



Extended Unemployment in the Congo: A Comparative Analysis by Gender

Zitamelet Kizot Rodolphe Edgard 

Lecturer and Researcher

National School of Administration and Magistracy

Marien Ngouabi University

ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0009-0001-6902-5527>

Email: rzitameletkizot@gmail.com

Republic of Congo

ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

Article History:

Received : 12 January 2026

Revised : 23 January 2026

Accepted : 26 January 2026

Publication : 31 January 2026

DOI : [10.47742/ijbssr.v7n1p1](https://doi.org/10.47742/ijbssr.v7n1p1)



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

Widespread unemployment in the Congo is massive and multidimensional. It reveals a significant vulnerability in the labor market, with notable differences in unemployment rates between men (66%) and women (62%): men are more affected in terms of formal unemployment and underemployment, while women are more excluded by inactivity, which moderates their unemployment rate but reflects another form of economic fragility. A comparative analysis by sex thus reveals two different forms of vulnerability, which require tailored and complementary policies to reduce precariousness and promote greater participation in the labor market. The article concludes by emphasizing the need for a gender-differentiated approach: for men, it is important to strengthen retraining and entrepreneurship programs; and for women, to develop inclusion policies (childcare, flexible working hours, anti-discrimination measures) to encourage their active participation in the labor market.

KEYWORDS: ILO unemployment, broad unemployment

Introduction

Unemployment is the most widely used indicator for measuring the number of people struggling to find work, and it is a crucial indicator for policymakers. In 2024, there were 186 million unemployed people worldwide (ILO, 2025¹). Unemployment, as defined by the International Labour Organization (ILO), refers to people of working age who are available for work and actively seeking paid employment. However, this strict definition does not always reflect the realities of the labor market in developing countries, where informality is prevalent, and the line between employment and inactivity is often blurred. Several authors (Cling et al., 2007; Roubaud, 2019) emphasize that strictly applying this definition significantly underestimates labor market exclusion in developing countries. To better capture these situations, the concept of **broad unemployment** has been introduced. This concept includes not only the formally unemployed but also the discouraged unemployed who, lacking prospects, cease actively seeking work, and those in visible (part-time work²) or invisible (low-paid) underemployment.

In Congo-Brazzaville, this issue is particularly acute. Despite abundant natural resources and sustained growth during certain periods, the country faces structural difficulties in transforming its wealth into decent employment opportunities for its population. Recent employment surveys conducted by the National Institute of Statistics (INS) reveal that more than 80% of the working population holds informal jobs (INS, 2021). A broader approach to unemployment is therefore essential to understanding the reality of the labor market and the dynamics of exclusion.

The analysis of broader unemployment cannot ignore the **gender dimension**, given the significant disparities between men and women. Women often face specific obstacles related to sociocultural

norms, the division of domestic roles, and limited access to productive resources, technical training, and positions of responsibility. These constraints result in more difficult entry into the workforce and greater exposure to broader unemployment. Conversely, men, although generally more represented in formal employment, can also be vulnerable to specific forms of unemployment, particularly due to their dependence on the extractive and public sectors, which are sensitive to economic and budgetary fluctuations.

In this context, a comparative **analysis of extended unemployment by gender** is necessary to understand the different dynamics that shape access to and persistence in employment.

Unemployment in Congo-Brazzaville. This approach not only quantifies the disparities between men and women but also identifies the profile of the unemployed by gender. It helps to highlight structural inequalities in the labor market and provides avenues for more targeted public policies that promote gender equality and decent work.

The objective of this article is therefore to examine the profile of those most affected by widespread unemployment in Congo-Brazzaville, adopting a comparative perspective between men and women. Through this approach, the aim is to answer a central question: who are the unemployed, in the broadest sense, in Congo-Brazzaville?

1. Conceptual Framework

Unemployment, as defined by the International Labour Organization (ILO), refers to people of working age who are (i) without a job, (ii) actively seeking paid employment, and (iii) available to work. However, this definition has long been criticized for its inadequacy in African economies, where the majority of the workforce is engaged in informal employment or subsistence activities. Several authors (Cling et al., 2007; Roubaud, 2019)

¹ ILO, *Employment and social issues in the world: trends 2025*, Geneva: International Labor Office, 2025.

² A full-time worker is someone who works at least per week. Those who work less than 35 hours per week are considered part-time workers.



emphasize that strictly applying this definition significantly underestimates labor market exclusion in sub-Saharan Africa. Broadening the concept of unemployment has the effect of including as unemployed population groups who are marginalized from economic activity and have a looser connection to the labor market (young people, women, and the elderly). This broader definition of unemployment includes not only those unemployed according to the ILO definition, but also:

- ◆ *people without jobs who are available to work but have given up looking for work (discouraged unemployment),*
- ◆ *individuals in underemployment, holding part-time jobs (visible underemployment) or low-productivity jobs (invisible underemployment).*

We can say that the broader definition of unemployment encompasses both unemployment as defined by the ILO and the "halo" of unemployment.

The "halo" of unemployment is a form of unemployment that includes individuals who do not meet one of the three criteria for unemployment as defined by the ILO. This includes working-age individuals who are:

- Employed, actively seeking other paid employment, and available to work. This category includes **underemployed individuals**.
- Unemployed, not actively seeking employment, and available to work. This category includes **underemployed persons**.
- Unemployed, actively seeking paid work but unavailable to start work.

Discouraged unemployed persons are those who have given up their job search due to unsuitable job offers or long-term unemployment. The causes of discouragement are complex and varied. Prolonged unemployment can erode the hopes of the inactive, leading them to abandon their search. Similarly, the prospects of finding employment become very slim for those with less education and no specific training. Furthermore, a loss of self-confidence and a feeling of social uselessness, particularly noticeable among people with disabilities, leads to decreased motivation and reduces access to opportunities.

Labor market reforms have contributed to the rise of **visible underemployment**, allowing employers greater flexibility in workforce management. Companies now favor this type of underemployment in order to increase their number of employees.

Generally, most studies only address visible underemployment; they neglect **invisible underemployment**, which, often confused with job insecurity³, explains the level of social discrimination faced by workers ([Bardin B, 2016](#)).

Taking these three criteria into account, the population's perception is consistently more negative than the official ILO unemployment figures suggest. In some countries, such as Congo-Brazzaville, voices from various quarters (unions, universities, economic research firms, etc.) argue that the ILO definition of unemployment fails to capture the current diversity of underemployment situations, resulting in a significant underestimation of unemployment.

In the Congolese context, characterized by a strong reliance on the informal sector and limited absorption of labor by the formal

sector, a broader approach to unemployment allows for a better understanding of economic exclusion and forms of vulnerability in the labor market.

2. Literature review

Theoretical review

Several theoretical frameworks seek to explain the differing experiences of unemployment among men and women:

The first theory, **human capital theory** ([Becker, 1964](#)), attributes these differences to variations in education, experience, or productivity. According to this perspective, women are more vulnerable to widespread unemployment due to frequently having lower levels of education or experience.

The second theory, which aligns with our study, is that of **labor market segmentation** ([Doeringer & Piore, 1971](#)): it considers the labor market to be divided into a "primary" segment (stable, well-paid jobs) and a "secondary" segment (precarious, informal jobs). Furthermore, because the dominant economic model is limited by its low diversification and low labor absorption capacity, women are often confined to the most precarious sectors (informal trade, domestic services, etc.), where widespread unemployment is more prevalent. The last theory is the **institutionalist and sociological approach** ([Elson, 1999](#)): it emphasizes social norms, the sexual division of labor, and explicit discrimination. Indeed, women bear a double burden—productive and reproductive—which limits their availability for the labor market.

These theories show that widespread unemployment is not only an economic issue, but also a social and institutional one, reflecting the persistence of unequal gender relations.

Empirical Review

Employment surveys conducted in sub-Saharan Africa highlight the overrepresentation of women in widespread unemployment and the informal sector. For example, employment surveys conducted by the World Bank and the International Labour Organization (ILO) emphasize that women are more affected by widespread unemployment than men. Several studies ([Charmes, 2019](#); [Filmer & Fox, 2014](#)) indicate that young women are overrepresented in **discouraged unemployment** and involuntary inactivity, often linked to early marriage, pregnancy, and hiring discrimination.

Furthermore, the literature reveals a strong interaction between education level and gender: education reduces broad unemployment among men, but for women, an intermediate (secondary) education can sometimes increase the risk of unemployment due to the saturation of the public sector and the difficulty of accessing the modern private sector.

Studies conducted by Roubaud and Torelli ([2017](#)) in four countries—Niger, Senegal, Cameroon, and the DRC—showed that adding to the ILO unemployed all inactive individuals who, although they did not seek employment during the reference month, remain available if offered a job, significantly alters the picture. First, the unemployment rate increased by 5 percentage points, rising from 11% to 16% in West Africa, by approximately 3 percentage points in Cameroon, and by 9 percentage points in the DRC, where the broad unemployment rate affects nearly one in four workers. Second, gender disparities widened, with women being far more susceptible to disguised unemployment. Proportionally, there are twice as many unemployed women as unemployed men in Niamey and Dakar.⁴

³ A job is considered precarious when the monthly income is below the minimum wage. In 2011, the minimum wage in Congo was 70.400 CFA francs.

⁴ [François Roubaud](#) and [Constance Torelli](#) (2017), « Employment, unemployment and working conditions in urban labor markets », *Éditeurs scientifiques, IRD*



In Congo-Brazzaville, some studies ([NGoma, 2018](#); [Boungou Bazika, 2020](#)) emphasize the influence of sociocultural factors (gender stereotypes, unequal access to education, and productive resources) in perpetuating these disparities. Broad unemployment in this country thus appears to be a multifactorial phenomenon, where structural constraints in the labor market intersect with discrimination and gender inequality.

3. Methodological approach

Sampling

The data used in this article covers all twelve (12) departments of the country. They come from the second Working Life Transition Survey (ETVA) conducted in 2022 by the Directorate General for Vocational Training and Employment (DGFQE) with technical support from the National Institute of Statistics (INS) and funded by the French Development Agency (AFD). The study population consisted of individuals aged 15 to 35. The survey sample is drawn from the enumeration area database of the fifth General Population and Housing Census (RGPH-5) conducted in 2020. This sampling frame allowed the national territory to be divided into 6,554 enumeration areas (EAs) for 1,335,371 households, of which 819,192 are in urban areas and 516,179 in rural areas.

The ETVA (Tax on Household Values) was conducted using a two-stage stratified random sampling design with proportional allocation in the first stage. In the first stage, 272 distribution areas (DAs) were selected, 155 in urban areas and 117 in rural areas, using unequal probability sampling. In the second stage, a constant number of households were selected in each DA, based on their place of residence, to ensure self-weighting of the sample. In urban areas, a constant number of twelve (12) households were systematically selected in each DA. In rural areas, ten (10) households were selected in each targeted DA. In total, 3,030 households were selected for the ETVA-CONGO, including 1,860 in urban areas and 1,170 in rural areas. Using the household questionnaire, all members of the selected households were identified. Only eligible individuals (young people aged 15 to 35), whether regular residents or visitors, living in these households were surveyed. In total, a representative sample of 6,536 young people aged 15 to 35 was selected.

After extrapolation, a sample size of 1,909,410 young people was obtained, of whom 49.94% were male, and 41.47% lived in rural areas. The majority of these young people were single (80.42%). Cohabiting couples accounted for 16.50%, and married individuals represented only 2.23%. Most single young people were male (53.49%). However, women were in the majority in the other group categories.

Methodology Used

In order to determine the characteristics of the unemployed in the broadest sense, we will first determine the unemployment rate according to the ILO definition and the broader definition of the term. Next, we will present the characteristics of the expanded unemployment rate by sex in order to determine the profile of the people most affected by this phenomenon.

4. Results and Analysis

Measuring the Broad Unemployment Rate

The broad unemployment rate encompasses all unemployed individuals as defined by the ILO, as well as discouraged and underemployed individuals. The approach used to determine the broad unemployment rate is as follows:

$$\text{Broad Unemployment Rate} = \frac{\text{Unemployed (ILO)} + \text{Discouraged} + \text{Underemployed}}{\text{Labor Force} + \text{Discouraged}} * 100$$

Based on a comprehensive set of microeconomic data obtained during the 2022 ETVA-Congo survey, we learned that out of 1,909,410 individuals aged 15 to 35, 135,466 were unemployed according to the ILO definition, while the broad unemployment rate was 416,858. This results in a national unemployment rate of 27% as defined by the ILO. However, this figure masks gender disparities, with men (29%) appearing proportionally more affected by ILO unemployment than women (25%). This difference can be explained by a greater male presence in sectors exposed to economic fluctuations, or by greater mobility in the labor market, leading to a higher risk of temporary unemployment.

When discouraged and underemployed workers are included in the ILO unemployment, the broader unemployment rate reaches 64% nationally, more than double the ILO rate. This gap highlights a labor market characterized by high levels of job insecurity and a large proportion of people who have dropped out of the workforce or are underemployed. Analysis by gender shows that, although women are proportionally less numerous among ILO unemployed workers, they remain strongly represented in the forms of underemployment or discouragement, albeit at a slightly lower level than men. Among these individuals, the high proportion of discouraged and underemployed individuals contributes significantly to the extent of broad unemployment. The substantial gap between the two indicators (27% versus 64%) reveals that unemployment as defined by the ILO significantly underestimates the true extent of joblessness. Broad unemployment provides a more comprehensive picture, revealing that a large portion of the population is either unemployed or in precarious employment. This suggests that the labor market suffers from a structural lack of opportunities.

Table 1: Employment status by gender

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Unemployed (ILO)	79 976	55 490	135 466
Discouraged unemployed	78 734	72 066	150 800
Underemployed	73 847	56 745	130 592
Other employed persons	122 105	111 814	233 919
Other inactive assets	598 954	659 679	1 258 633
Total	953 616	955 794	1 909 410
Unemployment rate (ILO)	28,98%	24,77%	27,09%
Broad unemployment rate	65,57%	62,24%	64,06%

Source: Author's calculations based on ETVA-2022 data



The overall unemployment rate varies considerably depending on the department, place of residence, age, education level, and marital status. Detailed analysis reveals significant structural disparities.

Strong territorial heterogeneity is evident, highlighting geographical disparities. The departments most affected are: Lékoumou (83%), Pool (84%), Cuvette (79%), Brazzaville (79%), and Pointe-Noire (72%). These departments, particularly urban centers like Brazzaville and Pointe-Noire, concentrate a large share of the working-age population and exhibit a high prevalence of disguised unemployment or discouragement.

Conversely, the least affected departments are Kouilou (28%) and Plateaux (28%). The lower rates could be explained by a local economy more focused on subsistence or informal activities,

which absorb a large portion of the workforce. The low rates could be explained by a local economy more focused on subsistence or informal activities, which absorb a large portion of the workforce.

It is also worth noting the very pronounced gender disparities in certain departments, such as Lekoumou (76% for men versus 100% for women) or Bouenza (66% versus 42%). This reflects very different employment dynamics across different areas.

Regarding place of residence, the overall unemployment rate is significantly higher in urban areas (74%) than in rural areas (54%). This can be explained by (i) greater competition for modern jobs, (ii) the saturation of the urban labor market, and (iii) the existence of rural underemployment, often absorbed by family farming activities, which are less visible in the statistics.

Table 2: Extended unemployment rate by gender according to the sociodemographic characteristics of the individual

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
Department			
Kouilou	31,51%	21,86%	28,06%
Niari	66,48%	66,34%	66,41%
Lekoumou	76,47%	100,00%	82,99%
Bouenza	66,27%	42,23%	54,09%
Pool	84,65%	81,84%	83,64%
Plateaux	24,80%	31,80%	28,40%
Cuvette	72,27%	90,19%	78,79%
Cuvette ouest	35,71%	51,98%	44,89%
Sangha	52,56%	40,65%	47,19%
Likouala	54,50%	49,10%	52,19%
Brazzaville	78,11%	80,65%	79,33%
Pointe-Noire	73,19%	71,27%	72,19%
Place of residence			
Urban	76,19%	72,50%	74,38%
Rural	56,20%	50,13%	53,66%
Age group			
15-20	62,33%	62,29%	62,31%
21-25	75,93%	62,86%	70,34%
26-30	65,06%	62,32%	63,66%
31-35	55,91%	61,26%	58,26%
Level of education			
No education	60,16%	61,96%	61,05%
Primary	47,41%	42,94%	45,36%
Lower secondary	53,29%	30,76%	44,12%
Secondary 2nd cycle	70,09%	66,44%	68,45%
Higher	91,81%	37,91%	64,21%
Marital status			
Single/never married	66,85%	65,88%	66,45%
Common-law	63,24%	56,38%	59,53%
Married	40,92%	47,35%	45,02%
Divorced/separated	85,30%	70,85%	72,77%
Widowed		42,93%	42,93%
Have children			
Yes	58,93%	60,10%	59,58%
No	70,42%	66,01%	68,90%
Total	65,57%	62,24%	64,06%

Source: Author's calculations based on ETVA-2022 data

Regarding age, it is noted that young people are particularly affected. The 21-25 age group is the most exposed to broad unemployment, regardless of gender, reflecting the difficulties of entering the workforce after studies or upon entering the labor market.

Our data also revealed that the absence of children is correlated with a higher risk of broad unemployment, particularly among young people transitioning into employment. Indeed, individuals without children have a higher rate (69%) than those with children (60%).

Financial situation is a determining factor in broad unemployment, especially since our data reveals that the worse the



financial situation, the higher the probability of being broadly unemployed. This is true regardless of gender.

Similarly, it is noted that refusing a job offer increases the likelihood of being broadly unemployed. The gap in the expanded

unemployment rate between those who have refused a job and those who have never refused one is more noticeable among women (94% versus 34%) than among men (89% versus 41%).

Table 3: Extended unemployment rate by gender according to the individual's economic characteristics

	Gender		Total
	Male	Female	
How would you describe your financial situation?			
Comfortable	31,64%	34,13%	32,71%
Fairly comfortable	32,54%	40,24%	36,05%
National average	59,65%	55,79%	57,77%
Rather difficult	68,18%	62,07%	65,21%
Difficult	72,78%	70,55%	71,84%
Job refusal			
Yes	88,99%	93,60%	91,01%
No	41,26%	33,72%	37,71%
Father's employment			
Yes	64,15%	61,51%	62,95%
No	86,08%	71,64%	79,13%
Mother's employment			
Yes	65,21%	60,76%	63,18%
No	67,02%	68,20%	67,56%
Total	65,57%	62,24%	64,06%

Source: Author's calculations based on ETVA-2022 data

The results in Table 3 also highlight that the father's employment plays a crucial role in reducing the risk of widespread unemployment. Indeed, individuals whose father is employed have a rate of 62.95%, compared to 79.13% for those whose father is unemployed or inactive.

The difference is particularly pronounced among women (64.15% versus 86.08%), suggesting that the father's employment is a more significant protective factor for them, possibly through better economic, social, or educational support.

This trend may reflect the father's still central role in the economic structure of households. Conversely, the mother's employment status does not significantly influence an individual's activity level. In fact, the rates of widespread unemployment, ranging from 63.18% (employed mother) to 67.56% (unemployed mother), indicate that, in this context, the mother's employment has a weak influence on widespread unemployment, unlike the father's. This observation may be linked to socioeconomic norms in which female employment is less directly associated with household income.

Conclusion

All the data we have gathered highlights that broad unemployment is a massive and multidimensional phenomenon. It is not limited to official unemployment (ILO definition), but also encompasses underemployment and discouragement, revealing a structural fragility in the labor market.

The data used in our article comes from the second Working Life Transition Survey (ETVA), conducted in 2022 by the Directorate General for Vocational Training and Employment (DGFQE) with technical support from the National Institute of Statistics (INS) and funded by the French Development Agency (AFD). These data show that the broad unemployment rate (64%) is more than double the ILO unemployment rate (27%): this demonstrates that official unemployment significantly underestimates the reality of the labor market.

Although broad unemployment is massive and structural for both sexes, it affects men more, who remain more present in the labor

market and are therefore more exposed to unemployment and underemployment. Women, on the other hand, are more likely to withdraw from the labor market (inactivity), which moderates their overall unemployment rate but reveals another form of economic vulnerability.

Regarding the profile of those most affected by widespread unemployment, the study showed that widespread unemployment is most prevalent in the departments of Pool, Lékoumou, Brazzaville, and Pointe-Noire. It disproportionately affects young people, urban dwellers, and single individuals. Analysis by education level showed that a degree does not protect against widespread unemployment, especially for men with higher education degrees. This reveals a mismatch between education and the labor market. Similarly, it was observed that people without children are more exposed, perhaps because parenthood encourages them to accept employment more readily, even precarious jobs. Financial situation is a determining factor in widespread unemployment, especially since our data revealed that the worse the financial situation, the higher the probability of experiencing widespread unemployment. This holds true regardless of gender. Furthermore, it is noted that refusing a job increases the likelihood of being in the broader unemployment system. This may reflect a mismatch between expectations and opportunities: individuals refuse jobs deemed precarious, poorly paid, or not in line with their expectations, which keeps them in the broader unemployment system. The results of our article also reveal that the father's employment plays a decisive role in reducing the risk of broader unemployment, while the mother's employment situation does not significantly influence an individual's activity level. This suggests that the father's employment acts as a protective factor through better economic, social, or educational support. Conversely, the lack of influence of the mother's employment on an individual's activity level may be linked to socioeconomic norms in which female employment is less directly associated with household income stability.



Ultimately, the fight against widespread unemployment will be achieved through:

-Incorporating widespread unemployment into public policies by targeting not only the officially unemployed, but also the discouraged and underemployed, in order to better assess the vulnerability of the labor market.

-Reducing underemployment by encouraging stable and formal employment, implementing incentives to transform precarious jobs into sustainable ones, and developing promising sectors, particularly agribusiness, digital services, and modernized crafts;

-Investing in education and training by adapting training programs to the real needs of the market and developing technical and vocational pathways to reduce the gap between available skills and existing jobs;

Regarding gender-based differentiation, we recommend:

-for men: strengthening retraining and entrepreneurship programs;

-for women: the development of inclusion policies (daycare, flexible hours, fight against discrimination) to promote their active participation in the labor market.

References

- Bardin, B. (2016). *Cours de statistique descriptive*. DEUG, Institut Africain de la Statistique (IAS), Congo-Brazzaville. HAL Id: cel-01317598.
- Banque Mondiale. (2022). *Rapport sur l'emploi et la pauvreté en Afrique centrale : cas du Congo*. Washington, DC.
- Becker, G. S. (1964). *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education*. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, distributed by Columbia University Press.
- Bougou Bazika, J.-C., Makouézi, C. M. & Bagamboula Mayamona, G. (2020). *L'incidence du commerce avec la Chine sur l'intégration régionale dans la CEEAC: une analyse comparative des échanges du Congo avec la RDC et le Cameroun*. Centre d'Études et de Recherche sur les Analyses et Politiques Économiques (CERAPE), Brazzaville.
- Charmes, J. (2019). *Dimensions of resilience in developing countries: Informality, solidarities and carework*. Cham: Springer, Demographic Transformation and Socio-Economic Development, vol. 10. ISBN 978-3-03-004075-8.
- Cling, J.-P., Gubert, F., Nordman, C. J., Razafindrakoto, M. & Roubaud, F. (2007). *Youth and labour markets in Africa: A critical review of literature*. Document de Travail n° 49. Paris: Agence Française de Développement.
- Doeringer, P. B., & Piore, M. J. (1971). *Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis*. Lexington, MA: Heath Lexington Books.
- Elson, D. (1999). *Labor Markets as Gendered Institutions: Equality, Efficiency and Empowerment Issues*. *World Development*, 27(3), 611-627. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X\(98\)00147-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0305-750X(98)00147-8)
- Filmer, D. & Fox, L. (2014). *Youth Employment in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Africa Development Forum Series. Washington, DC: World Bank Publications. ISBN 978-1-4648-0107-5. doi:10.1596/978-1-4648-0107-5.
- Institut National de la Statistique. (2021). *Annuaire statistique 2021*. Brazzaville: INS.
- Ngoma (2018). *Evaluation of the Impacts of the Climate Changes on the Hydrologic Network of the Kouilou-Niari Basin in the South-West of Congo Brazzaville*. *Journal of Water Resources and Ocean Science*, 7, 28-41.
- Kibala Kuma, J. (2020). *Pauvreté et chômage en République Démocratique du Congo: état des lieux, analyses et perspectives*. HAL Archives Ouvertes.
- Nkouka, A. (2019). *Chômage et inégalités de genre au Congo: une approche comparative*. *Revue Congolaise de Sciences Sociales*, Vol. 12, n°2.
- Nzila, M. (2021). *Insertion professionnelle et disparités hommes-femmes au Congo*. Université Marien Ngouabi, Faculté des Sciences Économiques.
- Roubaud, F. (2019). *Madagascar: une trajectoire contrariée*. *Questions internationales*, 97(2), 94-103. DOI :10.3917/quin.097.0094.
- Organisation Internationale du Travail (OIT). (2022). *ILOSTAT – Indicateurs du +marché du travail au Congo*. Genève.
- Observatoire National de l'Emploi et de la Formation (ONEF, Congo). (2021). *Rapport annuel sur le marché du travail au Congo*. Brazzaville.
- Programme des Nations Unies pour le Développement (PNUD). (2021). *Rapport sur le développement humain au Congo*. New York.