

institutions such as parental authority, access to land, to non-land assets and to financial services can impede women's employment opportunities. Unequal treatment of men and women in legal frameworks and gaps in legal protection regarding non-discrimination in employment and equal pay for men and women for work of equal value also result in discriminatory practices that affect women's income security (ILO et al., 2014). The absence of adequate legal protection for pregnant women and mothers in terms of non-discrimination laws, adequate paid maternity leave and the guaranteed right to return to work affects the retention rates of mothers in the workforce (further discussed in section F below).

2. Motherhood penalty and fatherhood bonus

In all regions, working mothers suffer a wage penalty in addition to the existing gender wage gap. On average, mothers earn less than women without dependent children and far less than fathers with similar household and employment characteristics. Even after children are grown up, pay penalties for motherhood persist (Grimshaw and Rubery, 2015). The widening gender gaps with age found in many countries suggest that mothers lose earnings due to time taken off work or reduced hours for childbirth and family responsibilities and may not be able to catch up in the pay hierarchy later on. Subsequently, they may become trapped in careers with limited pay promotion opportunities (Davies et al., 2000).

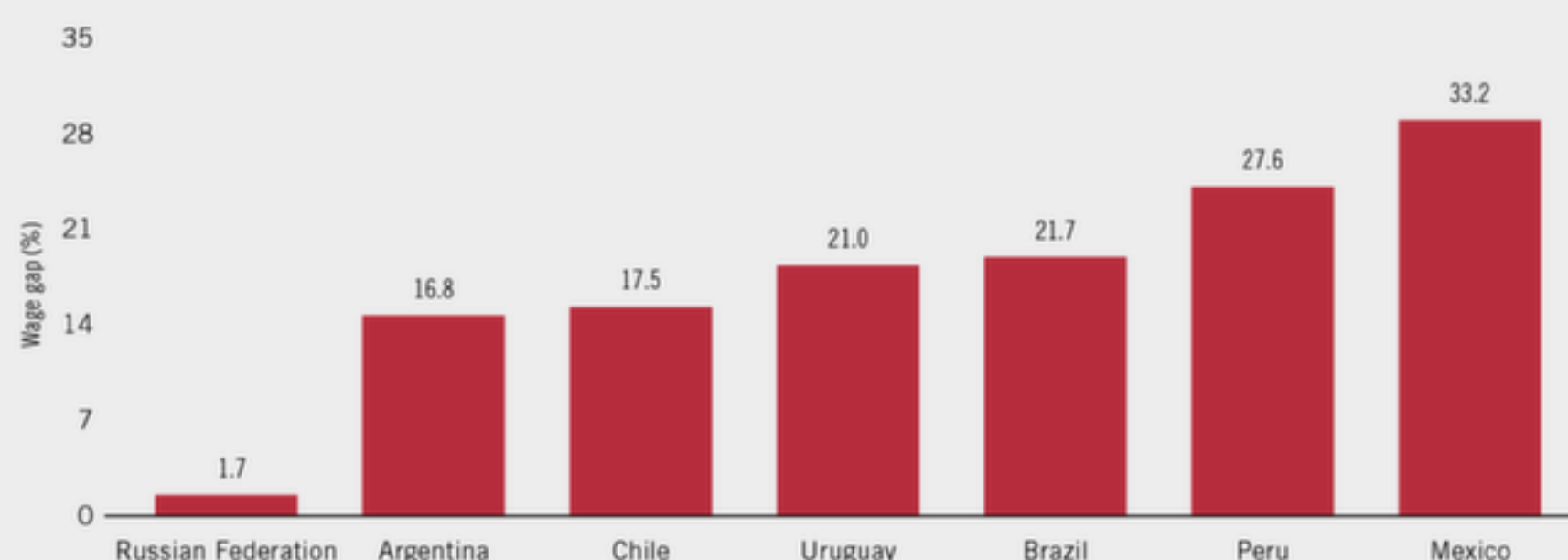
Existing studies comparing the average wages of mothers and women without children show that mothers face a wage penalty. Thus, in a study of 21 developing countries, the average motherhood penalty was 42 per cent (Agüero et al., 2011). In China, mothers face a penalty of 37 per cent (Zhang et al., 2008), while in Italy mothers earn €15 less per week than the average weekly wage of €360. Their average yearly wage growth is 3 per cent lower than other workers (Pacelli et al., 2012). Figure 30 shows the unadjusted motherhood wage gap in a selected number of developing economies, which can vary between under 5 per cent in the Russian Federation to over 30 per cent in Mexico.

Aside from the wage penalty that mothers face, the motherhood wage gap is also reinforced by the fatherhood bonus, where men enjoy an increase in wages when they have children (Budig, 2014). A longitudinal study on the gender wage gap in Norway from 1979 to 1996 showed that, although the motherhood penalty has largely been reduced as a result of family-friendly policies, the husband and father premium has become the primary driver of the motherhood wage gap (Petersen et al., 2014). Similarly, in a study of eight industrialized countries, fathers witnessed a wage bonus, in particular in Canada, France, Germany and the United States (Lundberg, 2012).

Some studies suggest that the fatherhood bonus is exceptionally high for men, depending on their education level, ethnicity, heterosexual marital status and professional or managerial status (Hodges and Budig, 2010). In the United States for instance, while women see a decrease in earnings for each additional child that they bear, men see increases as they become fathers and for additional children. All men receive a wage bonus for fatherhood, but the bonus is greater depending on their ethnicity. On average for college-educated graduates, white men receive a bonus of \$5,258, Latino men a bonus of \$4,170 and black men a bonus of \$1,500 (Budig, 2014).

Figure 30

**The motherhood wage gap in selected countries
(latest year available, unadjusted wages)**



Notes: The motherhood wage gap is defined as $MPG = ((Enm - Em) \div Enm) \times 100$, where Enm is the gross average monthly earnings of women who are not mothers and Em is the gross average monthly earnings of mothers. Data are not comparable across countries because of differences in methodologies and definitions used to calculate the motherhood wage gap.

Source: ILO, 2015d.