Militarization, Gendered Labor Market, and the Care Economy ASSA, 2025

Saniya Jilani

January, 2025

Overview

- Militarization intensifies gender inequalities in the labor market.
- Analysis based on Feminist Political economy perspectives.
- Hypotheses: (i) worsening employment gaps for women, and (ii) gendered restructuring of the care economy.
- Initial results show crowding out of women from formal work.
- Formal care occupation is becoming masculinized i.e. male dominated

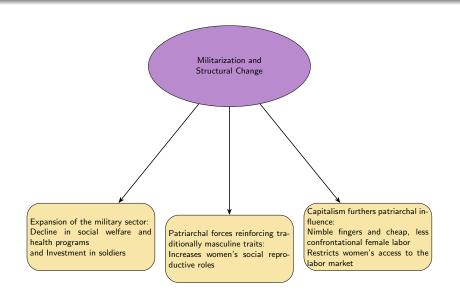
Introduction

- Increased military spending in recent years has impacts for gender dynamics in the labor market.
- Dual system of capitalism and patriarchy.
- Patriarchy: expropriation of women's labor by men through gender segregation of work (Hartmann, 1976).
- Militarization perpetuates traditional gender roles and segregation in the labor market: "make a man out of a boy".
- Militarization encompasses both physical and ideological domains.
- Ideologically, militarization refers to power that impacts governments and has a profound influence on the social processes of a society (Burke, 2013).

Literature Review

- Militarization creates the notion of men as protectors and other masculine traits (Burke, 1998).
- Militarized workplaces exclude and marginalize women (Sejin, 2023).
- Dildar's study (2015) finds evidence of negative impacts of patriarchal norms on FLFP.
- Elevern's papers show declining wage share, FLFP and worsening gender inequality.
- Women's double day burden and care work.

Conceptual Framework



Data and Methodology

- We hypothesize that women will experience a worsening gender employment gap as militarization increases.
- We also hypothesize hyperfeminization of the care economy.
- Data from ILO, BICC, and WDI.

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Employment gap in occupation x = \frac{\text{Total men employed in occupation } x - \text{Total men employed in occupation } x}{\text{Total men employed in occupation } x}
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(1)

 Reclassify into masculine and feminine jobs based on the following criteria: : if the mean employment gap of all countries over time is less than zero, the occupation is feminine while the opposite holds for masculine jobs.

Table 1: Sectoral Composition of Sectors

Table: Sectoral Composition of Employment and Militarization

VARIABLES	Agriculture Share	Industry Share	Non-agriculture Share	Not Classified	Service Share
GMI Score	0.0206***	-0.00610	-0.0212***	-0.00105	-0.00469
	(0.00512)	(0.00372)	(0.00529)	(0.00792)	(0.00484)
Population Growth	0.00134	0.00445	-0.00693	-0.00609	-0.00542
	(0.00453)	(0.00329)	(0.00465)	(0.00674)	(0.00430)
Urban Population Growth	-0.00363	0.000220	0.00958**	-0.000880	0.00654*
	(0.00395)	(0.00288)	(0.00409)	(0.00608)	(0.00378)
Trade % of GDP	-0.000300***	-8.24e-06	0.000292***	0.000236*	7.17e-05
	(8.59e-05)	(6.13e-05)	(8.71e-05)	(0.000121)	(8.01e-05)
GDP per Capita	1.54e-06***	-3.10e-06***	-1.59e-06***	2.27e-07	1.33e-06***
	(4.30e-07)	(3.06e-07)	(4.37e-07)	(5.45e-07)	(4.00e-07)
Constant	0.204***	0.306***	0.793***	0.00886	0.499***
	(0.0131)	(0.00988)	(0.0137)	(0.0177)	(0.0129)
Observations	2,693	2,680	2,573	1,403	2,668
R-squared	0.157	0.096	0.144	0.031	0.232
Number of ID	145	145	145	129	145

Table 2: GMI and the Gendered Employment Gaps in the Sectors

Table: Employment Gaps by Sector and Militarization

VARIABLES	Total Employment Gap	Agriculture Gap	Industrial Gap	Non-agriculture Gap	Not Classified Gap	Services Gap
GMI Score	-0.0181	-0.150***	0.000531	0.0601***	0.00442	0.0649***
	(0.0209)	(0.0357)	(0.0351)	(0.0208)	(0.00313)	(0.0207)
Population Growth	-0.0113	-0.0365	-0.0530*	-0.0277	-0.000665	-0.000279
	(0.0174)	(0.0314)	(0.0290)	(0.0172)	(0.00248)	(0.0171)
Urban Population Growth	0.0332**	0.0561**	0.0773***	0.0536***	0.00249	0.00754
	(0.0156)	(0.0261)	(0.0257)	(0.0152)	(0.00226)	(0.0152)
Trade % of GDP	-0.000502	0.00336***	-0.00137**	-0.00111***	7.16e-05	-0.000355
	(0.000333)	(0.000589)	(0.000553)	(0.000331)	(4.78e-05)	(0.000328)
GDP per Capita	-1.31e-05***	-1.20e-06	2.60e-07	-7.70e-06***	-1.75e-07	1.13e-06
	(1.62e-06)	(2.91e-06)	(2.73e-06)	(1.64e-06)	(2.01e-07)	(1.61e-06)
Constant	0.372*** (0.0502)	-0.260*** (0.0870)	-0.0902 (0.0877)	0.364*** (0.0514)	0.0331*** (0.00679)	0.205*** (0.0518)
Observations	2,562	2,506	2,513	2,454	1,170	2,506
R-squared	0.296	0.041	0.100	0.289	0.033	0.285
Number of ID	144	144	144	144	125	144

Main Result: Militarization's Gendered Impact

Table: Impact of Militarization on Gendered Employment Categories

VARIABLES	Male Dominated	Female Dominated	Informal Male Dominated	Informal Female Dominated
GMI Score	-0.0254	0.167***	-0.00378	0.781***
	(0.0839)	(0.0510)	(0.223)	(0.286)
Population Growth	-0.0744	-0.00979	-0.0743	0.0311
	(0.0706)	(0.0428)	(0.227)	(0.255)
Urban Population Growth	0.0986	0.0241	-0.000384	0.0287
	(0.0656)	(0.0398)	(0.219)	(0.243)
Trade % of GDP	0.00228**	0.000331	0.000217	0.00233
	(0.00111)	(0.000675)	(0.00376)	(0.00363)
GDP per Capita	-1.35e-05***	6.46e-06**	9.84e-06	2.12e-06
	(5.08e-06)	(3.08e-06)	(2.81e-05)	(1.42e-05)
Constant	0.157	0.0119	-0.271	-0.390
	(0.321)	(0.195)	(0.808)	(0.819)
Observations	903	901	544	567
R-squared	0.135	0.154	0.034	0.048
Number of ID	109	109	93	93

Table 4: GMI and the Impact on the Care Economy

Table: Care Sector Employment and Militarization

VARIABLES	Care Total Sector	Informal Care Total Sector	Care Masculine Gap	Care Female Gap	Care Work Gap	Care Informal Gap
GMI Score	890.9***	12.04	-0.735**	0.347***	0.395***	0.258
	(239.4)	(105.8)	(0.291)	(0.0792)	(0.0864)	(0.242)
Population Growth	1,014***	109.5	-0.220	-0.0433	-0.0108	0.681***
	(173.2)	(88.34)	(0.156)	(0.0573)	(0.0625)	(0.202)
Urban Population Growth	-1,227***	35.18	0.180	0.0382	0.00924	-0.293
	(150.7)	(78.31)	(0.139)	(0.0499)	(0.0544)	(0.179)
Trade % of GDP	-12.85***	1.254	-0.000388	-0.000569	-0.000672	0.00981***
	(2.805)	(1.302)	(0.00289)	(0.000928)	(0.00101)	(0.00298)
GDP per Capita	0.0862***	-0.0564**	-1.25e-05	1.88e-05**	2.03e-05**	-0.000260***
	(0.0241)	(0.0281)	(2.09e-05)	(7.98e-06)	(8.71e-06)	(6.44e-05)
Constant	2,994***	563.0*	-0.175	0.110	0.141	0.657
	(702.9)	(304.1)	(0.588)	(0.233)	(0.254)	(0.696)
Observations	632	381	506	632	632	381
R-squared	0.426	0.172	0.152	0.201	0.238	0.255
Number of ID	86	66	67	86	86	66

Results

- Militarization increases gender disparity in the labor market.
- Crowding out of females from the formal labor market spaces.
- We see a complex impact of militarization on the care economy: increasing male presence in the formal care occupation.
- Within the formal care work, we primarily see more men entering the low- and armed -skilled care work occupations.
- Significant increase in the agricultural sector while the non-agricultural sector is declining.
- Patriarchal aspect of the military reinforces norms: women exit the labor force resulting in men taking up those spaces.

Discussion

- Although the notion of the military as a patriarchal institution dates to Cynthia Enloe (1983), understanding the direct impact of militarization on the gendered composition of the labor market requires continuous effort.
- Our results highlight the interconnected mechanisms at play that add complexity to the analysis of the labor market
- Growing military needs: redirection of monetary funds away from sectors like health and education.
- Patriarchal aspect of the military reinforces norms: women exit the labor force resulting in men taking up those spaces.
- Thus, militarization is not only promoting male dominance within male dominated jobs, but also crowding out of women from the formal market.

Conclusion

- The process of militarization shares similar traits with the system of patriarchy.
- Policy perspective include gender sensitivity training, social policies and safeguarding women's employment.
- Developing strong and inclusive social policies such are childcare services, paid sick leave and paternal leaves.