

**금융위기 이후 노동시장 정책이 성평등에 어느 정도 영향을  
미쳤는가? 거버넌스 맥락에서 영국과 한국의 비교연구**

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## 국외훈련 개요

1. 훈련국 : 영국

2. 훈련기관명 : 요크대학교(University of York)

3. 훈련분야 : 복지, 여성

4. 훈련기간 : 2019.7.29 ~ 2021.7.15

## 훈련성과보고서 요약서

성 명	송영희	과견연도	2019
훈련분야	복지여성		
훈련과제	세계 주요 인권도시의 정책 추진사례 및 민관협력 시스템 연구 - 거버넌스를 활용한 성평등 노동정책 중심으로		
훈 련 국	영국		
훈련기관	요크대학교 (University of York)		
보 고 내 용			
제 목	금융위기 이후 노동시장 정책이 성평등에 어느정도 영향을 미쳤는가? 거버넌스 맥락에서 영국과 한국의 비교연구	보고서 매수	54
내용요약	<p>2008년 시작된 글로벌 금융위기로 인해 대량 실업이 발생했다. 특히 금융위기는 노동시장에서 여성의 지위를 더욱 악화시켰다. 각국 정부는 실업자 구제를 위해 막대한 예산을 들여 일자리 창출에 힘썼다. 영국과 한국에서는 새로운 직업훈련 정책을 도입하고 중앙정부-지방정부-민간기업간 거버넌스를 강화하여 실업문제를 해결하려고 노력했으나 두 나라 모두 공통적으로 여성들은 남성에 비해 직종분리가 심해지고 고용의 질이 더욱 하락했다. 본 연구는 실직한 여성들이 재취업 훈련 후 남성보다 일자리의 질과 고용율이 낮은 원인을 분석하기 위해 직업 훈련 내용과 거버넌스 문제를 조사하였다. 여성은 직업훈련에 남성보다 더 적극적으로 참여하였으나 취업율은 남성에 비해 낮았다. 같은 직종이라도 여성은 남성에 비해 낮은 임금을 받았다. 또한 여성의 일자리는 비정규직이 더 많았다. 무엇보다도 직업훈련 프로그램은 남성과 여성의 직업분리를 가속화했다. 이 연구는 경제위기시 더욱 심해지는 노동시장의 성불평등을 완화하고 직업훈련의 효율성과 성과를 높이기 위해서는 직업훈련 프로그램 설계 시부터 젠더관점을 반영하여야 하며, 이의 효과적인 실행을 위해서는 중앙정부와 지방정부, 일자리를 제공하는 기업, 훈련 기관 간 네트워크가 제대로 기능하도록 직업훈련정책 재구조화, 성평등교육 강화, 거버넌스 활성화 등을 제안하였다.</p>		

## [한글요약서]

### 1. 서론

본 연구의 목적은 급작스러운 경기침체가 가져온 노동시장 충격을 완화하기 위한 다양한 접근방식 중 거버넌스가 노동시장 성평등 문제에 어떠한 역할을 하였는지 정책적 의미를 찾아보고자함이다. 특히, 글로벌 금융위기 이후 영국과 한국에서 직업훈련의 거버넌스 구조가 여성의 노동시장 참여와 일자리의 양적 질적 수준에 어떤 영향을 미쳤는지 분석하고자 한다.

2008년 9월 미국 리먼 브라더스 부도 사태로 촉발된 미국발 금융위기는 2008년 말과 2009년 초에 이르러 전 세계 경기를 급락시켰다. 국제통화기금(IMF, 2019)에 따르면 2009년에 개발도상국 경제는 2.8% 성장하는 데 그쳤고, 선진국 경제는 3.4% 축소됐다. 무역의존도가 높은 한국의 경우, 선진국들의 소비수요 감소로 수출급감이라는 직격탄을 맞고 실물경제가 큰 어려움에 처하게 되었다. 영국경제는 2009년 -4.3%로 심각한 경기하락을 겪었으며 2013년 3/4 분기에야 경기 침체 전 수준을 회복했으나 (ONS, 2015), 노동시장의 경우에는 큰 상처를 입었다 (김흥중 et al, 2009). Eurofound (2013)에 의하면 주로 중간임금직 또는 중하위 임금직에서 일자리 감소가 집중적으로 나타났다. 그리고 이러한 고용 변화의 양극화 현상은 침체기 이후에도 지속되었다. 또한, 노동시장은 경제회복 이후에도 여전히 성별분화 정도가 심하여, 남성과 여성의 비중이 비슷한 '혼성' 직종의 비중은 전체 노동력의 20% 미만이었다. 여성 파트타임 일자리는 크게 확산되었다. 2011년 2사분기~2012년 2사분기에 여성이 EU 27개국의 파트타임 근로자에서 차지하는 비중은 80%가 넘었으며 풀타임직에 비해 임금이 상대적으로 낮았다 (Eurofound, 2012).

이 연구는 경제적, 제도적, 문화적 차이에도 불구하고 경제 위기 이후 노동 시장에서 성 불평등이 더욱 심화되는 경험을 동일하게 한 영국과 한국의 노동시장 정책을 비교하고자 한다. 특히, 노동시장에서 위기의 시기를 겪으면서 여성의 직종분리가 심해지고 고용의 질이 하락한 원인을 직업교육의 거버넌스 관점에서 모색하고자 한다.

### 2. 방법론

#### 2-1. 비교접근법

Pennings et al.(2006)은 사회와 정치 현상에 대한 통찰력을 발전시키고 이론과 현상을 연결시키는데 비교 접근법(comparative approach)이 가장 적절한 방법 중 하나라고 보았다. 다양한 비교 분석 방법들 중에서 소수 국가에 대한 비교 방법은 두가지 유형으로 분류되는데 최대유사체계분석 (most similar system design)과 최대상이체계분석(most different system design)으로 나뉜다. MSSD(차이법)는 비슷한 국가들 사이에 나타나는 차이점과 국가의 정치적 산출(political outcome)의 핵심적 요인을 찾아내려 노력하며, MDSD(일치법)는 다른 국가들 사이에서 나오는 정치적 산출의 공통점을 연구하는 것이다.

MSSD 및 MDSD의 가장 큰 장점은 추가 분석에서 잠재적으로 관련된 설명 변수를 제거할 수 있다는 것이다. 광범위한 잠재적 설명 변수에서 소수의 사례를 신중하게 일치시킴으로써 추가 분석에서 광범위한 변수를 제외할 수 있다. 이 연구에서는 comparative analysis 기법의 하나인 MDSD 연구설계가 선택되었다. Most Different System Design MDSD(일치법)은 가능한 한 비슷하지 않은(MDSD) 국가를 선택함으로써 이루어진다.

## 2-2. 영국과 한국을 비교하는 이유

영국과 한국은 경제위기가 닥친 2008년을 기준으로 경제규모 및 노동정책 등 여러가지 면에서 다른 배경을 가지고 있었다. 우선 노동시장 규모를 비교해 보면, 2008년 기준 영국의 경제활동참가율은 75.4%, 총고용인구는 29,475,000명이며 실업율은 5.7%였다. 반면 한국은 같은 해 경제활동참가율이 66.6%, 총고용인구는 23,577,000명, 실업율은 3.2%였다(ILO, 2008). 2007년 기준으로 영국의 노동조합 조직율은 28%, 한국은 10.8%였다(OECD, 2008).

정부의 노동정책에 있어서도 두나라는 대비된다. 글로벌 금융위기 당시 영국은 고든 브라운의 노동당, 한국은 이명박 보수당 정권이 지배하고 있었다. 블레어-브라운 신노동당 정부는 고용확대를 위해 노동시장 정책에 적극 개입하였으며 최저임금제 도입, 근로가족에 대한 조세감면, 아동수당 증가, 법적인 단체교섭권 부여를 통한 노동조합 역할 강화 등을 이루었다 (Mullard and Swaray, 2008). 세계금융위기가 시작되었을 때 고든 브라운 총리는 경기부양을 위한 재정 확대를 실시했으며, 이에 따라 복지 지출도 증가하였다. 그러나 2010년 출범한 카메론-클레그 보수당과 자유민주당 연립정부는 재정적자 감축을 위해 공공부문 지출을 대폭 축소하고 노동시장 정책도 축소하는 정책으로 선회했다.

한편, 글로벌 금융위기 당시 한국의 보수정권은 노동시장에 비우호적인 것으로 평가 받는다. 한국은 짧은 민주주의의 역사를 가지고 있으며, 두번을 제외하고 노동친화적인 정권이 거의 없었다. 2008년 집권한 이명박 대통령은 글로벌 금융위기로 인해 노동시장에 위기가 닥쳤을 때도 친기업 정책으로 비판 받았다. 또한 글로벌 경제위기에 따라 초유의 실업대란이 예상되는 가운데 한국 정부는 2009년에 공기업의 10~15% 인력을 감축하겠다고 발표하여 논란을 야기했다(문형구, 2009). 성평등 수준은 몇가지 index에서 한국이 매우 뒤쳐진다. 예를들어, PwC가 해마다 발표하는 Women in work index에서는 경제위기 직후인 2013년 여성경제활동지수가 영국은 14위인 반면 한국은 27개국 중 27위인 것으로 나타났다. 글로벌 금융위기로 인한 대량 실업사태를 해결하기 위한 방법의 하나로 영국과 한국정부는 정부-기업-단체들과 협력하여 실업자에 대한 재교육을 실시하였다(Grimshaw, 2011; 이병희 et al, 2009). 그럼에도 불구하고 경제 위기 이후 두 나라에서 모두 재취업율, 임금, 직업 종류 등에서 여성들이 상대적으로 남성보다 열악한 일자리로 밀려났다.

원인을 분석하기 위해 MDSD 방법의 가정에 따라 금융위기 이후 직업훈련으로 인해 한국과 영국의 노동시장에서 모두 성별격차가 심해졌다는 가정을 한다. 이 연구에서는 다양한 변수 중 성 불평등의 원인을 직업교육 측면에서 검토하기 위해 개인적 수준의 독립변인을 직업교육 기회 및 내용, 재취업율, 임금, 근로형태로 설정하고 정부와 기업 사회단체의 거버넌스를 통한 직업훈련 정책이 성별격차 완화에 어느 정도 영향을 미쳤는지를 집중적으로 살펴보고자 한다.

### 3. 문헌검토

#### 3-1. 거버넌스란?

거버넌스는 초기에는 행정부의 효과적인 통치능력 제고 방안에 주목하여 정부, 통치행위나 과정과 유사한 맥락에서 사용되었다(Finer, 1970). 1980년 이후 현대사회에서 계층제만으로 해결할 수 없는 다양한 문제들이 등장하기 시작했고 통치의 효율성 증대와 정책의 효과성을 높이기 위해서는 한 국가내의 다양한 이해관계자들이 통치과정에 참여할 필요가 높아졌다. 일반적으로 거버넌스라는 용어는 다양하게 사용되고 있다(Rhodes 1996). Campbell, et al.(1991)은 거버넌스를 사회구성원들의 행동을 조정하는 정치, 경제적 절차라고 정의하면서, 시장/네트워크/계층제/감시/협회 등의 유형으로 설명하고 있다. Stoker (1998)는 거버넌스

는 규칙과 집단행동을 위한 조건을 만드는 것으로 거버넌스와 정부의 산출이 다르지 않다고 보았다. 현재의 거버넌스 개념은 정부와 사회의 관계가 일방적 관계에서 상호작용관계로 변화하고 있다는 인식 하에(Kooiman and Van Vliet, 1993) 사회 내에 구축된 네트워크를 이용하여 정책을 조정하여 공공문제를 해결하는 통치 시스템으로 이해되고 있다. 이러한 상호작용 속에서 정부는 사회문제를 직접 해결하는 것이 아니라 각 사회조직들이 네트워크를 통해 문제해결 방안을 스스로 찾을 수 있도록 하는 방향잡기(steering)를 하며 각 조직들이 해결 방안을 도출하는 능력을 함양할 있도록(empowerment)하는 역할을 가진다고 할 수 있다 (Osborne, 1993).

### 3-2. 노동시장의 거버넌스

고용정책에 있어서 거버넌스는 매우 중요한 개념이라고 할 수 있다. 일자리 창출을 위해서는 정부뿐만 아니라 실질적으로 일자리를 제공하는 주요 집단인 민간부문의 역할이 매우 중요하기 때문이다. 근로자의 인적자본 개발에 관한 법적체계 및 인프라 설계와 구축은 공공분야에서 주로 담당하고 있는 반면, 실질적 향상은 개별기업 혹은 근로자의 사적 영역에서 주로 발생하므로 정보의 비대칭성 문제 또한 이러한 제도 개혁에 어려움을 가중시키는 요인으로 작용한다(Froy and Giguere, 2010). 이런 점에서 보다 효율적으로 효과성 있는 관련 서비스들을 전달하여 근로자들이 변화하는 환경 하에서 개인의 노동시장 내 경력향상 목표에 따라 인적자본개발을 이루기 위해서는 중앙 및 지방정부, 지역사회, 서비스제공자 및 수요자 간의 협력관계 구축이 필수적이다 (최석현, 2015).

### 3-3. 경기침체가 노동시장에 미치는 영향에 대한 기존연구

글로벌 금융위기를 겪으면서 여성과 남성의 고용율 및 실업율을 근거로 여성 고용에 대한 평가가 나뉜다. 영국통계청(ONS)의 자료에 따르면 2008/09년 불황 동안 남성 고용율이 여성 고용율 보다 더 떨어졌고(Jenkins, 2013), OECD 국가 전체를 비교해보면, 2007년과 2009년 사이에 가장 큰 일자리 손실은 남성 지배 부문, 특히 건설 및 제조 부문에서 발생했다. 같은 기간 동안 여성의 실업율은 대부분의 여성이 근무하는 서비스 부문이 위기의 영향을 덜 받아 6%에서 8%로 증가했다. 그러나 2010년 이후 남성의 실업율은 감소했지만 여성의 실업율은 감소하지 않았다. 2012년 3/4분기 OECD 전체의 실업율은 남녀 모두 약 8%였다. 이와 같이 고용율과 실업율 위주의 통계 비교를 통해서만 금융위기를 통해 남



성이 더 많은 부정적 영향을 받았다고 보는 시각이 지배적이나, 그 내용을 들여다 보면 전혀 반대로 해석된다는 주장들이 있다.

Seguino (2010)와 Maier (2011)는 실업자 여성은 실업 통계에 자주 포함되지 않는 경향이 있으며, 여성은 노동 시장에서 무급 또는 비공식 노동 등으로 철수한다고 보았다. 따라서, 변화하는 경제 상황의 영향이 고용 및 실업 데이터에 의해 완전히 설명되지는 않는다고 주장했다. 더군다나 공공부문의 고용감소는 노동시장에서 여성의 지위를 더욱 악화시켰다. 남성들은 경제위기 초반에 일자리를 잃을 확률이 높지만 경제가 회복되면 취업하기도 더 쉬웠다 (Maier, 2011).

한국의 경우, 은수미 (2009)는 금융위기 이후 고용시장에서의 남녀 격차는 더욱 커졌으며, 남성은 해고나 실직이 되면 실업자가 되지만 여성은 곧바로 비경제활동 인구가 되는 경우가 많아서 '실업자'라는 중간 단계 없이 퇴출되면 다시 시작하는 것이 하늘에서 별따기라고 지적했다. 특이한 점은 한국의 위기 극복 과정에서 남성의 고용율은 0.6 % p 증가에 그쳤지만 여성의 고용율은 1.8 % p 증가하여 남성에 비해 3 배 이상의 변화를 보였다는 점이다 (KOSIS, 2018). 이에 대해 박진희 (2017)는 여성의 고용율이 높은 이유는 남성이 양질의 일자리를 기다리는 동안 여성들은 열악한 일자리 임에도 불구하고 이러한 일자리를 받아들인 것으로 보인다고 해석했다.

따라서, 단순히 경기 침체 과정에서 잃어버린 일자리의 수를 세는 것이 아니라 공공 재정의 변화의 역학이 어떻게 유급 노동자와 서비스 사용자로서 남녀에 매우 다른 영향을 미칠지 고려하는 것이 중요하며 이 차이를 설명하기 위해서는 경기 침체 및 그에 따른 회복이 이루어지는 젠더 구조를 고려해야 한다 (McKay et al., 2013; Leschke and Jepsen, 2011).

#### 3-4. 정부의 실업문제 해결 대책

경기 침체로 인한 고용율 하락과 실직, 저임금 노동으로의 추락 등을 막기 위해 각국 중앙정부와 지방정부, 기업과 사회단체 등은 네트워크를 구축하여 일자리 창출에 나섰다. 무엇보다도 대표적인 고용서비스는 직업훈련이다 (김혜원, 2013). 고용시장 안정을 위해 직업을 잃은 사람들에게 재취업 훈련을 제공하고, 실업 상황을 개선하기 위해 많은 예산이 투입됐다. 영국의 경우, Haughton et al.(2009)은 무직(Worklessness)을 줄이고 고용을 창출하기 위해서 지역의 다양한 주체들의 파트너십을 증진시킬 것을 제안하였다. 영국 정부는 30 억 파운드를 고용센터 및 계약훈련기관에 투자하여 최상의 서비스를 제공할 수 있게 하였다. 또한, 유럽사회

기금 등을 이용하여 실직상태에 있거나 실직이 예상되는 최소 4 만 명에게 직업훈련을 제공하였다 (최영준, 2009).

한국 정부는 훈련과정과 시간, 비용까지 정부가 관리하는 훈련공급자 위주의 실업자 훈련을 2010 년까지 유지(이상준, 2012) 하다가 2011 년부터는 실업자에게 1 년 동안 최대 200 만원까지 지원해 자율적으로 직업훈련과정과 훈련기관을 선택하도록 하는 직업능력개발계좌제를 전국적으로 도입했다 (장홍근, 주민규, 2012). 많은 연구결과들은 경제위기 이후 여성의 직업안정성은 더 열악해지고, 직종분리가 더 심화되고, 시간제 일자리로 밀려나는 경향이 컸으며 심지어는 고용시장에서 아예 사라지는 현상들을 지적했다. 여기에는 다양한 원인이 있겠지만, 이 연구에서는 영국과 한국의 직업훈련을 위주로 집중적으로 분석하고자 한다.

## 4. 사례연구

### 4-1. 금융위기 이후 영국의 직업훈련 정책

#### 4-1-1. 실업 대응을 위한 Job 거버넌스

영국의 고용서비스를 전달하는 잡센터플러스(Jobcentre Plus)는 2010~2011 년 회계연도 기준, £300bn 를 상회하는 사회보장급여를 지출했다 (DWP, 2011). 각 지역의 잡센터플러스는 지역단위에서 유관기관과의 파트너십을 형성해 지역실정에 맞는 고용서비스를 제공하기 위해서 노력하였다. 대표적으로 노동연금부(DWP)의 워크 프로그램 (Work Program)과 교육부(DfE)와 비즈니스 에너지 산업전략부(BEIS)가 협력해서 운영하는 견습제도(Apprenticeship)가 있다(City and Guilds, 2015). 2011 년에 연립정부는 1 년 이상 미취업 상태에 있는 사람들에게 최장 2 년간 취업 지원을 제공하는 워크프로그램을 도입했다. 워크 프로그램은 민간 위탁기업과 비영리 조직이 프로그램 제공기관이 되어 장기 실업자를 지원하는 프로그램으로 정부개입을 최소화하고 민간기관의 경험, 지식, 노하우에 따라 독자적인 서비스를 제공할 수 있도록 재량권을 대폭 확대했다 (Oakley et al., 2013).

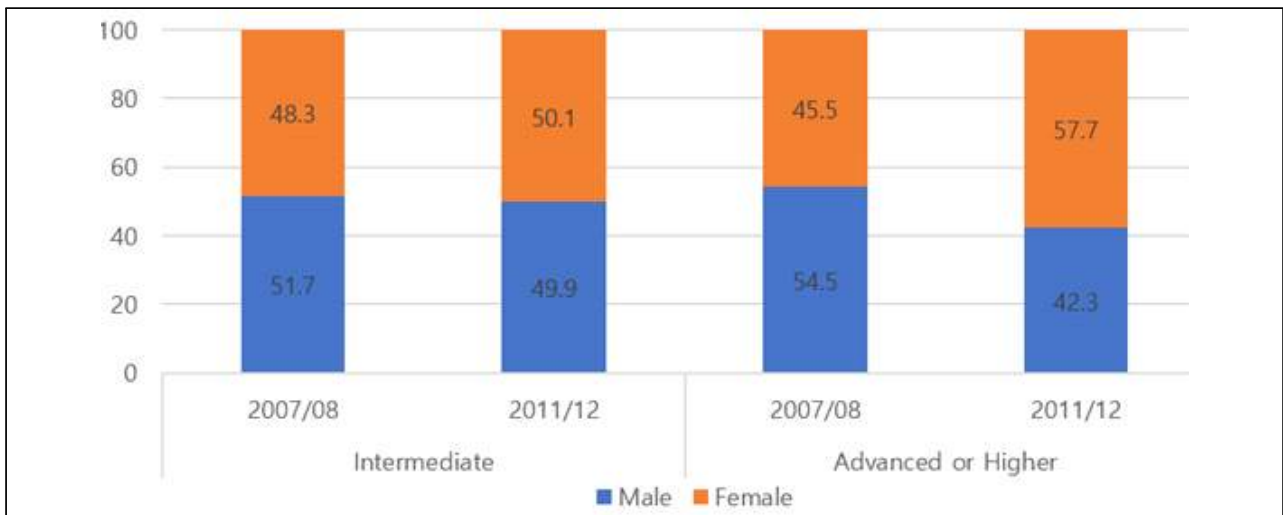
#### 4-1-2. 남녀 직업훈련 비교

직업훈련 기회 및 내용

워크프로그램은 공급자의 자율성을 강조하였기 때문에 특정교육훈련에 중점을 두지 않더라도 정부가 관여하지 않았다. 워크프로그램은 공식적인 교육이나 현장기반의 훈련보다는, 이력서 작성, 지원서 작성, 인터뷰 훈련 등 구직활동과 관련된 지원이 주종을 이루고 있으므로 훈련의 내용과 관련하여서는 견습제도(Apprenticeship) 위주로 살펴보았다.

영국에서는 16 세 이상이면 누구나 Level 2~6 까지 도제훈련을 받을 수 있다 (Fuller and Unwin, 2013). 새로운 연합 정부는 2010년 기술 개발과 경제 성장을 위해 견습 훈련의 중요성을 지속적으로 강조하였다. 2014/2015년까지 19 세 이상 성인 도제수를 75,000 명 늘릴 계획을 수립하고 매년 £14 억 의 자금을 투입하기로 했다 (Campbell et al, 2011). 견습은 실무 트레이닝과 학습을 병행한다. 견습생은 숙련된 상급자와 협력하면서 직업 기술을 익히고 일주일에 30 시간 일을 하고, 최저임금과 휴가수당도 받는다. Working hours에는 최소 20% 이상 off-the-job training이 포함되어야 한다. 중급수준의 견습을 시작하는 남녀의 비율은 점점 균등하게 분배되어 2007/08년 48.3% 였던 여성의 비율이 2011/12년에 50.1%가 되었다 (그림 1). 더욱이 2007/08년에 남성보다 9%p 낮았던 고급수준의 여성 견습생은 2011/12년에 57.7%를 차지하여 남성 견습생수를 넘어섰다 (Williams et al., 2013).

그림 1. 시작단계에서 남녀비율, 2007/8 vs. 2011/12

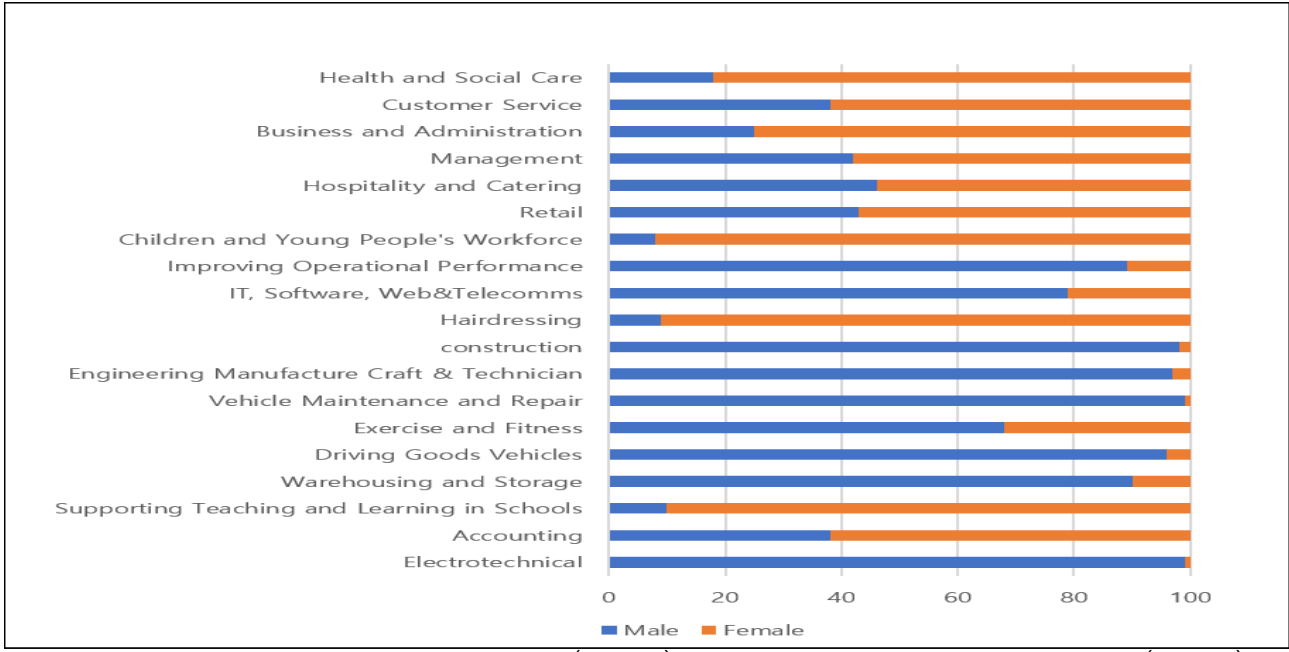


Source: IES analysis of ILR data (2013), as cited in Williams et al. (2013)

그러나 도제수업의 내용을 들여다보면 부문마다 현저한 차이가 있었다. 그림 2는 2011/12에 주제 영역별 성별 참여의 패턴을 보여준다. 여성이 90% 이상으로 가장 많이 참여하고 있는 훈련 분야는 아동돌봄과 미용, 학교교육 지원 분야였다.

여성은 건설, 전기, 자동차수리 분야에서 2% 미만만 참여하였으며, 엔지니어링, 운송, 기계조립에 4 % 참여하고 있다. 반대로 남성 참여율은 아동돌봄 분야 (6.9 %), 미용 (8.8 %), 학교교육 지원분야 (10.3 %), 건강 및 사회보호 (17.0 %) 등으로 나타났다. 남녀비율이 합리적으로 균형을 이룬 분야는 케이터링 및 환대분야 (남 47.2 %, 여 52.8 %)와 관리(남 41.9%), 소매(남 43.3%) 분야였다 (Williams et al., 2013).

그림 2. 교육분야별 남녀 참여비율 (2010/11)



Source: IES analysis of ILR data (2013) as cited in Williams et al. (2013)

TUC and YWCA (2010)는 견습에 참여하는 여성은 엔지니어링에 3년 반을 투자하는 남성에 비해 일반적으로 1년 미만의 훨씬 짧은 견습과정을 받기 때문에 여성이 현저히 적게 참여하는 것이라고 주장했다.

재고용 비율

2010년 JSA(Job Seekers Allowance) 데이터에 의하면 남성은 70.8%가 고용되며 여성은 63.6%가 고용되는 것으로 나타났다 (Leschke and Jepsen, 2011). 평균적으로 여성은 실업기간이 남성보다 짧다. 2010년 기준으로 남성의 평균 실업기간은 11.5주, 여성은 10.6주였다. 정부가 지원하는 제도로 유입되는 중간 실업율은 남성의 경우 31.3주, 여성의 경우 29.1주였다 (Leschke and Jepsen, 2011). 2011년 견습제도에 대한 평가 결과 특별채용된 견습생 중 견습이 끝난 지 1년 전후로 여전히 같은 고용주와 함께 있는 사람은 절반 정도

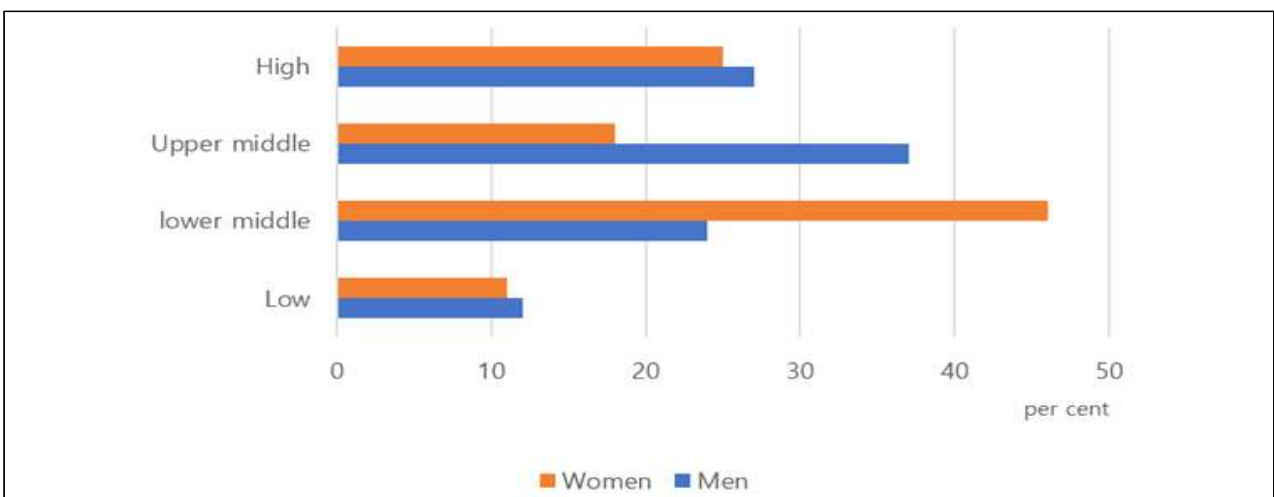
(54%)에 불과했다. 그중에서도 Fixed-term contract로 모집된 견습생들 중 상당수(15%)가 견습 기간 동안만 고용이 지속되었다. 이러한 훈련을 마친 견습생들의 결과를 보면, 고용주와 재계약한 사례가 절반 이하(45%), 실업자가 거의 5분의 1(18%)에 달했다. (Vivian et al., 2012). 견습을 마친 뒤 동일한 고용주에게 남아있는 견습생은 다른 직장으로 이직 한 사람 (66 %) 또는 더 이상 일하지 않는 사람 (65 %)의 만족도에 비하여 견습 과정에 더 만족했다(78 %). 이것은 직업의 연속성이 교육 과정 만족도에 중요한 영향을 미친다는 것을 나타낸다.

## 임금

Women's Budget Group (2011)은 도제부문에서 여성은 남성보다 평균 21% 적게 번다고 주장했다. 예를들어, 엔지니어링 도제는 97%가 남성이며 주당 £189를 버는데 비해 92%가 여성인 미용분야는 주당 £109를 벌고 있다고 밝혔다.

TUC and YWCA(2010)의 조사에 따르면 남성과 여성이 동일한 분야에서 도제를 할 때도 여성이 적게 벌었다. 예를들어, 소매분야는 61%가 여성이지만 남성보다 16% 적은 임금을 받고 있었다. 견습 과정을 마친 후의 남성은 £ 16,900, 여성은 £ 13,100의 연평균 임금을 받아 여성이 남성에 비해 22.5% 덜 벌고 있었다 (Campbell et al, 2011). 2013년에 남성의 37 %가 중상급 기술분야에 종사한 것과 달리 여성은 18 %에 머물렀다. 이와 반대로, 중하급 기술직에는 여성의 46 %가, 남성은 24 % 고용되었다 (그림 3).

그림 3. 각 기술수준 그룹별 남녀 비율 (2013)



Source: Labour Force Survey- Office for National Statistics (Jenkins, 2013)

여성들은 돌봄 업무와 같은 상대적으로 임금이 낮은 직업자격을 수행하기 때문에 임금프리미엄이 남성에게 비해 낮았다. 예를들어 HNC(Higher National

Certificate) 또는 HND(Higher National Diploma) 자격에 대한 임금 프리미엄이 여성은 8%인 반면 남성은 12-14%이다. 직업 교육에서부터 직업 분할이 심각한 것이 젠더 임금 불평등으로 이어지고 있다(Brinkley et al., 2013). Department for Education (2016) 자료에 의하면 2010년 8월부터 2013년 7월 사이에 고급 견습생의 60% 이상을 차지한 5개의 가장 큰 주제 영역 중 평균 연간 수입은 £ 27,000로 엔지니어링 부문이 최고, 아동 발달 및 웰빙이 £ 12,100로 가장 낮았다.

## 고용유형

Coulter (2016)는 영국이 침체에서 벗어나 빨리 회복하면서 일자리는 계속 증가했고 일하는 사람 수가 거의 31백만명에 이르렀으나 대부분 시간제 직이나 자영업이었다고 주장했다. Trade Union Congress (2015)도 2014년까지 170만 명이 넘는 근로자들이 일종의 임시 노동을 하고 있으며, 임시직 여성의 수는 2008년 초 773,000명에서 2014년 말까지 892,000명으로 증가했고 주된 이유는 정규직을 찾을 수 없기 때문이라고 주장했다.

## 4-2. 금융위기 이후 한국의 직업훈련 정책

### 4-2-1. 실업 대응을 위한 Job 거버넌스

한국에서는 글로벌 금융위기를 겪고 난 2011년부터 실업자 훈련정책을 변경하였다. 기존의 일방적 공급자 중심 전달체계에서 수요자 중심의 직업능력개발계좌제(내일배움카드제) 방식으로 전환하였다. 직업능력개발계좌제는 훈련자의 선택권을 대폭 확대하면서 25~45%의 훈련비를 자부담하게 하여 책무성을 강화하고, 훈련기관 간의 경쟁을 높여 현장수요에 부응하는 다양한 훈련이 유연하게 공급되도록 하는 훈련시스템이다 (장홍근, 2011). 직업능력개발훈련에 참여하는 기관은 2013년 기준 7,913개에 달하며, 민간 부문의 직업훈련 기관이 큰 비중을 차지하고 있다 (표 1).

표 1. 직업능력개발계좌제에 참여한 교육기관수

구분	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
공공	49	47	36	35	49	49
민간	5,105	6,564	6,896	7,014	7,161	7,864

Source: 고용노동부 (2013)

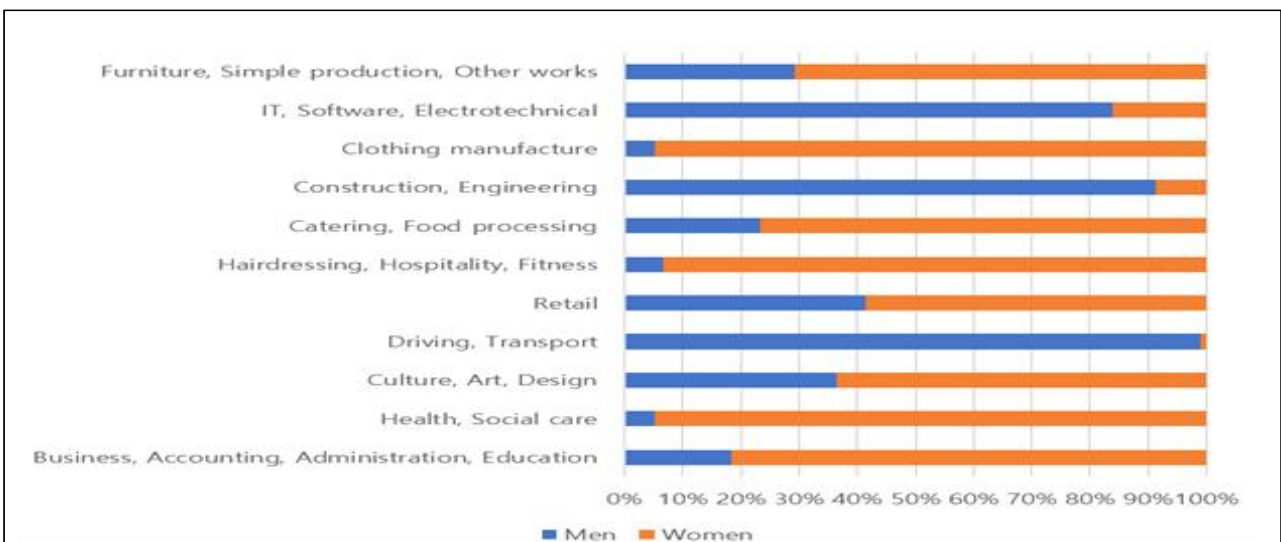
한국의 핵심 공공고용서비스는 고용노동부가 각 지역 거점 지역에 설립한 고용센터를 중심으로 제공되고 있다. 고용노동부에서는 매년 약 1 조 5 천억원 이상의 예산을 편성하여 공공 및 민간훈련기관과 사업주 단체 등을 통해 산업 분야별로 다양한 직업훈련 프로그램을 제공하고 있으며, 특히 실업자와 비정규직을 위한 직업능력개발 예산은 전체 예산의 60% 이상을 차지하고 있다(고용노동부, 2013; 정선정, 2016). 또다른 중요한 축은 지역 고용거버넌스로서 지역 차원에서 노사단위의 지역협력체로서 근로자 교육 및 고용 정책에 도움을 주고 있다 (최석현, et al., 2015).

#### 4-2-2. 남녀 직업훈련 비교

##### 직업훈련 기회 및 내용

한국에서 직업훈련을 받을 수 있는 대상은 15 세 이상 실업자, 고등학생중 대학 미진학자, 대학생 중 대학원에 진학하지 않는 학생, 저소득(연간 매출 8 천만원 미만) 자영업자, 전역예정 군인 등이다 (정선정, 2016). 실업자 훈련 지원 방식은 실업자 내일배움카드제와 국가기간산업훈련 등 두가지가 있다. 국가기간산업 훈련에 참여하는 훈련생은 개인 부담 없이 전액 국비 지원으로 구직기간 동안 최대 3 회까지 훈련을 받을 수 있다. 실업자 내일배움카드제는 2008 년 시범사업이 시작된 이후 2011년 12 월 까지 계좌발급 누적인원은 총 709 천명에 달하였다. 2011년에는 여성의 훈련 참여자가 126,651 명(71.4%)으로 남성 51,044 명(28.7%)보다 거의 2.5 배 많았다 (한국고용정보원, 2013).

그림 4. 남녀 내일배움카드 훈련 참여비율 (2011)



Source: 한국고용정보원(KEIS) (2013)

그림 4 를 보면 내일배움카드 훈련에 참여한 남녀 분포가 영국의 도제제도와 비슷하다는 것을 알 수 있다. 한국의 직업훈련에서도 전통적인 여성지배 업종인 미용, 환대, 건강, 소셜케어 분야에 대부분의 여성이 집중되어 있는 것을 볼 수 있다. 반대로 남성들은 건설, 엔지니어링분야와 운송, 교통분야의 훈련에 대부분 분포한다. 한편, 건설, 기계, 재료, 전기·전자, 정보통신 등 기능기술 분야 훈련이 많은 국가기간산업 훈련에는 여성 참여비율이 남성 훈련인원의 30% 정도로 낮다 (표 2).

표 2. 국가기간산업훈련 남녀 참여비율 (2011)

훈련생수	남	여
총	19,185	6,014
분야 (%)		
엔지니어링, 기계장비	54.2	27.7
IT, 소프트웨어, 전기기술	26.9	23.6
공예, 산업응용	9.1	28.1
섬유, 관리, 기타	9.8	20.6

Source: 한국고용정보원(KEIS, 2013)

한국 직업훈련의 특징으로 볼수 있는 것 중의 하나는 경력단절여성만을 위한 여성 새로일하기센터이다. 2009년 여성가족부와 고용노동부 공동으로 72개소를 설립하였고 매년 꾸준히 확대되어 2018년에는 전국에 총 155개소가 운영되고 있다 (남혜명, 2018). 여성새로일하기센터는 경력단절여성의 취업을 위해 2009년 184개 과정을 개설한데 이어 2016년에는 695개 과정을 운영하였다.

## 재고용 비율

한국고용정보원 (2011)에 따르면 2010년 실업자 직업훈련 이후 취업율을 보면 남성이 49.9%, 여성은 43.2%로 남성이 더 취업이 잘 됐다. 훈련직종과 동일한 분야로 취업한 경우는 28.2%였으므로 훈련의 효과성이 떨어졌다. 실직 여성들의 직업훈련 수료율은 남성에 비해 높은데도 불구하고, 취업확률은 남성에 비해 불리한 것으로 나타났다 (정선정, 2016). 한편, 2011년 국가기간산업훈련 전체 훈련생은 25,199명이며 수료자는 21,971명이다. 이중 6개월 이내 취업에 성공한 훈련생은 16,157명으로 전체 취업율은 73.5%를 기록하였다. 이는 인력공급이 부족한 기능관련 분야에 집중되어 있어 훈련 후 상대적으로 취업율이 높은 편이다.



남성 취업율(75.3%)의 경우 여성(67.8%)에 비해 약 7.5%p 높아 취업성과가 더 좋은 것으로 나타났다. 내일배움카드를 통한 6개월 내 취업율 (표 3)은 남성이 40.0%로 여성의 33.0%보다 7.0%p 더 높게 나타났다(한국고용정보원, 2013).

표 3. 성별 내일배움카드제 훈련 고용율

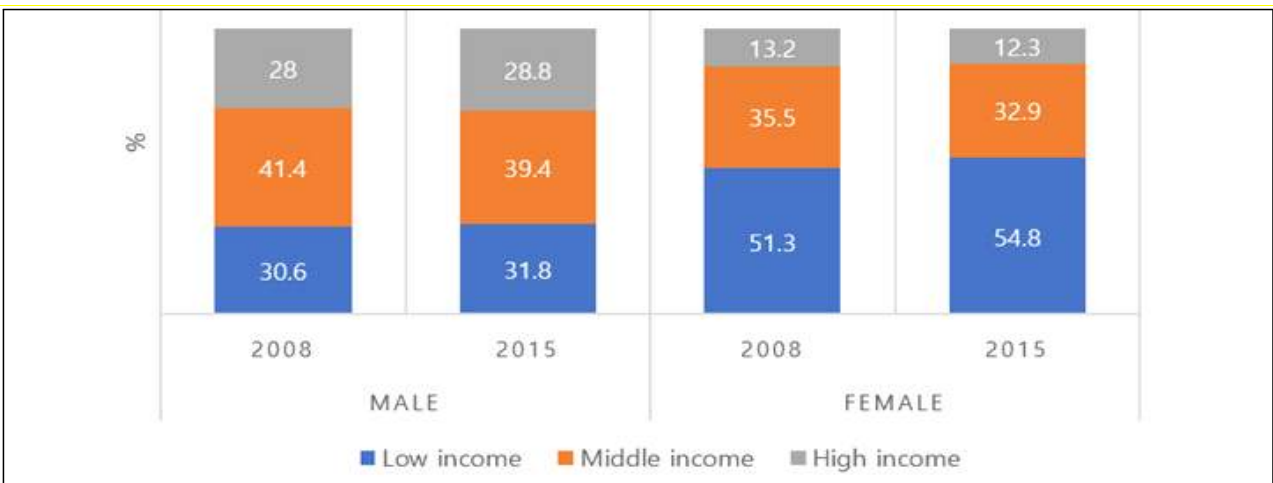
	수료전 고용	실업	3개월 이내	6개월 이내	9개월 이내
남 (%)	4.3	59.7	25.4	40.0	40.3
여 (%)	3.3	66.6	20.0	33.0	33.4

Source: 한국고용정보원(KEIS, 2013)

### 임금

직업훈련은 오히려 이전 임금회복확률에 부정적 영향을 미치고 있는데, 직업훈련을 받지 않은 비교집단의 이전 임금회복확률이 약 27% 높다. 이는 훈련분야와 재취업 일자리의 연계부족이라는 노동시장 구조적 문제 때문으로 훈련생들은 임금수준과 훈련분야에 관계없이 일자리가 제공되는 곳에 취업을 하게 될 가능성이 크기 때문이다 (이서운, 2014). 2011년 구인업체가 구인을 위해 제시한 월평균 제시임금은 143.2만원, 구직자의 희망임금은 167.3만원으로, 제시임금대비 희망임금의 비율인 임금충족률은 85.6% 였다 (한국고용정보원, 2013).

그림 5. 남녀 임금근로 일자리 분포 비율



Source: 2008, 2015 경제활동인구조사 비교 (국가통계포털 KOSIS, 2018)

그림 5 를 보면, 2015 년 여성 임금근로 일자리의 54.8%가 하위 일자리, 32.9%가 중위 일자리였으며, 상위일자리 비중은 12.3%로 구성되어 있다. 남성과 비교할 때 여성 임금근로 일자리는 상대적으로 하위일자리에 집중되어 있음을 확인할 수 있다(박진희, 2017). 또한 2015 년 여성 임금근로일자리의 질적 구조를 2008 년과 비교하여 볼 때, 상위 및 중위일자리는 감소한 반면, 하위일자리 비중이 증가한 것을 알 수 있다. 이는 여성의 경우 고위 및 중위 일자리에서 밀려난 여성 근로자가 하위 일자리로 재배치된 것으로 해석된다.

## 고용유형

실제 한국의 노동시장에서 여성들이 진입한 직종은 주로 저임금, 저숙련 직종으로 분류되어 고학력 여성들의 경우 취업을 포기하게 되는 이유가 된다. 경력이 단절된 후 노동시장으로 복귀하는 중고령 여성들은 주로 판매직, 서비스직, 사무직, 생산직과 단순노무직 순으로 취업하는 경향이 있다 (임현선, 박선희, 2014). 비정규직 근로자 중 시간제 근로자 비중은 여성(35.6%)이 남성(16.6%)보다 높게 나타났다 (통계청, 2011). 사회서비스산업의 확대를 통한 아동보육, 요양보호, 장애인활동보조서비스, 방과후돌봄, 아이돌보미, 산모신생아돌보미, 노인돌봄바우처, 가정봉사원, 간병인 등의 직종은 다양한 영역의 여성 불안정 노동자를 양산했다. 2007-2014 년 여성취업자 증가분의 87%에 해당하는 814 천명이 보건 및 사회복지업에서 취업하여 직종 분리가 더욱 심화되는 결과를 낳았다 (정성미, 2014).

### 4-3. 결과

영국과 한국에 대하여, 남녀직업훈련에 있어서 교육훈련의 기회와 질과 그에 따른 재취업을, 임금, 직업의 형태 등을 비교해 본 결과, 두 나라 모두 직업훈련의 기회를 제외하고는 여성에게 불리하게 작용했던 것으로 나타났다. 두 나라의 직업훈련 정책에 대해 비교 조사한 결과는 다음과 같다.

첫째, 두 나라 모두 글로벌금융위기 이후 직업훈련 정책에 변화를 가져왔다. 영국의 경우 정권이 바뀌면서 2011 년 뉴딜에서 Work Programme 으로 전환하였으며, 한국은 같은 해에 내일배움카드제라는 직업훈련제도를 전국에 도입하였다. 한국의 경우, 훈련기관이 크게 늘었지만 영세 훈련기관의 난립으로 훈련의 질적 수준 유지가 어려워졌으며, 훈련생들의 선호가 높은 훈련분야는 더욱 늘어나고 선호가 낮은 훈련분야는 더욱 축소되는 경향을 보여, 일자리와 훈련수료생의 불일치가 발생하였다 (유길상, 2010 ; 장홍근, 주민규, 2012).

둘째, 글로벌 금융위기 이후 영국과 한국의 직업훈련에 대한 접근성을 보면 양국 모두 남성보다 더 많은 수의 여성이 직업훈련에 참여하고 있었다. 실업자 대상 직업훈련에 여성 비중이 높다는 점은 전반적으로 여성의 경제활동참여가 불리한 노동시장의 현실이 반영된 결과라고도 볼 수 있다 (오은진, 김소연, 2017).

셋째, 훈련 후 재취업에 성공한 비율을 보면 영국과 한국 모두에서 남성이 앞서고 있다. 영국은 남성은 70.8%가 고용되며 여성은 63.6%가 고용되는 것으로 나타났다 (Leschke and Jepsen, 2011). 한국은 2011년, 국가기간산업훈련, 내일배움카드 모두 남성의 취업율이 약 7% 정도 더 높았다 (한국고용정보원, 2013).

넷째, 두나라 모두 비슷하게 남녀 직종분리와 임금격차를 겪었다. Brinkley et al. (2013)는 젊은 여성의 교육수준이 높아졌음에도 불구하고 노동시장에서 성별 차이가 계속 발생하고 있다고 지적했다. 임금 격차는 계속 존재하고, 여성들의 기술이 똑같이 보상받지 못하고 있다 (Schuller, 2011). 경제위기 이후 여성 고용의 순증가 대부분은 저 숙련 및 저임금 부문에서 이루어졌다. Trade Union Congress (2015)는 충분한 일을 하고 싶어도 고용보장이 전혀 또는 거의 없는 제로 아워와 단시간 계약에 속한 여성의 수가 증가하였다고 주장했다.

마지막으로, 두나라 모두 고용시장 거버넌스가 제대로 작동하지 않았다. 영국의 Work Programme 과 한국의 내일배움카드제 모두 이론적 측면에서는 이상적인 거버넌스를 이룬 것처럼 보이지만 프로그램 효과에 대한 평가는 그리 만족스럽지 않다. Work Programme 의 문제는 주요계약기관들이 실업자들을 분류하는 과정에서 성과를 빨리 낼 수 있는 건강하고 젊은 일반실업자에게 서비스를 집중하는 크리밍(Cream-skimming) 현상이 두드러지게 나타나고 있다는 점이다. 한국에서도 실업자훈련의 훈련기간이 매우 단기간이고, 공급자가 다음해의 훈련 승인을 받을 수 있을지 없을지가 불확실하기 때문에 성과가 비교적 높은 남성 위주로 훈련생을 뽑는 현상이 일어났다 (유길상, 2010).

## 5. 비교분석

두 나라의 성 불평등이 심화된 원인을 아래의 세가지로 분석했다.

### 5-1. 직업 고정관념

영국에서 직업경로는 학업경로보다 열등한 것으로 간주되며, 저소득층 학생들이 불균형적으로 많다 (Chankseliani et al., 2016). 한국사회도 마찬가지로 직업교육보다는 대학진학이 더 우선시 되어, 대학 진학율이 49.0% (2018년)에 달하며

(K-indicator, 2020), 열등한 학생이 직업교육을 받는다는 인식이 있다. 또한, 직업 성별분리 문제도 크다. 보육 또는 미용실에서 일하기를 원하는 남성들은 해당 부문에서 저임금뿐만 아니라 "여성의 일"이라는 고정관념으로 인한 낙인을 감당해야 한다 (TUC and YWCA, 2010). 직업의 가치는 계량화하기가 쉽지 않지만, 여성 지배 부문들 중 다수는 급여가 낮다. TUC and YWCA (2010)는 숙련되고 책임감이 필요한 중요한 직업으로 간주되는 육아분야 견습생은 평균적으로 전기 견습생보다 오히려 3분의 1 적은 돈을 번다고 강조했다.

## 5-2. 정책설계시 젠더관점 부족

경제위기 상황에서 정책대응을 살펴보면 여성보다는 남성 위주의 분야를 더 지원하고 남성이 더 선호하는 일자리 고용 정책방안을 위주로 실행하는 것으로 나타났다 (Leschke and Jepsen, 2011). 영국정부는 도제교육 정책을 설계할 때 여성의 경우에는 남성들이 주로 참여하는 공학과 같은 분야가 아닌 소매, 비즈니스 관리자 같은 기존에 여성 인력이 많은 분야에 또 새로운 도제 제도를 만드는 등 여성의 직업의 질 향상에 대해 무관심했다 (TUC and YWCA, 2010). 한국은 총 100 조 원 규모의 재정팽창 정책을 통해 금융위기를 이겨내고자 하였다. 주로 녹색뉴딜과 지방발전프로젝트인데 그 내용을 보면 4 대강 정비, 고속도로 건설 등 토목건설공사다 (문형구, 2009). 따라서 여기서 창출되는 고용역시 남성위주이며, 건설일용직 등 질 낮은 일자리 위주였다. 실업이 증가하고 기업의 성과가 악화될 때에는 모든 근로자에게 타격이 갈 수 있으나, 특히 저임금 노동에 종사하는 여성 근로자에게는 더욱 그러하다. 이들은 시간제 근로자나 임시고용계약을 하고 있는 경우가 많아 그 입지가 매우 취약하다(Grimshaw, 2011). 그럼에도 불구하고 경제위기 기간에 대부분의 유럽 국가들이 젠더를 무시한 정책접근을 했다 (Leschke and Jepsen, 2011) 정부 정책은 실업 완화에 초점을 맞추고 사람들이 우선순위가 아니라도 빨리 취업하도록 유도하는 경향이 있으며 변화하는 직업시장이 여성의 고용기회에 미치는 잠재적인 영향을 고려하지 않았다 (Brinkley et al., 2013).

## 5-3. 거버넌스의 실패

### 5-3-1. 고용파트너십의 역할 미흡

2009 년 영국은 중앙정부 신규 일자리의 25% 이상은 지역고용파트너십(Local Employment Partnership)을 통하여 채우기로 하였으나 2010 년 노동당에서 보수당 연합정권으로 정부가 바뀌면서 노동정책도 변화를 맞았다. Oakley et al.

(2013)은 새정권의 정책 초기 커뮤니케이션의 어려움, 각 역할에 대한 이해 부족, LEP (Local Enterprise Partnerships)와 같은 전략적 리더십에 대한 혼란과 기존 기관 내 변화에 대해 지적했다. 지방정부간에 고용업무가 중복되었으며 공급자간 경쟁이 치열해짐에 따라 파트너십을 유지하기 어려웠다. 일부지역에서는 거버넌스를 활성화하는 책임을 누가 져야 하는지도 명확하지 않았다(Oakley et al., 2013). 한국에서도 일자리 창출에 대한 문제를 해결하는데 있어 네트워크 거버넌스가 원활하지 못하였으며 중앙부처에서 자치단체로 위임되는 사업, 자체 사업 등에 대해 지역 차원에서 지역사정에 맞게 재조정할 수 있는 권한 및 능력이 부족하였다. 즉, 일자리 관련 정책이 조율없이 산발적으로 추진되었고, 그 전달체계 또한 복잡하고 비효율적으로 이루어졌다 (권용수, 2013). 한국의 경우 직업훈련의 효율성과 성과가 낮다는 점이 계속해서 지적되었는데 (강순희, 2010) 지역 사정에 맞게, 일자리가 필요한 분야 위주로 지역 간 교육 내용을 조정하는 정부, 일자리를 제공하는 기업, 훈련 기관간 협력을 통한 조율이 미흡했다.

### 5-3-2. 직업훈련 거버넌스에서 젠더관점 부족

Fuller and Unwin (2013) 은 영국의 교육 및 훈련시스템의 이해관계자 중 누구도 보다 일반적으로 성차별을 다루는데 적극적인 책임이 없다는 점은 가장 큰 문제라고 지적했다. 워크프로그램은 민간의 재량권을 극대화한다는 장점이 있는 반면, 정부의 감독기능의 부재로 연결될 수 있어 민주적인 견제장치가 부재하였다. 결국 노동시장에서 약자인 여성들과 이민자, 장애인 이 피해를 볼 가능성이 높아진다. TUC and YWCA (2010)는 노동시장에서 여성이 열악한 상황에 놓이게 된 이유 중 하나는 전통적인 성별분리 패턴을 보여주는 직업훈련 때문이라고 지적했다. 더 나은 임금 일자리로 이어지는 프로그램은 주로 남성들에 의해 수행되고 여성들은 1년 이하의 짧은 견습훈련을 받고 있었다. 한국에서도 실업자 훈련은 Voucher 방식인 내일배움카드제를 제외하고는 훈련기관이 훈련생을 모집하도록 하고 모집된 훈련생에 대한 훈련비용을 정부가 지원하는 방식을 취하고 있다. 따라서 고용 가능성이 높은 직종과 남성 구직자 위주로 서비스를 제공하는 ‘크림스키밍’ 현상이 발생하였다 (유길상, 2010; 이창원, 조문석, 2016). 이러한 부작용의 원인은 성과기반 지불 체계에 기초한 가격경쟁이라는 자본의 논리에 입각한 위탁업체 선정 방식에 있다. 정부의 여성고용정책의 가장 큰 문제점으로 지적할 수 있는 것은 여성고용의 문제를 전적으로 “여성”에 특화된 문제로 접근한다는 점이다. 여성고용의 문제의 원인이 되는 노동시장 전반의 여러 문제점에 대한 시정의지가 없는 상

태에서 여성을 위한 일자리를 확대하는 것만으로는 여성고용의 질 악화 문제는 해결하기 어렵다.

## 6. 정책 제언

위에서 논의한 내용들을 중심으로 노동시장에서 성평등을 이루기 위한 방안으로 다음과 같이 제언을 하고자 한다.

### 젠더관점을 반영한 직업훈련 정책 재구조화

실업자 재취업 훈련의 효과성 증진을 위해서는 직업훈련 분야의 선정과 개발에 있어서 노동시장의 여건을 필수적으로 고려하여 노동수요가 급증하는 분야의 기술 훈련을 개발, 제공해야 한다 (이서윤, 2014). 여성 직업훈련생의 특징인 수료율은 남성에 비해 높지만 취업율이 낮게 나타나는 것을 방지하기 위한 보다 효과적인 투자와 지원이 필요하다. 직업훈련 초기상담 시 본인의 적성과 기업 현장의 요구사항을 반영하여 훈련과정을 선택할 수 있도록 산업현장 견학, 현장 학습 등 실질적인 일자리 정보를 제공하여 틀에 박힌 직업경로를 벗어날 수 있도록 지원해야 한다 (Brinkley et al., 2013; 정선정, 2016). 이를 위해서는 개인별 특징과 훈련욕구를 파악하기 위한 프로파일링 시스템, 이에 기초한 심층상담과 맞춤형 안내가 가능하도록 고용서비스 체계를 구축 (강순희 et al., 2015)하고, 공학 분야 등에 여성이 더 많이 참여할 수 있도록 설계해야 한다 (Fuller and Unwin, 2013).

### 학교 진로교육 강화

양국 모두 청년 실업율이 높아지고 있는 실정을 반영하여 일찍부터 본인의 진로를 탐색할 수 있도록 낮은 수준에 머물러 있는 청소년 진로교육을 강화할 필요가 있다 (Brinkley et al., 2013). 초등교육부터 자신의 교육 경험과 미래의 관계에 대해 성찰하는 기회, 노동시장과 직업에 대해 고려, 진로지도 전문가와 교사, 학부모 등이 함께 논의하는 접근법, 성차별적, 민족적 고정관념 극복 등을 포함하는 효과적인 진로지도 제공해야 한다 (OECD, 2018b). 영국의 Work experience 프로그램은 어릴 때 부터 일 경험을 할 수 있도록 한다는 점에서 추천할 만 하다. 영국에서는 법적으로 만 13 세가 되면 시간제 일을 할 수 있다. 일경험은 청소년들의 진로선택에 도움을 주고, 고용주에게 스스로의 역량을 증명할 기회를 주며, 작업장에서 필요한 태도와 행동을 익히게 함으로써 교육과 일의 세계가 단절되지 않

도록 다리를 놓는 것이다. 16~19세의 모든 학생의 학습계획에 따른 일 경험 활동은 정부 교육기금의 보조를 받는다(Education fund agency, 2015).

### 노동시장 성평등정책 강화

경제위기가 노동시장의 성평등에 장기적으로 부정적인 영향을 미치는 것을 막기 위해서는 정부가 효과적인 성평등 평가 방법을 적용하는 것이 중요하다 (Leschke and Jepsen, 2011). 특히 정부는 일자리정책의 효율성을 제고하고 여성 직업교육의 편중현상과 낮은 취업율을 개선할 수 있도록 사업에 대한 평가와 피드백 기능을 강화해야 할 것이다. 정규직 여성할당제 등을 적극 유도하여 이를 실시하는 기업에 인센티브 제공하는 방안도 적극 추진해야 한다. 여성 취업을 돕는 기업에 정부 조달 혜택 제공하는 방법도 하나의 예가 될 수 있다. 공공 부문은 주요 공공 조달 계약을 이수한 고용주가 가능한 한 많은 여성들에게 채용 및 교육 기회를 제공하도록 장려하는 데 중요한 역할을 할 수 있다 (Brinkley et al., 2013).

### 거버넌스 활성화

공평한 일자리 창출 기회와 고용안정을 위해 정부, 기업, 훈련기관 간의 성평등에 입각한 유기적인 거버넌스가 끊임없이 작동하도록 해야 한다. 직업훈련의 효율성과 성과를 높이기 위해서는 중앙정부와 지방정부, 일자리를 제공하는 기업, 훈련 기관 간 네트워크가 제대로 기능해야 한다. 여성 고용서비스의 책임성과 효율성을 확보하기 위한 이상적인 방안은 고용서비스 전달주체 간의 완전한 구조적 연계성을 확보하고, 성 평등에 입각한 고용서비스 정보 공유체계와 성과평가 구조를 구축하는 것이다. 현재 중앙정부별, 지방자치단체별 추진하고 있는 대표적인 여성 취업지원 사업의 성과와 내용을 지역별로 분류하여 검토할 필요가 있다. 또한 지역간 지원사업의 불균형을 최소화하고 특정집단이 소외되지 않도록 네트워크를 강화해야 한다.

## 7. 결론

지금까지 영국과 한국에서 금융위기로 인해 노동시장에 위기가 닥칠 때 상대적으로 열악한 지위에 있는 사람들이 더 큰 피해를 입었고 그 대상은 주로 여성들이었다는 것을 살펴보았다. 이것은 경제, 정치, 문화적 배경이 다른 영국과 한국에서 동일하게 일어난 현상이라는 점에서 노동시장의 구조적인 문제에서 비롯된 것으로 해석된다. 즉, 실업자 구제를 위해 직업훈련을 강화하였으나 성평등에 입각한 정교한 정

책 설계를 하지 못했기 때문에 노동시장의 성차별을 극복하지 못했다고 평가할 수 있다. 금융 위기 이후 성별 직업 분리는 더욱 악화되었다. 여성들은 비정규직, 아르바이트 등 빈곤한 일자리로 몰렸다. Women and Work Commission 등 여성계는 불평등과 직업 분리에 관한 여성의 입장을 고려하는 것이 국가 경제에 막대한 생산성 향상을 가져올 수 있다고 설득력 있게 주장해왔다. 직업 분리는 성평등에 대한 위협일 뿐만 아니라 생산성을 제한한다 (Campbell, et al, 2011). 따라서 고용 시장에서 여성 위치를 개선하는 것은 국가의 미래 생활수준에 중대한 영향을 미친다 (Whitham, 2016).

글로벌 금융위기 이후 10년 이상 지났지만, 그동안 많은 제도적 개선에도 불구하고 고용시장에서 성차별은 여전히 존재한다. 노동시장 성차별을 해소하기 위해서는 어느 한 분야에서의 노력만으로는 어렵다. 종합적 안목을 가지고 정부, 노동계, 기업, 교육계까지 강력한 거버넌스를 통해 성차별 개선에 함께 다가가야 한다. 시간이 걸리더라도 학교 교육에서부터 직업훈련, 취업 지원까지 뿌리깊은 성차별 의식을 타파하여 노동시장의 직업 분리를 개선하고 또한 여성이 열악한 일자리로 이동하게 되는 사회구조적 환경을 개선해야 한다. 기업은 여성의 강점을 최대한 활용하고, 정부는 여성이 남성보다 시간제 또는 저 숙련 노동에 더 치중하는 구조를 바꾸기 위해 여성을 고용하는 기업에 인센티브를 제공해야한다. 경제 위기는 언제라도 발생할 수 있지만 성평등 노력이 노동 시장에서 성과를 낸다면 노동시장에서 약자의 입장에 있는 사람들이 받는 피해는 최소화 될 것이다.



[훈련성과보고서 영문본]

**To what extent has the labour market policy affected gender equality in the post-financial crisis? A comparative study in the UK and South Korea in the context of governance**

MPA

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## **Abstract**

The global financial crisis that began in 2008 caused mass unemployment. In particular, the financial crisis worsened the position of women in the labour market. Governments of each country have invested enormous budgets in giving work to the unemployed. The British and Korean governments tried to solve the unemployment problem respectively by introducing new vocational training policies and strengthening governance between the central government, local government and private enterprises. However, despite such efforts, job segregation for women was severe, and the quality of employment declined even worse than men. This study investigated the content of vocational training and problems of governance in order to analyse the causes of women's substandard job quality and lower employment rate than men after re-employment training of unemployed. Women participated more actively than men in vocational training, but the employment rate was lower than that of men. Even in the same occupation, women earned lower wages than men. Also, women had a higher percentage of temporary work than men. Above all, vocational training programmes accelerated the segmentation of men and women's job. In order to increase the efficiency and performance of vocational training, the government should design vocational training programmes according to the gender perspective. Furthermore, governance between central and local governments, corporates, and training institutions must function more interactive intimately.

## 1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between the recession and the labour market caused by the sudden financial crisis and to find out the policy meaning of the role of governance in the labour market among various approaches to mitigate the economic shock. This study focuses on the vocational training of unemployed women. It examines the changes in the quantitative and qualitative levels of jobs after reemployment of unemployed women in the UK and Korea after the global financial crisis. Also, it intends to analyse how the governance structure of vocational training has affected women's labour market participation and job quality. The financial crisis from the United States, triggered by the collapse of Lehman Brothers in September 2008, has plunged the world economy in late 2008 and early 2009. According to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the economies of developing countries grew only 2.8% in 2009, while the economies of developed countries shrank 3.4% (IMF, 2019). As the consumption demand of developed countries decreased, the economy in Korea, which was highly dependent on trade, faced plenty of difficulties, hitting a sharp drop in exports. The UK economy suffered a severe downturn at -4.3% in 2009 and recovered to its pre-recession level in the third quarter of 2013 (Office for National Statistics; ONS, 2015), but suffered significant damage in the labour market (Kim et al., 2009).

The path through which the economic crisis directly brings people suffering comes from employment. The recession limits new employment or deprives workers of jobs. In the case of South Korea, the recession in 2008 brought much more considerable damage to the job market because the employment system has changed significantly since the Asian economic crisis in 1997 (Kim, 2015). According to Eurofound (2013), jobs declined mostly in the middle-and low-paid jobs. Moreover, this job polarisation continued even after recovering from the recession. Jaimovich and Siu (2012) argued that job polarisation mainly occurs in the downturn of the economy, not a regular increase. The labour market in Europe was still highly gender-differentiated even after the economy recovers, so the share of mixed jobs with similar proportions of men and women was less than 20% of the total workforce (Eurofound, 2012). In other words, 80% of workers belong to jobs where men or women dominate more

than two-thirds. Male-dominated occupations tend to receive relatively high wages due to long-term historical conditions associated with institutional power, high union membership rates, however, female-oriented jobs score lower in wages than their educational background (Eurofound, 2012). Female part-time jobs have increased significantly. Between the second quarter of 2011 and the second quarter of 2012, women accounted for over 80% of part-time workers in 27 EU countries. However, part-time workers earned lower wages than full-time workers (Eurofound, 2012). This study aims to compare the labour market policies in the United Kingdom and South Korea, where the gender gap has tended to deepen identically in the labour market after the recession. In particular, this study will investigate the causes of the segregation of women's occupations in the labour market and the declining job quality after the crisis with the perspective of job training governance.

This policy report consists of seven chapters. Next chapter introduces the research methodology, and chapter 3 will review the governance-related studies to explain the concepts of governance and employment-related governance. In chapter 4, it is focused on governance policies for unemployed in the context of job training after reviewing research data that revealed how the 2008 global financial crisis had impacted women seeking to re-enter the labour market in the UK and South Korea. A comparative analysis follows chapter 4 and will track the causes of failure of gender equality in the labour market. Chapter 6 will discuss a few recommendations about restructuring the labour policy for gender equality. There will be a conclusion in chapter 7 at the end.

## **2. Research Methodology**

### **2-1. Comparative approach**

Pennings et al. (2006) suggested that a comparative approach is one of the most appropriate ways to develop insights into the social, political condition and link theory with phenomena.

Among various comparative analysis methods, those for a small number of countries are classified into two types, Most Similar System Design (MSSD) and Most Different System Design (MDSD). The MSSD (Difference method) seeks to identify differences and critical factors in a country's political outcome between similar countries, and the MDSD (Matching method) is to study the commonalities of political output among different countries. The main advantage of MSSD and MDSD is that they can remove potentially relevant explanatory variables from further analysis. By carefully matching a small number of cases from a wide range of potential explanatory variables, one can leave out a wide range of variables from additional analysis (Anckar, 2008).

In this policy report, MDSD (method of agreement), one of the comparative analysis methods, was selected. MDSD is achieved by selecting countries that are not as similar as possible. MDSD is suggested as an alternative to solve the problems of MSSD. MSSD has a limited number of cases to control many variables (Lijphart, 1971) and that they are making the fallacy of explaining the different phenomena in similar countries in socio-cultural contexts and political structures only to their unique attributes (Kim, 1995). On the other hand, MDSD attains testing and verifying only one common feature within various systems. Testing in various subsystem configurations solves problems caused by too many variables and too few cases (Anckar, 2008). In MDSD, a temporary assumption is made that system attributes (country level) do not affect the change patterns of dependent variables. Therefore, the research sample was collected from different populations. Still, the nature of the case itself can be neglected depending on the assumption, so it is safe to use any case as a research object. After preparing the research sample, it will lower the level of analysis as much as possible to estimate a group of candidate independent variables. Then, it will select only those variables showing the same aspect in each case as final independent variables (Key explanatory factor) among them. If the hypothesis about the relationship between the independent variable and the dependent variable assumed in the subsystem level is confirmed by empirical verification, this can be a very widely applicable rule. Therefore, MDSD aims to exclude unnecessary system variables, as emphasised by Teune and Przeworski (1970).

## 2-2. Why compare the UK with South Korea?

The UK and South Korea had different backgrounds in various ways, such as economic size and labour policy, as of 2008, when the economic crisis hit. First of all, when comparing labour market scales, as of 2008, the labour force participation rate in the UK was 75.4%, the total employment was 29,475,000, and the unemployment rate was 5.7%. On the other hand, Korea had a labour force participation rate of 66.6% in the same year, the total employment of 23,577,000, and an unemployment rate of 3.2% (ILO, 2008). As of 2007, the unionisation rate in the UK was 28%, and it was 10.8% in Korea (OECD, 2008).

These two countries also contrast in terms of the government's labour policy. At the time of the global financial crisis, the British government was ruled by Gordon Brown's Labour Party, while the Conservative Party came to power in Korea. The Blair-Brown New Labour government actively intervened in the labour market to expand employment, introduced the minimum wage system, increased working families tax credit, increased child benefits, and strengthened the trade union through granting legal collective bargaining rights (Mullard and Swaray, 2008). Gordon Brown viewed that the marketisation of public service provision undermines the spirit of public service and egalitarianism in the welfare state. For example, he emphasised that the government should control health and education sector (Driver, 2008). When the global financial crisis began, Prime Minister Gordon Brown expanded finances to stimulate the economy, and welfare expenditures increased accordingly. As the number of unemployed increased due to the economic downturn, the Brown government invested an emergency budget of £1 billion in 2009 to support the young unemployed as well as the general unemployed (Longlands, 2010). However, the Cameron-Clegg coalition government, launched in 2010, had turned to drastically cut public sector spending and labour market support to reduce fiscal deficits.

On the other hand, Korea's conservative regime during the global financial crisis was unfavourable for the labour market. Korea has a short history of democracy and few labour-friendly regimes. Labour-management relations in Korea were likely to worsen due to a lack of arbitration when the economic circumstance get tough (Jung, 2010). Moreover, President Lee Myung-bak, who came to power in 2008, was criticised for a business-friendly policy even when the labour market was in crisis due to the global financial crisis. A labour

media in South Korea criticised Lee's government for its economic policies only serve the interests of the significant conglomerate. In particular, the newspaper evaluated that the labour-government relations and labour-management relations ran up the worst since the Korean government accepted the complaints of chaebol companies only rather than resolving the labour problem by making publicised (Labour Today, 2017). Also, when unprecedented unemployment occurred due to the global economic crisis, the Korean government announced that it would cut the workforce of public enterprises by 10-15% in 2009, causing controversy (Mun, 2009).

Above all things, the gender equality level of Korea is significantly lagging in several indexes. For example, when examining the 'Women in work index' released annually by the PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC), the UK ranked to 14th in the Women in work index 2013, just after the economic crisis, while Korea ranked 27th out of 27 countries (PwC, 2015). According to Jang (2018), the level of gender equality in Korea from the perspective of international comparison is deficient. Although sufficient with the necessary condition of life, women's participation rate in economic activities is meagre, and the wage gap with men is widened worst in the world. What is worse, the percentage of women who make important decisions in politics, society and business is low.

As discussed above, the UK and Korea are very different in terms of the economic scale, labour policy, and gender equality. However, both countries saw the same result, more widened gender gap in the labour market in the post-financial crisis. Both the UK and Korean governments conducted vocational training for the jobless in cooperation with business and organisations as a solution to mass unemployment (Grimshaw, 2011; Lee et al., 2009). Nevertheless, women were driven out to jobs that were relatively inferior to men in terms of reemployment rates, wages, and job types in both countries after the financial crisis. To analyse the case, it will assume that the gender gap has widened both in the Korean and British labour markets due to vocational training policies in post-crisis, following the MDSD assumption. As the attributes of the system (state level) do not affect the dependent variable (gender gap), the level of analysis is lowered to the individual level. This study will investigate how much the vocational training policy through governance influenced the gender gap. In order to examine the causes of the gender gap in respect of vocational training, it



will set vocational training opportunities and contents, reemployment rates, wages, and job type as individual independent variables.

## 2-3. data

In order to investigate the causes of disadvantages for women in the labour market after the recession, a comparative review is conducted with research reports, journals, statistical data, newspaper articles, and websites that include the UK and South Korea labour market diagnosis and employment policies before and after the financial crisis in 2008. The statistical data of this policy report were based on data from the Office for National Statistics (ONS) in the UK, Korea Statistical Office (Statistics Korea), OECD, World Bank, IMF, ILO and economic research institutes.

## 3. Literature review

This chapter will firstly examine the governance theory that constitutes the overall lens of this paper, and then review the role of governance in the job market. Following introducing conflicting arguments about the impact of the financial crisis on the labour market, a brief look at the vocational training policies adopted by the UK and South Korea to solve the unemployment problem.

### 3-1. What is 'governance'?

Governance was initially used in a context similar to acts of states or processes that of government, focusing on measures to effectively increase the administration of the government (Finer, 1970). Since 1980, various problems that cannot be solved by the hierarchical system have emerged in modern society. It has been increased the need for various stakeholders to participate in the governing process to enhance the efficiency of government and intensify the effectiveness of policies. Thus, the discussion of governance

began in order to explore new ways of solving social problems. In general, the term governance is used in a variety of ways (Rhodes 1996), and many researchers have come up with various definitions of governance. Campbell et al. (1991) defined governance as a political and economic process that coordinates the behaviour of the members of society. They described it as types of markets, networks, hierarchies, surveillance, and associations. Stoker (1998) viewed that governance creates rules and conditions for collective action and that governance and government outputs are not different. Governance refers to the development of a governing style that blurs the lines between the public and private sectors. The current governance concept is understood as a governing system that uses a network built within society to coordinate policies to address public problems, under the perception that the relationship between government and society is changing from one-way to interactive (Kooiman and Van Vliet, 1993). In this interactive circumstance, the government does not directly solve social problems but steers social groups find their solutions through the network and empower each organisation to have the ability to derive a solution (Osborne, 1993). Summing up the various definitions of governance as discussed above, it can be defined as a form of coordination to solve public problems through new forms of interaction and cooperation in which governments, markets, and civil society voluntarily participate in establishing a horizontal network based on autonomy (Kim, 2006).

### 3-2. Governance in the job market

Governance is an essential concept in employment policy. It is because the role of the private sectors, which are the leading groups that provide jobs, is crucial for job creation. In this respect, governance is a critical factor in that the government can solve the problem by steer the direction of job policy through horizontal partnerships with the public sectors, private enterprises, and civil organisations related to employment. The reason why governance is emphasised in employment policy is that flexible and rapid changes to the system related to vocational training and employment ability cannot be easily realised due to the institutional nature that takes time for the mutual consent for change and delivery process. In other words, the complexity of the delivery system caused by the difference in the speed of change of each existing system will naturally lead to confusion of the responsibility of service

delivery. Further, it will go through the confusion of what policies can solve the problems that arise at the street level (Smith et al., 2011). Also, the problem of asymmetry in information adds to the difficulty of reforming these systems. Since the legal framework and the design of infrastructure of the establishment of human capital are primarily public sector responsibility while substantial improvements occur mostly in the private sectors or the worker's areas (Froy and Giguere, 2010). In this regard, there needs three kinds of governance to overcome these difficulties of information asymmetry and deliver employment services more efficiently in the labour market; governance within government, governance between the government and regional communities, and the governance in the enterprises and workers (Choi, 2015).

### 3-3. Previous studies on the impact of the recession in the labour market

It was common to evaluate employment policies based on the statistical data of the employment rate and the unemployment rate of women and men in the process of overcoming the global financial crisis. Some studies argue that the financial crisis has led to a drop in the male employment rate and a rise in the female employment rate. Data from the ONS showed that the UK male employment rate fell deeper than the female employment rate during the 2008/09 recession (Jenkins, 2013). Comparing the whole OECD countries, the most significant job losses occurred in the male-dominated sectors, especially in construction and manufacturing between 2007 and 2009. The OECD male unemployment rate rose from 5.5% (second quarter of 2007) to 9% (fourth quarter of 2009) (OECD, 2018a). During the same period, women's unemployment rate rose from 6 to 8 % as the service sector where most women work was less affected by the crisis. However, the unemployment rate for men has declined since 2010, but that for women has not decreased. The unemployment rate across the OECD was about 8 % for both men and women in the third quarter of 2012. Richardi et al. (2018) emphasised that men's employment rate was not higher than the decades before the crisis, while women's employment rate was at an all-time high. Hurley et al. (2011) also claimed that the gender employment gap narrowed during the global financial crisis.

Some argue that men have been more negatively affected by the financial crisis using the comparison of statistics centred on employment rates and unemployment rates. When

investigating deeply into detail, however, it could be interpreted as the opposite. Sequino (2010) and Maier (2011) argued that unemployment rate can only tell fragmentary facts and that unemployed women tend not to be included in unemployment statistics more often, as more detailed studies show, and women withdraw from the labour market to unpaid or informal jobs. Thus, the effects of changing economic conditions are not fully explained by employment and unemployment data. Furthermore, workforce reduction in the public sector has further worsened women's status in the labour market. Men were more likely to lose their jobs in the early stages of the economic crisis, but it was easier to get a job when the economy recovers (Maier, 2011). The number of involuntary female part-time workers has increased since the recession began. Between 2007 and 2011, involuntary part-time workers aged 25- 54 increased from 0.9 to 1.4% for men and from 3.4 to 4.2 % for women (OECD, 2018a). Grimshaw (2011) pointed out that male workers were severely hit in the early stages of the recession in Britain, but that while male employment began to pick up after 2010, female employment rates were not improved.

In South Korea, the gap between men and women in the job market has widened since the financial crisis. Furthermore, men become unemployed when fired or lost their jobs, but women often included to economically inactive, such as full-time housewives or workless, it was hard to start again if they were expelled without the middle stage of unemployment (Eun, 2009). The employment rate of men in Korea decreased by 0.8%p between 2008 and 2010, but the employment rate of women decreased by 0.9%p in the same period. However, the employment rate of men increased by only 0.6%p in the process of overcoming the crisis, but that of women increased by 1.8%p, showing a change of more than three times compared to men (KOSIS, 2018). The reason for the high rise in employment rates of women seems that they accepted such substandard jobs even though they were low-quality jobs while men were waiting for a decent job (Park, 2017). Likewise, in the UK, the 2010 Annual Survey for Hours and Earnings (ASHE) data of ONS showed that 61.8% of women accounted for the bottom 25% of employee jobs (ONS, 2010).

It shows that it is vital for gender matter not merely to count the number of jobs lost in the process of the recession, but to consider how the dynamics of changes in public finances will have very different effects on men and women as paid workers and service users.

Therefore, to account for this difference, the gender structure in which recession and consequent recovery take place should be considered (McKay et al., 2013; Leschke and Jepsen, 2011). Concerning changes in public finance, the 16th TUC recession report by Trades Union Congress (2010), the largest trade union in the UK, expressed concern that a significant reduction in public spending would not only increase women's job losses but also significantly reduce retirement income. The report warned that early public spending cuts would be the hardest blow to women's employment, as four out of ten women work in public sector jobs, compared with less than two out of ten men. According to ONS (2012), in practice, the decrease in public sector jobs resulted in an increase of women unemployment in 7.2% in public administration, 3.1% in education, 1.9% in NHS, and 7.4% in other health and social work.

### 3-4. Government's efforts to tackle the unemployment

To prevent unemployment due to the economic downturn and the fall to low-wage work, central and local governments, corporations and social groups in each country have established networks to create jobs. Kim (2013) emphasised that the best employment service is vocational training. Each government spent large budgets in providing employment training for those who lost their jobs and in stabilising the job market. In the UK, Haughton et al. (2009) proposed promoting partnerships among various actors in the region to expedite job creation and to reduce worklessness. The British government accepted most of the proposals and have fought against unemployment through close cooperation with employers or Local Employment Partnerships. The government invested £3 billion in Jobcentre Plus and training institutions to provide the best service. Also, the European Social Fund was used to provide vocational training to at least 40,000 people who were unemployed or expected to be unemployed (Choi, 2009).

In Korea, in order to increase the employment rate, the government strengthened the functions of the job support centre to advance the employment service and strengthening the policy to relieve the unemployed through vocational training. The Korean government had stuck to provider-centred system, which all of the training costs and time set by the

government until 2010 (Lee, 2012). The Korean government, however, implemented the vocational ability development voucher system that the unemployed can select vocational training courses and training time autonomously by supporting up to 2 million won (£1300) per year for the unemployed from 2011 (Chang and Joo, 2012).

So far, this study has reviewed the theory of governance and contentions about the effects of employment policies on women and men during the financial crisis and briefly reviewed the policies to solve employment problems in the UK and South Korea. Many studies have pointed out that job security for women worse than before, job segregation has aggravated, and there has been a tendency to be pushed back to part-time jobs, moreover, even disappeared from the job market altogether after the economic crisis. There may be various reasons for this, but this study will focus on vocational training. In the following chapter, it will focus on the vocational training support system in the UK and Korea in the governance perspective and explain why the gender gap has widened in the labour market after the financial crisis. Examining the effects of these policies from the perspective of gender equality and looking for ways to improve them will help to solve the gender gap in the labour market.

## **4. Case study**

By looking at the cases of the UK and Korea separately, this case study will examine whether vocational training had somewhat extent a positive effect on preventing women's unemployment and mitigating the gender gap in the labour market. It will review the job governance in the labour market first and examine whether women had enough opportunities for vocational training, what was the content of the training, how many successful cases of job searching after vocational training, what type of job, and how about the wage gap between women and men.

### **4-1. The vocation training in the UK after the recession**

#### 4-1-1. Job governance for unemployed

The representative provider of employment services in the UK is Jobcentre Plus under the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP). Jobcentre Plus had 11 regional offices nationwide, 132 district offices, and more than 1,000 Jobcentre Plus local offices in 2010 (Chai, 2013). As of the fiscal year 2010-2011, Jobcentre Plus executed a total budget of £ 3,565 million in net administrative expenses, and social security benefit expenditure of Jobcentre Plus exceeded £ 30 billion per year (DWP, 2011). Jobcentre Plus in each region has strived to provide employment services appropriate for the local situation by forming partnerships with related organisations at the regional level in order to identify and meet the needs of job seekers and employers in the region and the local community. Prime partners in regions included local governments, public organisations in the region, labour-management organisations, industry-specific Learning and Skills Councils, child care service organisations, National Health Service, for-profit and non-profit employment service organisations, and voluntary Institutions (Chai, 2013). Local labour-management alliances for training workers and creating jobs are a significant example of job governance (Peters, 2000).

In the UK, the main courses in vocational education and training consist of classroom-based education, workplace education and apprenticeships combining the two (City and Guilds, 2015). Representatively, there are two kinds of services; Work Programme provided by the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP) and the apprenticeship operated in cooperation with the Department for Education (DfE) and Department for Business, Energy & Industrial Strategy (BEIS). In 2011, the coalition government introduced the Work Programme that provides up to two years-employment services to jobless for more than one year (Jeong et al., 2018). Private consignment companies and non-profit organisations become programme providers to support the long-term unemployed in the Work Programme. The government minimised intervention and guaranteed dramatically expanded discretion to the private sector that they can provide independent services according to the experiences, knowledge, and know-how of the skills providers (Oakley et al., 2013). The Work Programme had the potential to develop into ideal governance for maximising the strengths of each sector by supplementing the weakness of public administration with the efficiency of the market. Market

induced the unemployed to jobs quickly, and the grassroots organisations in the third sector were in charge of the vulnerable class that the market was challenging to embrace (Kim, 2012). Until 2017 when the government changed the Work Programme to Work and Health Programme, service providers creatively planned a variety of programmes without any government intervention to help participants find jobs and maintain long-term employment (Jeong et al., 2018).

#### 4-1-2. Comparison of men and women in vocational training

##### *Vocational training opportunities and contents*

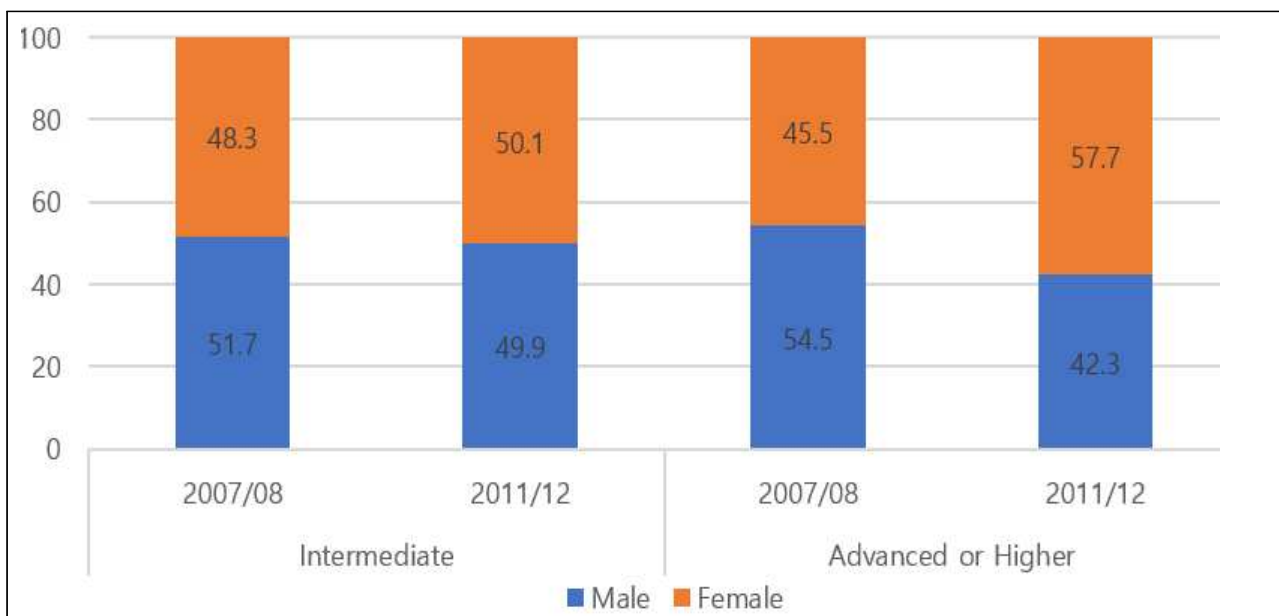
In the Work Programme, it was divided the entire UK into 18 contract package areas and selected two to three prime contractors in each contract package area as private consignment agencies. Job services were provided under the responsibility of the prime contractors (DWP, 2012). However, consigned organisations mainly served job-seeking activities such as resume writing, application writing, and interview training, rather than formal education or field-based training. In the participant survey, 64% of respondents answered they received help with a resume, application writing, and interview skills, while only 17% said they participated in the training process (Foster et al. 2014). Since the Work Programme emphasised the autonomy of suppliers, the government did not intervene even if consigned organisations did not provide special job training to the participants. Therefore, this study will focus on apprenticeship, another kind of employment training scheme when investigating the contents of training.

In the UK, anyone over the age of 16 can participate in apprenticeship training. There are three categories; Higher Apprenticeship (UK qualification Level 4/5/6), Advanced Apprenticeship (UK qualification Level 3), and Intermediate Apprenticeship (UK qualification Level 2) (Fuller and Unwin, 2013). In 2010, the new coalition government emphasised the importance of apprenticeship training for technology development and economic growth. Until 2014/15, the government planned to increase the number of apprentices aged over 19 by 75,000 and to invest £1.4 billion annually for the apprenticeship for over age 24 (Campbell et



al., 2011). Apprenticeship combines practical training and study. Apprentices work with skilled supervisors to learn vocational skills, work 30 hours a week, and earn minimum wages and holiday allowance. Working hours should include at least 20% off-the-job training (Education and Skills Funding Agency, 2019). The proportion of men and women who started intermediate-level apprenticeships gradually became evenly distributed, and the proportion of women from 48.3 % in 2007/08 to 50.1 % in 2011/12 (Figure 1).

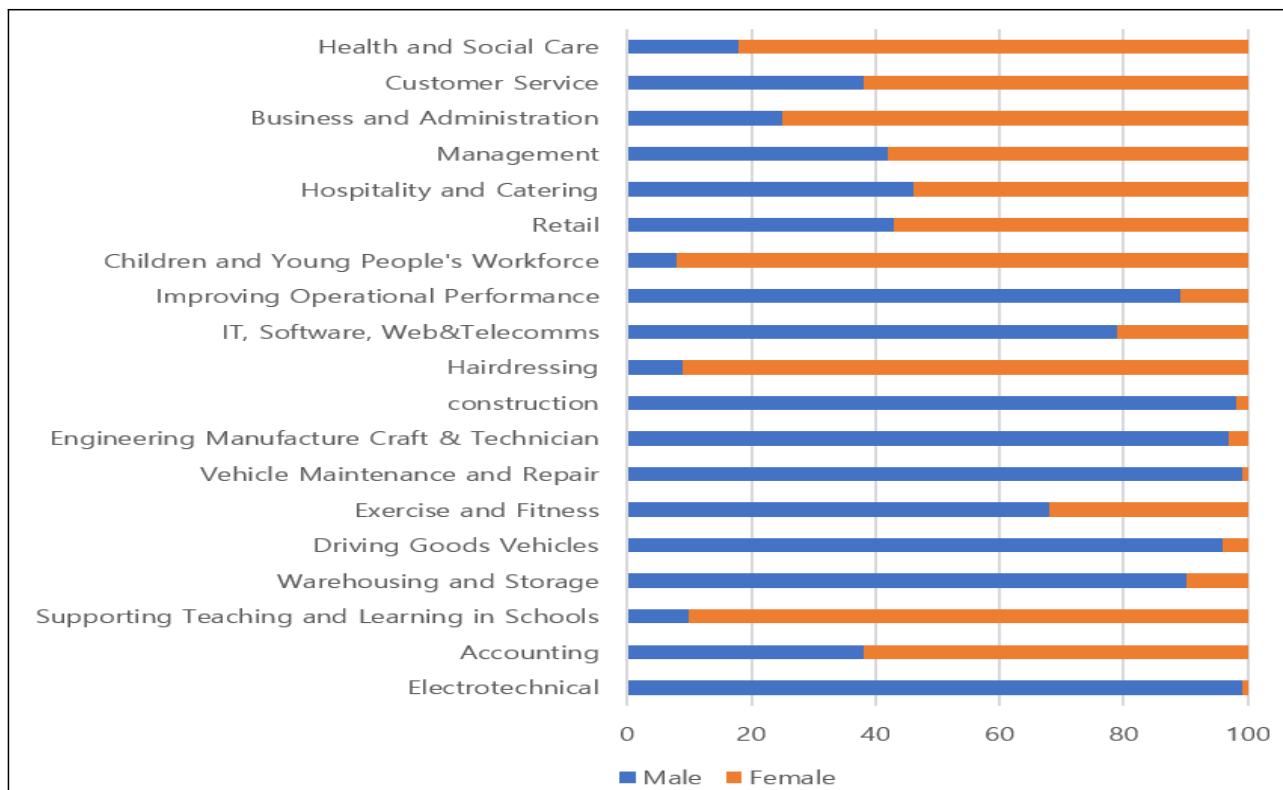
< Figure1: Gender composition of starts by level, 2007/8 and 2011/12 >



Source: IES analysis of ILR data (2013), as cited in Williams et al. (2013)

Moreover, the number of advanced or higher-level female apprentices, which were 9 %p lower than that of men in 2007/08, accounted for 57.7 % in 2011/12, exceeding the number of male apprentices at a higher level (Williams et al., 2013). When looking at the contents of the apprenticeship, however, there were remarkable differences between sectors. Figure 2 shows the pattern of gender participation by subject area in 2011/12. The training areas where women participated most with 90 % or higher were child care, hairdressing, and supporting teaching and learning at school.

< Figure2: Gender composition of starts by framework subject area, 2010/11 >



Source: IES analysis of ILR data (2013) as cited in Williams et al. (2013)

Women participated in less than 2% in the construction, electrotechnical and vehicle maintenance and repair sectors, and less than 4 % in the engineering and driving vehicles frameworks. On the other hand, male participation rates were lower in the sectors of children and young people's workforce (6.9 %), hairdressing (8.8 %), supporting teaching and learning in schools (10.3 %), and health and social care (17.0 %). The areas where the proportion of men and women were reasonably balanced were hospitality and catering (47.2 % of men and 52.8% of women) and management and retail (accounting for 41.9% and 43.3% of men respectively) (Williams et al., 2013). TUC and YWCA (2010) argued that women benefited less from vocational training because women generally participated in less than one year of apprenticeship in the traditional 'female sector' compared to men who invested three and a half years in engineering.

## *Reemployment rates*

According to the Job Seekers Allowance (JSA) data in the UK in 2010, 70.8 % of men and 63.6 % of women were employed (Leschke and Jepsen, 2011). On average, women had shorter unemployment periods than men. As of 2010, the average unemployment period for men was 11.5 weeks and 10.6 weeks for women. The median unemployment rate incurred by the government-supported system was 31.3 weeks for men and 29.1 weeks for women (Leschke and Jepsen, 2011). As a result of the evaluation of the apprenticeship system in 2011, only about half (54%) of the specially hired apprentices were still with the same employer one year or so after the apprenticeship ended. 15% of the apprentices recruited through the fixed-term contract continued to be employed only during the apprenticeship period. Moreover, one-fifth (18%) became unemployed (Vivian et al., 2012). Apprentices who remained with the same employer after completing the apprenticeship were more satisfied (78%) with the apprenticeship programmes than those who moved to another job (66%) or no longer working (65%). It indicates that job continuity has a significant impact on training satisfaction (Vivian et al., 2012).

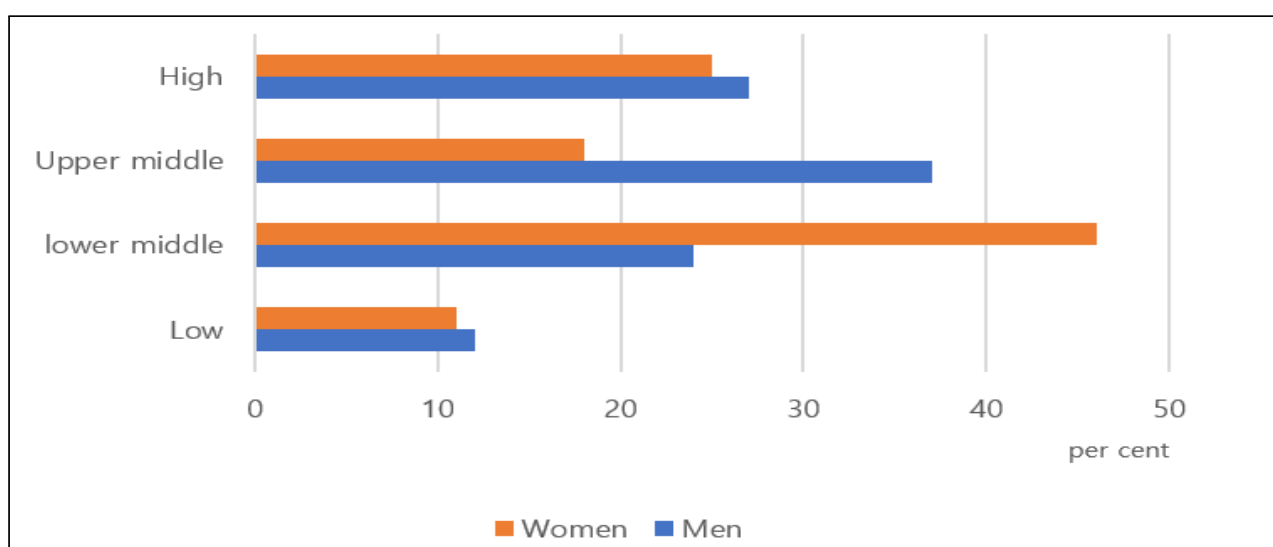
## *Wages*

The Women's Budget Group (2011) argued that women earned 21 % less on average than men in the apprenticeship sector. Engineering apprentices, for example, 97 % of them were men, and they made £189 a week, while the 92 % of apprentices in the sector of hairdressing were women, and they earned £109 per week. TUC and YWCA (2010) emphasised that women earned less even when men and women were in the same area of apprenticeships. In the retail sector, for example, 69% of apprentices were women, but they earned 16% less than men. Men earned an average annual wage of £16,900 while women were paid £13,100 per year after completing their apprenticeship courses, showing a 22.5% lower-earning than men (Campbell et al., 2011). In 2013, 44% of female workers and 38% of male workers were employed with qualifications above the A-level standard. Nevertheless, men were more likely to be employed in higher-level jobs than women (Jenkins, 2013). 37% of men worked in the upper-middle skilled level, whereas women remained at 18% at the

same level. Conversely, 46% of women were employed in lower-middle skilled positions, and 24% of men were at the same level. The upper-middle skilled group include associate professional and technical occupations and skilled trade occupations. Lower-middle occupations include admin/secretarial occupations, caring/leisure occupations, and sales/customer service occupations (Figure 3).

The wage premium was lower than that of men because women performed relatively low-paying job qualifications, such as care work. For example, the wage premium for HNC or HND qualifications is 8 % for women, while 12-14 %for men. The severe segregation of jobs from vocational education was leading to gender pay inequality (Brinkley et al., 2013). According to the Department for Education (2016), among the five largest sector subject areas that accounted for more than 60% of advanced apprentices between August 2010 and July 2013, the highest average annual income was in engineering (£27,000). On the contrary, the lowest was in child development and well-being (£12,100). In general, income in the childcare sector was lower since there were more learners in part-time employment. Besides, gender pay gaps were 9.6 % and 19.7 % in full-time jobs and part-time jobs, respectively, in 2012 (Bovill, 2013). Whitham (2016) found that women are more likely to be paid lower than men; 25% of employed women earned lower wages, while lower waged men were 15%.

< Figure 3: The percentage of workers that are in each skill level group in the UK (2013) >



Source: Labour Force Survey- Office for National Statistics (Jenkins, 2013).

## *Employment type*

In the UK, part-time employment increased when the recession began, as it was that people had difficulty finding full-time jobs (Parek et al., 2010, as cited in Warren, 2015). Coulter (2016) argued that jobs continued to increase, and the number of workers reached nearly 31 million in total as the UK quickly recovered from the recession, but many of them were part-time jobs or self-employment. Trade Union Congress (TUC, 2015) also reported that more than 1.7 million workers were in temporary works by 2014. The number of women in temporary works increased from 773,000 in early 2008 to 892,000 by the end of 2014. They argued that these results were due to people being unable to find permanent jobs. Women in low-level jobs were strongly affected by the worst of the recession. The quality of low-level full-time jobs has declined further and was closer to the worst part-time jobs (Warren and Lyonette, 2018).

## 4-2. The vocation training in South Korea after the recession

### 4-2-1. Job governance for unemployed

In Korea, the vocational training policy for unemployed was changed to a customer-centred Vocational Ability Development Vouchers system, named Tomorrow Learning Card (TLC) from the previous supplier-oriented training system after the global financial crisis in 2011. The Vocational Ability Development Vouchers scheme was expected to expand the options of trainees significantly, reinforces accountability by user paying up to 25-45%. Also, it intended to provide a flexible supply of various training courses that meets the demands of the industrial field by increasing competition among training institutions (Chang, 2011). This system is operated in intimate connection with the government, trainees, training institutions, and banks. In principle, the vouchers limit is 2 million won (about £1,280) per person, the valid period is one year from the issued date, and the opportunity of issuances is once before employment (Lim et al., 2012). The number of institutions participating in TLC training reached 7,913 in 2013, and vocational training institutions in the private sector accounted for a considerable portion (Table1).

< Table1: Institutions engage in Vocational Ability Development Vouchers System >

<b>Sector</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>2013</b>
<b>Public</b>	49	47	36	35	49	49
<b>Private</b>	5,105	6,564	6,896	7,014	7,161	7,864

Source: Ministry of Employment and Labour (2013).

With the transition from centralised employment services to a multi-layer governance structure, the issue of employment governance has become critical as to how to coordinate the relationship between central and local governments and private for-profit and non-profit employment service agencies effectively. Employment policy was presented as a national project in Korea aftermath the global financial crisis. Central and local governments were competing with policies to create jobs, and the number of private employment service institutions that perform job matching, vocational education, and information provision were rapidly increased (Lee and Cho, 2016). Core public employment services in Korea are provided principally by Job Centres under the Ministry of Employment and Labour in each region. The Ministry of Employment and Labour allocated a budget of about £1 billion or more a year to provide various vocational training programmes for each industry sector through public agencies, private training institutions and employers' networks. Notably, the budget for the TLC for unemployed and non-regular workers accounted for more than 60% of the total budget of the Ministry (Ministry of Employment and Labour, 2013; Jeong, 2016). Another principal axis of employment governance is the cooperative bodies of labour and management at the local level, which included training skills for workers and providing jobs. They are contributing to job creation in cooperation with local governments (Choi et al., 2015).

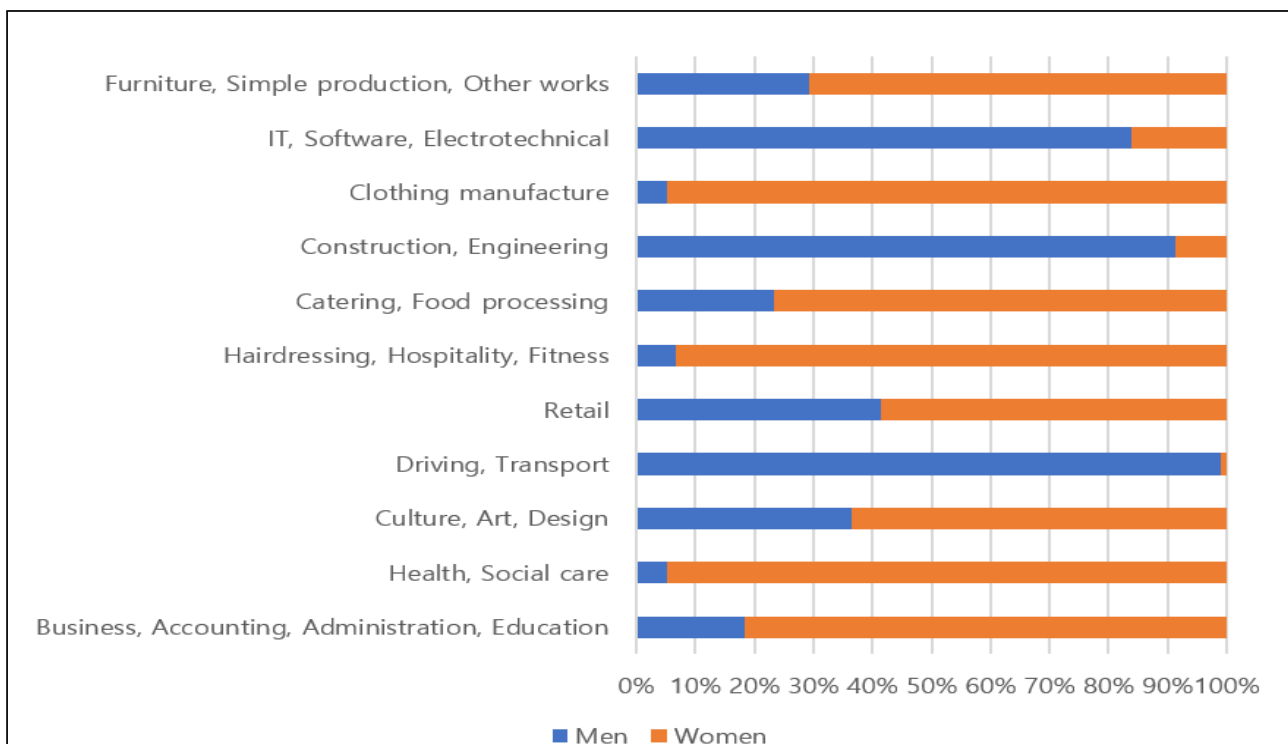
#### 4-2-2. Comparison of men and women in vocational training

##### *Vocational education opportunities and contents*

In Korea, eligible recipients for vocational training are those whom unemployed aged over 15, high school students do not enter university, and college students do not enter post-graduate. Also, included self-employed (less than £50,000 annual sales), self-employed of particular

types of works (less than £30,000 a year, such as golf assistants, delivery men, private tutors) and military personnel scheduled to be discharged (Jeong, 2016). There are two kinds of training for the unemployed. One is TLC, mentioned above, and the other is the national strategic industry job training to cultivate skilled and technical workforce in the fields of critical national industries. Trainees in national strategic industry training can participate in the training up to three times during the job search period with full funding from the government without individual burden (Jeong, 2016). According to the data from Korea employment information service (KEIS, 2013), TLC started as a pilot project in 2008, and the cumulative cases of vouchers issuance were up to 709 thousand by December 2011. 126,651 (71.4 %) of women participated in the training, almost 2.5 times more than 51,044 of men (28.7 %) in 2011. Figure 4 shows that the distribution of men and women who participated in TLC training was similar to that of UK apprenticeship. In Korean vocational training, most women were concentrated in the traditional women-dominated industries such as hairdressing, hospitality, health and social care. On the contrary, men were mostly in the training sector of construction, engineering, driving, and transport.

< Figure4: TLC training sector by gender in Korea (2011) >



Source: Korea employment information service (KEIS) (2013).

Meanwhile, women's participation rate was shallow in the national strategic industrial job training, which consisted largely of technical work fields such as construction, engineering manufacture, electrotechnical, and IT. Women were about 30 % compare to the number of men trainees (Table 2).

< Table 2: Gender composition in National Strategic Industrial Job training in Korea (2011) >

Number of trainees	Men	Women
<b>Total</b>	19,185	6,014
Sector (%)		
engineering, mechanical equipment	54.2	27.7
IT, Software, Electrotechnical	26.9	23.6
Craft, Industrial application	9.1	28.1
Textile, Management, others	9.8	20.6

Source: Korea employment information service (KEIS) (2013).

One of the features of vocational training in Korea is the Women's New Work Centre for women whose careers discontinued because of marriage, child-birth and care. 72 offices were established jointly with the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family and the Ministry of Employment and Labour in 2009, and it has been steadily expanded to 155 nationwide until 2018 (Nam, 2018). Training courses for Women's New Work Centre started at 184 in 2009 and were increased to 695 by 2016. In particular, The Career Disconnection Prevention Network composed of Women's New Work Centres, local governments, universities, public institutions, job-related private institutions, and businesses in each region supported the prevention of career disconnection and the spread of a movement of work-life balance in the region.

### *Reemployment rates*

According to the data of KEIS(2011), the employment rate after vocational training for the unemployed in 2010 was 49.9% for men and 43.2% for women, showing better employment for men. The effectiveness of training was low since only 28.2% of the trainees were employed in the same occupation as their training field. Although the vocational training



completion rate of women who experienced unemployment was higher than that of men, the employment rate was unfavourable for women compared to men (Jeong, 2016). Meanwhile, the total number of trainees for national strategic vocational training was 25,199, and 21,971 of trainees were completed their course in 2011. Among those graduates, the number of people who succeeded in entering employment within six months was 16,157, and the overall employment rate recorded by 73.5 %. The national strategic vocational training programmes were concentrated in skill-required fields where the demand for the workforce was insufficient, so the employment rate was relatively high after training ended (KEIS, 2013). The employment rate for men (75.3%) was about 7.5%p higher than that for women (67.8%), showing better employment outcomes. The employment rate within six months through TLC (Table 3) was 40.0% for men and 33.0% for women. The employment rate for men was still higher than women, but the overall employment rate of TLC programme was low (KEIS, 2013).

< Table 3: The employment rate of TLC training by gender >

	Employment before training ends	Unemployed	Within 3 months	Within 6 months	Within 9 months
<b>Male (%)</b>	4.3	59.7	25.4	40.0	40.3
<b>Female (%)</b>	3.3	66.6	20.0	33.0	33.4

Source: Korea Employment Information Service (KEIS) (2013)

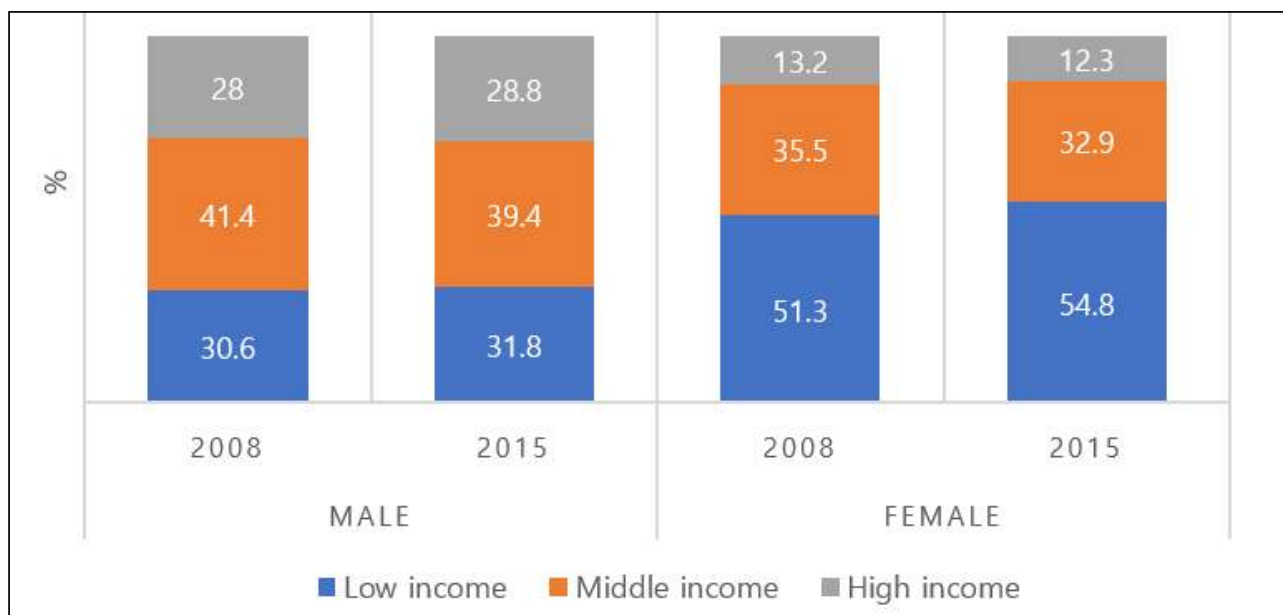
### *Wages*

Vocational training tends to affect a negative impact on the previous wage recovery rate. In practice, the comparison group's (no vocational training) previous wage recovery rate was about 27% higher. Due to the structural problem of the labour market, such as the lack of linkage between the training field and reemployment jobs, trainees were to enter where the job offered even though it was not related to the desired wage level or their training field. In this case, the probability of being employed in a low-wage job increased (Lee, 2014). The average monthly wage suggested by job providers was £920 while the desired wage of job

seekers was £1,075 in 2011, so the wage satisfaction rate, which is the ratio of the desired wage to the proposed wage, was 85.6% (KEIS, 2013).

As shown in Figure 5, more than half of women's employed occupations were in low-level (54.8%), 32.9% of them were in middle-level jobs, and the proportion of top-level was 12.3% in 2015.

< Figure 5: Occupational Distribution of male and female paid workers in Korea >



Source: Economically Active Population Survey 2008, 2015 (KOSIS, 2018)

Compared to men, female jobs were relatively concentrated at lower-level (Park, 2017). When comparing the qualitative structure of women's employment in 2015 to that of 2008, the proportion of low-ranking jobs had increased while the top and middle-level jobs had decreased. It can be interpreted that female workers who were ousted from high and middle-level jobs moved to lower-paid jobs during the recession.

### *Employment type*

The occupations that career disconnected women can enter in the Korean labour market are commonly low-wage and low-skilled jobs, which caused high-educated women to avoid the job. Middle-aged women returning to the labour market tend to get jobs in the order of sales,

service, simple office work, production, and simple labour (Lim and Park, 2014). The sectors that increased the employment rate of women after the financial crisis were in the health and social care professions. By job category, the employment rate increased among experts in the health industry at the age of 44 or younger, while the employment rate increased at the age of 60 or older based on simple labour, leading to a divided type of job within the same health and social welfare industry (Jung, 2015). According to Statistics Korea (2011), the number of non-regular workers was 5,771 thousand out of the total wage workers (17,065 thousand), accounting for 33.8 % in 2011. When categorising non-regular workers by gender, there were 2,750 thousand (47.6%) males, an increase of 195,000 (7.6%p) compared to the previous year, and 3,021 thousand (52.4%) females, an increase of 78,000 (2.6%p) compared to 2010. Among non-regular workers, the number of part-time workers was 1,532 thousand, an increase of 7,000 (0.5%p) compared to 2010 and the proportion of female part-time workers were higher (35.6%) than male part-time workers (16.6%) (Statistics Korea, 2011).

The creation of jobs for women through the expansion of the social care industry joined caregiving workers to a new unstable job. Female non-regular workers were featured in various fields such as child care, disabled activity assistance service, after-school care, maternity and pediatric care, elderly care, home service worker, and caregiving for the sick. Employed women in the health and social welfare industries were 814 thousand (87% of the increase in women's employment) during 2007-2014, resulting in more profound occupational segregation (Jung, 2014).

### 4-3. Result

As a result of comparing vocational training for men and women in the UK and South Korea according to MDSD's assumptions, reemployment rates, wages, and types of jobs were all unfavourable for women except the opportunities of vocational training in both countries. Therefore, vocational training did not help to close the gender gap in the labour market as this study initially assumed. The results of reviewing the vocational training policies of the two countries are as follows.

First, both countries have changed the vocational training system after the global financial crisis. As the regime changed in the UK, it switched to Work Programme from the Flexible New Deal in 2011. Korea started to operate a vocational training scheme called TLC nationwide in the same year. However, among participants in the Work Programme, 67% of them returned to Jobcentre Plus after the two-year programme period, and there were many sceptical views on the effectiveness of the programme (Kim, 2019). In Korea, various side effects occurred due to the precipitous implementation of TLC. Although the number of providers has increased significantly, it has become challenging to maintain the quality of training due to the overflow of small training agencies. Higher preference training courses increased, and those with lower preference tended to decrease further, resulting in a mismatch between actual jobs and training sectors (Yoo, 2010; Chang and Joo, 2012).

Second, there was no significant difference in access to vocational training between men and women in both countries after the crisis. More women were participating in vocational training than men. The high proportion of women in vocational training shows a result of reflecting the reality of the labour market unfavourable for women (Oh and Kim, 2017).

Third, when examining the percentage of successful reemployment after training, men were higher than women both in the UK and in Korea. In the UK, 70.8% of men were employed, while 63.6% of women were employed (Leschke and Jepsen, 2011). In Korea, the employment rate of men was higher, about 7 %p than women both in the national strategic job training and TLC in 2011 (KEIS, 2013).

Fourth, both countries experienced similar occupational segregation and the deepening of wage gaps between men and women. Brinkley et al. (2013) argued that gender inequality continued to more widen in the labour market, despite the increasing level of education of young women. The wage gap continued to deteriorate, and women's skills were not equally rewarded (Schuller, 2011). Most of the net increase in women's employment after the crisis has been in the low-skilled and low-wage sectors. The Trade Union Congress (2015) argued that the number of women in short-time or zero-hour contracts with little employment guarantees increased. In Korea, Women's New Work Centre was established to support

women's reemployment, but rather accelerated job segregation and expanded contract works and part-time labour with relatively low wages and instability (Shin, 2016).

Lastly, employment governance did not make good progress in both countries. Both the Work Programme and TLC system seemed to have achieved ideal governance in theory, but the evaluation of the effectiveness was not very satisfactory. Cooperation between Jobcentre Plus and private entrusted organisations was needed for the success of the Work Programme. Still, the low level of communication and trust between these two organisations was pointed out as a big problem (Kim, 2019). Cream-skimming that the provider concentrates services on healthy and young general unemployed workers who can quickly achieve results was rampant in the Work Programme. It was a deepening phenomenon because prime contractors received subsidies according to the performance-based support system. Similarly, in Korea, the training period for the unemployed was short, and it was uncertain whether the provider can obtain an approval for training the following year, so it happened that the job training providers prioritised men with relatively high performance in reemployment (Yoo, 2010).

## **5. Comparative analysis**

Why has it been the case that they have the same results in terms of gender inequality, although the two countries have different backgrounds? This study analyses the reasons with the following three aspects.

### **5-1. Having a similar job stereotype**

In the UK, vocational pathways have been considered inferior to academics for a long time. Vocational education can be excluded from general/academic education and has a large number of low-income students asymmetrically (Chankseliani et al., 2016). The same in Korea, college education attainment is prioritised over the vocational route. College enrollment

rates reached 49.0% in 2018 (K-indicator, 2020), and there is a widespread perception that inferior students take vocational education pathways. The Korea Times (2019) revealed that 37.4% of schools did not provide gender equality career education at all, and 79.2% of training centres still conduct vocational education based on gender role stereotypes.

The perception of gendered occupation segmentation was also severe. Men who wanted to work in childcare or hairdressing sector had to bear not only the stigma of the stereotype of 'women's work' but also low wages (TUC and YWCA, 2010). Campbell et al. (2011) analysed the cause of job segregation as follows.

*The term 'occupational segregation' describes how certain occupations are viewed as being more appropriate for men or women based on accepted ideas about the innate capabilities of either sex, for example, the notion that women are inherently more adept at childcare than plumbing. The causes of gender-based occupational segregation are many and varied but include direct and indirect discrimination on the part of employers, career expectations with specific reference to appropriate role models and parental and peer group influences. It also reflects the gendered division of labour in the household, with women still doing the majority of domestic and care work, as men and women are perceived to 'naturally' dominate different spheres of life: men in the paid labour market and women responsible for the unpaid work in the home. This ideological link between women and unpaid domestic labour is reflected in the market's devaluation of 'women's' jobs.*

The gender wage gap is also a representative example of the prejudice that 'women's work' is somewhat less valuable than 'man's work'. The value of a job is challenging to quantify, but many of the women-dominated sectors have low pay. TUC and YWCA (2010) emphasised that childcare apprenticeship, which is regarded as critical jobs that require skill and accountability, makes average pay one-third less than the electrotechnical apprenticeship.

## 5-2. Scarcity of gender perspective in policy design

When examining the policy response in the situation of economic crisis, it was found that more support for men-centred fields than women and employment measures for jobs favoured by men were mainly implemented (Leschke and Jepsen, 2011). When designing the new apprenticeship policy, the UK government created a new apprenticeship in areas previously female-dominated, such as retail and business administration, without correcting on former ineffective training contents for women (TUC and YWCA, 2010). The Korean government had tried to overcome the financial crisis through a fiscal expansion worth a total of £ 65 billion. It was particularly about civil engineering work such as the development of four major rivers and the construction of highways and tunnels (Mun, 2009). Therefore, the employments created in those sectors were generally male-centred and low-quality jobs. When job loss increases and the business outcome deteriorates, all workers can be impacted, but it can be severe for women in low-wage work. Low paid workers are very unlikely to be union members and are less likely to be qualified when moving from one job to another, or from one industry to another. Also, the position is fragile as part-time works, or temporary contracts are usual (Grimshaw, 2011). Nevertheless, most European countries did not respond to gender issues and took a gender-blind approach during the crisis (Leschke and Jepsen, 2011). Once women get jobs of different wages and prospects than expectation, inequality of opportunities and gender wage gaps can be solidified (Brinkley et al., 2013). Nonetheless, government policies were focused only on mitigating unemployment and tended to push people to enter any job that was provided first rather than reflects their preference. Also, the government did not take into account the potential impact of the changing job market on employment opportunities for women.

### 5-3. Failure in governance

#### 5-3-1. Employment partnership did not work correctly.

The Department for Communities and Local Government and Department for Work and Pensions (2009) in the UK decided to fill more than 25% of new jobs in the government through the Local Employment Partnership. They also recognised the importance of the role of non-profit organisations and social enterprises and decided to increase support for them.

However, in 2010, the labour policy faced a change when the government changed to the Conservative Party. Oakley et al. (2013) pointed out that there were difficulties in the initial communications in the newly revised policy, lack of understanding of each role, and confusion about strategic leadership such as Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEP) and changes within existing bodies. Employment service was duplicated between local governments, and it was challenging to maintain partnerships as a competition among suppliers getting fiercer. In some regions, it was not clear who should be responsible for developing partnership and promoting governance (Oakley et al., 2013). When selecting contractors of Work Programme, the majority of non-profit organisations became subcontractors of for-profit companies because markets and third sectors had been evaluated under the same criteria of price competition, even though each had its strengths (Kim, 2012). Even more worrisome was the fact that the government's coordination function to control the over-marketisation of the delivery system and the marginalisation of non-profit organisations was insufficient. The incentive mechanism was the only vehicle the UK government used to regulate the delivery system of Work Programme (Kim, 2012).

The situation was similar in Korea. Regional labour-management councils were established in 16 regions for promoting employment by 2013, but only 100 out of 228 primary local authorities established working units. The work connection between central and local authorities was not intimately linked, and the role of subunits was ambiguous (Choi et al., 2015). In solving the problem of job creation from a governance perspective, trust between actors, mutually beneficial cooperation, and communication should be smoothly achieved. However, the central government did not empower local authorities to re-adjust projects to suit local circumstances. (Kwon, 2013). Therefore, network governance for job creation was hardly structured systematically during the recession. In other words, employment policies were promoted sporadically without coordination, and the delivery system was complex and inefficient. After the financial crisis, each ministry carried out job creation projects to secure work areas and budgets. There was no practical function, such as preliminary coordination and linkage between projects, systematic evaluation of each project, or reflection of results. Consequently, they saw the side effects of similarities, duplications, and inefficiencies. In order to cope with the mass unemployment caused by the financial crisis, the regular operation of job governance was required for prompt and planned policy implementation.



However, the overall elements have been mostly decided by the state, and training agencies undertook the operation only accordingly. As a result, it failed to meet industrial demand (Kim and Oh, 2011). Vocational training scheme was criticised that it had low efficiency and performance, with little coordination and cooperation among government, corporates, and training agencies (Kang, 2010).

### 5-3-2. Lack of gender perspective in job training governance

Fuller and Unwin (2013) pointed out that one of the biggest problems was that none of the stakeholders in the UK's education and training system was responsible for dealing with gender discrimination in VET (Vocational Education and Training). Brinkley et al. (2013) also criticised that there was no intermediary role between the labour market and major employers and that there was no effort to solve problems related to gender segmentation. Work Programme was called a black box commissioning approach. Because it had inputs and outputs, but the process was unknown (Considine et al., 2018). Performance evaluation centred results have the advantage of maximising the discretion of the private sector. Still, it can be criticised the lack of the government's supervisory function since there was no democratic check-up mechanism. Eventually, vulnerable groups; women, migrants, and the disabled were more likely to be discriminated against than men in the labour market. TUC and YWCA (2010) pointed out that one of the reasons women faced a miserable situation in the labour market was due to vocational training that repeated the traditional pattern of gender segregation. Programmes leading to better-paying jobs were carried out mostly by men while women have participated in short term apprenticeships less than a year.

In Korea, training institutions recruited trainees, and the government supported the expenses for training, except for TLC, which was a voucher method. Also, the government determined to continue contracting out or not according to the training providers performance. It led to cream-skimming, which provided services mainly to high-valued male trainees, similar pattern with the Work Programme in the UK (Yoo, 2010; Lee and Cho, 2016). The cause of this side effect lies in the method of contracting out based on the logic of capital, which is price competition due to a performance-based payment system. Lee (2010) criticised the Korean

government's employment policy conducted without considering gender characteristics. She argued that the specialised training provided by Women's New Work Centre led women to low-wage jobs and thereby accelerated job segregation. The biggest problem with the employment policy for women is that it approaches the problem of women's employment as a problem that is entirely specialised to 'women' only. It is challenging to solve the problem of deteriorating the quality of women's employment by simply expanding jobs for women without curing fundamental problems in the labour market as a whole.

## **6. Policy recommendation**

This study suggests the following recommendations as a way to achieve gender equality in the labour market.

### *Restructure the vocational training system in a gender perspective*

Reemployment training for women was leading to a transition to jobs with low wages and high risk (Lee, 2014). In order to improve the effectiveness of vocational training for women, it is essential to consider the conditions of the labour market in the selection and development of the training sector. In other words, it is necessary to develop and provide training to women in sectors where labour demand is rapidly increasing in the labour market. To tackle the problems that the completion rate is high, but the employment rate is lower than that of men, more productive investment and support are needed to vocational training for women. When giving initial consulting for women's training, it is necessary to provide practical job information such as field trips so that they can choose a training course that reflects their aptitude and the requirements of the company to lead them to challenge the stereotyped career path (Brinkley et al., 2013; Jeong, 2016). It is necessary to establish a profiling system to identify individual characteristics and desire, and an employment service system to enable in-depth consulting and customised guidance based on it (Kang et al., 2015). In particular, training for women needs to be improved not only because of the

provision of low-cost and short-term training, which does not serve as an opportunity to form high-skills but also because of severe job segregation. It should be guided for women to more participation in areas such as engineering, which provide the most powerful platform for education and career development (Fuller and Unwin, 2013).

### *Intensify the school career guidance*

In both countries, it is necessary to strengthen vocational education for youth so that they can explore their careers early in the reflection of the increasing youth unemployment rate (Brinkley et al., 2013). From primary education, practical career guidance should be provided to students to reflect on their educational experiences and future relationships of the labour market and jobs, including opportunities for discussion with career guidance experts, teachers, and parents, and to overcome gender-based stereotypes (OECD, 2018b).

The Work Experience Programme is recommended in that it allows youth to experience work from an early age. In the UK, people are legally allowed to work part-time from 13 years old. Home and society tend to encourage youth to work part-time, and employers also positively appreciate the experience doing it. Work experience helps adolescents choose careers, allows proving their competence to employers. It also builds a bridge so that the world of education and work not disconnected by learning the attitudes and behaviours necessary in the workplace. The government education fund subsidises the activities of all students aged 16-19 years, according to the study plan (Education fund agency, 2015).

### *Strengthen gender equality policy*

In order to prevent the long-term negative impact on gender equality in the labour market from the economic crisis, the government must apply an effective method of gender assessment (Leschke and Jepsen, 2011). In particular, the government needs to strengthen the evaluation function for employment policy. In order to reform the segregation of women's vocational training and low employment rate, it is necessary to strengthen the evaluation and feedback function of vocational training. It is also recommended to promote a plan to induce

the women's quota system for regular workers and provide incentives to companies that implement it actively. As Brinkley et al. (2013) emphasised, one good example is to provide government procurement benefits to companies that help women get into work. Procurement benefits can be used as an excellent tool for encouraging employers who have completed public procurement contracts to provide job and training opportunities to as many women as possible.

### *Governance activation*

For equal job opportunities and employment security for women and men, systemic governance based on gender equality between the government, business, and training agencies must always be in operation. In order to increase the efficiency and performance of vocational training, it is essential to adjust the content of training according to local circumstances. For this, a network between the central and local governments, companies providing jobs, and training agencies must function correctly. The ideal way to secure accountability and efficiency of employment services for women is to secure a complete structural connection between the agents of employment service delivery and to establish an employment service information sharing system and performance evaluation structure based on gender equality. It needs to review the achievements and contents of the representative women employment support programmes promoted by central and local governments by region. Besides, the network should be reinforced to minimise the imbalance in support projects between regions and to prevent specific groups from being marginalised.

## **7. Conclusion.**

People in relatively worse positions suffered significant damage, and those were mainly women when the financial crisis hit the labour market both in the UK and Korea. It is interpreted as a structural gender gap problem in the labour market in both countries. In

other words, vocational training was strengthened to tackle the unemployment problem, but it was not able to overcome gender inequality in the labour market. Because governance failed and the government did not elaborate policy design and private sector cooperation based on gender equality. Once a poorly designed policy is stuck in the labour market, it is almost impossible to change it. After the financial crisis, gender job segregation became more deteriorated. Women were driven into inferior jobs, such as irregular jobs and part-time jobs. It was a structure that pushes women to poverty when the crisis hit. Women's groups, for example, the Women and Work Commission in the UK, have convincingly argued that addressing women's positions on inequality and occupational segmentation could bring enormous productivity gains to the state economy. Segregation of jobs by gender is not only a threat to gender equality but also limits national productivity (Campbell et al., 2011). Therefore, improving the position of women in the job market has a profound impact on the future standard of living in the state (Whitham, 2016).

Although more than ten years have passed since the global economic crisis occurred, gender discrimination in the job market still exists worldwide, despite gender gaps have been mitigated significantly and many institutional improvements. It is inadequate to endeavour only in one sector to address gender discrimination in the labour market. With a comprehensive view, the government, labour market, business, and education sectors should approach gender equality through strong governance. Even if it takes time, it is required to overcome the deep-rooted gender discrimination from school education to vocational training and employment system to tackle the segregation of jobs in the labour market and also to improve the social structure which pushes women to inferior jobs. It is recommended that corporates should make the most of the strengths of women, and the government should provide incentives to companies that employ women in order to change the structure in which women are more oriented towards part-time or low-skilled work than men. The economic crisis can occur at any time, but if efforts of gender equality pay off in the labour market, the damage will be minimalised.

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