
    - vs
  - on-call shifts, overtime work, willingness to travel, etc.
- ► Flexibility indicators are aggregated at employer\*occupation level
- Individuals are assigned a work-flexibility indicator according to their employer\*occupation

# Decomposition of wage gaps for college graduates (3yrs degree)



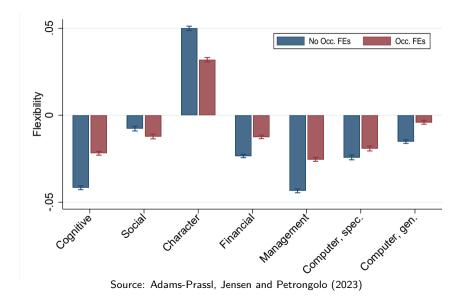
Sample: mothers and fathers, 10 years after graduation. Source: Adams-Prassl, Jensen and Petrongolo (2023)

# Decomposition of wage gaps for masters graduates (3+2)



Sample: mothers and fathers, 10 years after graduation. Source: Adams-Prassl, Jensen and Petrongolo (2023)

## Work flexibility and skill requirements



### Recap

- ▶ While there is evidence that women value WFH and flex hours more than men,
  - ▶ the incidence of these traits is quite similar across genders
  - women seem to pay a higher penalty for them
    - ▶ in the short-run, via **compensating differentials**
    - ▶ and in the long-run, via underutilisation of valuable skills
- Issues of equity and allocative efficiency
  - employers may be missing out on skills of women who give up the optimal match to their talent to seek family-friendly working conditions

## Open questions and the way forward

- Deeper source of inequality and inefficiency is heavily gendered allocation of roles within the household
- But some of the labour market consequences may be addressed in the workplace
  - by making high-quality jobs available with family-friendly features
  - family friend features as productive amenities
- Broader question:
  - workplace culture, inclusivity, and productivity