What do women want from work post-pandemic? A qualitative study of women in Western Sydney

Professor Rae Cooper AO and Associate Professor Elizabeth Hill

Gender Equality in Working Life Research Initiative
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1 This research was commissioned by the NSW government to inform the Treasurer’s Women’s Economic Opportunity Review (2022). Additionally, we wish to acknowledge, with thanks, research assistance from Talara Lee and Alice Muller.
Executive summary

This report shows that the working women of Western Sydney expect and want to work in good jobs that provide economic security for themselves and their families. They want access to high-quality flexible working options, and in 2022 they are especially interested in hybrid working arrangements. They want good care systems that are affordable, match the realities of their working lives, and allow them to meet both their economic and their family needs. Currently, they face several barriers to achieving these aspirations including current employment in insecure work, undervaluation of their skills, a lack of good flexible working options, and care systems that do not match the realities of work and family life. Moving into recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic, working women have clear ideas about what they want from work and the kinds of policy measures that will support them to participate in the labour market. We highlight the voices of Western Sydney’s women workers and their ideas for an inclusive pandemic recovery. The report highlights what women want at work under three themes: Good Jobs, Good Flexibility and Good Care.

Good Jobs: Women workers in Western Sydney say a ‘good’ job is a secure job that is properly paid and presents opportunities for career development. Prioritising secure forms of employment, decent wages in the highly feminised sectors and innovative training pathways that address the acute work–care–time bind faced by women, especially mothers, will boost women’s access to good jobs and reduce the gender pay gap.

Good Flexibility: Women workers in Western Sydney say sustainable flexible and hybrid work models will boost their participation in paid work. Women want the option to work hours that better match children’s school hours, and access to job share arrangements and to employment close to home. Women want these opportunities at a skill, pay and career level that reflects their capacity and aspirations. Ensuring access to sustainable flexible and hybrid working models will deepen women’s workforce participation and retain female talent across all skill levels and positions of seniority.

Good Care: Women workers in Western Sydney say affordable care that matches working hours and other family needs is a critical determinant of access to good jobs. Women think it is unfair they have to ‘choose’ between work and family. Women need access to affordable care to access the jobs that reflect their skill and ambition. Public investment in pre-school education and universal free early childhood education and care (ECEC) will allow women to work and care in the way they aspire. Longer, shared and flexible paid parental leave (PPL) paid at wage replacement levels, plus superannuation, is also required to support working mothers and their families. New investment in PPL and early years education and care will boost participation, productivity and growth.

A gender lens is essential: In addition to action in these three key thematic areas, this report recommends implementation of gender responsive budgeting and a whole of government approach to the design, implementation and evaluation of public policies for gender equality in work and care. These actions will make a significant difference to the working lives of women in Western Sydney and across the country to power the economic recovery from the pandemic and secure women’s economic security, productivity and growth.
Introduction

Women in NSW have been severely impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. They lost more jobs and hours of work than men and were more exposed to the intensification of work in frontline sectors such as health and education (Foley and Cooper 2021). They also bore the lion’s share of the increase in unpaid work – especially home schooling – in the intense work from home period (Craig and Churchill 2020). Even so, women had lower access to and take up of income support (Wade 2021) and were vulnerable to the shadow pandemics of domestic violence, stress and poor mental health (Boxall et al. 2020). Two years of pandemic disruption to work and care has left women in NSW whiplashed and weary. The risk to women’s labour force participation because of this turmoil is significant.

Women’s labour force participation in NSW increased strongly after the 2020 lockdown to an historical high of 61.7%, only to decline sharply once again during the longer 2021 lockdowns. It was not until May 2022 that women's labour force participation had fully recovered (Fig. 1). However, even with this strong performance, the participation gap between NSW men and women remains significant at 8.6 percentage points (June 2022).

Methodology

This qualitative research draws on focus groups with working women who live in Western Sydney. This community and labour market is culturally diverse, has high population growth, a large proportion of essential workers, higher than average number of people per household and lower levels of social infrastructure than other parts of Sydney. Western Sydney reported the highest number of COVID-19 cases during the Delta outbreak in 2021 (SGS Economics & Planning 2021). The combination of these factors and the sharper and sustained decline in women’s
workforce participation in these areas during the 2020 and 2021 lockdowns justified a targeted research inquiry to provide insight into this group’s experiences of work during the pandemic. Seven focus groups with 5 to 7 women each were conducted to gain an understanding of women’s personal experiences of work during the pandemic, as well as their future aspirations. The groups were held online in January and February 2022. A total of 45 participants took part in the groups. Reflecting the demographic profile of Western Sydney, over half of the women were of non-Anglo-Celtic cultural heritage. The groups were structured according to type of work (frontline essential workers who could not perform their work at home during pandemic lockdowns and continued workplace-based employment and professional workers who were able to work always (or primarily) on a remote basis during lockdowns); family and life stage (women without children; women with pre-school aged children; women with school-aged children) and an additional group of women who ceased work or reduced their hours of work in 2021 (see Appendix). Frontline workers are employed in health, early childhood education and care, aged and disability care, retail, hospitality, warehousing, transport and education; while professional workers are employed in finance, legal services, construction, IT, administration, health administration and social assistance. Transcripts of conversations were analysed and are discussed thematically in this report. Where individuals have been quoted, they are referred to by a pseudonym. This project was approved by the University of Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee (Protocol number: 2020/695).

Findings

In our focus group conversations, women working in both frontline and professional roles reported that they enjoyed their work, found it valuable and rewarding and viewed it as an essential part of their life. All were ambitious for ongoing work opportunities and career development, and all had ideas about how working life might be improved after the pandemic. Many reported being challenged in their capacity to access their ideal working situation, such as getting a better job or working more hours, due to factors that they saw as beyond their control. These factors included inflexible workplaces, poor access to development opportunities, undervaluation of their contributions, and inadequate and expensive early learning and school-aged care services. Women spoke about the general lack of respect often shown to women in their roles as workers and as carers.

The work life experience of frontline and professional knowledge women workers varies and sometimes requires different responses and solutions. However, there are several common issues that need to be addressed to increase the labour market participation of Western Sydney women: these fall broadly under the themes of ‘good jobs’, ‘good flexibility’ and ‘good care’.

1. Good jobs: Employment security and career development

“I want a workplace that’s supportive. That feels it’s a dynamic place. That change happens and there’s growth and opportunities and support from management. Those are the things I really value.” (Judy, Frontline, FG3)

A key theme in focus groups was that women want what they see as ‘good jobs’. For them, good jobs have three elements: having secure employment; having decent pay and employers who value and respect them as workers and individuals; and having access to training and development to build careers. In every group, women who said they had managed to achieve what they saw as good jobs during the COVID-19 pandemic described feeling ‘lucky’, ‘grateful’ and having hit the ‘jackpot’ or won the ‘lottery’. Women spoke of having invested heavily in their qualifications, having an interest in engaging in further training, and of seeking a strong return on this development activity in their careers. These ambitious and engaged women should not
have to rely on luck to build strong career contributions and economic security for themselves and their families.

**Secure employment**

Employment on insecure contracts, where the number of hours and the tenure of work is unpredictable, is unmanageable for many women. Several focus group participants, including public sector workers such as teachers and nurses, spoke about the frustration they felt with being employed on long-term, successive casual contracts and the impact this unpredictable work had on their capacity to schedule care particularly through formal means like childcare. They described feeling very vulnerable, especially in the context of the pandemic, as a result of their employment status. For example, Jane said “I’ve got nothing to fall back on. I don’t have a catcher’s mitt to fall back on”, leaving her worried about her longer-term economic security (Jane, FG7-Reduced or ceased work). A lack of entitlements associated with insecure work, such as casual employment, also compounded women’s sense of personal risk. Alexa (Reduced or ceased work, FG7), who worked in retail after a career in banking, said “I think it puts that financial burden on you... you’ve just got to sort of manage yourself through that”.

The pandemic has continued to impact frontline workers’ access to sufficient hours and financial security even after the end of lockdowns. Hani, a restaurant manager, reflected on how this has impacted her team:

“They’re still struggling because they’re not financially stable because I can only give them one shift a week or whatnot... So, months on we’re still definitely feeling it.” (Hani, Frontline, FG3)

**Decent pay and respect**

Dissatisfaction with pay was a common sentiment for many women in our focus groups, both frontline and professional workers. Women working in frontline roles spoke particularly about a mismatch between wages and the cost of living. Judy (Frontline, FG3) said, ‘I would love to see a shift where we can earn the standard of living’, and another suggested ‘the industry doesn't get enough pay rises for the increasing costs’ (Ophelia, Frontline, FG3). However, professional workers, particularly younger women, also reflected on their desire for ‘decent pay’, feeling they were paid ‘very, very poorly’ (Sumi, Professional, FG2) relative to their skills. Being valued and respected as a productive member of an organisation and work team was important for women working in frontline and professional contexts. They wanted “to get respect... acknowledgement and [employers] listening to you and your ideas” (Denise, Reduced or ceased work, FG7). Unfortunately, many women described feeling undervalued and underappreciated in their workplaces – ‘just a number’, ‘a cog’, ‘a business asset’. For several women, the pandemic was the last straw or ‘kick up the butt’ (Daniyah, Frontline, FG6) that pushed them to seek out new work and what they saw as ‘better cultures’ to work in. Respect, value and pay are linked. For Sumi, decent pay is a sign of respect: “I’m just looking for a somewhat decent culture and decent pay” (Sumi, Professional, FG2).

**Career paths and development opportunities**

Women said they were hungry for development opportunities. Several motivations were cited for this including a desire by lower paid women to access better paying work, for professional workers to transition to work where their passions lay and for workers across the job-type spectrum to qualify for entry to professional jobs where schedule control was seen as being more possible. A number of women who described themselves as being in the ‘lucky’ category of permanent work with ‘good employers’ reported that they could access training and development through their employer and ‘on the job’ in paid hours of work. Some focus group
participants, especially young professional women, said that they had changed employers or were planning to move to secure better opportunities for development. Yet, despite a generalised interest and willingness to engage in vocational training or higher education, many participants reported significant barriers. Mothers of young children were challenged by their capacity to fit study and training into already stretched weeks. They described how their days were already packed with paid work and care for children. This work–care–time bind simply makes it impossible for most women to fit training and education into an already full schedule. The following comment from Sonia, a retail worker, was typical:

“I would have to put in a lot of hours, possibly 15 to 20 hours a week to study. I’d have to still work … Reducing hours, fitting it [study] in and still having enough time to keep the kids as well as being able to quietly concentrate and do my own schooling. That’s what I’m trying to work it out.” (Sonia, Frontline, FG1)

Malika and Lynda, both mothers of young children, discussed at length the calculations they and their families had made to weigh up their capacity to participate in further training. Both had decided that it was not workable. Noting the pressures on her time to either be working or caring for children through each week Malika (Frontline, FG1) said “Time and money are probably the two big things for me”. Lynda (Frontline, FG1) said she felt she had no choice, given that taking on further study would mean working less hours (and therefore having less income to pay her family’s mortgage): “I can’t drop a day’s work”.

Other women discussed feeling bewildered about how to access advice on what training they could access to improve their capacity to get a better job. Kiana, a mother of young children, was not confident in her ability to access a better job or even to find the right training: “I feel like I don’t really have enough skills to do anything like that… I’m just a mum that changes nappies” (Kiana, Reduced or ceased work, FG7). More mature-age women also reported feeling confused about where to seek advice about available training opportunities and they saw services as being pitched at younger women.

2. Good flexibility: Making work sustainable and productive

“I would love to be able to do a blended work from home and work in the office. But I know I wouldn’t want to do full-time work from home because I do like the social element of work. I would love to work closer to home, that’s really important to me.” (Judy, Frontline, FG3)

The pandemic was a game changer in how many women now think about flexible work. Professional women who were required to work from home during lockdowns experienced flexible working, often for the first time and have decided this is a practice they want to continue in coming years.

When ‘stay at home’ orders were issued, which were often stricter for workers in the west and south-west than for other Sydney workers, professional workers were forced to transition quickly to fully remote working arrangements. This was something of a shock that produced long hours of work and care:

“Starting work at 6.00 in the morning and finishing at 4.30–5.00 just so I could get my work done and homeschool. It was tough.” (Ellyana, Professional, FG4)

In the early days and weeks, many women noted that as they and their workplaces put systems in place, they settled into a more manageable routine. Professional workers without school-aged children at home, with some exceptions, thrived with remote working. While some noted that
their workloads increased significantly due to non-stop zoom meetings and unrealistic expectations of managers, which Lina (Professional, FG4) described with understated humour as ‘a bit intense’, others found that they were able to claim several hours of their day back from commuting into the Sydney CBD. Professional mothers of school-aged children found the 2020 and 2021 periods of simultaneous school and office closure very taxing and reported working extremely long and interrupted days of paid work and unpaid care. After schools reopened and when remote working from home was still encouraged by employers and government, mothers of school children almost unanimously reported that work from home worked well for them, and they wanted to have more of it: ‘I’m loving it’ reported Kali (Professional, FG 4) Christelle, a young woman without children, sums up the mood and motivation of most:

“It’s just so easy. You get a lot of time back… I get back about three to four hours a day now, which is huge… I sort of make my day how I want it to be if I’ve got the flexibility in my work to do that.” (Christelle, Professional, FG2)

In the focus groups, young professional women were adamant that they want a hybrid working life post pandemic, working some days at home (2 or 3 was the consensus) and some in the office. The experience of work from home during the pandemic created new opportunities for young professional women to invest in their personal wellbeing and relationships. The chance to exercise, walk their dog or see friends and family rather than commute was valued highly. Where this is not forthcoming, this group says they are willing to change jobs to get the flexibility they want. Some women had already begun the process of resigning from inflexible jobs. Bronwyn, a finance employee, described her recent job search this way:

“[I did] More research, more questions probed to the employer, just being like, ‘What are your work from home policies?’ … Those are questions that never would’ve crossed my mind pre-pandemic … I was a little bit more selective.” (Bronwyn, Professional, FG2)

Not only were these young professional women interested in accessing remote working opportunities, they felt that they were in a position to negotiate, if not demand them in 2022. For example, Aurelia argued that she had just begun a job search and was being ‘selective’ in this:

“I live in the Western suburbs. So, I was looking as far as Paramatta or maybe the City, but only if it was a hybrid. But there was heaps of options around, and I feel like my career’s been expedited because of the virus.” (Aurelia, Professional, FG2)

The mismatch between regular working hours and school hours meant women with school aged children were particularly interested in expanded opportunities to work school hours.

“Working within school hours … would work really great for me.’ (Jo, Professional, FG4)

Many other women suggested they were waiting until the COVID situation ‘settled’ to see what ongoing flexibility measures would be put in place with their current employer before assessing options about requesting ongoing flexibilities or moving to new roles.

While most focus group conversations centred on the personal and family benefits of remote work, professional women insisted that it offered employers key benefits as well including enhanced productivity, a better focus on outputs, and a more engaged and committed workforce. Women argued that this might mean a shift in policy and mindset in many organisations. For Christelle, managers and businesses need to show greater ‘trust in employees’ to reap the business benefits of remote working:
"I think the main thing for people, at the moment, is feeling like your company trusts you enough to do your work, how you want to do your work, knowing that you’re going to get it done, and to the best of your ability for the business." (Christelle, Professional, FG2)

Frontline women workers had a very different experience of work during the pandemic and work from home did not feature at all for them. They reported increases in their working hours and talked about the intensity of their work and challenges managing their family responsibilities.

3. Good care services that support women’s access to good jobs

“There needs to be more support with dealing with childcare and the balance of being a good parent and working as well. We want to work, but we also want to be with our kids. I’m a working person, but I’m also a loving mother.” (Leya, Frontline, FG6)

Care is the critical issue for mothers of very young and school-aged children in Western Sydney, with ‘good care’ identified as a determinant of access to good jobs. Combining work with care for children was shaped by women’s working hours, access to work from home arrangements, the cost of formal and suitable paid care, and access to informal support from grandparents and neighbours. Women spoke about the difficulties and complexity of solving the work–care puzzle, highlighting the way that inadequate, inflexible and expensive paid care services limited the number of days they were able to work, the type of jobs they could undertake, and their opportunity for promotion. Women felt it was unfair they were left with limited ‘choice’ between caring for children and working in the way they wanted to. Jo, a social worker, echoed the views of many women:

“I feel like women sacrifice their careers for the family. More women sacrifice than men ... you feel terrible leaving your child or you’re missing work and your career ... It’s just really hard for women.” (Jo, Professional, FG4)

Echoing a familiar theme, those women who had accessed suitable care arrangements identified themselves as ‘lucky’ to have done so. Across all groups, women saw childcare as the key barrier to labour force participation and said it needed to be more affordable, in the right place, and for the right hours.

Flexible childcare

Access to flexible care services available at times that match working hours and accommodate changing rosters is a specific challenge faced by frontline workers. This was more pronounced for single mothers like disability care worker Malika (Frontline, FG1) who identified the lack of ‘flexible childcare’ that didn’t fit with evening working time as a specific ‘barrier’ to work life: “if you were needing to work a night, you have to rely on family... which makes it hard, especially when your parents are getting old”. Partnered women often ‘tag-team’ with their partners with one parent working nights and the other during the day: “He drops the kids off and I’m able to pick them up. So, it works ... having one in high school, one in primary school... I don’t mind to get up early, work my two shifts, come home, have a sleep... I pick the kids up, cook, clean, do uniforms and then my husband comes home late at night... It seems to work” (Sonia, Frontline, FG1). While Sonia and her husband have solved the work–care puzzle for now, lack of suitable care locks them into their current jobs stifling opportunities for further training and career development. Some frontline workers identified family day care as providing more flexibility than long day care, but for women whose working hours changed
regularly, access to flexible formal care services was an ongoing problem that stymied their capacity to take on additional or higher paid shifts. Short periods of paid parental leave, paid at minimum rates, also meant that women had to quickly find suitable care for very young children in order to reenter paid work. Where this was not possible, they simply withdrew from paid employment.

The mismatch between available care and working time was different for professional knowledge workers who spoke about care availability and cost limiting their capacity to work full-time or in a job they really wanted: “the daycare that I wanted my son to go to, that’s a particular one and it’s close to us, they only have particular days. They don’t offer the days that I needed full-time. So that was an issue” (Jo, Professional, FG4). Many women in our focus groups, both frontline and professional workers, reported that they ‘traded down’ taking jobs below their skill level and worked less hours to better align work with care.

Women with school-aged children identified the school hours of their children as a significant barrier to their ability to pursue the type of job and hours they wanted. High quality out-of-school hours care and vacation care can ameliorate some of the problem for this group of workers, but women reported that older school children often do not like attending these services. Lack of affordable and suitable care outside school hours meant Nicole cut back from full-time to part-time work:

“I did the whole full-time [thing] doing daycare and that was fine because I could pick up, drop-off whenever I wanted. It was when my daughter was about to start school that I was like, hold on, I need to work something out with all these holidays. And the hours were just really short compared to what I used to work… How can work be done during only school hours while you travel … to the office? This is impossible.” (Nicole, Professional, FG4)

**Affordable care**

The cost of care was of great concern to women across sectors and job types. Women demonstrated a clear understanding of the work disincentives in the Commonwealth Childcare Subsidy system and cut back their work accordingly: “That’s why I gave up full-time [work]. I couldn’t do it” (Nicole, Professional, FG4). Others reported they had not been able to increase their days of work when they realised how much of those extra earnings would go on childcare fees.

Childcare is so expensive it is seen as a major household expense alongside the mortgage: “Daycare costs a fortune… it costs an awful lot of money. It’s like you’re working to pay off [your] mortgage and daycare… that’s it” (Jo, Professional, FG4). Short periods of paid parental leave added to women’s sensitivity to the cost of caring for very young children. Even when it was available, the cost was often prohibitive, especially in families with multiple young children, and became a reason to reduce or withdraw from paid employment. Exasperated by the ongoing challenge of expensive care, women in all groups argued that ‘doing something’ about care would make the biggest difference to women.
Conclusion

Working women in NSW and Western Sydney are highly educated and skilled and they are motivated to forge meaningful and rewarding careers. The pandemic, which posed significant challenges and upheaval for these women, has not dampened their aspirations. Our focus groups, which included employees with different job types and family and care arrangements, show that women have clear ideas of what they would like from working life in the post pandemic period but that they face key constraints in accessing their ideal arrangements. Women want good jobs, they seek secure employment, professional wages as well as opportunities for career development. Currently, women feel that they are not getting the return on their educational investment through their work or being rewarded in the way they would like. Women want good flexibility. Interest in high quality flexible, especially hybrid, working arrangements has increased significantly after the experience of 2020 and 2021, as women seek better health, well-being, and balance. They see the personal benefits of better flexibility as well as positives for employers who make good flexible working options available including boosted productivity and retention of key staff. Women seek good care systems that are affordable, match the realities of their working lives, and allow them to meet both economic and family needs. Lack of access to good care stops women from working more hours and from doing the training they need to accessing better paid jobs. Meeting the needs of these women will make a significant difference to working life, embed their economic security and power the recovery.

References


Appendix

Focus group design

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<th>Description</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
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<tr>
<td>FG1</td>
<td>Frontline workers with school-aged children</td>
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<tr>
<td>FG2</td>
<td>Professional workers without children</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FG3</td>
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<td>FG4</td>
<td>Professional workers with pre-school children</td>
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<td>FG5</td>
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<td>FG6</td>
<td>Frontline workers with pre-school children</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>FG7</td>
<td>Reduced or ceased work during the pandemic</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>45</strong></td>
</tr>
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</table>

Frontline workers are employed in health, early childhood education and care, aged and disability care, retail, hospitality, warehousing, transport and education. They continued working in their regular place of work through pandemic induced lockdowns.

Professional workers are employed in finance, legal services, construction, IT, administration, health administration and social assistance. During lockdowns these workers worked entirely or primarily from their homes.

GEWL recognises the diverse range of women’s experiences. We engage with women employed in different sectors and occupations and at different life stages from diverse cultural backgrounds, religions, abilities, sexualities, identities, countries and perspectives. Our representative approach to data collection captures the voices and unique lived experiences of women, generating nuanced research findings with policy relevance. We are grateful to the many women who contribute their voice and work experience to our research.
Author Biographies

Professor Rae Cooper

Professor Rae Cooper, AO is Professor of Gender, Work and Employment Relations at the University of Sydney Business School and is an Australian Research Council (ARC) Future Fellow. She is Director of the newly formed Gender Equality in Working Life (GEWL) Research Initiative at the University of Sydney. Rae is President Elect of International Labor and Employment Relations Association (ILERA) and is an executive member of several Australian industrial relations bodies. Rae has published scores of articles and chapters on work, workplace policy and women’s working lives across different sectors and career stages. She is known for her research-informed engagement with industry, government and not for profits in relation to good jobs and gender equitable careers.

Associate Professor Elizabeth Hill

Elizabeth is Associate Professor in the Department of Political Economy at the University of Sydney. She is Deputy Director of the Gender Equality in Working Life (GEWL) Research Initiative, co-convenor of the Australian Work and Family Policy Roundtable and co-convenor of the Body@Work Project. As a leading researcher on the future of women, work and care in Australia and the Asian region, she has collaborated on research into gender equality, work and care with leading national and international institutions, including the International Labour Organisation and UN Women. Elizabeth’s research focuses on how economic institutions shape women’s paid work, unpaid care and the care workforce, especially as they evolve in response to the rapidly evolving dynamics of the global political economy. Elizabeth has served as a non-executive director on a number of non-profit Boards and is an experienced media commentator and advisor to government, unions, and business.
The Gender Equality in Working Life (GEWL) Research Initiative at the University of Sydney is a multidisciplinary research initiative leveraging several decades of research expertise on women’s working lives to establish an action-oriented, practical approach to building a gender equal future of work.

The GEWL Research Initiative offers unique, research-informed insights, developed using new workplace data, to produce targeted and effective gender equality interventions.

We provide nuanced, rigorous and ‘next-generation’ research, that explores solutions that are:

- **Fit-for-purpose.** Providing an understanding of the different impact on diverse groups, different jobs and with tailored insights and solutions, rather than one-size-fits-all.

- **Mutually beneficial.** Providing an understanding of shared valued outcomes for employees, business, and society.

- **Quantified.** Measuring the short- and long-term outcomes, costs and impacts with relevant analytics.

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