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1999-2000



Social Panorama

OF LATIN AMERICA



UNITED NATIONS



The *Social Panorama of Latin America* is issued each year by the Social Development Division and the Statistics and Economic Projections Division of ECLAC. The Social Development Division was responsible for preparing the chapters on living conditions for older adults, opportunities for well-being during childhood and adolescence, and drug trafficking and use. The Statistics and Economic Projections Division prepared the chapters dealing with social vulnerability and poverty, occupational stratification, and productive absorption and the employment structure. The preparation of the 1999-2000 edition was supervised by the directors of these two divisions, Mr. Rolando Franco and Mr. Pedro Sáinz, respectively. Mr. Juan Carlos Feres, Mr. Pascual Gerstenfeld and Mr. Arturo León were also involved in coordinating the work on this edition. Mr. Adolfo Gurrieri took part in the study on occupational stratification. The various chapters were written by the above-mentioned staff and Ms. Irma Arriagada, Mr. Ernesto Espíndola and Mr. Martín Hopenhayn. Mrs. Rosa Bravo, Mr. Roberto Pizarro and Mr. Tito Velasco collaborated in the preparation of the working documents that served as a basis for the chapters on social vulnerability and the labour market. Mrs. Mariluz Avendaño, Mr. Carlos Daroch and Mr. Carlos Howes compiled and processed the statistical information presented in this edition. The databases from which the quantitative data were drawn are maintained by the Statistics and Economic Projections Division.

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has made a valuable contribution to the preparation of this edition.

Notes and explanations of symbols

The following symbols have been used in the *Social Panorama of Latin America*.

- The dots (...) indicate that data are missing, are not available or are not separately reported.
- Two dashes and a period (-.-) indicate that the sample size is too small to be used as a basis for estimating the corresponding values with acceptable reliability and precision.
- A dash (-) indicates that the amount is nil or negligible.
- A blank space in a table indicates that the concept under consideration is not applicable or not comparable.
- A minus sign (-) indicates a deficit or decrease, except where otherwise specified.
- A point (.) is used to indicate decimals.
- Use of a hyphen (-) between years, e.g. 1990-1998, indicates reference to the complete number of calendar years involved, including the beginning and end years.
- The world "dollars" refers to United States dollars, unless otherwise specified.
- Individual figures and percentages in tables may not always add up to the corresponding total, because of rounding.

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Abstract

The 1999-2000 edition of the *Social Panorama of Latin America* examines the growing social vulnerability of the population, the main features of the pattern of occupational stratification associated with newly emerging modes of development, the living conditions of children and adolescents and of older adults, which are two particularly vulnerable groups, and the institutional and social implications of drug production, trafficking and use in the region.

Social vulnerability is manifested in the feelings of being at risk and unsafe and the sensation of helplessness that have overtaken a majority of the population in many countries. This edition of the *Social Panorama* explores the objective reasons underlying these feelings, including the increased instability of household income, which causes households to slip in and out of poverty, and the deterioration of employment conditions that is associated with rising percentages of temporary forms of employment that are not subject to labour contracts and do not provide social security coverage.

In view of how influential it is in terms of social stratification, for many years now ECLAC has been studying the phenomenon of occupational stratification in Latin America and the changes it has undergone. This edition of the *Social Panorama* presents the results of a study on the main aspects of occupational stratification in eight countries representing the diverse range of situations to be found in the region. An analysis of labour income by occupational category enabled researchers to identify three main strata containing around 10%, 15% and 75% of the working population (the exact figures differ from country to country) and to determine how these strata correlate with the educational levels and socioeconomic status of the households concerned.

The chapter on older adults examines issues relating to their well-being: the living arrangements arising in response to the ageing of the population; the coverage provided by social security systems, which are the main source of income for older adults; older adults' participation in the labour force and the impact this has on income distribution; and the poverty rates for the households in which they live.

The chapter on living conditions for children and adolescents looks at how the economic growth that took place in the 1990s has influenced the poverty rates for this segment of the population, the main risk factors during early childhood, and unmet needs in the area of education.

The chapter dealing with the social agenda explores the problems associated with drug production, trafficking and use in Latin America and discusses how this affects the quality of people's lives, how it exacerbates the problem of social exclusion and how drugs undermine the stability of the region's institutions and add to the population's feelings of insecurity.

SUMMARY

This edition of *Social Panorama of Latin America* focuses, in the first three chapters, on social vulnerability, occupational stratification and the precariousness of employment. A discussion then follows on the living conditions of elderly adults, opportunities for well-being for children and adolescents, and policies for controlling the production, trafficking and use of drugs.

Poverty

During the 1998-1999 biennium, one group of countries in the region managed to reduce poverty levels, while several others were not able to hold the positive trend of the first eight years of the 1990s. Central America, Mexico and the larger Caribbean nations were relatively successful in coping with the aftermath of the crisis that began in parts of Asia and in Russia. Although economic growth slowed down in some of these countries in 1999, in others, such as Costa Rica, Cuba, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic, growth held steady or even increased. Consequently, these countries were able to reduce unemployment and boost real wages to a certain extent, with the resultant positive impact on poverty.

In contrast, the economies of most South American countries stagnated or experienced a contraction of the domestic product, an increase in open unemployment rates and a decline in real wages. Given these circumstances, all indications are that in them, the trend toward lower poverty levels that had prevailed throughout most of the 1990s was broken. In those countries where the recession was particularly intense, there is likely to be an increase in the percentage of households living in poverty. The severe contraction suffered by some countries in recent years suggests that there will be a resurgence in the region's poverty index, such that the number of persons living in poverty by early 2000 will hardly be under 220 million.

After the publication of *Social Panorama of Latin America 1998*, ECLAC concluded two new studies on poverty in Chile and Mexico, covering the 1997-1998 period. In terms of cumulative growth during the biennium, it would appear that the two countries have undergone relatively similar macroeconomic processes; nevertheless, given that in 1998, there was a sharp expansion in Mexico and a slowdown in Chile, the situations are actually dissimilar. Thus, for example, while in Mexico open unemployment fell from around 7.4% in the third quarter of 1995 to about 2.8% in the fourth quarter of 1998, in Chile this index rose from 5.7% to 9.9% between November 1996 and November 1998, a development that was especially hard on the lower-income groups. In the highest-income decile of households, unemployment rose from 0.9% to 2.2%, while in the lowest-income decile, the jobless rate climbed from 19.7% to 36.8%. Thus, poverty in Chile declined from 19.7% of households in 1996 to 17.8% in

1998, while the rate of indigence remained practically unchanged (dipping from 5.8% to 5.6%).

The dynamic growth of the Mexican economy in recent years and the social policies that were implemented to meet the needs of the groups most severely affected by the crisis brought about a rapid recovery of social indicators; between 1996 and 1998, the percentage of households living in poverty fell from just over 43% to 38%. At the same time, however, the percentage of indigent households—that is, those living in extreme poverty—declined from 16% to nearly 13%. At the same time, the severity of poverty among the lowest-income groups has been mitigated thanks to the implementation of programmes for transferring resources to the poorest households.

These figures highlight the sensitivity of poverty to fluctuations in economic growth and the differences in the way these fluctuations affect employment, depending on the particular characteristics of the labour market in the different countries. They also emphasize the role of social policy in alleviating, at least to some degree, the negative impact of recessions on the living conditions of the most vulnerable groups.

Social Vulnerability

Opinion surveys conducted towards the end of the 1990s showed that growing percentages of the population felt that they were living in conditions of risk, insecurity and defencelessness. These feelings are well-founded, given the recent trends in the labour market, the downsizing of government programmes, the new types of institutions providing social services, the deterioration of traditional patterns of social organization and the difficulties faced by microenterprises and small businesses in setting up operations in the economic and social spheres.

On the labour scene, jobs have become more precarious, as evidenced in this study by the increase in the share of wage earners who have non-permanent jobs with no contract and no social security benefits. Hand-in-hand with this trend, during the 1990s, the proportion of employed persons working in the informal or low-productivity sectors rose, and by 1999, such workers accounted for approximately 50% of the labour force in urban areas and even higher levels in rural areas.

In a wide variety of cases in different countries, public policies providing for the targeting of social spending have eased the burden on the public coffers represented by benefits for higher-income and some middle-income beneficiaries. At the same time, however, many middle-income and lower-middle-income households feeling the crunch of the employment crisis and the resulting decline in their incomes have had to pay all or part of the cost of these services directly. Furthermore, depending on their ability to pay, these sectors have sometimes seen their coverage reduced and the quality of services deteriorate; some have even lost their benefits as their incomes have fallen in poorly performing economies. The result is an even greater sense of insecurity and defencelessness.

The weakening of traditional patterns of social participation and organization (trade unions and community organizations) has altered the public's habits in favour of

more individualistic behaviour. Politically, the alienation of young people from political parties is also a regional phenomenon. Moreover, since very few institutions have emerged to take the place of the traditional ones, people are more and more isolated as they participate in the market, and thus, enjoying less protection, they are in a more vulnerable position.

Since microenterprises are not very competitive, and they are weak in terms of physical and human capital, more than 50% of employed individuals are particularly hard hit by the normal ups and downs of the Latin American economies.

Given this situation, most households in Latin America are extremely vulnerable socially. In the second half of the 1990s, governments came under increasing pressure to reduce this vulnerability, as exemplified by efforts to implement unemployment insurance and other economic and social policies designed to meet the needs of the sectors most affected by the crises.

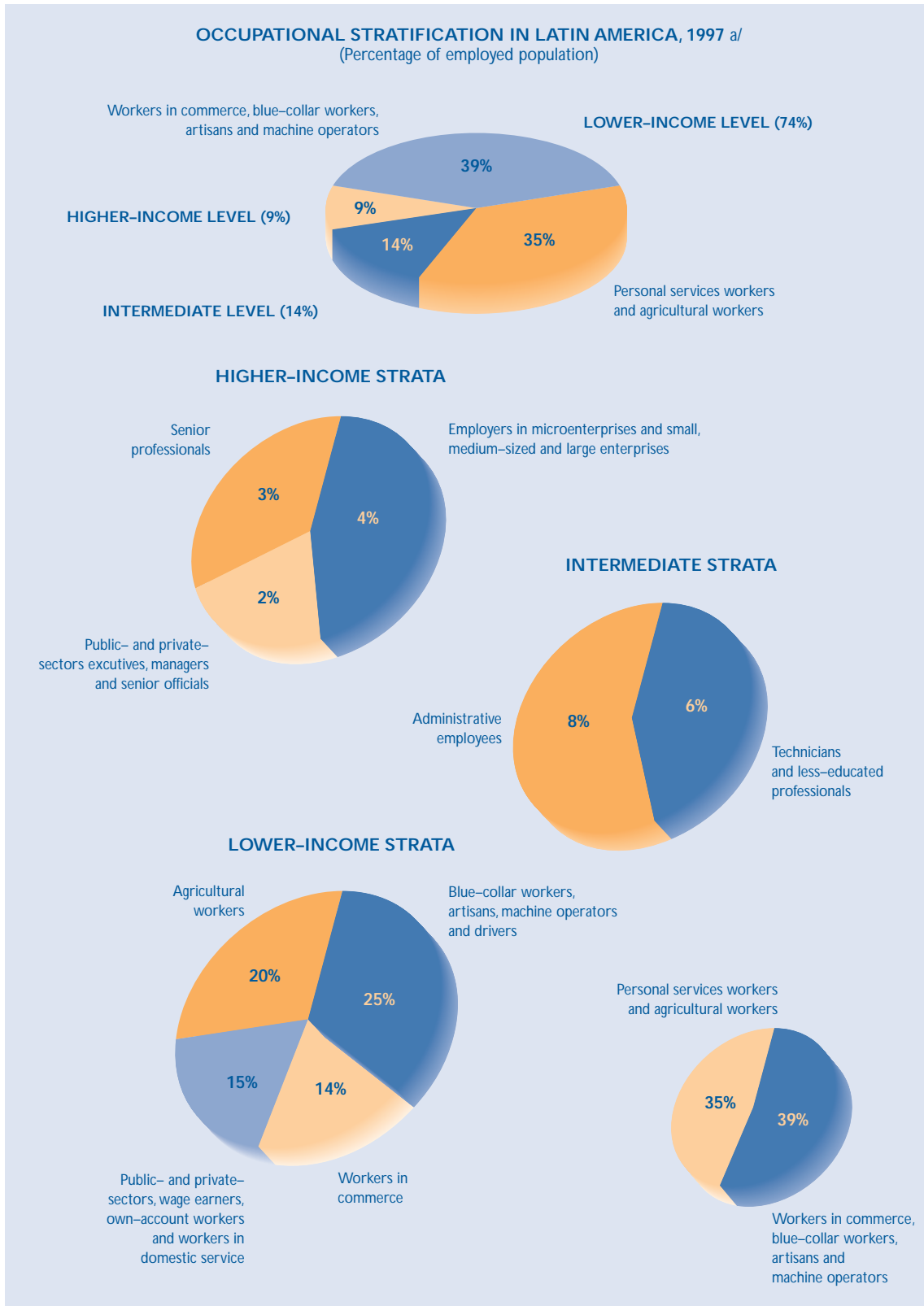
This social vulnerability, of course, is particularly evident among the poor, especially the so-called “hard-core” poor. In the last two decades, the non-indigent poor and the middle-income sectors have seen their incomes fluctuate wildly, and this has sometimes hindered their access to basic services. As a result, there has been an increasing turnover of households living in poverty. All of the above translates into greater insecurity and higher costs for households, since people who suffer drastic cuts in their income must decide between selling off property or going into debt, either of which will usually further erode their well-being.

It is imperative, therefore, that policies be devised to deal not only with poverty but also with vulnerability, it being understood that such policies will benefit different sectors in different ways and to different degrees, and that different combinations and emphases for public action will be needed. Now that the crisis of the 1980s has been overcome in many respects, it is important to regain some degree of universality in social policies, especially in sensitive areas such as health.

Social Stratification

The far-reaching changes that labour markets have undergone in Latin America gave rise, in the late 1990s, to a new type of occupational stratification which clearly has not contributed social mobility or improved income distribution. Occupations may be divided into three relatively homogeneous categories, according to income: higher, intermediate and lower. Higher-income occupations account for just over 9% of the labour force; workers in this category earn considerably more than those in other categories and thus clearly stand apart from them. Only 14% of the employed population is now in the intermediate category, which had grown enough in the post-war era to become a symbol of increasing social mobility in some countries of the region. Finally, the lower-income category comprises a large and diverse mass of workers —three quarters of the total— whose average earnings in most countries are not enough by themselves to enable a typical family (in terms of size and composition) to rise above poverty (see figure 1). This category may be divided into two subcategories, based on levels of productivity and income. The first, which accounts for about 39% of all employed workers, includes

Figure 1



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries.

a/ Weighted average of occupational structures of eight countries (see table II.1 and box II.1). In all figures, the percentages shown refer to the total working population; unclassified workers are not included.

workers in commerce and blue-collar workers, artisans and machine operators, while the second, with nearly 34% of all employed persons, includes personal services workers and agricultural workers.

In this study, which covers eight countries (Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela) representing about 75% of the population of Latin America, the relative importance and the average income of the different occupational strata were quantified.

The **higher-income category**, comprising employers, executives, managers and high-ranking public and private officials, as well as highly educated professionals, accounts for 9.4% of the employed workforce and shows average earnings of 13.7 times the poverty line.

The **intermediate category**, in terms of earnings from work, includes professionals with a lower level of education, technicians and administrative employees. These two strata of non-manual occupations account for 13.9% of the workforce and represent earnings of 5 times the poverty line.

The **lower-income category** includes manual and non-manual occupations requiring different degrees of skill in different economic sectors. In all cases, workers earn average incomes of less than 4 times the poverty line, a level that is too low to lift an average family out of poverty. As mentioned earlier, this category may be divided into two subcategories. The first, which accounts for 38.7% of all employed persons, consists of workers in commerce and blue-collar workers, artisans and machine operators with average incomes of 3.5 times the poverty line. The second, representing 34.5% of the employed workforce, includes workers in personal services and agriculture with average incomes of 2 times the poverty line.

The occupational stratification described above is a reflection of the significant income disparities that exist among the different occupational strata. This is consistent with recent trends in the distribution of income among households in the region.

This situation once again brings to the fore the important debate that has been going on in Latin America regarding the development of “middle-class societies” in at least some countries of the region. The viability of such societies was considered in studies conducted by ECLAC in 1970 and 1980. In the 1970s, circumstances in some countries —such as Argentina and Uruguay, where the share of non-manual occupations ranged between 35% and 40%, a level similar to or higher than that of most European countries— led to expectations for the emergence of middle-class societies. By 1980, however, there was an obvious disparity between the growing supply of highly educated workers and the inability of the economies to absorb them. A “devaluation of education” ensued, along with a downward trend in the incomes of well-educated workers. As a result, all non-manual occupational strata were divided into two groups: a higher level, made up of employers, executives, professionals and technicians; and a lower level, consisting of own-account workers in commerce, administrative employees and sales personnel. In addition, because of their low income level, workers in the latter category were classified in the urban low-income

sector, along with all urban manual workers, rather than in the higher and intermediate strata.

The main conclusion to be drawn from the current study, which is still in progress and for which data are not yet available for breakdowns by attitude and behaviour, is that the existing occupational structure and incomes are not conducive to the formation of middle-class societies. Further research is needed, however, especially in countries with higher average incomes or more equitable social structures.

A look at occupational stratification in countries with different earned-income levels shows that in those where incomes are the highest, a larger percentage of workers hold salaried positions in non-manual, non-agricultural occupations. A more detailed analysis brings to light some particularly significant points. First of all, in higher-income countries, the number of highly educated professionals has risen; in the last few years, this phenomenon has been directly linked to the growing presence of large and medium-sized private businesses and, to a lesser extent, to the addition of administrative and professional staff in the government apparatus. Secondly, workers in commerce represent a smaller share of the workforce in the higher-income countries. In the two countries with the highest average incomes, such workers account for 10.3% of the workforce, in contrast to 15.3% in the lowest-

Table 1

LATIN AMERICA (8 COUNTRIES): DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL STRATA, 1997 ^{a/} (Percentage of employed population aged 15 or older)								
	Brazil ^{a/}	Chile ^{b/}	Colombia ^{c/}	Costa Rica	El Salvador	Mexico ^{b/}	Panama	Venezuela ^{d/}
Employers	3.8	4.1	4.4	7.5	5.2	4.8	2.9	5.1
Executives/managers	2.2	4.0	0.8	2.8	1.7	1.6	5.7	3.0
Professionals	2.0	8.1	9.6	4.1	2.6	3.1	5.9	12.1
Technicians	6.1	7.5	-	6.2	6.3	6.0	6.5	-
Administrative employees	7.4	9.6	8.2	8.6	4.7	8.2	10.1	9.2
Workers in commerce	12.1	9.5	16.0	11.0	16.4	14.2	10.6	17.1
Blue-collar workers/artisans/drivers	22.6	27.4	24.9	27.2	26.8	29.2	23.5	29.1
Personal services workers	15.0	16.4	15.5	15.3	13.2	13.9	16.8	15.4
Agricultural workers	22.1	12.6	20.5	16.8	23.1	18.4	17.8	8.6
Unclassified	6.7	1.0	0.1	0.5	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries concerned.

^{a/} For the dates of surveys in each country, see box II.1.

^{a/} No distinction is made between public- and private-sector workers. Unpaid agricultural workers include subsistence farmers. Salaried agricultural workers who say they do not know how many employees work in the company are considered to be employed by small enterprises.

^{b/} No distinction is made between public- and private-sector workers.

^{c/} No distinction is made regarding the size of establishments or between professionals and technicians.

^{d/} No distinction is made between large and medium-sized enterprises, or between professionals and technicians. Workers in domestic service are included in the category of service workers.

income countries. Those countries also have a high percentage of wage earners, who account for 57% of the workforce in Chile and 46% in Costa Rica, compared with 38% in Mexico and 15% in El Salvador. In the third place, personal services workers represent a larger share of the workforce in the higher-income countries. There is no difference in occupational characteristics, however, since in both categories of countries only one-third of these workers are wage earners in large and medium-sized enterprises, while the rest work in micro- and small enterprises, are own-account workers or are employed in domestic service. Finally, the fourth point is that higher-income countries have proportionally fewer agricultural workers but more wage earners, and that higher percentages of these wage earners work in large and medium-sized firms (see table 1).

An examination of the income levels associated with occupational strata reveals that the relative increase in non-manual occupations in higher-income countries has led to a greater diversification of such occupations and a considerable increase in income disparities. This in turn has contributed to the persistence of a polarized occupational stratification (see table 2).

In countries with lower average earned incomes, a substantially higher number of occupations and a greater proportion of the labour force earn incomes lower than the minimum amount necessary to lift a typical family out of poverty. In the eight

Table 2

LATIN AMERICA (8 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE INCOMES BY OCCUPATIONAL STRATA, 1997 ^{a/}								
(In terms of poverty lines)								
	Brazil ^{a/}	Chile ^{b/}	Colombia ^{c/}	Costa Rica	El Salvador	Mexico ^{b/}	Panama	Venezuela ^{d/}
Employers	18.4	34.6	9.4	8.8	8.1	14.0	15.6	11.4
Executives/managers	12.3	16.2	9.0	12.1	11.3	11.0	10.2	6.6
Professionals	20.5	15.4	6.8	11.3	8.8	7.8	13.0	4.9
Technicians	5.6	9.1	-	8.3	5.5	4.3	7.6	-
Administrative employees	5.7	5.4	4.1	6.0	4.4	4.0	4.8	2.4
Workers in commerce	4.4	4.5	2.8	4.9	2.4	2.6	4.1	3.9
Blue-collar workers/artisans/drivers	4.0	5.0	2.9	4.9	3.0	2.6	4.6	3.2
Personal services workers	2.2	3.2	2.2	3.4	2.7	1.9	2.6	2.0
Agricultural workers	1.5	3.9	2.7	4.4	1.6	1.6	2.4	2.2
Total	4.5	7.4	3.5	5.7	3.3	3.4	5.2	3.7

Source: Based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries concerned.

^{a/} For the dates of surveys in each country, see box II.1.

^{a/} No distinction is made between public- and private-sector workers. Unpaid agricultural workers include subsistence farmers. Salaried agricultural workers who say they do not know how many employees work in the company are considered to be employed by small enterprises.

^{b/} No distinction is made between public- and private-sector workers.

^{c/} No distinction is made regarding the size of establishments or between professionals and technicians.

^{d/} No distinction is made between large and medium-sized enterprises, or between professionals and technicians. Workers in domestic service are included in the category of service workers.

countries studied, this minimum income varies from 2 to 3.3 times the per capita poverty line. In addition to average occupational earnings, other factors associated with the incidence of poverty in a country are the unemployment rate, the occupational density of households and the share of total family income that is accounted for by non-employment income.

The distribution of income from employment is very uneven in all countries except Costa Rica. This great disparity was found in countries with different levels of earned income, thus confirming the notion that higher incomes do not necessarily contribute to more equitable distribution.

As a general rule, the rise in the educational level of the workforce has contributed to a rise in the level of income from employment. Thus, occupational strata may be divided into three education-related categories. The higher level, which encompasses professionals with an average of nearly 15 years of schooling, clearly stands apart from the other strata and accounts for approximately 3% of all employed workers. The intermediate category, made up of executives and managers, technicians, administrative employees and entrepreneurs, represents an average educational level of 9 to 12 years and accounts for 20% of the employed workforce. And the lower category, with 2.9 to 7.3 years of schooling on average, includes all other urban occupational strata (with an average educational level of 5.5 to 7.3 years) as well as the agricultural strata (with an average education of just 2.9 years) (see table 3).

Table 3

LATIN AMERICA (7 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL IN OCCUPATIONAL STRATA, 1997 ^{a/} (Years of schooling)							
	Brazil ^{a/}	Chile ^{b/}	Colombia ^{c/}	Costa Rica	El Salvador	Panama	Venezuela ^{d/}
Employers	9.0	12.4	7.8	8.0	7.0	10.9	9.0
Executives/managers	10.7	11.4	14.2	13.4	15.0	13.4	13.7
Professionals	15.0	16.3	14.3	14.3	17.0	16.3	14.2
Technicians	11.2	13.4	-	13.2	13.0	14.6	-
Administrative employees	10.1	12.5	11.0	10.9	11.5	12.6	10.8
Workers in commerce	7.0	10.2	7.7	8.0	5.5	9.5	8.0
Blue-collar workers/artisans/drivers	5.3	9.5	6.7	6.8	6.1	8.7	7.4
Personal services workers	4.8	9.0	6.4	6.5	5.2	7.6	6.7
Agricultural workers	2.5	6.4	3.4	4.7	2.6	4.9	4.0
Total	6.1	10.4	7.3	7.9	6.2	9.5	8.5

Source: Based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries concerned.

^{a/} For the dates of surveys in each country, see box II.1.

^{a/} No distinction is made between public- and private-sector workers. Unpaid agricultural workers include subsistence farmers. Salaried agricultural workers who say they do not know how many employees work in the company are considered to be employed by small enterprises.

^{b/} No distinction is made between public- and private-sector workers.

^{c/} No distinction is made regarding the size of establishments or between professionals and technicians.

^{d/} No distinction is made between large and medium-sized enterprises, or between professionals and technicians. Workers in domestic service are included in the category of service workers.

These averages, which conceal some differences among countries, generally confirm the conventional notion that there is a close relationship between a person's educational level and the income he or she can expect to receive from employment. Nevertheless, there are important exceptions, such as the case of lower-level non-manual occupations, for which earnings are well below what might be expected. This educational devaluation is also apparent at certain intermediate levels, as in the case of administrative employees in Chile. The figures also highlight the effect of proprietary equity in high-income occupations.

As the scope of the inquiry is expanded, the household becomes the fundamental unit for analysing issues related to well-being. In this study, a serious effort was made to establish links between occupational stratification, income levels and certain household characteristics, such as the number of employed persons, the size of the household and the relative importance of earned income versus non-employment income.

The empirical evidence shows that when households are grouped according to the occupation of the primary breadwinner, the pattern of average household incomes is similar to that obtained from grouping employed workers by earned income. This suggests that there is a strong correlation between the primary breadwinner's income and the total household income. Per capita household incomes in the higher occupational category range between 5.3 and 6.3 times the poverty line. When the main breadwinner is a technician, the household income is 2.9 times the poverty line; if that person is an administrative employee, 2.6; a worker in commerce, 2.0; a blue-collar worker or artisan, 1.5; a personal services worker, 1.2, and an agricultural worker, 0.9 times the poverty line.

About half of all households have more than one actively employed member. When the main breadwinner does not earn enough to support the family, increasing the occupational density of the household is usually an effective way to avoid poverty, reduce the severity of poverty or improve the prospects for social mobility.

In the eight countries studied, over 49% of households had more than one member who was employed; in 40.6%, only one member was working, and in 10.4%, no one in the family was employed. In 9.2% of the latter cases, the head of household did not belong to the workforce, and in 1.2%, the head of household was unemployed. When only households with at least one employed member were considered, the average number of employed persons per household was 1.9; when all households were considered, the figure was 1.6. The number of employed persons per household was lower than average in countries with higher earned-income levels (1.4 in Chile, 1.5 in Costa Rica and Panama, taking all households into account), while in countries with lower incomes, the range was between 1.6 and 1.9 (see table 4).

The difference in per capita income between households with one employed member and those with more than one is 17% in Brazil, 30% in Chile, just over 40% in Colombia and Costa Rica, and nil in Mexico. An important consideration in these differences, which in some countries are small or non-existent, is the fact that large families tend to have more employed members. At the same time, it should be noted that without the additional jobs, many of these families would be in a much worse situation, and in some cases, the income from additional jobs contributes appreciably to the well-being of the household.

Table 4

LATIN AMERICA (8 COUNTRIES): DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF EMPLOYED MEMBERS, TYPE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD AND POVERTY STATUS, 1997 ^{a/} (Percentages)												
	Distribution of households						Percentage of poor households in each category					
	Total	No employed members			One employed member	More than one employed member	Total	No employed members			One employed member	More than one employed member
		Inactive head	Unemployed head	Total				Inactive head	Unemployed head			
Brazil	100.0	10.3	1.3	11.6	37.8	50.6	28.6	21.2	77.8	32.9	25.7	
Chile	100.0	11.7	2.6	14.3	45.1	40.6	17.8	21.2	73.8	23.2	7.2	
Colombia	100.0	7.1	1.5	8.6	44.0	47.4	44.9	51.6	83.4	53.5	34.7	
Costa Rica	100.0	9.6	0.9	10.5	45.9	43.6	20.2	52.7	88.7	23.5	8.3	
El Salvador	100.0	8.2	1.9	10.1	42.4	47.4	48.0	56.3	76.9	53.7	40.3	
Mexico	100.0	7.2	0.2	7.4	44.7	47.9	38.0	36.9	38.4	38.3	37.9	
Panama	100.0	9.8	2.1	11.9	46.4	41.6	27.2	37.8	79.5	32.5	16.0	
Venezuela	100.0	5.2	1.4	6.6	40.8	52.6	42.3	52.2	85.2	54.6	30.6	
Total	100.0	9.2	1.2	10.4	40.6	49.0	32.1	29.5	70.6	36.4	28.0	

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries concerned.

a/ For dates of country surveys, see box II.1.

Thus, given the present occupational stratification in Latin America, it is evident that differences in the incomes obtained from different occupations play a key role in the stratification of households by income. It also appears that in most of the countries covered by this study, large families whose main breadwinner belongs to a lower occupational level would be in an extremely difficult situation should they not be able to resort to increasing the number of employed persons in the household, although in many cases, this conspires against improving the children's educational level. At the same time, it is generally in the intermediate strata that the number of employed members can play a significant role in enhancing the household's social mobility. And finally, in households whose main breadwinner belongs to a lower occupational level, increasing the number of members who have jobs is a critical factor in reducing the severity of poverty in countries with lower per capita earned-income levels and in reducing the incidence of poverty in those with higher per capita earned incomes.

Living Conditions of Elderly Adults

ECLAC launched several activities relating to the celebration of the International Year of Older Persons in 1999, with the aim of contributing to the development of strategies that will lead "toward a society for all ages". Among other things, it undertook to study the challenges posed by the ageing of the population and to conduct research on the living conditions of the region's elderly.

All Latin American and Caribbean nations are faced, to a greater or lesser extent, with the challenges posed by the ageing of the population. In particular, these challenges arise in three main spheres: the market, society and the State. As the population ages, changes take place in both the labour market and the markets for goods and services. New patterns of family organization emerge, and communities and civil society at large come up with different responses to changes in senior citizens' levels of well-being, social integration and use of free time. The State faces new social tensions arising from the need to finance health and pension systems and from changes in the dynamics of economic dependency between generations and from intergenerational competition for jobs.

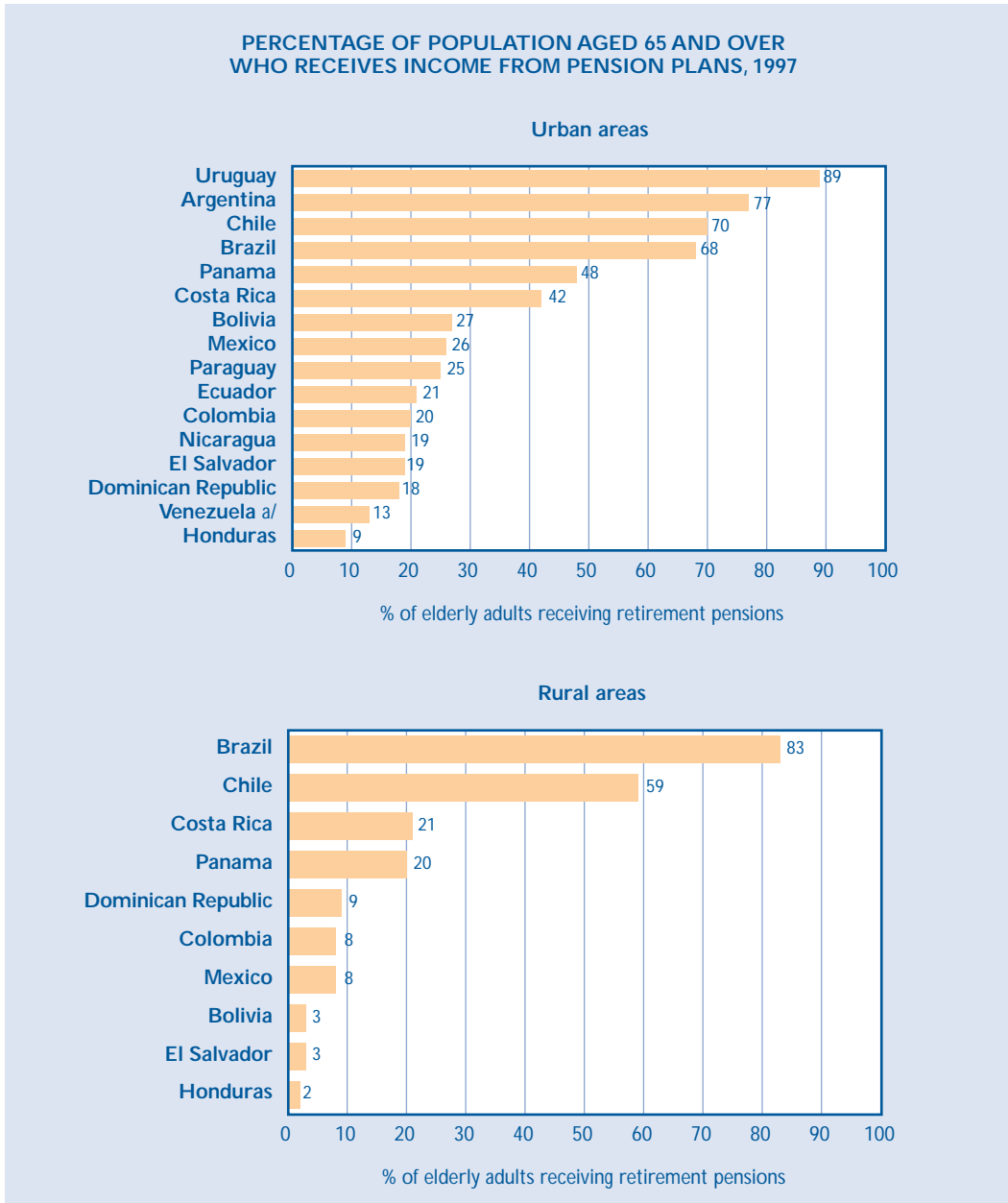
Faced with the ageing of their populations, Latin American nations are forced to deal with a variety of situations, depending on what stage they are at in the demographic transition. The countries that are furthest along in the process, in which more than 10% of the population is 60 or older, are the first to face the social and economic challenges that this phenomenon entails. In the coming decades, however, these challenges will fall principally on the shoulders of countries that are currently in full demographic transition, that is, those with the highest population density, which also happen to have high levels of poverty.

Towards the end of the 1990s, the rise in the population aged 60 or over has been reflected in the fact that, on average, one in four Latin American households includes at least one elderly adult. In addition, mainly because of their socio-economic situation, the vast majority of these adults live in extended or combined families, and only a small fraction —less than 30%— are able to live in autonomous family units.

To a large extent, family living arrangements are a response to the low income levels and the vulnerability of the elderly population resulting from the limited coverage afforded by the region's pension and health systems. Indeed, in most countries, more than half of all elderly adults do not receive any retirement pension, and this reinforces the need to obtain income through participation in the labour market (see figure 2). Furthermore, between 40% and 60% of the population aged 60 and over do not receive income from any of these sources. Estimates based on household survey data show that in 10 out of 16 Latin American countries (Bolivia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Venezuela), the pension system covered no more than 25% of retirement-age citizens in the mid-1990s.

Although several countries made important changes in their pension systems in the 1980s and 1990s, coverage is not likely to be increased significantly in the next few years, as long as benefits continue to depend heavily on whether a person has participated in the formal economy during his or her working life (since the mid-1980s, the share of the formal sector in total employment has not increased). It should also be noted that low-coverage retirement systems tends to benefit the better-educated population which has received higher employment income during working years. Thus, in countries with very limited pension coverage, the percentage of pensioners with 10 or more years of schooling is six times greater, on average, than that of pensioners with six years or fewer of schooling. These differences fall to less than a third in those countries in the region that have intermediate coverage levels, and they practically disappear in

Figure 2



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries concerned.

a/ National total.

countries where about 70% of the population aged 60 or over is covered by a pension plan.

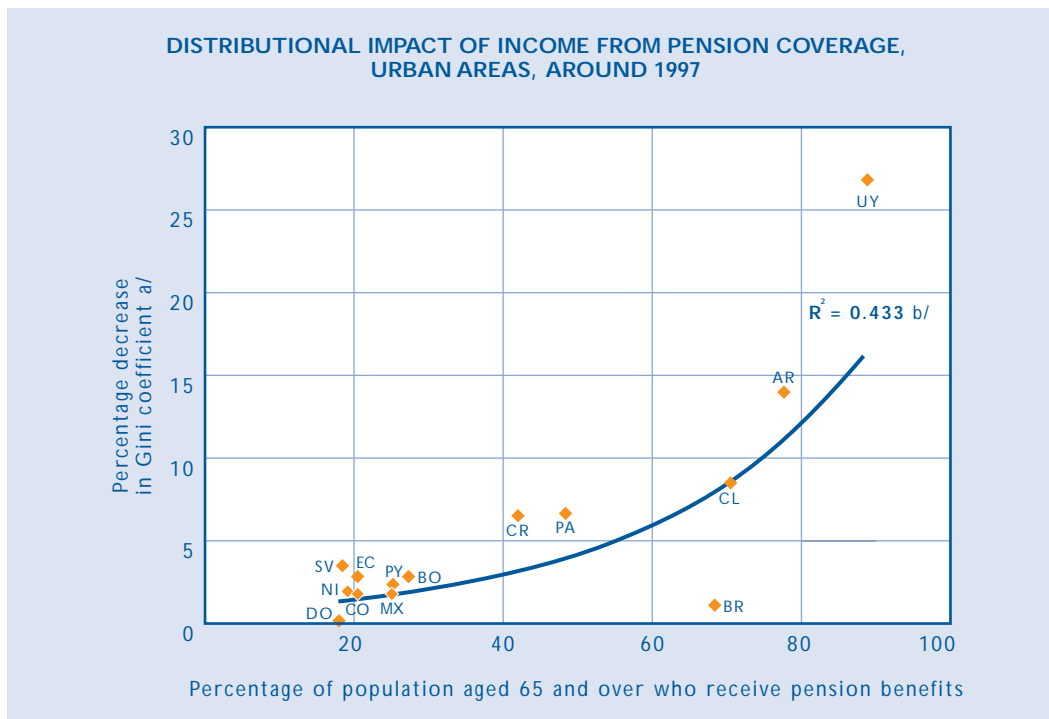
Expanding coverage not only improves the well-being of the elderly population, but also attenuates, in some cases, and reduces significantly, in others, disparities in income distribution. Indeed, in countries with a very limited level of pension coverage (less than 30% of the population aged 65 and older) the aggregate effect on income distribution is minor, such that the Gini coefficient hardly varies at all (less than 3%) when payments from the pension system are subtracted from family income. That

variation rises considerably in countries with an intermediate level of coverage (40% to 50%), where the Gini coefficient declines considerably more, that is, by 6%-8%. In Argentina and Uruguay, where more than 75% of the urban elderly population is covered by pensions, the Gini coefficient declines by 14% in the former country and 26%, in the latter (see figure 3). Hence, income from retirement pensions will become increasingly important as the population ages, and pension plans and the income derived from them will become an increasingly important factor in public policy in the coming decades.

In any case, the study shows that the socio-economic situation of elderly adults improved significantly between 1990 and 1997, owing primarily to the overall economic growth of that period. In Brazil and Uruguay, this improvement was especially marked, thanks to the impact of constitutional reforms on the social security systems in those countries.

Among the aforementioned improvements, the reduction of poverty among senior citizens in two-thirds of the countries analysed merits particular attention. This achievement is obviously associated with the progress made by society in protecting the elderly, along with moderate increases in pension coverage, the proportion of elderly adults who work and the real income they receive from one or the other source. Thus, between 1990 and 1997, the percentage of persons aged 60 and over who received income from retirement pensions rose on average by 3% in urban areas. Finally, it is worth noting that in the vast majority of countries, in

Figure 3



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries concerned.

a/ Refers to the percentage decrease in the Gini coefficient of household income, considering income from pensions as part of total household income.

b/ Coefficient resulting from an exponential adjustment.

both urban and rural areas, the percentage of persons aged 60 and over who did not receive an income from either of these sources (pensions or employment) declined or remained the same during the first eight years of the 1990s. The proportion of elderly adults who were in this situation of serious socio-economic vulnerability is still too high, however, as it stands at one-third.

Opportunities for Well-being Among Children and Adolescents

During the first eight years of the 1990s, the incidence of poverty in Latin America declined in a large number of countries, especially in urban areas, and yet the total number of children and adolescents (under age 20) living in poverty remained at about 100 million. Given the population growth rate and the effects of the crisis of the 1998-1999 biennium—which exacerbated poverty in some countries and caused a weakening of the incipient positive trends in other countries—this figure is likely to be about 117 million by the year 2000. This means that more than half the poor population of the region (about 52%) is made up of children and adolescents. Of this total, nearly 39 million are 0 to 5 years old and about 43 million are 6 to 12 years old. At the dawn of the twenty-first century, more than half the population living in poverty are children and adolescents and conversely, more than half of all children and adolescents are living in poverty.

An analysis of the figures on the incidence of poverty by age bracket in 16 Latin American countries shows that this phenomenon disproportionately affects children and adolescents. In fact, in 1997 the percentage of children aged 0 to 5 who live in poverty (58%) was 14 points higher than that of the population as a whole; among children aged 6 to 12, the incidence of poverty was 13 points higher than the overall average, and among 13-to-19-year-olds, it was 3 points higher. This situation may be attributed to the tremendous vulnerability of large families—those with a large number of children—which are precisely the ones that have the fewest breadwinners in relation to the total number of household members. Moreover, these families are in an earlier stage of the family life cycle and have fewer resources, partly because the women (spouses) are less likely to be participating in the workforce.

In analysing the main determinants of opportunities for well-being during childhood, the authors of the study considered the risks faced by children under the age of six, especially boys and girls whose mothers had a limited education, given that it is the mothers who are largely responsible for the nurture and socialization of these children during the pre-school phase. Indeed, a number of studies have shown that the mother's educational level is the socio-economic factor that is most associated with child mortality and morbidity. The background information gathered from household surveys indicates that despite improvements in educational levels among the population of Latin America—increased coverage of secondary education and a rise in the average years of schooling, especially among women—towards the end of the 1990s, the percentage of urban pre-schoolers whose mother had not completed primary school ranged from 40% to 50% in 10 out of 16 countries, and in the other six countries, the percentage ranged from 13% to 18%. In rural areas, the figure ranged from 65% to 85% in six out of 10 countries analysed,

Table 5

MAGNITUDE OF POVERTY a/ IN LATIN AMERICA b/ BY AGE GROUPS, 1990-1997 (Percentage of population)							
	Year	Total population	Age group			Total 0 - 19	Total 20 and over
			0 - 5	6 - 12	13 - 19		
National	1990	48	59	59	50	56	40
	1997	44	58	57	47	54	35
Urban	1990	41	51	52	44	49	35
	1997	37	49	48	40	46	29
Rural	1990	65	74	74	64	71	57
	1997	63	75	76	66	73	55
Population living in poverty (thousands)							
National	1990	200 200	37 375	41 608	31 487	110 470	89 730
	1997	204 000	36 871	41 199	32 525	110 594	93 406
Urban	1990	121 700	20 872	24 335	19 943	65 150	56 550
	1997	125 800	21 428	24 589	20 787	66 804	58 996
Rural	1990	78 500	16 503	17 273	11 544	45 320	33 180
	1997	78 200	15 443	16 610	11 738	43 791	34 409

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries and population data from ECLAC Population Division – Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE).

a/ Refers to percentage and number of persons in households with incomes under the poverty line. Includes indigent population.

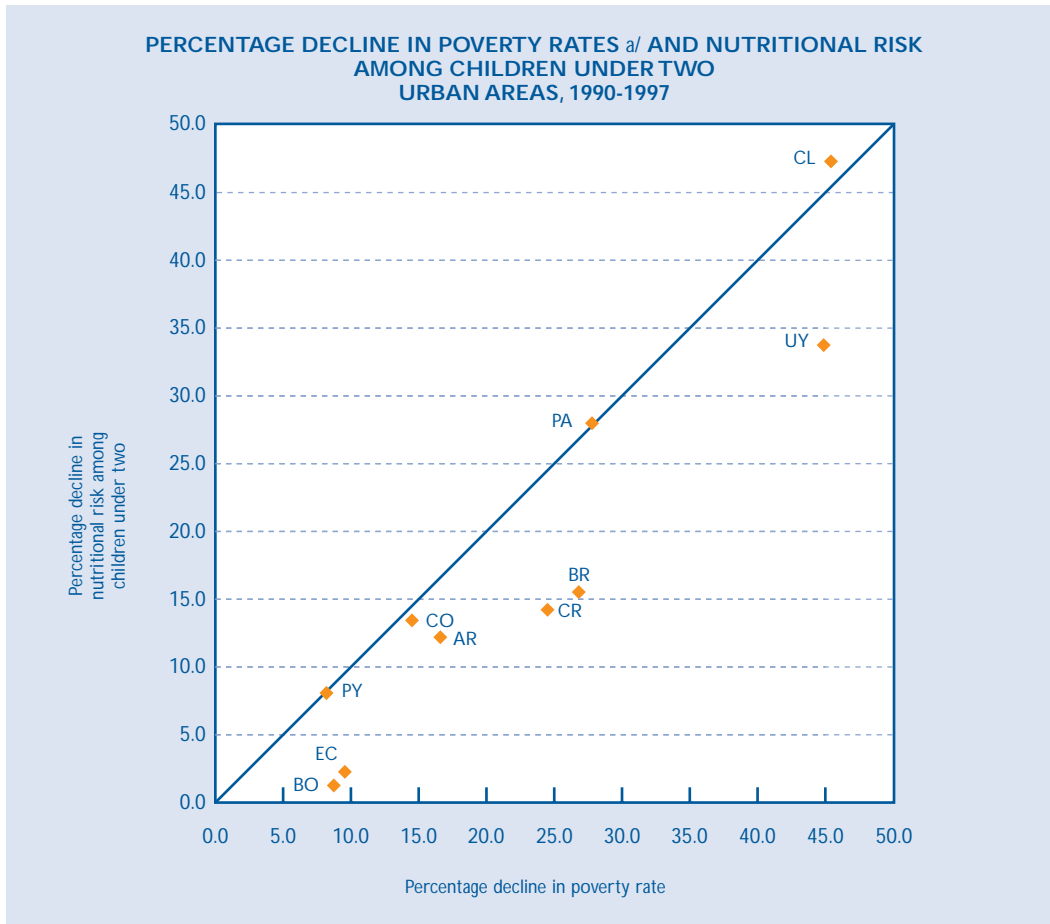
b/ Estimates for 19 countries in the region.

and from 30% to 40% in the remaining four countries. In most countries in the region, a very high percentage of young people in the new generation who enter primary school and begin accumulating educational capital will be at an obvious disadvantage in comparison with children from homes with a better educational environment who enjoy greater opportunities.

This disadvantage becomes even more obvious when a study is made of the inequalities among children of different social strata in regard to one of the main risk factors, namely, food insecurity during the early years of life. An inadequate diet, the effect and prevalence of infectious diseases and the consequences of these factors in terms of malnutrition at an early age all determine a child's growth much more than genetic factors. Thus, child malnutrition is a variable that is highly sensitive to socio-economic conditions. An extreme lack of resources in a household to meet the basic needs of all its members, coupled with a deficient educational environment are, for the reasons stated above, key factors in the dietary risks faced by children in the region.

Around 1997, the percentage of children under age two who lived in households having a per capita income of less than 75% of the poverty line and whose mothers had not completed primary school (an indicator of high nutritional risk) ranged from 20% to 50% in the vast majority of countries in the region. These high percentages—which correlate closely with malnutrition and child mortality rates in these countries—clearly show the persistence of factors of extreme vulnerability among the region's children. It should be noted that although significant reductions

Figure 4



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

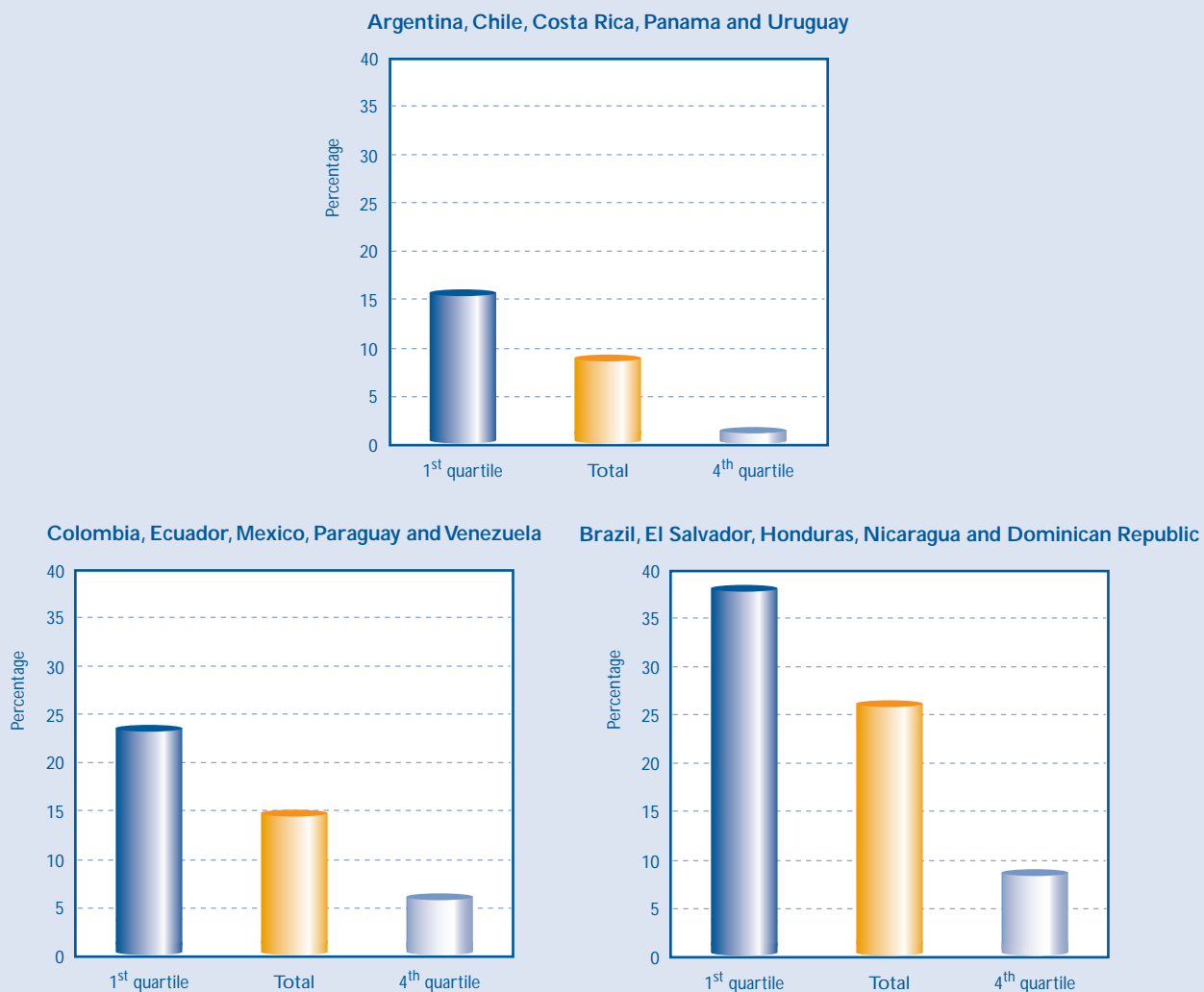
^{a/} Refers to percentage variation in per capita urban poverty rates.

in urban poverty were achieved between 1990 and 1997, nutritional risk among children under age two, which is associated with structural poverty, was reduced by considerably less in most countries, as illustrated in figure 4. This factor and other elements of risk contribute to differences in educational achievement, and hence in future opportunities for well-being, among children in different socio-economic strata.

In fact, the high drop-out rate before completion of primary school or basic education in many countries, as well as differences in achievement among boys and girls from different income levels, are indications of the fact that even in the earliest stage of accumulation of educational capital, risk factors associated with circumstances in the child's household have a different impact on performance among children in different socio-economic strata (see figure 5).

Figure 5

PERCENTAGE OF BOYS AND GIRLS AGED 14 WHO HAD NOT COMPLETED SIX YEARS OF SCHOOLING, IN HIGHEST AND LOWEST INCOME QUARTILES a/ URBAN AREAS, ESTIMATES FOR 2000 b/



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Figures for first and fourth quartiles refer to children from households in the 25% lowest and the 25% highest income brackets, respectively.

b/ Simple average for the countries.

Social Agenda: drugs

The problems associated with the production, trafficking and use of drugs in Latin America affect quality of life, contribute to social exclusion and the weakening of institutions, generate increased insecurity and violence, and undermine governance in some countries. As a result of citizen concern and government assessments of the situation, more resources have been devoted to the strengthening of public policies and agencies so as to reduce the supply of and demand for drugs and to deal with drug-related crime and other consequences of drug trafficking and use.

More and more, the drug issue has become a matter for discussion on the international political scene, and intergovernmental accords in this regard are becoming more and more common. The topic of drugs has become increasingly prominent on the agenda of presidential summits in the hemisphere. At the Summits of the Americas (beginning with the second one, held in Santiago, Chile in 1998) and the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to the combat against the illicit production, sale, demand, traffic and distribution of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances and related activities (held between 8 and 10 June 1998), a new international consensus was developed for multilateral and bilateral cooperation within the framework of what is known as **shared responsibility**. An impartial, technical system has been set up to assess the progress made by different countries on actions related to the new consensus, with the Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD), an arm of the Organization of American States (OAS), serving as the evaluating body. The problem is now being dealt with at the regional level (especially in the Americas, but also in the European region, including the European Union), and international drug trafficking and related offences are considered “transnational offences”. Thus, a comprehensive approach is being taken whereby all aspects of the problem are addressed at the hemisphere-wide level, including the supply of and the demand for illicit drugs, as well as related crimes.

The problem of drugs in Latin America

Latin America is the centre for world production of coca leaf, cocaine base paste and cocaine hydrochloride. Nearly all the production of coca leaf takes place in Bolivia, Colombia and Peru, and estimates of the area under cultivation indicate that during the 1990s, production increased in Colombia—despite significant enforcement efforts—and fell in Bolivia and Peru.

Marijuana is also produced in several countries and areas, both for domestic consumption and for export, and poppies are increasingly being grown for the production of opium and heroin. As for drug trafficking, the Caribbean continues to be the route of choice for bringing drugs to the United States, although the Pacific route, passing through Central America, has also become important. River transport through Brazil from coca- and cocaine-producing countries has also been on the rise lately.

Large numbers of rural and indigenous inhabitants have become involved in the cultivation of drug crops, and this situation has continued, since these illicit crops are highly profitable and thus yield good incomes. The main difficulties encountered in crop-substitution efforts have to do with the price gap between legal and illegal products, but also

with the fact that peasants and indigenous peoples have little access to credit, technology and suitable markets for their traditional goods, and that small-scale farmers have problems gaining access to land.

In many urban enclaves in Latin America, drug trafficking is creating or reinforcing a culture of illegality that undermines the standards of community life. In this culture, crime is accepted as a means of resolving conflicts; low-income users get involved in trafficking in order to obtain drugs; neighbourhoods with a high incidence of drug trafficking become more violent and unsafe; and the residents' feeling of insecurity increases. At present, large-scale trafficking poses a constant threat of corruption among public agencies and financial institutions because of the high sums of money they handle, and small-scale trafficking is a constant threat to the basic norms of coexistence in the areas where it takes place.

The problem of drug use is particularly serious among youths in every country of the region, and much more so among young men than among young women. Marijuana, cocaine base paste, crack and cocaine hydrochloride are the most frequently used illicit drugs in the region, and they are increasingly creating problems among young people and adolescents, especially those who are highly vulnerable socially.

Surveys show that drug use affects young people at all socio-economic levels. However, studies of a more qualitative nature, especially those in which drug use is analysed in conjunction with other quality-of-life variables, indicate that low-income urban youths are more vulnerable to the negative consequences of drug use—a sharp decline in self-esteem, serious socialization problems, an irreversible decline in school or job performance and the breakdown of family life—and these effects may in turn be considered risk factors leading to further drug use.

Unlike drug-use surveys and law-enforcement statistics, the data provided by treatment centres make it possible to establish differences among drugs according to the damage they do to a person's health. Alcohol and tobacco, followed by marijuana, are clearly the gateway drugs that patients in treatment centres most frequently reported using. The illicit drugs that have the most serious effect on health, however, are cocaine or crack and alcohol, which are much more harmful than marijuana.

The governmental perspective

According to an ECLAC survey conducted among agencies charged with preventing drug use and controlling the traffic of illicit drugs, the governments of most countries in the region share the concern that drug use is on the rise among young people, who are beginning to take drugs at earlier ages. With respect to drug trafficking, the main problems mentioned by the governments are an increase in the trafficking of drugs (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico) and of chemical precursors (Colombia, Ecuador), the use of their countries as transit points on the way to the United States and Western Europe (Costa Rica, Mexico, Panama, Dominican Republic) and an increase in small-scale trafficking (Chile).

The authorities believe that the groups that are most seriously affected by drug use are generally those that are most vulnerable socially, as well as young people in general

(Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico and Panama). Some of the specialized agencies consider that special attention should be paid to street children, jail inmates and juvenile offenders (Bolivia, Costa Rica, Panama). The authorities surveyed (Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico, Uruguay and Venezuela) also believe that this vulnerable population of drug users is becoming increasingly isolated socially, as a result of both internal dynamics and external sanctions.

Governmental efforts to combat drugs in the region have focused on prevention, law enforcement or a combination of the two approaches. In particular, national plans have been drawn up which place special emphasis on the multisectoral approach, on networks and on the implementation of an integrated information system. The primary objectives of such measures are to strengthen the legal and institutional systems, to reduce the supply of and demand for drugs, to develop human and technical resources and to promote greater international cooperation in the control and prevention of drug trafficking and money laundering. According to the officials who responded to the ECLAC survey, their governments agree that a successful prevention policy needs to be comprehensive; thus, it must be designed to improve the quality of life of the subjects, their families and their communities and to provide a social environment that will offer opportunities for enhancing the development of the most troubled groups.

The governments' approach suggests that a drug prevention and control policy should achieve the following: target prevention and enforcement efforts, so as to concentrate on high-risk populations and control supply more effectively; optimize impact so as to enhance social well-being or quality of life, or, conversely, minimize the negative social, economic and political consequences of drug use and trafficking; target treatment and rehabilitation efforts to ensure that they are appropriate; gradually bring prevention efforts to the municipal level, since the local arena is the best place to promote systematic responses and encourage community participation; emphasize prevention campaigns that foster better communication and conversation in the family and the educational and healthcare environments; and enact legislation to improve the effectiveness of enforcement measures aimed at controlling the supply of drugs and combating related crimes.



Poverty and social vulnerability

A. Progress and setbacks in the struggle against poverty

Over the past two years a group of countries in Latin America and the Caribbean have succeeded in reducing their poverty levels, while in a number of others the positive trend observed in the first eight years of the 1990s has been halted. It must be assumed that in all of them there has been an increase in the percentage of households that are vulnerable to poverty, as they have been faced with growing income fluctuations and with restrictions on access to social services. The lack of job security affecting a high proportion of workers and the difficulty of gaining access to social security and unemployment insurance, at a time when open unemployment is on the rise and fiscal conditions remain tight, have contributed to this greater income variability and to the heterogeneity of poverty, and thus pose a major challenge for public policies aimed at overcoming poverty.

1. Recent developments

A number of Latin American countries managed to escape the worst consequences of the Asian crisis and achieve positive growth rates in the period 1998-1999, thanks to the more favourable external conditions created by the dynamism of the United States economy, the strength of the countries' approach to the modernization and expansion of production and their use of flexible public policies to neutralize the impact of the severe deterioration of the international economic climate. By contrast, another group of countries, mainly in South America, were profoundly affected by the crisis, thereby revealing weaknesses that were greater than had been anticipated.

The countries most affected by the crisis saw output stagnate or decline and unemployment rise, particularly in 1999. Nonetheless, in most cases inflation was kept under control, and public spending helped offset the signs of recession. Given these circumstances, there is every indication of a setback in the reduction of poverty that had been achieved in these countries during the 1990s; in countries where recession was most severe, there is likely to be an increase in the percentage of households that live in poverty.

Recessive tendencies spread across the economies of certain countries during the second half of 1998, lasting on into 1999. In that year, the greatest falls in

per capita gross domestic product (GDP) occurred in Andean Community countries (Ecuador: -9%; Venezuela: -8.8%; Colombia: -6.9%). The countries of the Southern Common Market (Mercosur) and Chile also posted negative rates. Mexico, Central America and the larger Caribbean countries weathered the crisis better: most of them had slower growth than in 1997, but in some (Dominican Republic and Nicaragua), growth was maintained, while in others (Costa Rica and Cuba), it actually increased. The countries in this subregion thus showed much less vulnerability to international financial turbulence and falling raw material prices than the South American countries, so much so that they not only neutralized these effects, but in most cases succeeded in reducing poverty levels. Nonetheless, in the region as a whole, the rate of change in per capita GDP fell from 3.7% in 1997 to 0.4% in 1998 and -1.6% in 1999, which suggests an increase in the numbers living in poverty.

This situation was strongly reflected in the labour market. Urban unemployment in Latin America rose from 7.3% to 8.7% of the active population between 1997 and 1999, with increases of more than two percentage points in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela. The rate for the region as a whole could have risen even more had it not been for the performance of Mexico, where unemployment fell from 3.7% to 2.5% between those years, thereby considerably reversing the effect of the 1995 crisis.

With some exceptions, growth in the active population did not play a major role in this rise in unemployment. From 1997 to 1999, the urban participation rate rose by around three percentage points in Colombia and Venezuela and one and a half points in Uruguay. This may account for some of the higher unemployment figures in those countries, but not in the region as a whole. On the contrary, the participation rate actually fell (mainly in 1999), the bulk of this decline being accounted for by the countries with the largest populations, such as Brazil and Mexico (ILO, 1999a). The basic reason for the

increase in unemployment, therefore, was insufficient job creation and, in some countries, net destruction of jobs. Since the working-age population grew normally, this means that the employment rate —i.e., the number of employed workers as a percentage of the working-age population— fell from almost 54% in 1997 to 52.5% in 1999 (ECLAC, 1999a).

Real wages are another factor that has a direct influence on poverty levels. As shown in table I.1, during the period 1998–1999, wages declined to some extent in most of the countries. One exception is Mexico, where the recovery in real wages continued slowly, although in 1999 they were still some 20% below 1994 levels. There were also improvements in Bolivia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Uruguay. These data on real wages, however, generally refer to the formal sector of the economies, and in some countries are confined to the manufacturing sector; therefore, they do not reflect the situation of a majority of workers. In fact, the percentage of employees covered by these statistics has been declining, owing to the changes that have taken place in the structure of employment.

Considering the situation described, therefore, it is very likely that the favourable trend in the region's poverty indicators during the first eight years of the 1990s fell off towards the end of the decade. The incidence of poverty fell by five percentage points over those eight years, from 41% in 1990 to 38% in 1994 and 36% in 1997¹, thus restraining the increase in the absolute number of people living in poverty, which was estimated at around 200 million. This positive trend was very apparent both in urban areas, where the rate fell from 35% of households in 1990 to 30% in 1997, and in rural ones, where it fell from 58% to 54% between those same years (see table I.2).

Progress was also made in this period as regards the indices of indigence or extreme poverty, which declined from 18% to 15% of households for the region as a whole, with the differences between

¹ In terms of the proportion of the population living in poverty, the figures were 48%, 46% and 44% respectively.

Table I.1

LATIN AMERICA (19 COUNTRIES): CHANGES IN SELECTED SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS, 1990-1999									
Country Period	GDP (Average annual rate of change) a/	Urban unemployment	Average real wages b/	Urban minimum wage c/	Country Period	GDP (Average annual rate of change) a/	Urban unemployment	Average real wages b/	Urban minimum wage c/
			(Average annual rate of change)					(Average annual rate of change)	
Argentina					Honduras				
1990-1997	3.6	11.5	0.4	1.0	1990-1997	0.2	6.3	...	0.8
1998-1999	-0.9	13.6	-0.1	-0.7	1998-1999	-2.1	5.3	...	5.1
Bolivia					Mexico				
1990-1997	1.9	5.2	2.4	6.4	1990-1997	1.3	3.8	-0.3	-5.6
1998-1999	0.7	5.1	1.8	8.7	1998-1999	2.7	2.9	1.6	-0.2
Brazil					Nicaragua				
1990-1997	0.6	5.1	0.1	-1.1	1990-1997	-0.5	14.9	6.2	...
1998-1999	-0.8	7.6	-1.7	3.3	1998-1999	2.7	12.0	5.2	...
Chile					Panama				
1990-1997	5.3	7.0	3.2	5.5	1990-1997	3.4	17.2	...	1.1
1998-1999	0.1	8.1	2.5	4.6	1998-1999	2.3	14.6	...	0.8
Colombia					Paraguay				
1990-1997	2.0	10.1	0.9	-0.7	1990-1997	0.0	5.9	1.0	-1.3
1998-1999	-3.9	17.4	0.1	0.1	1998-1999	-2.7	8.0	-1.0	1.7
Costa Rica					Peru				
1990-1997	1.3	5.3	0.9	0.7	1990-1997	2.3	8.5	0.0	0.8
1998-1999	5.2	5.8	4.6	3.6	1998-1999	-0.8	8.8	-2.0	39.6
Ecuador					Dominican Republic				
1990-1997	0.9	8.5	...	3.5	1990-1997	1.4	17.7	...	0.3
1998-1999	-6.2	13.0	...	-5.4	1998-1999	5.1	14.1	...	2.8
El Salvador					Uruguay				
1990-1997	2.8	7.9	...	-1.4	1990-1997	2.3	9.8	0.0	-7.8
1998-1999	0.9	7.3	...	-0.6	1998-1999	0.2	10.7	1.7	0.7
Guatemala					Venezuela				
1990-1997	1.3	3.8	...	-13.1	1990-1997	1.6	9.6	...	-3.9
1998-1999	1.7	5.5	...	-1.9	1998-1999	-5.5	13.1	...	-7.8
Haiti					Latin America				
1990-1997	-3.9	...	...	-8.0	1990-1997	1.4	6.0	...	...
1998-1999	0.9	...	...	-12.6	1998-1999	-0.5	8.4	...	...

Source: ECLAC, based on official figures.

a/ Based on per capita (pc) GDP in dollars, at constant 1995 prices. The figure for 1999 is a preliminary estimate.

b/ Generally speaking, the coverage of this index is very incomplete. In most of the countries, it relates only to formal workers in the industrial sector. The figure for 1999 is a preliminary estimate.

c/ In this indicator, the percentage change given for 1998-1999 actually relates to 1997-1998, as there are no estimates for 1999.

...: No data available.

urban and rural areas being similar to those mentioned earlier in relation to total poverty. While in urban areas these indices fell from 12% to 10%, in rural ones they fell from 34% to 31%² (see table I.3).

Two studies produced by ECLAC since the publication of *Social Panorama of Latin America, 1998* deal with the situation in Chile and Mexico in the period 1997-1998, providing material for the study of recent poverty trends in those countries³.

2 For a detailed analysis of changes in poverty and indigence levels between 1990 and 1997, both in the region as a whole and in the different countries, see ECLAC (1999b).

3 The surveys used as the basis for the two studies cover the fourth quarters of 1996 and 1998 and thus show the effect of developments during 1997 and 1998.

Table I.2

LATIN AMERICA (18 COUNTRIES): POVERTY INDICATORS, a/ 1990-1997 (Percentages)													
Country	Year	Households and population below the poverty line b/											
		Total for country				Urban areas				Rural areas			
		H		PG	FGT ₂	H		PG	FGT ₂	H		PG	FGT ₂
		Households	Population			Households	Population			Households	Population		
Argentina c/	1990	-	-	-	-	16	21	7.2	3.4	-	-	-	-
	1994	-	-	-	-	10	13	4.3	1.9	-	-	-	-
	1997	-	-	-	-	13	18	6.2	3.1	-	-	-	-
Bolivia d/	1989	-	-	-	-	49	53	24.5	15.0	-	-	-	-
	1994	-	-	-	-	46	52	21.6	11.8	-	-	-	-
	1997	-	-	-	-	44	49	19.9	11.0	-	-	-	-
Brazil	1997	57	62	33.6	22.8	(47)	(52)	(23.2)	(13.6)	72	79	51.0	38.1
	1990	41	48	23.5	14.7	36	41	18.9	11.4	64	71	38.9	25.7
	1993	37	45	21.7	13.6	33	40	18.2	11.0	53	63	34.3	23.0
Chile	1996	29	36	16.7	10.4	25	31	13.5	8.2	46	56	29.0	19.0
	1990	33	39	14.7	7.9	33	38	14.8	7.9	34	40	14.6	7.8
	1994	23	29	9.7	5.0	23	28	9.6	5.0	26	32	10.4	5.1
Colombia	1996	20	23	7.8	3.8	19	22	7.4	3.6	26	31	10.2	4.9
	1998	18	22	7.5	3.8	17	21	7.2	3.7	23	28	9.1	4.3
	1991	50	56	24.9	14.5	47	53	22.0	12.1	55	61	28.9	17.7
Costa Rica	1994	47	53	26.6	17.5	41	45	20.2	11.9	57	62	35.7	25.3
	1997	45	51	22.9	13.8	40	45	19.1	10.8	54	60	28.9	18.1
	1990	24	26	10.7	6.5	22	25	9.3	5.6	25	27	11.7	7.2
Ecuador	1994	21	23	8.6	5.0	18	21	7.2	4.0	23	25	9.8	5.8
	1997	20	23	8.5	4.9	17	19	7.1	4.0	23	25	9.6	5.6
	1990	-	-	-	-	56	62	27.6	15.8	-	-	-	-
El Salvador	1994	-	-	-	-	52	58	26.2	15.6	-	-	-	-
	1997	-	-	-	-	50	56	23.9	13.5	-	-	-	-
	1995	48	54	24.0	14.3	40	46	17.8	9.7	58	64	31.3	19.8
Guatemala	1997	48	56	24.3	13.9	39	44	17.5	9.4	62	69	32.7	19.3
	1989	63	69	32.6	20.7	48	53	23.0	14.1	72	78	38.2	24.6
	1990	75	81	50.2	35.9	65	70	39.0	25.8	84	88	58.0	42.9
Honduras	1994	73	78	45.3	31.3	70	75	41.2	27.4	76	81	48.4	34.2
	1997	74	79	45.6	30.8	67	73	39.0	25.2	80	84	50.7	35.2
	1989	39	48	18.7	9.9	34	42	15.8	8.1	49	57	23.5	12.7
Mexico	1994	36	45	17.0	8.4	29	37	12.6	5.8	47	57	22.9	12.0
	1996	43	52	21.8	11.7	38	45	17.4	8.7	53	63	28.2	15.9
	1998	38	47	18.4	9.4	31	39	13.4	6.4	49	59	25.6	13.9
Nicaragua	1997	-	-	-	-	66	72	38.1	24.5	-	-	-	-
Panama	1991	36	43	19.2	11.5	34	41	17.9	10.9	43	51	22.5	12.8
	1994	30	36	15.8	9.0	25	31	13.1	7.5	41	49	22.1	12.8
	1997	27	33	10.6	6.2	25	30	9.5	5.7	34	42	13.2	7.4
Paraguay	1990e/	-	-	-	-	37	42	16.1	8.0	-	-	-	-
	1994	-	-	-	-	35	50	20.7	11.5	-	-	-	-
	1996	-	-	-	-	34	46	18.5	9.8	-	-	-	-
Peru f/	1995	41	48	-	-	33	38	-	-	56	65	-	-
	1997	37	44	-	-	25	30	-	-	61	69	-	-
Dominican Republic	1997	32	37	15.3	8.5	32	36	14.1	7.7	34	39	16.7	9.5
	1990	-	-	-	-	12	18	5.3	2.4	-	-	-	-
	1994	-	-	-	-	6	10	2.9	1.3	-	-	-	-
Uruguay	1997	-	-	-	-	6	10	2.8	1.2	-	-	-	-
	1990	34	40	15.9	8.7	33	39	15.4	8.4	38	47	18.8	10.0
	1994	42	49	19.9	10.8	41	47	19.0	10.3	48	56	23.8	13.2
Venezuela	1997	42	48	21.1	12.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1990	41	48	-	-	35	41	-	-	58	65	-	-
	1994	38	46	-	-	32	39	-	-	56	65	-	-
Latin America g/	1997	36	44	-	-	30	37	-	-	54	63	-	-

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys from the countries concerned.

a/ For the definition of each indicator, see box I.2, where H is the poverty incidence index, PG is the poverty gap, and FGT2 is the poverty severity index.

b/ Includes households (individuals) living in indigence or extreme poverty.

c/ Greater Buenos Aires.

d/ Eight departmental capitals plus the city of El Alto. The figures in brackets for 1997 show the total for the urban areas of the country.

e/ Asunción metropolitan area.

f/ Figures provided by the Peruvian National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (INEI), based on the National Household Survey (ENAHO) for 1995 and 1997 (fourth quarter).

g/ Estimate for 19 countries in the region.

The changes that occurred in the pace of economic activity differed considerably between the two. In Chile, growth slowed down from the second quarter of 1998 onwards, so that by the fourth quarter of that year output had dropped relative to the previous year. In Mexico, by contrast, a recovery began the year after the 1995 crisis, and this was particularly strong during the period 1997-1998. Nevertheless, an analysis of the change in the output levels of the two countries over the aforementioned two-year period shows that cumulative economic growth in Chile was over 10% and per capita output grew by around 8%. In Mexico, the figures were 12% and 8.5% respectively.

Set against the changes in the poverty situation of these countries, employment followed a very different path. In the specific case of Chile, open unemployment rose from 5.7% to 9.9% between November 1996 and the same month in 1998, according to the national socio-economic survey (CASEN), even though the monthly indicator of economic activity (IMACEC) calculated by the Central Bank was some 8.5% higher in November 1998 than it had been in 1996. Furthermore, the distribution of unemployment brings to light very different trends in different occupational strata: while open unemployment in the highest-income decile rose from 0.9% to 2.2% in those two years, in the decile of lowest-income households, it rose from 19.7% to 36.8%.

Given these circumstances, the share of households living in poverty in Chile fell from 19.7% to 17.8%, while the proportion of indigent households remained virtually unchanged, dropping from 4.9% to 4.7%. These figures confirm the sensitivity of households, particularly those in the lowest-income strata, to slowdowns in the growth rate. However, since the slowdown did not lead to a drop in the real wages of most employed people until the end of 1998, the poverty figures declined somewhat, although not as much as might have been expected had economic growth alone been considered.

In the case of Mexico, the period 1997-1998 was one of extraordinary recovery from the losses suffered between 1995 and 1996. As was pointed out in *Social Panorama of Latin America, 1998* (ECLAC, 1999b), the poverty and indigence percentages had risen significantly during the earlier biennium. It is a well-known fact that in Latin America, recession and recovery are far from being symmetrical when it comes to increasing or reducing poverty. Thus, when the proportion of poor households increases by seven percentage points or so, as in the case of Mexico during that biennium, it usually takes even longer to reverse the trend.

The vigour of the Mexican economy in the more recent period and the social policies implemented to meet the needs of those most affected by the crisis brought about a rapid recovery in the social situation, with the percentage of households living in poverty nationally being brought down from somewhat over 43% to 38% between 1996 and 1998. The percentage of households living in indigence or extreme poverty, meanwhile, fell from 16% to around 13%. At the same time, the establishment of programmes to transfer resources to poorer households successfully reduced the severity of poverty among the lowest-income groups.

In this case, the greatest recovery occurred in the field of employment. In 1995 and 1996, unemployment had risen to levels that were completely atypical for Mexico, reaching 7.4% in the third quarter of 1995. By the fourth quarter of 1998, the unemployment rate had fallen to 2.8%, an unusually low level and one of the lowest of the 1990s. This development was particularly significant because it was so different from the situation with respect to real wages which, after reaching a fairly high level in 1993 and 1994, fell by around 30% in 1995, and have recovered only slowly since then. Thus, by the fourth quarter of 1998, they were only around 3% higher than in 1996. Consequently, as and when the effects of economic growth come to be reflected in pay levels, even more substantial reductions can be expected in Mexican poverty and indigence levels.

Table I.3

LATIN AMERICA (18 COUNTRIES): INDIGENCE INDICATORS a/, 1990-1997 (Percentages)													
Countries	Years	Households and population below the indigence line											
		Total for country				Urban areas				Rural areas			
		H	PG	FGT ₂		H	PG	FGT ₂		H	PG	FGT ₂	
		Households	Population			Households	Population			Households	Population		
Argentina b/	1990	-	-	-	-	4	5	1.6	0.8		-	-	-
	1994	-	-	-	-	2	3	0.7	0.3		-	-	-
	1997	-	-	-	-	3	5	1.5	0.7		-	-	-
Bolivia c/	1989	-	-	-	-	22	23	9.7	6.1	-	-	-	-
	1994	-	-	-	-	17	20	6.3	3.0	-	-	-	-
	1997	-	-	-	-	16	19	6.1	3.1	-	-	-	-
	1997	33	33	18.6	12.1	(19)	(23)	(8.4)	(4.6)	54	62	35.6	24.6
Brazil	1990	18	23	9.7	5.5	13	17	6.6	3.7	38	46	20.2	11.6
	1993	15	20	8.7	5.3	12	15	6.1	3.8	30	39	17.8	10.9
	1996	11	14	6.2	4.0	8	10	4.3	2.9	23	30	13.5	8.3
Chile	1990	11	13	4.3	2.3	10	12	4.0	2.1	12	15	5.4	3.0
	1994	6	8	2.6	1.5	6	8	2.5	1.5	8	10	3.2	1.7
	1996	5	6	1.9	1.1	4	5	1.7	1.0	8	9	3.0	1.6
	1998	5	6	2.0	1.1	4	5	1.9	1.1	7	9	2.6	1.2
Colombia	1991	23	26	9.8	5.5	17	20	6.7	3.4	31	34	14.1	8.3
	1994	25	29	13.8	9.1	16	19	7.5	4.5	38	43	22.6	15.6
	1997	20	24	9.6	5.8	15	17	6.1	3.5	29	33	15.1	9.5
Costa Rica	1990	10	10	4.8	3.4	7	6	3.8	2.9	12	13	5.7	3.8
	1994	8	8	3.6	2.4	6	6	2.4	1.6	10	10	4.5	3.1
	1997	7	8	3.5	2.3	5	6	2.4	1.6	9	10	4.3	2.9
Ecuador	1990	-	-	-	-	23	26	9.2	4.9	-	-	-	-
	1994	-	-	-	-	22	26	9.7	5.6	-	-	-	-
	1997	-	-	-	-	19	22	7.7	4.1	-	-	-	-
El Salvador	1995	18	22	9.1	5.6	12	15	5.2	2.9	27	30	13.7	8.8
	1997	19	23	8.4	4.1	12	15	5.5	2.7	28	34	12.1	5.8
Guatemala	1989	37	42	16.3	9.9	23	26	9.2	5.6	45	50	20.5	12.4
Honduras	1990	54	61	31.5	20.2	38	43	18.9	10.8	66	73	40.2	26.6
	1994	49	54	26.3	16.4	41	46	20.3	11.8	55	60	30.8	19.9
	1997	48	54	25.4	15.4	35	42	17.7	10.2	59	64	31.5	19.5
Mexico	1989	14	19	5.9	2.7	9	13	3.9	1.9	23	28	9.0	4.2
	1994	12	17	4.6	1.8	6	9	2.1	0.8	20	28	8.1	3.3
	1996	16	21	7.1	3.3	10	14	3.9	1.6	25	32	11.8	5.8
	1998	13	19	5.3	2.2	7	10	2.5	1.0	23	31	9.5	4.1
Nicaragua	1997	-	-	-	-	36	41	17.0	10.0	-	-	-	-
Panama	1991	16	19	7.9	4.7	14	16	7.3	4.7	21	27	9.4	4.8
	1994	12	16	6.0	3.2	9	11	4.5	2.5	20	26	9.6	4.9
	1997	10	13	3.7	2.3	9	11	3.4	2.1	14	19	4.7	2.7
Paraguay	1990 d/	-	-	-	-	10	13	3.6	1.5	-	-	-	-
	1994	-	-	-	-	15	19	6.5	3.3	-	-	-	-
	1996	-	-	-	-	13	16	5.0	2.4	-	-	-	-
Peru e/	1995	18	23	-	-	10	12	-	-	35	42	-	-
	1997	18	22	-	-	7	9	-	-	41	48	-	-
Dominican Republic	1997	13	14	5.5	3.0	11	12	4.2	2.4	15	18	7.1	3.8
Uruguay	1990	-	-	-	-	2	3	0.9	0.4	-	-	-	-
	1994	-	-	-	-	1	2	0.5	0.2	-	-	-	-
	1997	-	-	-	-	1	2	0.5	0.2	-	-	-	-
Venezuela	1990	12	15	5.1	2.5	11	13	4.8	2.4	17	22	6.9	3.1
	1994	15	19	6.2	3.0	14	17	5.4	2.6	23	28	9.6	4.8
	1997	17	21	7.4	3.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Latin America f/	1990	18	23	-	-	12	15	-	-	34	40	-	-
	1994	16	21	-	-	11	14	-	-	34	41	-	-
	1997	15	19	-	-	10	12	-	-	31	38	-	-

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys from the countries concerned.

a/ For the definition of each indicator, see box I.2, where H is the indigence incidence index, PG is the indigence gap, and FGT₂ is the indigence severity index.

b/ Greater Buenos Aires.

c/ Eight departmental capitals plus the city of El Alto. The figures in brackets for 1997 show the total for the urban areas of the country.

d/ Asunción metropolitan area.

e/ Figures provided by the Peruvian National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (INEI), based on the National Household Survey (ENAHO) for 1995 and 1997 (fourth quarter).

f/ Estimate for 19 countries in the region.

2. The severity of poverty

The changes that took place in the 1990s, and particularly in the 1998-1999 biennium, reveal how stubbornly entrenched and diverse poverty continues to be and, as noted below, how much more vulnerable some large social groups are than others. For this and other reasons, indicators of the incidence of poverty and indigence need to be supplemented by others that can be used in planning specific policies for certain strata of the poor population. In particular, indicators are needed that will cast light on the severity of the poverty and vulnerability that affect huge segments of the Latin American population.

It should be noted that changes in the aforementioned indicator, which shows the proportion of poor people in the population, may not give a true picture of the progress made as a result of certain targeted policy measures that are increasingly being put into effect by the governments of the region. These policies, which may be either long-term or designed to deal with cyclical problems, are normally aimed at bringing the greatest benefits to the most disadvantaged sectors. This is the case, for example, with some comprehensive welfare programmes, such as the Mexican education, health and nutrition programme (Progresá), which are designed to mitigate the severity of poverty and income concentration. Such programmes transfer resources in cash or in kind (goods or services) in amounts that are usually modest but significant for the beneficiary families. By the same token, however, they are not always large enough to enable a household to rise above the poverty threshold.

Consequently, a broader picture is provided when the indicator most commonly used for measuring poverty is supplemented by other indicators, both for the study of trends within individual countries and for comparisons between countries. This makes it possible to assess other aspects of the poverty issue, such as the income deficits affecting deprived families or the distribution of income among the poor (see box I.2).

Thus, a rapid review of the figures included in tables I.2 and I.3 reveals, for example, that in those countries where the incidence of poverty and indigence fell during the first eight years of the 1990s, the decline was accompanied by a significant narrowing of the difference between the average earnings of the poor and the poverty line, and in the index of the severity of poverty (FGT2), which reflects the degree to which income is concentrated among the poor. Nonetheless, the magnitude (percentage) of progress achieved in each of the aspects concerned was not always the same.

These figures also show that, in general, the ranking of the region's countries remains broadly unchanged regardless of the indicator used to classify them. Where urban poverty (for which data are available on more countries) is concerned, Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica and Uruguay are the countries which, in 1997 or thereabouts, had the lowest incidence of poverty, income deficits and income concentration among the poor. Using these same three parameters, Bolivia, Ecuador, Honduras and Nicaragua emerge as the countries with the highest poverty levels of those analysed.

3. "Turnover" of poor households

From a rather different analytical point of view, it has become clear on a number of occasions that poverty does not always affect the same households at all times. On the contrary, there are large sections of the population that are exposed to changes, for better or for worse, in their living conditions at different points in time. The stagnation or reversal of progress in combating poverty in recent years has been aggravated by an increase in this "turnover", which affects a substantial share of poor households.

Previous editions of *Social Panorama* have pointed out that households with incomes of between 0.9 and 1.25 poverty lines are vulnerable to economic

change, even if it is fairly insignificant.⁴ This is evidenced by the fact that the percentage of households in which poverty decreases or increases between two points in time is lower than the percentage of households whose situation actually changes over the same period⁵.

The above is due, among other things, to differences in the probability of poverty occurring in the different occupational categories, urban and rural. As is well known, this depends on the category to which an individual belongs. Thus, for example, among occupations with a significant incidence of poverty, there are striking differences between public-sector workers, non-professional and non-technical private-sector wage earners (depending on the size of the establishment), employees in domestic service and low-skilled own-account workers in industry, construction, trade or services (see tables 16 and 17 of the Statistical Annex).

The profound changes in the structure of employment and production that took place during the 1980s and 1990s, which tended to enlarge the aforementioned occupational segments, had major implications for the "turnover" of poverty. An analysis of the Latin American labour market over the last few years clearly shows that the changes in the production structure have led to an increase in the number of people working in low-productivity jobs, especially non-professional, non-technical workers employed in establishments of less than five people or working on their own account. Alongside this trend, which has become more accentuated over time, there has been a move towards types of contracts and working conditions whose effect is to reduce job security, increase temporary employment and reduce access to social security.

In *Social Panorama of Latin America, 1997* (ECLAC, 1998), a typology of households was explored in which the "turnover" of poverty also emerges as a prominent feature. An analysis was made of households with four or more members whose incomes and educational levels were lower than the average for families generally. It was found that households that were vulnerable to poverty represented very significant shares of the population in most of the countries (between 17% and 45% in 10 countries studied).

This "turnover" of poor households is not necessarily a new phenomenon, nor is it confined to the Latin American countries, as shown in box I.3, which gives figures for 12 European Union (EU) countries and for Canada⁶. Nonetheless, there is every indication that "turnover" increased in the region during the 1990s, and that it will probably continue to increase if economic growth remains slow and unstable, and if there is no change in the type of labour-market flexibility that does not include protection mechanisms, especially unemployment insurance.

Households of more modest means have been forced by a combination of growth and variations in their income to take defensive measures and increase their occupational density, this being understood as the quotient between the number of members who are employed and the total number of people in the household. The entry of women into the labour market has played a central role in this strategy, although it should be noted that the increased female participation in the job market in the countries of the region also reflects a general trend in contemporary society that is associated, among other things, with the demographic transition.

⁴ See, for example, ECLAC (1999b) and table 17 in the Statistical Appendix.

⁵ This is also the situation, for example, with unemployment, since even if the aggregate percentage of open unemployment does not change over a given period, it is not always the same individuals who are unemployed at the beginning and at the end of the period in question.

⁶ See also ECLAC (1995, p. 12). There is still a lack of empirical information to illustrate changes in the composition of the universe of poor households in the region. Such data should be obtained from panel surveys that allow for a longitudinal analysis of data, but they are more common in developed countries.

Government policies aimed at improving access to social services and providing the poor with some measure of protection by way of transfers were more vigorously implemented in the 1990s than they had been in the 1980s (ECLAC, 1999b).

In brief, at the end of the 1990s, there is reason to expect both that poverty will worsen in some of the region's countries and that the "turnover" of poor households will increase in most of them, owing to the rising vulnerability that the new development model has brought with it. Thus, public policies should pursue different objectives, since they are directed at strata of poor households that are clearly differentiated from one another. For example, some households, particularly those included in the "hard-core poverty" category, have serious deficiencies in terms of human capital, assets and income which make it impossible for them to escape poverty unless the State introduces comprehensive policies and programmes that enable them, in the medium and the long term, to overcome the

many acute deprivations they currently suffer. In the meantime, particularly in those countries where indigence is found on a massive scale, income transfers can in the short term lead to a reduction in the severity of poverty, although they may not necessarily do away with it. Other households have been affected by the current flexibility in the labour market, the lack of unemployment insurance and restrictive policies relating to health, education and other areas of social concern, which have left them unprotected and in some cases exposed to the risk of poverty.

Consequently, public anti-poverty policies need to be revamped, so that different types of measures are applied for different target groups. "Hard-core poverty", the growing income instability that leads to "turnover" among poor households and, in general, the phenomenon of social vulnerability as a characteristic of the current development pattern, are all serious and complex challenges that the region will have to address over the coming years.

METHOD USED TO MEASURE POVERTY

The estimates of the magnitude of poverty shown in this report were made by using the “income method”, which is based on the calculation of poverty lines. These lines represent the amount of income required by a household to meet the essential needs of its members. Provided the necessary information was available, the poverty line for each country and geographical area was calculated from the cost of a basic basket of foodstuffs sufficient to cover the nutritional needs of the population, taking into consideration its consumption habits, the actual availability of foodstuffs and their relative prices.

To the value of this basket was then added an estimate of the resources required by households to meet all their basic non-food needs. a/

The indigence line is the cost of the food basket, and people defined as “indigent” (or extremely poor) are those living in households whose incomes are so low that even if they were spent entirely on food, they would not be sufficient to adequately meet all their members’ nutritional needs. In almost all the countries, the value of the poverty line in urban areas was put at twice that of the indigence line, while in rural areas it was estimated at around 75% above the relevant basic food budget. b/

In calculating indigence lines, account was taken of differences in the prices of foodstuffs between metropolitan areas and other urban and rural areas. Generally speaking, when compared to the basic food basket in metropolitan urban areas, the same basket in other urban centres was estimated to be 5% cheaper, while in rural areas it was 25% cheaper.

The information on family incomes was obtained from the household surveys conducted by the different countries. Following standard practice, adjustments were made both for non-response to certain questions on income levels—in the case of wage earners, independent workers and retired people—and for likely distortions caused by under-reporting. This latter adjustment was made by contrasting the income items in the survey with estimates for the household income and expenditure account of the System of National Accounts (SNA), which are based on official information. For the purposes of comparison with the values estimated for the indigence and poverty lines, income was deemed to include earnings from waged work (cash and kind), independent work (including self-supply and consumption of products produced by the household), property rents, pensions and allowances and other transfers received by households. In most of the countries, household income also includes an amount for the imputed rental value of the home when it is owner-occupied.

The percentages of poor and indigent households and individuals were estimated by comparing the monthly per capita value of the poverty and indigence lines with the total income of each household, also expressed in per capita terms. National poverty and indigence indices were calculated as a weighted average of the indices for each geographical area, which means that they are based not only on the incidence of poverty in each area, but also on the percentage of each country’s total population that they represent.

a/ The information on the structure of household consumption, both for food and for other goods and services, was obtained from the family budget surveys carried out in the different countries. Where no data were available from a recent survey of this type, other relevant data on family consumption were used.

b/ The only exceptions to this general rule are Brazil and Peru. In the case of Brazil, use was made of the new indigence lines estimated for different subnational geographical areas in the context of the work carried out by the joint commission set up for this purpose by the Brazilian Geographical and Statistical Institute (IBGE), the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEA) and the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). In the case of Peru, they were calculated by the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (INEI) (see ECLAC, *Social Panorama of Latin America, 1998* (LC/G.2050-P), box I.2, Santiago, Chile, 1999. United Nations publication, Sales No. E.99.II.G.4).

POVERTY MEASUREMENT INDICATORS

Poverty is a highly normative concept; since it is concerned with individual well-being, there is no one definition of the phenomenon and no universal method for measuring it. It is generally agreed, however, that at least two stages are involved in the measuring process: (i) the poor are identified and (ii) poverty is aggregated by means of a synthetic measurement.

The first stage involves setting a threshold called the “poverty line” (z), which is used to identify the population whose per capita income (y_{pc}) is less than the cost of a basket of products that meet basic needs ($y_{pc} < z$) (see box I.1).

Aggregation is accomplished by selecting an indicator based on people's income deficits in relation to the poverty line. A “good” poverty indicator must meet certain criteria, including the following:

- i) **Monotonicity.** Other things being equal, a fall in the income of a poor household should increase the poverty index.
- ii) **Transfer.** Other things being equal, a transfer of income from a poor household to a richer one should increase the value of the poverty indicator.
- iii) **Additive decomposition.** It should be possible to calculate the poverty index for a population as the weighted sum of the indices for the different subgroups making it up.

The most widely used poverty measurements may be summarized from a family of parametric indices proposed by Foster, Greer and Thorbecke (1984): a/

$$FTG_{\alpha} = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^q \left[\frac{z - y_j}{z} \right]^{\alpha} \quad (1)$$

where $\alpha > 0$, and q represents the number of people with incomes lower than z .

When $\alpha = 0$, expression (1) represents what is known as the poverty incidence index (**H**), which shows the proportion of people whose incomes are below the poverty line(z):

$$H = q / n \quad (2)$$

Because this indicator is easy to calculate and interpret, it is the most widely used of all. However, although it can be decomposed additively, it does not meet the first two criteria mentioned above, and therefore has serious limitations where the analysis of poverty is concerned.

When $\alpha = 1$, an indicator is obtained that measures the relative income deficit of the poor with respect to the value of z , and this is known as the poverty gap (**PG**):

$$PG = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^q \left[\frac{z - y_j}{z} \right] \quad (3)$$

Although the “poverty gap” (PG) meets the criterion of monotonicity, it does not meet the transfer criterion; thus, this indicator does not address inequality in the distribution of income among the poor.

Lastly, an index that takes account of both the poverty gap and income distribution is obtained when $\alpha = 2$:

$$FTG_2 = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^q \left[\frac{z - y_j}{z} \right]^2 \quad (4)$$

Although it is less intuitive than the others, this indicator is very useful in policy design and evaluation. Since it satisfies the three criteria referred to above, it can be used to produce conclusive rankings of countries, geographical units or social groups, and thereby ascertain where the most acute poverty is to be found.

a/ See J. Foster, J. Greer and E. Thorbecke, “Notes and comments”, *A Class of Decomposable Poverty Measures*, Evanston, Illinois, 1984.

HOUSEHOLDS ENTERING AND LEAVING POVERTY

The countries that belong to the European Union (EU) and Canada are among those that have developed and regularly apply statistical tools for tracking the position of poor households. The figures for these countries in the 1990s bring to light the frequent changes that occur in family incomes and thus the "turnover" experienced by some of the households that are classified as poor at different points in time.

In the case of the twelve EU countries taken together, the data for the biennium 1994-1995 show, for example, that 63.7% of the households that had been poor in 1995 had also been poor the year before, while 36.3% were "newly poor". Meanwhile, 7.8% of those who were not poor in 1995 had been poor the year before.

		1995 (%)	
		Non poor	Poor
1994 (%)	Non poor	92.2	36.3
	Poor	7.8	63.7
	Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistical Office of the European Communities (EUROSTAT), European Community Household Panel Survey, second round, 1995.a/

In Canada, meanwhile, the results of a longitudinal study covering 4 years b/ reveal a similar situation, with around half the low-income population remaining in that situation for only one year within the period.

The data also show that while 1 in 10 Canadians live in low-income households, around 20% were in that situation for a year or more during the period 1993-1996.

This "turnover" of poor households is the result of a broader phenomenon of income variability. This is confirmed by the data on household mobility among income quintiles for the EU countries in 1994-1995, as follows:

		1995 (%)					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
1994 (%)	1	63.9	18.6	7.9	3.6	2.3	20.0
	2	22.9	50.8	17.8	6.9	2.6	20.0
	3	7.7	22.3	47.1	19.0	6.0	20.0
	4	3.5	6.0	22.8	50.9	17.4	20.0
	5	2.0	2.4	4.4	19.6	71.9	20.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Statistical Office of the European Communities (EUROSTAT), European Community Household Panel Survey, second round, 1995. b/

The situation in 1995 is the outcome of considerable movements among quintiles 2 to 5, adverse changes for quintile 1 and improvements for quintile 5. The proportion of households remaining in the same quintile, shown by the diagonal of the table, is highest in the poorest and richest quintiles, particularly the latter. The values below the diagonal, which measure the relative worsening of incomes, and those above it, which measure the opposite, show, for example, that of the individuals belonging to quintile 3 in 1995, only 47.1% had been in the same position the previous year, 25.7% had improved their position, and 27.2% had lost ground.

a/ See Lidia Barreiros, "Estatística e investigação: Portugal no contexto europeu", Lisbon, National Institute of Statistics, 1999. Published in: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), *Third Meeting of the Expert Group on Poverty Statistics (Rio Group)* (LC/R.1998), Santiago, Chile, April 2000.

b/ See Alison Hale, "Poverty and Low Income Measurement in Canada: Recent Analyses and Future Directions", Ottawa, Statistics Canada, 1999. Published in: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), *Third Meeting of the Expert Group on Poverty Statistics (Rio Group)* (LC/R.1998), Santiago, Chile, April 2000.

B. Vulnerability and poverty

During the 1980s and 1990s there was an increase in the number of people, especially in urban areas, who felt that they were living in conditions of risk, insecurity and defencelessness. The root causes of this are the changes in labour markets, the scaling-down of State action, changes in the systems used to provide social services, the decline of traditional patterns of social organization and the difficulties that hinder the operation of small enterprises and microbusinesses. This perception among citizens and the actual conditions that underlie it reflect the growing social vulnerability that now affects not only the low-income strata but large segments of the middle-income strata as well.

The emergence of the current development style has led to transformations that are placing strain, in the economic, social, political and cultural spheres, on vast sections of the population. In the twentieth century, Latin American society went through at least one other radical change similar to the one it has been experiencing over the last few years. During the crisis of the 1930s, and particularly in the post-war period, all sections of society were transformed by the impact of industrialization and large rural-urban migration flows which had a major impact on society.

At present, what with the far-reaching changes that have taken place in the labour market, in access to social services and in the ways and the extent to which labour and political groups orga-

nize, and with the difficulties attending the operations of small enterprises and microbusinesses, it is safe to say that social vulnerability has increased. This reflects the greater risks, insecurity and defencelessness that large sections of the population —not just the low-income strata, but large numbers of people in the middle-income strata as well— are faced with. The situation has been exacerbated by repeated adjustment policies and by unstable and inadequate economic growth, which have given rise to what is known as "adjustment fatigue".

Historically, poverty in Latin America has been a part of the lives of large groups in society, some of which have come to accept it almost as the natural order of things. In the 1990s, however, social

vulnerability took its place alongside poverty as a dominant feature in the lives of vast segments of the population, including the middle-income strata who, in the previous development stage, had come to symbolize upward social mobility and, along with organized sectors of the poor, had played a part in projects aimed at transforming society. In many countries, governments have reacted to this phenomenon, particularly when the groups affected have been in a position to pressure for a solution to their needs. As noted in previous editions of *Social Panorama*, this perception of increased social vulnerability has a basis in fact, at least in many countries of the region.

In the first place, the trend in the labour market is towards a concentration of new jobs in low-productivity sectors, where wages are too low for the workers' households to rise above the poverty threshold. It should be noted, however, that these households have reacted to the situation by bringing a very substantial amount of secondary labour into the workforce, and this increased occupational density has enabled them to compensate, to some extent, for the paucity of their income from work.

Increased flexibility in labour markets, to be discussed in more detail later on, has exacerbated job insecurity and instability, and this situation has been compounded by the fact that access to social security has been reduced. As many adults have lost their jobs as a result of the restructuring of production activities, human capital has been devalued, inasmuch as these workers do not have the necessary experience to take jobs in medium- and high-productivity occupations and thus have no choice but to struggle along between open unemployment and work in low-productivity sectors. Government training and relocation policies for such workers do not seem to have lived up to expectations.

The fiscal crisis and the inflation of the 1980s reduced the purchasing power of pensions and allowances in the non-active sector, so that the social groups of more moderate means who are the

beneficiaries of these public transfers have seen their living conditions and level of well-being threatened yet further.

Secondly, this increased vulnerability is also reflected in the supply of social services, particularly education, health care and social security. Macroeconomic policies that restrict public spending and institutional changes affecting the provision of social services have worsened the segmentation that already existed in this area. As new institutions have come into being, particularly in the private sector, to serve the needs of groups that are excluded from the benefits of targeted policies, the public budget has been relieved of the burden of financing services for those middle- and high-income strata that have the necessary capabilities and resources to cover the costs of such services. At the same time, though, this has meant that many households in the middle- and middle- to low-income sectors that have been exposed to the rigours of the employment crisis and seen their incomes fall have had to start meeting at least part of the cost of these services themselves. In the process, depending on their payment capacity, the coverage and quality of the services they receive has declined, and they have even risked losing services as their income falls owing to the poor performance of the economy. All this increases the perception of risk, insecurity and defencelessness.

In the 1990s, economic recovery and improvements in the budgetary position of the State made it possible to increase public spending somewhat. Nonetheless, there is still an appreciable imbalance between the needs of the universe—a larger and larger one—of people who need subsidies in order to meet their healthcare and education requirements, and what can actually be done with the public budget. As economic growth picks up, of course, this situation should improve, both because more and better jobs will be created, with better pay, and because government budgets will be less strained as a result.

Thirdly, as was pointed out in *Social Panorama of Latin America, 1997* (ECLAC, 1998), traditional

forms of social organization and participation have been changing in recent years, chiefly where the role of labour unions and political parties is concerned. Leaving aside criticisms of corporate leadership, the fall in union membership and the weakening of collective negotiation mechanisms have changed people's collective habits and ideas of social responsibility, leading to the emergence of a more individualistic type of behaviour. In the political sphere, meanwhile, the alienation of young people from political parties has become a widespread social phenomenon in the countries of the region, in clear contrast to the way they participated in previous decades. Without the traditional social networks and bonds and with a State whose protective role has been downgraded, people are becoming isolated in their dealings with the market, so that they are less protected and consequently, more vulnerable.

Lastly, the great majority of small enterprises and microbusinesses are in a weak position because of their limited ability to compete and the meagreness of their physical and human capital. This is particularly worrying because the number of people working in low-productivity sectors rose during the 1990s, so that in 1999, it stood at around 50% of the workforce in urban areas, and the percentage was even higher in rural areas. There is an urgent need to implement policies for small enterprises and microbusinesses that will take account of the structural conditions affecting them and provide them with support on a massive scale.

Thus it is that social vulnerability, which originates in the quality of employment, human capital, social relationships and the scarcity and loss of capital among small enterprises and microbusinesses, has become a distinguishing feature of Latin American society as the new century begins. While measurements of vulnerability dwell on the impact that changes in development patterns have had on the resources of individuals and families, poverty measurements are mainly concerned with shortfalls in the income required to cover the basic needs of households. Vulnerability naturally overlaps with

poverty at certain points, since it is the overall resources of families and individuals which can generate greater or lesser amounts of income, depending on how these families and individuals fit into the opportunity structure.

The shortage and the poor quality of jobs are perhaps the clearest link between vulnerability and poverty, since earnings from work are the most direct and important source of the income that households suffering from these problems need to survive. Particularly where urban families in the middle- and low-income strata are concerned, the income needed to meet food, housing, health and education needs comes mainly from waged or own-account work. Since the best working opportunities, in terms of pay and employment quality, are to be found in the modern sector of the economy, which calls for ever-higher levels of education, the urban poor have difficulty in gaining access to these jobs and generally have to seek opportunities in low-productivity sectors where wages or earnings are inadequate. Moreover, the "turnover" of poverty is largely the result of unstable employment, which is characteristic of the current development pattern.

Education and healthcare, which are the main components of what is known as human capital, currently show a clear differentiation by social strata, adding another element to the vulnerability of vast segments of the population, as well as being a hindrance to poverty-reduction efforts. The availability and distribution of human capital have become vital factors in an environment where technology and know-how are concentrated in the modern sectors of the economy and among large companies, as a result of which access to the few jobs created there is very restricted, owing to the high levels of technical and professional expertise required. This situation, which in large part is a legacy from the past, is now compounded by differences in the healthcare provided by public and private services. This creates tension and uncertainty in poor families and makes it impossible to narrow the gaps in human capital or even causes

them to widen, thus becoming an additional factor in the perpetuation of poverty.

The virtual absence of subsidies, the inadequacy of support policies and the huge numbers and high failure rate of small enterprises and microbusinesses all point to the weaknesses of such undertakings. Given their growing importance to employment, this means that they must be at the heart of any public policy aimed at alleviating vulnerability and poverty. Thus, the vulnerability of the small-scale capital that sustains microenterprises is an important factor in the perpetuation of poverty.

Lastly, the weakening of the social capital of individuals, formerly represented in large measure by the trade unions and political parties which served as instruments of socialization, negotiation and even social advancement and have not been replaced by any other institutions capable of overcoming their well-known failings, has reduced the opportunities for subordinate groups in society to better their economic position and share in power. Consequently, over the last two decades, workers have lost ground in terms not only of incomes but also of social security, and this has clearly affected their living conditions.

Box 1.4

TOWARDS A CONCEPT OF SOCIAL VULNERABILITY

The sweeping changes that the introduction of a new development style has entailed for Latin American societies have brought new complexities to the task of assessing the emerging social situation. Over and above the poverty and income concentration that have characterized the development of the region's countries throughout their history, the opening up of markets and the downgrading of the State's role in the economy and society have exacerbated the insecurity and defencelessness affecting large groups of individuals and families, who are now exposed to increased risk, particularly if they live in urban areas.

The terms "vulnerability" and "vulnerable groups" are being used a great deal in intellectual and government circles in Latin America, particularly in the wake of the major social changes wrought by adjustment programmes. Normally, however, these terms are applied almost exclusively to the poor segments of society, which are unquestionably the most sensitive to the aforementioned changes. These are not the only groups that are vulnerable, however. Rather, the problem is a widespread one in other population strata as well, to such an extent that vulnerability may be regarded as a distinctive feature of the social situation in the 1990s.

Vulnerability is defined here as a multifaceted social phenomenon that includes a perception of risk, insecurity and defencelessness, as well as the material basis for that perception. The phenomenon has been caused by the introduction of a new development style entailing far-reaching changes that affect most of the population. *a/*

Vulnerability is directly associated with the quantity and quality of the resources or assets controlled by individuals and families at the time when changes occur, and with the opportunities they have to use them in the new economic, social, political and cultural circumstances brought about by the process of change. The resources referred to are those whose mobilization makes it possible to take advantage of the opportunity structures existing at a given point in time, either to raise the level of well-being among the population or to maintain it in the face of threatening circumstances. *b/*

The resources or assets of households and individuals consist of all the tangible and intangible property that they control, including work, human capital, productive resources and social and family relationships. This set of assets has been affected by the new development pattern, which has drastically altered the prospects for accumulating and mobilizing them, with all the implications this has had for poverty levels and income distribution in the countries of the region.

Work, unquestionably the most important of the resources available to middle- and low-income groups in urban areas, has suffered from the fact that modern production is based on nuclei that are not labour-intensive. The low job-creation potential

of these nuclei, coupled with the shift of employment towards low-productivity branches and the job insecurity caused by policies which promote flexibility but provide no unemployment insurance, have meant that work has become highly vulnerable.

In the current decade, wage earners and own-account workers are finding themselves exposed to greater risks as a result of the priority given to the liberalization of external trade and the need for greater competitiveness, which has accentuated the heterogeneity of production and forced the labour market to become more flexible. All this has meant that there has been a growing trend towards structural unemployment, greater job insecurity and an increase in informality, as well as a weakening of trade unions and a decline in their negotiating power.

Human capital is another area in which defencelessness has been exacerbated. During the 1980s and 1990s, there was a loss of human capital in many strata of the population, particularly among non-professional and non-technical workers who had been employed in industry and other urban activities. Market liberalization and deregulation led to the closing down or transformation of certain activities, and the experience built up by the employees concerned was devalued as a result of radical changes in production functions.

With the 1990s drawing to a close, it is not just any type of education and health system that will strengthen human capital and thus improve opportunities for progress. The new institutions and policies that prevail under the current development style have fostered the expansion of private education, while public education has in fact deteriorated, leading to an increase in the vulnerability of students from the middle- and low-income strata of society who are or soon will be entering the labour market. The segmentation of education according to the income level of students' households has clearly increased. Children and young people with high income levels go to private establishments that have a better infrastructure and provide higher-quality education, while those from low-income families have access only to public establishments, where academic standards have declined. As regards health care, vulnerability is evident in the disparities between the private services that have emerged under the new institutional structure, which work on the basis of high-cost insurance and cater to high-income sectors, and the traditional public insurance schemes, which provide low-income sectors with a lesser degree of protection.

The third area in which social vulnerability is manifested is the weakening of **productive resources** belonging to low-productivity sectors. The liberalization of external trade and the implementation of the new development style have led to considerable growth in these sectors. Nonetheless, own-account workers, artisans, workshops and small family businesses, microenterprises and economic units established at the community level are seeing their productive assets run down under a development pattern which, by giving priority to macroeconomic organization, limits State protection and subsidy policies, while at the same time introducing products and services that displace those previously produced by these microbusinesses.

The fourth area in which vulnerability may be seen is that of **social relationships**. The links and networks that bind individuals and families are very important factors in determining people's prospects for gaining access to job opportunities, information and positions of power. The current development model has affected traditional forms of social organization and participation and of political representation by unions, political parties or traditional social movements. Liberalization of foreign trade, privatization of economic life, the downgrading of the role of the State as a protective force in society and the weakening of trade unions have had the effect of breaking down some social nuclei.

Finally, **family relationships** are also an asset, particularly for the poor. As a survival strategy, households bring in additional members —whether related or not— who can contribute extra income or help with domestic tasks, so as to increase the proportion of people generating income. The current social situation, however, has also exacerbated the vulnerability of households as social units, owing to the increased instability of conjugal unions and the resulting failed marriages or separations; the growth of the extended family owing to the addition of "hidden" female heads of household who do not provide any income, elderly people with no resources and their caretakers; and the increase in domestic violence, among other causes.

When poverty is viewed from the broader perspective of social vulnerability, it should be possible to identify and promote public policy initiatives that will enhance the resources of families and reinforce and supplement their strategies for coping with the circumstances facing them, within a general context of policies designed to provide basic protection and equal opportunities for all citizens.

a/ Among the different studies that take this conceptual approach, see Roberto Pizarro, "La vulnerabilidad social y sus desafíos. Una mirada desde América Latina", Santiago, Chile, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, ECLAC, 1990.

b/ Rubén Kaztman (coord.), *Activos y estructuras de oportunidades: estudios sobre las raíces de la vulnerabilidad social en Uruguay* (LC/MVD/R.180), Montevideo, ECLAC Montevideo Office, 1999.

C. Social policy for dealing with vulnerability and poverty

As governments have begun to include in their policies the objective of reducing vulnerability as part of the struggle against poverty, they have had to face new challenges in the economic and social spheres. This means that economic policy needs to secure more dynamic and stable growth and a substantial rise in the productivity of small enterprises and microbusinesses, which are obviously here to stay. At the same time, the coverage, range and efficiency of social policies must be improved in order to reduce poverty and social vulnerability. Thus, attention must be turned once again to the low- and middle-income sectors of society which have been neglected because of excessively narrow targeting and are now largely defenceless in the face of frequent economic recessions and the new institutional structures that govern access to social services.

Given the new features of the Latin American labour market in the 1990s, particularly the lack of job security and stability that has affected many workers and the serious problems relating to access to and segmentation of social services, there has been a growing insistence that measures be taken to reduce social vulnerability. This situation has also been a result of the restructuring of production patterns and the repeated application of adjustment policies such as those that were implemented in a number of countries to cope with the adverse impact of the contraction of demand and external credit in the 1998-1999 period.

Meanwhile, as noted in section 1 above, large groups

of households are suffering as their income goes up and down. These families are often forced to sell off assets or take out extremely costly loans. This is particularly true of the low- and middle-income strata which, without actually falling into poverty, have become less well off and begun to feel insecure, by contrast with the relative stability that many of them enjoyed in the past. As their incomes fall, they often have difficulty gaining access to social services, and this aggravates the decline in living standards and the loss of stability.

In response to this situation, governments have begun to implement policies and programmes designed to mitigate or counteract the increased

vulnerability of large sections of the population, as part of the struggle against extreme or "hard-core" poverty. Targeting criteria are the main instruments used in this effort.

It is, however, particularly difficult to reduce social vulnerability and keep up the struggle against poverty in a context of intense international competition which calls for macroeconomic discipline, openness to trade and labour flexibility. This raises a major challenge for what ought to be a reinvigorated social policy backed by an appropriate set of institutions, which will not be possible unless there is much closer linkage and coordination with economic policy (ECLAC, 2000).

Firstly, as economic policy and social policy converge in the effort to reduce both poverty and vulnerability, measures aimed at the labour market play a crucial role. Among these, as already noted, policies to promote and protect jobs and encourage small enterprises and microbusinesses to improve productivity should play a central role.

The components of economic and social policies that help to promote and protect employment are numerous. Among the most important are a macro-economy in which relative prices do not work against employment, ongoing training of the workforce through the establishment of national human-resources systems to train workers in new technologies and enable them to cope with industrial restructuring, better labour laws to protect workers' rights and encourage the development of harmonious and equitable relations within companies, measures to ensure that young people receive a formal education and do not enter the labour market prematurely, increased access to the labour market for women on a basis of non-discrimination vis-à-vis men and, last but far from least, financing formulas that make it possible to set up unemployment insurance schemes that provide workers with real protection against the effects of economic cycles and adjustments in production methods. Under these conditions, the adaptability of the workforce would make it possible to enhance competitiveness

throughout the system and strengthen workers' technical and professional skills so as to make them less vulnerable.

Furthermore, low-productivity sectors are known to be made up overwhelmingly of workers in small enterprises and microbusinesses and of own-account workers who lack professional and technical skills. In virtually every country in the region, this group accounts for half, or more than half, of all jobs. Thus, if these production units are to be viable, policies must be implemented to ensure easy access to credit, technology and markets and to provide support in the areas of information, product development, marketing channels and business management. At the same time, such policies must contribute to raising productivity and ensuring greater stability in the activities undertaken by these sectors, with a view to improving earnings and reducing poverty and social vulnerability.

Of course, applying such policies is a major challenge. First of all, it is difficult to locate these microbusinesses, both because many of them are not legally registered and because they frequently change location or go out of business. Furthermore, they generally do not meet official requirements for entitlement to public support; this is particularly evident in areas such as finance. Thus, in the absence of at least some degree of self-organization in the sector, the aforementioned policies could have a high cost.

Secondly, where access to social services is concerned, targeted measures designed to tackle poverty, especially extreme poverty, need to be supplemented by others that serve the needs of middle- and low-income strata faced with more variable and, in some cases, declining incomes. This entails restoring some degree of universality to social policy in certain areas, particularly where access to good-quality services —such as education and health— is concerned. As noted earlier, in times of economic crisis, vulnerable groups find their access to these services reduced, as they cannot afford the payments for healthcare or education programmes that are increasingly operated by the private sector.

Furthermore, measures of this type are particularly important because even during booms, the quality of the services provided varies greatly, and this conspires against equality of opportunities. Quality declines yet further during recessions, when the gaps between different social strata generally widen. Consequently, if the objective of equity is to be achieved, all members of society must be guaranteed a minimum level of social benefits that is sufficient to offset the original inequalities in assets or income. Besides, failure by companies and individuals to pay for these services in periods of crisis means that, to a greater or lesser degree, they end up as public costs. Of course, the implementation of a policy establishing minimum social benefits should not mean that those who are better off should not have the option of paying for the services they receive from their own resources, in order to allow those who are more needy to have greater access to benefits under public policies.

In particular, continuous access to quality education should be the key element in any policy aimed at reducing vulnerability. The shortcomings in the education of vast sections of the population became evident in the 1980s and 1990s, as curricula became increasingly irrelevant to production processes based on new technologies. Education and training in the workplace are not well suited to the requirements of the new forms of production, particularly in the case of people who do not have technical or professional skills. This becomes obvious when those who have lost their jobs look in vain for new employment in other occupations. The efforts now being made to retrain unemployed workers in this type of situation have not been as successful as expected. Thus, a large part of the population now find that their skills have become a source of vulnerability. This should sound a warning for that part of the education system that caters to children and young people. Reforms designed to give students the ability to undergo constant retraining are now being put in place within the education system and should be strengthened.

In the sphere of public policy, there has also been

discussion of the need to increase the value of pensions and allowances, particularly where these are now very low and considering that purchasing power generally declines during episodes that lead to higher inflation or greater budgetary constraints.

Thirdly, social policy that restores a degree of universality also requires greater solidarity. What this should entail in practice, of course, is more progressive taxation that takes account of the income and asset levels of companies and individuals. At the same time, there is a need to explore every avenue for strengthening systems of solidarity among needy groups, which usually consist of family transfers or some other kind of associative action at the local level. Social development strategy should seek to combine the resources, initiatives and capabilities available in both civil society and the State. Monetary income, mainly from work, is not the only source through which people's aspirations for well-being can be satisfied. Housing and the environment, social infrastructure (drinking water, electricity, telephones, sewage systems, paved roads, sports facilities, etc.), health and education, organizational networks, tools and instruments that have been developed and family initiatives are also resources that can be used—under the guidance of public and private initiatives—to sustain or promote social development.

Fourthly, during the 1990s, governments made a serious effort to increase social spending, at a time when economic growth was relatively slow in most of the countries. At the same time, increasingly deregulated markets and the need for competitiveness in ever more open economies have brought to light large areas of inefficiency in both the public and the private sectors. Social policy cannot be isolated from the overall environment which requires greater professionalism in the use of resources. Parliamentary debates often emphasize the need to reform public institutions and provide better training for officials as a prerequisite for continued increases in social spending.

The quest for greater efficiency is closely tied to

greater citizen involvement. In other words, proper use of public funds and the introduction of operating methods whereby such funds can be combined with resources from non-governmental social organizations need to be supplemented by appropriate public policies that encourage direct citizen involvement. Social networks and the NGOs that support them are beginning to play a major role in consumer or environmental advocacy, and are likely to become vigorous actors in the fight against crime and drugs. The State should create alliances with these new organizations, with a view to tackling the wide range of social problems that give rise to citizen insecurity and social unrest.

Fifthly, proposals are being put forward for dealing with the increased vulnerability that is a result of the international financial crises by setting up special funds or safety nets to enable governments to come to the aid of the groups most affected by the recessive impact of such crises. The financing for these funds would come from State savings built up during economic upturns or from international cooperation. Although this is far from easy to bring about, one point on which there is general agreement is that this type of action requires permanent institutions that are able to take rapid and efficient action once a crisis breaks out.

Sixthly, there must be an appropriate institutional structure for implementing social policy, in keeping

with the conditions and requirements dictated by the new style of development that the countries of Latin America have been adopting. The challenge will be to ensure that social issues receive the same attention as economic and political ones, and to bring about convergence between policies and programmes relating to health, education, housing and social security (sectoral policies) and measures aimed at specific vulnerable groups, which are based on targeting and territoriality. Also, the efforts of different actors and institutions need to be coordinated with a view to eradicating poverty and reducing vulnerability.

In summary, what the figures for the 1990s have made clear is that in many countries of the region, a substantial volume of resources will be needed in order to significantly reduce poverty and social vulnerability. It is essential to speed up and stabilize economic growth, both because of the direct impact this would have and because of the boost it would give to public revenues. At the same time, economic expansion should be based, at least in part, on improving low-productivity jobs. The idea is to prevent the full impact of slow growth and income fluctuations from falling on the shoulders of social policy. By the same token, a medium-term approach to the budgeting of social programmes and the creation of reserve funds should help to avoid excessive fluctuations in the earnings of the middle- and lower-income strata.



Occupational stratification, inequality and poverty

A. Occupational stratification in Latin America

The occupational stratification that developed in Latin America during the 1980s and 1990s has not been conducive to greater social mobility or to better income distribution. At the end of the 1990s, occupations could be grouped into three relatively homogeneous levels, according to the income they generate, namely, higher, intermediate and lower. Higher-income occupations account for just over 9% of the workforce; workers in this category earn considerably more than those in other categories and thus clearly stand apart from them. Only 14% of the employed population is now in the intermediate category, which had grown enough in the post-war era to become indicative of increasing social mobility in some countries of the region. The average earnings of those at the lower level, a large and disparate mass accounting for three quarters of all employed workers, are not in themselves sufficient to raise a typical Latin American family above the poverty threshold. At this level, workers in commerce, blue-collar workers, artisans, operators and drivers may be distinguished by the nature of their occupations from workers providing personal services and agricultural workers.

1. The basic structure of occupational stratification

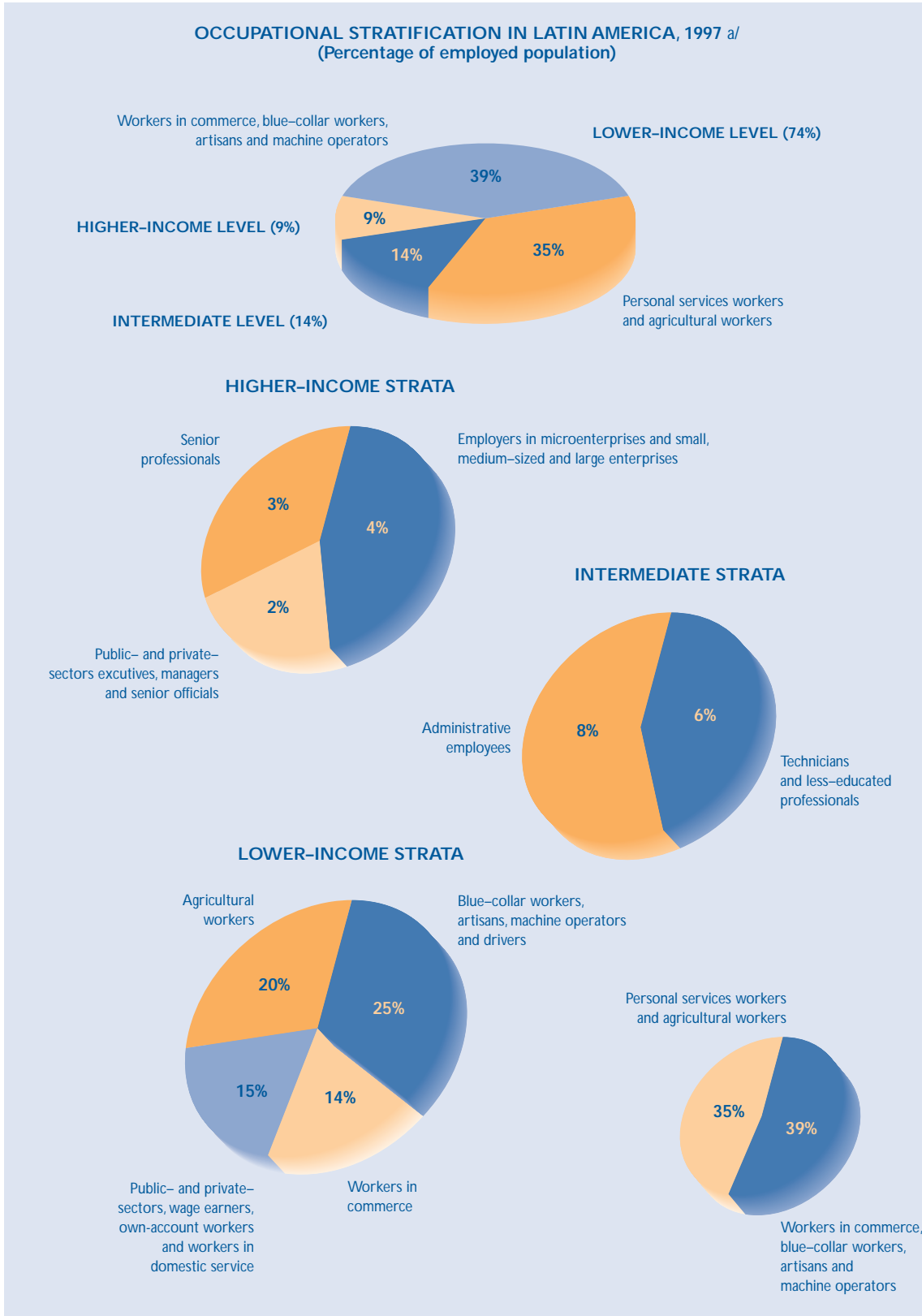
A study of occupational stratification in eight Latin American countries in the late 1990s¹ shows that in most of them there is considerable inequality between the incomes of the different strata, to the point where in many occupations these are so low as to be insufficient, by themselves, to

enable a typical household to stay above the threshold of poverty.

The distribution of earned income confirms the impression, already discussed in other studies, that occupational stratification falls into three categories—higher, intermediate and lower—composed of occupational strata with relatively homogeneous incomes (see figure II.1).

¹ The countries are Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, which together account for 73.5% of the region's population.

Figure II.1



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries.

a/ Weighted average of occupational structures of eight countries (see table II.1 and box II.1). In all figures, the percentages shown refer to the total working population; unclassified workers are not included.

During the post-war period, social mobility was studied mainly in the light of the increasing importance of non-manual and urban occupations, which worked to the detriment of manual and rural occupations. At present, however, as will be noted below, these occupational shifts no longer give rise to significant changes in income, as they did in the past. Thus, there is a need to look more closely at the roles and characteristics of the different occupational strata, particularly as regards non-manual occupations in urban areas.

Thanks to the greater wealth of information that is now available on the earnings of different occupational strata, a more realistic evaluation can be made of the situation at each level, particularly in the case of non-manual occupations, which were regarded as the clearest reflection of upward structural mobility between 1950 and 1980. This information shows how difficult it is to increase earnings in a number of occupations, both manual and non-manual, which were thought in the past to be, or to have the potential to be, middle-class occupations. This confirms the view that the prevailing structure of occupations in the Latin American countries still consists of a large lower stratum and a small intermediate one, one difference being, however, that the lower stratum now comprises mainly urban rather than rural occupations.² This development is consistent with the fact that in most of the countries, average household income has shifted from about the sixty-sixth percentile to about the seventy-fifth, according to the figures for the 1990s given in the Statistical Annex (see table 21) and discussed in previous editions of the *Social Panorama*; this means that three quarters of all households have below-average incomes.

The *higher level* is made up of three non-manual occupational strata: employers, regardless of how

many people they employ; executives, managers and senior officials in the public and private sectors; and highly educated professionals. In total, it accounts for 9.4% of the employed workforce, who receive an average income of 13.7 times the poverty line (PL) (see table II.1).

Employers make up 4.3% of the workforce; two-thirds of them operate microenterprises employing up to four or five people, depending on the country, while the remainder run larger businesses. The average occupational income for all employers is 15.8 times the poverty line; that of employers operating microenterprises is around 12.0 PLs, and that of employers in medium-sized and large companies is over 30.0 PLs. In no country do the latter account for more than 1% of the workforce; however, they have the highest earned incomes, which in some countries amount to seven or eight times the national average.

Executives, managers and senior officials account for 2.0% of the employed workforce, and their average income amounts to 11.6 PLs. Most of them work in private firms, particularly medium-sized and large ones, and the rest work for the State. The available information on public- and private-sector wage-earners is not entirely reliable because no distinction between the two groups is made in several surveys (including those of Brazil and Mexico); when the two categories are separated, the data show that State employees account for between a quarter and a third of the total and that their earnings are roughly similar to those of workers in medium-sized and large firms in the private sector.

Highly educated professionals account for 3.1% of the workforce and their earnings average 12.1 PLs. About one in five are self-employed while the rest are salaried, with the latter being employed mainly

² See ECLAC (1989, p. 41 ff.). As will be noted below, there are differences in the occupational stratification structures of the different countries considered, but these do not alter the essentials of the general conclusions set forth here. The information is generally based on the weighted average for eight countries, although for some strata, estimates were made for fewer countries, owing to a lack of information. For methodological information, see box II.1.

METHODOLOGICAL INFORMATION

The study was based on the most recent information available from nationwide household surveys from eight countries in Latin America: Brazil 1996, Chile 1998, Colombia 1997, Costa Rica 1997, El Salvador 1997, Mexico 1998, Panama 1997 and Venezuela 1997.

For the purpose of stratifying occupations, account was taken only of the employed economically active population aged 15 and over, grouped into the following strata according to criteria followed in previous ECLAC studies and other major research projects: a/

- a) employers
- b) executives, managers and senior officials
- c) professionals
- d) technicians
- e) administrative employees
- f) workers in commerce
- g) blue-collar workers, artisans, machine operators and drivers
- h) personal services workers, and
- i) agricultural workers

For analytical purposes, the strata were sometimes grouped into levels (higher, intermediate and lower) or subdivided into the smaller occupational groups of which they are composed. In this latter type of analysis, consideration was given to aspects such as occupational category (in particular, wage earners, own-account workers and unpaid family members), size of establishment where they work (micro-, small and medium-sized or large) and sector to which they belong (public or private). The three levels include strata and groups whose average incomes differ, but in most cases this difference is not large enough to make it necessary to reassign a group to a different stratum. For example, there are considerable income differences among employers, depending on the size of their establishments, but the vast majority obtain a level of income from work that places them clearly in the higher bracket. Again, incomes in the intermediate strata do not differ greatly from some in the lower level, as some groups have incomes corresponding to the level above or below that of their stratum. Administrative employees in micro- and small enterprises are classified in the intermediate level, although in terms of income they belong to the lower level, while skilled workers in commerce are in the lower level, although they receive intermediate-level incomes. Given that these groups are small, however, and that they largely offset one another, it was decided to maintain the unity of the strata when showing the overall situation.

Except for subheading F, in which occupational and total household income were used, the study covered only earned income. All types of income were measured in terms of the poverty line (PLs), a method that provides a useful measurement for purposes of international comparison.

This research is part of a larger study of social stratification being conducted by ECLAC. Given that the main study is still in progress, it was deemed most appropriate to include in this chapter only the general conclusions on occupational stratification at the end of the 1990s, leaving the detailed analyses, comparisons over time and reflections on the impact of occupational stratification on social stratification to be dealt with in a subsequent report.

a/ With regard to ECLAC see, in particular, Carlos Filgueira and Carlo Geneletti, *Estratificación y movilidad ocupacional en América Latina*, Cuadernos de la CEPAL series, No. 39 (E/CEPAL/G.1122). Santiago, Chile, 1981, and ECLAC, *Transformación ocupacional y crisis social en América Latina*, Libros de la CEPAL series, No. 22 (LC/G.1558-P), Santiago, Chile, 1989. United Nations Publication, Sales No. S.90.II.G.3. Other important studies are those by Susana Torrado, *Estructura social de la Argentina 1945-1983*, Buenos Aires, Ediciones De la Flor, 1992; Erik Olin Wright, "A general framework for the analysis of class structure", *Social stratification in sociological perspective*, David B. Grusky (ed.), Boulder, Colorado, Westview Press, 1994; and Robert Erikson and John H. Goldthorpe, *The constant flux. A Study of Class Mobility in Industrial Societies*, Oxford, The Clarendon Press, 1992.

by medium-sized and large firms and the State. The available data on the average income of these groups suggest that there are no major differences between them.

Clearly, the occupational incomes of the strata and groups making up the higher level vary considerably. Compared with the rest, medium-sized and large employers constitute a sort of upper

Table II.1

LATIN AMERICA (8 COUNTRIES): SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF OCCUPATIONAL STRATA, 1997 ^{a/}			
Occupational strata	Percentage of the employed workforce	Average income (in per capita poverty lines)	Average years of schooling
1 Employers	4.3	15.8	8.9
2 Executives, managers	2.0	11.6	11.5
3 Professionals	3.1	12.1	14.9
1+2+3	9.4	13.7	11.4
4 Technicians	6.0	5.3	12.1
5 Administrative employees	7.9	4.8	10.6
4+5	13.9	5.0	11.2
6 Workers in commerce	13.4	3.6	7.3
7 Blue-collar workers, artisans, drivers	25.3	3.4	6.1
6+7	38.7	3.5	6.5
8 Personal services workers	14.8	2.2	5.5
9 Agricultural workers	19.6	1.8	2.9
8+9	34.5	2.0	4.0
6+7+8+9	73.2	2.8	5.3
10 Unclassified	3.5	4.0	6.8
11 Total	100.0	4.1	6.8

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries.

a/ Weighted average for eight countries (see box II.1).

layer within the higher level. From the aggregate standpoint, however, as in the case of this study, the incomes of the three strata comprising this level are so high as to set them well apart from the other levels.

The *intermediate level* of occupational incomes covers lower-level professional workers, technicians and administrative employees. These non-manual strata account for 13.9% of the workforce and their earning average 5.0 PLs.

Technicians and lower-level professionals make up 6.0% of the employed workforce, and have earnings of 5.3 PLs. The great majority are salaried employees in medium-sized and large private companies or in the State; only 1 in 10, approximately, are self-employed. As in the case of the other strata, it is difficult to estimate what

percentages of these workers are employed by the public and the private sectors, but it is likely that in the region as a whole, public-sector employees in this stratum account for between a third and half of the total. As a general rule, there do not seem to be major differences between the average incomes of these groups.

Administrative employees make up 7.9% of the workforce and have an average occupational income of 4.8 PLs. Most work in the private sector, and the remainder, probably between a quarter and a fifth of the total, for the State. The latter earn more than those working in the private sector, even those employed by medium-sized and large companies.

The *lower level* of occupational incomes covers a diverse assortment of strata accounting for 73.2% of the employed workforce, with average earnings

of 2.8 PLs. These strata include different sectors of the economy, manual and non-manual occupations and different skill levels, but in all cases, their average earnings amount to less than 4 PLs. Consequently, the great majority of workers at this level do not earn enough to raise an average-sized Latin American household out of poverty.³

This lower level may be divided into two subgroups, each with its own average productivity and earnings level. The first is composed of workers in commerce and blue-collar workers, artisans and machine operators; in total, it accounts for 38.7% of the workforce and the average level of earnings amounts to 3.5 PLs. Although the former are non-manual workers and the latter manual workers, they are included in the same subgroup because they have very similar levels of earned income (3.6 and 3.4 PLs, in that order) and education (7.3 and 6.1 years of schooling).

Workers in commerce are a fairly disparate stratum. Two groups stand out distinctly: those earning less than the average, such as salaried sales staff (who account for a large proportion, around half the total) and street vendors, on the one hand, and on the other, those earning just over the average, such as established merchants (not employers) and some more skilled business employees. The latter earn incomes similar to those of technicians, but the fact that they are included in this stratum does not alter the overall picture, as they represent a very small share of all workers in commerce.

Blue-collar workers, artisans, operators and drivers account for 25.3% of the workforce and earn incomes amounting to 3.4 PLs. Around half of these workers are employed in medium-sized and large companies, while a quarter are self-employed; both groups have occupational incomes slightly higher than the average for the stratum. The bulk of the remaining quarter work in microenterprises and small enterprises, and their earned incomes are considerably lower than the average.

The second subgroup includes personal services and agricultural workers. These account for 34.5% of the workforce and their average earned income is 2.0 PLs, putting them in the bottom layer of the stratification pyramid. Of this total, those working in personal services account for 14.8% of the workforce and their average earnings are 2.2 PLs. Around half of them work in private companies, a third are domestic workers, and most of the rest are own-account workers. The incomes of those working in medium-sized and large companies and as own-account workers are higher than those of workers in microenterprises and small companies and domestic workers, although the differences are not great.

Lastly, agricultural workers make up 19.6% of the workforce and earn 1.8 PLs. Almost a third are own-account workers, while a relatively small share are wage earners in medium-sized and large companies. Most workers in this stratum, however, are subsistence farmers, unpaid workers and wage earners in microenterprises, and their occupational earnings are very low or non-existent.

In summary, the occupational stratification described above shows the great disparities that exist between incomes in the different strata, a finding that confirms recent information about income distribution in the region (ECLAC, 1999b, chapter II). In most cases, the average incomes of the strata making up the higher level, particularly medium- and large-scale employers, are so high as to set them clearly apart from the rest, turning them into an elite characterized by a high standard of living. The earned incomes of those in the intermediate level, although little more than a third of what people in the higher level earn, are sufficient to give large percentages of them a reasonable standard of living. Their numbers are not as great as might be expected, owing to the decline in the number of jobs provided by the State, and this has diminished the employment prospects of professionals and technicians; also the incomes

³ An analysis of income distribution in the different occupational strata shows that, in most cases, the average stands somewhere around the seventieth percentile. Consequently, when lower-level occupations produce low average incomes, a large share of workers in those occupations are quite likely to have incomes below the overall average.

earned by workers in commerce —whether salaried or independent— are not sufficient to bring them up to the higher standard. The lower level includes all the strata whose incomes from work are so low that the households to which they belong are highly vulnerable to poverty. In the upper layer of this level are the aforementioned workers in commerce, along with blue-collar workers, artisans and operators, while at the bottom of the scale are personal services and agricultural workers who, on the whole, earn barely enough, in most of the countries studied, to stay above the poverty level.

2. Social equity and the increase in non-manual occupations

In rather the same way as in the developed countries, the rapid pace of economic and social development that took place in Latin America between the post-war years and the early 1980s wrought a transformation in the occupational structure, the most striking manifestations of which were an increase in the relative importance of urban non-manual occupations and the decline of agricultural ones. This phenomenon occurred in those countries that were less developed economically and had been slower to urbanize; in the more advanced countries, such as Argentina and Uruguay, it had begun to take place even earlier.

This transformation had great demographic, economic, social and political implications and was the focus of attention for researchers studying social stratification and mobility in Latin America, including those in ECLAC⁴. Noting that in Argentina and Uruguay, non-manual jobs accounted for between 35% and 40% of the entire workforce in 1970, a level similar to or higher than that found in most European countries, and that in a number of other countries the share was growing

rapidly and had already risen above 25%, Filgueira and Geneletti suggested that some Latin American countries were already, and the rest would soon be, “middle-class societies”, in other words, societies that were much more equitable from the distributional point of view.

A subsequent ECLAC study, published in 1989, also noted the considerable occupational mobility of a structural nature that had occurred in Latin America between 1950 and 1980, as evidenced most clearly by the growth in non-manual employment. It was much less optimistic, however, in its conclusions about the implications of this trend, largely because the situation had changed as a result of the 1980s crisis.

In fact, both ECLAC studies, particularly the more recent one, warned that the move towards greater social equity resulting from urbanization, improvements in education and the growth of non-manual employment was clearly facing difficulties in the countries of the region where the process had begun earlier, such as Argentina and Uruguay. In the first place, the fact that in those countries, the share of non-manual jobs had remained stable between 1950 and 1980 seemed to show that a limit had been reached beyond which it was very difficult to progress. Furthermore, the negative effect of the imbalance between the growth of the already abundant supply of better educated workers and the inability of their economies to absorb them usefully was now becoming apparent in the form of a growing “educational devaluation” and downward pressure on earnings of those workers. The scale of the problem increased as the fiscal crisis worsened, reducing the incomes of public servants —mostly non-manual workers— and pensioners whose working years had been spent in those occupations. Lastly, a large percentage of non-manual workers were administrative employees and workers in commerce, many of whom, particularly in the case of the latter, had very low earned incomes, roughly on

4 See the ECLAC study referred to earlier and Filgueira and Geneletti (1981).

a par with urban manual workers. For all these reasons, it was not easy to decide where the lower non-manual strata belonged in the pyramid, as they could not automatically be regarded as belonging to the intermediate occupational strata. The fact is that they were characterized by a high degree of “status inconsistency”, inasmuch as they had more prestigious occupations and a higher level of education than manual workers, but their earned-income levels were similar to those of manual workers. Should they to be placed in the intermediate occupational strata, or the lower ones? The decision was complicated further by a lack of data on occupational incomes. In the first ECLAC study, all non-manual occupations were assigned to the “middle and higher strata”, and all manual ones to the “lower stratum”. Because of the differences in the prestige of the different types of occupation and in the levels of education required, the distinction between manual and non-manual workers was considered the main criterion for this classification. By the time the second study was conducted, information was available on the income disparities among the different non-manual strata and, most importantly, it had become evident that the difficulties that had initially affected non-manual occupations in Argentina and Uruguay were now widespread in most of the other countries as well. For these reasons, the group of non-manual occupations was divided into two subgroups: a higher one, made up of employers, executives, professionals and technicians, and a lower one, comprising own-account workers in commerce, administrative employees and sales personnel. Furthermore, owing to the low income levels of the members of this second subgroup, it was not classified in the “high and middle strata”, but instead was included in the “urban popular sector”, along with all urban manual occupations. In 1980, this sector included up to 75% of the total workforce in those countries where

urbanization was most advanced. In brief, it was concluded that a large part of the undeniable growth in non-manual occupations had gone to swell not the middle strata but the “popular” ones, dispelling the hope that this growth would help to create more egalitarian societies.

More than 10 years after the second ECLAC study, nothing has happened to alter this conclusion. On the contrary, successive editions of the *Social Panorama of Latin America* have furnished information and analyses confirming, on the one hand, that the crises that have occurred and the macroeconomic and institutional reforms and adjustment policies that have been implemented over the last two decades have not created the conditions required for large-scale growth in higher-productivity employment and, on the other, that inequality in income distribution has worsened.

The analysis set forth in this chapter follows up on the previous ECLAC studies on occupational stratification. The information provided by household surveys is used to analyse the social structure, particularly as regards trends towards polarization or equity, through the prism of the structure of the workforce.

The main conclusion reached is that, at least where employment and occupational income are concerned, the societies of Latin America are not on the way to becoming “middle-class societies”, that is, societies that are more egalitarian in these respects. On the contrary, there is every indication that the occupational structure has become the foundation for an unyielding and stable polarization of income. As will be shown below, however, families tend to compensate for the negative distributional consequences of this polarized structure by increasing the occupational density of their households.⁵

⁵ It is not assumed in this study that just because they have similar occupational incomes, the strata belonging to a particular level will display similar attitudes and behaviours. Only empirical research can determine what effect occupational income has on the behaviour of the members of different occupational categories. This does not mean, however, that ascertaining the level of earnings at each position in the occupational structure is not of the greatest economic and sociological interest.

B. Some differences in national stratification structures

As was to be expected, the higher average occupational incomes attained in certain countries have created significant differences between their national stratification structures and the structure obtaining across the region as a whole. In the countries where incomes are higher, a larger proportion of the workforce is employed in non-manual, salaried and non-agricultural occupations. Nonetheless, a more detailed analysis of occupational stratification in the country in which these changes are most evident shows that the increase in non-manual occupations has led to a considerable diversification of such occupations and to growing disparities in the earnings they bring, thus contributing to the maintenance of a polarized occupational stratification.

Most of the active population in Latin America is distributed roughly according to the structure briefly described above. This is the prevailing structure in the most populous countries, Brazil, Colombia and Mexico, which account for almost 90% of the population in the eight countries covered by this study. In Brazil, 8.0% of employed workers are in the higher level, 13.5% in the intermediate one and 71.8% in the lower one (6.7% are unclassified). The figures for Colombia are 9.0%, 14.0% and 76.9%,⁶ and those for Mexico are 9.5%, 14.2% and 75.7%, respectively. Thus, it is safe to say that the occupational stratification described is the predominant one in

Latin America, as it obtains in most of the countries and covers virtually the entire active population (see table II.2).

Some interesting differences come to light, however, when the level of economic development in each country is expressed in terms of average earned income. These differences make it possible to identify the relative importance of the different occupations and to examine the extent to which economic growth changes the relationships among average incomes generated by the different occupations. An analysis of the proportions involved allows for a

⁶ In Colombia, the size of the higher and intermediate levels was estimated, as that country's survey does not differentiate between professional and technical occupations.

Table II.2

LATIN AMERICA (8 COUNTRIES): DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL STRATA, 1997 ^{a/} (Percentage of working population aged 15 and over)								
	Brazil ^{a/}	Chile ^{b/}	Colombia ^{c/}	Costa Rica	El Salvador	Mexico ^{b/}	Panama	Venezuela ^{d/}
EMPLOYERS	3.8	4.1	4.4	7.5	5.2	4.8	2.9	5.1
Micro ^{e/}	1.8	2.5	—	5.7	4.0	3.2	2.1	3.6
Small ^{f/}	1.0	0.5	—	1.1	0.9	1.1	0.6	1.4 ^{h/}
Medium-sized and large ^{g/}	1.0	1.0	—	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.2	—
Unknown	0.0	0.0	—	0.1	0.0	—	0.0	—
EXECUTIVES/MANAGERS	2.2	4.0	0.8	2.8	1.7	1.6	5.7	3.0
Private-sector wage earners	2.1	1.3	0.5	1.6	1.2	1.4	3.6	2.0
Micro	0.3	0.1	—	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.1
Small	0.1	0.0	—	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3	1.8 ^{h/}
Medium-sized and large	1.7	1.1	—	1.2	1.0	1.1	3.0	0.0
Unknown	0.0	0.0	—	0.0	0.0	—	0.0	0.0
Public-sector wage earners	—	—	0.3	1.0	0.4	—	1.9	0.7
Own-account workers	—	2.7	—	0.1	—	0.2	0.1	0.3
PROFESSIONALS	2.0	8.1	9.6	4.1	2.6	3.1	5.9	12.1
Private-sector wage earners	1.4	7.3	4.3	1.8	1.1	2.4	2.5	3.6
Micro	—	0.4	—	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.4
Small	—	0.3	—	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	3.2 ^{h/}
Medium-sized and large	1.4	6.4	—	1.3	1.0	1.9	2.1	0.0
Unknown	0.0	0.2	—	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Public-sector wage earners	—	—	3.4	1.6	1.2	—	2.9	6.8
Own-account workers	0.5	0.8	1.9	0.7	0.2	0.6	0.5	1.7
TECHNICIANS	6.1	7.5	—	6.2	6.3	6.0	6.5	—
Private-sector wage earners	5.4	6.7	—	1.3	2.9	5.4	1.8	—
Micro	0.1	0.5	—	0.2	0.2	0.8	0.2	—
Small	0.2	0.3	—	0.1	0.3	0.6	0.2	—
Medium-sized and large	5.1	5.6	—	0.8	2.4	4.0	1.4	—
Unknown	0.0	0.3	—	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	—
Public-sector wage earners	—	—	—	4.5	2.8	—	4.4	—
Own-account workers	0.7	0.7	—	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3	—
ADMINISTRATIVE EMPLOYEES	7.4	9.6	8.2	8.6	4.7	8.2	10.1	9.2
Private-sector wage earners	7.2	9.3	6.1	5.1	3.1	7.8	6.1	5.9
Micro	0.3	1.0	—	0.8	0.3	1.0	0.6	0.7
Small	0.7	0.7	—	0.6	0.4	0.9	1.0	5.1 ^{h/}
Medium-sized and large	6.3	7.2	—	3.5	2.4	5.9	4.5	0.1
Unknown	0.0	0.4	—	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Public-sector wage earners	—	—	1.7	3.2	1.4	—	3.9	3.2
Own-account workers	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	—	0.1
WORKERS IN COMMERCE	12.1	9.5	16.0	11.0	16.4	14.2	10.6	17.1
OWN-ACCOUNT MERCHANTS	—	—	4.9	3.2	—	4.6	1.8	—
WORKERS IN GENERAL	—	7.4	—	—	9.5	—	—	—
Wage earners	—	5.4	—	—	2.4	—	—	—
Own-account workers	—	2.0	—	—	7.0	—	—	—
HIGHLY SKILLED WORKERS	0.6	—	1.5	1.6	—	1.5	0.5	1.2
Wage earners	0.3	—	1.1	1.5	—	1.2	0.4	0.8
Own-account workers	0.4	—	0.4	0.1	—	0.2	0.1	0.4
LESS SKILLED WORKERS	8.5	—	8.7	4.6	—	4.4	4.7	12.5
Wage earners	4.7	—	4.2	4.3	—	4.2	4.2	4.2
Own-account workers	3.8	—	4.6	0.2	—	0.2	0.6	8.3
STREET VENDORS	2.0	1.5	—	1.0	5.4	1.8	2.9	3.1
UNPAID WORKERS	1.0	0.6	0.9	0.6	1.5	2.0	0.7	0.3

Table II.2 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (8 COUNTRIES): DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL STRATA, 1997 ^{a/} (Percentage of working population aged 15 and over)								
	Brazil ^{a/}	Chile ^{b/}	Colombia ^{c/}	Costa Rica	El Salvador	Mexico ^{b/}	Panama	Venezuela ^{d/}
BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS/ARTISANS/DRIVERS	22.6	27.4	24.9	27.2	26.8	29.2	23.5	29.1
Private-sector wage earners	14.7	19.9	13.5	19.0	17.0	22.8	12.1	16.6
Micro	1.3	3.6	—	4.7	4.6	6.1	2.2	4.6
Small	2.1	1.7	—	2.0	2.9	3.4	1.5	—
Medium-sized and large	11.2	13.5	—	11.8	9.4	13.3	8.4	11.7 ^{h/}
Unknown	0.0	1.1	—	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3
Public-sector wage earners	—	—	0.7	1.4	1.4	—	2.7	1.5
Own-account workers	7.2	7.3	10.4	6.5	7.4	4.9	8.5	9.9
Unpaid workers	0.7	0.2	0.3	0.3	1.0	1.4	0.2	0.1
Other	—	—	—	—	—	0.0	—	1.1
PERSONAL SERVICES WORKERS	15.0	16.4	15.5	15.3	13.2	13.9	16.8	15.4
Private-sector wage earners	6.0	9.5	5.8	5.7	4.5	9.8	4.8	8.1
Micro	0.4	2.3	—	1.6	1.2	4.8	1.0	3.8
Small	0.9	0.7	—	1.0	0.7	1.0	0.8	—
Medium-sized and large	4.7	6.1	—	2.9	2.5	4.0	2.9	4.2 ^{h/}
Unknown	0.0	0.4	—	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Public-sector wage earners	—	—	1.6	2.5	1.7	—	3.3	4.1
Workers in domestic service	7.3	5.5	3.8	4.3	4.3	3.5	5.7	—
Own-account workers	1.4	1.3	3.9	2.7	2.4	—	2.9	3.1
Unpaid workers	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.7	0.1	0.1
Other	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
AGRICULTURAL WORKERS	22.1	12.6	20.5	16.8	23.1	18.4	17.8	8.6
Private-sector wage earners	6.4	8.5	10.8	10.4	11.2	6.7	5.1	4.3
Micro	6.2	2.5	—	4.5	3.5	3.1	2.7	2.1
Small	0.0	1.0	—	1.3	1.5	1.2	0.6	—
Medium-sized and large	0.2	4.8	—	4.5	6.1	2.4	1.9	2.2 ^{h/}
Unknown	0.0	0.3	—	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Public-sector wage earners	—	—	0.0	—	0.1	—	0.2	0.1
Own-account workers	6.5	3.7	8.0	5.1	7.9	7.5	10.1	4.0
Unpaid workers	9.2	0.4	1.7	1.3	3.7	4.1	2.4	0.3
Other	—	0.0	—	—	0.2	0.1	—	—
UNCLASSIFIED	6.7	1.0	0.1	0.5	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries concerned.

^{a/} For survey dates in each country, see box II.1.

^{a/} No distinction is made between public- and private-sector workers. Unpaid agricultural workers include subsistence farmers. Salaried farm workers who say they do not know how many employees work in the company are considered to be employed by small enterprises.

^{b/} No distinction is made between public- and private-sector workers.

^{c/} No distinction is made as regards the size of establishments or between professionals and technicians.

^{d/} No distinction is made between large and medium-sized establishments, or between professionals and technicians. Workers in domestic service are included in the category of service workers.

^{e/} Up to four employees (Costa Rica, El Salvador, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela) and up to five employees (Brazil and Chile).

^{f/} From five to nine employees (Costa Rica, El Salvador and Mexico), from six to nine employees (Chile), from five to ten employees (Panama) and from six to ten employees (Brazil).

^{g/} Ten or more employees (Chile, Costa Rica, El Salvador and Mexico) and 11 or more employees (Brazil and Panama).

^{h/} Includes small, medium-sized and large.

more in-depth study to be made of the growth of non-manual occupations referred to above. Since income was the criterion used to define the different strata, shifts in relative income can lead to changes in the distribution of occupations among the higher, intermediate and lower levels.

When the two countries with the highest average income levels, Chile and Costa Rica, are contrasted with the two that have the lowest levels, Mexico and El Salvador, it becomes apparent that there are differences between the occupational structures of the two pairs of countries. Compared with regional averages, a larger share of working people in the first pair of countries are managers and executives, highly qualified professionals, administrative employees and personal services workers, while the shares of employers and technicians are similar. In the second pair of countries, by contrast, commerce- and agriculture-related occupations have greater weight, while the percentages of blue-collar workers, artisans and operators are similar, as is the proportion of wage earners among these (around three quarters), although the percentage of wage earners working in microenterprises and small enterprises is slightly higher in the countries with higher incomes. Thus, in terms of the regional classifications, the countries with higher average incomes have seen an increase in so-called higher- and middle-level occupations, while those with lower incomes have a higher percentage of lower-level occupations (see figure II.2).

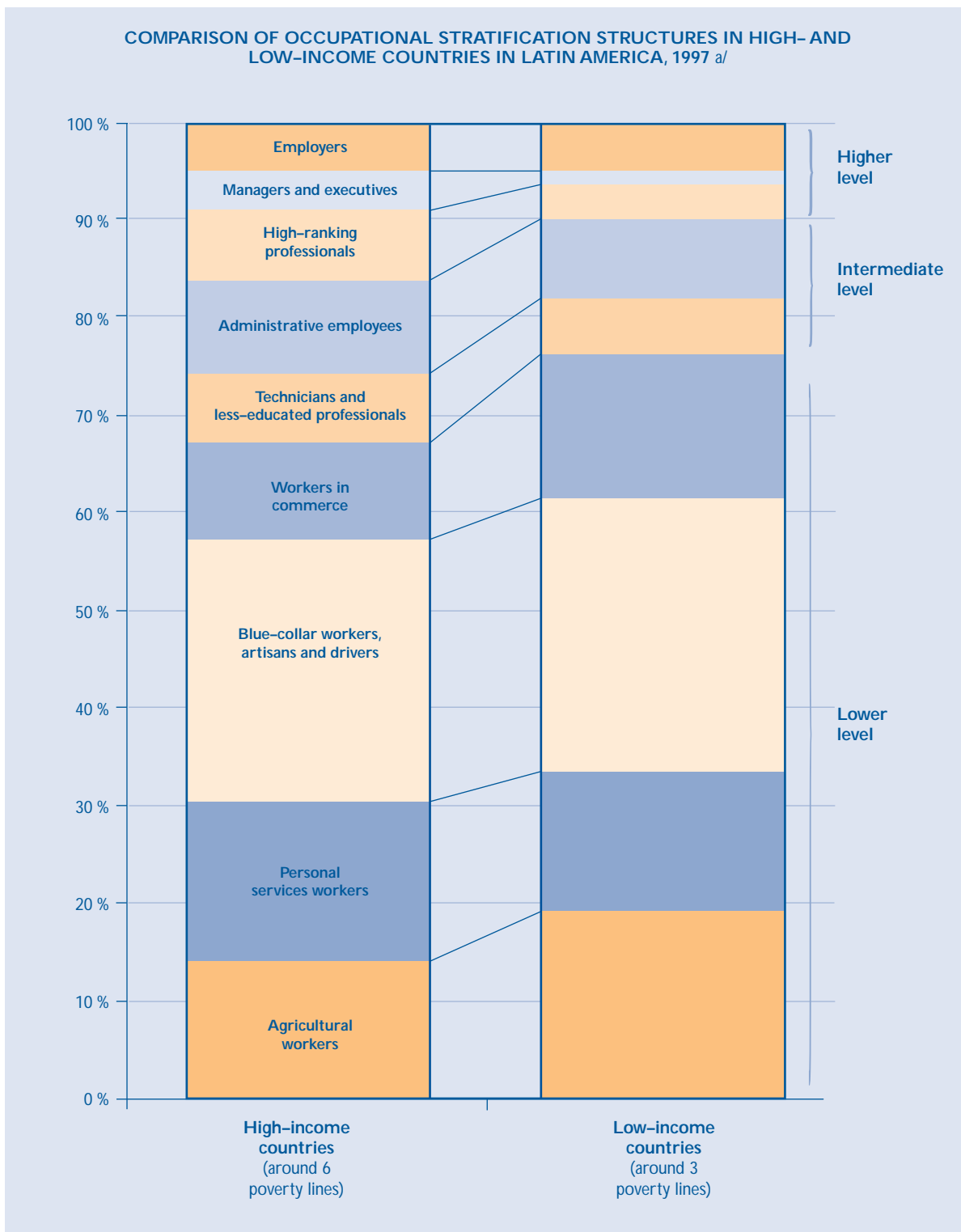
Some of these differences are especially important. The first is the increase in the number of highly qualified professionals in the higher-income countries, which has been directly linked in recent years to the increasing presence in these countries of medium-sized and large private companies and, to a lesser extent, with the increase in the hiring of administrative and professional executives in the State apparatus. The second is the decline in the percentage of workers in commerce in the higher-income countries. In the two countries with higher average occupational incomes, this share stands at 10.3%, while in the lower-income countries it is 15.3%. In the former, a higher proportion

of workers are wage earners (57% in Chile and 46% in Costa Rica, compared with 38% in Mexico and 15% in El Salvador). The third is the fact that personal services workers account for a larger share of workers in the higher-income countries, but their occupational characteristics are no different, since in both groups of countries only a third are wage earners in medium-sized and large companies, while the rest work for micro- and small enterprises, on their own account or as domestic employees. Fourthly and lastly, agricultural workers are proportionately fewer in the higher-income countries than in the lower-income ones (14.7% and 20.8% respectively), while the proportion of wage earners is higher (60% and 40%), as is the proportion employed in medium-sized and large enterprises.

To summarize, although the occupational stratification that exists in each country is the result of a complex set of factors, an increase in average earned incomes has a considerable impact, as it leads to changes in the distribution of the workforce in terms of the percentages of workers in different sectors of the economy, the manual or non-manual nature of their work, the balance between wage earners and own-account workers and the size of the establishments they work in. The changes found in this study generally confirm the trends noted in others, namely, the rise in the share of the workforce that is engaged in non-agricultural and non-manual occupations and hold salaried jobs by comparison with the share that is engaged in agricultural and manual occupations and in own-account work. As was pointed out in the previous section, these changes in the distribution of the workforce are positive, as they suggest the emergence of societies with greater social mobility and a more egalitarian distribution of employment productivity and income.

A more complete picture of this process can be obtained, however, by considering not just the changes in the percentages of workers in the different occupational strata but also the changes in their incomes. To this end, it is worth looking at the occupational stratification that exists in Chile, a country that has enjoyed rapid economic growth over the last 15 years, following a major transforma-

Figure II.2



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries.

a/ Weighted average for occupational structures in eight countries (see table II.1 and box II.1). All figures represent percentages of the total working population; "unclassified" workers are not included.

tion of its economic structure. As a result of this process, the country's occupational stratification, defined in accordance with the regional criteria described above, now has the largest higher and intermediate levels (16.2% and 17.1% respectively) and thus the smallest lower level (65.9%) and, within the latter, one of the smallest percentages of agricultural employment (12.6%). The changes in occupational incomes that have accompanied it, however, show that the increase in the share of non-manual jobs has been coupled with a considerable differentiation of the earnings received from them, which in turn alters the stratification profile. When occupations with fairly similar income levels are grouped together, the main component of the higher level turns out to be a group made up of all employers, executives and managers in medium-sized and large firms and self-employed professionals, who account for 6% of the workforce and have an average income of 30 poverty lines (PLs).

The intermediate level comprises executives and managers working in micro- and small enterprises or on their own account and salaried professionals (10.2% of the workforce, with an average income of 11.5 PLs) and technicians (7.5%, with an income of 9.1 PLs).

The lower level includes the five strata not mentioned above and consists of workers with lower-than-average incomes, who account for 73.9% of the workforce and have an average income of 4.4 PLs. Administrative employees—who have not managed to stay at the intermediate occupational-income level—earn 5.4 PLs; they are followed by blue-collar workers, artisans and machine operators (5.0 PLs), workers in commerce (4.5 PLs), agricultural workers (3.9 PLs) and personal services workers (3.2 PLs). If instead of using similarity of incomes as a grouping criterion—which is the natural one for a study of social mobility—, absolute income levels were considered, the first three occupations in this group, whose income levels range around 5 PLs (considered lower-middle) would have to be left out of the latter

two groups, in which the average income is around 3.5 PLs. This will be discussed further in connection with the subject of occupational stratification and poverty.

Thus, the higher level of earned income attained in Chile by comparison with the rest of the countries examined has altered the occupational structure in ways that were to be expected: more non-manual and less agricultural employment. As was pointed out in the previous section, however, these major structural changes have not led to an improvement in the distribution of occupational incomes. Some non-manual occupations requiring higher skill levels have separated off from the rest and now pay considerably more than before, thus creating a smaller and more affluent higher level; the intermediate level is not growing as a proportion of the workforce, mainly because the incomes of administrative employees are no different from those of blue-collar workers, so that they have to be included in the lower level; and this lower level also comprises the three quarters of the workforce whose incomes are well below the national average, although more than a quarter of this group now includes non-manual occupations that bring earnings very similar to those of manual workers, and the growing proportion of personal services workers are earning less than agricultural workers. The high proportion and diversification of non-manual occupations in more developed countries such as Chile, and the considerable disparities in their incomes—from the 58.6 PLs received by medium- and large-scale entrepreneurs to the 5.4 PLs of administrative employees and the 4.2 PLs of wage earners in commerce—make it very difficult to justify including them in a single group that would be meaningful from the economic or sociological standpoint.

Of course, the increase in average earned income has had the beneficial effect of raising the incomes of all strata, although not to the same degree in every case. As will be shown later on, this has been a key factor in increasing the purchasing power of the intermediate and lower strata, improving their living standards and reducing poverty.

C. Inequality in the distribution of occupational income

In the great majority of the Latin American countries analysed in this chapter, there are great disparities in the distribution of income from work. One exception is Costa Rica, where distribution is more egalitarian. High degrees of inequality are found in countries with different levels of average occupational income, a fact that supports the view that higher incomes are not necessarily conducive to more equitable distribution.

In most of the eight Latin American countries studied, occupational income distribution structures are very uneven. In particular, and by contrast with the situation in the developed countries, workers in the higher strata receive incomes which, on average, far exceed those of the other strata, particularly the lower ones, which include the vast majority of the working population. A distinction may be drawn, however, between at least two types of national situations where the degrees of inequality are very different. These situations are not determined by the overall level of occupational income, since countries with fairly similar income levels have different degrees of inequality while, conversely, countries with very different income levels have similar degrees of inequality. For example, if the countries are ranked in descending order by average earned income and then compared by taking the incomes of medium- and large-scale employers as a multiple of the national average, the following figures are obtained: Chile 7.9, Costa Rica 2.5, Panama 5.2, Brazil 6.2, Venezuela 4.3, Mexico 14.6 and El Salvador 8.0 (see table II.3).

Among the countries analysed, the distributional structure in Costa Rica is striking in that none of the occupational strata considered have average incomes of less than 3 poverty lines (PLs), and occupational incomes are distributed fairly equally, with the great majority of them being quite close to the overall average. Among the different factors underlying this situation, the occupational structure plays a major role. The percentage of employers is almost twice the regional average; in the case of those in large and medium-sized establishments, their companies are generally smaller than those of the more populous countries. The percentage of agricultural workers is below the regional average, and by Latin American standards, this sector is distinguished by better land distribution, considerable product diversification and substantial use of modern technology. As a result, agricultural wage earners have an average income of 4.4 PLs, which is far higher than the regional average and the highest of any of the countries studied here. This set of factors means that there is much less disparity among occupational incomes, which are thus much closer to the average than in other countries.

Table II.3

LATIN AMERICA (8 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE INCOMES BY OCCUPATIONAL STRATA, 1997 ^{a/} (In terms of poverty lines)								
	Brazil ^{a/}	Chile ^{b/}	Colombia ^{c/}	Costa Rica	El Salvador	Mexico ^{b/}	Panama	Venezuela ^{d/}
Employers	18.4	34.6	9.4	8.8	8.1	14.0	15.6	11.4
Executives/managers	12.3	16.2	9.0	12.1	11.3	11.0	10.2	6.6
Professionals	20.5	15.4	6.8	11.3	8.8	7.8	13.0	4.9
Technicians	5.6	9.1	—	8.3	5.5	4.3	7.6	—
Administrative employees	5.7	5.4	4.1	6.0	4.4	4.0	4.8	2.4
Workers in commerce	4.4	4.5	2.8	4.9	2.4	2.6	4.1	3.9
Blue-collar workers/artisans/drivers	4.0	5.0	2.9	4.9	3.0	2.6	4.6	3.2
Personal services workers	2.2	3.2	2.2	3.4	2.7	1.9	2.6	2.0
Agricultural workers	1.5	3.9	2.7	4.4	1.6	1.6	2.4	2.2
Total	4.5	7.4	3.5	5.7	3.3	3.4	5.2	3.7

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries.

^{a/} For survey dates in each country, see box II.1.

^{a/} No distinction is made between public- and private-sector workers. Unpaid agricultural workers include subsistence farmers. Salaried farm workers who say they do not know how many employees work in the company are considered to be employed by small enterprises.

^{b/} No distinction is made between public- and private-sector workers.

^{c/} No distinction is made as regards the size of establishments or between professionals and technicians.

^{d/} No distinction is made between large and medium-sized establishments, or between professionals and technicians. Workers in domestic service are included in the category of service workers.

The income of employers in medium-sized and large enterprises is 2.5 times the average, and that of managers in medium-sized and large firms, 2.3 times. Administrative employees earn around the average; manual wage earners in industry and services, almost 90% of the average, and agricultural wage earners, over 70%.

In Chile, likewise, there are no occupational strata with average incomes of less than 3 PLs, but this positive feature coexists with considerable inequality in the distribution of occupational income. Incomes of employers in medium-sized and large establishments are almost eight times the average for the workforce as a whole, and those of managers in medium-sized and large firms, four times. Incomes of administrative employees are only 70% of the average; wage earners in industry, 57%; personal services workers, 45%; and agricultural

workers, 43%. This means that a large-scale employer earns 18 times as much as an agricultural wage earner.

When incomes for a given occupation are compared between the two countries, it becomes clear that the degree of inequality increases the higher up the scale of occupational stratification one goes. Thus, a salaried manual worker in any sector earns around 20% more in Costa Rica than in Chile, and the same is true of workers in commerce and administrative employees. However, salaried technicians earn 30% more in Chile; professionals, 50% more; private-sector executives and managers, more than double; and medium- and large-scale employers, four times more. It is beyond the scope of this study to explore the causes of the different degrees of inequality found in the two structures, but they are likely to be a combination of technical

and economic factors, on the one hand, and political and institutional ones, on the other. The latter play a crucial role in the distribution of economic and political power in the two societies, and thus in the ability of each stratum within them to maintain and increase occupational income.

Unfortunately, the type of distributional structure found in Costa Rica is uncommon in the group of countries considered, most of which evince a considerable degree of inequality in occupational incomes. The most undesirable situation, of course, is one where low average incomes from work are combined with a significant degree of inequality. This is the situation in Brazil and Mexico, for example.

In Brazil, where the average income is 4.5 PLs, workers in personal services have average earnings of 2.2 PLs and agricultural workers, 1.5 PLs. These figures show that huge groups of working people have incomes that are not in themselves sufficient to keep an average Brazilian family above the poverty line. This situation coexists with a high degree of inequality. The incomes of medium- and large-scale employers are six times the average for the country's labour force as a whole; those of executives and managers in medium-sized and large firms, well over three times; and those of administrative employees, 1.3 times. Incomes of salaried non-agricultural workers are 87% of the average, and those of agricultural workers, just 44%. Consequently, the occupational incomes of employers in medium-sized or large establishments are 14 times higher than those of agricultural wage earners.

In the case of Mexico, where employed workers earn an average of 3.4 PLs, personal services workers and agricultural workers have average incomes of less than 2 PLs, which illustrates how difficult it would be for these workers to keep an average Mexican family above the poverty line on their own. This situation coexists with a high degree of inequality. The occupational incomes of employers in medium-sized and large establishments are 14 times the average for the labour force as a whole; those of managers in medium-sized and large firms, 3.9 times, and those of administrative employees 1.2 times.

Incomes of salaried blue-collar workers are 76% of this average; personal services workers, 56%, and agricultural wage earners, 47%. To take the two ends of the scale, employers in medium-sized or large establishments receive incomes that are 30 times higher than those of agricultural wage earners, a much greater degree of inequality than that found in Chile; moreover, a considerably higher percentage of the labour force earns less than the minimum.

Again, while in Mexico the average occupational income (3.4 PLs) stands at about 60% of the Costa Rican level, employers in medium-sized and large establishments receive higher incomes in Mexico than in Costa Rica, while executives and managers earn roughly the same; professional workers, a third less; technicians, administrative employees, workers in commerce and non-agricultural manual workers, around half as much, and salaried agricultural workers, one third as much as their Costa Rican counterparts. Consequently, not only are average earned incomes low, but the differences in productivity are compounded by the fact that workers in the different strata are less and less able to protect their incomes the lower they are on the scale.

All this points to the fact that a high degree of inequality in the distribution of occupational incomes can coexist with very different levels of average occupational incomes. Chile has the highest average occupational income of all the countries examined, while Mexico has one of the lowest, and Brazil is in the middle, but the situation with respect to inequality is similar in all of them. This reinforces the idea, which has also been set forth in other ECLAC documents, that a rise in income levels is not necessarily conducive to greater equality of income distribution. As has already been noted, an analysis of the recent experience of Chile shows that the substantial rise in occupational incomes in recent years has meant that workers in virtually all lower-level occupations now receive relatively high average incomes by Latin American standards and has played a major role in reducing the poverty level. At the same time, however, the rise in incomes has been spread unevenly among the occupational strata, so that the higher a worker's position in the

stratification structure is, the better are his or her prospects of improving his or her average occupational income.

In the more egalitarian type of structure, such as that of Costa Rica, the occupational incomes of the different strata and groups cluster fairly closely around the centre represented by the average occupational income of the workforce as a whole. Conversely, in the less egalitarian type of structure found in most countries in the region, the upper occupational strata stand way above the general average and, obviously, the lower level. At the same time, the intermediate stratum is small in these countries, mainly because of the low incomes received by less skilled non-manual workers, who thus cannot be included in the intermediate level, a situation which increases the size of the lower level. However, disparities among occupational strata may be found, as noted above, in a wide variety of average-income contexts. If the degree of inequality is maintained or increases in a given structure, while

at the same time there is a substantial rise in average occupational incomes, many lower-level occupations can provide incomes sufficient to give workers access to goods and services regarded as typical of the middle-income social strata. This gives rise, as in the case of Chile, to a paradoxical outcome: on the one hand, there is an unequal structure that appears to lead to a polarization of occupational incomes and, on the other, large numbers of workers in lower-level jobs, both manual and non-manual, earn incomes that give them access to goods and services that enable them to feel that they belong to the middle-income strata. In Latin America as a whole, however, the prevailing structure is one in which great disparities go hand in hand with low average incomes; the intermediate level is small, both in terms of its relative position in the distribution of occupational incomes and of its absolute income level, and the lower stratum is large, with a significant proportion of occupations generating incomes below the minimum level needed to keep an average family above the poverty line without further assistance.

D. Occupational income and poverty

The countries with the lowest average occupational income levels are the ones in which the largest number of occupations and the highest percentage of the workforce fall below the minimum level of earned income needed for an average family to stay out of poverty, which, in the eight countries studied, stands at between 2 and 3.3 times the per capita poverty line. Besides the average occupational income level, other factors that determine the incidence of poverty in a country are the unemployment rate, the occupational density of households and the share of total family income that is accounted for by non-occupational income.

In most of the countries examined, the average income from a lower-level occupation, be it manual or non-manual, is not in itself enough to keep a family of four members above the poverty threshold. Since the occupations of almost 75% of the employed workforce fall in this category, it follows that at present, most of the jobs available to the active population of Latin America do not generate earnings sufficient to enable the head of a typical family to meet the basic needs of the household from this income alone.

The likelihood of an employed person belonging to a poor household increases the further below a certain minimum level that worker's average occupational income falls. The relationship between occupational income and the incidence of poverty in a given country is not as simple and linear as it might seem at first sight, as there are other factors that enable households to mitigate the negative impact of low individual pay on family living standards. Nonetheless, this in no way diminishes the

importance of striving to improve occupational income. Although earned income is not the only factor underlying poverty, it is undoubtedly one of the most important, quite apart from the fact that a worker's dignity is also at stake.

It must be borne in mind that national poverty percentages are influenced not only by average occupational income levels but also by open unemployment rates. Because of this, there is no linear relationship between the incidence of poverty in a country and its average occupational income. For example, average occupational incomes are similar in El Salvador and Mexico, but the unemployment rate in the urban areas of El Salvador, according to the survey used for this analysis, was 7.3% of the labour force, while the Mexican rate was 3.2%. This helps explain why the percentage of poor households in the former country was 7.5 points higher than in the latter (38.6% as against 31.1%). Again, households differ in regard to size, number of employed members and share of total family income accounted

for by income from sources other than employment. All these factors play a part in determining the role of occupational income in determining poverty and therefore, given the differences between countries, it is not advisable to try to establish for all countries a single occupational income that would theoretically enable a household to avoid poverty.

The actual values for these variables in the different countries can be used, for example, to identify the average characteristics of poor non-indigent households and to estimate the amount of income that such households would need in order to stay above the poverty threshold. Of course, in any given country, the higher the occupational density of a household, the smaller its average size and the larger the share of its total income from non-occupational sources, the lower will be the minimum occupational income it requires, and vice versa. Thus, in countries such as Brazil and Mexico, which have a large number of employed workers per household (1.74 in both cases), average household sizes of 4.67

and 4.93 members and non-occupational incomes accounting for 25% and 32% of total income, respectively, this minimum income amounts to around 2 PLs per capita. In Chile and Costa Rica, where households have 1.09 and 1.13 employed workers and 4.75 and 4.67 members, and where non-occupational income accounts for 29% and 25% of total income, respectively, the minimum income required would be 3.1 PLs. The values for the other four countries studied would be as follows: Colombia and El Salvador, 2.6 PLs, and Panama and Venezuela, 2.7 PLs (see table II.4).

These country-specific values for minimum occupational incomes can be used to make a more detailed assessment of the relationship between occupational income and poverty in each country. Thus, in Chile, where the average income for all occupations is 7.4 PLs, as a general rule no occupational group falls below the relevant minimum income, and the working people who are most likely to be poor are almost invariably those who are employed in occu-

Table II.4

LATIN AMERICA (8 COUNTRIES): SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF NON-INDIGENT POOR HOUSEHOLDS						
Country	Year	Percentage of all households	Average size of household	Number of employed workers per household	Percentage of income obtained from work	Minimum occupational income ^{a/}
Brazil	1996	18.1	4.67	1.74	75.12	2.02
Chile	1998	13.1	4.75	1.09	71.42	3.11
Colombia	1997	24.8	4.70	1.57	85.85	2.57
Costa Rica	1997	12.9	4.67	1.13	74.76	3.09
El Salvador	1997	29.5	5.02	1.57	82.06	2.62
Mexico	1998	24.8	4.93	1.74	67.92	1.92
Panama	1997	17.0	4.79	1.27	71.07	2.68
Venezuela	1997	25.2	5.17	1.65	84.76	2.66

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries.

a/ In multiples of the per capita poverty line in each country.

pations associated with low average incomes—in this case, personal services and agriculture. Likewise, in Costa Rica (average income 5.7 PLs), there are no occupations where average incomes fall below the minimum, and the ones that come closest to this are in the field of personal services (3.4 PLs). In Panama (average income 5.2 PLs), agricultural and personal services workers have incomes below the minimum (2.4 and 2.6 PLs, respectively). The percentage of the workforce with average occupational incomes lower than the minimum rises as average earnings fall (Chile 5.5%, Costa Rica 7.0%, Panama 12.3%), and the same situation obtains in the case of unpaid workers (Chile 1.3%, Costa Rica 2.5% and Panama 3.4%). Thus, even in countries with higher average occupational incomes, those occupations in which the average for the group is close to or beneath the relevant minimum are also highly vulnerable to poverty (see again table II.3).

In Brazil, where the average occupational income is 4.5 PLs, the average for agricultural workers (1.5 PLs) is below the minimum, while that for personal services workers (2.2 PLs) is close to it. Working people in these two groups account for around 38% of the total, and a significant percentage of them are very likely to belong to a poor household. In Venezuela (average income 3.7 PLs), personal services workers and agricultural workers are joined by administrative employees, whose average incomes are likewise below the minimum; these three groups account for around 33% of all employed workers. It should be noted that in Venezuela, it is wage earners whose incomes are below the minimum, as own-account workers are above this level. In Colombia (average occupational income 3.5 PLs), personal services workers, accounting for 15.6% of the employed workforce, fall below the minimum (2.2 PLs). The average incomes of agricultural workers (2.7 PLs), workers in commerce (2.8 PLs) and blue-collar workers, artisans and drivers (2.9 PLs) are slightly

above this level, which means that more than half of all employed workers are very likely to be poor.

In El Salvador, where the average income is 3.3 PLs, just slightly below that of Colombia, employed people whose average incomes fall below the minimum include agricultural workers and workers in commerce, who account for around 40% of the total, while personal services providers, who make up 13% of the employed workforce, have average incomes close to the minimum. Lastly, in Mexico, where the average income is 3.4 PLs, personal services and agricultural workers, making up around 32% of the employed workforce, have incomes below the minimum.

In general, it appears that in the countries with the lowest average occupational incomes, administrative employees, workers in commerce and all manual workers receive incomes lower than the minimum. As the average income rises, the different occupations in the country appropriate the increase to differing degrees, depending on their skill levels, occupational position, the manual or non-manual nature of their job or their field of activity—especially in the case of manual jobs—or the size of the establishment.

Thus, an analysis of the relationships between a country's occupational structure and the average occupational income, and between occupation and poverty, reveals that poverty is influenced both by a low average occupational income and by the existence of occupations that include a large percentage of the workforce and provide below-minimum incomes. Nevertheless, these relationships are not linear, since different countries have different open unemployment rates, and it is possible, particularly in countries where the average number of working people per household is around two and the proportion of non-occupational income is substantial, for a large share of households to avoid poverty even with relatively low occupational incomes.

E. Education and occupational income

The rising educational level of the workforce has contributed, in most cases, to an increase in occupational incomes. There are important exceptions, however, as in the case of lower-level non-manual occupations, which pay occupational incomes that are distinctly lower than would be expected given the level of education required. Rising educational levels in the workforce can only help increase average occupational income, if they occur in the context of a growing economy in which production techniques change in such a way as to increase the supply of jobs requiring more highly skilled workers.

An overall analysis of the distribution of educational achievement among employed workers shows that most of them have not completed enough years of study to rise above the lower level of occupational income. At the same time, the inequality among the strata in the area of education is significant, although not as great as the inequality in regard to income.

The strata that make up the workforces of seven countries⁷ can be divided by educational achievement into three levels—higher, intermediate and lower—which account for around 3%, 20% and 74% of the working population, in that order.⁸ The higher level includes professionals with almost 15 years of schooling; thus, their educational level is

considerably higher than that of the other strata. The intermediate level consists of executives and managers, technicians, administrative employees and entrepreneurs with a minimum of 8.9 and a maximum of 12.1 years of schooling. The lower level includes workers in commerce, blue-collar workers, artisans and drivers, and personal services and agricultural workers. Within this segment, the urban strata have a higher level of education, ranging from 5.5 to 7.3 years of schooling, while among agricultural workers, the average is just 2.9 years (see table II.5).

Previous ECLAC studies have drawn attention to the fact that 10 years of schooling seems to be the minimum required in order for education to

7 The Mexican survey does not provide information on the educational level of the workforce.

8 Although just over 3% of the employed population was not identified by stratum, the number of years of schooling for the group was 6.8 years, which puts it in the lower level.

Table II.5

LATIN AMERICA (7 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY OCCUPATIONAL STRATA, 1997 ^{*/} (Years of schooling)							
	Brazil ^{a/}	Chile ^{b/}	Colombia ^{c/}	Costa Rica	El Salvador	Panama	Venezuela ^{d/}
Employers	9.0	12.4	7.8	8.0	7.0	10.9	9.0
Executives/managers	10.7	11.4	14.2	13.4	15.0	13.4	13.7
Professionals	15.0	16.3	14.3	14.3	17.0	16.3	14.2
Technicians	11.2	13.4	—	13.2	13.0	14.6	—
Administrative employees	10.1	12.5	11.0	10.9	11.5	12.6	10.8
Workers in commerce	7.0	10.2	7.7	8.0	5.5	9.5	8.0
Blue-collar workers/ artisans/drivers	5.3	9.5	6.7	6.8	6.1	8.7	7.4
Personal services workers	4.8	9.0	6.4	6.5	5.2	7.6	6.7
Agricultural workers	2.5	6.4	3.4	4.7	2.6	4.9	4.0
Total	6.1	10.4	7.3	7.9	6.2	9.5	8.5

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries.

^{*/} For survey dates in each country, see box II.1.

^{a/} No distinction is made between public- and private-sector workers. Unpaid agricultural workers include subsistence farmers. Salaried farm workers who say they do not know how many employees work in the company are considered to be employed by small enterprises.

^{b/} No distinction is made between public- and private-sector workers.

^{c/} No distinction is made as regards the size of establishments or between professionals and technicians.

^{d/} No distinction is made between large and medium-sized establishments, or between professionals and technicians. Workers in domestic service are included in the category of service workers.

contribute significantly to reducing poverty (ECLAC, 1995, chapter VI). A person with less than 10 years' schooling who does not own any productive assets has very little prospect of rising above the lower levels of occupational income. Again, even attaining an intermediate educational level is no guarantee of a comparable occupational income. In order to have a reasonable prospect of reaching an intermediate or higher level of income, workers would need to have more than 12 years of schooling, and in order to improve their prospects, they would need to reach a higher educational level, i.e., 14 or more years of study. These findings show the enormous effort that will have to be made by the families and governments of the region in order to improve the educational position of the workforce.

Generally speaking, the ranking of occupational strata by educational level matches the occupational

income ranking, which confirms the conventional idea that there is a close link between the two. Nonetheless, there are some important differences. First of all, it is interesting to note that professional workers have attained a level of education that sets them clearly above the strata with which they share the top ranking by occupational income; thus, they stand out as a true educational elite, just as employers are an elite in terms of income. Employers stand lower in the ranking by educational level than in the classification by occupational income, which shows the important role that owning productive assets plays in improving income. It must not be forgotten, however, that there are big differences in the educational levels of different types of employers. Those operating medium-sized and large establishments generally have considerably higher educational levels than those in small establishments and even more so than employers in microenterprises.

Furthermore, as is well known, in this stratum, earned income is often combined with income from assets, especially in the case of employers with smaller establishments, which gives a somewhat distorted impression. Another important difference is that non-manual occupations are ranked differently by educational level and by income. As far as income is concerned, the main cut-off point is between the higher level—with an average income of 13.7 poverty lines—and the rest, where the best-paid group is that of technicians, who earn 5.3 times the poverty line. As regards education, the main cut-off point is between non-manual occupations and the rest. This difference between the main cut-off points of the two structures shows that technicians and administrative employees are the most affected by the situation, since on the whole they have the same educational level as executives and managers and a considerably higher one than employers, but they earn far less, their incomes being quite close to those of workers in commerce and blue-collar workers. Furthermore, the figures confirm the aforementioned observations about the disparity between educational and income levels that characterizes the non-manual occupations requiring lower levels of skill.

The structure of occupations by level of education differs among countries, mainly owing to the considerable variations in their average educational levels, which range from 10.4 years of schooling in Chile to 6.1 years in Brazil. A comparison of the structures in these two countries shows that, for the same occupational strata in the two countries, the difference in years of schooling tends to be greater the lower down in the scale one goes. Professionals have the same level of education in both countries; there is less than one year's difference between executives and managers; in the case of technical and administrative employees, the difference is around two years; and in that of workers in commerce and all manual workers, it is four years. Consequently, by

increasing the number of years of schooling attained by the lower occupational strata, the improvement of education in Chile has contributed significantly to reducing educational disparities among the occupational strata. In Brazil, for example, a professional has 11 years more education than a blue-collar worker and 13 more than an agricultural worker, while in Chile these differences are smaller, the figures being 7 and 10 years respectively. All this is quite separate from any consideration relating to quality of education.

The improvement of equality in educational levels, however, has not been matched by a lessening of income disparities among strata within a given country. If anything, the opposite is the case, and the influence of rising educational levels in improving occupational incomes is diminishing. As mentioned earlier, Chile has a far higher average educational level than Brazil, and its average occupational income is also considerably higher (7.4 and 4.5 PLs respectively). Furthermore, a comparison of educational levels of the same strata in the two countries showed the lower strata in Chile to be well ahead. Despite these advantages, administrative employees, workers in commerce and many blue-collar workers in Chile have not managed to attain higher occupational incomes than their Brazilian counterparts. In short, the rise in the educational level of administrative employees, workers in commerce and all urban manual workers that has taken place in Chile has not lived up to expectations, since all these categories of workers earn incomes that are well below the average for their own country and similar to the earnings for the same jobs in countries with far lower average educational and earned income levels. This is not to say that the rise in educational level has no effect in terms of improving occupational income, but it does sound a warning for policy approaches in which improving education is considered sufficient for improving incomes in the lower strata.

F. Stratification of occupations and households

Average household income is greatly influenced by the occupation of the main breadwinner. Indeed, the stratification of households by per capita income closely matches the stratification by occupation of the main breadwinner. To overcome the limitations that the income of the main breadwinner places on household living standards, particularly in the middle and lower strata, around half of the households in these strata have more than one member who is active in the labour market. When the occupational income of the main breadwinner is inadequate, increasing occupational density is usually an effective way for a household to avoid or reduce the severity of poverty or to improve its prospects of social mobility.

The position of a household in the stratification scale is strongly influenced by the occupation of its main breadwinner. As has already been mentioned, per capita household income is affected by factors such as size, number of members, number of employed members and availability of non-occupational income. Although such factors influence average household income, they do not alter the fact that the occupation of the main breadwinner plays a major role in determining family income and hence the position of the household on the income scale. As mentioned earlier, studies of income distribution among households have shown that in the late 1990s, average income was situated around the seventy-fifth percentile, which means that three out of every four households had below-average incomes. At

the same time, an analysis of occupational income distribution among those belonging to a given stratum shows that in many countries, the average for most occupations is somewhere around the seventieth percentile, so that 7 out of every 10 employed persons earn less than the average for their category. Thus, in an aggregate distribution of income by occupation, it is the lower levels that have a greater concentration of employed persons with below-average earnings.

Leaving aside the large national variations and the internal differences within strata, the weighted averages for the overall employed population in the eight countries analysed indicate that when the main contributors to household income are employers, managers or professionals, per capita

household income from work ranges from 5.3 to 7.5 PLs; when they are technicians, it is 2.9 PLs; administrative employees, 2.6 PLs; workers in commerce, 2.0 PLs; blue-collar workers and artisans, 1.5 PLs; personal services workers, 1.2 PLs; and agricultural workers, 0.9 PL. In the countries studied, the weighted average for per capita occupational income of the total population of households with employed members is 2.2 PLs, although this figure falls to 2.0 PLs when the members of households where nobody is working are included. As might be expected, the national totals usually reflect the average income for occupations in each of the countries in question. Chilean households have the highest per capita earned income (3.6 PLs, in households with working members), and they are followed by Costa Rica and Brazil (2.6 PLs), Panama (2.5 PLs), Colombia and Mexico

(1.7 PLs), Venezuela (1.6 PLs) and El Salvador (1.5 PLs) (see table II.6).

As is often the case in Latin America, the characteristics of households grouped according to the occupation of the main breadwinner are very diverse. In analysing the relationship between household income and occupational structure, it is important to take into account at least the number of working members and the size of the household. As has been pointed out in previous editions of *Social Panorama of Latin America*, having more than one member work is a crucial resource for households seeking to improve their standard of living, particularly in the case of large households in which the main breadwinner's income is low. The analysis that follows looks at the percentages of households where no one works, where one person works and where two or more people work, as well as their

Table II.6

LATIN AMERICA (8 COUNTRIES): PER CAPITA HOUSEHOLD INCOME FROM WORK, BY OCCUPATIONAL STRATA OF MAIN BREADWINNERS, 1997 a/									
(In poverty line equivalents)									
	Brazil	Chile	Colombia	Costa Rica	El Salvador	Mexico	Panama	Venezuela	Total b/
Households with no employed members	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Employers	7.6	12.8	4.0	3.6	3.0	5.4	6.3	4.0	6.3
Executives/managers	6.0	6.7	4.6	5.1	4.5	4.6	4.5	2.7	5.3
Professionals	10.2	8.7		4.7	3.9	4.0	6.2		5.2
Technicians	3.3	4.3	3.4 c/	3.7	2.3	2.0	3.9	2.6 c/	2.9
Administrative employees	3.3	2.6	1.9	2.6	2.0	2.0	2.3	1.1	2.6
Workers in commerce	2.4	2.4	1.5	2.3	1.2	1.5	2.3	1.9	2.0
Blue-collar workers/artisans/drivers	1.8	2.0	1.2	2.1	1.2	1.1	1.9	1.3	1.5
Personal services workers	1.3	1.6	1.1	1.7	1.1	1.0	1.4	0.9	1.2
Agricultural workers	0.9	1.7	1.1	1.9	0.7	0.8	1.1	0.9	0.9
Total									
Households with working members	2.6	3.6	1.7	2.6	1.5	1.7	2.5	1.6	2.2
All households	2.2	3.1	1.6	2.3	1.3	1.6	2.2	1.6	2.0

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries.

a/ For survey dates in each country, see box II.1.

b/ Weighted average for the eight countries, except in the case of professionals and technicians, for which only six countries were considered, as Venezuela and Colombia do not differentiate between these strata.

c/ Includes professionals and technicians.

average incomes and per capita incomes. The purpose is to measure the effect of greater occupational density for social mobility and poverty. Generally speaking, for every additional member who works, unless that person is unpaid, household income increases. Nonetheless, the characteristics of a household with more than one employed member could be such that it would not necessarily be able to generate a higher per capita income than a household with just one working member. There are only a few countries and occupational groups in which increasing the number of employed members in a household actually contributes to a significant increase in per capita income by comparison with households having just one employed member. To a large extent, this justifies taking the main breadwinner as the basic criterion for the stratification of occupations and households by income.

Taking the eight countries together, 49% of households have more than one employed member, while 40.6% have just one and 10.4% have none. Of this last group, 9.2% have economically inactive heads of

household and 1.2% have unemployed heads of household (see table II.7). The average number of employed persons per household does not vary much among the countries: it is 1.9, considering only households with at least one working member, and 1.6, considering all households. The countries with higher occupational incomes have fewer employed members than the average (Chile, 1.4; Costa Rica and Panama 1.5, considering all households), while those with lower occupational incomes, at least the average (Colombia and El Salvador, 1.6; Brazil, 1.7; Venezuela, 1.8; Mexico, 1.9) (see table II.8). The percentage of households with more than one employed member is also higher in countries with lower average occupational incomes (Venezuela, 52.6%; Brazil, 50.6%; Mexico, 47.9%, and Colombia and El Salvador, 47.4%) than in those with higher occupational incomes (Chile, 40.6%; Panama, 41.6%, and Costa Rica, 43.6%). This is partly due to the fact that the latter have a higher proportion of households with no employed member, particularly those with inactive heads.

Table II.7

LATIN AMERICA (8 COUNTRIES): DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY NUMBER OF EMPLOYED MEMBERS, TYPE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLDS AND POVERTY STATUS, 1997 ^{a/} (Percentages)											
	Distribution of household						Percentage of poor households in each category				
	Total	No employed members			One employed members	More than one employed member	Total	No employed members		One employed members	More than one employed member
		Inactive head	Unemployed head	Total				Inactive head	Unemployed head		
Brazil	100.0	10.3	1.3	11.6	37.8	50.6	28.6	21.2	77.8	32.9	25.7
Chile	100.0	11.7	2.6	14.3	45.1	40.6	17.8	21.2	73.8	23.2	7.2
Colombia	100.0	7.1	1.5	8.6	44.0	47.4	44.9	51.6	83.4	53.5	34.7
Costa Rica	100.0	9.6	0.9	10.5	45.9	43.6	20.2	52.7	88.7	23.5	8.3
El Salvador	100.0	8.2	1.9	10.1	42.4	47.4	48.0	56.3	76.9	53.7	40.3
Mexico	100.0	7.2	0.2	7.4	44.7	47.9	38.0	36.9	38.4	38.3	37.9
Panama	100.0	9.8	2.1	11.9	46.4	41.6	27.2	37.8	79.5	32.5	16.0
Venezuela	100.0	5.2	1.4	6.6	40.8	52.6	42.3	52.2	85.2	54.6	30.6
Total	100.0	9.2	1.2	10.4	40.6	49.0	32.1	29.5	70.6	36.4	28.0

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries.

a/ For survey dates in each country, see box II.1.

Table II.8

LATIN AMERICA (8 COUNTRIES): NUMBER OF EMPLOYED MEMBERS AND OCCUPATIONAL DENSITY OF HOUSEHOLDS, BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUP OR STRATUM TO WHICH THE MAIN BREADWINNER BELONGS, 1997																		
	Brazil		Chile		Colombia		Costa Rica		El Salvador		Mexico		Panama		Venezuela		Total	
	EMH a/	OD b/	EMH	OD	EMH	OD	EMH	OD	EMH	OD	EMH	OD	EMH	OD	EMH	OD	EMH	OD
Employers	2.0	0.57	1.9	0.50	2.0	0.52	2.0	0.49	1.9	0.45	2.0	0.51	2.0	0.53	2.1	0.47	2.0	0.53
Executives/Managers	1.8	0.54	1.9	0.50	1.7	0.51	1.9	0.50	1.9	0.46	1.7	0.49	1.8	0.49	1.9	0.45	1.8	0.51
Professionals	1.7	0.56	1.7	0.52	1.8	0.52 c/	1.7	0.47	1.7	0.47	1.8	0.52	1.8	0.51	1.9	0.49 c/	1.8	0.53
Technicians	1.8	0.56	1.7	0.48			1.8	0.49	1.8	0.45	1.8	0.49	1.8	0.51			1.8	0.52
Administrative employees	1.8	0.53	1.7	0.48	1.9	0.47	1.8	0.46	1.8	0.46	1.8	0.48	1.7	0.46	1.8	0.44	1.8	0.50
Workers in commerce	1.9	0.53	1.7	0.47	1.7	0.48	1.7	0.45	1.7	0.46	1.9	0.50	1.7	0.49	2.0	0.47	1.9	0.51
Personal services workers	1.8	0.51	1.6	0.45	1.6	0.44	1.6	0.44	1.9	0.44	1.9	0.50	1.5	0.46	1.7	0.41	1.8	0.49
Blue-collar workers/artisans/drivers	1.8	0.48	1.6	0.42	1.7	0.42	1.7	0.42	1.8	0.44	1.8	0.43	1.6	0.43	1.9	0.41	1.8	0.45
Agricultural workers	2.3	0.58	1.6	0.42	1.8	0.44	1.6	0.43	1.7	0.40	1.9	0.46	1.6	0.48	1.9	0.44	2.1	0.51
Total employed members	1.9	0.53	1.7	0.45	1.8	0.46	1.7	0.45	1.8	0.44	1.9	1.47	1.7	0.47	1.9	0.45	1.9	0.49
Total (including households with no employed members)	1.7	0.46	1.4	0.39	1.6	0.42	1.5	0.40	1.6	0.39	1.7	0.44	1.5	0.41	1.8	0.41	1.6	0.41

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries.

a/ EMH: Employed members per household.

b/ OD: Occupational density.

c/ Includes professionals and technicians.

Likewise, there is little variation in the average number of employed members per household when households are grouped by the occupation of the main breadwinner. Households headed by employers have 2.0 employed members; by agricultural workers, 2.1, and the remaining strata, between 1.8 and 1.9. Occupational density (considering a weighted average of 0.49 for all households with employed members) is slightly above average in households whose main breadwinners have non-manual occupations or are agricultural workers, and just below average in those where they hold urban manual jobs. Thus, taken all together, households generally do not differ much as

regards the number of employed members or occupational density, regardless of the occupation of the main breadwinner. These general conclusions are strongly influenced, however, by the figures for Brazil and Mexico, which heavily tip the weighted average. When the countries are analysed separately, it becomes apparent that in those with the highest average incomes from work, occupational density is considerably lower in the lower income strata. In Chile, for example, households whose main breadwinners belong to the higher occupational strata have an occupational density of between 0.50 and 0.52, while the figure for manual workers is no more than 0.45.⁹

9 A detailed analysis of occupational density in the different countries is provided in *Social Panorama of Latin America, 1998* (ECLAC, 1999b).

In all the countries, the average income of households with more than one employed member is double that of those with just one employed member. For example, the figures are 10.2 and 5.9 PLs for the two types of household in Brazil, 16.4 and 8.6 PLs in Chile, 8.4 and 3.9 PLs in Colombia, 12.9 and 6.5 PLs in Costa Rica, 6.2 and 4.4 PLs in Mexico, and the differences are of the same order in the other countries. As has already been pointed out, however, the households concerned are usually quite large, and thus, the increase in income is often spread among more people. When the two types of household—one employed member and more than one employed member—are compared not by average income but by per capita income from work, the difference between them is just 17% in Brazil, 30% in Chile, a little over 40% in Colombia and Costa Rica, and zero in Mexico. Larger households have more employed members, a fact which considerably increases their average income and enables them to enjoy a better standard of living. Nonetheless, their per capita income is often no higher than that of households with just one employed member; this shows, on the one hand, that without the extra employment they would have been in a very difficult position and, on the other, that although they are generally better off, the improvement is not as significant as it would have been had they had fewer members overall.

Considering these national variations, one might assume that households whose main breadwinners have intermediate- and higher-level occupations would be able to improve their standard of living because of the positive effect of higher occupational density on the family income. The number of employed members in these households is similar to the number of working members in the lower-level occupational strata, but their occupational density is higher because they have fewer members. Such households do indeed have a higher average income when they have more than one person working, but the extra amount is not very large by comparison with the other strata, as the additional breadwinners earn considerably less than the main breadwinner. Furthermore, it is likely that households with more than one employed member are those that have a

relatively low occupational income by the standards of their stratum, and sometimes, if the main breadwinner in a small household has a high income, he or she may be the only person working. As noted earlier, these factors need to be considered alongside the fact that in this stratum, as in the others, it is the larger households that tend to have more than one employed member, so that in a number of countries, the per capita occupational income of households with two or more employed members does not differ from that of households with one person working. This is the case, for example, in Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Venezuela. It may well be thought, though, that households whose main breadwinners belong to the lower occupational stratum could benefit proportionately much more from having more employed members, since for households in the higher occupational strata, the extra earnings obtained in this way do not increase average income to the same degree that they do in the case of households in the lower strata.

In terms of social mobility, the greatest impact of having more employed members is not felt in households whose main breadwinners are at either end of the scale. As noted above, most households in the higher occupational strata do not increase their per capita income from work when they have more than one member working. At the other end of the scale, meanwhile, the households of agricultural workers can generally do no more than mitigate their poverty by this means, since those newly entering the labour market do not add much to the income of very large households, particularly in countries where there is mass poverty in rural areas. In Brazil, for example, households where the main breadwinner is an agricultural worker have the highest number of members working (2.3) of any stratum in any country, but it makes no difference whatsoever to the average income of these households whether they have one, two or more members working.

Households in strata that are not at either end of the scale—in particular, administrative employees, workers in commerce and those with urban manual occupations—tend to benefit more, in terms of

social mobility, from having more household members working. In almost all the countries, households belonging to these strata —ranked by the occupation of the main breadwinner— increase their average occupational incomes substantially, and the result in per capita terms is almost as positive. With the exceptions of Brazil and Mexico, having more than one employed member rather than just one can mean a considerable increase in per capita income from work among households in the urban manual and less-skilled non-manual strata.

These occupational strata include those whose membership of the “middle class” has been a matter of controversy. The available data show that many households whose heads belong to these strata have attained a standard of living considerably higher than they would have had with just one person working, and that this has helped them move up in society. This is an important phenomenon, but one which cannot be regarded as characteristic of the region as a whole, since it has not been evident in Mexico and has occurred only to a limited extent in Brazil. Furthermore, given the occupational income gap between the upper and the intermediate strata, the extra earnings generated by higher occupational density are not enough to move intermediate-level households up into the higher bracket. This has only occurred in Costa Rica, where, as noted above, the differences between the occupational incomes of the different strata are small. Nor is it easy for a household whose main breadwinner has a lower-income occupation to ascend to the intermediate level by increasing the number of employed members, although this has happened in some cases. Consequently, the main effect on household occupational income of an increase in the number of employed members occurs within the income limits of each level.

As mentioned above, there are significant differences among countries when it comes to the effect that an increase in the number of employed members per household has on per capita household income from work. Whereas in Mexico it makes no difference to average household income whether

one, two or more people work, and in Brazil the effect is very small, in households in the other countries the effect is considerable.

Greater occupational density helps reduce poverty, particularly in households whose main breadwinner has a lower-income occupation, since an intermediate- or higher-level income is obviously sufficient to keep a household above poverty. In order for increased occupational density to help reduce poverty in households whose main breadwinner has a low-income job, if this income is too small, the entry of new members into the labour market may improve the household's living standard and alleviate its poverty, but it will not be enough for the family to escape poverty altogether. This difficulty is particularly apparent in households where the main breadwinner is an agricultural worker; in this stratum, not only are households large and occupational incomes low, but a large proportion of the new workers are unpaid family members. When the income of agricultural workers is relatively high and the proportion of unpaid family members is low, as in Chile and Costa Rica, an increase in the number of employed members does contribute towards reducing the incidence of poverty. In Chile, 37% of poor households have only one employed member, but when more than one member is working, the share of poor households falls to 17%; in Costa Rica, the figures are 32% and 20% respectively. In the other six countries, where the average occupational income in this stratum is lower and the proportion of unpaid family workers is higher, a rise in the number of members working has little effect in terms of reducing household poverty.

Because the proportion of unpaid family members in the non-agricultural manual strata is much lower, as are household sizes in most cases, the addition of new employed members in households whose main breadwinner is a blue-collar worker, an artisan or a personal services worker usually leads to a more significant improvement in total household income. Whether this is enough to raise such a household out of poverty, however, also depends on the occupational income level of both the main breadwinner and the new one. For example, where the occupational

income of personal services workers is relatively high, as in Chile and Costa Rica, the addition of new workers who contribute to total income reduces the proportion of poor households from 33% to 13% and from 39% to 14% respectively. By contrast, when the occupational income of such workers is lower, as in El Salvador and Mexico, the addition of new workers does not reduce the proportion of poor households, or does so to a very limited extent.

A similar situation obtains in the case of households in which the main breadwinner is a non-agricultural manual worker or a less-skilled non-manual worker. This confirms the important conclusion that an increase in the occupational density of households where the main breadwinner has a lower-level occupation will only have a significant effect in terms of reducing the proportion of poor households when occupational incomes at this level are not excessively low. This effect could also be extended if the occupational density of these households were increased, either by a rise in the number of employed members per household or, in the long term, by a reduction in the size of households.

In any event, the fact that higher occupational density is not enough to reduce the proportion of

poor households when occupational incomes are very low does not mean that this cannot contribute to improving living standards. There is no question that in such cases, it does have the positive effect of mitigating the severity of poverty and reducing the proportion of households that are indigent.

In conclusion, it is evident from the characteristics of occupational stratification that the differences in the incomes generated by different occupations play a central role in the stratification of households by income level. It is also clear that in most of the countries considered in this study, large households whose main breadwinner belongs to the lower occupational stratum would be in an extremely difficult position were they not able to improve matters by increasing the number of members working. Again, it is usually in the middle strata that the number of employed members in a household can play a significant role in terms of social mobility. Lastly, in households where the main breadwinner belongs to the lower stratum, increasing the number of working members is a very important way to reduce the severity of poverty in countries with lower per capita incomes, and of reducing the percentages of poverty in countries with higher per capita incomes.



Productive absorption and the employment structure at the end of the 1990s

A. Main trends in unemployment during 1998-1999 and in job insecurity during the 1990s

During the period 1998-1999, the open unemployment rates of the countries in the region followed the trend of production activity, although to differing degrees, depending on the particular characteristics of the labour market in each case. Thus, in 1999, unemployment continued to fall in Mexico and in most of the Central American and Caribbean countries, while it rose sharply in Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela and more moderately in Argentina, Bolivia and Uruguay, and remained steady in Brazil, after a rise in 1998. In addition, the trend towards increasingly insecure working conditions that had been a feature of the entire decade, as evidenced in the growth of non-permanent forms of waged work and the rising percentage of workers who have no employment contract or social security coverage, tended on the whole to become entrenched.

1. Trends in open unemployment

In 1998, and even more so in 1999, the economic growth discussed in chapter I had major repercussions on the labour markets of the region's countries. In Mexico and the Central American and Caribbean countries, which displayed considerable economic dynamism, open unemployment fell. Nevertheless, rates remain relatively high in some of these countries, including the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Panama, where they are still over 10% of the workforce. The case of Mexico is worth noting, however. After increasing sharply in 1995, to over 6%, urban unemployment fell dramatically in subse-

quent years, so that by 1999 it stood at a record low of 2.5% (see table III.1).

By contrast with the situation described above, unemployment rose over the last two years in most of the South American countries. This increase was particularly sharp in Chile, where the stagnation of output in 1999 caused national unemployment to rise from 6.4% in 1998 to 9.8% in 1999.¹ The situation in Argentina was similar, although the relative effect was much less marked, as the 3.0% fall in output which occurred in 1999 caused the unem-

¹ The rise in unemployment in Chile began in the second quarter of 1998.

Table III.1

LATIN AMERICA (18 COUNTRIES): OPEN UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, 1990-1999 (Average annual rates)											
Country	Geographical coverage	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999 a/
Latin America		5.8	5.8	6.5	6.5	6.6	7.5	7.9	7.5	8.1	8.7
Argentina	Urban areas b/	7.4	6.5	7	9.6	11.5	17.5	17.2	14.9	12.9	14.3
Bolivia	Departmental capitals	7.3	5.8	5.4	5.8	3.1	3.6	3.8	4.4	4.1	6.1
Brazil	Six metropolitan areas	4.3	4.8	5.8	5.4	5.1	4.6	5.4	5.7	7.6	7.6
Chile	National total	7.8	8.2	6.7	6.5	7.8	7.4	6.4	6.1	6.4	9.8
Colombia c/	Seven metropolitan areas	10.5	10.2	10.2	8.6	8.9	8.8	11.2	12.4	15.3	19.4
Costa Rica	Urban total	5.4	6	4.3	4	4.3	5.7	6.6	5.9	5.4	6.2
Ecuador c/	Urban total	6.1	8.5	8.9	8.9	7.8	7.7	10.4	9.3	11.5	14.4
El Salvador	Urban total	10	7.9	8.2	8.1	7	7	7.5	7.5	7.6	6.9
Guatemala d/	National total	6	4	1.5	2.5	3.3	3.7	3.7	5	5.9	...
Honduras	Urban total	7.8	7.4	6	7	4	5.6	6.5	5.8	5.2	5.3
Mexico	Urban areas b/	2.7	2.7	2.8	3.4	3.7	6.2	5.5	3.7	3.2	2.5
Nicaragua	National total	7.6	11.5	14.4	17.8	17.1	16.9	16	14.3	13.2	10.7
Panama c/	Metropolitan region	20	19.3	17.5	15.6	16	16.6	16.9	15.5	15.2	14
Paraguay	Metropolitan Asuncion e/	6.6	5.1	5.3	5.1	4.4	5.3	8.2	6.9	6.6	9.4
Peru	Metropolitan Lima	8.3	5.9	9.4	9.9	8.8	8.2	8	9.2	8.4	9.2
Dominican Republic c/	National total	...	19.6	20.3	19.9	16	15.8	16.5	15.9	14.3	13.8
Uruguay	Urban total	8.5	8.9	9	8.3	9.2	10.3	11.9	11.5	10.1	11.3
Venezuela	National total	10.4	9.5	7.8	6.6	8.7	10.3	11.8	11.4	11.3	14.9

Source: ECLAC, based on official figures.

a/ Preliminary figures.

b/ Represents a large and growing number of urban areas.

c/ Includes hidden unemployment.

d/ Official estimates.

e/ From 1994 onwards, the figures are for the urban total.

ployment rate to rise by about 1.5 percentage points (from 12.9% to 14.3%). In Brazil, where output grew by about 1% over the biennium, unemployment remained steady at 7.6%, a level that is nonetheless high for the country when compared with the figures obtaining in the 1990s. In Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela, the countries most affected by the economic crisis, drops in output of 5% or more in 1999 led to increases of 3 to 4 percentage points in the unemployment rate, so that workforce unemployment levels in that year averaged about 20% in Colombia and 15% in Ecuador and Venezuela.²

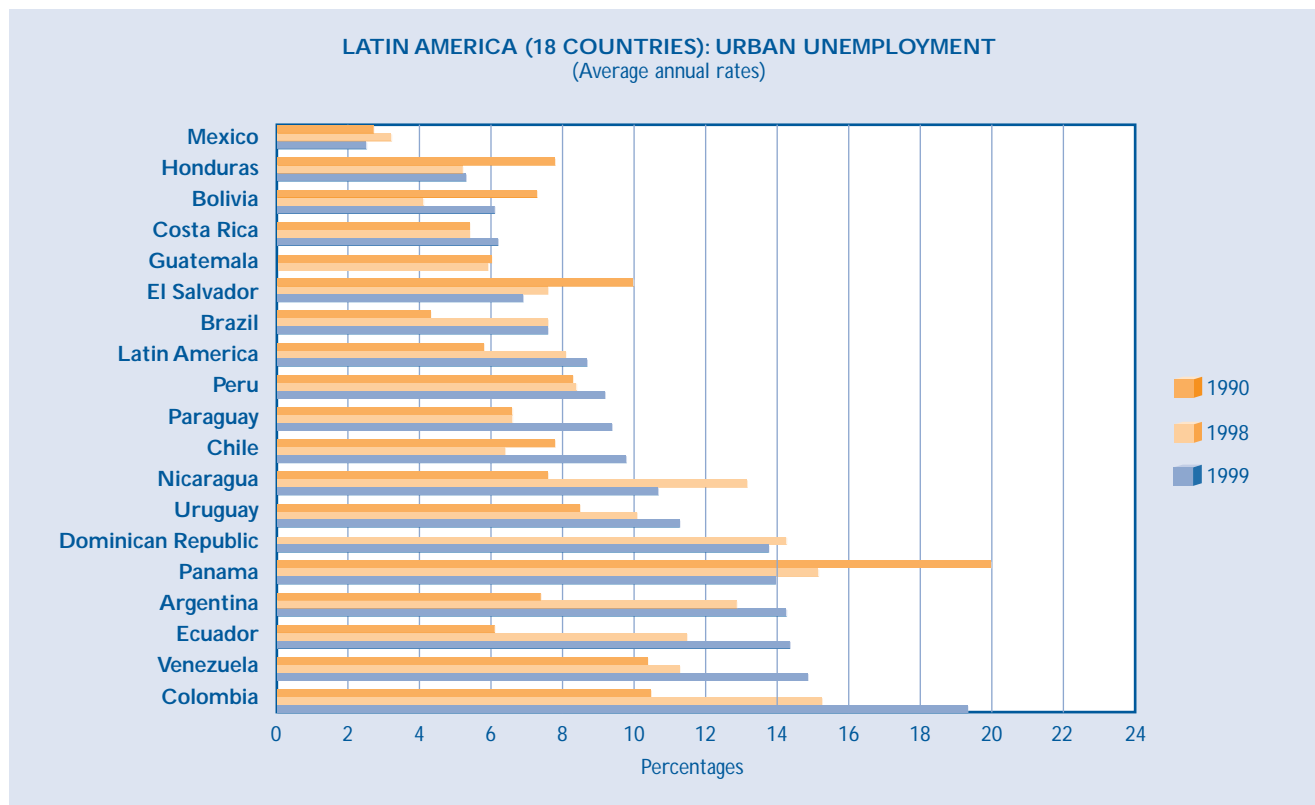
As well as illustrating the performance of unemployment towards the end of the 1990s, these figures show that the unemployment rates of the different countries react with different degrees of sensitivity to

changes in the economic growth rates (see figure III.1). They also reveal that the unemployment rates of the region in 1999, which averaged 8.7%, were the highest of the entire decade, being 0.7 percentage points above the 1998 average and almost 3 points above the 5.8% average obtaining in 1990-1991. Thus, they represent a further worsening of the negative trend in the labour market that began in the middle of the decade. This resurgence of unemployment throughout Latin America took place despite the fact that in 1999, the overall participation rate fell—in a reversal of the long-term upward trend—from 58.5% to 57.9%.³ The bulk of this decline was accounted for by Brazil and Mexico, and it prevented unemployment from rising to even higher levels, particularly in the case of Brazil.

² The unemployment figures for Colombia and Ecuador, as well as for the Dominican Republic and Panama, include so-called hidden unemployment.

³ The surveys used as a basis for the two studies cover the fourth quarters of 1996 and 1998, and thus make it possible to see the effect of developments during 1997 and 1998.

Figure III.1



Source: ECLAC, based on official figures.

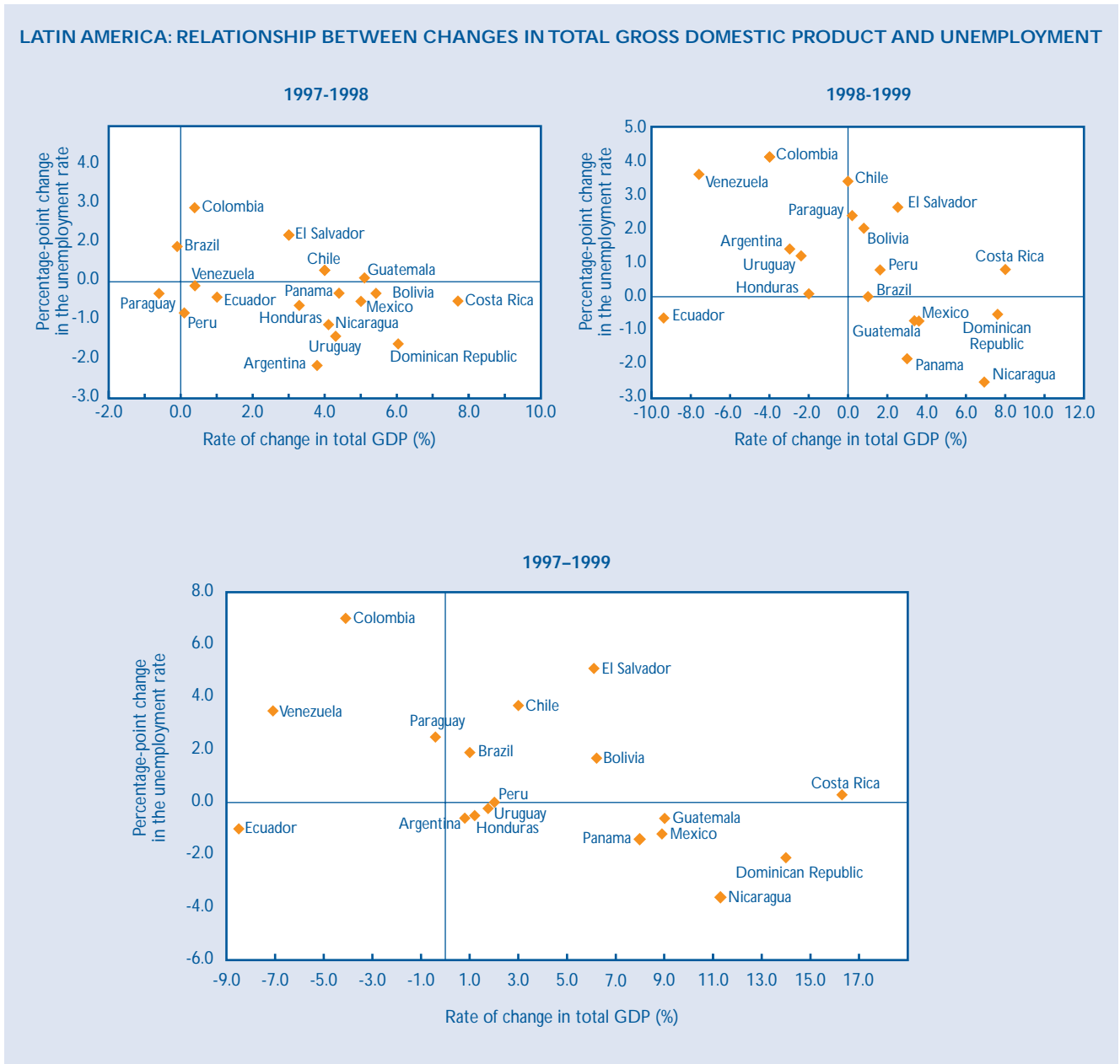
2. INCREASED INSECURITY IN THE LABOUR MARKET

Among the long-term trends observed in the region’s labour markets, this edition of *Social Panorama of Latin America* draws attention to some issues relating to insecurity of employment.

As is well known, the economic restructuring in which the countries of Latin America are engaged has accentuated certain trends in the labour market, but it has also brought some significant changes in the organization of labour and even in the very concept of work. One of the more important of these changes is the way that waged work has often been replaced by flexible working arrangements. As the countries have recognized the need to participate competitively in the world economy, this increased flexibility has been inter-

preted primarily as meaning more deregulation. Thus it is that initiatives in this regard, which in most of the region’s countries have entailed passing new labour legislation, have primarily been aimed at cutting labour costs by facilitating short-term hiring (temporary, seasonal or part-time), extending the grounds for termination of contracts, reducing severance pay and limiting the right to strike. In parallel with this, workers’ collective bargaining and union membership arrangements have been affected. The weakening of labour rights and of workers’ organizations has led to greater insecurity and instability for the workforce, to the point where many workers in the region are trapped in a vicious circle of economic insecurity, job insecurity and social insecurity (ILO, 1999b).

Figure III.2



Source: ECLAC, based on official figures.

(a) Temporary employees

One of the manifestations of this increased job insecurity in the 1990s was the rise in the percentage of waged workers who had temporary (non-permanent) jobs. In the urban areas of Chile and Costa Rica, two countries for which data are available, there has been a significant increase in the share of the waged workforce who are

employed in non-permanent jobs; this occurred mainly during the 1980s. In Colombia, this trend has been even more marked, with the proportion of urban wage earners employed on a non-permanent basis rising from 6.6% in 1980 to 20.0% in 1997. In that same year (1997), the share of non-permanent jobs in the countries studied ranged from 9.5% (Costa Rica) to 45.1% (Ecuador) (see table III.2).

Table III.2

LATIN AMERICA (7 COUNTRIES): LEVELS OF NON-PERMANENT WAGED EMPLOYMENT IN URBAN AREAS (As percentage of all wage earners)				
Country	Year	Size of establishment		
		Total	Up to 5 employees	More than 5 employees
Argentina	1997	17.9	27.0	14.0
Chile	1990	11.0	-	-
	1998	16.9	17.7	16.6
Colombia	1980	6.6	-	-
	1997	20.0	-	-
Costa Rica	1981	1.1	3.0	0.6
	1990	9.4	20.6	6.6
	1997	9.5	20.3	6.5
Ecuador	1997	45.1	69.5	35.6
El Salvador	1995	26.3	68.2	18.2
Venezuela	1997	15.4	20.9	13.7

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries.

Non-permanent employment is most common in microenterprises employing 5 or fewer workers, where the percentages are at least double those found in larger firms. Given the large and growing share of wage earners who work in microenterprises and small enterprises in most of the region's countries, it seems likely that the problems of insecurity associated with non-permanent employment will worsen to some degree in future.

Temporary waged employment is a feature of virtually all branches of economic activity, although it is most frequent and widespread in the services sector. The highest percentages of temporary employees are found among those who are under 30, women and people with low levels of education (see Martínez and Tokman, 1999).

(b) Wage earners without contracts

The insecurity of employment in the Latin American countries is also reflected in the high proportion of urban wage earners who work without a contract. During the 1990s, the waged labour force gradually lost

what had been one of its most distinctive features, namely, the stability and security of a job contract, usually of indefinite duration. Around 1996, it was noted that high percentages of urban wage earners did not have such contracts. According to the information available for seven countries in the region, in that year, this was the case with over 40% of wage earners in three of them (Paraguay, 65%; Brazil, 46%; and Peru, 41%) and around one third in Argentina (33%) and Colombia (31%). More recent figures for Chile and Mexico show that in 1998, the proportion of wage earners without employment contracts was over one fifth (22%) in Chile and almost two fifths (38%) in Mexico (see table III.3).

The trend in the 1990s was for the proportion of wage earners without contracts to increase in these countries, the only exception being Colombia, where there appears to have been a decline of around 7 percentage points between 1989 and 1996. The increases were particularly large in Argentina, Brazil and Peru, where they were in excess of 11 percentage points.

Job insecurity, measured in this case by the absence of a contract, is particularly prevalent among wage

Table III.3

LATIN AMERICA (7 COUNTRIES): WAGE EARNERS WITHOUT EMPLOYMENT CONTRACTS IN URBAN AREAS (As percentage of all wage earners)				
Country	Year	Size of establishment		
		Total	Up to 5 employees	More than 5 employees
Argentina a/	1990	21.9	-	-
	1996	33.0	-	-
Brazil	1990	35.1	-	-
	1996	46.3	69.3	37.6
Chile	1990	15.1	30.0	10.7
	1998	22.2	51.7	13.9
Colombia b/	1989	37.5	-	-
	1996	31.0	-	-
Mexico	1989	32.4	-	-
	1998	37.7	80.3	21.9
Paraguay	1995	64.9	94.6	54.4
Peru c/	1989	29.9	-	-
	1997	41.1	-	-

Source: Brazil, Chile, Mexico and Paraguay: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries. Argentina, Peru and Colombia: D. Martinez and V. Tokman, "Efectos de las reformas laborales: entre el empleo y la desprotección", *Flexibilización en el margen: la reforma del contrato de trabajo*, Lima, International Labour Organization (ILO), Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean, 1999, p. 15.

a/ Greater Buenos Aires: industry and services.

b/ Industry, construction and services.

c/ 10 metropolitan areas: industry, construction and services.

earners in microenterprises. In 1996, the gap between these firms and larger ones, in terms of workers hired under contract, was 40 percentage points in Paraguay and just over 30 points in Brazil. In 1998, the spread was almost 38 percentage points in Chile and nearly 60 in Mexico.

Given that microenterprises and small enterprises account for a large and growing proportion of employed workers in the countries of the region, it is safe to say, as in the case of non-permanent forms of waged work, that job insecurity resulting from failure to formalize labour relations by means of employment contracts is very widespread in these countries at the present time.

The type of job insecurity that this indicator measures is also associated with marked wage differences. In all the countries analysed, the occupational incomes of non-permanent employees are significantly lower than those of permanent employees,

and similarly, there is a difference between employees who do not have contracts and those who do. Among wage earners as a whole, the greatest differences are found in Mexico, where in 1996, workers who did not have contracts were paid only 41% as much as those who did. In 1997, Venezuela was the country where the difference between non-permanent and permanent employees was smallest, with the former being paid 76% as much as the latter (see table III.4).

As regards the size of the companies where wage earners are employed, the figures shown in table III.4 show that the differences between those who have contracts and those who do not are smaller in microenterprises than in larger companies, with the sole exception of Paraguay, where in 1995 the earnings ratio between those without contracts and those with them was four points lower in larger firms than in microenterprises (with the index standing at 60% for the former and 56% for the latter).

Table III.4

LATIN AMERICA (10 COUNTRIES): INCOME RATIO BETWEEN NON-PERMANENT AND PERMANENT WORKERS AND WORKERS WITH AND WITHOUT EMPLOYMENT CONTRACTS (Percentages)				
Country	Year	Size of establishment		
		Total	Up to 5 employees	More than 5 employees
Argentina <i>a/</i>	1997	68	73	69
Brazil <i>b/</i>	1990	69	-	-
	1996	65	64	60
Chile <i>b/</i>	1990	59	78	65
	1996	52	63	60
Colombia <i>a/</i>	1980	53	-	-
	1997	59	-	-
Costa Rica <i>a/</i>	1990	53	73	62
	1997	47	68	53
Ecuador <i>a/</i>	1997	63	73	70
El Salvador <i>a/</i>	1997	52	70	55
Mexico <i>b/</i>	1989	55	-	-
	1996	41	55	49
Paraguay <i>b/</i>	1995	51	56	60
Venezuela <i>a/</i>	1997	76	82	79

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries.

a/ Income ratio between non-permanent and permanent workers.

b/ Income ratio between workers with and without employment contracts.

Thus, everything seems to suggest that the job insecurity represented by the absence of an employment contract is closely related to lower pay, which incidentally reaffirms the link between poverty and social vulnerability examined earlier.

(c) Wage earners without social security

Finally, one more manifestation of job insecurity is the lack of protection of workers who are not covered by some social welfare or health insurance system.

In 1997 or thereabouts, in Bolivia and Paraguay, over 60% of wage earners did not have access to social security, with the percentage being over 90% among those working in microenterprises. In

Argentina, Brazil, El Salvador, Mexico and Venezuela, this was the situation with over a third of wage earners, there being differences of over 50 percentage points between employees in microenterprises and those in larger firms. In Chile and Costa Rica, the proportions of workers without protection were significantly lower, as the percentage of wage earners without social security ranged between 20% and 26%, and Uruguay had the best coverage of any country in the region, with coverage extending to virtually all employees (see table III.5).

The figures for the percentages of waged workers left uncovered by social security in these countries in 1997 or thereabouts reflect an upward trend that began in 1990, except in Chile and Mexico, where the numbers tended to remain fairly constant or to decline slightly.

Table III.5

LATIN AMERICA (10 COUNTRIES): WAGED WORKFORCE WITHOUT SOCIAL SECURITY COVERAGE (Percentages)				
Country	Year	Size of establishment		
		Total	Up to 5 employees	More than 5 employees
Argentina	1990	29.9	64.8	18.2
	1997	37.3	74.1	22.7
Bolivia	1989	57.3	88.5	40.3
	1997	61.8	90.7	46.9
Brazil	1990	26.9	-	-
	1996	34.9	68.4	22.4
Chile	1990	20.1	42.5	13.2
	1996	19.6	43.6	13.1
Costa Rica	1990	22.5	66.2	11.8
	1997	26.2	71.2	14.0
El Salvador	1997	45.6	85.2	28.4
Mexico	1989	36.3	-	-
	1996	35.6	79.1	20.3
Paraguay	1995	64.4	94.3	47.2
Uruguay	1981	2.8	5.9	1.9
	1997	3.9	7.0	2.8
Venezuela	1997	38.8	79.1	24.5

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries.

Box III.1

DIFFERENCES IN LABOUR COSTS BETWEEN PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY WORKERS

The data available for some Latin American countries show that the differences in labour costs between permanent and temporary workers are significant. These differences have to do, of course, with the magnitude of employers' contributions to social security schemes, but most of all, they are influenced by the gap between the gross salaries of the two types of workers. In four countries for which information on the structure of labour costs in manufacturing is available, the cost of hiring temporary workers was found to be at least 30% lower than that of hiring permanent workers, even though non-wage costs account for a similar share of total costs in both cases.

AVERAGE COST OF LABOUR PER HOUR WORKED, 1996 (In current dollars)							
	Permanent workers (P)			Temporary workers (T)			Labour cost ratio (T)/(P)
	Wage	NWLC a/	Cost of labour	Wage	NWLC a/	Cost of labour	
Argentina	4.29	1.83	6.12	2.65	0.84	3.49	0.57
Colombia	1.37	0.73	2.10	0.90	0.48	1.38	0.66
Chile	2.38	0.9	3.28	1.40	0.53	1.93	0.59
Peru	1.29	0.83	2.12	0.83	0.54	1.37	0.65

Source: D. Martínez and V. Tokman, "Efectos de las reformas laborales: entre el empleo y la desprotección", *Flexibilización en el margen: la reforma del contrato de trabajo*, Lima, International Labour Organization (ILO), Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean, 1999.

a/ Non-wage labour cost.

B. Productive absorption and structural mobility of the workforce

The changing production patterns and sluggish economic growth of the 1980s and 1990s had a considerable effect on how the workforce was absorbed into the production system and on upward structural mobility. The significant expansion of employment during the 1990s only partially met the expectation that labour would shift from lower-productivity occupational strata to higher-productivity ones. On occasions, the movement was in the opposite direction, so that the prospects for improving the living standards of the majority of the population actually deteriorated.

The economic changes of the last few decades have affected the various urban occupational groups differently. Looking at the overall picture, it is interesting to note that the stratum of salaried professionals and technicians employed in the private sector has benefited from the new circumstances, having increased its participation in the workforce and, in recent years, achieved higher productivity and earnings, while the less-skilled strata of the labour force working in the private sector, either as employees or on their own account—70% of the total workforce— have generally seen their position worsen. Other groups, such as employers and State employees, have undergone a complex process of restructuring which has produced ambivalent results (see table III.6).

The proportion of salaried *professional and technical workers* employed in the private sector rose in several of the countries for which data are available, both in

the 1980s and in the 1990s (Costa Rica, Mexico, Panama and Uruguay); in Brazil and Venezuela, the proportion rose during the 1980s and fell during the 1990s, while in Colombia, the opposite occurred. This upward trend also extended to own-account workers, although they represent a rather small percentage of all professionals and technicians. By and large, the average incomes of this group fell during the 1980s. While they rose again in the 1990s, in no country was this increase large enough to bring them back above the levels of the previous decade.

The overall growth in the percentage of professionals and technicians in the workforce was affected, however, by the sharp decline in the share of workers employed in the public sector which occurred to differing degrees from 1980 onwards. This development affected occupational groups with different skill and income levels, but particularly

Table III.6

LATIN AMERICA (8 COUNTRIES): PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION AND AVERAGE INCOME ^{a/} OF SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS IN URBAN AREAS, 1980-1998																	
Country	Year	Employers		Wage earners										Own-account workers and unpaid family members			
				Public sector		Private sector						Domestic employment				Total ^{c/}		Non-professional non-technical workers
		Professionals and technicians				Non-professional non-technical workers in establishments of											
		%	Average income	%	Average income	%	Average income	%	Average income	%	Average income	%	Average income	%	Average income	%	Average income
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	4.7	19.3	-	-	-	-	47.5	7.2	10.1	5.1	3.9	3.1	33.9	5.8	32.2	5.2
	1990	5.4	20.6	-	-	-	-	51.7	5.2	11.6	3.6	5.7	3.5	25.6	7.9	23.0	7.2
	1998	5.0	24.2	-	-	-	-	52.9	6.4	15.8	3.9	4.8	2.6	21.6	8.6	-	-
Brazil	1979	4.4	21.8	-	-	7.5	9.4	49.7	4.8	10.7	2.5	7.5	5.8	20.2	5.8	19.3	5.2
	1990	5.2	16.1	-	-	14.3	8.2	34.2	3.8	17.3	2.6	6.2	3.8	22.8	3.8	21.5	3.4
	1997	4.7	19.1	-	-	10.2	9.9	39.3	4.2	9.7	2.5	8.6	4.2	27.5	4.2	25.8	3.7
Colombia	1980	4.0	17.1	10.6	4.8	5.4	8.3	46.8	2.2	-	-	6.8	2.1	26.4	4.4	24.6	3.7
	1991	4.2	7.4	11.6	3.9	4.9	5.3	44.1	2.4	-	-	5.6	1.3	29.6	2.4	27.3	2.2
	1998	4.1	10.9	9.5	5.7	6.4	6.9	40.1	2.7	-	-	4.6	1.6	35.3	3.2	32.9	2.9
Costa Rica	1981	4.1	13.1	28.0	8.9	2.7	11.4	32.1	4.8	10.0	3.5	5.5	1.9	17.5	7.3	16.7	6.9
	1990	5.5	6.8	25.0	7.3	6.1	9.0	29.5	4.3	9.7	3.2	4.4	1.5	19.7	3.7	17.6	3.4
	1998	8.5	8.4	19.7	8.2	8.8	9.0	30.2	4.8	10.6	3.2	4.8	1.8	17.4	3.8	15.4	3.6
Mexico	1984	2.6	14.8	-	-	6.2	8.8	63.1	4.4	-	-	2.6	1.7	25.6	4.2	24.7	4.1
	1989	3.3	21.7	-	-	9.0	6.9	64.7	3.1	-	-	2.7	1.4	20.3	4.8	18.9	4.4
	1998	4.8	18.2	-	-	12.7	6.7	40.6	3.4	15.5	2.0	4.1	1.3	22.4	3.0	20.5	2.6
Panama	1979	2.1	6.5	35.8	7.1	4.6	13.6	34.1	5.0	-	-	6.1	1.4	17.3	3.0	17.0	2.9
	1991	3.4	11.8	26.6	7.4	7.4	9.4	27.0	4.1	5.2	2.6	7.0	1.3	23.4	2.5	22.4	2.3
	1998	3.5	15.4	23.5	8.0	10.8	10.0	29.9	4.1	6.4	2.6	6.6	1.4	19.3	3.7	18.2	3.4
Uruguay	1981	4.4	23.6	22.8	5.0	3.9	10.0	33.0	4.1	8.8	3.0	7.5	1.8	19.5	8.6	17.7	8.1
	1990	4.6	12.0	21.8	4.0	5.1	7.6	30.1	3.7	10.3	2.5	6.9	1.5	21.3	5.1	19.0	5.1
	1998	4.5	11.5	16.3	5.9	6.5	9.8	32.0	4.6	10.6	3.0	7.2	1.8	23.0	4.0	19.9	3.5
Venezuela	1981	6.0	11.6	23.9	9.0	5.2	14.9	19.6	6.9	20.2	6.7	6.1	4.1	18.9	5.2	18.0	4.9
	1990	7.5	11.9	21.4	4.0	5.8	6.6	30.0	3.6	6.5	2.5	6.3	2.1	22.5	4.5	21.4	4.3
	1998	5.0	11.2	15.7	2.9	5.0	5.8	24.7	2.4	10.8	1.7	3.1	1.4	35.8	4.2	34.1	3.9

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations of household surveys in the countries.

a/ Incomes are expressed as multiples of the per capita poverty line in the country concerned. Income figures for 1998 are actually for 1997, except in the case of Mexico. In cases where no information is recorded for a given category, it is included in the more aggregated level.

b/ Includes those working in establishments of unknown size.

c/ Includes professionals and technicians.

non-manual workers with intermediate and high skill levels. Although fragmentary, the data available clearly show that in some countries, this drop amounted to as much as 30% or 40% of the public-sector workforce. In 1980, for example, in Costa Rica, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela, public-sector workers accounted for between 23%

and 36% of the total urban workforce, which is an indication of the impact this decline had on the occupational structure. In general, but especially in those countries where a large share of technicians and professionals were employed in the public sector in the early 1980s, employment in the private sector did not rise enough to compensate for this drop in

public-sector jobs. The average income of this group tended to fall in the 1980s, before rising again in the 1990s, although the situation was quite different from country to country in the latter decade. The general impression given by the available information is that the average incomes of technicians and professionals employed by the public sector recovered in the mid-1990s, and that in some countries, they rose above the levels of the early 1980s (Colombia, Panama and Uruguay). There were some exceptions to this trend; for example, State employees in Venezuela saw their average income fall by 60% over the same period.

As regards *non-professional non-technical workers* in the private sector—who account for almost three quarters of the urban labour force in many countries—the data available show that in the 1980s, their numbers declined moderately or remained steady as a share of the labour force, while their average occupational earnings fell significantly. In Venezuela, the fall in income was more marked among wage-earners than among own-account workers, while in Costa Rica and Uruguay, the opposite was the case, with own-account workers losing around half their income on average. During the 1990s, developments in this occupational group varied considerably; it grew as a share of the workforce in four of the eight countries studied, declined in two and remained steady in the other two. In addition, there were changes in the segments making up the group, as the share of wage-earners fell and that of own-account workers rose in four of the countries, the opposite was the case in three, and in one (Uruguay), both grew. As regards incomes, during the 1990s, in some cases, there was a continuing downward trend among wage earners, regardless of whether they worked for establishments with more than 5 employees or in microenterprises (especially in Venezuela and, to a lesser extent, in Mexico and Panama), but in most of the countries, the opposite trend was noted. The incomes of own-account workers changed in similar ways, rising in some countries and falling in others. Generally speaking,

everything suggests that it was only in exceptional cases that any of the segments in this occupational group earned the same or more at the end of the 1990s than they had been earning at the beginning of the 1980s.

Within the large and disparate group formed by non-professional non-technical workers in the private sector, those with the lowest productivity (employees in firms hiring up to five workers, domestic and own-account workers and unpaid family members) increased their percentage in the workforce and saw their average incomes fall in three of the five countries for which data are available for the 1980s and 1990s (Brazil,⁴ Uruguay and Venezuela). Taking into account only own-account workers with no technical or professional skills, who generally make up half or more of this group, the trend was also evident in Colombia, while in Mexico the proportion of such workers fell, as did their average income.

At the higher level of the occupational structure described in chapter II, the changes that have affected *employers* are striking. In the 1980s, the share of the workforce accounted for by employers rose substantially in six of the eight countries examined (Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela), while in Colombia and Uruguay, it remained fairly stable. As regards the average occupational incomes of this group, the opposite trend was seen, as they fell in four of the eight countries, rose in three and remained steady in one. The increases were moderate in Argentina and Venezuela (between 0.3 and 1.3 poverty lines) and more pronounced in Mexico and Panama, but the declines were generally greater. In fact, in some countries (Colombia, Costa Rica and Uruguay), this occupational group saw its average income fall by an average of 40% to 50% in the 1980s. In the 1990s, this trend towards a higher proportion of employers with declining average incomes tended to abate, as the proportion of employers grew in some countries and declined in others, and average incomes recov-

4 Including non-professional non-technical workers employed in the public sector.

ered, increasing in over half of all cases. In only a few countries were employers earning more on average in the mid-1990s than they had been in the early 1980s; in most of the countries they were earning less, and in several, substantially less.

These trends may be seen in a different light when the progress made by individual countries in applying the prevailing development pattern is considered. The evidence available suggests that during the early stages of implementation of the new development style, the share of employers as an occupational group in the workforce increased, while at the same time, this group became more diversified, as evidenced in the decline of their average incomes. Subsequently, as the new development approach was consolidated, this tendency changed.

Needless to say, given the complexity of the changes that have affected the different occupational strata and groups since the early 1980s, a more in-depth study of the available information is needed, and ECLAC is undertaking just such a task. Nonetheless, it appears from the trends described above that, as a general rule, the changes in the participation and average incomes of the different occupational strata that occurred in the 1980s and 1990s across Latin America did not hasten the processes of productive

absorption and structural mobility in the labour force. Rather, in a different economic and technological environment, they seem to have exacerbated the difficulties that attended these processes in the region during the post-war period. In the great majority of the countries, a high proportion of the economically active population has managed to find work, but mostly in low-productivity jobs that are falling way behind the kind of jobs prevailing in countries that have introduced new technologies on a large scale. Undoubtedly, if the Latin American countries were able to achieve a growth rate of 7% a year over a long period, productive absorption and structural mobility would improve, as they have in Chile in recent years. The changes that took place in that country's labour force, however, have been less dynamic than in other countries that grew at a similar rate in the 1960s and 1970s; furthermore, most of the countries are not likely to achieve long-term growth rates of 7% or more in the coming years. Consequently, consideration should be given to the possibility of making changes in the prevailing development pattern so as to ensure that well-defined policies are applied to raise the productivity of the most disadvantaged urban and rural workers, instead of leaving productive absorption and structural mobility up to the spontaneous workings of the market.



Socio-economic profile of living conditions of older adults

Introduction: the challenges of an ageing population

Demographic structures are changing all over the world, and one of the most far-reaching implications of this change is the overall ageing of the population. This means that the proportion of persons aged 60 and over is increasing, particularly as a result of ever-lower birth rates and substantial increases in longevity. Consequently, every arena of life is facing new challenges, which can be evaluated in three fundamental spheres: the market, society and the State. In the first sphere, the ageing population brings change both to the labour market and to goods and services markets, especially for health care and recreation. In the social sphere, it obliges families to develop new forms of organization and requires that the community and civil society offer more innovative, diverse responses to challenges of well-being, social integration and use of leisure time posed by older adults. Finally, the State is faced with the greater demands that an ageing population places on health and pension systems and must respond to social tensions associated with the financing needs of these systems, changes in intergenerational relations of economic dependency and greater competition for jobs.

ECLAC has taken on the challenges of the International Year of Older Persons (United Nations, 1998), the objective of which is to develop strategies that will lead “Towards a society for all ages.” Various departments of ECLAC will be analysing the new challenges posed by the ageing of the population in the context of *Changing production patterns with social equity* and within the general guidelines set forth in “Equity, development and citizenship” (ECLAC, 2000a). It has singled out four dimensions or critical topics for attention:

- (i) participation by older adults in the work place and in health care;
- (ii) the development of older people, both as a group and individually, based on greater intergenerational integration and by creating openings for older adults to become a more active part of society, which in turn will encourage others to value their participation more;
- (iii) regulation of the various mechanisms by which the State, the family and the marketplace transfer resources among generations;
- (iv) the impact of an ageing population on overall development and on the main variables that both condition and grow out of economic and social development: consumption, savings, income distribution, poverty and social vulnerability.

The conclusions of the final report of the Latin American and Caribbean Regional Conference on Population and Development (ECLAC, 1993) are particularly relevant:

“Taking into account the demographic changes expected in most of the countries of the region, including a significant increase in the number of elderly persons, it is recommended that policies be adopted to achieve more equity in the distribution of resources among the various age groups in the fields of health care, education, social security and social participation and integration. The demographic ageing process and the consequent strong expansion of the elderly population, together with the negative effects on this population of adjustment policies and the decline in public spending on social services, it is imperative that steps be taken to develop the institutional mechanisms needed in order to provide social security and health services to this segment of the population, taking into consideration the specific needs of its various age subgroups.”

One of the main conclusions of this chapter is that, in general, older adults in the countries of the region are at a disadvantage in many ways. For example, there is a need for social security systems offering broad coverage and sufficient benefits to sustain a decent life and thus allow older people to retire from the labour market; health systems to meet the age-specific needs of older adults; housing policies to enable older adults to continue living independently, if they prefer, not being driven by economic need to move into someone else's home; and forms and mechanisms to foster social interaction and intergenerational unity.

The progressive ageing of the population of Latin America and the Caribbean poses a variety of challenges, of which the best known is dependency among older adults, with their growing needs for medical and family care and their departure from the workplace with insufficient resources to support themselves. Other, equally important dimensions of modern ageing involve the role of older adults in transmitting society's values and intangible assets to new generations. As multigenerational households proliferate, putting minors into daily contact with those over 60, and women continue to enter the labour market in massive numbers, older adults have become much more important in the process of socializing new generations. In many cases their retirement income may also become a form of economic insurance for the family, particularly in countries that have more advanced systems of social protection.

Some of these issues are examined in this chapter, with emphasis being placed on family arrangements that are emerging in response to these new conditions. More specifically, an analysis is made of the interdependence between the nuclear family and the older adult; the participation of older adults in the labour market; and their situation as regards coverage by social welfare systems. The chapter closes with a discussion of the various ways in which all these issues influence the main indicators of well-being for the overall population.

A. Ageing of the Latin American population

The countries of Latin America are experiencing a process of ageing in the population that is closely linked to their current stage of overall demographic transition. Several, having achieved a more advanced stage in the transition, now find that over 10% of their total population is at least 60 years old; these are the first to begin grappling with the social and economic challenges this process entails, one of which is the growing role of women in society, owing to their longer life expectancy. In coming decades, these challenges will be felt ever more urgently by countries that today are in full demographic transition—the most heavily populated ones of the region—where poverty levels continue to be high.

The degree of ageing in the populations of Latin America and the Caribbean as of the year 2000 closely reflects each country's particular phase or stage of demographic transition. This emerges clearly from an analysis of the structure of the population by age groups, placing the countries in the different categories of the typology proposed by the ECLAC Population Division – Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE). The typology is based on the status and trends of birth rates and death rates and classifies the countries of the region under four categories, according to their position in the transition process (Villa y Rivadeneira, 1999) (see box IV.1).

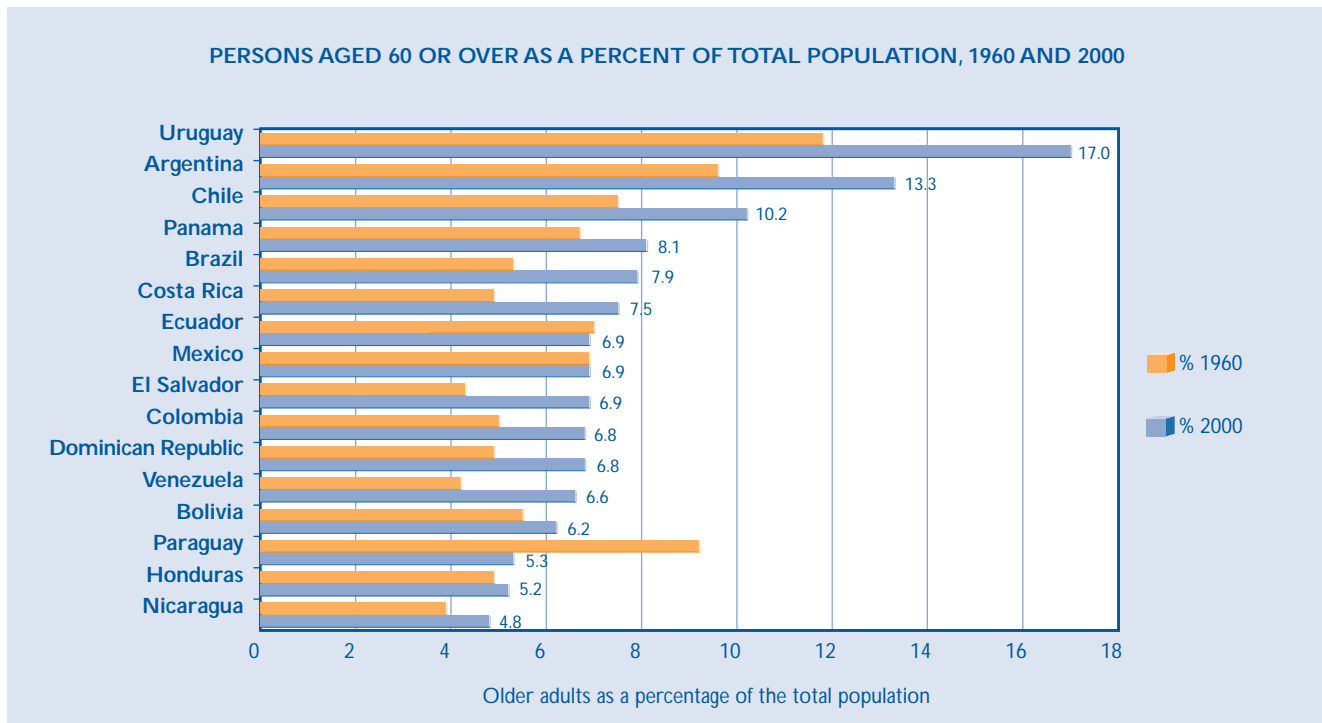
The countries in the most advanced stage of transition, reporting the highest proportion of persons aged 60 and over, are Uruguay, Argentina and Chile, where older adults make up over 10% of the popula-

tion (see figure IV.1). Uruguay is at the top, with 17% of its population being at least 60 years old, and is followed by Argentina, with nearly 13%, and Chile, with slightly over 10%.

The second group, that of countries in full transition, is more heterogeneous. Older adults make up 6% to 8% of the population in these countries, with the extreme values being found in Panama (8.1%) and Venezuela (6.6%). In the last group, countries where the transition is incipient or moderate, the figure is around 5%, with two exceptions: Bolivia, where older adults make up 6.2% of the total population, and El Salvador, with 6.9% (see box IV.1).

Of these three groups, the largest in Latin America today is the second, that of countries in full transition. This group includes not only more countries than the others, but also the most populous ones:

Figure IV.1



Source: ECLAC Population Division – Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), population projections.

Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama, Peru and Venezuela. These countries face the most daunting challenges because their populations are ageing very rapidly. In the next two decades, the proportion of people aged 60 and over in these countries is expected to rise from 7.3% to 12.2% of the total population, and by the year 2020, nearly 79% of all older adults in Latin America will be living in the countries of this group.

Differences by sex are also an important variable in an ageing population. Because women have a greater life expectancy than men, they comprise a significantly larger proportion in the total population of older adults, especially in the highest age brackets. This can be confirmed by comparing the age structure of each sex in countries at different stages of transition. Thus, among countries where the transition is most advanced, the group of people over 60 includes 30% more women than men, while the percentage falls as low as 15% in the other countries, except Bolivia and Brazil (both around 20%) and

Paraguay (30%). The longer life expectancy of women becomes even more striking after age 70 (see table IV.1 at the end of this chapter).

The countries of the region are facing many challenges in the public policy arena, and clearly, issues associated with an ageing population are compounding these challenges dramatically. At the top of the agenda is the matter of access to health care, including the breadth of coverage by social security systems and the adequacy of retirement and pension income to meet basic needs. In second place are issues that arise from the participation of older adults in the labour market. In third place are concerns about the changing composition of households and new definitions of the role of different members of the family, as the ageing of the population begins to shape new family arrangements.

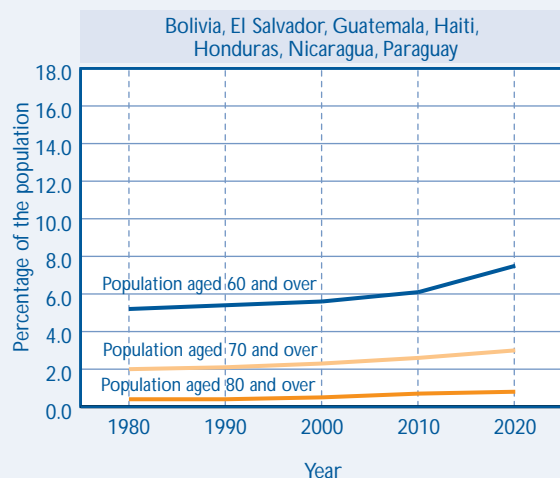
The rest of this chapter provides background information and a closer examination of these issues, based on information taken from household surveys for 16 countries in Latin America.

STAGES OF DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION: TYPOLOGY FOR COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

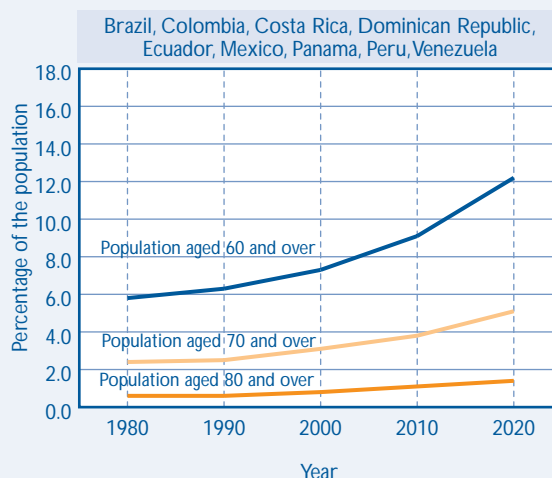
1. **Advanced transition:** countries with low birth and death rates, resulting in population growth of around 1% per year (Argentina, Bahamas, Barbados, Chile, Cuba, Guadeloupe, Jamaica, Martinique, Netherlands Antilles, Puerto Rico, Trinidad and Tobago and Uruguay).
2. **Full transition:** countries with declining birth rates and low death rates, and a natural growth rate of around 2% (Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guyana, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Suriname and Venezuela).
3. **Moderate transition:** countries with rapidly declining death rates and high birth rates, resulting in high natural growth rates exceeding 2.5% per year (Belize, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Paraguay).
4. **Incipient transition:** countries with high birth and death rates and natural growth rates of somewhat over 2% (Bolivia and Haiti).

RELATIVE SHARE OF THE POPULATION AGED 60, 70, AND 80 AND OVER IN COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA, CLASSIFIED BY STAGE OF DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION, 1980-2020

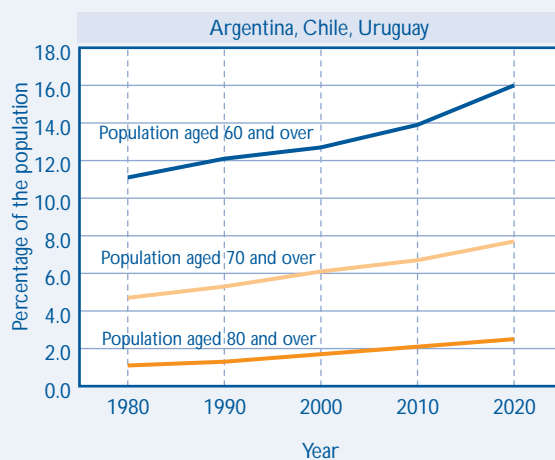
Countries in incipient and moderate demographic transition



Countries in full demographic transition



Countries in advanced demographic transition



Source: ECLAC Population Division – Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), population projections.

B. The ageing of the population and its impact on family structure

One of every four households in Latin America has at least one older adult among its members. Over two thirds of older adults live in multigenerational homes as a result of economic dependency affecting the lives of both older and younger members of society. In countries where per capita income tends to be higher and the demographic transition is more advanced, a much larger proportion of older adults continues to live independently.

One of the most palpable consequences of an ageing population is its clear impact on family living arrangements. As members live longer, families find themselves faced with new challenges in a setting traditionally characterized by private solutions to problems relating to assistance, housing and care for older persons.

Most countries of the region have failed to establish specific institutionalized systems of protection for adults who have become dependent for either economic or health-related reasons. In part, this is a consequence of the relatively youthful population structure, along with the presence of social security systems that have developed too slowly and have become inadequate. Families therefore have been left to solve the problem for themselves, using strategies of intergenerational solidarity that entail enlarging and redefining household membership. Families have shouldered the responsibility of providing economic assistance and care for older adults, while the State and organizations of civil society have taken only a secondary role.

The most common types of retirement programmes are the pay-as-you-go method based on intergenerational transfer of resources, and the capitalized, or funded, system based on each individual's ability to contribute throughout his or her working years. Both systems, however, offer only partial solutions to problems relating to coverage and the maintenance of adequate income levels during the non-working years. In either case, beneficiaries are generally unable to keep up their standard of living after retirement. Family members find themselves obliged to make up the difference in income, to the detriment of their own well-being, and this frequently sparks conflicts within the family.

The ageing of the population also holds major implications for the organization of family living arrangements. As has often been noted, owing to the inadequacy of their retirement incomes and their steadily worsening health, growing numbers of older adults are unable to maintain their own homes. In most countries, they have no choice but to enter into shared living arrangements with other members (their children, other relatives or non-

relatives), thus building multigenerational households. Many of these homes are already coping with the massive entry of women and young people into the job market, making it difficult to provide the care that older, often ailing, adults require. The family is faced with new expenses and greater tensions as it juggles these responsibilities.

This is a one-sided picture of the impact of ageing on household composition and on standards of living of family members, inasmuch as it fails to take into account the contributions that older adults often make to the family group. In the first place, the realignment of family membership does not always entail older adults moving in with younger relatives. Adult children, faced with tight incomes and unaffordable housing, often have to move their new families into their parents' homes (a situation referred to in Spanish as *allegamiento*, or "moving in"). Such cases represent a reversal in the direction of intergenerational solidarity. In other instances, retirement or pension payments, while insufficient to support the entire family group, may be the only steady source of income in the household when jobs are unstable, and often comprise a major share of total family income. In fact, older adults contribute over half the total family income in one of every three urban households (see table IV.2.A). Finally, older adults who enjoy good health are not a burden and can even contribute to the care of younger members of the family when the mother is employed outside the home.

To study living arrangements involving older adults, households were classified on the basis of two characteristics or dimensions. The first was the presence or absence of older adults in the household. This information was used to compare those living in dependency-based relationships (multigenerational households) with those living alone or simply in the company of other older adults. The second was the relative share of resources contributed by

older adults living in multigenerational households. This figure was used to rate the degree to which these persons were dependent on other family members (their own children, other relatives or non-relatives), or by contrast, the degree to which the rest of the family depended economically on older adults in the home (see box IV.2).

Table IV.2.A shows that, on average, there is at least one older adult in one of every four urban households, and the percentage is even higher in rural areas.¹ For urban areas, Uruguay stands out with nearly half (49%) of all households having at least one member over the age of 60. The proportion in urban centres of other countries ranges from 20% to 30%, with the exception of Argentina (37%).

The great majority of older adults in Latin America live in multigenerational households. In urban areas in all the countries studied, the proportion runs from 67% to 87%, except in Argentina and Uruguay. Figures on the proportion of older adults living in **households made up exclusively of persons aged 60 and over** vary significantly from one country to another. In urban areas in five countries, the figure is less than 20% (Colombia, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Nicaragua and Venezuela); in nine of the 16 countries studied, from one fifth to one third of all older adults enjoy relative independence, living as couples, in one-person households or under other family arrangements (Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico, Panama and Paraguay). Argentina and Uruguay are in a special situation, with slightly over half of all older adults (54%) living in homes of this type.

No direct association can be inferred as to the relationship between the amount of monetary resources and other assets (housing) owned by older adults and the types of family arrangements in which they live.² Nonetheless, the figures do suggest that in

1 The average would be higher if it included figures for Uruguay and Argentina, where household surveys only cover urban areas.

2 Cultural factors inherent to each society play an important role in determining the size and composition of households, particularly with respect to the presence of older adults. Culture also dictates how frequently the different types of family arrangements tend to occur. It should not be surprising that multigenerational households tend to predominate in countries with a large rural and indigenous population.

countries whose social security systems offer broad coverage and where urban poverty is less acute, the older adult population is better able to live autonomously and is more likely to live in households with no younger members. An additional indication of this emerges from a look at percentages of older adults who live alone and the share of family income contributed by older adults in multigenerational households (see tables IV.2.A and IV.2.B).

Specifically, in countries where 80% or more of all older adults live in **multigenerational households** and where poverty levels among older adults are high, nearly half of them contribute a small fraction of total household income (less than 25%). Such living arrangements are a natural response to situations of economic dependency or special health-care needs among the older members of the family circle. Another group of countries (Colombia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Venezuela) report a smaller but still significant number of older adults who contribute a substantial share (over 50%) of total household income. This could be interpreted as the reverse of the situation described above, since in such cases, the multigenerational household is established more in response to economic hardship affecting other members of the family (children, grandchildren, other relatives and non-relatives). The typical case involves the creation of a new nuclear family that has no dwelling and therefore moves in with one of the parents.

This same pattern of households can also be found in six other countries (Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Panama and Paraguay), where between 66% and 80% of all older adults live in multigenerational households. In Bolivia and Chile, older adults living in family arrangements where they contribute over 50% of household income are the general rule.

In short, available information on urban areas tends to bear out the expectation that those countries in the region that have social protection systems with broader coverage, higher levels of retirement and pension income, and longer-standing, relatively more universal health and housing policies (particularly Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica and Uruguay) can accommodate relatively smaller family structures. In these countries, a remarkably low proportion of older adults live in households as dependants (see tables IV.2.A and IV.2.B).

The presence and role of older adults in the household in rural areas is not significantly different from the situation in urban areas, except that the percentage of older adults living in multigenerational households tends to be higher. Most commonly, these older members of the household contribute a significant share (50% or more) of the family income.³

Living arrangements in households with older adults differ significantly by sex. In urban areas, women predominate in one-person households owing to their greater longevity. In most countries, they account for 60% or more of these households, and the figure rises to over 75% in Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay (see table IV.3.A).

Adults aged 60 and over who live in multigenerational households also tend to be predominantly women. This pattern is even more pronounced when contributions by older adults drop below 25%, which places them in a clearly dependent position. The evidence suggests that most of these households became multigenerational with the incorporation of an older woman, who usually contributes less income than would a man of the same generation because her participation in economic life has been limited, thus making it unlikely that she will have retirement income. To this is added the fact that pensions for widows or the disabled generally

³ It should be recalled that the typology in this study was developed by quantifying the cash income of older adults and other members of the household. In rural areas, non-cash income, such as products for on-farm consumption, often comprises a very high share of total household resources. In such cases, the typology gives a less accurate depiction of the real contribution that different household members make to total family resources.

amount to a mere fraction of comparable retirement benefits. The figures in tables IV.3.A and IV.3.B tend to support this statement, showing that in all the countries, the contributions of older adults to family income in multigenerational households tend to decrease in inverse proportion to the numbers of women living in such households.

Nearly all categories of households in rural areas report lower percentages of women than those in urban areas. This could be reflecting two different phenomena: higher rates of migration into urban labour markets among rural women of working age, who eventually remain in the cities; and to a lesser degree, migration by older adults to join family members in urban areas, in search of better health care and, in general, greater protection in their old age.

In short, the data on patterns of household composition and family living arrangements where older adults are involved reveal a number of similarities among the countries of Latin America. The most important, in terms of the implications for general well-being, are associated with the high proportion of persons aged 60 or over who live in multigenerational households. There are a number of different reasons for this situation, the consequences of which vary, depending on the amount of resources these elderly family members are able to contribute to their households. The next important question that needs to be addressed, therefore, is that of the source and magnitude of the economic resources that are available to this population, especially as regards income from retirement and pension systems or earnings from an extended presence in the labour market.

TYPOLOGY OF HOUSEHOLDS BASED ON STATUS OF OLDER ADULTS

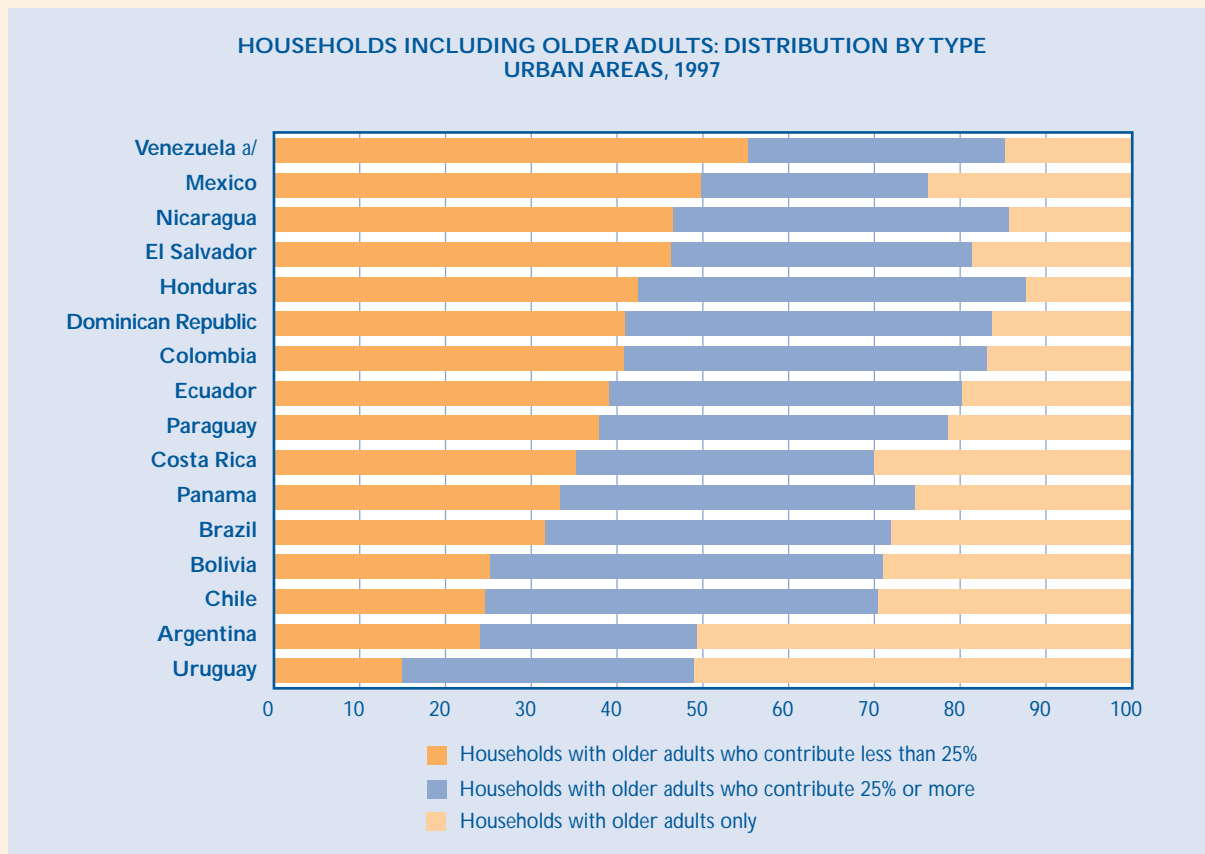
A study was conducted of the different kinds of family arrangements in which older adults live. Various types of households were defined, based on the status of members present in the home (households consisting only of older adults versus households in which older adults live together with other members). Multigenerational households are defined as those in which persons aged 60 and over live with younger family members who, in the great majority of cases, are from the succeeding generation. This group was further subdivided according to the share of total household income that is contributed by the older adults.

Households consisting exclusively of older adults were subdivided into three groups based on the number and conjugal status of members:

- **one-person household:** one person living alone, aged 60 or over;
- **couple:** a conjugal unit headed by a person aged 60 or over and that person's spouse, aged 55 or over;
- **other arrangements:** two people aged 60 or over, but not a conjugal unit, or three or more older adults regardless of kinship.

Multigenerational households were divided into three groups:

- **a first group,** in which older adults contribute less than 25% of total household income;
- **a second group,** in which older adults contribute 25% to 50% of total income;
- **a third group,** in which older adults contribute over 50% of total household income.



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ National total.

C. Coverage of pension systems and participation of older adults in the labour market

In most countries of the region, over half of all older adults receive no retirement or pension and therefore need to earn income on the labour market. Moreover, from 40% to 60% of the older adult population receives no income from any of these sources, has become financially dependent and socially vulnerable and has found it necessary to live in multigenerational households. The few countries that have relatively broad pension coverage hold out greater possibilities for older adults to maintain financial independence and residential autonomy and to leave the labour market upon reaching retirement age.

By the mid-1990s, the great majority of Latin American countries still lacked pension systems with broad coverage. Indeed, of 16 countries included in this study, 10 (Bolivia, Colombia, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Venezuela) did not provide pension benefits for even 25% of the population aged 60 and over. Similarly low levels of coverage can be found among persons aged 65 or over and even 70 and over (see tables IV.4.A and IV.4.B and box IV.3). This is particularly clear in the cases of Honduras, where retirement pensions are received by only 8% of urban older adults and 2% of rural older adults; the Dominican Republic, with 16% urban and 6% rural; and Ecuador and Nicaragua, where urban older adults with retirement coverage make up less than 18%.

By contrast, in Costa Rica and Panama, from 40% to 50% of older adults in urban areas receive retirement and pension income, although as is the case in other countries, coverage in rural areas is much lower, not reaching even 20%.

A few countries in the region stand out, with coverage topping 60% in urban areas: Uruguay, Argentina, Brazil and Chile. Of these four countries, only two, Brazil and Chile, have compiled data for rural areas. In Brazil, the figures available for 1996 indicate that three of every four older adults in rural areas are covered by the new benefit system (see figure IV.2). In Chile, nearly half the rural population aged 60 and over receives some retirement and pension income.

ESTIMATED COVERAGE OF PENSION SYSTEMS AND RETIREMENT AND PENSION INCOME

Household survey data are not an exhaustive source of information on coverage of pension and retirement systems; nonetheless, they do make it possible to draw comparisons among countries, and they offer certain advantages over administrative records. With survey data, the number of beneficiaries and their pension income can be linked to other characteristics such as labour–market participation, the types of households that include older adults and the number of hours they work. This chapter includes information on the coverage of pension systems and the socio–economic characteristics of the older adult population, based on household–survey data relating to the activity status and retirement and pension incomes of respondents.

Even this information, however, has some limitations. First of all, the survey questions on activity status do not distinguish between retirees and pensioners in the non–working population. It is therefore impossible to accurately identify the source of benefit income or to determine whether non–working status is the result of rights acquired by beneficiaries during their years of employment or represents a surviving–spouse benefit, more likely involving a woman. In the second place, although the great majority of surveys separate information on retirement and pension income from data on other income flows, some report only an aggregate flow of transfers, combining retirement and pension income with other sources of income not derived from the benefit system. In such cases (Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Venezuela), this income flow was used to estimate retirement and pension benefits for those respondents who identified themselves as “retirees and pensioners” under the heading “activity status”. Naturally, income figures in these cases are overestimated.

It should come as no surprise that the figures for estimated coverage of pension benefits shown here tend to be higher at more advanced ages (see tables IV.4.A and IV.4.B). Retirement ages in many countries are gradually rising, in both public and private systems, and tend to converge at around 65 for men and 60 for women (Mesa–Lago, 2000). Moreover, those in higher income brackets also have greater life expectancy, among other things, because they are more likely to have access to health systems, which translates into higher rates of retirement and pension coverage. To this should be added the impact of greater longevity among women, especially in countries where the system provides widows’ pensions.

Pension systems in countries with low or very low levels of coverage offer proportionally higher bene-

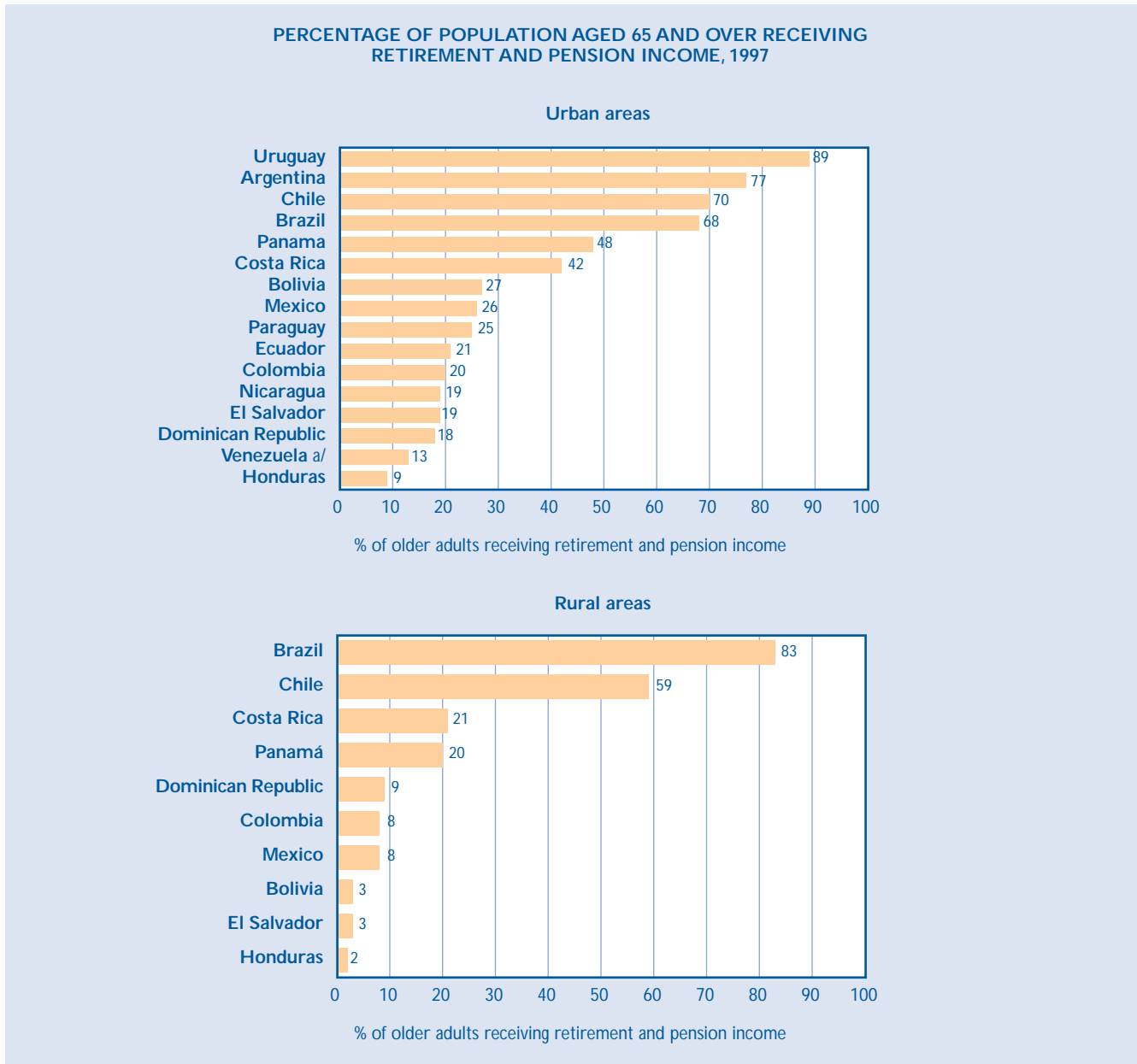
fits to workers with more education, who during their economically active years have usually worked in the formal sector of the economy. As coverage has expanded, benefits have been extended to less skilled workers as well, so that by the time of retirement age, income inequalities produced during the economically active years begin to lessen.⁴

This can be seen in figure IV.3. In countries with higher coverage rates for all potential beneficiaries, the differences in coverage rates between the non–working population with a higher education and the less skilled tend to disappear.

Specifically, in countries whose pension systems have very low coverage, the proportion of beneficiaries with 10 or more years of educa-

⁴ As will be seen below, these benefits exert an attenuating or lessening effect on income inequality, a tendency that is proportionally greater in countries that have achieved high levels of benefit coverage.

Figure IV.2



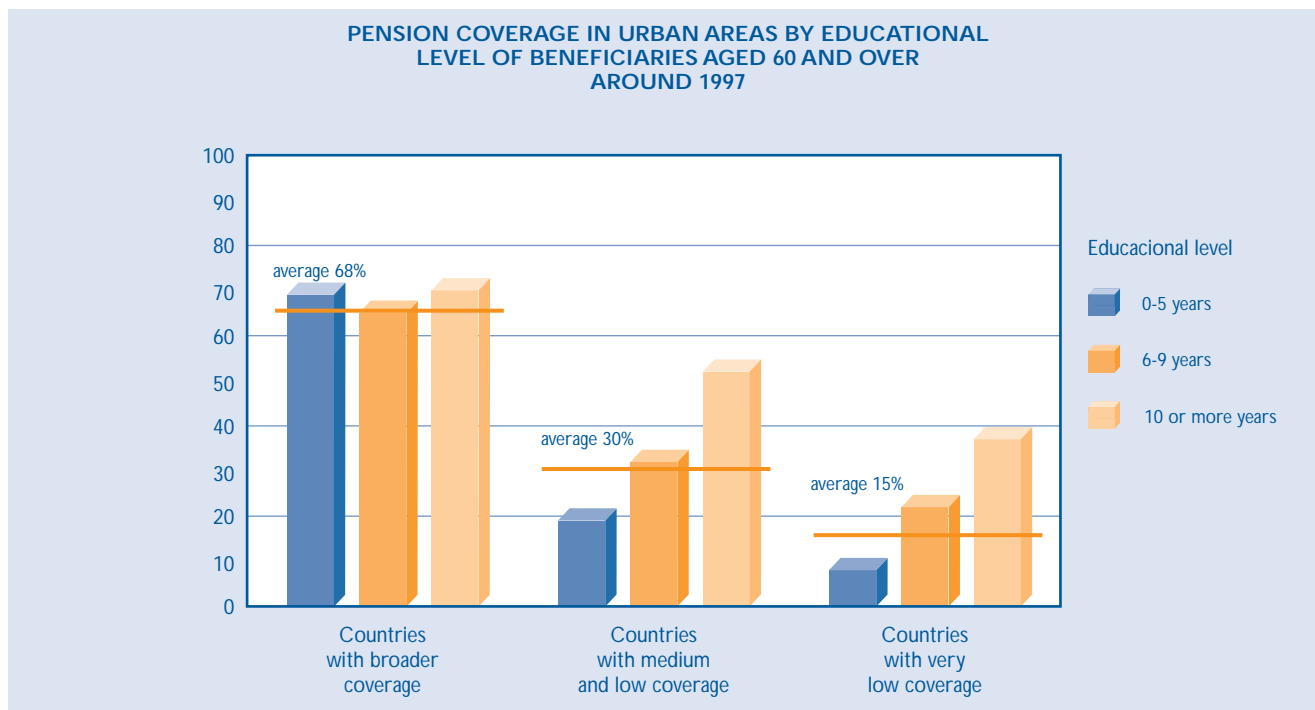
Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ National total.

tion is, on average, six times as high as the share of the beneficiary population with less than six years of schooling. In countries with intermediate levels of coverage, the ratio shrinks to less than three to one, and nearly vanishes in countries where around 70% of the population is covered.

Two trends can commonly be found in countries where the social security system has more limited coverage: a large proportion of older adults tends to remain economically active, and a large proportion has no regular source of income, with only a small fraction obtaining income from other sources, such

Figure IV.3



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

Note: The first group, with relatively broad coverage, includes Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay; the second includes Bolivia, Mexico, Panama and Paraguay; and the third, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador and Honduras.

as capital earnings (rental, distributions, interest). The share of older adults receiving no income from either pension benefits or work ranges from 40% to 60% in the 10 countries of the region where pension systems provide low or very low levels of coverage. The number slips to less than 25% in Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Uruguay, where pension systems have relatively broad coverage.

Figure IV.4 clearly shows that older adults remain active in the labour market because they need to make up for inadequate benefits. Their participation decreases rapidly as rates of coverage broaden.

Another telling indicator is that, in general, very few (no more than 25%)⁵ of those receiving income

from retirement and pensions in urban areas remain in the labour force (see table IV.5.A).

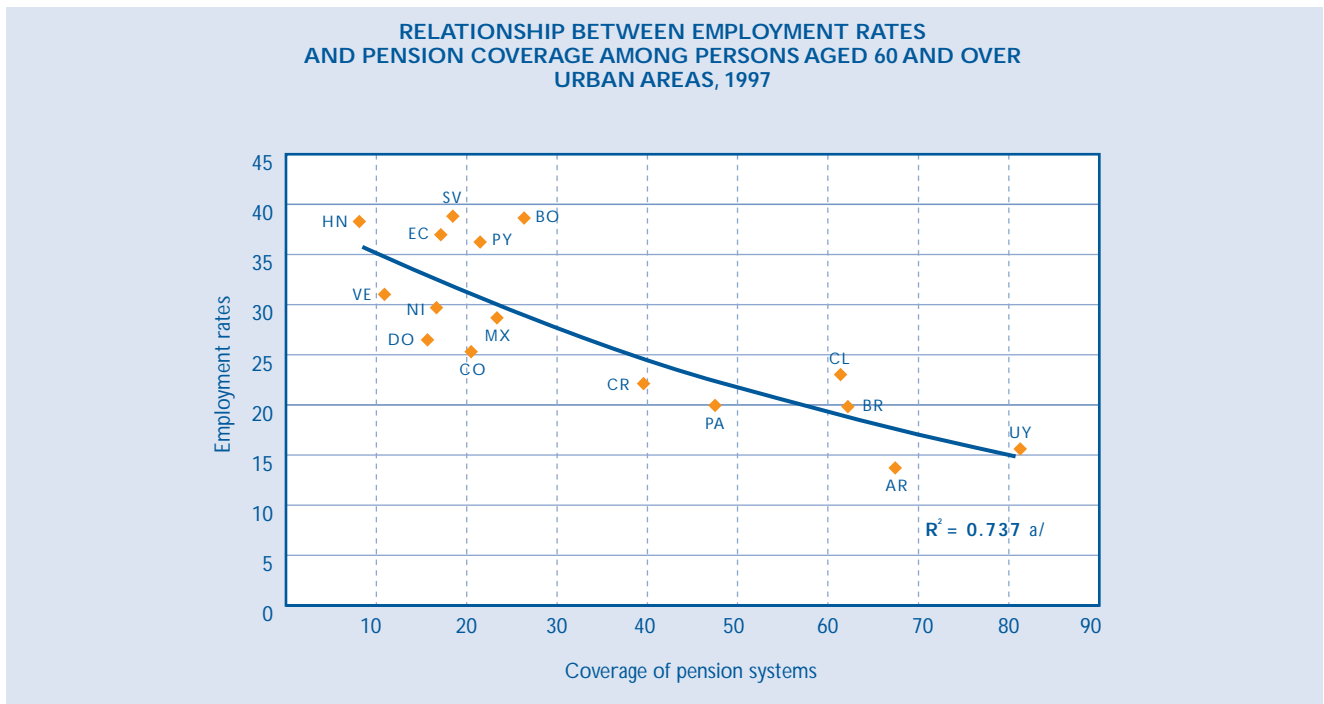
In countries where broader coverage is provided, only around 15% of adults aged 65 and over are employed. The rate rises to between 25% and 40% in countries with low and very low coverage. In all cases, those who do remain economically active at these ages, whether in urban or rural areas, work full time. On the average, they put in no fewer than 30 hours per week, or 80% to 90% as much as wage-earners aged 50 to 59 (see tables IV.7.A and IV.7.B). In most countries, their activities on the labour market generate monthly income levels at or below the poverty line, equal on the average to only 10% to 30% of the income they earned during their final working years.

⁵ This figure gives the number of those receiving income from employment and from retirement and pension payments as a percentage of all older adults receiving income from pension benefits.

Several conclusions can be drawn with respect to the coverage of pension systems. Even though several countries introduced major changes in their systems in the 1980s and 1990s, they are unlikely to achieve any significant improvements in coverage in coming years. This is largely because benefits will continue to depend heavily on the individual retiree's employment history in the formal sector of the economy—a sector that since the mid-1980s has seen no significant growth in its share of total

employment. This means that the older adult population will continue to post relatively high rates of labour-market participation, which, along with ageing trends in the overall population, will mean that older workers could become a larger proportion of the overall work force. Income inequalities in the market could worsen as compensation levels at the unskilled lower end of the wage scale continue to lag behind the wages of more high-skilled jobs.

Figure IV.4



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ The line indicates an exponential adjustment.

D. Pension benefits: impact on income distribution and poverty

Although average income from pension benefits in most countries of Latin America remains higher than the poverty line, large numbers of older adults covered by pension systems —between 50% and 80% of the total— receive such meagre benefits that they are still highly vulnerable. Even so, this pension income is enough to mitigate and, in some countries, even substantially reduce poverty rates and inequalities in income distribution. As countries continue to expand coverage of their benefit systems, both effects will become more significant in coming decades, especially in the light of the ongoing process of ageing in the overall population.

The great majority of older adults who collect a monthly income from pension systems in the region do not receive even the equivalent of twice the per capita poverty line. This amount is insufficient to meet the basic needs of a couple, and the situation is especially serious for older adults who face high and rising health expenditures which often drain off the bulk of their available resources. At least half of all beneficiaries of these systems receive monthly incomes below the aforementioned amount, except in Panama (only 20%) and Uruguay (around 40%). This is the case not only in countries with low levels of coverage, but also in those that have broader systems covering over 60% of the older adult population.

Even though these amounts are small, this income is more evenly spread than that obtained on the labour market and accounts for a substantial share of total income in households that include older adults. Needless to say, the broader the coverage of the pension system, the greater will be the impact of the income provided thereby. The question therefore arises as to how these resources influence overall income distribution, and how much the ageing of the population, coupled with the move to expand the coverage of pension systems, will tend to smooth out inequalities in income distribution arising from the ever-wider income gaps on the labour market. As noted in earlier editions of *Social Panorama*, these gaps in earned income generally increased during the 1990s. In order to answer this question, the real

distribution of household income was compared to a theoretical distribution when retirement and pension income is factored out. The results are summarized in table IV.9.

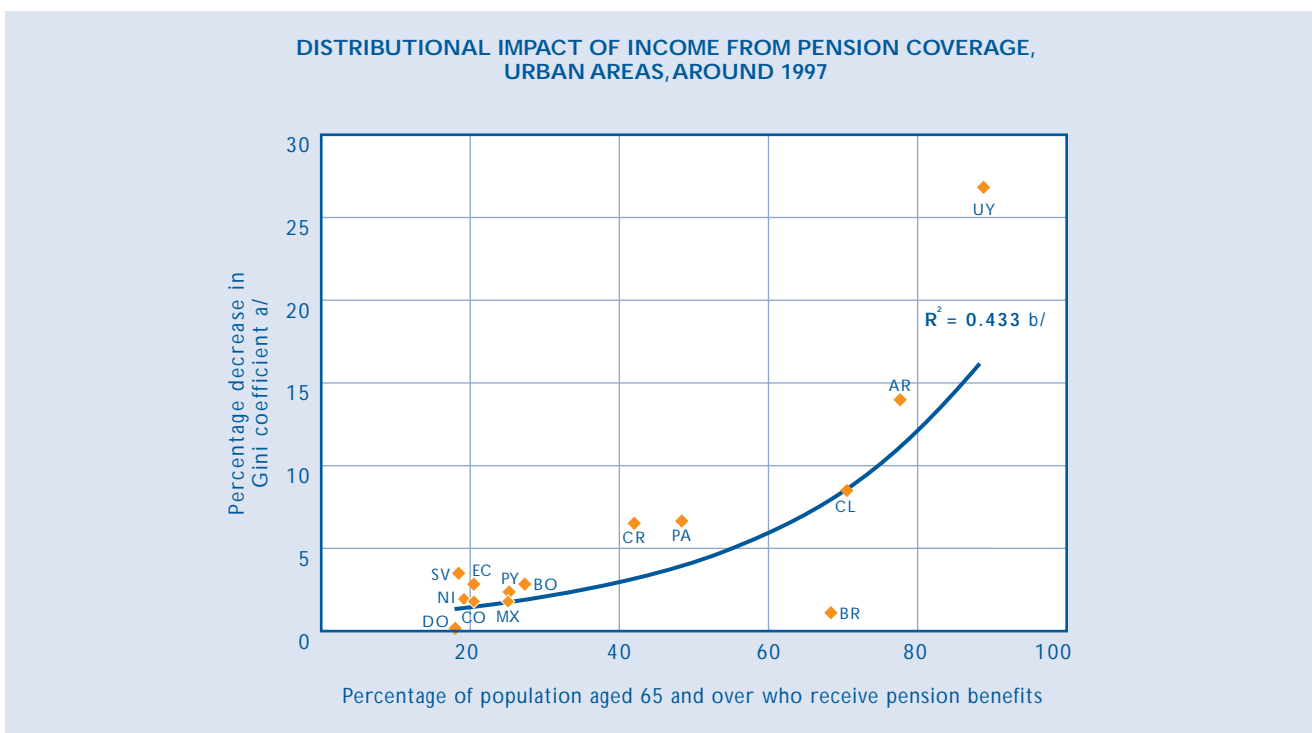
As expected, the degree to which pension benefits affect income distribution in urban areas depends primarily on the breadth of system coverage and much less on the amount represented by pensions in comparison with income from other sources, especially primary income. Of the countries analysed, Uruguay, Argentina and, to a lesser extent, Chile, display greater inequality when pension income is excluded. These countries have relatively high coverage, with more than two thirds of the population aged 60 and over receiving benefits. Brazil stands out as an exception, as very broad coverage (68%) seems to contrast with a lower-than-expected impact on inequality. As it happens, a relatively high proportion of beneficiaries in Brazil

receive very large sums in retirement income. The impact on smoothing out income distribution has been much greater in rural areas, where the transfer programme that Brazil implemented in the early 1990s provided large numbers of former rural workers with relatively small amounts of pension income (see tables IV.6.A, IV.6.B, IV.8.A, IV.8.B and IV.9).

The tendency of pension programmes to lessen income inequality is most significant in countries that have broad coverage and a high proportion of the population in the 60-and-over age bracket. Thus, the poorest 40% of all households find their share of total income increasing significantly: in Uruguay, by seven percentage points; in Argentina, by five points; and in Chile and Panama, by two percentage points.

Figure IV.5 shows how the coverage of pension

Figure IV.5



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Refers to the percentage decrease in the Gini coefficient of household income, considering income from pensions as part of total household income.
 b/ Coefficient resulting from an exponential adjustment.

systems has brought changes in relative inequality. In and of itself, this factor is clearly able to smooth out many of the inequalities in income distribution, and the impact grows more than proportionally when the percentage of people benefiting from the pension system is expanded. The impact of pension systems on income distribution is also a function of ageing in the population; therefore, if the percentage of older adults receiving benefits within the total population changes, and this segment of the population acquires greater weight overall, the impact of the pension system on household resources will gradually increase, along with the impact on distribution.

The extent to which pension systems are likely to mitigate or lessen income inequality is also influenced by ongoing changes in the level and extent of retirement and pension benefits. In funded systems, benefits are closely tied to income levels during the working years and hence, the effect of widening coverage in the context of an ageing population will be partially offset by greater disparities in pension income.

The impact of pension income on poverty levels provides an interesting measure of the significance of this income as a share of total household resources⁶ (see tables IV.11.A. and IV.11.B). On average for the countries of the region, this pension income lowers poverty rates by only three percentage points in urban households as a whole (from 38% to 35%); nevertheless, as might be

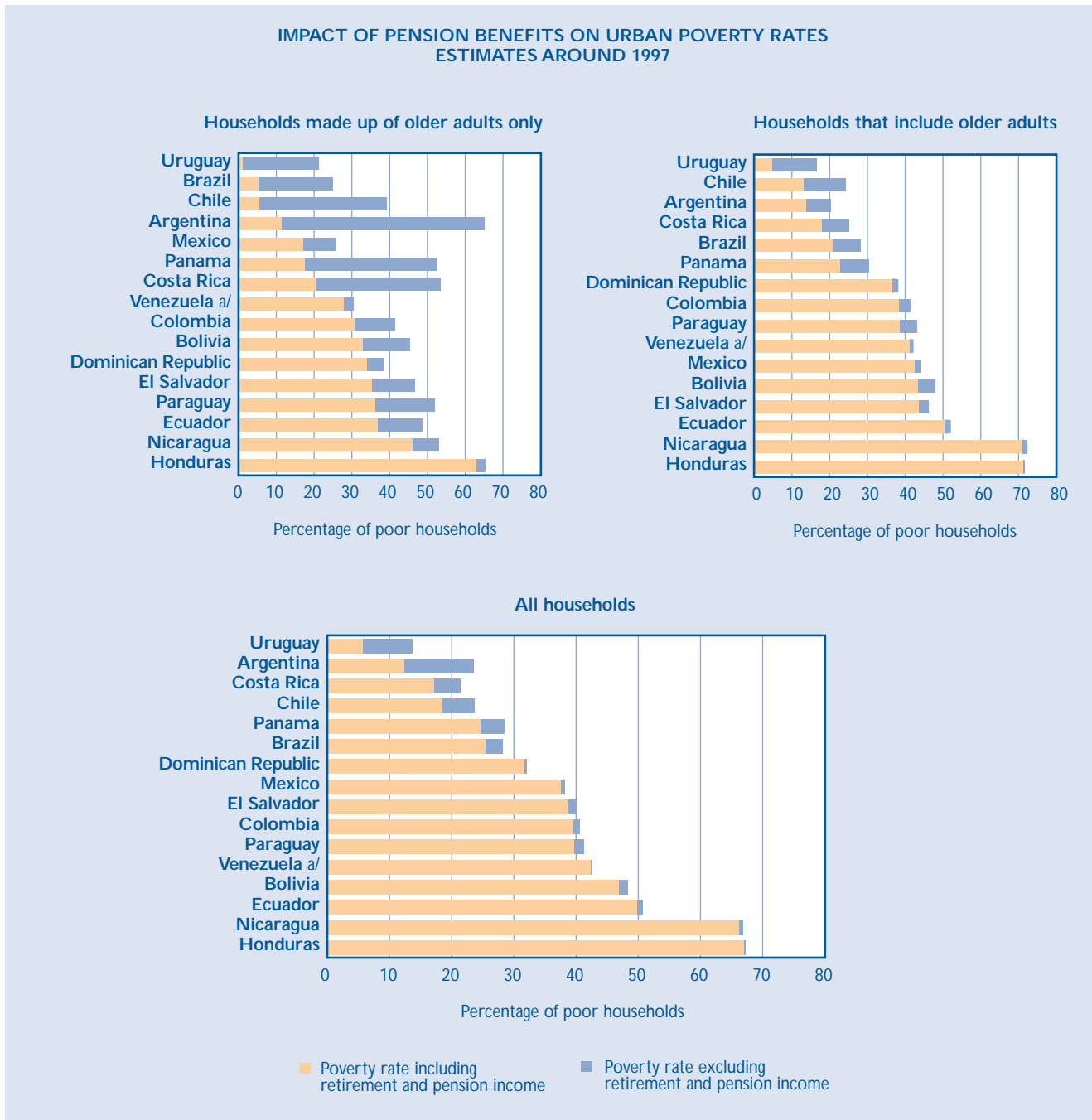
expected, poverty reduction becomes more significant in households where retirement and pension benefits come to represent a higher share of total family income. Changes are still more pronounced in households that include older adults, especially in those that are made up entirely of older adults (see figure IV.6). In these homes, poverty figures increase from 26% to 44% on average when pension benefits are factored out.

This outcome is less visible but more significant in households that include both older adults and other members, i.e., in family arrangements in which pension income contributes, to varying degrees, to the household budget of extended and composite families. In countries where the benefit system now covers over 25% of the potential population as a minimum threshold, which is the case in half the region's countries, pension payments contribute significantly to reducing poverty, subtracting from 5 to 12 percentage points from overall levels.

Given all these factors, there can be no question that income derived from retirement and pension systems will account for an increasingly significant share of the total resources of older adults as the population continues to age. This is especially true for the region's most populous countries, which are currently in full demographic transition. In coming decades, the coverage of pension systems and the level and type of benefits they provide will become an increasingly important component of public policy.

⁶ It should be borne in mind that measuring poverty by the income method tends to produce underestimations among older adults because household economies of scale (based on the total number of members) are overlooked, as are the particular needs of individual household members at different stages of the life cycle. In larger households that include older adults, the former factor tends to overestimate poverty; as the age of older adults increases, pushing up the cost of health care and medications, the latter factor underestimates poverty.

Figure IV.6



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ National total.

CHANGES IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF OLDER ADULTS IN THE 1990s

The years from 1990 to 1997 saw an improvement in the socio-economic status of older adults, much of it due to the positive impact of economic growth during those years. The strides taken by Brazil and Uruguay merit particular attention, resulting as they did from constitutional amendments that targeted social security systems. The impact in Brazil was most visible in rural areas, where both the coverage and the minimum payments of rural retirement and pension programmes were increased significantly. The 1988 constitutional amendments that brought this change, which were introduced in the early 1990s, simplified the requirements for farm workers to qualify for pensions and led to a 75% increase in the number of pension beneficiaries in seven years. At the same time, minimum retirement benefits were raised from the equivalent of 50% to 100% of the minimum wage. In Uruguay, constitutional amendments enacted in 1989 and implemented in 1990 changed the mechanism for applying periodic cost-of-living adjustments in benefits, bringing about a significant increase in the real amounts received, as adjustments for past inflation were made every four months.

During this period, two thirds of the countries under study reduced poverty significantly; this progress was clearly associated with advances being made by society as a whole. In some countries, including Brazil and Uruguay (for the reasons described above), as well as Chile and Costa Rica, poverty declined in households including older adults even more than in households with no older adults (see table IV.12.B). In Brazil, poverty in households with no older adults fell by 10 percentage points in urban areas and only one point in rural areas, whereas in households that included older adults, poverty was reduced by 25 percentage points in urban areas and 34 points in rural areas.

In some countries, poverty reduction in households with older adults was the result of a moderate increase in coverage of the pension system as well as the fact that a higher percentage of older adults were still working; in others, the two factors were enhanced by real improvements in the amounts received under one or both headings. The strong impact of the aforementioned constitutional amendments was compounded by the impact of economic growth in the first seven years of the decade, which in turn made it easier for larger numbers of older adults to enter the labour market; in the absence of social protection, this is preferable to having no income at all.

In urban areas of Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica and Panama, increases were recorded in all or nearly all of the four factors that tend to improve socio-economic conditions for older adults: pension coverage, participation in the work force, amount of benefit payments and income from work. Older adults in rural areas experienced a similar trend, although to a lesser extent. The exception was Brazil, where improvements in rural areas were greater than anywhere else, thanks to the constitutional amendment targeting older adults who had been rural workers (see tables IV.5.C and IV.5.D). In Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico and Paraguay, results relating to the aforementioned factors varied considerably, and the net impact on poverty trends in the 1990s was also variable. From 1990 to 1997, poverty declined in the former two countries but increased in the latter two (see tables IV.5.C, IV.5.D and IV.12.B).

Estimates are not yet available for 1998-2000, but since the crisis that hit several countries of the region had quite dissimilar effects on economic growth, it is to be expected that the negative impact on the well-being of older adults would be more critical in countries where the coverage of pension systems is limited, given that these older adults depend for their sustenance primarily on income from work and on the resources of the households they share with others. In a setting where unemployment is on the rise and income is slipping overall, standards of living have probably deteriorated more for older adults who lack social protection.

The situation is different in countries with broader pension coverage. Although a crisis will still affect those who work to support themselves or depend on other members of their households, the net impact on well-being will depend more on fluctuations in the retirement and pension systems. These in turn are influenced by general inflationary trends and by public expenditures for social security.

Table IV.1

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS AGED 60 AND OVER BY SEX AND AGE, NATIONAL TOTAL, PROJECTIONS FOR YEAR 2000												
Country	60 and over			Subdivisions by age								
				60 to 64			65 to 69			70 and over		
	Men & women	Men	Women	Men & women	Men	Women	Men & women	Men	Women	Men & women	Men	Women
Argentina	13.3	11.5	15.0	3.6	3.4	3.8	3.2	2.9	3.5	6.5	5.2	7.7
Bolivia	6.2	5.6	6.7	2.1	2.0	2.3	1.7	1.5	1.8	2.3	2.1	2.6
Brazil	7.9	7.1	8.7	2.7	2.5	2.8	2.0	1.8	2.1	3.2	2.8	3.7
Chile	10.2	8.9	11.5	3.0	2.9	3.2	2.5	2.3	2.8	4.6	3.7	5.5
Colombia	6.8	6.3	7.3	2.2	2.1	2.3	1.7	1.6	1.8	3.0	2.6	3.3
Costa Rica	7.5	6.9	8.0	2.3	2.3	2.4	1.9	1.8	2.0	3.2	2.9	3.6
Ecuador	6.9	6.5	7.4	2.2	2.2	2.3	1.7	1.7	1.8	3.0	2.6	3.3
El Salvador	6.9	6.4	7.4	2.1	2.0	2.3	1.8	1.7	1.9	3.0	2.7	3.2
Honduras	5.2	4.8	5.5	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.4	2.1	1.9	2.3
Mexico	6.9	6.4	7.4	2.2	2.1	2.3	1.7	1.6	1.8	3.0	2.7	3.3
Nicaragua	4.8	4.4	5.1	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.9	1.7	2.2
Panama	8.1	7.8	8.3	2.6	2.5	2.6	1.9	1.9	1.9	3.6	3.4	3.8
Paraguay	5.3	4.6	6.0	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.3	1.1	1.5	2.2	1.7	2.6
Dominican Republic	6.8	6.6	7.0	2.3	2.2	2.3	1.8	1.7	1.8	2.7	2.6	2.9
Uruguay	17.0	14.8	19.0	4.3	4.0	4.5	4.1	3.8	4.4	8.6	6.9	10.2
Venezuela	6.6	6.1	7.1	2.1	2.1	2.2	1.7	1.6	1.8	2.7	2.4	3.1

Source: ECLAC Population Division – Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), population projections.

Table IV.2.A

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS AGED 60 AND OVER, BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD, URBAN AREAS, 1997										
Country	Households with older adults only				Households that include older adults ^{a/}				Total	Percentage of households with older adults
	One-person	Couples	Other arrangements	Subtotal	Up to 25%	25% - 50%	Over 50%	Subtotal		
Argentina	16.7	28.6	8.7	54.0	20.5	10.3	15.3	46.1	100.0	36.6
Bolivia	11.3	15.9	4.1	31.3	22.2	15.2	31.4	68.8	100.0	21.2
Brazil	9.9	16.3	4.3	30.5	27.8	24.5	17.2	69.5	100.0	25.7
Chile	9.7	16.9	5.9	32.5	20.4	20.8	26.3	67.5	100.0	29.3
Colombia	6.2	8.7	3.8	18.7	37.0	18.4	25.8	81.2	100.0	25.8
Costa Rica	9.8	16.5	7.0	33.3	30.8	15.0	21.0	66.8	100.0	28.7
Ecuador	6.3	12.0	3.1	21.4	35.0	19.3	24.2	78.5	100.0	24.0
El Salvador	8.0	8.5	4.4	20.9	41.6	14.7	22.8	79.1	100.0	31.6
Honduras	6.3	5.1	1.3	12.7	39.4	17.5	30.5	87.4	100.0	24.1
Mexico	8.7	13.3	3.8	25.8	46.2	14.1	13.9	74.2	100.0	20.8
Nicaragua	5.5	7.9	3.1	16.5	42.8	13.5	27.1	83.4	100.0	24.4
Panama	9.8	12.8	5.2	27.8	28.6	17.6	26.0	72.2	100.0	25.8
Paraguay	7.0	13.7	2.9	23.6	33.7	16.4	26.2	76.3	100.0	22.5
Dominican Republic	7.4	7.6	2.6	17.6	38.4	15.4	28.6	82.4	100.0	23.6
Uruguay	17.1	28.3	8.7	54.1	11.8	16.6	17.5	45.9	100.0	48.8
Venezuela ^{b/}	6.4	6.9	2.6	15.9	52.1	17.9	14.1	84.1	100.0	24.7

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Households in this group are divided into categories based on the percentage of total household income contributed by adults aged 60 and over.
b/ National total.

Table IV.2.B

LATIN AMERICA (10 COUNTRIES): PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS AGED 60 AND OVER, BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD, RURAL AREAS, 1997										
Country	Households with older adults only				Households that include older adults ^{a/}				Total	Percentage of households with older adults
	One-person	Couples	Other arrangements	Subtotal	Up to 25%	25% - 50%	Over 50%	Subtotal		
Bolivia	15.5	30.8	1.2	47.5	12.6	4.1	35.7	52.4	100.0	28.3
Brazil	9.3	15.9	3.3	28.5	12.8	26.6	32.0	71.4	100.0	29.1
Chile	9.3	14.5	4.8	28.6	15.2	20.6	35.7	71.5	100.0	37.2
Colombia	8.9	11.2	4.2	24.3	32.5	14.5	28.7	75.7	100.0	31.5
Costa Rica	8.9	16.4	5.5	30.8	31.2	13.2	24.8	69.2	100.0	23.6
El Salvador	8.6	7.9	2.5	19.0	40.2	16.4	24.4	81.0	100.0	32.2
Honduras	5.8	5.9	2.4	14.1	32.3	14.4	39.3	86.0	100.0	28.1
Mexico	8.7	16.2	4.2	29.1	36.0	15.0	19.9	70.9	100.0	26.3
Panama	13.8	15.0	4.4	33.2	22.6	14.4	29.8	66.8	100.0	32.2
Dominican Republic	9.8	5.8	2.5	18.1	26.9	12.5	42.4	81.8	100.0	29.0

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Households in this group are divided into categories based on the percentage of total household income contributed by adults aged 60 and over.

Cuadro IV.3.A

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH OLDER ADULTS, BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD, URBAN AREAS, 1997							
Country	Households with older adults						Total
	Households with older adults only			Households that include older adults a/			
	One-person	Couples b/	Other arrangements	Up to 25%	25% - 50%	Over 50%	
Argentina	77.4	46.6	73.6	70.4	49.6	48.3	59.5
Bolivia	67.0	44.4	67.6	64.5	50.5	44.8	53.4
Brazil	75.1	45.1	75.2	66.1	51.9	47.1	57.1
Chile	73.6	47.2	73.7	75.1	54.7	47.5	58.6
Colombia	58.2	46.1	72.9	67.0	46.5	45.0	55.4
Costa Rica	60.0	45.0	61.4	67.6	53.0	46.7	56.1
Ecuador	53.8	43.6	69.8	65.5	44.2	39.3	51.8
El Salvador	61.8	47.2	64.6	69.7	50.2	46.7	58.8
Honduras	68.4	47.2	51.2	64.1	46.7	46.8	55.0
Mexico	70.2	46.9	65.4	63.7	48.3	38.4	56.4
Nicaragua	53.1	48.4	78.8	68.0	50.8	55.2	60.2
Panama	47.1	45.2	67.6	71.5	47.8	44.3	54.3
Paraguay	65.2	43.2	67.0	67.9	49.3	46.3	55.6
Dominican Republic	60.8	49.4	62.8	68.3	52.0	44.5	56.7
Uruguay	75.1	46.9	71.6	74.4	56.9	51.4	59.6
Venezuela c/	47.3	41.9	71.0	64.1	44.0	33.7	53.7

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Households in this group are divided into categories based on the percentage of total household income contributed by adults aged 60 and over.

b/ Households consisting of a head of household aged 60 or over and his spouse, aged at least 55. The column indicates only the percentage of adults aged 60 and over; the proportion of women in this group is less than 50%, since women are more often included as spouse, and are usually younger than the head of household.

c/ National total.

Table IV.3.B

LATIN AMERICA (10 COUNTRIES): PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH OLDER ADULTS, BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD, RURAL AREAS, 1997							
Country	Households with older adults						Total
	Households with older adults only			Households that include older adults a/			
	One-person	Couples b/	Other arrangements	Up to 25%	25% - 50%	Over 50%	
Bolivia	54.6	46.7	75.9	72.7	46.6	40.0	49.2
Brazil	50.0	45.6	66.2	62.0	49.9	43.2	49.0
Chile	43.3	47.2	61.0	61.3	48.2	41.7	47.9
Colombia	49.5	43.5	62.2	63.7	34.0	38.0	48.4
Costa Rica	45.3	44.3	57.6	59.1	38.6	38.2	47.5
El Salvador	47.2	45.4	52.0	61.0	42.3	38.1	49.7
Honduras	41.3	43.5	50.0	67.9	41.3	41.4	50.3
Mexico	52.6	47.2	68.1	58.4	40.4	39.2	50.0
Panama	31.6	45.2	59.2	63.0	42.8	36.3	45.0
Dominican Republic	44.3	43.3	47.6	54.1	40.1	38.5	43.9

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Households in this group are divided into categories based on the percentage of total household income contributed by adults aged 60 and over.

b/ Households consisting of a head of household aged 60 or over and his spouse, aged at least 55. The column indicates only the percentage of adults aged 60 and over; the proportion of women in this group is less than 50%, since women are more often included as spouse, and are usually younger than the head of household.

Table IV.4.A

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): RETIREMENT AND PENSION INCOME URBAN AREAS, 1997 (Percentage of recipients)												
Country	60 and over			Subdivisions by age								
				60 - 64			65 - 69			70 and over		
	Men & women	Men	Women	Men & women	Men	Women	Men & women	Men	Women	Men & women	Men	Women
Argentina	67	73	64	43	45	41	66	76	58	83	91	79
Bolivia	26	39	15	24	32	17	22	33	12	31	48	16
Brazil	62	77	50	48	55	42	63	80	50	72	93	57
Chile	61	66	58	41	40	41	61	69	55	76	87	70
Colombia a/	20	33	10	20	32	10	23	37	13	19	31	10
Costa Rica a/	39	45	35	33	33	33	39	38	40	44	57	33
Ecuador	17	24	11	10	15	6	20	25	15	21	30	13
El Salvador	18	28	12	18	23	13	20	29	13	18	31	10
Honduras	8	13	5	6	9	3	9	12	7	9	15	4
Mexico	23	32	16	19	26	12	25	32	20	26	37	18
Nicaragua a/	17	26	11	12	15	10	14	22	9	22	36	12
Panama	48	58	39	46	56	37	48	59	37	49	60	40
Paraguay	21	27	17	13	14	11	17	17	16	30	41	22
Dominican Republic	16	21	11	11	18	7	17	24	11	18	23	15
Uruguay	81	79	83	59	54	63	80	80	80	93	94	92
Venezuela a/ b/	11	20	3	7	11	3	12	21	3	13	26	3

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Retirement and pension income refers to total income in the form of transfers to persons identifying themselves as "retirees and pensioners" under the heading "activity status" (see box IV.3).

b/ National total.

Table IV.4.B

LATIN AMERICA (10 COUNTRIES): RETIREMENT AND PENSION INCOME RURAL AREAS, 1997 (Percentage of recipients)												
Country	60 and over			Subdivisions by age								
				60 - 64			65 - 69			70 and over		
	Men & women	Men	Women	Men & women	Men	Women	Men & women	Men	Women	Men & women	Men	Women
Bolivia	4	6	2	4	7	1	2	3	2	5	7	2
Brazil	75	78	72	57	49	64	76	82	70	88	96	80
Chile	48	55	42	24	23	25	49	58	40	66	76	54
Colombia a/	9	13	3	9	13	4	9	14	3	8	13	3
Costa Rica a/	19	24	13	13	14	11	20	27	11	22	28	14
El Salvador	3	3	2	2	1	2	3	3	4	3	5	2
Honduras	2	2	1	2	1	2	2	3	1	2	3	1
Mexico	7	10	5	6	5	7	9	15	4	8	11	4
Panama	19	25	12	17	24	9	21	29	13	19	23	13
Dominican Republic	6	9	3	3	4	1	7	11	3	10	14	4

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Retirement and pension income refers to total income in the form of transfers to persons identifying themselves as "retirees and pensioners" under the heading "activity status" (see box IV.3).

Table IV.5.A

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AGED 60 AND OVER BY TYPE OF INCOME, URBAN AREAS, 1997							
Country	Source of income				Total	Average monthly retirement income /a	Average monthly income from work /a
	Retirement or pension only	Retirement or pension plus work	Work only	Neither			
Argentina	63.9	3.5	10.5	22.1	100.0	2.3	8.9
Bolivia	21.9	4.4	34.3	39.4	100.0	2.6	3.9
Brazil	51.9	9.9	10.0	28.2	100.0	3.2	5.7
Chile	52.7	8.6	14.4	24.4	100.0	3.5	9.2
Colombia b/	16.2	4.1	20.9	58.8	100.0	3.5	4.6
Costa Rica b/	39.4	...	22.2	38.4	100.0	3.5	5.3
Ecuador	14.7	2.4	34.6	48.4	100.0	2.0	3.1
El Salvador	10.2	8.2	30.6	51.0	100.0	2.2	2.5
Honduras	7.3	0.8	37.4	54.5	100.0	1.2	2.4
Mexico	19.6	3.6	24.8	52.1	100.0	1.3	3.4
Nicaragua b/	16.8	...	29.6	53.7	100.0	1.1	2.7
Panama	42.7	4.9	14.9	37.5	100.0	4.6	5.8
Paraguay	17.1	4.3	31.9	46.8	100.0	2.6	3.4
Dominican Republic	13.8	1.9	24.6	59.7	100.0	4.9	4.5
Uruguay	75.3	6.0	9.7	9.0	100.0	3.3	4.6
Venezuela b/ c/	10.8	...	31.0	58.2	100.0	1.2	4.2

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Expressed as a multiple of the per capita poverty line in each country.

b/ Retirement and pension income refers to total income in the form of transfers to persons identifying themselves as "retirees and pensioners" under the heading "activity status" (see box IV.3).

c/ National total.

Table IV.5.B

LATIN AMERICA (10 COUNTRIES): DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AGED 60 AND OVER BY TYPE OF INCOME, RURAL AREAS, 1997							
Country	Source of income				Total	Average monthly retirement income /a	Average monthly income from work /a
	Retirement or pension only	Retirement or pension plus work	Work only	Neither			
Bolivia	2.0	1.6	59.2	37.2	100.0	2.5	1.7
Brazil	52.4	22.5	11.5	13.6	100.0	1.7	3.6
Chile	42.4	6.0	17.0	34.6	100.0	2.8	6.9
Colombia b/	4.1	4.4	37.5	53.9	100.0	3.1	2.9
Costa Rica b/	18.7	...	26.2	55.1	100.0	3.1	4.9
El Salvador	1.6	1.2	43.2	54.0	100.0	1.7	1.9
Honduras	1.0	0.8	47.7	50.5	100.0	1.2	2.4
Mexico	4.6	2.9	43.6	49.0	100.0	1.6	2.1
Panama	15.4	3.4	34.3	46.8	100.0	5.0	3.1
Dominican Republic	4.8	1.6	43.9	49.7	100.0	1.1	4.0

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Expressed as a multiple of the per capita poverty line in each country.

b/ Retirement and pension income refers to total income in the form of transfers to persons identifying themselves as "retirees and pensioners" under the heading "activity status" (see box IV.3).

Table IV.5.C

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AGED 60 AND OVER BY TYPE OF INCOME, URBAN AREAS, 1990-1997								
Country	Year	Source of income				Total	Average monthly retirement income /a	Average monthly income from work /a
		Retirement or pension only	Retirement or pension plus work	Work only	Neither			
Argentina	1990	61.4	4.2	13.2	21.2	100.0	1.8	9.5
	1994	63.9	3.5	10.5	22.1	100.0	2.3	8.9
Bolivia	1997	21.9	4.4	34.3	39.4	100.0	2.6	3.9
Brazil	1990 b/	41.4	...	21.9	36.7	100.0	3.0	5.3
	1996	51.9	9.9	10.0	28.2	100.0	3.2	5.7
Chile	1990	60.8	2.5	6.0	30.8	100.0	2.5	4.4
	1996	52.7	8.6	14.4	24.4	100.0	3.5	9.2
Colombia b/	1991	14.1	3.9	23.5	58.4	100.0	3.8	3.0
	1997	16.2	4.1	20.9	58.8	100.0	3.5	4.6
Costa Rica b/	1990	32.8	...	20.3	47.0	100.0	3.3	4.3
	1997	39.4	...	22.2	38.4	100.0	3.5	5.3
Ecuador	1990 b/	11.8	...	38.3	49.9	100.0	1.8	2.9
	1997	14.7	2.4	34.6	48.4	100.0	2.0	3.1
El Salvador	1997	10.2	8.2	30.6	51.0	100.0	2.2	2.5
Honduras	1997	7.3	0.8	37.4	54.5	100.0	1.2	2.4
Mexico	1989	16.7	2.3	24.7	56.3	100.0	1.8	4.6
	1996	19.6	3.6	24.8	52.1	100.0	1.3	3.4
Nicaragua b/	1997	16.8	...	29.6	53.7	100.0	1.1	2.7
Panama	1989	41.4	1.8	16.7	40.2	100.0	4.6	4.1
	1997	42.7	4.9	14.9	37.5	100.0	4.6	5.8
Paraguay	1990	22.4	4.7	25.9	47.0	100.0	1.7	4.5
	1996	17.1	4.3	31.9	46.8	100.0	2.6	3.4
Dominican Republic	1997	13.8	1.9	24.6	59.7	100.0	4.9	4.5
Uruguay	1990	73.7	7.2	9.5	9.5	100.0	2.1	7.3
	1997	75.3	6.0	9.7	9.0	100.0	3.3	4.6
Venezuela b/ c/	1997	10.8	...	31.0	58.2	100.0	1.2	4.2

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Expressed as a multiple of the per-capita poverty line in each country.

b/ Retirement and pension income refers to total income in the form of transfers to persons identifying themselves as "retirees and pensioners" under the heading "activity status" (see box IV.3).

c/ National total.

Table IV.5.D

LATIN AMERICA (10 COUNTRIES): DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION AGED 60 AND OVER BY TYPE OF INCOME, RURAL AREAS, 1990-1997								
Country	Year	Source of income				Total	Average monthly retirement income ^{a/}	Average monthly income from work ^{a/}
		Retirement or pension only	Retirement or pension plus work	Work only	Neither			
Bolivia	1997	2.0	1.6	59.2	37.2	100.0	2.5	1.7
Brazil	1990 b/ 1996	29.3	...	38.4	32.3	100.0	1.1	3.2
		52.4	22.5	11.5	13.6	100.0	1.7	3.6
Chile	1990 1996	51.5	2.4	7.6	38.5	100.0	2.2	2.8
		42.4	6.0	17.0	34.6	100.0	2.8	6.9
Colombia b/	1991 1997	2.3	5.1	42.9	49.6	100.0	4.1	3.9
		4.1	4.4	37.5	53.9	100.0	3.1	2.9
Costa Rica b/	1990 1997	14.4	...	28.2	57.4	100.0	3.2	5.1
		18.7	...	26.2	55.1	100.0	3.1	4.9
El Salvador	1997	1.6	1.2	43.2	54.0	100.0	1.7	1.9
Honduras	1997	1.0	0.8	47.7	50.5	100.0	1.2	2.4
Mexico	1989 1996	2.8	3.3	41.9	52.0	100.0	1.8	3.3
		4.6	2.9	43.6	49.0	100.0	1.6	2.1
Panama	1989 1997	12.9	1.4	34.2	51.5	100.0	5.1	2.8
		15.4	3.4	34.3	46.8	100.0	5.0	3.1
Dominican Republic	1997	4.8	1.6	43.9	49.7	100.0	1.1	4.0

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Expressed as a multiple of the per-capita poverty line in each country.

b/ Retirement and pension income refers to total income in the form of transfers to persons identifying themselves as "retirees and pensioners" under the heading "activity status" (see box IV.3).

Table IV.6.A

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): PENSION COVERAGE AND AVERAGE AMOUNT OF RETIREMENT AND PENSION INCOME ^{a/} BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF PERSONS AGED 60 AND OVER URBAN AREAS, 1997									
Country	Total			Educational level					
				0-5 years		6-9 years		10 and over	
	Coverage (%)	Average ^{b/}		Coverage (%)	Average	Coverage (%)	Average	Coverage (%)	Average
Argentina	67	2.3	(33)	65	1.7	67	2.0	72	3.9
Bolivia	26	2.6	(53)	17	1.5	23	2.1	51	3.6
Brazil	62	3.2	(57)	61	1.9	57	5.3	72	10.8
Chile	61	3.5	(60)	64	2.1	59	3.2	61	5.7
Colombia ^{c/}	20	3.5	(69)	16	2.6	28	3.4	38	5.4
Costa Rica ^{c/}	40	3.5	(51)	28	2.0	40	2.6	63	5.9
Ecuador	17	2.0	(57)	7	1.2	17	2.0	33	2.3
El Salvador	18	2.2	(45)	9	1.4	31	2.2	59	3.1
Honduras	8	1.2	(41)	5	0.5	13	1.4	28	2.1
Mexico	23	1.3	(36)	18	0.9	27	1.3	41	2.5
Nicaragua ^{c/}	17	1.1	(28)	14	0.7	19	0.9	34	2.5
Panama	48	4.6	(56)	25	2.7	50	3.5	76	6.6
Paraguay	21	2.6	(74)	15	1.7	27	2.4	42	4.2
Dominican Republic	16	2.9	(74)	12	2.0	28	2.9	27	6.3
Uruguay	81	3.3	(59)	86	2.5	78	3.1	76	6.2
Venezuela ^{c/ d/}	11	1.2	(38)	7	0.8	14	1.1	24	1.9
Simple average ^{e/}	39	2.6	(54)	34	1.7	41	2.6	54	4.8

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Expressed as a multiple of the per capita poverty line in each country.

b/ Figures in parentheses indicate the mean value of retirement and pension income as a percentage of average income of wage earners aged 50 to 59.

c/ Retirement and pension income refers to total income in the form of transfers to persons identifying themselves as "retirees and pensioners" under the heading "activity status" (see box IV.3).

d/ National total.

e/ Not including Colombia, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and Venezuela.

Table IV.6.B

LATIN AMERICA (19 COUNTRIES): PENSION COVERAGE AND AVERAGE AMOUNT OF RETIREMENT AND PENSION INCOME ^{a/} BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF PERSONS AGED 60 AND OVER RURAL AREAS, 1997									
Country	Total			Educational level					
				0-5 years		6-9 years		10 and over	
	Coverage (%)	Average ^{b/}		Coverage (%)	Average	Coverage (%)	Average	Coverage (%)	Average
Bolivia	4	2.5	(64)	2	2.1	19	2.2	47	3.3
Brazil	75	1.7	(57)	75	1.6	59	3.2	56	12.2
Chile	48	2.8	(65)	50	2.5	39	3.3	47	7.2
Colombia ^{c/}	9	3.1	(86)	8	2.5	19	6.1	24	8.9
Costa Rica ^{c/}	19	3.1	(60)	17	2.3	22	3.2	56	9.4
El Salvador	3	1.7	(57)	2	1.4	9	2.4	65	4
Honduras	2	1.2	(67)	1	0.9	8	1.1	34	2
Mexico	7	1.6	(76)	6	1.4	16	1.7	60	3.6
Panama	19	5	(98)	11	3.5	33	4.3	68	9.4
Simple average ^{d/}	21	2	(58)	20	2	24	2	45	5

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Expressed as a multiple of the per capita poverty line in each country.

b/ Figures in parentheses indicate the mean value of retirement and pension income as a percentage of average income of wage earners aged 50 to 59.

c/ Retirement and pension income refers to total income in the form of transfers to persons identifying themselves as "retirees and pensioners" under the heading "activity status" (see box IV.3).

d/ Not including Colombia and Costa Rica.

Table IV.7.A

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): HOURS WORKED ^{a/} AND MEAN INCOME ^{b/} RECEIVED BY WAGE EARNERS AGED 50 TO 59 AND EMPLOYED PERSONS AGED 65 AND OVER URBAN AREAS, 1997						
Country	Wage earners aged 50-59 (A)	Employed persons aged 65 and over (B)	(C) = (B) / (A)	Wage earners aged 50-59 (D)	Employed persons aged 65 and over (E)	(F) = (E) / (D)
	Number of hours worked			Income from work		
Argentina	42	35	0.83	6.9	0.7	0.10
Bolivia	46	48	1.03	4.9	1.3	0.27
Brazil	42	34	0.80	5.6	0.8	0.14
Chile	47	44	0.93	5.8	1.7	0.29
Colombia	47	...	...	5.1	0.9	0.18
Costa Rica	47	38	0.81	6.8	0.8	0.12
Ecuador	47	44	0.93	3.5	1.0	0.29
El Salvador	31	27	0.90	4.9	0.8	0.16
Honduras	49	42	0.85	2.9	0.7	0.24
Mexico	46	42	0.91	3.6	0.7	0.19
Nicaragua	50	43	0.85	3.9	0.4	0.10
Panama	45	40	0.89	8.2	1.1	0.13
Paraguay	49	27	0.55	3.5	1.0	0.29
Dominican Republic	42	38	0.90	3.9	0.8	0.21
Uruguay	45	38	0.85	5.6	0.4	0.07
Venezuela ^{c/}	43	40	0.93	3.2	0.9	0.28
Simple average	45	39	0.86	4.9	0.9	0.19

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Number of hours normally worked in one week.

b/ Average income expressed as multiples of the per-capita poverty line in each country.

c/ National total.

Table IV.7.B

LATIN AMERICA (10 COUNTRIES): HOURS WORKED ^{a/} AND MEAN INCOME ^{b/} RECEIVED BY WAGE EARNERS AGED 50 TO 59 AND EMPLOYED PERSONS AGED 65 AND OVER RURAL AREAS, 1997						
Country	Wage earners aged 50-59 (A)	Employed persons aged 65 and over (B)	(C) = (B) / (A)	Wage earners aged 50-59 (D)	Employed persons aged 65 and over (E)	(F) = (E) / (D)
	Number of hours worked			Income from work		
Bolivia	50	44	0.88	3.9	1.0	0.26
Brazil	45	33	0.73	3.0	1.0	0.33
Chile	48	50	1.04	4.3	1.0	0.23
Colombia	47	...	...	3.6	1.0	0.28
Costa Rica	48	33	0.70	5.2	0.9	0.17
El Salvador	32	31	0.94	3.0	0.8	0.27
Honduras	47	39	0.82	1.8	1.0	0.56
Mexico	51	40	0.79	2.1	0.9	0.43
Panama	42	35	0.83	5.1	1.0	0.20
Dominican Republic	47	40	0.86	8.6	1.5	0.17
Simple average	46	38	0.84	4.1	1.0	0.29

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Number of hours normally worked in one week.

b/ Average income expressed as multiples of the per-capita poverty line in each country.

Table IV.8.A

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS AGED 60 AND OVER BY AMOUNT OF RETIREMENT AND PENSION INCOME RECEIVED ^{a/} URBAN AREAS, 1997							
Country	Amount of retirement and pension income received, expressed as multiples of poverty line						Total
	No retirement income	Less than 1	1 - 2	2 - 3	3 - 5	More than 5	
Argentina	33	10	33	11	7	6	100
	-	15	49	17	11	9	100
Bolivia	74	3	11	6	3	2	100
	-	13	43	22	13	9	100
Brazil	38	6	37	5	5	9	100
	-	10	59	8	8	15	100
Chile	39	3	28	9	9	12	100
	-	5	45	15	15	19	100
Colombia	80	1	8	4	4	4	100
	-	6	37	18	20	19	100
Costa Rica	61	2	15	8	8	7	100
	-	5	38	21	19	17	100
Ecuador	83	2	12	2	1	1	100
	-	14	68	12	3	4	100
El Salvador	82	2	8	4	2	1	100
	-	12	45	24	12	6	100
Honduras	92	5	2	1	0	0	100
	-	59	29	7	1	4	100
Mexico	77	16	4	2	1	1	100
	-	68	19	7	3	3	100
Nicaragua	83	12	3	1	1	0	100
	-	71	18	4	5	2	100
Panama	52	2	7	13	11	15	100
	-	4	15	27	22	32	100
Paraguay	79	3	7	6	3	2	100
	-	13	33	30	14	11	100
Dominican Republic	84	9	3	1	2	2	100
	-	58	16	7	10	10	100
Uruguay	19	6	27	18	18	13	100
	-	7	33	22	22	16	100
Venezuela ^{b/}	89	6	4	0	0	0	100
	-	58	34	4	3	2	100

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ The first row refers to all persons aged 60 and over, including those who receive no retirement or pension income. The second row shows the distribution for only those who do receive such income.

b/ National total.

Table IV.8.B

LATIN AMERICA (10 COUNTRIES): PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS AGED 60 AND OVER BY AMOUNT OF RETIREMENT AND PENSION INCOME RECEIVED ^{a/} RURAL AREAS, 1997							
Country	Amount of retirement and pension income received, expressed as multiples of poverty line						Total
	No retirement income	Less than 1	1 - 2	2 - 3	3 - 5	More than 5	
Bolivia	96	0	1	2	1	0	100
	-	4	26	42	27	1	100
Brazil	25	1	70	2	1	1	100
	-	1	94	2	1	1	100
Chile	52	4	8	26	8	2	100
	-	8	17	54	16	5	100
Colombia	92	2	1	3	2	1	100
	-	25	12	30	20	13	100
Costa Rica	81	0	7	7	3	2	100
	-	2	36	37	14	12	100
El Salvador	97	1	1	1	0	0	100
	-	37	26	28	8	3	100
Honduras	98	1	1	0	0	0	100
	-	45	44	4	7	0	100
Mexico	93	1	5	1	1	0	100
	-	16	66	10	7	1	100
Panama	81	1	1	2	9	6	100
	-	4	8	13	46	30	100
Dominican Republic	94	2	4	0	0	0	100
	-	33	63	0	4	0	100

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ The first row refers to all persons aged 60 and over, including those who receive no retirement or pension income. The second row shows the distribution for only those who do receive such income.

Table IV.9

LATIN AMERICA (14 COUNTRIES): IMPACT OF PENSION COVERAGE ON DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, AROUND 1997									
Country	Gini coefficient <i>a/</i>			Percentage share of income in households belonging to:					
	Without pension income	With pension income	Percentage variation	Poorest 40%		Next 40%		Wealthiest 20%	
				Without pension income	With pension income	Without pension income	With pension income	Without pension income	With pension income
Urban areas									
Argentina	0.509	0.438	14.0	9.5	14.4	35.7	34.4	54.8	51.2
Bolivia	0.468	0.455	2.7	13.0	13.6	33.8	34.1	53.3	52.3
Brazil	0.544	0.538	1.2	9.8	10.5	29.0	28.6	61.1	60.9
Chile	0.517	0.473	8.5	11.0	13.3	30.8	31.7	58.2	54.9
Colombia <i>b/</i>	0.485	0.477	1.7	12.6	12.9	31.7	32.3	55.7	54.8
Costa Rica <i>b/</i>	0.382	0.357	6.5	15.7	17.3	40.7	40.5	43.6	42.2
Ecuador <i>b/</i>	0.399	0.388	2.9	16.4	17.0	36.8	36.7	46.9	46.3
El Salvador	0.398	0.384	3.5	16.1	17.2	36.8	36.5	47.1	46.3
Mexico	0.399	0.392	1.9	17.1	17.6	34.1	34.1	48.9	48.4
Nicaragua <i>b/</i>	0.451	0.443	1.8	13.9	14.4	34.4	34.2	51.7	51.4
Panama	0.496	0.462	6.8	11.4	13.3	33.5	34.1	55.2	52.7
Paraguay	0.398	0.389	2.2	16.7	17.4	35.6	34.9	47.8	47.7
Dominican Republic	0.433	0.432	0.1	14.5	14.8	35.6	34.9	49.9	50.2
Uruguay	0.410	0.300	26.8	15.1	22.0	37.4	37.6	47.5	40.4
Rural areas									
Bolivia	0.533	0.531	0.4	9.9	9.8	18.3	31.9	58.4	58.4
Brazil	0.481	0.460	4.3	13.5	13.4	22.3	34.8	55.9	51.8
Chile	0.450	0.404	10.4	14.0	16.6	23.4	34.7	52.1	48.6
Colombia <i>b/</i>	0.402	0.401	0.3	15.3	15.4	39.0	38.8	45.8	45.8
Costa Rica <i>b/</i>	0.367	0.357	2.7	16.5	17.3	41.3	40.9	42.2	41.8
El Salvador	0.320	0.317	0.9	19.2	19.4	30.1	41.9	38.9	38.7
Mexico	0.337	0.334	1.0	20.1	20.3	36.8	36.8	43.1	42.9
Panama	0.456	0.440	3.4	14.2	14.9	23.2	32.9	53.2	52.1
Dominican Republic	0.395	0.392	0.9	16.2	16.5	27.2	37.1	46.6	46.4

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Calculated from the distribution of household income, in order by per capita income, with and without pension income.

b/ Retirement and pension income refers to total income in the form of transfers to persons identifying themselves as "retirees and pensioners" under the heading "activity status" (see box IV.3).

Table IV.10.A

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): POVERTY RATES IN HOUSEHOLDS THAT INCLUDE OLDER ADULTS URBAN AREAS, 1997										
Country	Households with older adults							Subtotal	Households with no older adults	Total urban households
	Households with older adults only			Subtotal	Households that include older adults a/					
	One-person	Couples	Other arrangements		Up to 25%	25% - 50%	Over 50%			
Argentina	3	21	10	11	7	8	30	14	12	12
Bolivia	30	39	26	33	44	37	46	43	49	47
Brazil	4	6	6	5	17	19	31	21	29	25
Chile	6	5	7	6	13	11	16	13	22	19
Colombia	29	28	41	31	46	26	35	38	40	40
Costa Rica	22	20	17	20	13	11	32	18	16	17
Ecuador	37	36	40	37	56	39	51	50	51	50
El Salvador	32	39	39	35	39	47	51	44	37	39
Honduras	57	72	77	63	72	77	66	71	66	67
Mexico	9	21	37	17	44	44	36	43	38	38
Nicaragua	47	47	40	46	71	73	70	71	66	66
Panama	19	15	18	18	22	16	29	23	26	25
Paraguay	33	42	24	36	34	32	49	38	40	40
Dominican Republic	33	32	42	34	31	36	46	37	30	32
Uruguay	0	0	1	0	4	4	6	5	9	6
Venezuela b/	26	29	34	28	43	38	38	41	43	42

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Households in this group are divided into categories based on the percentage of total household income contributed by adults aged 60 and over.

b/ National total.

Table IV.10.B

LATIN AMERICA (10 COUNTRIES): POVERTY RATES IN HOUSEHOLDS THAT INCLUDE OLDER ADULTS RURAL AREAS, 1997										
Country	Households with older adults								Households with no older adults	Total rural households
	Households with older adults only			Subtotal	Households that include older adults <i>a/</i>			Subtotal		
	One-person	Couples	Other arrangements		Up to 25%	25% - 50%	Over 50%			
Bolivia	45	80	57	63	74	39	86	79	72	72
Brazil	7	3	4	5	23	26	32	28	55	46
Chile	6	3	9	5	19	15	23	19	32	26
Colombia	50	37	61	47	58	38	59	55	54	54
Costa Rica	43	44	41	43	19	19	42	27	20	23
El Salvador	35	51	53	42	59	59	70	62	63	62
Honduras	57	59	84	61	83	76	79	80	81	80
Mexico	21	39	49	32	64	51	47	57	55	54
Panama	27	22	17	25	29	21	42	33	35	34
Dominican Republic	18	20	31	19	29	9	51	37	33	34

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Households in this group are divided into categories based on the percentage of total household income contributed by adults aged 60 and over.

Table IV.11.A

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): IMPACT OF RETIREMENT AND PENSION INCOME ON TOTAL POVERTY URBAN AREAS, 1997 (Percentage)								
Country	Households with older adults only		Households that include older adults		Total households with older adults		Total urban households	
	Real poverty rate	Simulated poverty rate ^{a/}	Real poverty rate	Simulated poverty rate ^{a/}	Real poverty rate	Simulated poverty rate ^{a/}	Real poverty rate	Simulated poverty rate ^{a/}
Argentina	11	65	14	20	13	43	12	24
Bolivia	33	46	43	48	40	47	47	48
Brazil	5	25	21	28	17	27	25	28
Chile	6	39	13	24	11	29	19	24
Colombia	31	41	38	41	37	41	40	41
Costa Rica	20	54	18	25	19	34	17	21
Ecuador	37	49	50	52	48	51	50	51
El Salvador	35	47	44	46	42	46	39	40
Honduras	63	65	71	72	70	71	67	67
Mexico	17	26	43	44	37	40	38	38
Nicaragua	46	53	71	72	67	70	66	67
Panama	18	53	23	30	21	36	25	28
Paraguay	36	52	38	43	38	45	40	41
Dominican Republic	34	39	37	38	36	38	32	32
Uruguay	1	21	5	17	3	19	6	14
Venezuela ^{b/}	28	30	41	42	39	40	42	43
Simple average	26	44	36	40	34	42	35	38

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Poverty rate calculated by excluding retirement and pension income from total household income.

b/ National total.

Table IV.11.B

LATIN AMERICA (10 COUNTRIES): IMPACT OF RETIREMENT AND PENSION INCOME ON TOTAL POVERTY RURAL AREAS, 1997 (Percentage)								
Country	Households with older adults only		Households that include older adults		Total households with older adults		Total rural households	
	Real poverty rate	Simulated poverty rate ^{a/}	Real poverty rate	Simulated poverty rate ^{a/}	Real poverty rate	Simulated poverty rate ^{a/}	Real poverty rate	Simulated poverty rate ^{a/}
Bolivia	63	65	79	80	72	73	72	72
Brazil	5	12	28	38	22	31	46	48
Chile	5	35	19	33	16	33	26	33
Colombia	47	53	55	57	53	56	54	55
Costa Rica	43	59	27	30	32	38	23	24
El Salvador	42	43	62	63	59	59	62	62
Honduras	61	61	80	80	78	78	80	80
Mexico	32	35	57	58	50	51	53	54
Panama	25	34	33	38	30	37	34	36
Dominican Republic	19	19	37	38	34	34	34	34
Simple average	34	42	48	51	44	49	48	50

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Poverty rate calculated by excluding retirement and pension income from total household income.

Table IV.12

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): POVERTY RATES AT THE HOUSEHOLD LEVEL, WITH AND WITHOUT OLDER ADULTS 1990-1997							
Country	Year	Households with older adults			Households without older adults		
		Total	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural
Argentina	1990	...	15	...	...	15	...
	1994	...	13	...	...	12	...
Bolivia	1989	...	54	...	...	48	...
	1997	55	40	72	57	49	72
Brazil	1990	45	42	56	43	38	56
	1996	18	17	22	33	29	55
Chile	1990	22	22	21	38	38	39
	1996	12	11	16	23	22	32
Colombia	1991	46	40	54	52	49	56
	1997	44	37	53	45	40	54
Costa Rica	1990	30	27	32	22	20	23
	1997	25	19	32	19	16	20
Ecuador	1990	...	53	...	...	57	...
	1997	...	48	...	...	51	...
El Salvador	1997	49	42	59	48	37	63
Honduras	1990	75	65	82	75	64	84
	1997	74	70	78	74	66	81
Mexico	1989	35	31	42	40	35	51
	1996	42	37	50	44	38	55
Nicaragua	1997	...	67	...	...	66	...
Panama	1989	35	29	45	40	36	50
	1997	24	21	30	28	26	35
Paraguay	1990	...	36	...	...	37	...
	1996	...	38	...	...	40	...
Dominican Republic	1997	35	36	34	32	30	33
Uruguay	1990	...	7	...	...	15	...
	1997	...	3	...	...	9	...
Venezuela	1990	38	37	38	31	31	39
	1997	39	...	...	43	...	...

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.



**Opportunities for
well-being in childhood
and adolescence:
progress in the 1990s and
future challenges**

INTRODUCTION

Earlier editions of *Social Panorama of Latin America* have dealt with a number of issues relating to the well-being of children and adolescents, the importance of well-being to child development, and the main mechanisms through which opportunities for well-being are transmitted from one generation to the next.

Childhood and adolescence are stages in the life cycle in which many opportunities to participate in society are defined. These are the stages when people acquire the basic skills they will need not only to enter the labour market and generate the income required for their well-being, but also to participate in other spheres of social, cultural and political life. This is why investment in children should be considered a means of creating both the human and the social and cultural capital that are essential to formation of values and exercise of citizenship.

As pointed out in a recent study of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF): Children are often hardest hit by poverty. No other age-group is as vulnerable to poverty as children are. Moreover, child poverty causes life-long damage to their minds and bodies; so that they are likely to pass poverty on to their children —thereby perpetuating the poverty cycle. Thus, poverty reduction must begin with children. Providing basic social services of good quality to all children is key to building their basic capabilities to live in dignity. Ensuring universal access to an integrated package of basic social services is one of the most efficient and cost-effective contributions to poverty reduction (Vandemoortele, 2000, p. 2).

Bearing this in mind, and ten years after a series of specific goals were established at the 1990 World Summit for Children in New York, this chapter considers the progress made in the region in addressing poverty-related issues, with special emphasis on children and adolescents. The possibility of meeting some of the quantitative targets set in 1995 at the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen is also discussed, and background information is provided on the main deficiencies in the living conditions of Latin American children and adolescents as well as the implications of such deficiencies for the acquisition of educational capital. In conclusion, the primary indicators of living conditions and advances in childhood and adolescence are identified, based on data obtained from household surveys with a view to monitoring the progress achieved at the national level and among different socio-economic strata of the population.

A. Magnitude of and trends in childhood poverty: the regional panorama

The decline in poverty in several Latin American countries during the first eight years of the 1990s was not sufficient to curb the growing number of poor children and adolescents in the region. Of a total of 204 million poor people in 1997, 110 million were under 20 years old. Of these, 37 million belonged to the most vulnerable group, that of children under six. Based on the figures showing the outcome of the 1998-1999 crisis, which exacerbated poverty in some countries and slowed the positive trend in others, it is estimated that in 2000, no fewer than 117 million out of a total of 224 million poor people in Latin America are under 20 years old. As the twenty-first century begins, over half the children and adolescents in Latin America are poor, and over half the total number of poor people in the region are children and adolescents.

Absolute poverty and its extreme condition, indigence, reflect a lack of resources in households that prevents them from satisfying the most basic needs of all their members. Figures showing the magnitude (the percentage of total population who live in households with incomes below the poverty line) and severity (the extent to which income fails to reach the minimum threshold of consumption determined by that line of poverty) provide a good starting point for taking stock of the changes in living conditions of children and adolescents that occurred in the 1990s and for presenting an overview of the current situation. This is all the more so because changes in poverty are not only

the **result** of the socio-economic evolution of a country and its impact on the population's living conditions, but also because the poverty currently prevailing in a country largely **determines** the opportunities for well-being that children will have during their adult life. The poverty that exists in Latin America at the beginning of the twenty-first century, which affects to varying degrees the children of different countries, is one of the leading causes of the poverty that will prevail in the coming decades. Its present magnitude serves as the starting point for assessing the possibilities of attaining the overall poverty-reduction goals established for 2015.¹

In the first eight years of the decade—from 1990 to 1997—significant progress was made in reducing poverty in the region as a whole, and this was reflected in a decline in its incidence and severity. The figures for 19 Latin American countries indicate that the percentage of poor households fell from 41% in 1990 to 36% in 1997 (see chapter I). This latter figure is one point higher than that of 1980 (35%), which means that there was not enough improvement to return poverty to its pre-debt-crisis level. In the same period, there was also an important decline in **individual poverty levels**,² from 48% in 1990 to 44% in 1997. As was pointed out in *Social Panorama of Latin America, 1998*, these achievements were closely associated with the economic growth of the countries: higher employment, which benefited relatively more of the lower income strata; reduced inflation, especially in countries that had suffered from hyperinflation; and greater public social expenditure, helping to raise income levels. The impact of these factors on incomes and poverty was greater in urban than in rural areas. In fact, in the former, the percentage of poor people fell by four points, from 41% in 1990 to 37% in 1997, whereas in the latter, with about 30% of the region's population, the decrease was only two percentage points, from 65% to 63% (see table V.1).

These trends reflect the effect on the **overall population** of economic recovery in some countries and of sustained growth in others during the past decade, up until the 1998–1999 crisis. Nevertheless, a breakdown of poverty estimates by age groups indicates that growth did not lower poverty levels to the same extent in all households; in households with children and adoles-

cents, such reductions were considerably less than in other households (see figure V.1).

This disparity raises two important issues relating to childhood living conditions. Firstly, in the absence of public-sector policies aimed at increasing incomes among the most vulnerable households with children, higher per capita income and the other factors associated with economic growth do not significantly benefit such households, especially those with children under six, which are also the most adversely affected during periods of recession or crisis. Figure V.2 shows that in all the Latin American countries studied, with the exception of Paraguay, urban children under six experienced less poverty reduction than the population as a whole. Moreover, in countries where overall poverty increased or was maintained, the situation of households with children deteriorated still further.

Secondly, and partly as a consequence of the foregoing, children and adolescents continue to suffer the most from poverty and indigence, despite the fact that new generations represent an ever smaller share of the region's population. In fact, a very high percentage of the poor population in Latin American is made up of children and adolescents; in 1997, 54% of all poor people were under 20 years old, even though overall, this age group accounted for less than half the region's population (44%).

Both phenomena are explained by the higher fertility rate of the low-income strata and the vulnerability of larger families. In such families, not only is the number of children per household greater, but so is the number of dependants

1 The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), with the support of the United Nations system, has established the goal of reducing by half, between 1993 and 2015, the percentage of people who live in poverty (UNDP, 2000).

2 In measuring absolute poverty, ECLAC used the income method. This is based on quantification of total monetary and non-monetary resources of households, which are compared with the cost of a basket of goods and services that is indispensable to meet the basic needs of household members. The degree to which these needs are satisfied depends, among other factors, on how family resources are distributed among household members. Therefore, poverty is, strictly speaking, a characteristic of the household itself and not necessarily of each one of the persons who lives in it. To state that a person is poor simply means that he or she lives in a poor household. Of course, the greater the gap between household income and the poverty line, the more likely it is that household members will be affected by the situation.

Table V.1

MAGNITUDE OF POVERTY ^{a/} IN LATIN AMERICA ^{b/} , BY AGE GROUPS, 1990-1997 (Percentage of population)							
	Year	Total population	Age group			Total 0 - 19	Total 20 and over
			0 - 5	6 - 12	13 - 19		
National	1990	48	59	59	50	56	40
	1997	44	58	57	47	54	35
Urban	1990	41	51	52	44	49	35
	1997	37	49	48	40	46	29
Rural	1990	65	74	74	64	71	57
	1997	63	75	76	66	73	55
Population living in poverty (thousands)							
National	1990	200 200	37 375	41 608	31 487	110 470	89 730
	1997	204 000	36 871	41 199	32 525	110 594	93 406
Urban	1990	121 700	20 872	24 335	19 943	65 150	56 550
	1997	125 800	21 428	24 589	20 787	66 804	58 996
Rural	1990	78 500	16 503	17 273	11 544	45 320	33 180
	1997	78 200	15 443	16 610	11 738	43 791	34 409

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries and population data from ECLAC Population Division - Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE).

a/ Refers to percentage and number of persons in households with incomes under the poverty line. Includes indigent population.

b/ Estimates for 19 countries in the region.

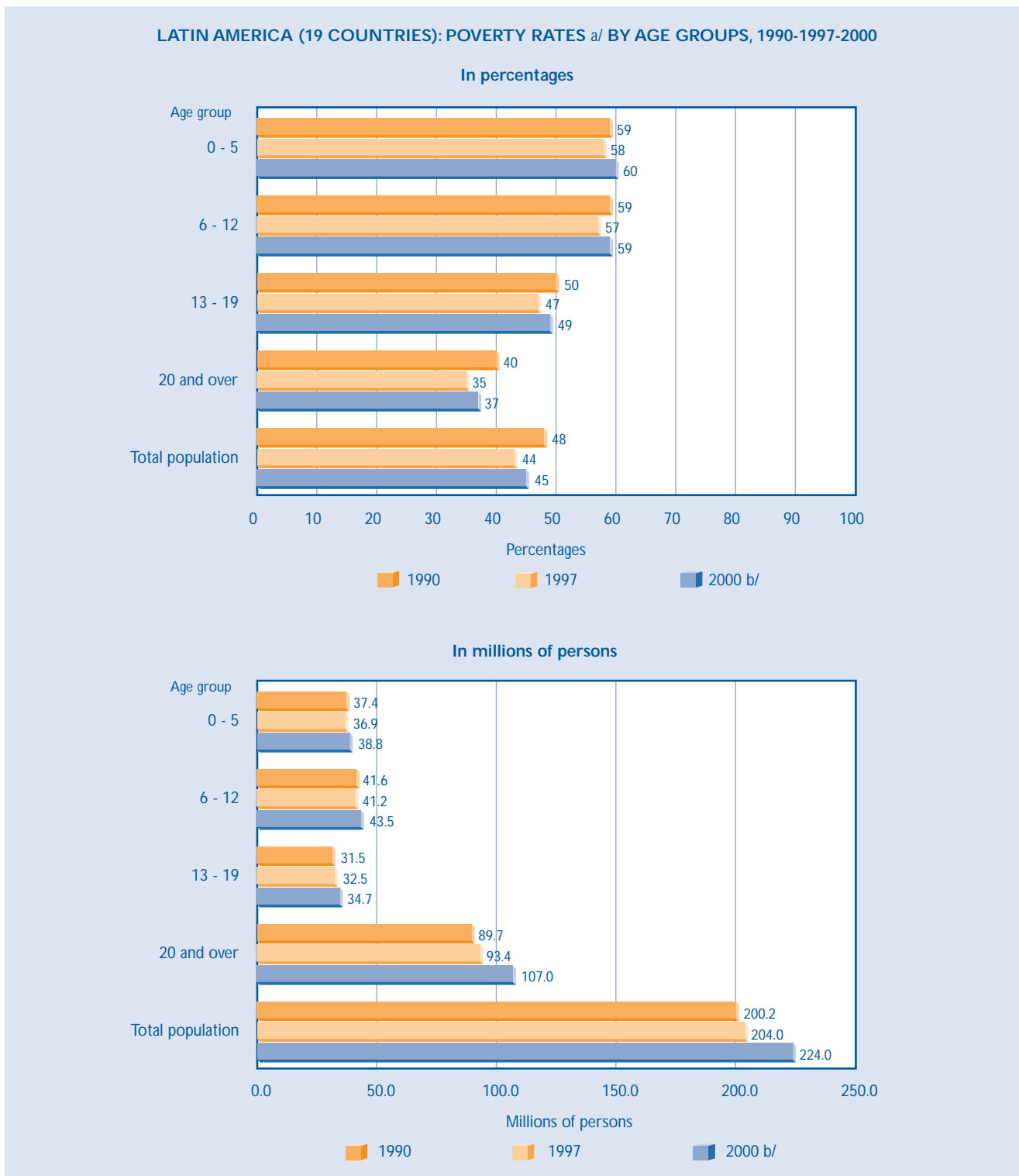
(inactive members) relative to breadwinners. Such families are often at an earlier stage of the life cycle and have fewer resources for supporting their members, given that the working career of the head of household (or main breadwinner) is just beginning. To this must be added the limited participation of women (spouses) in the labour market, since their domestic duties make it difficult for them to seek paid work outside the home. All these factors are reflected in the fact that the further down a household is on the per capita income scale, the higher is the average number of children per family and hence, the percentage of children living in low- or very low-income households (see Box V.1).

The foregoing is confirmed by the poverty rates among different age groups. In the 16 Latin American countries for which data are available, poverty affects proportionally more children and

adolescents (see tables V.3.A and V.3.B at the end of this chapter). In aggregate terms for the region, the percentage of children aged 0 to 5 who lived in poverty in 1997 (58%) was 14 percentage points higher than the corresponding figure for the total population; for children aged 6 to 12, 13 points higher; and for adolescents aged 13 to 19, 3 points higher than the average.

As might be expected, economic growth during the first half of the 1990s lowered poverty levels far less in the most vulnerable population group, i.e., that of households with children in the 0-5 age group. In fact, there was almost no improvement in this age group between 1990 and 1997; in urban areas, poverty went down only two percentage points, while in rural areas it went up a point, so that the regional average for minors living in poverty declined by only one percentage point (from 59% to 58%) and the

Figure V.1

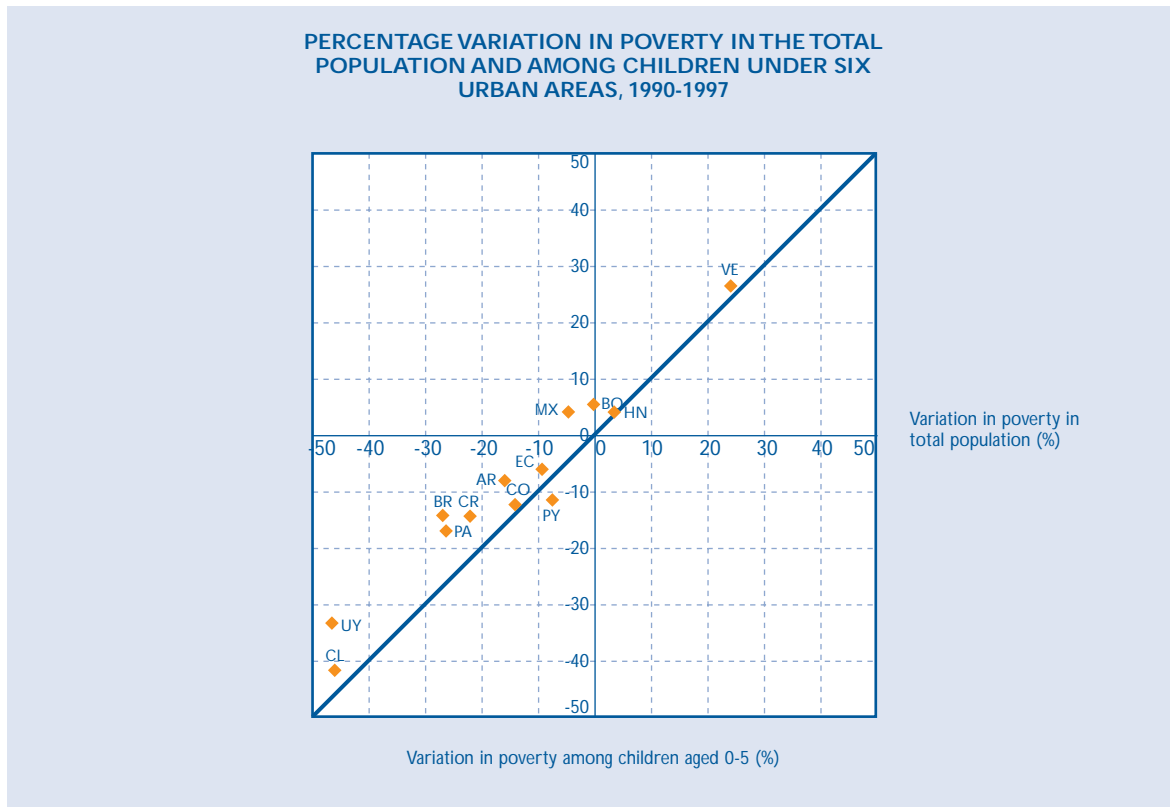


Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Percentage of persons living in households with incomes below the poverty line. Includes persons who are indigent or in extreme poverty.

b/ Preliminary figures. Estimates based on population data from ECLAC Population Division – Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), and trends in macroeconomic indicators for the countries.

Figure V.2



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

total number of poor pre-school children remained at about 37 million.³

Furthermore, the living conditions of school-age children (ages 6-12) did not improve significantly either, at least as regards the income levels of their homes; poverty in this age group fell from 59% to 57% between 1990 and 1997 and the number of poor school-age children was only

reduced from 41.6 to 41.2 million in the 19 Latin American countries under consideration (see again figure V.1) There was a larger decrease in poverty among adolescents between the ages of 13 and 19 (from 50% to 47%); however, the fact that they represented a growing share of the population of the region meant that the number of those living in poverty rose from 31.5 million in 1990 to 32.5 million in 1997.

³ The number of children and adolescents living in poverty in rural areas appears to have decreased by about 1.5 million, although the rural poverty rate fell only slightly, from 65% to 64%. The decline in the weight of the rural population may be partly accounted for by the fact that there was a selective migration to urban areas, with the poorer families being left in the countryside (see again table V.1).

B. Goals for reducing income-poverty levels among children and adolescents by 2015

The goal of cutting income-poverty in half by 2015, which was proposed at the World Summit for Social Development, entails reducing the total number of Latin Americans living in poverty from 224 million to 137 million. Even though in the next 15 years, the percentage of those under 20 in the region's population will decline by almost seven points, meeting that goal presupposes a dramatic drop in the total number of poor children and adolescents: from 117 million to around 60 million. Given the impact of economic growth on poverty trends in various countries during the 1990s, if poverty is to be cut in half, gross domestic product (GDP) will have to rise by 5% to 6% a year. This is the level of a performance that ECLAC considers necessary to improve the population's living conditions within reasonable time periods.

The 1998-1999 crisis, which affected the countries of the region to varying degrees (see chapter I), set back Latin America's poverty-reduction programmes. A preliminary estimate for a group of 19 countries —based on trends in the macroeconomic variables most closely correlated with changes in poverty— indicates that over the last few years (1997 to 2000), there was a loss of one of the four percentage points by which poverty had declined in the first eight years of the decade. It is estimated that in 2000, at the individual level and for urban and rural areas combined, the poverty rate is around 45%, compared with 44% in 1997 (see again figure V.1).

This deterioration in the population's living conditions is a matter of concern because it has most seriously affected households with children and adolescents. In fact, it is estimated that in 2000, the poverty rate among children under six (60%) is one percentage point higher than it was in 1990. Children between 6 and 12 are in a similar situation; in this case, poverty is likely to return to the 1990 level of 59%, thereby wiping out the two-point improvement achieved in the years preceding the crisis that began in 1997. The situation of adolescents aged 13 to 19 is also deteriorating, but from poverty levels somewhat better than those of the

other two groups —it is estimated that between 1990 and 1997, poverty had risen from 47% to 49%, one point less than in 1990.

These trends clearly show that progress in reducing child and adolescent poverty has been meagre in recent years, even in countries whose annual growth rates of around 5% were, within the regional context, relatively high. Efforts to meet poverty-reduction goals established at the World Summit for Social Development are not proceeding at a rate that will make it possible to reach those goals by 2015. In many of the countries that set quantitative targets, these goals have turned out to be overly ambitious, especially in those that did not foresee the difficulties involved in sustaining a high rate of economic growth and low rates of underemployment and open unemployment during the 1990s, as well as in others that were more affected by the financial crisis in Asia.⁴

The foregoing calls for an examination of the feasibility of some of the poverty-reduction goals established in Latin American countries. In respect of income poverty, the Summit urged eradication of extreme poverty and a substantial reduction in overall poverty. The Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), in agreement with the World Bank and the United Nations system, set as a goal for 2015 a 50% reduction in the percentage of the world population that lives in poverty. How feasible are this and other goals for Latin American countries as a whole?

Table V.2 provides a breakdown of three poverty-reduction goals for 2015, including estimates of the percentage and the total number of poor people estimated to exist in 2000. The least ambitious goal (Goal A) involves maintaining until 2015 the number of poor people currently living in

Table V.2

POVERTY REDUCTION GOALS a/ FOR 2015, BY AGE GROUPS IN LATIN AMERICA								
Age group	Poverty rate in 2000 b/		Goal A		Goal B		Goal C	
			Maintain number of poor people		Reduce poverty rate by half		Reduce number of poor people by half	
	Percentage	Millions	Percentage	Millions	Percentage	Millions	Percentage	Millions
0 - 5	60	38.8	60	38.8	30	19.5	30	19.4
6 - 12	59	43.5	58	43.5	30	22.1	29	21.8
13 - 19	49	34.7	47	34.7	25	18.0	24	17.3
Total 0 - 19	56	117.0	55	117.0	28	59.6	27	58.5
20 and over	37	107.0	27	107.0	20	77.2	14	53.5
Total population	45	224.0	37	224.0	23	136.8	18	112.0

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Figures refer to 19 countries in the region.

b/ Preliminary figures. Estimates based on population data from ECLAC Population Division – Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), and trends in macroeconomic indicators for the countries.

⁴ Trends in per capita private consumption are a good indicator of the feasibility of goals for reducing income-poverty. In Latin America, that aggregate grew at a very slow rate (less than 2% per year on average) between 1990 and 1999, a figure that is well below the rate that would be needed in order to cut poverty in half (UNPD, 2000).

the region; the intermediate goal (Goal B) is the one established at the World Summit for Social Development under the auspices of the United Nations system, and the most ambitious one (Goal C) would reduce by half the **number of poor people** in the region.

As shown in this table, the goal of maintaining the absolute number of poor people does not really apply to children, inasmuch as by 2015 almost the same percentage of children and adolescents would still be living in poverty. This is due to the fact that over the years, the share of children and adolescents in the region as a whole will decline by seven percentage points. This is not to say that achieving this goal will not be important for the rest of the population. Indeed, it would entail reducing the poor population aged 20 and over from 37% to 27% and bringing overall poverty down from 45% to 37% over the 15-year period considered.

The intermediate goal (Goal B) would represent a significant achievement for children and adolescents in the region, as it would mean reducing the total number of poor people from 117 million to 59.6 million. On the other hand, in order to reduce overall poverty by 50% (more than three percentage points

per year), per capita income in the region would have to rise at a very high rate—at least 3.5%—compared with the period 1990-1999, when it was around 2% (ECLAC, 2000b, chapter II, table II.1).

Goal C would undoubtedly be more difficult to achieve for the population as a whole, since it involves reducing the overall poverty rate from 45% to 18%. As far as children and adolescents are concerned, however, it is not very different from Goal B (see again table V.2), given that it would mean reducing the total number of those under 20 years who live in poverty from 177 million to 58.5 million.

To summarize, in view of the difficulties that countries have faced in their efforts to sustain relatively high growth rates, cope with their economies' increased volatility and expand private consumption (the indicator most directly associated with income-poverty), there is not much hope of achieving Goals B and C, at least in the case of children. Countries should therefore fine-tune their poverty goals, relating them explicitly to children and adolescents, and define an adequate set of indicators for this group's living conditions that would provide for periodic assessments of actual progress and of the possibility for achieving the established goals.

A HIGH PERCENTAGE OF THE CHILD POPULATION IS CONCENTRATED IN THE MOST VULNERABLE HOUSEHOLDS

In both urban and rural areas, low-income households account for a high share of the total child population. In six of the region's countries that have different levels of poverty and are at different stages of demographic transition, no less than 25% of all children under six years old live in households belonging to the poorest quintile of the population, whereas this percentage is around 15% in the highest income quintile. Although slightly less pronounced, these differences also exist among children in the 6-12 age group (see table below). It should be noted that countries having a lower poverty level which are at a more advanced stage of demographic transition and in which children account for a lower percentage of the total population (among the countries studied, Uruguay) are the ones in which children are relatively more affected by poverty. On the other hand, in countries that are at a less advanced stage of demographic transition, such as Bolivia and Honduras, where poverty levels are higher, the child population is less concentrated in the lowest strata of the income pyramid. In these two countries, poverty among children under six is 1.23 and 1.13 times that of the overall population, whereas in Uruguay, the corresponding figure is 2.3 (see table V.3.A at the end of the chapter).

DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN HOUSEHOLDS, BY INCOME STRATA, IN SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1997

	Income strata ^{a/}	Average number of children aged 0-5 ^{b/}		Average number of children aged 6-12 ^{b/}		Mean size of household	Average number of active persons	Ratio of number of children under 13 to number of active persons
Bolivia	Lowest quintile	1.3	(26.7)	1.6	(25.4)	5.9	1.7	2.0
	Highest quintile	0.7	(14.2)	1.0	(16.3)	4.9	2.2	0.9
	Average	1.0	-	1.3	-	5.3	2.0	1.4
Brazil	Lowest quintile	1.2	(28.4)	1.3	(26.3)	5.7	1.8	1.7
	Highest quintile	0.6	(14.6)	0.9	(17.1)	4.3	2.0	0.9
	Average	0.8	-	1.0	-	4.9	2.0	1.1
Chile	Lowest quintile	1.0	(24.7)	1.1	(23.4)	5.0	1.3	1.8
	Highest quintile	0.7	(17.9)	0.9	(18.1)	4.3	2.0	0.9
	Average	0.8	-	0.9	-	4.7	1.7	1.2
Colombia	Lowest quintile	1.0	(25.4)	1.3	(25.9)	5.4	1.7	1.6
	Highest quintile	0.7	(16.4)	0.8	(16.0)	4.3	2.2	0.8
	Average	0.8	-	1.0	-	4.9	2.0	1.1
Honduras	Lowest quintile	1.3	(25.3)	1.7	(26.8)	6.1	1.8	2.0
	Highest quintile	0.8	(15.0)	1.0	(15.5)	4.8	2.2	1.0
	Average	1.0	-	1.2	-	5.5	2.1	1.4
Uruguay	Lowest quintile	1.2	(30.9)	1.3	(25.8)	5.6	1.8	1.6
	Highest quintile	0.6	(15.6)	0.9	(17.6)	4.0	2.0	0.9
	Average	0.8	-	1.0	-	4.7	2.0	1.1

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Represents the lowest and highest income quintiles.

b/ Figures in parentheses indicate the ratio of children in each quintile to total number of children in the age group.

Well-being and opportunities among pre-school children

During the early years of life, human beings are totally dependent on others, usually their parents. The circumstances of a child's primary care and socialization define him or her in many ways, including his or her physical capabilities, mental health, behaviour patterns, values, expectations and interests, all of which in turn largely determine that person's future opportunities for well-being. In the predominant family model in Latin America, the mother directly and permanently assumes this responsibility, inasmuch as she is the one who is charged with making sure that the child's basic needs are satisfied. By means of a number of strategies, she sees to it that the child is fed and that he or she is protected from environmental (including weather) and other outside physical and social factors posing a threat to his or her life and/or health. She also provides the psychomotor stimulation, language development, and behaviour patterns that will prepare the child for his or her future place in society.

The extent to which a child is properly nurtured and socialized generally depends on the character and circumstances of the mother (or other persons involved), the situation at home and the social environment. Naturally, the socio-economic conditions of the child's home, which are associated with its specific location, largely define the objective circumstances of his or her upbringing. Such conditions determine the availability of resources and access to basic housing services as well as to a community support system that helps protect the child. Nevertheless, it is the mother's abilities and skills, which include strategies for obtaining minimum resources, that are the major factor in the child's development, thereby conditioning his future opportunities.

In several editions, *Social Panorama* has emphasized the importance of the home setting, particularly as regards education, in the achievements

of children and adolescents. Nonetheless, it must be recognized that the educational environment in the home influences the different stages of a child's development, especially in the early years when the mother plays an essential role. Although household surveys (the main source of the data used here) do not provide all the data needed to analyse a mother's ability to properly perform her duties in regard to the nurture and socialization of her children, they are helpful in that they include information on her educational level. As a matter of fact, the mother's educational level, as shown in various studies, is the factor most directly linked to mortality and morbidity in minors. It has been concluded that an incomplete primary education (less than 6 years of formal schooling) has a negative effect on the mother's performance.

By the end of the 1990s, despite the progress made in education, in 10 out of 16 countries studied, the percentage of urban pre-school children whose mothers had not completed a primary education ranged from 40% to 50% and in the remaining six countries, from 13% to 18%. In rural areas, the share was between 65% and 85% in six out of 10 countries, and in the remaining four, between 30% and 40% (see table V.4). This means that by early 2000, a very high proportion of children entering school and beginning the process of acquiring educational capital will be at a disadvantage compared to the greater opportunities available to children coming from homes with a more positive educational environment.

As mentioned earlier, however, neither limited resources and access to services nor the mother's deficient education are conditions that by themselves adequately account for the seriousness of the situation of pre-school children. The following section includes a discussion of a number of risk factors in early childhood which operate both individually and in combination with the mother's lack of education, which latter is believed to put at high risk the child's health and future opportunities.

C. Neonatal and postneonatal nutritional risks (children under two)

Inadequate income —and related shortfalls in material of well-being— together with the mother's low educational level, are major risk factors for a child's health and nutrition. In 1997, in most Latin American countries, the percentage of children under two who lived in extremely impoverished households and whose mothers had a low educational level ranged from 20% to 50% in urban areas and from 20% to 75% in rural areas. Although the figures have declined significantly during the past ten years, it is estimated that in 2000, at least 36% of Latin American children are still seriously at risk of having their development impaired.

One of the main risks to a child's overall development is food insecurity during the early years of life. Children's eating patterns and opportunities affect their nutritional condition, which in turn determines their potential for growth and development. The practice of breastfeeding provides children with adequate nourishment and protects them against many childhood diseases. Nevertheless, early introduction of supplementary food, without proper hygiene or sterilization, limits the benefits of breastfeeding and exposes the child to contaminated substances. Habits and attitudes toward breastfeeding and weaning, as well as food hygiene, are related to the risk of disease, malnutrition and death. An inadequate diet, together with the incidence and prevalence of infectious diseases, play a more important role than genetic factors in determining children's growth.

Although low income is not in itself a cause of childhood malnutrition —given that food is not distributed equally to all members in a household and, when there is a shortage of food, adult consumption tends to be cut back first— it is still closely linked to the kind of food that is eaten, particularly as regards the balance of proteins, calorie content and other components needed for proper biological development.

As mentioned in the introduction, in defining nutritional patterns such as volume and type of diet, sanitary handling of food and variety of food groups, a key factor is the educational environment in the home and, in particular, the mother's level of schooling. An uneducated mother will not know how to plan a healthy diet, how to handle food so as to avoid contamination or how to avail herself of

Figure V.3



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

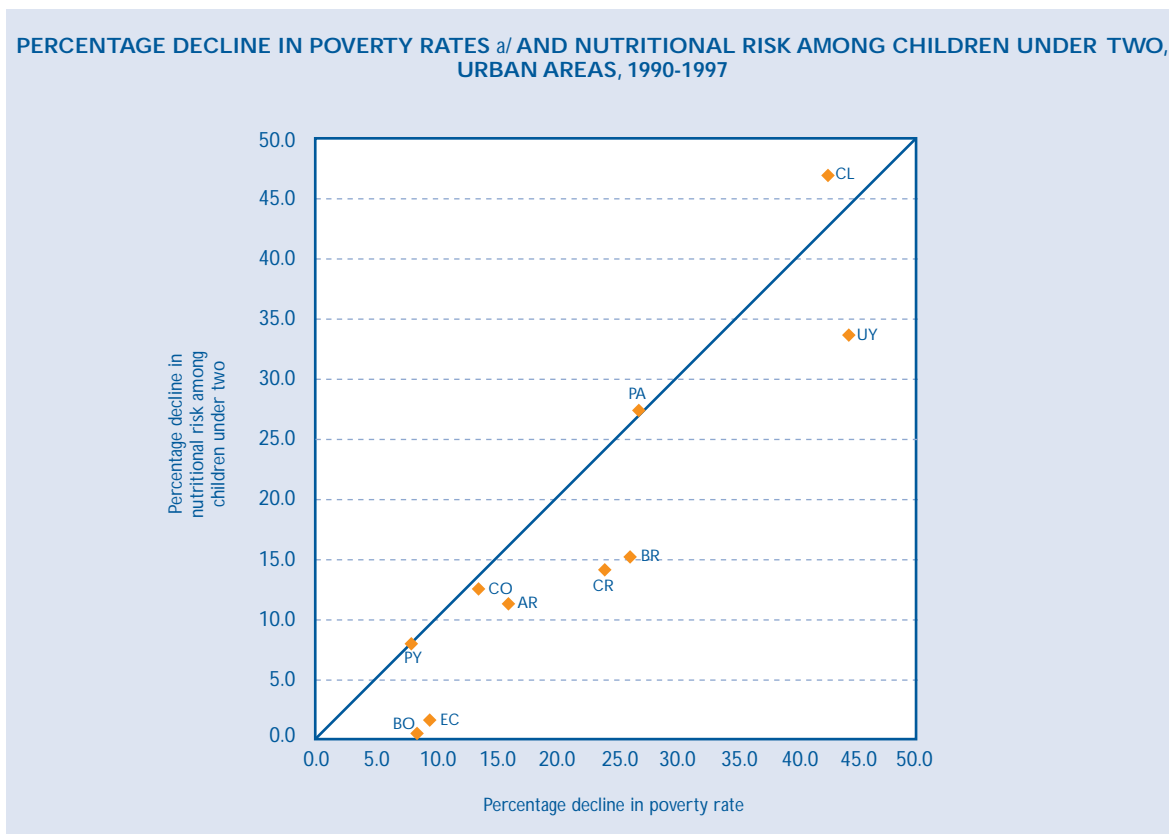
a/ Children aged 0-1 living in households with per capita incomes equal to or lower than 75% of the poverty line in the country concerned, whose mothers have received less than six years of schooling.

local health programmes, as well as other aspects that are crucial to the early years of a child's life. Given the importance of the mother-child relationship to proper nurturing in early childhood, the mother's lack of knowledge about dietary needs accentuates the risk not only of the child's being vulnerable to infections but also of its being seriously underweight or suffering from chronic malnutrition and other manifestations of malnutrition, including overweight. Furthermore, if the mother is undernourished during pregnancy, as is often the case in low-income strata, the child is likely to be born with deficiencies that are evidenced in anaemia, micronutrient deficiencies (iodine, iron,

vitamin A) and low birthweight. Thus, the child will start out in life —provided he or she does not die prematurely— considerably handicapped by biological problems that will affect his or her future place in society.

In this way, the two factors (insufficient income and an uneducated mother) become an important nutritional risk factor that could undermine the psychomotor development of the pre-school child and, later on, make it extremely difficult for him or her to benefit from the educational system. Figure V.3 illustrates the situation among very young children in a group of countries in the region.⁵

Figure V.4



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Refers to percentage variation in per capita urban poverty rates.

⁵ Household surveys made it possible to analyse the situation in the urban areas of 16 countries and in the rural areas of 11.

The percentage of children who live in extremely poor households (with per capita incomes 25% below the poverty line) and who also have mothers with little education (0 to 5 years of schooling) declined markedly during the 1990s (see table V.5). This reduction is closely associated with, on the one hand, the general improvement in household living conditions and the decrease in poverty that took place mainly in the first half of the past decade. On the other hand, it reflects the higher level of education among the new generation of mothers as a result of the trend toward universalization of education.

In spite of these advances, the nutritional risk to which children are exposed is still substantial. In urban areas alone, in 9 of the 16 countries under consideration (Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Venezuela), more than a third of children under two years of age are at nutritional risk. In rural areas, this problem is even more widespread, and in 6 of the 11 countries studied (Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, El Salvador, Honduras and Venezuela), more than 50% of all children are at risk. These high percentages—which correlate closely with malnutrition and infant mortality rates—are a clear indication that children in the region continue to be extremely vulnerable. It should be pointed out that, even though urban poverty was reduced significantly

between 1990 and 1997, the nutritional risk facing children under two years old, which is linked to structural poverty, declined at a very slow pace in most countries, as shown in figure V.4. The foregoing, together with other risk factors, determine the different educational levels attained by children from different socio-economic strata and, thence, their future opportunities for well-being.

With few exceptions, nutritional risk is higher among children of single-parent families (where one spouse is absent), with the vast majority living in households headed by women. Even though it is associated with the survival strategy of relatives living together (*allegamiento*), single-parent situation exacerbates the problem, especially in the early stages of family life (ECLAC, 1998). Not only does it affect the family's ability to generate economic resources and hence the time the mother can devote to her children, but it also gives rise to other problems that will become more important later in the child's life, such as the absence of a father figure.

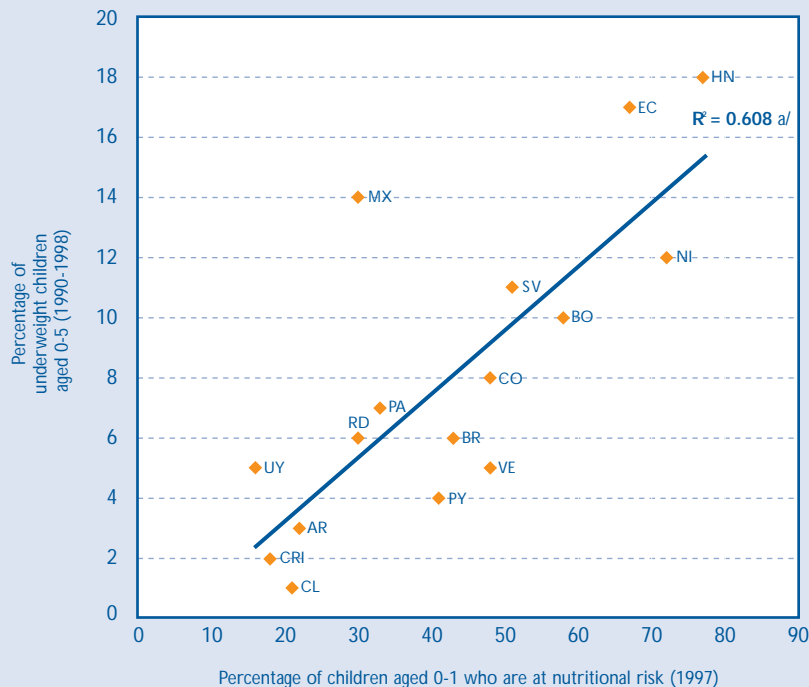
It is estimated that in 2000, about 36% of all children under two years of age in Latin America are at high nutritional risk. In rural areas, an even greater percentage (around 46%) is affected due to widespread unsanitary conditions and the population's limited access to public health services.

AN INDICATOR OF NUTRITIONAL RISK

The high degree of vulnerability of children in the early stages of life is reflected, as indicated in this chapter, in various types of nutritional deficiency, which are usually measured by means of indicators of underweight at a given age (weight/age ratio), emaciation (weight/height ratio) and chronic malnutrition (height/age ratio). Despite their being considered "hard indicators", these data from administrative records are not easily obtained on a regular basis. When such figures are reported, they often cover a broad time period and are difficult to monitor over time; in addition, there is a lack of information on some countries.

The nutritional risk indicator used here, which reflects extreme insufficiency of household resources (per capita income equivalent to 75% or less of the country's poverty line) in combination with deficiencies in socialization (a mother with less than six years of schooling) is helpful in evaluating changes in the degree of food insecurity experienced by children under two years old, inasmuch as it allows for periodic analysis with comparable databases. The underweight indicator, which records the effect of high nutritional risk, is closely correlated with such risk; in a group of 16 countries, 61% of the underweight index variability is explained by the nutritional risk indicator. To this is added the fact that since it is calculated on the basis of data from household surveys, which are conducted on a yearly basis, the nutritional risk indicator makes it possible not only to monitor the situation, but also to examine it in different geographical contexts (urban and rural areas), relate it to trends in other indicators either at the aggregate level or with specific reference to early childhood, and to analyse how it is affected by other characteristics (such as type of family structure) of the household in which the children live (see table V.5 at the end of this chapter).

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE NUTRITIONAL RISK INDICATOR FOR CHILDREN AGED 0-1 AND THE PERCENTAGE OF UNDERWEIGHT CHILDREN AGED 0-5



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries, as regards nutritional risk; United Nations Development Programme, *Overcoming Human Poverty. Poverty Report, 2000*. New York, 2000. United Nations publication, Sales number E.00.III.B.2, as regards the indicator of underweight children.

a/ Correlation coefficient squared.

D. Health risks in early childhood (children under six)

During the 1990s, the region made significant progress in providing households with basic sanitation services, which are closely linked to childhood morbidity and mortality rates. Nonetheless, most Latin American countries still have very high percentages of children under six who live in dwellings with no drinking water supply (10%-60%) or waste disposal system (20%-80%). The health risk is even greater in rural areas, where there is often no water treatment facility, and access to public health services is more limited.

Another element that significantly affects a child's development and his or her future opportunities is the spread of contagious diseases (infectious and parasitic), which to a great extent is related to socio-environmental conditions.

In Latin America, together with the process of demographic transition and the development of health systems, there have been significant changes in the epidemiological profile of the population; thus, there has been a gradual shift in relative importance from contagious diseases to chronic and degenerative diseases, which mainly affect adults. As a consequence of the progressive ageing of the Latin American population, an increasing percentage of deaths occur among adults suffering from such diseases. Furthermore, development and the trend toward universalization of access to health systems have made it possible to exercise significant control

over both preventive health care and curative and rehabilitation programmes. Nevertheless, to the variety of situations that have arisen during this new stage of demographic transition in the Latin American countries must be added the marked inequalities among different socio-economic strata as regards their access to such systems. As a result, there are differences in the prevalence of certain diseases which are linked to the availability of resources and to knowledge about and access to basic public health and sanitation services. This situation has given rise to the concept of an "epidemiology of inequality" (PAHO/ECLAC, 1997).

Furthermore, diet and nutritional deficiencies are factors in the greater vulnerability of children to contagious diseases and in the development of the chronic non-communicable diseases associated with micronutrient deficiencies, a process that has

intensified, along with changes in eating habits and food quality (PAHO/ECLAC, 1997). To the importance of diet and education—which determine eating habits and food hygiene—in disease prevention should be added another factor, namely, the sanitary conditions in a child's environment, which play a key role in the prevalence of communicable diseases such as poliomyelitis, neonatal tetanus, measles, colds and influenza, as well as intestinal diseases, including typhus, diarrhoea, meteorism, cholera and others. Thus, overall environmental hygiene is closely linked to the existence or lack of an adequate drinking water supply and sewerage system, not to mention the growing importance of air pollution in triggering acute respiratory infections in large cities.

Coverage of the drinking water supply and environmental sanitation services varies from country to country in the region. Some countries have made significant progress in supplying drinking water, especially in urban areas; in others, services cover only a small proportion of the population and the supply is irregular and of poor quality. Sewerage systems are usually more limited, and there are few wastewater treatment facilities. Around 1990, it was estimated that fewer than 10% of sewerage systems had treatment plants, and only 5% to 10% of sewage was treated, often inadequately (PAHO, 1992). Furthermore, because of population density, in many parts of the region the volume of discharged sewage exceeds the natural decomposition and dispersion capacity of the watercourses it drains into, with the resulting degradation and increased concentration of the coliform bacteria that are the main cause of intestinal disease. Prevention of these risk factors is vital to a reduction in the prevalence of these and other diseases that are the cause not only of high infant mortality but also of high rates of absenteeism from school and work.

In addition to constituting risk factors that are especially critical for infants (neonatal and post-neonatal), these conditions are also a major cause of mortality and morbidity among pre-school children. Following is a discussion of how children in the 0-5

age group are affected by the deficiencies in drinking water and sewerage systems.

Despite the improvements in coverage of drinking water supplies made by the countries for which data are available, such coverage was strongly biased in favour of urban areas. During the 1990s, connection and supply efforts were concentrated in the most densely populated areas (see table V.6). Although rural areas represent a continually declining proportion of the population and require much greater public investment because of their geographical dispersion, they need this service even more than urban areas. Besides lack of this basic service in rural areas, access to health systems is more difficult and the farming and food-handling methods applied—especially in subsistence systems—are unsanitary. The differences between urban and rural coverage are astounding: in countries such as Bolivia, Chile and Honduras, the proportion of children under six years old who have access to drinking water is three or more times lower in rural areas (see figure V.5.A). The differences among countries are considerable, ranging from 25% to 30% of total coverage (Bolivia, El Salvador, Honduras) to about 75% (Brazil); in urban areas, even though differences are not as pronounced, the population that has drinking water coverage ranges between 98% (Colombia) and 65% (Paraguay).

Furthermore, there are obvious inequalities within both urban and rural areas: in the former, lack of drinking water affects between one third and over twice as many children in the low-income strata (first quartile) compared with those belonging to higher-income households (fourth quartile). Although in rural areas there are also inequalities related to the income of households with children under six, they are less notable, owing mainly to the fact that the lack of drinking water in these areas is widespread.

As regards disease, the children of mothers with a low educational level are at highest risk, since these women are likely not only to have meagre resources,

but also to be ignorant of how to handle food. This situation is especially serious in rural areas, where there is greater and more prolonged exposure to natural watercourses which, as mentioned above, are becoming polluted because of the lack of excreta-disposal systems and treatment plants (see table V.6).

The risk associated with high concentrations of untreated sewage is just as high. The absence of adequate systems for disposal of excreta is a problem that affects more people than lack of drinking water.

Although availability of drinking water and its use in treating and washing food significantly reduce child morbidity, which is why so much emphasis is placed on broadening coverage of this service, the risk caused by lack of an excreta-disposal system is evidenced in two ways:

- (i) direct or indirect contamination —through ground water— of natural watercourses which, in the absence of drinking water, increases infant morbidity and mortality; and
- (ii) pollution of the immediate environment of the dwelling. Adults are better able than children to avoid contamination from sewage material in their daily activities, since children frequently come into contact with such waste when they play and are more likely to be exposed to sources of contagion. Broader coverage as regards access to drinking water and to sewerage systems are complementary measures for keeping a child's immediate surroundings clean and safe. Either measure in isolation will reduce but not eliminate risk.

Table V.7 shows the situation as regards lack of access to sewerage systems and the percentage of children under six who are affected by this problem. When these figures are compared with those for coverage of the drinking-water supply in all the countries, it becomes clear that although coverage of both services has expanded, the gap between access to drinking water and to sewerage

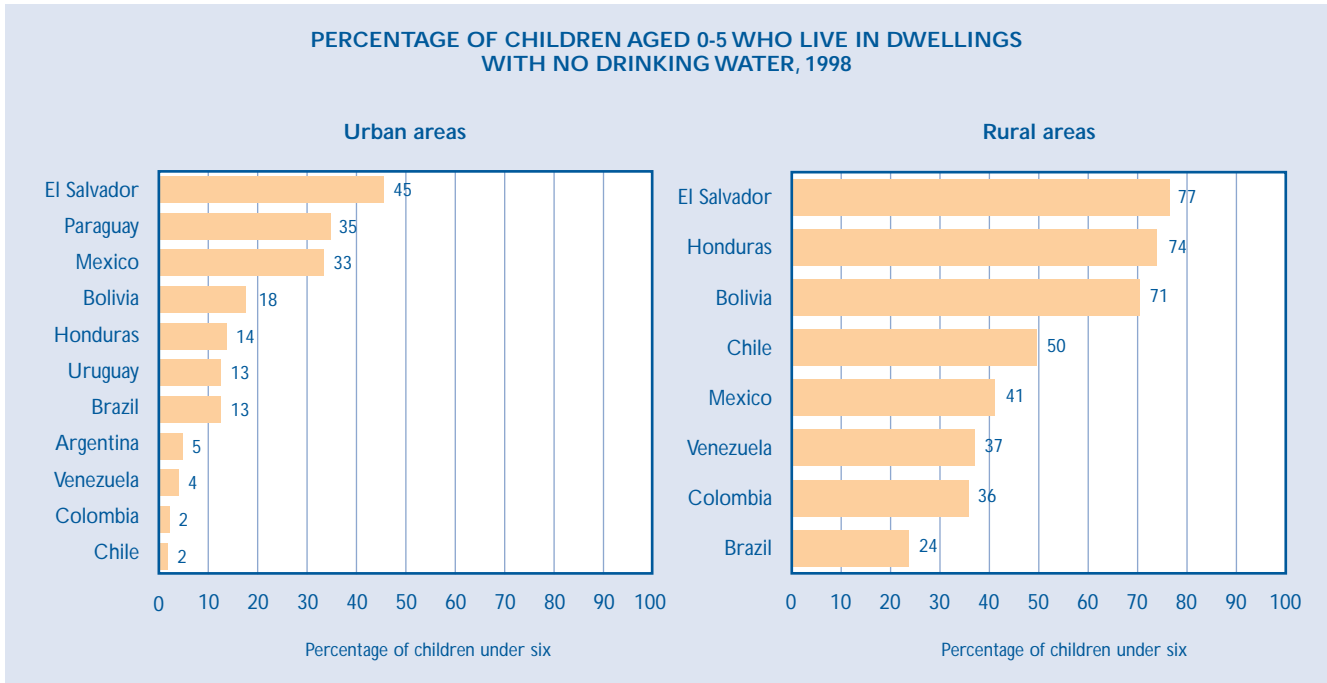
systems has widened, indicating that government programmes assign much higher priority to the former.

Furthermore, as in the case of drinking water, there are striking disparities in access to sewerage systems, depending on urban or rural location. This is especially true in Chile, where the proportion of children under six who are at risk owing to the proximity of waste materials is 14% in urban areas and 78% in rural areas; in Colombia, the figures are 12% and 48%; and in Mexico, 27% and 71%. It should be noted, however, that in countries having less pronounced disparities, the coverage is much lower in urban areas: in Bolivia, 66% of urban children under six live in households without adequate sanitation; in Brazil, 59%; and in Paraguay, almost 87%.

Similarly, inequity in access to sewerage systems is also associated with household income levels. In better-off countries, at least 20% of urban children in lower-income families live without sanitation (Chile and Colombia), and in most of the rest of the region, the figure is over 60%. On the other hand, among children belonging to the highest income quartile, the percentage ranges from 2% (Colombia) to 52% (Paraguay). This inequality is less apparent in rural areas, because, as in the case of connection to drinking water, the lack of sewerage system coverage is relatively widespread.

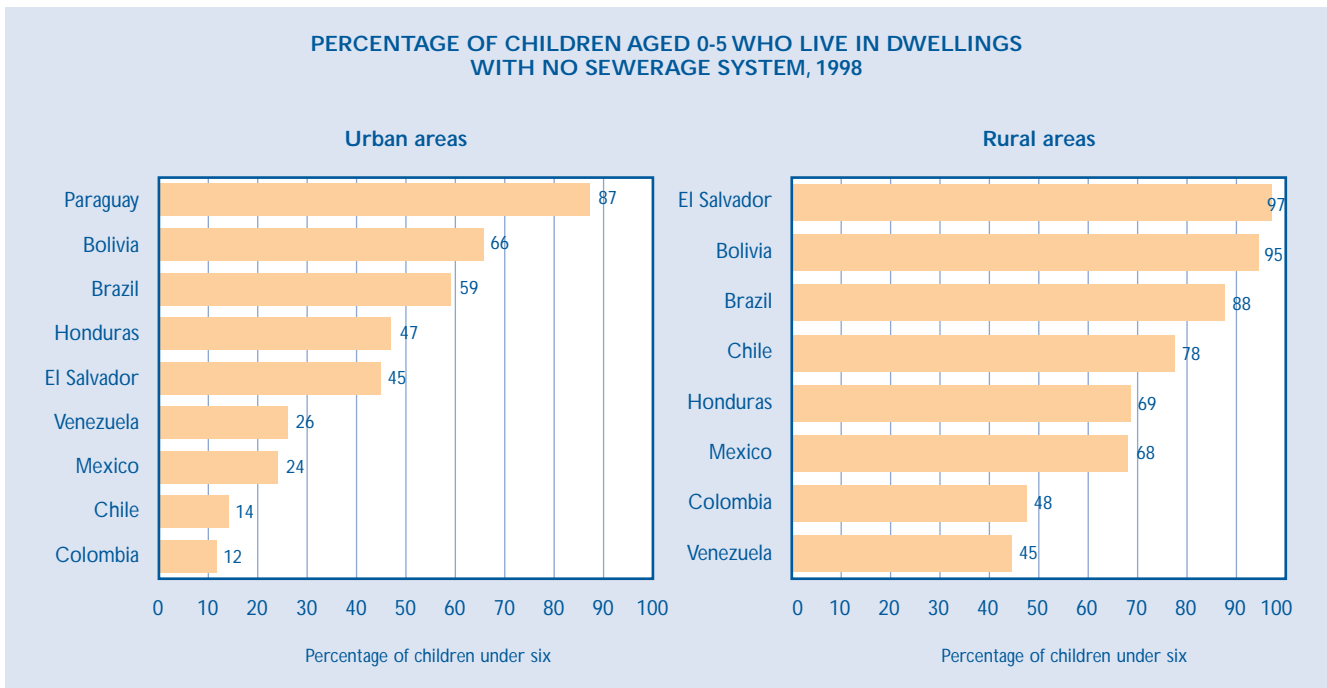
Children whose mothers have a low educational level are in the worst position. In the absence of proper waste-disposal and treatment systems, the mother's lack of education heightens the health risk to children. To their frequent contact with disease-carrying waste material is added the mother's lack of knowledge about preventive measures (how to treat waste, keep herself and her children away from it, keep food and kitchen utensils, clothing and other household articles clean). The percentage of children of uneducated mothers who live in urban dwellings without adequate sewerage systems is lower than 40% in only four (Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Venezuela) of the nine countries studied. In rural areas, the deficiency

Figure V.5.A



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

Figure V.5.B



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

is more severe because the low coverage of sewerage systems is usually combined with lack of drinking water, distance from health services, and consumption and handling of food grown on family plots.

To summarize, in spite of the progress that has been made in broadening access to basic home sanitation systems, much remains to be done, and there are still clear-cut disparities linked to geographic location and household income level. It is estimated

that in 2000, just under 30% of children under six live in housing with no access to drinking water, i.e., in conditions of high health risk associated with the contamination and inadequate treatment of water used for domestic tasks. More than 40% of all children live at high risk of contracting disease owing to the lack of adequate excreta-disposal systems, which is exacerbated by the presence of waste in the immediate surroundings of the child's daily activities.

E. Achievements, deficiencies and inequalities in educational achievement among children and adolescents

Despite the progress made by the Latin American countries in the 1990s in improving access to and completion of primary education and coverage of secondary education, some significant shortcomings remain in regard to the acquisition of educational capital. The deficiencies are greater in the more advanced levels of primary education, as evidenced in the high percentage of children who do not complete the first four grades or fall behind in doing so, and in the even greater proportion of children who do not finish primary education. On average, it is estimated that in 2000, one of every six children in urban areas will have dropped out of or fallen behind in primary school, and in rural areas, the figure is 40%. As regards secondary education (which is now the minimum level required to find a decent job), the shortcomings are even more serious: only half of all 20-year-olds in urban areas and one fourth in rural areas will finish high school.

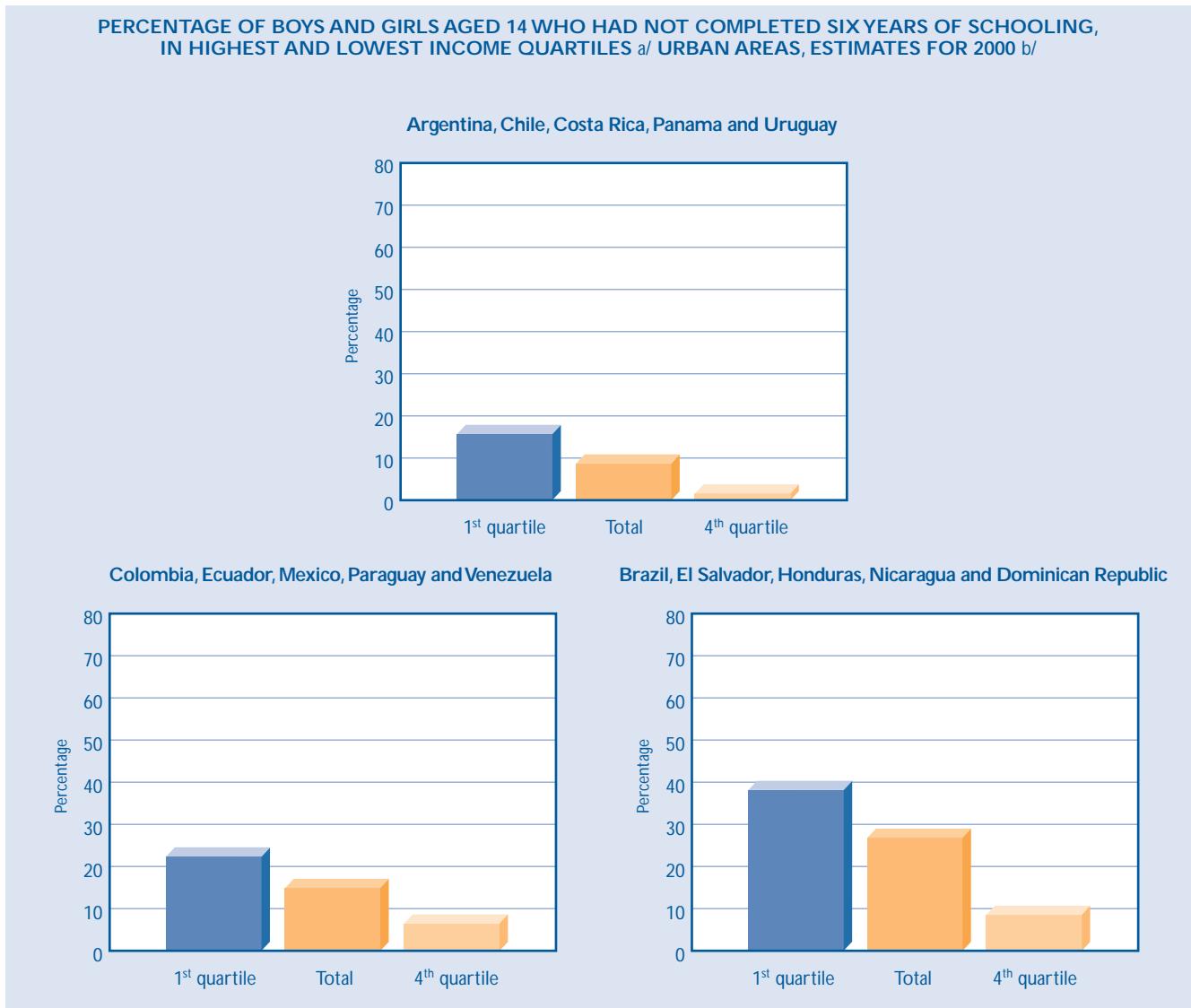
As mentioned earlier, opportunities for well-being definitely depend on how well children develop in areas such as nutrition and overall health, basic sanitary conditions at home, the economic resources of their households, and, especially, access to education and achievement in this sphere.

This section highlights some of the progress achieved in the 1990s in the field of education, as well as the deficiencies and inequalities that persist among children and adolescents in urban and rural areas and among different socio-economic strata.

On average, two out of every five children in rural areas fail to finish primary school, whereas in urban areas one in every six interrupt their studies before completing the primary cycle or are at least two years behind when they finally do so, which in most cases means that they drop out before completing 12 years of study (see table V.8). A 12-year level is now considered the minimum educational capital necessary in order to have a good chance of rising above poverty within the course of a person's active life (ECLAC, 1994, chapter VI).

Even though in the 1990s there was significant

Figure V.6



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Figures for first and fourth quartiles refer to children from households in the 25% lowest and the 25% highest income brackets, respectively.
 b/ Simple average for the countries.

progress in raising the percentage of children who complete six years of schooling, only in three countries (Chile, Honduras, and Mexico) did urban–rural disparities decrease, so that, in general, inequalities arising from the educational lag persist in rural areas. Among the countries studied, Colombia and El Salvador and, to a lesser extent, Brazil have the greatest disparities in this respect.

The deficiencies in the acquisition of educational capital in the primary cycle are also reflected in high repetition rates among first and second graders. The high private and social costs involved in repeating grades,⁶ as well as the negative impact on dropout rates, give rise to the concern that in Latin America, the internal efficiency of primary education continues to be low and that in most of

6 The repetition rate also increases total costs, inasmuch as it hinders fulfilment of the objectives of social programmes such as supplementary school meals, which have a high cost per student.

the countries there are still very marked disparities between urban and rural areas and among socio-economic strata. On average, 12% of urban children and 30% of rural children lag behind by the end of second grade in the primary cycle, given that so many children repeat grades or start school late. The inequalities among strata are even greater: in 25% of the poorest households, the repeater rate (18%) is almost five times of children belonging to the 25% of higher income households (see table V.9)

These averages mask very dissimilar national situations, making it necessary to interpret the figures with caution. In fact, the repetition rate in the first two grades is determined by, among other factors, the prevailing practices of promotion and failure, which vary greatly from one country to the next. Thus, a decline in the proportion of students lagging behind may not indicate improved educational efficiency but rather the introduction of an automatic promotion system, or a more lenient evaluation of student performance.⁷

Furthermore, inequalities of educational attainment at the end of the primary cycle are clearly due more to socio-economic conditions than to geographical disparities and are seen both in countries with relatively low enrolment rates (Brazil, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic) and in countries with relatively high enrolment rates (Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Panama and Uruguay) (see figure V.6). Thus, in the urban areas of the countries examined, only 7% of children in the highest income quartile drop out or lag behind at the end of primary school; in the poorest income quartile, the share rises to 26%. These differences are accentuated over the course of the primary cycle and are quite clear by the end of fourth grade, having originated, in part, from the differences in the proportion of children lagging behind in the first two

grades, i.e., 4% and 18% respectively (see table V.9).

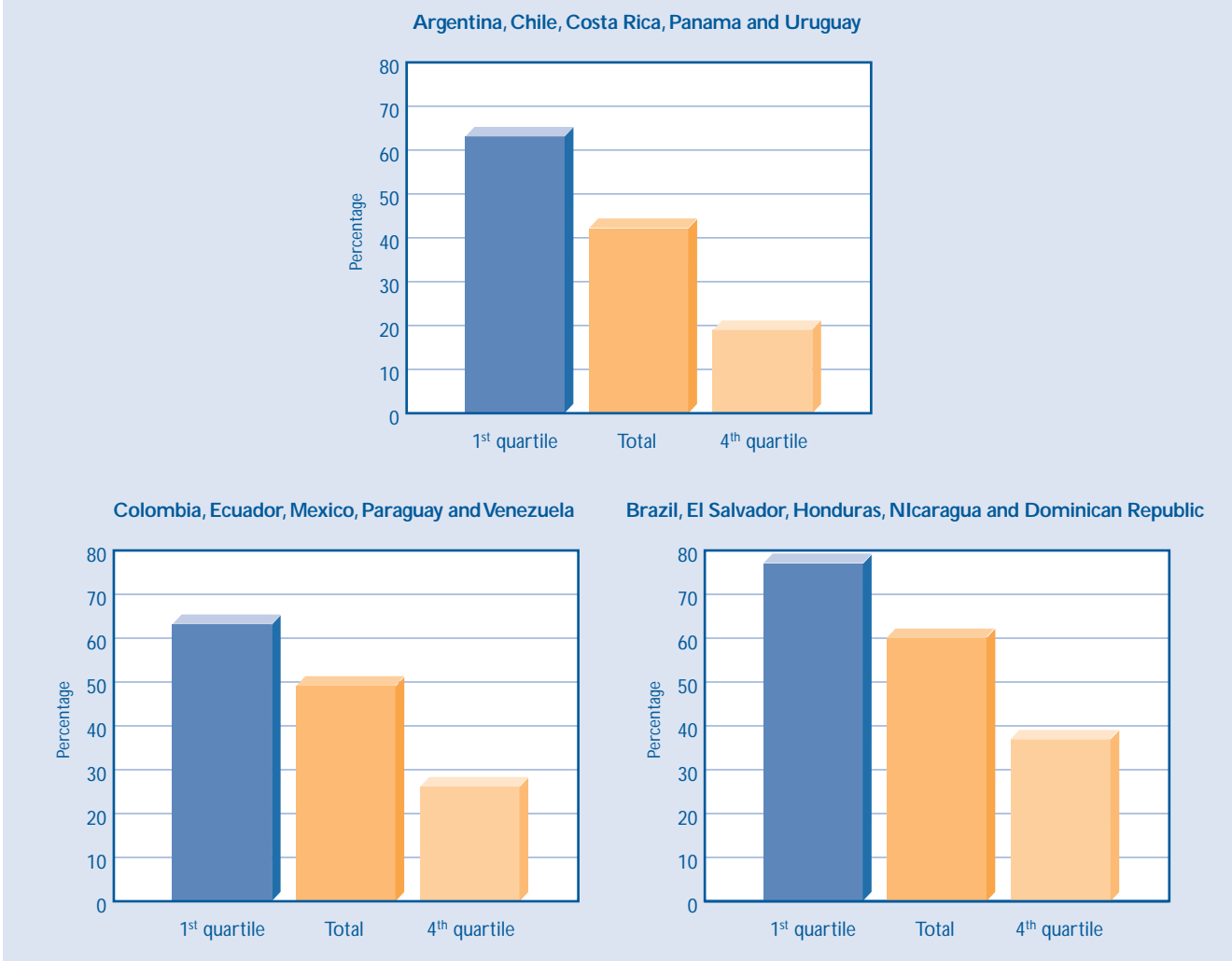
Two aspects deserve special attention. First, during the 1990s, some countries made progress towards reducing the inequalities in attainment levels in primary education among children from different socio-economic strata, although substantial disparities remain. Advances in school-system coverage and a decrease in dropouts have benefited proportionally more children in the medium- and low-income strata. Indicators of repetition rates in the first two grades, as well as those showing completion of the first four years and the full primary cycle showed greater improvement among children in the poorest quartile or the two lowest income quartiles, and this was reflected in a narrowing of the gap between these and children from the higher strata.

Second, it is a matter of concern that at present a significant percentage of Latin American young people are not completing high school. Estimates for 2000 indicate that about half of all 20-year-olds will either have dropped out of school without completing the secondary cycle or will have fallen very far behind; in rural areas, three quarters the population in this age group are in this situation (see figure V.7). Two circumstances complicate the educational deficiency among young people. On the one hand, completion of the secondary cycle has become the minimum educational level necessary to earn a wage that will make it possible to rise above poverty in the course of a person's active life. On the other hand, unlike the situation in the primary cycle, in the 1990s there was little narrowing of the gap in attainment levels among young people from different socio-economic strata. Both phenomena indicate that to a large extent, one of the principal mechanisms for perpetuating poverty and income inequalities in Latin America continues to operate.

⁷ It should also be noted that repetition rates were estimated indirectly, based on the number of students who were behind in school. Although this indicator mainly reflects grade repetition, it is also influenced, although to a lesser degree, by the age at which children start school. An increase in the percentage of children who start school at the officially stipulated age is reflected two years later in a decrease in the number of students who are behind grade level.

Figure V.7

PERCENTAGE OF YOUNG PEOPLE AGED 20 WHO HAD NOT COMPLETED 12 YEARS OF SCHOOLING, IN HIGHEST AND LOWEST INCOME QUARTILES a/ URBAN AREAS, ESTIMATES FOR 2000 b/



Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Figures for first and fourth quartiles refer to children from households in the 25% lowest and the 25% highest income brackets, respectively.

b/ Simple average for the countries.

In brief, the improvements in educational attainment by Latin American children and adolescents in the 1990s and the deficiencies that persist into the year 2000 are reflections of the following situations:

(a) In rural areas, children fall behind mostly at the beginning of the primary cycle. This poses a major challenge for education policy, since the access-related difficulties experienced by children living in remote areas are often

compounded by problems associated with their belonging to ethnic minorities. These circumstances are an obstacle to universalization, owing to the shortage of schools in general and, more specifically, of schools that are suited to the particular cultural characteristics of the students;

(b) In urban areas, the challenge is to incorporate and keep in school children from poor strata in

which adverse home conditions such as broken families and indifference to education make it difficult and costly to raise access levels above those already attained. Given the high rates of primary school enrolment that are shown in official records, especially in the light of current educational requirements, ensuring completion of primary education might not seem to be such a challenge. Nevertheless, the issue should be viewed from a national perspective as an objective that must be achieved not only in urban but also in rural areas and among **all socio-economic strata**. Naturally, the lag in rural areas and in lower-income groups makes this a more ambitious goal in countries where inequalities are the greatest; and

- (c) As regards the foregoing goal, the challenge for education policy is a twofold one. On the one hand, since inequalities are clearly evident by the age at which the first four years of primary school should be completed, efforts must be directed

toward increasing the proportion of boys and girls who complete this first cycle by improving the quality of education and making it accessible to students from all strata. As primary-school coverage rates go up, it becomes more important to ensure that the material taught is adequate, to improve systems for measuring the quality of teaching and to intensify efforts to reduce the dropout rate. On the other hand, where rural areas and lower-income groups still lag behind in coverage of primary education, efforts should be aimed not only at more equitable access but also at improving the quality of education. As regards the first of these goals, supplementary meal and health programmes should be introduced, and where they already exist, they should be evaluated and monitored. To the extent that they counteract deficiencies in the home and improve school retention rates, such programmes should be an important component of policies designed to give all children equal educational opportunities.

INDICATORS USED TO ANALYSE DEFICIENCIES AND INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Following is a description of the five indicators used to analyse the extent of lag at the start of the school cycle, repetition of the first two grades of primary school, and lag or interruption at the end of the first four grades, the primary cycle and the secondary cycle, based on data from household surveys in the countries of the region.

Indicator of lag at start of the school cycle: percentage of children aged eight or nine who are not attending school two years after the official age for starting primary school.

Indicator of repetition in the first two grades: percentage of children aged 9 and 10 (depending on the country's official age for the start of primary education) who are attending school but who by that age have not completed at least two years of study.

Indicator of lag or interruption at the end of the first four grades: percentage of children aged 12 and 13 (depending on the official age for starting primary school) who have not completed at least four years of study, regardless of whether or not they are currently in school.

Indicator of lag or interruption at the end of the primary cycle: percentage of boys and girls aged 14 or 15 (depending on the official age for starting school) who have not completed at least six years of study, regardless of whether or not they are currently in school. Although in some countries, the primary cycle comprises seven, eight or even nine years of study (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Venezuela), in most cases the duration is six years. It was therefore decided to use six years as the most appropriate number for making comparisons among countries.

Indicator of lag or interruption at end of the secondary cycle: percentage of young people aged 20 or 21 (depending on the official age for starting school) who have not completed the secondary cycle of studies (depending on the length in the country concerned), regardless of whether or not they are currently in school.

Inequalities in educational attainment were analysed by comparing these indicators among children belonging to the lowest and highest income quartiles (first quartile includes the lowest 25% of households, and the fourth quartile, the wealthiest 25% of all households).

Table V.3.A

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): POVERTY AND INDIGENCE a/ AMONG CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS URBAN AREAS, 1990-1997 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Age group						Total population	
		0 - 5		6 - 12		13 - 19		Poor	Indigent
		Poor	Indigent	Poor	Indigent	Poor	Indigent		
Argentina	1990	33	10	33	9	24	5	21	5
	1997	31	9	31	9	21	6	18	5
Bolivia	1989	60	27	59	27	51	22	52	23
	1997	64	31	62	30	53	22	52	23
Brazil	1990	54	28	53	27	46	20	42	19
	1996	46	17	43	15	34	10	31	10
Chile	1990	52	19	52	19	44	14	38	12
	1998	30	8	30	8	26	7	21	5
Colombia	1991	66	29	65	30	56	21	52	20
	1997	58	24	58	25	49	19	45	17
Costa Rica	1990	33	8	33	8	27	7	25	6
	1997	28	8	29	9	22	6	19	6
Ecuador	1990	71	33	72	35	65	27	62	26
	1997	67	29	67	32	60	24	56	22
El Salvador	1997	54	21	55	21	48	14	44	15
Honduras	1990	77	51	80	55	70	43	70	43
	1997	81	52	80	53	71	39	72	42
Mexico	1989	48	19	54	20	45	12	42	13
	1998	50	16	50	15	43	9	40	10
Nicaragua	1997	80	50	79	48	73	42	72	41
Panama	1989	53	25	54	28	47	22	41	19
	1997	44	16	44	19	34	12	30	11
Paraguay	1990	55	21	51	17	46	13	42	13
	1996	49	13	54	15	42	9	39	10
Dominican Republic	1997	45	16	47	17	38	13	36	12
Uruguay	1990	34	8	32	7	24	6	18	3
	1997	23	5	19	4	12	2	10	2
Venezuela	1990	48	18	50	19	42	15	39	13
	1997 b/	61	30	60	29	51	21	48	21

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Poverty figures include indigents.

b/ National total.

Table V.3.B

LATIN AMERICA (11 COUNTRIES): POVERTY AND INDIGENCE ^{a/} AMONG CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS RURAL AREAS, 1990-1997 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Age group						Total population	
		0 - 5		6 - 12		13 - 19			
		Poor	Indigent	Poor	Indigent	Poor	Indigent	Poor	Indigent
Bolivia	1997	82	66	83	68	80	63	79	62
Brazil	1990	74	49	73	48	62	36	62	37
	1996	72	44	71	43	60	32	56	30
Chile	1990	54	23	55	25	42	16	39	15
	1998	36	12	39	13	32	10	28	9
Colombia	1991	71	40	69	42	59	34	60	34
	1997	71	41	71	43	60	33	60	33
Costa Rica	1990	35	15	37	17	26	12	27	13
	1997	31	12	32	12	24	9	25	10
El Salvador	1997	79	42	78	42	68	32	69	34
Honduras	1990	91	79	92	79	88	71	88	73
	1997	89	71	89	70	83	62	84	64
Mexico	1989	65	33	65	35	56	26	57	28
	1998	69	40	69	41	60	33	58	31
Panama	1989	69	42	71	48	60	36	57	33
	1997	57	27	58	30	44	19	42	19
Dominican Republic	1997	49	23	54	27	40	18	40	19
Venezuela	1990	57	28	58	29	46	22	47	22

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Poverty figures include indigents.

Table V.4

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): CHILDREN AGED 0-5 AND 6-12 WHOSE MOTHER HAS A LOW EDUCATIONAL LEVEL, a/ 1990-1998 (Percentages)							
Country	Year	Age group					
		0 - 5			6 - 12		
		National total	Urban areas	Rural areas	Nacional total	Urban areas	Rural areas
Argentina	1990	...	19	...	...	20	...
	1998	...	13	...	...	14	...
Bolivia	1989	...	45	...	...	50	...
	1997	60	45	81	63	48	85
Brazil	1990	63	52	87	71	62	92
	1997	56	48	82	61	53	86
Chile	1990	25	21	44	29	23	51
	1998	18	14	40	19	15	38
Colombia	1991	62	47	81	67	51	85
	1997	57	41	77	60	44	81
Costa Rica	1990	27	18	33	34	21	43
	1998	24	17	27	24	15	29
Ecuador	1990	...	19	...	...	24	...
	1998	...	16	...	...	17	...
El Salvador	1998	60	41	81	63	43	83
Honduras	1990	70	49	81	74	55	85
	1998	60	43	71	61	44	73
Mexico	1989	52	37	71	58	41	80
	1998	42	46	36	41	45	37
Nicaragua	1997	...	40	...	...	38	...
Panama	1989	25	18	40	27	20	44
	1998	20	11	29	20	11	30
Paraguay	1990	...	27	...	...	24	...
	1996	...	29	...	...	31	...
Dominican Republic	1997	48	33	65	55	37	73
Uruguay	1990	...	19	...	...	22	...
	1998	...	12	...	...	13	...
Venezuela	1994	36	29	58	33	28	58
	1998	29	...	...	27	...	...

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Mothers with a low educational level were defined as those having less than six years of schooling.

Table V.5

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): NUTRITIONAL RISK AMONG CHILDREN AGED 0-1 a/, 1990-1997 (Percentages)							
Country	Year	National total		Urban areas		Rural areas	
		Total households	Single-parent households b/	Total households	Single-parent households b/	Total households	Single-parent households b/
Argentina	1990	...	...	24	51	...	...
	1997	...	...	21	38	...	...
Bolivia	1989	...	...	48	52	...	...
	1997	58	64	47	55	74	83
Brazil	1990	49	62	43	60	63	70
	1996	43	45	36	44	63	55
Chile	1990	38	41	38	42	36	37
	1998	21	30	20	30	25	32
Colombia	1991	50	50	50	52	51	48
	1997	48	55	44	55	53	55
Costa Rica	1990	20	33	19	34	21	32
	1997	18	31	16	28	20	34
Ecuador	1990	...	...	54	66	...	...
	1997	...	...	53	64	...	...
El Salvador	1997	51	55	37	45	65	68
Honduras	1990	77	82	65	78	84	85
	1997	77	75	69	70	82	79
Mexico	1989	37	37	29	36	47	38
	1998	30	28	20	20	43	45
Nicaragua	1997	...	...	69	74	...	...
Panama	1989	45	53	41	52	55	55
	1997	33	38	30	34	40	47
Paraguay	1990	...	...	40	46	...	...
	1996	...	...	36	22	...	...
Dominican Republic	1997	30	38	26	38	34	37
Uruguay	1990	...	...	20	31	...	...
	1997	...	...	13	16	...	...
Venezuela	1994	46	53	44	53	53	51
	1997	48	50	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ Children in households with per capita incomes equal to or lower than 75% of the poverty line in the country concerned, whose mothers have received less than six years of schooling.

b/ Households where one spouse is absent.

Table V.6

LATIN AMERICA (11 COUNTRIES): CHILDREN AGED 0-5 WHO LIVE IN DWELLINGS WITH NO DRINKING WATER, a/ 1990-1998 (Percentages)													
Country	Year	National total				Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Total	1 st quartile	4 th quartile	Mother with low educational level b/	Total	1 st quartile	4 th quartile	Mother with low educational level b/	Total	1 st quartile	4 th quartile	Mother with low educational level b/
Argentina	1990	...	...	...	...	7	12	1	21	...	...	...	...
	1998	...	...	...	...	5	8	0	9	...	...	...	...
Bolivia	1989	...	...	...	...	32	43	12	44	...	...	...	...
	1997	40	47	27	52	18	27	3	24	71	79	54	74
Brazil	1990	26	43	4	34	24	44	3	36	29	42	7	32
	1997	15	23	4	21	13	19	4	18	24	35	4	27
Chile	1990	15	19	5	28	4	8	0	8	57	70	30	68
	1998	8	11	4	20	2	3	0	2	50	64	29	59
Colombia	1991	19	24	11	26	5	10	1	9	35	43	23	37
	1997	17	19	9	25	2	3	1	3	36	42	21	41
El Salvador	1998	60	71	35	72	45	66	12	63	77	78	66	78
Honduras	1990	55	61	43	64	27	34	11	35	71	77	63	74
	1998	50	56	37	61	14	21	2	19	74	83	56	78
Mexico	1989	38	51	18	47	33	49	12	47	44	53	26	48
	1998	37	55	9	32	33	55	2	23	41	56	18	46
Paraguay	1990	...	...	...	...	39	55	5	52	...	...	...	...
	1996	...	...	...	...	35	48	9	49	...	...	...	...
Uruguay	1990	...	...	...	...	10	16	1	18	...	...	...	...
	1998	...	...	...	...	13	20	2	26	...	...	...	...
Venezuela	1994	12	14	6	19	4	6	1	6	37	40	35	42
	1998	10	16	3	17	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ In urban areas, dwellings with drinking-water supply were defined as those that were connected to a public or private system, either inside or outside the dwelling but within the premises; in rural areas, dwellings receiving water from a well of suitable depth and quality were also included.

b/ Mothers with a low educational level were defined as those having less than six years of schooling.

Table V.7

LATIN AMERICA (9 COUNTRIES): CHILDREN AGED 0-5 WHO LIVE IN DWELLINGS WITH NO SEWERAGE SYSTEM, a/ 1990-1998 (Percentages)													
Country	Year	National total				Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Total	1 st quartile	4 th quartile	Mother with low educational level b/	Total	1 st quartile	4 th quartile	Mother with low educational level b/	Total	1 st quartile	4 th quartile	Mother with low educational level b/
Bolivia	1989	...	...	...	...	66	76	48	79	...	...	...	...
	1997	78	83	60	87	66	74	39	76	95	98	83	96
Brazil	1990	67	82	39	78	57	75	28	68	90	97	65	93
	1997	66	80	41	76	59	74	36	68	88	96	61	91
Chile	1990	33	44	12	51	20	32	5	30	84	95	48	93
	1998	23	32	8	42	14	23	3	21	78	89	41	89
Colombia	1991	32	42	17	43	17	27	3	24	50	63	33	55
	1997	27	37	11	40	12	19	2	18	48	63	22	56
El Salvador	1998	69	82	44	85	45	67	12	61	97	99	88	98
Honduras	1990	80	89	56	89	58	75	21	72	92	97	76	95
	1998	60	74	38	69	47	68	15	61	69	78	51	72
Mexico	1989	46	56	24	60	25	35	10	37	72	84	41	76
	1998	44	60	15	38	24	36	8	18	68	89	24	70
Paraguay	1996	...	...	...	...	87	96	53	98	...	...	...	...
Venezuela	1994	30	41	12	43	26	38	10	37	45	51	23	53
	1998	33	48	12	50	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ In urban areas, dwellings connected to a sewerage system were considered adequate; in rural areas, dwellings connected to a septic tank were also included.

b/ Mothers with a low educational level were defined as those having less than six years of schooling.

Table V.8

LATIN AMERICA (15 COUNTRIES): DEFICIENCIES IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT a/ URBAN AND RURAL AREAS (Percentages)							
Country	Year	Geographic area	Lag in starting primary education	Repetition of first two grades of primary school	Interruption or lag in...		
					Completion of first four grades of primary school	Completion of primary education	Completion of secondary education
Argentina	1998	Urban	1	6	...	15	45
		Rural	...	...	...	...	...
Brazil	1997	Urban	3	24	29	43	71
		Rural	8	54	63	74	91
Chile	1998	Urban	1	8	5	9	31
		Rural	1	14	13	13	63
Colombia	1997	Urban	5	14	14	23	43
		Rural	9	41	46	59	82
Costa Rica	1998	Urban	1	16	14	13	53
		Rural	2	24	23	27	80
Ecuador	1998	Urban	3	9	8	9	46
		Rural	...	...	...	...	...
El Salvador	1998	Urban	6	14	15	22	55
		Rural	13	33	43	55	88
Honduras	1998	Urban	5	13	14	24	67
		Rural	10	22	31	40	91
Mexico	1998	Urban	2	...	...	8	34
		Rural	5	...	...	24	59
Nicaragua	1997	Urban	6	17	19	27	61
		Rural	...	...	...	...	...
Panama	1998	Urban	1	7	6	7	43
		Rural	3	12	16	18	68
Paraguay	1996	Urban	4	12	11	18	60
		Rural	...	...	...	...	...
Dominican Republic	1997	Urban	7	16	...	27	62
		Rural	7	36	...	51	79
Uruguay	1998	Urban	1	9	6	11	68
		Rural	...	...	...	...	...
Venezuela b/	1998	Urban	4	8	10	19	59
		Rural	...	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ For definition of indicators, see box V.3.

b/ National total.

Table V.9

LATIN AMERICA (15 COUNTRIES): INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT <i>a/</i> , BY INCOME LEVEL, URBAN AREAS (Percentages)							
Country	Year	Household income quartile	Lag in starting primary education	Repetition of first two grades of primary school	Interruption or lag in...		
					Completion of first four grades of primary school	Completion of primary education	Completion of secondary education
Argentina	1998	1 st quartile	2	10	...	22	74
		4 th quartile	0	1	...	4	19
Brazil	1997	1 st quartile	6	41	48	68	90
		4 th quartile	0	4	5	13	38
Chile	1998	1 st quartile	1	13	8	15	55
		4 th quartile	0	3	2	2	9
Colombia	1997	1 st quartile	8	22	23	31	67
		4 th quartile	2	7	4	13	19
Costa Rica	1998	1 st quartile	1	24	17	22	78
		4 th quartile	0	2	3	2	34
Ecuador	1998	1 st quartile	4	13	14	14	55
		4 th quartile	1	5	4	2	24
El Salvador	1998	1 st quartile	12	22	25	25	79
		4 th quartile	2	0	2	10	24
Honduras	1998	1 st quartile	10	21	18	28	76
		4 th quartile	0	1	10	6	44
Mexico	1998	1 st quartile	4	...	...	17	45
		4 th quartile	0	...	...	2	19
Nicaragua	1997	1 st quartile	10	22	24	36	68
		4 th quartile	2	7	12	16	43
Panama	1998	1 st quartile	1	10	8	11	56
		4 th quartile	0	4	2	0	24
Paraguay	1996	1 st quartile	6	16	19	23	77
		4 th quartile	0	7	4	15	52
Dominican Republic	1997	1 st quartile	8	15	...	29	78
		4 th quartile	3	9	...	13	42
Uruguay	1998	1 st quartile	1	16	8	18	87
		4 th quartile	0	0	5	3	34
Venezuela <i>b/</i>	1998	1 st quartile	6	13	15	26	75
		4 th quartile	0	3	2	4	39

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ For definition of indicators, see box V.3.

b/ National total.

Table V.10

LATIN AMERICA (15 COUNTRIES): CHILDREN WHO COMPLETED SIX YEARS OF STUDY BY AGE 14 a/, BY HOUSEHOLD INCOME STRATA, 1990-1998 (Percentages)										
Country	Year	National total			Urban areas			Rural areas		
		Total	1 st quartile	4 th quartile	Total	1 st quartile	4 th quartile	Total	1 st quartile	4 th quartile
Argentina	1990	...	...	...	79	66	89	...	...	...
	1998	...	...	...	85	78	96	...	...	...
Brazil	1990	36	18	63	44	22	77	15	6	35
	1997	50	27	82	57	32	87	26	10	60
Chile	1990	88	80	95	90	82	97	79	69	86
	1998	90	85	97	91	85	98	87	84	86
Colombia	1991	52	43	63	68	56	83	33	24	43
	1997	61	53	69	77	69	87	41	28	47
Costa Rica	1990	77	65	86	88	75	87	70	59	85
	1998	78	66	92	87	78	98	73	58	89
Ecuador	1990	...	...	...	88	86	94	...	...	...
	1998	...	...	...	91	86	98	...	...	...
El Salvador	1998	63	61	76	78	75	90	45	39	61
Honduras	1990	54	48	66	73	69	87	40	32	50
	1998	67	61	82	76	72	94	60	50	73
Mexico	1989	79	74	90	89	84	98	65	55	80
	1998	84	72	95	92	83	98	76	61	92
Nicaragua	1997	...	...	...	73	64	84	...	...	...
Panama	1998	88	84	93	93	89	100	82	78	85
Paraguay	1990	...	...	...	85	82	94	...	...	...
	1996	...	...	...	82	77	85	...	...	...
Dominican Republic	1997	62	53	80	73	71	87	49	35	70
Uruguay	1990	...	...	...	88	81	95	...	...	...
	1998	...	...	...	89	82	97	...	...	...
Venezuela	1990	67	61	82	74	67	87	39	32	58
	1998	81	74	96	...	...	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ For definition of indicators, see box V.3.

Table V.11

LATIN AMERICA (15 COUNTRIES): YOUNG PEOPLE WHO COMPLETED SECONDARY EDUCATION BY AGE 20 <i>a/</i> , BY HOUSEHOLD INCOME STRATA, 1990-1998 (Percentages)										
Country	Year	National total			Urban areas			Rural areas		
		Total	1 st quartile	4 th quartile	Total	1 st quartile	4 th quartile	Total	1 st quartile	4 th quartile
Argentina	1990	...	...	...	45	14	75	...	...	...
	1998	...	...	...	55	26	81	...	...	...
Brazil	1990	20	6	42	25	8	54	5	0	11
	1997	25	8	54	29	10	62	9	1	24
Chile	1990	56	35	78	62	38	85	23	19	34
	1998	65	42	86	69	45	91	37	21	48
Colombia	1991	31	17	46	41	20	66	14	11	22
	1997	45	26	62	57	33	81	18	5	25
Costa Rica	1990	29	17	43	46	27	76	17	8	27
	1998	33	14	51	47	22	66	20	5	38
Ecuador	1990	...	...	...	46	41	53	...	...	...
	1998	...	...	...	54	45	76	...	...	...
El Salvador	1998	32	15	53	45	21	76	12	6	24
Honduras	1990	16	8	26	29	16	50	2	2	4
	1998	24	13	39	33	24	56	9	0	19
Mexico	1989	52	41	65	64	53	74	30	16	47
	1998	57	46	75	66	55	81	41	22	67
Nicaragua	1997	...	...	...	39	32	57	...	...	...
Panama	1989	42	24	48	50	30	56	24	8	34
	1998	50	39	69	57	44	76	32	25	50
Paraguay	1990	...	...	...	48	35	61	...	...	...
	1996	...	...	...	40	23	48	...	...	...
Dominican Republic	1997	31	18	44	38	22	58	21	13	31
Uruguay	1990	...	...	...	32	14	65	...	...	...
	1998	...	...	...	32	13	66	...	...	...
Venezuela	1990	34	27	51	38	30	58	10	5	15
	1998	41	25	61	...	...	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, based on special tabulations from household surveys in the countries.

a/ For definition of indicators, see box V.3.



The social agenda

Drugs in Latin America

INTRODUCTION

There is growing concern about the problems associated with the production, trafficking and consumption of drugs in Latin America. These affect people's quality of life, are linked to forms of social exclusion and institutional weakness, generate increased violence and insecurity, and are undermining governance in certain countries. Citizen anxiety and government evaluations have resulted in greater efforts and resources being put into efforts to solve the problem. Appropriate public policies and institutions are being created, and international agreements are being developed to provide a framework for cooperation in this field.

Internationally, as a result of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to the fight against the illicit production, sale, demand, traffic and distribution of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances and related activities, held in June 1998, there is now a consensus on the need for a balanced approach that combines action to reduce the supply of drugs with measures to cut demand. This also entails work on prevention and control measures. Judicial cooperation between countries is likewise required, as is investigative work to detect and punish money-laundering.

As regards production, all the cocaine and cocaine derivatives that go to world markets are produced in Latin America, which is also a major producer of marihuana and heroine. There is also a tendency for the consumption of the various illegal drugs to increase, with marihuana being the most highly consumed drug in virtually all the countries of Latin America.

Given these circumstances, the social agenda reflects the concerns of governments as evidenced in a survey of the bodies responsible for controlling and preventing consumption of illicit drugs. The responses provided the basic information used to produce a diagnosis, brought to light the main problems in each country and detailed the policies and programmes that had proved successful in prevention and control work.

Lastly, as is the usual practice, the international social agenda lists the main regional conferences held during 1999 and those that will take place in 2000, including the twenty-eighth session of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), the eighth session of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean and the Second Regional Conference in Follow-up to the World Summit for Social Development.

A. The international situation

In the face of rising drug production, trafficking and consumption, and of increasing levels of crime connected to the drug economy, the international community has been moving towards a consensus on the need to balance measures to reduce the supply of illicit drugs with action against demand, although there are differences of opinion as to what is the best approach.

1. Key facts

The consumption of drugs has risen all over the world, and consumption patterns are dynamic, reflecting a variety of preferences as regards the substances consumed. Despite a steady rise in drug seizures, arrests of drug traffickers and the destruction of large international networks, the retail price of drugs is stable or falling, the problems associated with consumption have not diminished, and the market availability of illicit drugs has not lessened.

As regards the drug economy, estimates of the total annual value of transactions range around US\$ 500 billion. The laundering of this money is a matter of growing concern for the international community, but so far it has proved very difficult to find efficient mechanisms for detecting and punishing it.

In the case of cocaine, for which North America is the largest market, growers in the Andean region have the capacity to produce 1,000 metric tons a year. Marihuana is widely grown around the world and is consumed more than any other illicit drug. Since the 1970s, the production of opium to make

heroin for the United States has spread from Asia to Latin America, having been introduced first in Mexico and Guatemala, and then in Colombia and Peru. There has also been an increase in the production of synthetic drugs, the best-known and most widely used of which is methylenedioxymetamphetamine (MDMA) or ecstasy, which is difficult to control because of the ease with which it can be produced and transported.

2. Global institutions dealing with the problem of drugs

In the United Nations, there are three instruments for the international monitoring of illicit drugs, namely: the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs of 1953 as amended by the 1972 Protocol Amending the Single Convention, the Convention on Psychotropic Substances of 1971 and the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances of 1988. The international bodies responsible for control and follow-up are the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB), the United Nations International Drug Control Programme

(UNDCP) and the Commission on Narcotic Drugs of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC).

In the political context of the hemisphere, the issue of drugs has been steadily gaining in importance and visibility, and the scope of intergovernmental agreements in this field is being extended on a regular basis. The subject of drugs is receiving more and more attention at the Summits of the Americas (SA). At the Santiago Summit in 1998 and at the subsequent ones, an approach has emerged, the main elements of which are:

- (i) multilateral and bilateral cooperation in the context of what is termed **shared responsibility**, whereby the evaluation mechanism is shifting away from a unilateral approach centred on the certification system of the United States. The idea is to foster a neutral, consensual and technical arbitration approach, through the Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD) within the framework of the Organization of American States (OAS) (see box VI.1);
- (ii) hemispheric control, in other words giving priority to a regional outlook —especially in the Americas, but also in the hemisphere that includes the European Union (EU)— whereby international drug trafficking and related offences (trafficking of precursors and others) are regarded as "transnational crimes", and
- (iii) an integral approach encompassing all aspects ranging from the supply of and demand for illicit drugs to the crimes associated with them, and leading to a wider understanding of the problem in the hemisphere.

Also, the preparatory meetings for the special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to

the fight against the illicit production, sale, demand, traffic and distribution of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances and related activities, as well as the session itself in June 1998, helped to form a new international consensus, the thrust of which is: a shift from unilateral criteria to bilateral and multilateral cooperation and multilateral evaluation mechanisms; a shift away from the excessive emphasis on controlling supply and trafficking to a balanced approach in which the prevention of demand is considered equally important; the sharing of responsibilities between governments so as to promote a common approach to a problem that crosses national boundaries; and full respect, in whatever measures are taken, for international law, national sovereignty and human rights. The consensus embodied in the Political Declaration of the special session confirms the approaches just described.

Although there is a reasonable degree of consensus regarding the future global platforms for dealing with the problems involved in controlling illicit drugs, some governments¹ are backing programmes and policies that depart from the most common approach to the issue, and which are based on a paradigm which has come to be known as "damage control". This approach places more emphasis on the health-care aspect than on punishment, does not penalise use and involves needle-distribution programmes to prevent injectable-drug addicts from contracting human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). They also provide for controlled distribution of opiates or synthetic substitutes such as methadone as part of the damage-control strategy for dealing with drug addicts.

The conceptual differences are clearest in the field of academic research, where two main positions can be identified: the position that advocates a "drug-free society" and the doctrine of damage control and risk limitation among those who do use

1 Examples are the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, New Zealand, Australia and some states in the United States, such as California and Arizona.

THE CICAD MULTILATERAL EVALUATION MECHANISM

At its twenty-sixth regular session (Montevideo, Uruguay, 5-7 October 1999), the Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD) formally approved the Multilateral Evaluation Mechanism (MEM). Based on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial jurisdiction of the States, reciprocity, shared responsibility and an integrated balanced approach in conformity with their domestic laws, this mechanism was established as part of a singular and objective process of multilateral governmental evaluation in order to monitor the progress of their individual and collective efforts in the Hemisphere to eradicate drugs and their effects in the region.

Thus, the multilateral evaluation process has the following objectives: to achieve full application of the Anti-Drug Strategy in the Hemisphere; to strengthen mutual confidence, dialogue and hemispheric cooperation in order to deal with the different aspects of the world drug problem with greater efficacy; to follow up on the progress of individual and collective efforts of all the countries participating in the Mechanism, indicating both results achieved and obstacles faced by the countries; to support member States in the implementation of their national plans, help strengthen their capabilities for dealing with the problem and foster the development of technical assistance, training and exchange programmes in accordance with their needs; to produce periodic reports on the state of the problem in the countries and in the hemisphere; to strengthen multilateral cooperation as the best way to ensure an objective evaluation of the efforts of member States to deal with the drug problem; and to work through CICAD for enhanced cooperation and coordination with other regions, the United Nations and other international bodies.

A plan of work for the achievement of these objectives has been presented. In the first place, the countries being evaluated provide data in response to a standard questionnaire, which is divided into five main categories: national plans and strategies; prevention and treatment; reduction of drug production; law enforcement measures; and the cost of the drug problem. Each country also presents a document prepared by its Government on the situation of the country's drug problem. This document illustrates achievements made by the country, as well as the difficulties it faces and areas in which cooperation should be strengthened.

A Governmental Experts' Group (GEG) made up of representatives of the 34 member States uses the results of these two sources to carry out evaluations on a country-by-country basis. Final evaluation drafts are submitted to the Commission for consideration and approval. The Group is responsible for producing a periodic report on the hemisphere as a whole, together with recommendations on how to strengthen cooperation and the capacity of States to address the drug problem as well as to stimulate technical assistance and training programmes as part of overall anti-drug efforts.

The first round of evaluations of all CICAD member States is to be carried out in 2000. The findings will be published in 2001 and submitted to the Third Summit of the Americas, to be held in Quebec, Canada, in that year.

Source: Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD), *Final report of the twenty-sixth regular session*, Montevideo, October 1999.

drugs. Neither of these two approaches goes to the extremes of prohibitionism or anti-prohibitionism, but there are different shades of opinion in each one.

The main questions at issue for these two schools of thought are as follows: (i) whether the problem to be addressed and resolved is with all drug use or only with problematic forms of use or people for whom drug use creates difficulties, (ii) whether a permissive

approach will increase any kind of use, and (iii) whether a permissive approach will reduce drug abuse and its consequences for families, communities and societies.

Those who seek a drug-free society claim that drug use needs to be prevented because it tends to rise and become problematic, with many people moving from recreational use to dependence and thence to

addiction, generating high personal and social costs. Accordingly, prohibition is deemed to be the appropriate prevention measure, with criminalization serving the purpose of protecting society.

The damage-control position claims that permitting non-problematic forms of drug use does not necessarily open the way to an increase in the number of users in the population, but that if this did happen such use would create fewer health, social and crime problems than it does now when it is banned, as it would be possible to treat people who were at risk or were suffering from serious drug-related problems in a safe and timely fashion. According to this viewpoint,

more repressive policies have negative side-effects associated with the illegality of the drug economy. Because the drug economy is a highly profitable illegal activity, the high prices obtaining in it are an incentive for risk-taking and corruption and for transactions outside the law, and encourage those involved to take "justice" into their own hands. This results in increasing delinquency and violence² and leads to negative changes in cultural behaviour: the exalting of quick, easy success and the resultant loss of respect for education and work as traditional mechanisms of social advancement, and increased socialization of violence as a way of controlling others and settling accounts.

2 For example, Colombia, the main cocaine-producing and exporting country, has one of the highest per capita murder and kidnapping rates in the region and in the world (see ECLAC, 1999b).

B. Diagnosis of the drug problem in Latin America

1. Drug production and trafficking

Latin America accounts for the entire world production of coca leaf, cocaine paste and cocaine hydrochloride, with which it supplies the world market. The agents involved in the illicit drug economy are so resourceful that they are able to change or move production zones and trafficking routes as market opportunities and control measures require. Marihuana production, for both domestic consumption and export, is also found in different countries and areas of the region, and poppy-growing and opium and heroine production, basically for export but also to supply growing domestic markets, are on the increase. As regards trafficking, the Caribbean area is still the most heavily used route for supplying drugs to the United States, but the Pacific route, via Central America, has increased its share. River transport through Brazil from the coca- and cocaine-producing countries has recently become significant.

(a) Production

Large numbers of small farmers and indigenous people now grow illegal drug crops, and profit they earn thereby helps improve their incomes, so that they have no incentive to stop. The main obstacles to switching crops are the price gap between legal crops and illegal drugs, the difficulty small farmers and indigenous people have in obtaining credit, technology and appropriate markets for

their traditional products, and the problems of access to land for small farmers.

In countries such as Bolivia, Colombia and Peru, drug traffickers use indigenous and rural people to grow coca and poppies, taking advantage of their neediness and the difficulty they have in placing their products on the market. These three countries alone account for virtually the entire world output of coca leaf, as they produce an estimated 550 tons of cocaine a year. Estimates for

the number of hectares of coca being grown show a rising trend.

Again, Colombia is the only one of the three Andean countries that produces and exports three of the main narcotic substances (cocaine, marihuana and heroine), owing to a variety of conditions that have proved favourable to illicit crop production.³ Reports show that the number of hectares under cultivation is rising, estimates for 1998 being that 78,200 hectares were planted with coca, 7,350 with poppies and 5,000 with marihuana. These increases took place despite an even greater increase in enforcement measures, as reflected in the rise both in the number of hectares sprayed and in cocaine seizures (see table VI.1).

In the case of Bolivia, the level of activity in the area of Chapare, which is where most coca is grown for processing into cocaine and paste, remained relatively stable from 1994 onwards and has decreased significantly in the last two years (see tables VI.1 and VI.2). Activity associated with the coca economy accounts for around 135,000 jobs, which is equivalent to 6.4% of the country's total employment (Government of Bolivia, 1999).

In Peru, the relative weight of the coca industry has decreased, for a variety of reasons. Firstly, the aerial control measures and crackdown on drug trafficking that have taken place under the Fujimori Government have been so efficient that they have substantially reduced illegal exports. Secondly, the economic adjustment and its effects on the agricultural economy have been so great that local production costs have risen above prices in the international illegal market. On top of this, there

have been changes in the international situation, with Mexican cartels taking over international trafficking from Colombian ones following the break-up of the Medellín and Cali cartels, so that the Colombian drug trade has concentrated on cocaine production and direct control of agricultural production of the raw material. Thus, increased growing in Colombia and the changing ratio of international crop prices appear to have led to a fall in the relative importance of the Peruvian coca industry.

Lastly, it should be noted that the expansion of illegal crops is having an adverse environmental impact. As with any crop that becomes more widely cultivated in the Amazon or Orinoco basins or on low-lying plateaux, the introduction of coca and poppy growing involves clearing forests, and this places great strain on land and water resources. Furthermore, modern agricultural activities—including illegal ones—have a polluting effect, as they involve the use of pesticides and other chemical inputs. In the case of illegal crops, this is compounded by the polluting effect of raw material being processed on site, for the production of either cocaine or heroine paste. Because of these problems, the current drug policy of the Colombian Government has an ecological component aimed at encouraging environmental conservation and sustainable integrated development in regions where illicit crops are grown. The goals are to restore, preserve and monitor fragile areas, strategic ecosystems, nature reserves and critical areas affected by illegal crops in regions covered by the activities of the National Alternative Development Plan (PLANTE) as part of the National Plan to Combat Drugs: Colombia 1998-2002.

³ Reply by Martha Paredes, Deputy Director for Strategy and Research of the Colombian National Narcotics Administration, to the survey on the use, production and trafficking of drugs conducted among drug-prevention and control agencies in Latin America by ECLAC in 1999.

Table VI.1

COCA GROWING IN THE ANDEAN REGION AND CONTROL MEASURES IN COLOMBIA, 1994-1998						
Country	Coca crops identified (hectares)					Percentage variation
	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1994-1998
Bolivia	48 100	48 600	48 100	45 800	38 000	-20.9
Colombia a/	45 000	50 900	67 200	79 500	78 200	73.7
Peru	108 600	115 300	94 400	68 800	51 000	-53.0
Total	201 700	214 800	209 700	194 100	167 200	-17.1
Colombia: spraying and seizures of coca/cocaine						
Cocaína seizures (kilos)	27 501	27 995	26 578	45 948	78 077	183.9
Coca spraying (hectares)	4 904	25 402	23 025	44 124	69 155	1310.2

Source: Reply by Martha Paredes, Deputy Director for Strategy and Research of the Colombian National Narcotics Administration (DNE), to the survey on the use, production and trafficking of drugs conducted among drug-prevention and control agencies in Latin America by ECLAC in 1999.

a/ The 1998 figures for Colombia were estimated on the basis of the Inter-institutional Illicit Crop Detection Operation.

Table VI.2

COLOMBIA 1996-1998: AREA POPPY CULTIVATION		
Year	Poppies	
	Number of hectares identified	Percentage variation
1996	6 300	-3.6
1997	6 600	4.7
1998 a/	7 350	11.4

Source: Reply by Martha Paredes, Deputy Director for Strategy and Research of the Colombian National Narcotics Administration (DNE), to the survey on the use, production and trafficking of drugs conducted among drug-prevention and control agencies in Latin America by ECLAC in 1999.

a/ The 1998 figure was supplied by the narcotics police and is based on the Inter-institutional Illicit Crop Detection Operation.

(b) Trafficking routes in Latin America and the Caribbean

The main problem affecting Latin America where drug trafficking is concerned is the export of cocaine, since the drug is produced exclusively within this region. It is estimated that roughly half of all the South American cocaine produced for world markets passes through the Caribbean; of this total, about 35% goes to the United States, while the other 65% goes to Europe (CICAD, 1998).

Marihuana is the only drug cultivated in the Caribbean; in the last five years, seizures of both cocaine and marihuana have increased in the Central American region, except in El Salvador. Haiti, which has an almost open frontier with the Dominican Republic, is on the way to being the most important transit point after Puerto Rico. Thus, cocaine arrives by two main routes: directly from Colombia, and via Panama.

The drug trafficking networks have expanded into other countries in the hemisphere in order to operate there and facilitate drug production and trading. This has led to diversification in illegal trading channels. Cocaine smuggled into the United States is sometimes taken first to Mexico or Canada,

from whence it is easier to transport it to the United States. From Colombia, cocaine is sent by air and sea, mainly to Europe and Africa, for distribution in Europe and the Mediterranean, Russia and countries in the Pacific region, such as Australia and Japan.

As regards Colombia, its position on two oceans and its proximity to the seaways of the Caribbean and the Pacific Ocean put it in a favourable position for drug trafficking. Brazil, lastly, has been used as a transit country because of the gigantic Amazon river network, the size of the territory and the resultant availability of transit routes that are relatively free of police surveillance.

New export routes are always being sought, and changes are constantly being made in order to reduce risks. Drug trafficking networks have also expanded into other countries in the hemisphere to facilitate operations and drug production and trading; this has given rise to greater diversification in illegal trading channels. Thus, countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Venezuela have become more important as transit points for the smuggling of drugs destined for Europe and North America. From this geographical standpoint, Brazil is one of the most important countries in terms of the quantities transported.

2. The social background to drug trafficking in the region

Given the profitability of the illicit drug economy at every level, the actors involved in trafficking range from large cartels right down to small dealers who supply local consumers directly. At the local level, microtrafficking has become widespread, with increasing participation by women in low-income sectors.

The illicit drug economy in the region is particularly difficult to eradicate because it is highly lucrative for those involved, it generates a large amount of direct employment in related activities and indirect employment in money-laundering, and is unrivalled in terms of the earnings obtained by those who work in it.

The actors involved in this trade are highly diverse, ranging from large transnational smugglers to individual dealers in Latin American cities who supply local consumers directly. At the local level, the growing involvement of low-income women and minors is creating a whole range of new problems in the legal and penal spheres. In areas where the State is poorly represented or does not have a firm grip, microtrafficking can easily become a survival strategy for women heads of household and even for elderly people on low incomes. Many people in low-income sectors end up by leaving their jobs in

order to become full-time dealers in illegal drugs, which provides them with substantially higher incomes.

In many urban enclaves in Latin America, the drug trade has produced or is reinforcing a culture of illegality that affects standards of socialization. In this culture, crime is accepted as a conflict-resolution mechanism, low-income consumers get involved in trading in order to obtain drugs for themselves, the areas where most trading goes on become more violent and unsafe, and perceptions of insecurity among the population increase. We are now in a situation where, just as large-scale trafficking poses a constant threat of corruption in public life and the financial system, given the large amounts of money involved, microtrafficking is a constant threat to the basic standards of community life in the areas where it is most prevalent.

3. The consumption of drugs

Alcohol and tobacco are the legal drugs that cause the greatest harm to the Latin American population. However, marihuana, followed by cocaine paste, crack and cocaine hydrochloride are the illegal drugs that are most heavily consumed in the region, and they cause more serious problems among young people and adolescents, particularly those who belong to the more vulnerable social groups.

(a) Drug use and social vulnerability

The problem of drug use mainly affects the young population in all the countries of the region and, within this group, males far more than females. Surveys show that drug use is found among young people of all socio-economic levels. Qualitative studies, however, particularly those that analyse drug use in combination with other quality-of-life variables, show that urban youths in low-income sectors are the most vulnerable to the harm caused by drug use: very low self-esteem, serious socialization problems, irreversible decline in school or job performance (with many dropping out of school and jobs) and family breakdown. It should be borne in mind, however, that these problems are at once causes and effects of problem drug use. Difficulty getting a job or an education, lack of access to health services and the absence of containment mechanisms in the family and community are risk factors that can lead to destructive patterns of drug use.

When drug use is described as improper or abusive, the implication is that it potentially involves serious

harm to the user's health, capacity for productive work, self-esteem and family stability, and to the safety of his or her community. Improper drug use hinders a person's psychosocial development and the acquisition of the skills needed to participate in and be accepted by society. Consequently, it reinforces patterns of social exclusion. The situations that are most critical and that most often call for prevention and support mechanisms are those where the drug user's addiction leads to physical, mental or emotional deterioration, or to the loss of ties and the closing-off of opportunities for participation in society.

One of the problems that arises in connection with efforts to deal with drug abuse in the sphere of health care or psychological and social programmes is the fact that prohibiting use and drawing attention to the problem in the mass media in a way that stigmatizes the consumer makes it harder to locate those who need care and discourages them from seeking help from health services. In fact, such measures elicit a response that leads to isolation from social and family contacts putting drug users in a more difficult situation instead of helping them to recover.

Illicit drug use is widespread throughout the region and is no higher in producer countries than in others. Thus, for example, Bolivia is the third largest

producer of coca, but its cocaine consumption levels are much lower than those of other countries in the region that are not producers. Furthermore, the

Table VI.3

LATIN AMERICA AROUND 1996 (8 COUNTRIES): POPULATION OVER 12 YEARS OLD WHO DRINK ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES (Percentages) a /				
COUNTRY	YEAR	AT SOME TIME	IN THE LAST YEAR	IN THE LAST MONTH
Bolivia	1992	68.7	58.9	42.1
Chile	1996	83.7	70.3	46.7
Colombia	1996	...	59.8	35.2
Costa Rica	1995	62.3	40.3	24.8
Mexico	1993	74.6	51.6	42.9
Paraguay	1991	36.5	31.6	25.8
Peru	1997	84.6	74.2	40.7
Venezuela	1996	80.5	66.0	28.8

Source: Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), *Health in the Americas. 1998 edition*, vol. 1, Scientific publication, No. 569, Washington, D.C., 1998.
a/ Consumption levels in countries determined by different surveys.

Table VI.4

LATIN AMERICA (8 COUNTRIES): PREVALENCE OF CONSUMPTION OF ILLICIT SUBSTANCES AMONG THE POPULATION OVER 12 YEARS OLD, AROUND 1996 (Percentages)										
Country	Year	At some time			In the last year			In the last month		
		Marihuana	Cocaine	Coca paste	Marihuana	Cocaine	Coca paste	Marihuana	Cocaine	Coca paste
Bolivia	1994	2.5	1.2	...	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2
Chile	1996	16.7	2.6	...	4.0	0.8	0.6	1.2	0.3	0.2
Colombia	1996	5.4	1.6	1.5	1.1	0.4	0.3	...	...	...
Costa Rica	1995	3.9	0.9	...	0.5	0.2	...	0.3	0.1	...
Mexico	1993	3.3	0.5	...	0.5	0.2	...	0.2	0.1	...
Paraguay	1991	1.4	0.1	...	1.4	...	...	...	...	...
Peru	1997	6.4	1.9	3.1	1.0	0.2	0.7	0.6	0.1	0.5
Venezuela	1996	3.2	1.5	0.7	1.7	0.7	0.4	1.0	0.5	0.3

Source: Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), *Health in the Americas. 1998 edition*, vol. 1, Scientific publication, No. 569, Washington, D.C., 1998.

Table VI.5

COSTA RICA (1995): PREVALENCE OF DRUG CONSUMPTION AMONG ADOLESCENTS IN THE LAST 12 MONTHS, BY GROUP STUDIED (Percentages)				
Drug	Group of adolescents studied			
	Students	Offenders	Street	Undergoing treatment
Alcohol	50.8	74.1	89	94.8
Tobacco	15.3	78.8	74	81.1
Tranquillizers	2.2	33.8	2	14.6
Inhalants	0.8	56.3	2	21.9
Amphetamines	1.4	22.5	1	13.4
Illegal	0.6	31.8	52.6	53.2

Source: Institute for Alcoholism and Drug Dependence, *Estudio nacional sobre consumo de alcohol y drogas ilícitas, 1995*, San Jose, Costa Rica, 1995.

consumption of illicit drugs is considerably lower than that of alcohol, even among sectors of the population whose age, sex and social characteristics make them potential users of illicit drugs (see tables VI.3 and VI.4). In terms both of the statistical prevalence of consumption and of the damage it causes in society at large, alcohol is unquestionably the most problematic drug in the region.

Again, of the different illicit drugs, some have much higher rates of problem use than others, one example being that of cocaine paste versus marihuana. As regards the prevalence of use, marihuana heads the list, followed by cocaine and its derivatives. Inhalants are in third place, while hallucinogens and heroine have a lower rate of consumption and trafficking.

(b) Drug use in five Latin American countries

The drug use profile can be broken down into different contextual variables, based on type of drugs, patterns of use, social position of users or other factors.

Table VI.5 shows, for example, that in the case of **Costa Rica**, the student population mainly consumed legal drugs at the time of the findings

(alcohol 50.8% and tobacco 15.3%). Among street adolescents, who are the most vulnerable group, the most widely used drugs were alcohol, tobacco and illegal drugs; of the latter, 53.8% used crack; 31%, cocaine, and 15.2%, marihuana. Among adolescent offenders, another highly vulnerable group, the drug that was most widely used was tobacco (78.8%), followed by alcohol (74.1%), and there was also a high level of illegal drug use (33%). Of all users of illegal drugs in this subgroup, 40% used marihuana; 27.6%, crack, and 25.2%, cocaine.

In Chile, according to research carried out by the National Drug Control Council (CONACE) and Fundación Paz Ciudadana, 60% of those who used cocaine paste (the illegal drug that causes most harm in the country) are young men between the ages of 14 and 24 who belong to a low socio-economic stratum and usually have no occupation. In the case of marihuana, users are generally young people aged 14 to 35 from all social strata. A survey carried out in 1999 showed that 50% of students in the last year of high school admitted to having used drugs at some time in their life, while in 1997 the figure was only 28%. Again, the average age at which drug use starts has been falling: in 1997, it was 13.4, while in 1999, it was 12.9. Cocaine users are young adults with an average age of between 20 and 40 who belong to a high social stratum and usually have a steady job;

around 20% of them are women. Lastly, in the case of medications, consumers are mainly women aged 14 to 45 who belong to medium and high economic strata.

In Peru, alcohol and tobacco are the most widely used drugs. The National Drug Prevention and Control Plan has shown that most of the people who have become dependent on illegal drugs started off by using alcohol and tobacco, and that both sexes are now commencing their use of these drugs at an earlier age in all social classes. As regards illegal drugs, it is recognized that the highest consumption in the country is of marihuana, cocaine paste and cocaine hydrochloride. In the case of marihuana, around 6% of the urban population studied had begun using it between the ages of 12 and 14. The "average user" of cocaine paste begins between the ages of 15 and 18, is in high school, and belongs to a low-income group. Cocaine is used mainly by men aged between 30 and 39 who have a university level education (Rojas, 1996).

In Ecuador, according to the second national survey of drug use carried out in 1995 by the National Council for the Control of Narcotic and Psychotropic Substances (CONSEP), alcohol is the most prevalent legal drug among the population, and is used by 76.4% of people aged 12 to 49. It is followed by tobacco, which is used by 51.6%, and psychotropic medications, 7.5%. As regards illegal drugs, the same study shows that among the 12- to 49-year-old population, marihuana is used by 4.1%; cocaine hydrochloride, by 1.0%; cocaine paste, by 1.0%; inhalable drugs, by 0.9%; herbal drugs by 0.5%, and injectable drugs, by 0.1%. According to data from emergency wards, 63% of admissions are men and 37% women, while the most heavily represented occupational groups are housewives

(21%), followed by students (19.5%) and construction workers (13.3%). Among consumers undergoing treatment, 45.2% stated that they had undergone it before (CONSEP, 1995).

In Paraguay, alcohol is far and away the greatest problem, with almost 80% of the population using it, while alcohol abuse—more than 100 cc of absolute alcohol in one bout of drinking—affects 35.6% of those aged from 12 to 45. As regards illegal substances, inhalants were found to be the most prevalent, with 1.9% of people using them; these were followed by marihuana (1.4%), cocaine (0.3%), opiates (0.2%) and hallucinogens (0.1%).⁴

(c) Clinical findings on problem use in Latin America

The data provided by treatment centres, as opposed to data from drug-use surveys and police statistics, make it possible to classify drugs by the health damage they cause.⁵ Alcohol and tobacco, followed by marihuana, are clearly the most common starter drugs for patients admitted to treatment centres (see table VI.6). The exceptions are Bolivia, where 42.9% of those treated had started with marihuana; Mexico, where 31.5% had likewise started with marihuana; and Venezuela, where 44.1% had also started with marihuana.

Cocaine or crack and alcohol, however, far more than marihuana, are the drugs that have the greatest impact on health.⁶ As shown in table VI.7, only in El Salvador and Mexico does marihuana appear as a high-impact drug, accounting for 22% of all patients treated for drug use in El Salvador and 19.0% in Mexico. For cocaine, the figures stand at 71.9% in

4 These figures are taken from the epidemiological study "Salud mental y hábitos tóxicos en 10 ciudades del Paraguay", which was carried out by the Marandú Project in 1991 among a representative sample of the Paraguayan population aged 12-45. They were used as the basis for the national plan for the prevention of drug abuse.

5 It should be borne in mind that only a small percentage of addicts are institutionalized in treatment centres. Nevertheless, this statistical source is the only one that makes it possible to assess the problem of drug addiction.

6 Cross-consumption is also a problem. This involves patients who are admitted for more than one type of drug use and thus need to be treated simultaneously for the different dependencies. A common case is that of combined addiction to alcohol and cocaine.

Table VI.6

LATIN AMERICA 1998 (13 COUNTRIES): PATIENTS IN TREATMENT CENTRES, BY STARTER DRUG a / (Percentages)									
Country	Alcohol	Marihuana	Cocaine	Amphetamines	Unpurified cocaine	Inhalants	Tobacco	Tranquillizers b/	Crack
Argentina	18.6	42.9	25.7	5.7	2.9	1.4	-	1.4	-
Bolivia	47.6	14.5	4.9	0.2	4.4	17.7	9.3	0.7	-
Chile	43.6	32.1	6.4	2.9	8.6	-	5.0	1.4	-
Costa Rica	39.0	22.3	1.5	-	-	3.0	30.8	-	-
Ecuador	59.2	11.9	0.4	0.3	3.7	5.3	17.3	0.7	-
El Salvador	54.6	22.3	1.5	-	-	3.1	16.2	0.8	0.8
Honduras	74.8	9.2	-	-	-	2.3	7.3	-	-
México	25.2	31.5	10.5	0.2	-	16.8	9.2	2.2	-
Nicaragua	29.6	9.9	1.9	-	-	8.6	46.9	1.8	-
Panama	53.5	19.0	6.6	0.4	-	1.3	19.0	-	-
Peru	54.4	8.9	-	-	3.8	1.3	30.4	-	-
Uruguay	37.2	19.4	4.1	2.0	-	9.7	25.5	1.5	-
Venezuela	25.1	44.1	14.2	-	5.1	0.7	7.0	0.1	1.9

Source: Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD), *Statistical Summary on Drugs*, 1999 (<http://www.cicad.oas.org/publicaciones/publicaciones.htm>), 1999.

a/ These figures only refer to the most common starter drugs, so the percentages do not necessarily add up to 100%.

b/ Including sedatives, barbiturates and flunitrazepan.

Argentina, 43.0% in Panama, 38.8% in Uruguay and 25.2% in Mexico, while treatment for crack addiction accounted for 70% of all addicts in Costa Rica, 46.5% in Venezuela and 42.9% in Nicaragua. The greatest impact from inhalants is found in Bolivia, with 14.9%, and in Mexico, with 15.0% of all those treated for drug use (see table VI.7).

Lastly, the gender ratio is significant in treatment statistics. The information presented by the Inter-American System of Uniform Drug-Use Data (SIDUC) shows a significant preponderance of males. With the sole exception of Chile, the proportion of men is close to or higher than 85% of the total observed in all the countries analysed (see table VI.8).

Table VI.7

LATIN AMERICA 1998 (13 COUNTRIES): PATIENTS IN TREATMENT CENTRES BY DRUG OF GREATEST IMPACT a/								
(Percentages)								
Country	Alcohol	Marihuana	Cocaine	Amphetamines	Unpurified cocaine	Inhalants	Tobacco	Crack
Argentina	3.1	6.3	71.9	3.1	3.1	-	-	-
Bolivia	36.7	9.3	14.6	0.9	20.1	14.9	1.7	-
Chile	29.3	2.9	15.0	2.9	47.9	-	-	-
Costa Rica	12.8	2.2	8.5	-	0.2	0.4	2.0	70.0
Ecuador	37.3	6.3	8.8	0.3	33.0	2.8	0.9	0.3
El Salvador	42.1	22.4	17.8	-	-	6.5	2.8	3.7
Honduras	74.4	8.8	0.8	-	-	2.3	-	1.5
Mexico	18.5	19.0	25.2	0.3	0.2	15.0	3.4	0.4
Nicaragua	31.7	5.0	9.9	-	-	8.7	0.6	42.9
Panama	12.1	4.5	43.0	-	0.4	0.4	2.7	-
Peru	32.5	3.8	13.8	-	47.5	-	1.3	-
Uruguay	16.3	10.2	38.8	0.5	-	7.7	2.0	-
Venezuela	2.4	11.2	22.2	-	10.8	0.3	0.3	46.5

Source: Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD), *Statistical Summary on Drugs, 1999* (<http://www.cicad.oas.org/publicaciones/publicaciones.htm>), 1999.

-: insignificant or nil.

a/ These figures only refer to the most common highest-impact drugs, so the percentages do not necessarily add up to 100%.

Table VI.8

LATIN AMERICA 1998 (8 COUNTRIES): DISTRIBUTION IN TREATMENT CENTRES BY SEX OF PATIENT			
Country	Male patients (percentages)	Female patients (percentages)	Total patients
Argentina	84.3	15.7	74
Bolivia	86.0	14.0	429
Chile	66.4	33.6	140
Dominican Republic	90.9	9.1	186
El Salvador	87.7	12.3	130
Mexico	89.4	10.6	10 344
Panama	92.5	7.5	226
Peru	83.8	16.3	80

Source: Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission (CICAD), *Statistical Summary on Drugs, 1999* (<http://www.cicad.oas.org/publicaciones/publicaciones.htm>), 1999.

C. The main drug-use and trafficking problems identified by authorities

Among the main problems identified by authorities in Latin America are a general trend towards increased trafficking and use of drugs, the diversification of smuggling routes, the young ages at which consumption begins and the problems of social exclusion associated with the trafficking and consumption of illegal drugs.

1. The rise in trafficking and use

When consulted by ECLAC in 1998 about the problem of citizen security, the mayors of Latin America's main cities expressed their concern about drug use (Panama City), drug trafficking (Rio de Janeiro and San José, Costa Rica), murders linked to wars between drug dealers (São Paulo), the rise in microtrafficking (Lima) and drug dealing in schools and among adolescents (São Paulo).⁷

Given the prevalence of the concern about drug-related issues, inquiries were made among the official bodies responsible for controlling and preventing the production, trafficking and use of drugs (see list of bodies that replied, in table VI.12). The responses once again show a widespread concern about the increase in illegal-drug-related problems (see table VI.9).

Most of the countries share the concern expressed in the responses of Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa

Rica, El Salvador and Panama over the rise in drug use among young people and the tendency for drug use to start at earlier and earlier ages (Panama). Stress has also been placed on the social consequences, such as rising drop out rates at the secondary school level (Argentina) and family problems associated with drug use (Venezuela). Bolivia expressed particular concern about the failure of the public to view drug use as a problem, which translates into a lack of preventive and rehabilitation measures. This situation is due to the fact that because Bolivia is a coca-producing country, public policy has focused on crop eradication.

As regards trafficking, the main problems mentioned are: a rise in the trafficking of drugs (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala and Mexico) and chemical precursors (Colombia and Ecuador), use of the country as a stopover on the way to the United States and Western Europe (Costa Rica, Dominican

⁷ See the Social Agenda chapter in *Social Panorama of Latin America, 1998* (ECLAC, 1999b).

Republic, Mexico and Panama) and increased microtrafficking (Chile).

2. Drug use and social exclusion

As shown in table VI.10, the perception of the authorities is that the groups most affected by drug use are usually to be found among the more vulnerable sectors of society and among young

people in general (Argentina, Bolivia, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Mexico and Panama). According to some of the competent bodies, street children, the prison population and juvenile offenders should receive special attention (Bolivia, Costa Rica and Panama).

The authorities surveyed (Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Mexico, Uruguay and Venezuela) also believed that the social exclusion of this vulnerable population of consumers was increased both by its own internal dynamics and by external sanctions.

Table VI.9

LATIN AMERICA (13 COUNTRIES): MAIN DRUG USE, TRAFFICKING AND PRODUCTION PROBLEMS AS PERCEIVED BY THE OFFICIAL AGENCIES CONCERNED			
Country	Drug Use	Trafficking	Production
Argentina	Students dropping out of school at intermediate level.	....	No production.
Bolivia	Lack of public awareness of problems associated with drug use.	Changes in patterns of drug trafficking, which now involves the whole family.	Production of drugs in sectors involved in corruption.
Chile	Rise in the number of young people of both sexes using legal drugs (alcohol and tobacco).	Existence of microtrafficking and related crime and violence.	No known drug production.
Colombia	Statistics show increase in drug use between the ages of 12 and 17 and in high school.	Trafficking in narcotics and chemical precursors.	Colombia not only produces but also exports psychotropic substances (coca, cocaine, poppies, marihuana).
Costa Rica	Rising drug use (crack, cocaine and marihuana).	Problems as a the country is used for transit and warehousing along the borders of Panama and Nicaragua and between the Caribbean Sea and the Pacific Ocean.	Increased production of non-distilled alcoholic beverages (beer).
Dominican Republic	Use of illegal drugs such as marihuana, cocaine and crack.	Used as a transit point for narcotics going to the United States and Western Europe.	Low levels of marihuana production, which has now been eradicated.
Ecuador	Abuse of legal and illegal drugs.	Trafficking in cocaine paste and cocaine hydrochloride, diversion of chemicals and money-laundering.	...
El Salvador	Increase in the prevalence of crack consumption among young people.	More people involved in smuggling and sale of illegal substances.	Low levels of marihuana production for domestic consumption.
Guatemala	There is drug use.	There is trafficking.	There is production.
Mexico	Increase in the use of marihuana, followed by cocaine and inhalants.	Country is used by drug-smuggling organizations as a transit point on the way to the United States.	Marihuana and poppies are grown.
Panama	Drug use begins at very early ages.	Lack of resources for regular monitoring of coastal and border areas.	Coca and marihuana are grown.
Uruguay	Drug use.	Trafficking.	Does not produce drugs.
Venezuela	Family problems associated with drug use.	Social problems associated with drug trafficking.	Incipient crops have been eradicated.

Source: Based on the survey on the use, production and trafficking of drugs conducted among drug-prevention and control agencies in Latin America by the Social Development Division of ECLAC in 1999.

...: No information available.

Table VI.10

LATIN AMERICA 1999 (13 COUNTRIES): IMPACT OF DRUGS ON THE MOST VULNERABLE SECTORS OF SOCIETY		
Country	Groups most affected by drug use	Does drug use reinforce patterns of social exclusion?
Argentina	Adolescents and marginalized groups, because they lack access to health care and education and are unable to meet their basic needs.	Yes, because of drug users' association with criminality.
Bolivia	Street children, young people and adolescents—owing to the inadequacy of prevention programmes—and the very poor.	Yes, because of the stereotyped associating drug users with drug addicts.
Chile	More vulnerable sectors of society, because they have less access to welfare networks.	Yes, particularly in the case of those who use cocaine paste and organic solvents.
Colombia	Drug use has increased most among those whose social vulnerability is greatest.	...
Costa Rica	Street children and adolescents.	...
Dominican Republic	...	...
Ecuador	More vulnerable sectors of society are affected by certain types of drugs, although drug use cuts across all social strata.	Yes, because of the stigma associated with drug use.
El Salvador	Marginalized strata and the poorer classes.	Yes, particularly among youths and young adults, who are more likely to become dealers or traffickers.
Guatemala	Young people.	No, provided addicts are provided with comprehensive treatment.
Mexico	Young people and adolescents.	Yes, because drug use is associated with antisocial behaviour, crime and domestic violence.
Panama	Prison population, young people at risk socially and juvenile offenders.	Yes, because drug use hinders participation in society and causes the breakdown of social relations on the job, in the family and in society at large.
Uruguay	Those sectors of society that have the greatest needs in socio-economic terms.	Yes, because the media and society have created attitudes that marginalize drug users and addicts.
Venezuela	Sectors suffering from greater social, economic and educational inequalities.	Yes, because drug users become isolated and avoid social and family contacts.

Source: Based on the survey on the use, production and trafficking of drugs conducted among drug-prevention and control agencies in Latin America by the Social Development Division of ECLAC in 1999.

...: No information available.

Exclusion is reinforced when consumers become addicts and are marginalized in education, work and their personal relationships and, particularly, when

they become dealers or microtraffickers in order to sustain their habit. Drug users are also subject to stigmatization by society and the mass media.

D. Policies for controlling the supply of illegal drugs and reducing demand

The governments of Latin America have pursued a wide range of policies to combat drug production and trafficking and to prevent use. Among the main measures taken have been the formulation of national plans that place particular emphasis on the multisectoral and networking approach and the setting up of integrated information systems. The primary goals of such policies are to strengthen institutions and the legal system, reduce supply and demand, develop human and technical resources and improve international cooperation.

1. Main prevention and control measures

In their efforts to combat drugs in the region, the governments have taken prevention and control measures and combinations of the two. As reflected in the authorities' responses to the survey conducted by ECLAC (see table VI.11), some countries have drawn up national plans to coordinate policies, programmes and measures and have set up integrated information systems (Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic).

The activities of the governments are aimed at reducing both supply and demand (see box VI.2).

As regards **controlling supply**, their measures are aimed at eradicating illegal crops and drug production centres (in producer countries), developing international cooperation to improve control over trafficking and coordinate court

actions, and to improve the juridical framework for penalising supply and related offences such as money-laundering.

In all these programmes, the issue is not treated as being exclusive to a single type of dependence or socio-economic sector. Thus, coordination and concerted action are regarded as vital for addressing the different aspects of the problem, and priority is given to social participation in efforts to prevent drug use. International cooperation is considered important as a means for sharing experience and disseminating skills and know-how, and as a mechanism for implementing regional measures to control drug production and trafficking.

In addition, efforts are being made to carry out management, financing and cooperation initiatives with international agencies, in order to strengthen drug research, prevention and control centres, and financing is being sought for plans, programmes and

Table VI.11

LATIN AMERICA 1999 (12 COUNTRIES): EXISTENCE OF NATIONAL PLANS AND INTEGRATED INFORMATION SYSTEMS ON DRUGS		
Country	National plan	Information system
Bolivia	National Prevention and Rehabilitation Plan	Not mentioned
Chile	National Drug Prevention and Control Plan and Policy	<i>National Drug Information System (SISNID)</i>
Colombia	National Plan to Combat Drugs: Colombia 1998-2002, or Plan Colombia	<i>Information System of the National Drug Plan</i>
Costa Rica	National Anti-drug Plan	Not mentioned
Dominican Republic	Not mentioned	<i>Joint Information and Coordination Centre (CICC)</i>
Ecuador	National Strategy to Combat Drugs: National Plan 1999-2003	
Guatemala	National Anti-drug Plan	Not mentioned
Mexico	National Drug Control Programme 1995-2000	Not mentioned
Panama	National Drug Strategy	Not mentioned
Paraguay	National Drug Abuse Prevention Plan (1997-2002)	
Peru	National Drug Prevention and Control Plan	
Venezuela	Venezuelan National Drug Plan 1997-2001	Not mentioned

Source: Based on the survey on the use, production and trafficking of drugs conducted among drug-prevention and control agencies in Latin America by the Social Development Division of ECLAC in 1999.

projects that address every aspect of the problem. Networking has been one of the most successful measures, thanks to the information coverage it provides. It encompasses the areas of drug-use prevention, production control, and control of small- and large-scale trafficking and money-laundering.⁸

Thus, different information subsystems are being coordinated to cover the regions in which marijuana, cocaine paste, crack and cocaine are produced. Specific policies are being designed — along with criminal justice measures— to break up the organizations responsible for illicit drug trafficking. The police, the judiciary and the

executive branch are being encouraged to coordinate their work, with additional participation from private organizations. Furthermore, information exchanges have made it possible to set up training systems in which different sections of civil society and the State are encouraged to participate.

As regards **demand reduction and prevention of drug use**, coordinating information makes it possible to determine which sectors of society are most vulnerable to drug use, and which age groups should be given priority in preventive measures. Governments and experts agree that there is a need to prevent use at an early age, to discourage it in the

8 Another aim is to control the traffic in chemical precursors for drug processing. This raises a transnational problem, since chemical precursors, such as bicarbonate of soda, are produced in industrialized countries and then exported; some of that production is used for legitimate purposes, but another part is used for illegal activities associated with the processing of illegal drugs such as cocaine and heroin. Similarly, drug traffickers acquire large quantities of weapons to defend their illegal activities. The weapons are produced in industrialized countries, and it is difficult to control illegal sales of arms and separate them from legal sales. Consequently, the aforementioned approach of "shared responsibility" among governments needs to be applied in both cases (precursors and weapons).

GOVERNMENT ACTION TO CONTROL SUPPLY AND REDUCE DEMAND

- **Reduction of the supply of drugs**, by controlling drug production and trafficking through eradication of illicit crops, alternative development programmes and heightened law enforcement efforts to prevent domestic and cross-border trafficking.
- **Reduction of demand** by controlling the use of illicit drugs through criminal and administrative penalties, the development of programmes to prevent or delay drug use, prevention efforts through educational and media campaigns, and the provision of treatment, rehabilitation and social reintegration options.
- **Strengthening of institutions and the judiciary** by creating legal mechanisms for combating organizations involved in drug trafficking and improving control over the laundering of the proceeds of drug trafficking.
- **International policy**, which includes cooperation between countries in judicial matters and in anti-trafficking measures, information sharing and the development of bilateral and multilateral agreements. Government agencies have been created, and support is also forthcoming from non-governmental organizations (NGOs).

most vulnerable sections of society and to reduce the harm caused by drugs. Other complementary prevention measures include the setting up of centres to provide shelter for those most at risk, the establishment of prevention programmes in the community and in educational centres, and measures that can indirectly help to reduce drug use, such as extending the school day.

The responses of governmental bodies to the ECLAC survey show that, where demand reduction is concerned, intersectoral, inter-institutional or networking methods have gained currency in the region. Colombia has implemented the Colombian network for a comprehensive approach to the abuse of psychoactive substances, to combat the abuse of psychoactive substances by coordinating the work of governmental, non-governmental and community organizations in the field of prevention, treatment and rehabilitation. Costa Rica has taken an interinstitutional approach, setting up community self-management plans, projects and programmes that extend to the whole region. In the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Uruguay and Venezuela, joint working and action plan models have been created in the different services that deal with the problem. Mexico has laid stress on procedures for implementing a comprehensive

approach to the issue, that provides for coordination and joint responsibility among the public offices involved, as well as the active participation of society. Chile regards intersectoral cooperation as the main tool for preventing drug use, and communities, municipal authorities and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are being mobilized through the competitive project fund and an operating system for networking. Other countries have emphasized coordination between public and private bodies, optimization and maximization of existing resources and national strategies involving governmental and non-governmental bodies at the design stage (Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Uruguay and Venezuela).

Equity is a criterion that is common, to a greater or lesser extent, to all the prevention and treatment policies of the Latin American and Caribbean countries. This is reflected, in the sphere of health, in the priority that is given to prevention and care in the most vulnerable sectors of society. The authorities agree that a successful prevention policy must be comprehensive, in other words, it needs to seek to improve the quality of life of individuals, families and the community, providing social spaces that promote development opportunities for the groups that are most difficult to reach.

2. Country programmes

Where **control** measures are concerned, Colombia has set up alternative development programmes aimed especially at rural and indigenous populations that are involved in illicit crop production as a means of subsistence. A regional development model is being promoted to encourage alternative production activities with institutional and community support. Such programmes include the conservation and restoration of areas of environmental importance, the creation of infrastructure for rural development and support for indigenous peoples.

Venezuela has been making special efforts to control traffic across the border, implementing education programmes and schemes to prevent trafficking among border populations.

Mexico has concentrated on programmes aimed at preventing illicit growing by fostering comprehensive development in the regions. Where the criminal justice system is concerned, lack of education, extreme poverty and social isolation are regarded as mitigating factors.

Bolivia has developed the Dignity Plan, which aims at the eradication of surplus and illegal coca crops and the application of an alternative development policy with social, infrastructure and financial investment. The programme promotes comprehensive development in the regions through the creation of physical and social infrastructure and the promotion of legitimate production activities, for which private investment is required.

Among measures to **reduce demand and prevent consumption**, Chile has enacted a law creating the CONACE competitive project fund, which provides technical and financial assistance for prevention, treatment and rehabilitation projects carried out by public or private institutions or by the community concerned; priority is given to projects implemented in areas of high social risk and vulnerability. These programmes have been consolidated over time and the number of people covered has grown steadily.

The Guatemalan National Plan has involved sectors of civil society, in the creation of a network of governmental and non-governmental agencies that work to prevent drug use and treat addicts. Mechanisms for cooperation and collaboration between institutions working to control and reduce demand have been set up, and this has considerably enhanced the implementation of their programmes.

In Venezuela, funding has been allocated to institutions that treat addicts, both to help them provide the service and to enable them to develop lines of research. Help is also given to NGO support networks that provide comprehensive prevention services. Costa Rica, Panama and Uruguay have developed a number of programmes for reducing consumption by improving quality of life.

3. Treatment and rehabilitation: the experience of six countries in the region

In Peru (Government of Peru, 1994), the National Drug Prevention and Control Plan is addressing two major rehabilitation challenges. The welfare subprogramme is seeking to integrate governmental and non-governmental welfare resources into networks, a policy that has three main thrusts: support for centres that have a good track record in treatment of drug-dependent persons, the establishment and improvement of out-patient and day centres and, lastly, validation and systematization of programmes in the light of the sociodemographic and cultural characteristics of users. The social reintegration programme operates occupational training and business management programmes to provide those who have been rehabilitated with the support they need in order to get a job and become reintegrated into their families and their social environment. In addition, treatment programmes are monitored and their effectiveness is evaluated.

In Ecuador (CONSEP, 1999), the National Strategy to Combat Drugs: National Plan 1999–2003 is

aimed at increasing the number of legally registered centres and the ability of the public sector to treat drug dependency, especially among the low-income sectors. To this end it has set up the national treatment and rehabilitation network, which provides care and follow-up services, and supports efforts to extend these services. Its activities include the strengthening of mental health services in public hospitals; the promotion of comprehensive care for drug-dependent persons, with emphasis on reducing institutionalization; therapeutic procedures for specific groups, such as street children, adolescents, students, workers and women; and ongoing training for staff of public and private treatment institutions.

In Paraguay (SENAD, 1997), the treatment and rehabilitation programme included in the National Plan for the Prevention of Drug Abuse is designed to improve coordination between the public and private sectors in the areas of treatment, rehabilitation and reintegration of drug addicts. It promotes changes in the law in order to reduce discrimination against addicts and facilitate access to public and private health-care institutions, the staff of which receive training to improve the treatment, rehabilitation and social reintegration of addicts. The programme has two main objectives: (i) to improve infrastructure, quality of service and addict-specific health-care capabilities in the health system and (ii) to encourage coordination between private organizations and professionals, leaders, heads of families and young people themselves, to foster a community-wide approach.

In Bolivia,⁹ the National Prevention and Rehabilitation Programme includes prevention, rehabilitation and institutional management programmes.

The aim is to provide comprehensive rehabilitation that is tailored to the needs and characteristics of drug-dependent persons, taking into account different cultural, economic, regional and social situations. The human resources training and qualification subprogramme for example, is designed to train 150 therapists, bearing in mind their work experience in the area, and using up-to-date techniques.

In Costa Rica,¹⁰ the National Treatment and Rehabilitation System is involved in setting up a national diagnostic, early detection and comprehensive treatment system for drug users based on a unified conceptual framework and with the participation of governmental and non-governmental organizations. In this effort, it is supported by government agencies such as the detoxification centre of the La Reforma prison system and the detoxification clinics of the Costa Rican Social Security Fund (CCSS), along with more than 27 NGOs and accredited rehabilitation institutions. The main objectives of this policy are to ensure the technical, financial and legal sustainability of the National Treatment and Rehabilitation System, to establish and support the participation mechanisms needed to engage civil society in the treatment of drug users, and to set standards of care for drug users in the NGOs that provide this service.

In Venezuela,¹¹ the Government is encouraging agents within the country to share their experience and is seeking support from multilateral bodies for the creation of more highly specialized dependency treatment centres. Three different types of service are offered: out-patient treatment for persons who have only recently begun using drugs, day hospital for users who need to be restrained during the daytime

9 Reply by Marco A. Vidaurre, Director General of Internal Administration at the Bolivian Ministry for Foreign and Religious Affairs to the survey on the use, production and trafficking of drugs conducted among drug-prevention and control agencies in Latin America by ECLAC in 1999.

10 Reply by Christian Soto G., Legal Department, and Eugenia Mata, Prevention Projects Department of the National Drug Prevention Centre (CENADRO) of Costa Rica to the survey on the use, production and trafficking of drugs conducted among drug-prevention and control agencies in Latin America by ECLAC in 1999.

11 Reply by Mildred Camero C., Chair of the Venezuelan National Commission against the Illicit Use of Drugs (CONACUID) to the survey on the use, production and trafficking of drugs conducted among drug-prevention and control agencies in Latin America by ECLAC in 1999.

and have a responsible family member or guardian to provide assistance at night and on weekends, and therapeutic communities for persons whose drug use is compulsive and who need to be temporarily removed from their usual surroundings and placed in a highly structured system. Social reintegration is carried out using the out-patient system, whereby programme activities are coordinated with institutions providing occupational training or formal education.

4. General criteria for a drug-prevention and control policy

A policy on the prevention and control of drug use should include the following characteristics:¹²

- (a) Targeting of prevention and control measures, so that efforts can be concentrated on the populations that are at greatest risk and supply can be controlled more effectively.
- (b) Optimization of impact in accordance with social-welfare or quality-of-life criteria or, conversely, minimization of the adverse social, economic and political effects of drug use and trafficking.
- (c) Relevance of prevention measures to the real and potential problems of illicit drug use.
- (d) Targeted and relevant treatment and rehabilitation measures.
- (e) Responsibility for prevention gradually shifted to the municipal level, where systematic responses and community involvement are more viable.
- (f) An endeavour to move away from the generalizations spread by the mass media to a dialogue with civil society about the motivations and problems involved in drug use.
- (g) Progressive coordination of the different public

and private agents for the purposes of geographical breakdown, follow-up over time and application of transversal criteria.

There is general agreement about the need to **target** efforts, resources and know-how. In the sphere of prevention, this means concentrating on the most vulnerable populations, those whose cultural, occupational and sociodemographic circumstances put them at particular risk of exposure to drug use. As regards control, efforts need to be focused on combating large-scale supply and addressing the social conditions that lead to small-scale dealing. Where treatment and rehabilitation are concerned, public attention needs to be focused on poorer addicts, while private care for better-off addicts needs to be supervised, and the right climate needs to be generated in the most vulnerable sectors of society so that drug addicts actually take up the services on offer.

Another basic element in the prevention of drug abuse is the use of social communication and the mass media to provide information on the risks and causes of drug abuse. Prevention efforts need to include support for forums to encourage dialogue and reflection among citizens, the impact of which goes beyond the specific issue of drugs. Discussing the issue of drugs involves an analysis of the structural motivations underlying demand and use, such as frustrated expectations, consumerism, increased anxiety and stress, and loss of the ties which give a sense of belonging. The public debate on drugs needs to provide transparent, sensible and effective information, public passivity needs to be replaced by active citizenship, and priority needs to be given to forums where information can be transformed into dialogue. This is not a quick solution, but it is the one that can give the greatest consistency to prevention efforts, given the nature of the problem.

¹² This list is based on the findings of the joint project carried out by ECLAC and the National Drug Control Council (CONACE) of the Government of Chile (1997-1998), the main objective of which was to draw up a long-term drug-prevention and control policy for the country.

Table VI.12

COUNTRIES, INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS REPLYING TO THE SURVEY SENT OUT BY THE ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (ECLAC)		
COUNTRY	NAME	INSTITUTION
Argentina	Leonardo Di Pietro, Under-secretary for Prevention and Assistance; Dr. Alfredo Colombo, Under-secretary for Planning, Control and Legislation	Secretariat of Planning for the Prevention of Drug Addiction and the Struggle against Drug Trafficking, Presidency of the nation
Bolivia	Marco A. Vidaurre, Director General of Internal Administration	Ministry for Foreign and Religious Affairs, Deputy Ministers for Offices of the Social Defence, Alternative Development, Prevention and Rehabilitation
Brazil	(Did not reply to the questionnaire, only sent leaflets)	Under-Secretariat for Prevention and Treatment, National Anti-drugs Secretariat (SENAD)
Chile	Pablo Lagos P., Legal Advisor and Counsel	National Drug Control Council (CONACE), Ministry of the Interior
Colombia	Martha Paredes R., Deputy Director for Strategy and Research	National Narcotics Administration of the National Narcotics Council
Costa Rica	Christian Soto G., Legal Department; Eugenia Mata, Department of Prevention Projects	Ministry of the Presidency, National Drug Prevention Centre (CENADRO)
Dominican Republic	Julia Hasbún, Director of Research and Information	National Drug Council, Presidency of the Republic
Ecuador	Alfredo Santoro D., Executive Secretary	National Council for the Control of Narcotic and Psychotropic Substances (CONSEP)
El Salvador	José Luis Tobar P., Deputy Commissioner	Anti-narcotics Division (DAN), National Civil Police
Guatemala	Dr. Jorge Bolívar D., Under-Secretary of SECCATID	National Anti-drug Plan, Presidency of the Republic; Secretariat of the Commission to combat Addiction and Illicit Drug Trafficking (SECCATID)
Mexico	Gral. Tito Valencia Ortiz, Coordinator, CENDRO; Marcela Mora C., Director General for International and Inter-institutional Coordination; Daniel Alpizar Salazar, Advisor to the National Drug Control Programme, 1995-2000	Centre for Drug Control Planning (CENDRO); Special Prosecutor for Crimes against Health (FEADS); Office of the Attorney-General of the Republic (through the Embassy)
Panama	Holda A. de Marré, Executive Secretary	National Commission for the Study and Prevention of Drug-Related Crimes (CONAPRED)
Uruguay	Dr. Alberto Scavarelli, Secretary	National Drug Board, Programme of the Presidency of the Republic
Venezuela	Dr. Mildred Camero C., Chair	National Commission against the Illicit Use of Drugs (CONACUID), Ministry of the Secretariat of the Presidency of the Republic

Source: Based on the survey on the use, production and trafficking of drugs conducted among drug-prevention and control agencies in Latin America by the Social Development Division of ECLAC in 1999.

E. The international social agenda

The Latin American and Caribbean Symposium on Older Persons was held in 1999 as a regional activity in preparation for the International Year of Older Persons. In the year 2000 so far, two regional meetings have been held to carry out a mid-decade appraisal of the situation with regard to social development (Second Regional Conference in Follow-up to the World Summit for Social Development) and women (eighth session of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean). At the twenty-eighth session of ECLAC, held in Mexico City, a report on the work carried out to date was reviewed, and the new ECLAC programme of work was adopted.

1. The International Year of Older Persons (1999)

In 1991, within the context of the International Plan of Action on Ageing, the General Assembly of the United Nations approved the United Nations Principles for Older Persons (resolution 46/91). The Programme of Action adopted at the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) (Cairo, 1994) reaffirmed the importance of the world population ageing process and laid down objectives and measures designed to improve quality of life and health-care and social security provision and to establish social support systems for older adults. As a corollary to all this, 1999 was declared the International Year of Older Persons.

Through its Population Division – Latin American and Caribbean Demographic Centre (CELADE), and with the support of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO), ECLAC held a Latin American and Caribbean Symposium on Older Persons as a key regional activity for the International Year of Older Persons, involving representatives from governments and civil society (non-governmental and community organizations), international agencies and experts.

The general objective was to analyse the population ageing process and its economic and social consequences, and to give due attention to policies and programmes designed to improve the quality of life of older adults.

The following specific objectives were set:

- (a) To increase knowledge about the ageing process and the demographic factors underlying it, and about the prospects and challenges of the coming decades.
- (b) To analyse the living conditions of older adults and to publicize their social and economic plight, the gender inequalities that affect them and their potential socio-economic contribution.
- (c) To increase awareness of these issues among decision makers.
- (d) To pursue a multidisciplinary, multisectoral approach involving the different social actors that have responsibilities and interests in this area (Governments, community organizations, NGOs, international bodies and experts).
- (e) To promote solutions that are appropriate to the needs of older adults and the degree of development of the countries in the region, considering what kinds of social support and financing are needed so that people can have a decent old age.

2. The international agenda for 2000

Among the more important meetings of the year it is worth mentioning the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on the Implementation of the Outcome of the World Summit for Social Development and Further Initiatives, which was held in Geneva in June 2000 (Copenhagen +5) (see box VI.3), and the special session of the General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: gender equality, development and peace for the twenty-first century" (see box VI.4).

The following regional conferences have been held:

- Eighth session of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean, Lima, Peru, 8 to 10 February 2000 (see box VI.5).
- Twenty-eighth session of ECLAC, Mexico City, 3 to 7 April 2000 (see box VI.6).
- Second Regional Conference in Follow-up to the World Summit for Social Development, Santiago, Chile, 15 to 17 May 2000 (see box VI.7).

The main objective of these regional conferences and meetings has been to discuss the major changes that have taken place in the region from the standpoint of economic and social development, with special emphasis on equity issues.

**SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ENTITLED:
"WORLD SUMMIT FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND BEYOND: ACHIEVING SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT FOR ALL
IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD" (COPENHAGEN +5)**

Place and date	: Geneva, 26-30 June 2000
Participants	: Representatives of governments of the States Members of the United Nations, intergovernmental organizations and agencies of the United Nations system
Organizers	: United Nations, Commission for Social Development (CSD)
Background	: World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995) First Regional Conference in Follow-up to the World Summit for Social Development (Sao Paulo, April 1997)
Preparatory activities in 1999-2000	: Preparatory Committee, first session (New York, 17-28 May 1999) Preparatory Committee, second session (New York, 3-14 April 2000) Twenty-eighth session of ECLAC (Mexico City, April 2000) and Second Regional Conference in Follow-up to the World Summit for Social Development (Santiago, Chile, May 2000)

The ten commitments of the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen 1995):

1. To create an economic, political, social, cultural and legal environment that will enable people to achieve social development;
2. To eradicate absolute poverty by a target date to be set by each country;
3. To promote the goal of full employment as a basic priority of economic and social policies;
4. To promote social integration based on the promotion and protection of all human rights;
5. To achieve equality and equity between women and men;
6. To attain universal and equitable access to education and primary health care;
7. To accelerate the development of Africa and the least developed countries;
8. To ensure that structural adjustment programmes include social development goals;
9. To increase resources allocated to social development;
10. To strengthen cooperation for social development through the United Nations.

Main achievements five years after Copenhagen:

The progress made in achieving the targets established at the Copenhagen Summit has been patchy. Advances have been made in some areas, while in others there have been setbacks and reverses. In some countries, improvements in social conditions have stalled because of a lack of resources or the inability of institutions to make positive changes. In others, natural disasters or other unforeseen calamities have wrought havoc. The world financial crisis has meant that the social progress achieved in many countries has suffered reverses, and human privation and suffering have increased. The increasingly difficult economic situation prevailing in many parts of the world has made it impossible to fulfil the ten Copenhagen commitments. The following challenges remain for the future: (a) confirmation of the responsibility of each country with respect to the Copenhagen agreements; (b) recognition, in the context of North-South relations, of the necessity of a sound system of basic social services; (c) sound principles of social policy; (d) special attention to the role of women in social policies; and (e) the role of civil society as a critical partner in the search for solutions.

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of information obtained from the United Nations.

SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY ENTITLED "WOMEN 2000: GENDER EQUALITY, DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE FOR THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY" (BEIJING+5)

Place and date	: New York, 5-9 June 2000
Participants	: Representatives of governments of 188 States Members of the United Nations, intergovernmental organizations and agencies of the United Nations system
Organizers	: United Nations, Commission on the Status of Women
Background	: Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace (Beijing, 1995), Beijing Platform for Action
Preparatory activities in 2000	: Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (New York, 13-17 March 2000) Eighth session of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean (Lima, Peru, 8-10 February 2000)

Twelve areas of concern set forth in the Beijing Platform for Action:

- Women and poverty
- Women's education and training
- Women and health
- Violence against women
- Women and armed conflict
- Women and the economy
- Women in positions of power and decision-making
- Institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women
- Human rights of women
- Women and the media
- Women and the environment
- The girl child

Main achievements five years after Beijing:

In Beijing+5, attention was focused on best practice, positive measures, the experience gained and the obstacles and main challenges remaining in relation to these 12 areas of particular concern. Consideration was also given to the adoption of new measures and initiatives for achieving gender equality in the new millennium. At the end of the special session, a political declaration was adopted which calls for a renewal of commitment to the Beijing Platform for Action.

EIGHTH SESSION OF THE REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON WOMEN IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

- Place and date** : Lima, Peru, 8-10 February 2000
- Participants** : Representatives of governments of members and associate members of ECLAC, intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations and United Nations agencies
- Organizers** : ECLAC
- Background** : Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, September 1995)
Seventh session of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean (Santiago, Chile, November 1997)
Twenty-seventh Meeting of the Presiding Officers of the Regional Conference (San Salvador, December 1998)
Twenty-eighth Meeting of the Presiding Officers of the Regional Conference (Curacao, Netherlands Antilles, June 1999)
Twenty-ninth Meeting of the Presiding Officers of the Regional Conference (Santiago, Chile, November 1999)

Objectives:

- To evaluate the progress made since the previous session of the Regional Conference (Santiago, Chile, 1997) and the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995).
- To make recommendations for speeding up change in this area in accordance with the provisions of the Regional Programme of Action for the Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, 1995-2001.

Subjects:

- Gender equity: basis for a fair and equitable society. Two strategic areas of the Regional Programme of Action were analysed in this context: (i) Gender equity and (ii) Human rights, peace and violence. ECLAC made available the text *The challenge of gender equity and human rights on the threshold of the twenty-first century* (LC/L.1295(CRM.9/3)) (www.eclac.cl) for discussion by the countries. The countries participating in the eighth session of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean adopted the Lima Consensus as a regional contribution to the special session of the General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: gender equality, development and peace for the twenty-first century". In this document they confirmed their commitment to the Regional Programme of Action, the Beijing Platform for Action, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women. They also urged the States of the region to sign, ratify and implement the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

TWENTY-EIGHTH SESSION OF ECLAC

Place and date	: Mexico City, Mexico, 3-8 April 2000
Participants	: Representatives of the governments of members and associate members of ECLAC
Organizers	: ECLAC
Background	: Twenty-seventh session of ECLAC (1998)

Objectives:

To report on the work carried out by ECLAC between 1998 and 1999 and to discuss the programme of work for 2002-2003, including the issues of rights and integral development, equity, competitiveness and citizenship; education; macroeconomic stability; changing production patterns; social policy and the environment. To this end, the ECLAC document *Equity, development and citizenship* (LC/G.2071(SES.28/3)) (www.eclac.cl) was presented. The member countries of ECLAC adopted resolutions on the programme of work of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean for 2002-2003; follow-up and appraisal of the Regional Programme of Action for the Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, 1995-2001, and the Beijing Platform for Action; priority population and development measures for the period 2000-2002; and the establishment of a statistical conference of the Americas. They expressed support for the work of the Latin American and Caribbean Institute for Economic and Social Planning and adopted a resolution requesting ECLAC to continue with its analysis of equity, development and citizenship and to disseminate the contents of the secretariat document as widely as possible.

Source: Compiled by the author on the basis of information obtained from the United Nations.

SECOND REGIONAL CONFERENCE IN FOLLOW-UP TO THE WORLD SUMMIT FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Place and date	: Santiago, Chile, 15-17 May 2000
Participants	: Representatives of the governments of members and associate members of ECLAC
Organizers	: ECLAC
Background	: World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995), First Regional Conference in Follow-up to the World Summit for Social Development (Sao Paulo, 1997)

Objectives:

To carry out the triennial appraisal of the implementation of the resolutions of the World Summit for Social Development, particularly in the areas of poverty, employment and social integration. In support of this objective, ECLAC submitted the document *The equity gap: a second assessment* (LC/G.2096) (www.eclac.cl). The member countries of ECLAC adopted the Santiago Declaration as an important regional contribution to the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on the Implementation of the Outcome of the World Summit for Social Development, held in Geneva between 26 and 30 June 2000. In the Declaration, they assessed the progress made and the obstacles encountered in social development efforts in the areas of poverty, employment and social integration in the Latin America region. They reaffirmed their commitment to the objectives set forth in the Copenhagen Declaration on Social Development and in the Programme of Action of the World Summit for Social Development and the Consensus of Sao Paulo.

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Table 1

LATIN AMERICA (18 COUNTRIES): TRENDS IN SELECTED SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS, 1990-1999											
Country	Year	Per capita GDP (in 1995 dollars)	Per capita income (in 1995 dollars) a/	Urban unemployment (percentages)	Mean monthly variation in consumer price index	Percentage variation over the period					
						Period	Per capita GDP	Per capita income a/	Real mean remuneration	Urban minimum wage d/	Per capita social public expenditure
Argentina	1990	5545	5527	7.4	24.92	1990-1999	34.7	34.5	0.2	246.5	37.3 e/
	1994	7138	7163	11.5	0.32	1990-1994	28.7	29.6	2.1	264.1	35.3
	1997	7599	7647	14.9	0.03	1994-1997	6.5	6.8	-1.8	-4.0	-5.0
	1999	7467	7434	14.3	-0.15	1997-1999	-1.7	-2.8	-0.1	-0.9	-
Bolivia	1989	816	857	10.2	1.29	1989-1999	17.6	11.3	30.6 c/	90.1	134.4 f/
	1994	886	879	3.1	0.68	1989-1994	8.5	2.6	14.6	70.5	54.4 f/
	1997	947	955	4.4	0.54	1994-1997	6.8	8.7	10.1	-3.6	49.4
	1999	960	954	6.1	0.26	1997-1999	1.4	-0.1	3.6 c/	15.7	-
Brazil	1990	3859	3798	4.3	26.53	1990-1999	9.6	10.1	44.2	26.7	19.1 e/
	1994	4059	4044	5.1	21.44	1990-1994	5.2	6.5	29.8	8.0	10.3
	1997	4300	4305	5.7	0.35	1994-1997	5.9	6.5	15.1	12.8	17.5
	1999	4228	4180	7.6	0.68	1997-1999	-1.7	-2.9	-3.4	4.0	-
Chile	1990	3419	3281	7.8 b/	2.03	1990-1999	49.3	42.3	38.5	48.4	70.6 e/
	1994	4271	4084	7.8 b/	0.72	1990-1994	24.9	24.5	18.7	24.3	36.6
	1997	5091	4851	6.1 b/	0.49	1994-1997	19.2	18.8	10.9	12.9	23.9
	1999	5106	4667	9.8 b/	0.19	1997-1999	0.3	-3.8	5.2	5.7	-
Colombia	1990	2122	2114	10.5	2.15	1990-1999	6.2	5.6	10.1	-4.9	116.4 e/
	1994	2326	2325	8.9	1.73	1990-1994	9.6	10.0	4.2	-4.0	57.4
	1997	2439	2436	12.4	1.37	1994-1997	4.9	4.8	5.5	0.8	41.9
	1999	2254	2232	19.4	0.77	1997-1999	-7.6	-8.4	0.2	-1.7	-
Costa Rica	1990	2967	2911	5.4	2.03	1990-1999	22.6	25.0	20.1	8.0	26.0 g/
	1994	3227	3227	4.3	1.52	1990-1994	8.8	10.8	13.5	1.0	18.2
	1997	3285	3282	5.9	0.89	1994-1997	1.8	1.7	-3.2	3.4	6.6 g/
	1999	3638	3640	6.2	0.81	1997-1999	10.7	10.9	9.3	3.4	-
Ecuador	1990	1472	1546	6.1	3.41	1990-1999	-4.5	-12.7	-	35.0	-
	1994	1553	1570	7.8	1.90	1990-1994	5.5	1.5	-	15.9	-
	1997	1597	1571	9.3	2.25	1994-1997	2.9	0.1	-	25.4	-
	1999	1406	1350	14.4	4.04	1997-1999	-12.0	-14.1	-	-7.1	-
El Salvador	1990	1406	1369	10.0	1.48	1990-1999	23.5	22.7	-	-1.8	86.3 e/
	1994	1610	1588	7.0	0.65	1990-1994	14.5	15.9	-	2.7	31.4
	1997	1704	1678	7.5	0.16	1994-1997	5.9	5.7	-	-7.4	34.9
	1999	1737	1680	6.9	-0.09	1997-1999	1.9	0.1	-	3.4	-
Guatemala	1989	1347	1294	6.0 b/	1.54	1989-1999	14.9	16.9	-	-51.7	44.7 d/
	1994	1437	1414	3.3 b/	0.92	1989-1994	6.7	9.3	-	-44.5	26.1 d/
	1997	1498	1489	5.0 b/	0.58	1994-1997	4.2	5.3	-	-17.2	15.0
	1999	1548	1513	-	0.40	1997-1999	3.3	1.6	-	5.1	-
Honduras	1990	686	629	7.8	2.62	1990-1999	0.8	4.9	-	-5.0	-11.2 e/
	1994	695	678	4.0	2.14	1990-1994	1.4	7.7	-	-5.2	8.0
	1997	721	682	5.8	1.00	1994-1997	3.7	0.7	-	-3.6	2.2
	1999	691	660	5.3	0.87	1997-1999	-4.1	-3.3	-	3.9	-

Table 1 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (18 COUNTRIES): TRENDS IN SELECTED SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDICATORS, 1990-1999											
Country	Year	Per capita GDP (in 1995 dollars)	Per capita income (in 1995 dollars) a/	Urban unemployment (percentages)	Mean monthly variation in consumer price index	Percentage variation over the period					
						Period	Per capita GDP	Per capita income a/	Real mean remuneration	Urban minimum wage d/	Per capita social public expenditure
Mexico	1989	3925	3933	2.7	1.51	1989-1999	16.5	17.8	9.1	-29.1	42.4 d/
	1994	4320	4379	3.7	0.57	1989-1994	10.1	11.4	36.2	-10.4	66.9 d/
	1997	4340	4407	3.7	1.22	1994-1997	0.5	0.6	-22.5	-21.5	-6.1
	1999	4574	4632	2.5	0.97	1997-1999	5.4	5.1	3.3	0.8	-
Nicaragua	1990	454	424	7.6 b/	50.58	1990-1999	3.8	5.1	32.1	-	-
	1994	420	393	17.1 b/	0.98	1990-1994	-7.4	-7.2	20.0	-	-
	1997	447	418	14.3 b/	0.59	1994-1997	6.3	6.2	-0.5	-	-19.1
	1999	471	446	10.7 b/	0.58	1997-1999	5.5	6.7	10.6	-	-
Panama	1989	2388	2402	20.4	0.01	1989-1999	36.7	45.6	-	5.2	52.6 f/
	1994	3001	3088	16.0	0.12	1989-1994	25.7	28.5	-	-0.1	44.0 f/
	1997	3122	3281	15.5	-0.04	1994-1997	4.0	6.3	-	2.5	11.9
	1999	3264	3497	14.0	0.13	1997-1999	4.6	6.6	-	2.7	-
Paraguay	1990	1697	1697	6.6	3.09	1990-1999	-5.3	-5.4	-	-7.6	204.3 e/
	1994	1701	1643	4.4	1.41	1990-1994	0.2	-3.2	-	-14.0	146.5
	1997	1699	1699	6.9	0.50	1994-1997	-0.1	3.4	10.3	9.0	24.8
	1999	1607	1606	9.4	0.44	1997-1999	-5.4	-5.5	-2.0	-1.5	-
Peru	1990	2062	2048	8.3	43.69	1990-1999	28.3	25.8	6.0	27.2	229.5 e/
	1994	2345	2337	8.8	1.20	1990-1994	13.7	14.1	27.4	-38.1	-
	1997	2686	2691	9.2	0.52	1994-1997	14.5	15.1	-13.5	85.3	-
	1999	2645	2577	9.2	0.31	1997-1999	-1.5	-4.2	-3.9	10.9	-
Dominican Republic	1990	1410	1394	-	5.02	1990-1999	32.1	31.1	-	27.5	54.1 e/
	1994	1487	1489	16.0 b/	1.12	1990-1994	5.5	6.8	-	19.3	41.6
	1997	1687	1712	15.9 b/	0.67	1994-1997	13.4	15.0	-	2.5	7.4
	1999	1862	1827	13.8 b/	0.42	1997-1999	10.4	6.7	-	4.2	-
Uruguay	1990	4910	4890	8.5	7.15	1990-1999	21.4	21.3	13.7	-39.2	57.3 e/
	1994	5668	5629	9.2	3.09	1990-1994	15.4	15.1	12.2	-32.7	31.1
	1997	5942	5906	11.5	1.18	1994-1997	4.8	4.9	-2.0	-12.6	12.3
	1999	5962	5932	11.3	0.34	1997-1999	0.3	0.4	3.5	3.5	-
Venezuela	1990	3030	3360	10.4 b/	2.63	1990-1999	-1.8	-9.9	-	-8.8	19.9 e/
	1994	3133	3125	8.7 b/	4.56	1990-1994	3.4	-7.0	-	21.0	-11.2
	1997	3332	3420	11.4 b/	2.70	1994-1997	6.4	9.4	-	-24.4	30.3
	1999	2976	3026	14.9 b/	1.53	1997-1999	-10.7	-11.5	-	-0.2	-

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of official figures supplied by the countries.

a/ Refers to real per capita gross national income.

b/ National total.

c/ The last year of the period taken into account is 1998.

d/ In this case, the last year taken into account is 1998, as no later data are available.

e/ Period 1990-1997.

f/ The first year corresponds to 1990.

g/ Period 1990-1996.

Table 2

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): MALE AND FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE GROUP, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1998											
Country	Year	Ages									
		Males					Females				
		Total	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 49	50 and over	Total	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 49	50 and over
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	76	66	98	97	53	32	45	45	41	15
	1990	76	62	97	97	55	38	41	53	52	19
	1994	76	65	98	97	54	41	43	59	56	21
	1998	76	59	98	97	61	45	41	62	62	29
(Urban areas)	1998	74	55	95	96	58	43	35	59	60	26
Bolivia	1989	73	47	90	97	64	47	35	57	61	34
	1994	75	50	92	98	65	51	37	62	68	37
	1997	75	48	92	98	73	51	35	61	68	42
Brazil	1979	81	75	97	94	60	37	43	44	40	17
	1990	82	78	96	95	59	45	48	56	53	21
	1997	80	73	95	94	58	51	50	64	62	26
Chile	1987	70	48	93	94	53	32	29	44	42	15
	1990	72	47	94	95	56	35	29	47	46	20
	1994	75	49	94	96	62	38	32	50	50	23
	1998	74	44	93	97	64	41	30	57	54	26
Colombia <i>a/</i>	1980	79	61	96	97	72	42	42	52	46	22
	1991	81	62	97	97	69	48	44	63	56	22
	1994	79	58	96	97	65	48	43	65	59	21
	1998	78	57	96	97	65	52	45	70	65	25
Costa Rica	1981	78	64	93	95	67	34	33	46	40	15
	1990	78	62	96	95	61	39	39	53	49	14
	1994	76	59	94	96	57	40	35	54	52	17
	1998	78	61	96	97	62	44	42	62	56	22
Ecuador	1990	80	56	95	98	78	43	33	54	56	31
	1994	81	59	96	98	76	47	39	58	58	34
	1998	82	63	96	98	75	52	42	65	64	36
El Salvador	1990	80	64	95	96	72	51	41	66	66	36
	1995	78	61	95	96	68	49	36	65	69	34
	1998	77	59	94	96	67	52	39	67	70	34
Guatemala	1986	84	71	97	97	79	41	41	49	47	28
	1989	84	69	97	97	78	43	42	50	49	29
Honduras	1990	81	66	95	97	73	43	35	54	57	30
	1994	80	64	93	96	74	43	35	54	51	31
	1998	82	67	97	98	76	49	39	62	64	34
Mexico	1984	76	55	95	97	75	30	25	37	36	21
	1989	77	58	96	97	68	33	31	45	39	18
	1994	81	63	97	97	69	38	34	49	46	21
	1998	81	61	96	98	71	43	39	51	51	28
Nicaragua	1997	74	55	90	94	66	51	35	66	70	34
Panama	1979	76	56	97	98	63	45	40	63	55	20
	1991	74	58	95	96	52	43	37	59	59	18
	1994	79	62	97	97	56	47	39	61	61	20
	1998	78	62	95	97	58	51	42	71	69	25

Table 2 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): MALE AND FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE GROUP, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1998											
Country	Year	Ages									
		Males					Females				
		Total	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 49	50 and over	Total	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 49	50 and over
Paraguay (Asunción)	1983	81	66	97	97	66	43	41	57	53	26
	1990	84	69	97	99	75	50	51	63	58	27
	1994	82	69	99	98	66	58	58	74	76	31
	1997	85	74	97	97	70	61	56	71	74	41
	(Urban areas)	1994	86	75	98	98	71	53	53	62	62	32
	1997	85	74	97	97	71	56	52	66	68	39
Dominican Republic	1992	86	77	96	98	76	53	57	66	57	25
	1995	78	62	95	98	68	44	40	64	57	20
	1997	83	70	96	97	71	49	44	65	61	22
Uruguay	1981	75	74	98	97	50	37	43	57	51	18
	1990	75	68	98	97	54	44	47	69	64	21
	1994	75	72	97	97	52	47	52	74	70	23
	1998	75	69	96	97	52	50	52	74	74	26
Venezuela b/	1981	79	58	96	98	75	31	26	42	40	15
	1990	78	55	93	96	71	38	25	51	52	21
	1994	79	58	94	97	68	38	26	52	53	20
	1998	83	67	96	97	74	48	36	60	63	30

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.

b/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 3

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): MALE AND FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1998													
Country	Year	Years of schooling											
		Males						Females					
		Total	0 - 3	4 - 6	7 - 9	10 - 12	13 and over	Total	0 - 3	4 - 6	7 - 9	10 - 12	13 and over
Argentina a/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	76	60	70	76	72	80	32	18	25	26	40	64
	1990	76	...	...	74	86	84	38	...	...	31	50	66
	1994	76	...	...	74	85	83	41	...	...	33	53	70
	1998	76	60	68	75	77	87	45	25	33	37	47	74
	(Urban areas)	1998	74	59	68	73	74	81	43	23	30	35	44	68
Bolivia	1989	73	78	87	68	71	68	47	50	51	41	40	53
	1994	75	80	87	69	71	75	51	54	56	43	45	57
	1997	75	83	88	67	72	72	51	55	57	41	45	58
Brazil	1979	81	79	84	78	82	89	37	29	35	39	54	74
	1990	82	76	84	83	88	91	45	33	41	45	61	77
	1993	83	77	84	83	88	90	50	38	47	50	65	79
	1997	80	73	81	80	87	89	51	36	46	50	66	79
Chile	1987	70	59	73	64	71	80	32	18	25	26	33	60
	1990	72	59	74	66	74	80	35	20	28	26	35	62
	1994	75	59	74	67	79	80	38	21	28	29	40	58
	1998	74	60	72	66	78	81	41	23	29	31	43	64
Colombia b/	1981	79	84	84	70	75	83	42	42	39	38	46	60
	1991	81	80	85	76	81	83	48	37	42	42	56	70
	1994	79	75	84	71	80	86	48	35	43	39	56	76
	1998	78	73	82	71	79	84	52	37	46	45	58	77
Costa Rica	1980	78	75	87	73	71	76	34	22	29	30	42	57
	1990	78	66	84	73	77	82	39	21	33	35	47	62
	1994	76	62	83	70	77	81	40	22	33	34	46	64
	1998	78	67	81	73	77	84	44	24	37	40	45	68
Ecuador	1990	80	82	90	69	73	81	43	39	39	34	44	65
	1994	81	79	90	70	76	84	47	41	45	37	47	66
	1998	82	78	88	74	78	88	52	42	49	43	52	72
El Salvador	1990	80	80	86	75	78	80	51	45	56	45	56	68
	1995	78	77	84	71	77	79	49	43	52	43	53	67
	1998	77	75	82	74	75	81	52	44	50	48	58	67
Guatemala	1986	84	90	89	68	78	81	41	37	43	38	51	65
	1989	84	90	89	65	81	87	43	38	41	37	57	77
Honduras	1990	81	84	88	61	80	76	43	39	43	31	59	53
	1994	80	81	88	59	82	79	43	37	45	29	50	63
	1998	82	84	89	64	81	78	49	42	50	35	58	67
Mexico	1984	77	85	91	70	51	73	30	23	32	33	38	43
	1989	77	79	87	74	65	80	33	21	33	37	42	55
	1994	81	80	88	81	69	83	38	29	32	41	40	58
	1998	81	71	83	85	79	81	43	33	39	38	43	63
Nicaragua	1997	74	75	80	67	73	76	51	46	52	46	53	68
Panama	1979	76	74	84	67	74	81	45	23	41	39	51	75
	1991	74	67	78	69	73	81	43	21	31	37	49	71
	1994	79	70	81	74	78	88	47	18	34	41	52	73
	1998	78	58	75	75	80	85	51	24	40	42	52	76

Table 3 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): MALE AND FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1998													
Country	Year	Years of schooling											
		Males						Females					
		Total	0 - 3	4 - 6	7 - 9	10 - 12	13 and over	Total	0 - 3	4 - 6	7 - 9	10 - 12	13 and over
Paraguay (Asunción)	1983	81	70	91	73	77	83	43	34	47	39	40	59
	1990	84	75	88	82	83	87	50	29	53	45	50	71
	1994	82	64	83	78	82	89	58	39	57	51	57	74
	1997	85	69	87	83	85	92	61	45	60	60	60	81
(Urban areas)	1994	86	76	92	83	84	91	53	38	53	47	58	78
	1997	85	72	88	83	85	93	56	39	56	55	59	80
Dominican Republic	1992	86	87	91	85	85	88	53	38	43	48	61	80
	1995	78	74	81	76	74	86	44	28	37	39	47	72
	1997	83	77	84	84	82	90	49	34	41	42	56	80
Uruguay	1981	75	53	76	81	83	84	37	21	32	42	49	67
	1990	75	50	74	79	84	83	44	18	36	48	57	72
	1994	75	41	74	84	82	83	47	17	36	56	61	74
	1998	75	42	71	84	80	82	50	18	37	58	60	74
Venezuela c/	1981	79	80	88	72	71	71	31	21	29	32	43	48
	1990	78	73	84	74	77	76	38	23	34	34	47	58
	1994	79	73	86	78	76	76	38	22	34	36	45	58
	1998	83	79	89	81	82	81	48	28	42	46	54	69

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ For 1986 to 1994, the categories of schooling considered were: completed primary but incomplete secondary; completed secondary; and higher education.

b/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.

c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 4

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): BREAKDOWN OF THE EMPLOYED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)											
Country	Year	Employers	Wage earners							Own account and unpaid family workers	
			Total	Public sector	Private sector					Total c/	Non-professional, non-technical
					Total a/	Professional and technical	Non-professional, non-technical				
							Establishments employing more than 5 persons b/	Establishments employing up to 5 persons	Domestic employment		
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	4.7	61.4	-	61.4	3.3	44.2	10.1	3.9	33.9	32.2
	1990	5.4	69.0	-	69.0	6.9	44.8	11.6	5.7	25.6	23.0
	1994	4.8	70.2	-	70.2	-	50.7	14.7	4.8	25.0	-
	1998	5.0	73.5	11.9	61.6	-	41.1	15.7	4.8	21.6	-
	(Urban areas)	1998	4.6	72.5	15.6	56.9	-	36.3	15.0	5.6	23.0
Bolivia	1989	2.2	53.8	17.9	35.9	4.3	13.5	12.3	5.8	43.8	41.0
	1994	7.6	54.1	12.8	41.3	6.8	15.5	13.8	5.2	38.4	36.8
	1997	7.0	46.1	10.5	35.6	6.7	14.3	11.0	3.6	46.8	44.9
Brazil d/	1979	4.4	75.4	-	75.4	7.5	49.7	10.7	7.5	20.2	19.3
	1990	5.2	72.0	-	72.0	14.3	34.2	17.3	6.2	22.8	21.5
	1993	4.1	67.2	14.4	52.8	4.6	31.5 e/	8.5	8.2	27.8	26.4
	1997	4.7	67.8	13.3	54.5	4.9	31.3 e/	9.7	8.6	27.5	25.8
Chile f/	1990	2.5	75.0	-	75.0	12.9	45.7	9.4	7.0	22.5	20.6
	1994	3.3	75.0	-	75.0	15.4	44.9	8.6	6.1	21.8	17.4
	1998	4.2	76.0	-	76.0	17.0	43.4	9.7	5.9	19.8	15.2
Colombia g/	1980	4.0	69.6	10.6	59.0	5.4	46.8	-	6.8	26.4	24.6
	1991	4.2	66.2	11.6	54.6	4.9	44.1	-	5.6	29.6	27.3
	1994	4.8	68.2	8.6	59.6	6.0	48.3	-	5.3	27.1	25.0
	1998	4.1	60.6	9.5	51.1	6.4	40.1	-	4.6	35.3	32.9
Costa Rica	1981	4.1	78.3	28.0	50.3	2.7	32.1	10.0	5.5	17.5	16.7
	1990	5.5	74.8	25.0	49.7	6.1	29.5	9.7	4.4	19.7	17.6
	1994	6.6	75.3	21.8	53.5	7.5	31.0	11.2	3.8	18.2	16.5
	1998	8.5	74.1	19.7	54.4	8.8	30.2	10.6	4.8	17.4	15.4
Ecuador	1990	5.0	58.9	17.5	41.4	4.5	21.1	11.3	4.5	36.1	34.5
	1994	7.9	58.0	13.7	44.3	5.6	21.8	12.2	4.7	34.1	32.1
	1998	8.0	58.6	11.7	46.9	6.0	22.3	13.1	5.5	33.4	32.0
El Salvador h/	1990	3.4	62.9	13.8	49.1	3.4	26.3	13.3	6.1	33.7	33.3
	1995	6.2	61.8	12.5	49.3	7.2	27.2	10.5	4.4	32.1	31.1
	1998	3.6	65.2	12.1	53.1	8.0	28.7	12.1	4.3	31.3	30.3
Guatemala	1986	4.7	62.7	13.5	49.2	5.3	19.9	16.3	7.7	32.7	31.2
	1989	2.8	64.2	14.4	49.8	6.2	22.8	13.8	7.0	33.0	30.9
Honduras	1990	1.5	65.5	14.4	51.1	4.9	26.3	13.2	6.7	33.0	31.7
	1994	4.2	65.0	11.3	53.7	6.8	30.5	11.0	5.4	30.8	29.5
	1998	5.5	62.3	9.5	52.8	7.0	29.5	11.7	4.6	32.0	31.4
Mexico i/	1984	2.6	71.9	-	71.9	6.2	63.1	-	2.6	25.6	24.7
	1989	3.3	76.4	-	76.4	9.0	64.7	-	2.7	20.3	18.9
	1994	3.7	74.5	16.1	58.4	6.6	48.1	-	3.7	21.7	20.4
	1998	4.8	72.9	14.2	58.7	6.6	33.1	14.9	4.1	22.4	20.5

Table 4 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): BREAKDOWN OF THE EMPLOYED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)											
Country	Year	Employers	Wage earners							Own account and unpaid family workers	
			Total	Public sector	Total a/	Private sector			Total c/	Non-professional, non-technical	
						Professional and technical	Non-professional, non-technical				
							Establishments employing more than 5 persons b/	Establishments employing up to 5 persons			Domestic employment
Nicaragua	1997	2.0	60.4	14.8	45.6	3.2	21.0	14.8	6.6	37.6	36.5
Panama	1979	2.1	80.6 j/	35.8	44.8	4.6	34.1	-	6.1	17.3	17.0
	1991	3.4	73.2	26.6	46.6	7.4	27.0	5.2	7.0	23.4	22.4
	1994	2.5	76.3	24.8	51.5	7.2	31.3	5.7	7.3	21.2	20.5
	1998	3.5	77.2	23.5	53.7	10.8	29.9	6.4	6.6	19.3	18.2
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	7.6	66.7	12.0	54.7	6.1	23.3	12.0	13.3	25.7	23.8
	1990	8.9	68.4	11.9	56.5	5.5	24.9	15.6	10.5	22.7	21.2
	1994	9.4	67.0	11.6	55.4	6.3	24.3	13.3	11.5	23.6	23.1
	1997	7.4	60.6	10.9	49.7	4.8	22.1	12.5	10.3	31.9	29.4
(Urbano)	1994	9.2	62.0	10.5	51.5	4.5	21.5	15.0	10.5	28.9	28.6
	1997	7.6	58.2	10.2	48.0	4.2	19.5	14.9	9.4	34.2	32.0
Dominican Republic	1992	2.8	61.9	14.3	47.6	8.7	35.7	-	3.2	35.3	32.8
	1995	4.2	62.8	13.1	49.7	9.0	36.9	-	3.8	33.2	30.6
	1997	3.7	62.5	11.9	50.6	6.7	31.1	8.4	4.4	33.9	31.4
Uruguay	1981	4.4	76.0	22.8	53.2	3.9	33.0	8.8	7.5	19.5	17.7
	1990	4.6	74.2	21.8	52.4	5.1	30.1	10.3	6.9	21.3	19.0
	1994	4.8	72.3	18.7	53.6	5.4	31.8	9.4	7.0	22.9	20.1
	1998	4.5	72.6	16.3	56.3	6.5	32.0	10.6	7.2	23.0	19.9
Venezuela k/	1981	6.0	75.0	23.9	51.1	5.2	19.6	20.2	6.1	18.9	18.0
	1990	7.5	70.0	21.4	48.6	5.8	30.0	6.5	6.3	22.5	21.4
	1994	6.1	64.5	18.1	46.4	6.1	27.1	9.2	4.0	29.3	27.4
	1998	5.0	59.3	15.7	43.6	5.0	24.7	10.8	3.1	35.8	34.1

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ For Argentina (except 1998), Brazil (1979 and 1990), Chile (1990, 1994 and 1998), and Mexico (1984 and 1989), this includes public-sector wage earners.

b/ For Colombia, Mexico (1984, 1989 and 1994) and Panama (1979), no information was available on the size of business establishments. In those cases, wage earners in non-professional, non-technical occupations in establishments employing up to 5 workers are included in the figures for establishments employing over 5 workers. For El Salvador, Panama, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (1990) and Venezuela, establishments employing up to 4 workers are taken into account.

c/ Includes professional and technical workers.

d/ Brazil's national household survey (PNAD) does not provide information on the size of business establishments, except in 1993 and 1997. Therefore, the figure given for Brazil in the column for establishments employing over 5 workers shows the percentage of wage earners who have an employment contract ("carteira"), while the column for establishments employing up to 5 workers shows the percentage of workers who do not have such contracts.

e/ Includes private sector employees in non-professional, non-technical occupations in business establishments of undeclared size.

f/ Information from national socio-economic survey (CASEN).

g/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.

h/ The figures for 1990 are not strictly comparable with those of 1995, owing to changes made in the classification of professional and technical workers.

i/ Information from National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (ENIG).

j/ Includes persons employed in the Panama Canal Zone.

k/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 4.1

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): BREAKDOWN OF THE EMPLOYED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MALE POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)											
Country	Year	Employers	Wage earners							Own account and unpaid family workers	
			Total	Public sector	Private sector					Total c/	Non-professional, non-technical
					Total a/	Professional and technical	Non-professional, non-technical				
							Establishments employing more than 5 persons b/	Establishments employing up to 5 persons	Domestic employment		
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	5.8	59.3	-	59.3	3.3	45.3	9.8	1.0	34.8	33.2
	1990	6.9	68.3	-	68.3	6.3	47.8	12.4	1.8	24.7	23.1
	1994	6.2	69.1	-	69.1	-	53.0	15.7	0.4	24.7	-
	1998	6.8	72.2	8.7	63.5	-	45.2	18.0	0.3	21.0	-
	(Urban areas)	1998	6.1	70.4	12.3	58.1	-	40.6	17.2	0.3	23.5
Bolivia	1989	3.2	60.4	20.0	40.4	4.8	18.6	16.4	0.6	36.4	32.8
	1994	10.7	62.0	13.9	48.1	7.8	21.5	18.3	0.5	27.4	25.4
	1997	10.1	52.0	10.0	42.0	7.8	19.6	14.1	0.5	37.9	35.5
Brazil d/	1979	6.0	74.1	-	74.1	4.7	56.4	12.6	0.4	19.9	19.0
	1990	6.9	71.0	-	71.0	10.4	39.1	21.1	0.4	22.1	20.9
	1993	5.6	66.5	11.8	54.7	4.5	39.3 e/	10.1	0.8	27.9	26.7
	1997	6.1	65.2	10.6	54.6	4.6	37.8 e/	11.3	0.9	28.9	27.4
Chile f/	1990	3.1	73.0	-	73.0	9.9	52.9	10.0	0.2	23.9	22.0
	1994	3.9	73.7	-	73.7	13.4	51.1	9.1	0.1	22.5	18.3
	1998	5.0	74.2	-	74.2	14.9	49.5	9.7	0.1	20.7	16.4
Colombia g/	1980	5.7	66.1	10.3	55.8	5.9	49.6	-	0.3	28.3	26.1
	1991	5.6	63.1	10.8	52.3	4.4	47.6	-	0.3	31.3	28.5
	1994	6.3	65.3	8.0	57.3	5.2	51.9	-	0.2	28.4	26.1
	1998	5.2	58.1	8.6	49.5	6.1	43.2	-	0.2	36.6	33.7
Costa Rica	1981	5.5	75.5	25.4	50.1	3.2	34.3	11.0	1.6	19.1	18.2
	1990	7.2	72.1	23.0	49.1	7.0	31.6	10.3	0.2	20.6	18.1
	1994	8.1	73.2	20.1	53.1	7.7	33.5	11.6	0.3	18.7	16.7
	1998	11.1	71.4	15.9	55.5	9.4	33.9	12.0	0.2	17.5	15.2
Ecuador	1990	6.3	60.3	17.4	42.9	4.0	24.5	13.8	0.6	33.5	31.7
	1994	9.7	59.6	13.0	46.6	5.3	26.0	15.0	0.3	30.7	28.5
	1998	10.2	60.4	11.0	49.4	5.6	26.4	16.5	0.9	29.4	28.0
El Salvador h/	1990	4.8	71.4	15.5	55.9	4.2	33.1	18.2	0.4	23.8	23.2
	1995	8.6	68.7	13.0	55.7	8.3	32.6	14.3	0.5	22.7	21.3
Guatemala	1998	4.7	72.7	12.8	59.9	9.3	34.0	16.2	0.4	22.6	21.7
	1986	6.2	63.6	14.6	49.0	5.9	22.9	20.0	0.2	30.2	28.8
	1989	3.6	66.1	15.0	51.1	6.2	27.3	17.4	0.2	30.3	28.6
Honduras	1990	1.9	69.8	13.6	56.2	5.4	33.0	17.4	0.4	28.3	26.8
	1994	5.7	65.9	10.3	55.6	6.9	34.5	14.2	0.0	28.4	26.9
	1998	7.3	63.9	7.2	56.7	6.9	33.4	15.8	0.6	28.7	28.0
Mexico i/	1984	3.3	72.2	-	72.2	6.0	65.7	-	0.5	24.5	23.6
	1989	4.3	76.4	-	76.4	9.3	66.5	-	0.6	19.2	17.4
	1994	4.9	75.5	13.9	61.6	6.9	54.1	-	0.6	19.6	18.0
	1998	6.3	75.0	12.9	62.1	6.8	36.7	17.4	1.2	18.9	16.6

Table 4.1 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): BREAKDOWN OF THE EMPLOYED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MALE POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)											
Country	Year	Employers	Wage earners							Own account and unpaid family workers	
			Total	Public sector	Total a/	Private sector			Total c/	Non-professional, non-technical	
						Professional and technical	Non-professional, non-technical				
							Establishments employing more than 5 persons b/	Establishments employing up to 5 persons			Domestic employment
Nicaragua	1997	2.8	63.0	13.9	49.1	3.7	26.0	19.3	0.1	34.2	32.6
Panama	1979	2.9	74.7 j/	31.1	43.6	5.3	38.1	-	0.2	22.4	21.8
	1991	4.4	65.5	23.2	42.3	7.7	28.1	5.9	0.6	30.0	28.8
	1994	3.0	70.6	21.7	48.9	7.4	33.6	6.7	1.2	26.4	25.4
	1998	4.5	73.5	20.8	52.7	11.4	33.1	7.2	1.0	22.0	20.6
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	10.8	70.2	13.0	57.2	8.2	32.1	16.5	0.4	19.0	17.1
	1990	13.5	69.2	12.3	56.9	4.9	31.4	20.6	0.0	17.4	16.4
	1994	12.3	68.1	11.7	56.4	6.5	30.2	18.1	1.6	19.5	19.1
	1997	10.2	61.9	12.2	49.7	4.4	27.7	16.6	1.0	27.9	25.4
(Urban areas)	1994	11.9	63.4	10.2	53.2	4.6	27.0	20.2	1.4	24.7	24.5
	1997	9.7	59.5	10.6	48.9	4.0	24.4	19.7	0.8	30.7	28.7
Dominican Republic	1992	3.9	57.1	13.8	43.3	6.9	36.2	-	0.2	39.0	36.1
	1995	5.3	56.7	11.0	45.7	8.0	37.5	-	0.2	37.9	35.2
	1997	4.9	58.1	11.4	46.7	5.6	31.3	9.4	0.4	37.0	34.5
Uruguay	1981	6.2	76.2	23.7	52.5	3.9	38.2	10.0	0.4	17.5	16.4
	1990	6.4	73.0	22.8	50.2	4.4	33.9	11.8	0.1	20.5	18.9
	1994	6.3	70.8	18.6	52.2	4.8	36.7	10.6	0.1	23.0	20.7
	1998	6.1	69.1	15.9	53.2	5.2	36.2	11.6	0.2	24.7	22.1
Venezuela k/	1981	8.1	71.4	20.5	50.9	5.4	21.4	22.2	1.9	20.5	19.5
	1990	10.2	66.1	16.8	49.3	5.5	33.9	8.0	1.9	23.6	22.5
	1994	8.4	60.6	13.0	47.6	5.2	30.0	10.9	1.5	31.1	29.2
	1998	6.9	59.1	11.4	47.7	4.2	28.7	13.4	1.4	34.0	32.5

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ For Argentina (except 1998), Brazil (1979 and 1990), Chile (1990, 1994 and 1998), and Mexico (1984 and 1989), this includes public-sector wage earners.

b/ For Colombia, Mexico (1984, 1989 and 1994) and Panama (1979), no information was available on the size of business establishments. In those cases, wage earners in non-professional, non-technical occupations in establishments employing up to 5 workers are included in the figures for establishments employing over 5 workers. For El Salvador, Panama, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (1990) and Venezuela, establishments employing up to 4 workers are taken into account.

c/ Includes professional and technical workers.

d/ Brazil's national household survey (PNAD) does not provide information on the size of business establishments, except in 1993 and 1997. Therefore, the figure given for Brazil in the column for establishments employing over 5 workers shows the percentage of wage earners who have an employment contract ("carteira"), while the column for establishments employing up to 5 workers shows the percentage of workers who do not have such contracts.

e/ Includes private sector employees in non-professional, non-technical occupations in business establishments of undeclared size.

f/ Information from national socio-economic survey (CASEN).

g/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.

h/ The figures for 1990 are not strictly comparable with those of 1995, owing to changes made in the classification of professional and technical workers.

i/ Information from National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (ENIG).

j/ Includes persons employed in the Panama Canal Zone.

k/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 4.2

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): BREAKDOWN OF THE EMPLOYED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE FEMALE POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)											
Country	Year	Employers	Wage earners							Own account and unpaid family workers	
			Total	Public sector	Private sector					Total c/	Non-professional, non-technical
					Total a/	Professional and technical	Non-professional, non-technical				
							Establishments employing more than 5 persons b/	Establishments employing up to 5 persons	Domestic employment		
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	2.3	65.8	-	65.8	3.3	41.8	10.6	10.1	31.9	30.2
	1990	2.8	70.3	-	70.3	8.0	39.6	10.2	12.5	27.1	22.7
	1994	2.4	72.1	-	72.1	-	46.7	13.1	12.3	25.4	-
	1998	2.2	75.3	16.8	58.5	-	34.7	12.2	11.6	22.6	-
	(Urban areas)	1998	2.3	101.7	26.0	75.7	-	29.6	11.6	13.8	22.2
Bolivia	1989	0.8	45.2	15.0	30.2	3.6	7.1	6.6	12.9	54.0	52.2
	1994	3.5	43.7	11.4	32.3	5.4	7.8	7.9	11.2	52.9	51.7
	1997	2.8	38.5	11.1	27.4	5.4	7.3	7.0	7.7	58.7	57.4
Brazil d/	1979	1.2	78.2	-	78.2	13.1	36.5	7.0	21.6	20.6	19.7
	1990	2.5	73.6	-	73.6	20.7	26.1	11.2	15.6	24.0	22.4
	1993	1.8	70.7	18.3	52.4	4.7	21.9 e/	6.0	19.8	27.4	25.8
	1997	2.6	72.1	17.4	54.7	5.4	21.6 e/	7.4	20.3	25.4	23.4
Chile f/	1990	1.4	78.6	-	78.6	18.4	32.6	8.2	19.4	20.1	18.2
	1994	2.2	77.4	-	77.4	19.1	33.8	7.7	16.8	20.6	15.8
	1998	3.0	78.8	-	78.8	20.6	33.3	9.7	15.2	18.1	13.2
Colombia g/	1980	1.2	75.3	11.1	64.2	4.6	42.3	-	17.3	23.5	22.2
	1991	2.2	70.7	12.8	57.9	5.5	38.8	-	13.6	27.1	25.5
	1994	2.7	72.3	9.4	62.9	7.2	43.0	-	12.7	25.2	23.4
	1998	2.6	64.0	10.8	53.2	6.8	35.8	-	10.6	33.5	31.7
Costa Rica	1981	1.3	84.3	33.5	50.8	1.4	27.6	7.9	13.9	14.4	13.7
	1990	2.3	79.6	28.7	50.9	4.5	25.8	8.6	12.0	18.1	16.6
	1994	4.0	78.6	24.7	53.9	7.1	26.4	10.3	10.1	17.3	16.1
	1998	4.3	78.6	25.7	52.9	8.0	24.2	8.5	12.2	17.1	15.6
Ecuador	1990	2.7	56.4	17.7	38.7	5.5	14.9	6.7	11.6	40.8	39.5
	1994	5.0	55.5	14.8	40.7	6.2	15.0	7.7	11.8	39.5	37.8
	1998	4.6	55.8	12.9	42.9	6.6	15.8	7.7	12.8	39.7	38.4
El Salvador h/	1990	1.6	52.5	11.7	40.8	2.5	18.0	7.2	13.1	45.9	45.8
	1995	3.3	53.4	11.8	41.6	5.9	20.8	5.8	9.1	43.3	42.8
	1998	2.3	56.4	11.2	45.2	6.6	22.5	7.3	8.8	41.3	40.3
Guatemala	1986	2.1	61.0	11.6	49.4	4.2	14.5	9.7	21.0	36.9	35.3
	1989	1.5	61.2	13.4	47.8	6.1	15.7	7.9	18.1	37.3	34.6
Honduras	1990	0.9	59.0	15.5	43.5	4.1	16.5	6.9	16.0	40.0	39.0
	1994	1.8	63.6	12.9	50.7	6.7	24.3	6.0	13.7	34.6	33.6
	1998	3.0	60.4	12.8	47.6	7.1	24.2	6.1	10.2	36.5	36.0
Mexico i/	1984	1.1	71.0	-	71.0	6.5	57.0	-	7.5	27.8	27.1
	1989	1.3	76.3	-	76.3	8.4	60.8	-	7.1	22.4	21.9
	1994	1.5	72.8	20.3	52.5	6.1	36.8	-	9.6	25.8	25.0
	1998	2.2	69.5	16.5	53.0	6.5	26.8	10.7	9.0	28.4	27.1

Table 4.2 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): BREAKDOWN OF THE EMPLOYED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE FEMALE POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)											
Country	Year	Employers	Wage earners							Own account and unpaid family workers	
			Total	Public sector	Total a/	Private sector			Total c/	Non-professional, non-technical	
						Professional and technical	Non-professional, non-technical				
							Establishments employing more than 5 persons b/	Establishments employing up to 5 persons			Domestic employment
Nicaragua	1997	1.1	57.3	15.8	41.5	2.6	15.1	9.4	14.4	41.6	41.0
Panama	1979	0.8	89.8 j/	43.1	46.7	3.5	27.9	-	15.3	9.5	9.2
	1991	1.7	86.1	32.5	53.6	6.9	24.9	4.0	17.8	12.2	11.5
	1994	1.5	86.6	30.3	56.3	6.9	27.3	4.0	18.1	12.0	11.7
	1998	2.0	82.4	27.4	55.0	9.8	25.2	5.1	14.9	15.5	14.7
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	3.8	62.6	10.9	51.7	3.6	12.8	6.5	28.8	33.8	31.9
	1990	2.4	67.5	11.3	56.2	6.5	15.5	8.6	25.6	30.2	28.1
	1994	5.7	65.5	11.5	54.0	6.1	16.6	7.0	24.3	28.8	28.2
	1997	4.0	58.9	9.2	49.7	5.3	15.0	7.4	22.0	37.1	34.5
(Urban areas)	1994	5.3	59.7	10.9	48.8	4.3	13.7	7.5	23.3	34.9	34.5
	1997	4.5	56.4	9.7	46.7	4.4	12.4	8.2	21.7	39.2	36.8
Dominican Republic	1992	0.9	70.9	15.1	55.8	12.1	35.0	-	8.7	28.3	26.7
	1995	2.0	73.7	16.9	56.8	10.7	35.6	-	10.5	24.3	21.9
	1997	1.5	70.1	12.6	57.5	8.6	30.6	6.7	11.6	28.4	25.8
Uruguay	1981	1.4	75.6	21.3	54.3	4.0	24.1	6.7	19.5	23.0	20.0
	1990	1.9	75.9	20.2	55.7	6.1	24.4	8.1	17.1	22.3	19.1
	1994	2.8	74.4	18.9	55.5	6.2	24.9	7.6	16.8	22.8	19.2
	1998	2.3	76.9	16.8	60.1	8.2	26.2	9.1	16.6	20.7	16.8
Venezuela k/	1981	1.4	83.1	31.5	51.6	4.9	15.4	15.9	15.4	15.5	14.7
	1990	2.3	77.5	30.4	47.1	6.4	22.3	3.4	15.0	20.2	19.1
	1994	1.7	72.3	28.1	44.2	8.0	21.3	5.9	9.0	26.0	23.9
	1998	1.6	59.4	23.4	36.0	6.3	17.5	6.1	6.1	38.9	36.8

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ For Argentina (except 1998), Brazil (1979 and 1990), Chile (1990, 1994 and 1998), and Mexico (1984 and 1989), this includes public-sector wage earners.

b/ For Colombia, Mexico (1984, 1989 and 1994) and Panama (1979), no information was available on the size of business establishments. In those cases, wage earners in non-professional, non-technical occupations in establishments employing up to 5 workers are included in the figures for establishments employing over 5 workers. For El Salvador, Panama, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (1990) and Venezuela, establishments employing up to 4 workers are taken into account.

c/ Includes professional and technical workers.

d/ Brazil's national household survey (PNAD) does not provide information on the size of business establishments, except in 1993 and 1997. Therefore, the figure given for Brazil in the column for establishments employing over 5 workers shows the percentage of wage earners who have an employment contract ("carteira"), while the column for establishments employing up to 5 workers shows the percentage of workers who do not have such contracts.

e/ Includes private sector employees in non-professional, non-technical occupations in business establishments of undeclared size.

f/ Information from national socio-economic survey (CASEN).

g/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.

h/ The figures for 1990 are not strictly comparable with those of 1995, owing to changes made in the classification of professional and technical workers.

i/ Information from National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (ENIG).

j/ Includes persons employed in the Panama Canal Zone.

k/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 5

LATIN AMERICA (13 COUNTRIES): BREAKDOWN OF THE EMPLOYED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)								
Country	Year	Total	Employers	Wage earners			Own account and unpaid family workers	
				Total a/	Public sector	Private sector	Total	Agriculture
Bolivia	1997	100.0	3.3	8.9	2.4	6.5	87.8	79.9
Brazil	1979	100.0	2.8	38.0	-	38.0	59.2	53.1
	1990	100.0	3.0	44.3	-	44.3	52.7	44.3
	1993	100.0	1.9	33.6	5.1	28.5	64.5	58.4
	1997	100.0	2.0	33.6	4.1	29.5	64.3	57.2
Chile b/	1990	100.0	2.8	64.9	-	64.9	32.3	25.0
	1994	100.0	2.6	66.6	-	66.6	30.8	21.5
	1998	100.0	2.8	64.5	-	64.5	32.7	24.4
Colombia	1991	100.0	6.3	48.6	-	48.6	45.0	25.5
	1994	100.0	4.5	54.2	-	54.2	41.3	22.4
	1998	100.0	5.1	46.0	3.8	42.2	48.8	26.6
Costa Rica	1981	100.0	3.3	70.0	12.2	57.8	26.7	17.0
	1990	100.0	5.1	66.2	10.5	55.7	28.7	16.8
	1994	100.0	6.8	69.0	9.6	59.4	24.2	11.1
	1998	100.0	7.3	68.3	9.7	58.6	24.4	10.7
El Salvador	1995	100.0	6.0	49.6	3.2	46.4	44.3	26.8
	1998	100.0	2.7	48.6	3.9	44.7	48.7	31.6
Guatemala	1986	100.0	1.3	40.1	2.3	37.8	58.7	45.6
	1989	100.0	0.6	38.7	2.9	35.8	60.7	47.5
Honduras	1990	100.0	0.6	34.9	4.0	30.9	64.6	47.6
	1994	100.0	1.7	37.0	4.8	32.2	61.4	43.5
	1998	100.0	2.3	36.8	3.7	33.1	60.9	41.4
Mexico c/	1984	100.0	7.2	42.0	-	42.0	50.8	38.1
	1989	100.0	2.5	50.2	-	50.2	47.3	34.6
	1994	100.0	4.0	48.6	5.5	43.1	47.4	30.8
	1998	100.0	4.5	45.6	6.0	39.6	49.9	29.2
Panama	1979	100.0	0.7	40.1	14.3	25.8	59.2	48.9
	1991	100.0	2.9	39.1	12.5	26.6	58.0	45.5
	1994	100.0	3.3	47.0	11.8	35.2	49.7	34.4
	1998	100.0	2.5	47.7	10.5	37.2	49.8	31.4
Paraguay	1997	100.0	2.3	24.8	3.2	21.6	72.8	57.3
Dominican Republic	1992	100.0	4.0	52.4	13.2	39.2	43.7	21.6
	1995	100.0	2.1	56.1	11.5	44.6	41.9	15.7
	1997	100.0	3.4	45.6	10.3	35.3	51.0	28.5
Venezuela	1981	100.0	6.8	47.6	9.2	38.4	45.6	30.9
	1990	100.0	6.9	46.6	8.3	38.3	46.5	33.3
	1994	100.0	7.6	47.6	7.4	40.2	44.8	29.7
	1997	100.0	5.4	49.6	5.4	44.2	44.9	33.1

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ Includes domestic employees. For Brazil (1979 and 1990), Chile (1990, 1994 and 1998), Colombia (1991 and 1994) and Mexico (1984 and 1989), public-sector wage earners are included.

b/ Information from national socio-economic survey (CASEN).

c/ Information from National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (ENIG).

Table 6

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE INCOMES OF THE EMPLOYED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1997 (In multiples of the respective per capita poverty line)												
Country	Year	Total	Employers	Wage earners							Own account and unpaid family workers	
				Total	Public sector	Private sector					Total b/	Non professional, non-technical
						Total a/	Professional and technical	Non professional, non technical				
								Establishments employing more than 5 persons	Establishments employing up to 5 persons	Domestic employment		
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	6.9	19.3	6.6	-	6.6	15.6	6.6	5.1	3.1	5.8	5.2
	1990	6.4	20.6	4.7	-	4.7	9.4	4.5	3.6	3.5	7.9	7.2
	1994	8.6	28.3	6.5	-	6.5	-	-	-	3.3	10.8	-
	1997	7.2	24.2	5.6	-	5.6	-	-	-	2.6	8.6	-
Bolivia	1989	4.2	16.2	3.9	4.1	3.5	7.7	3.6	2.7	1.6	4.1	3.8
	1994	3.5	10.3	3.2	3.9	3.0	7.3	2.7	2.0	1.0	2.5	2.2
	1997	3.6	10.1	3.9	4.6	3.6	8.8	3.2	2.2	1.1	2.5	2.3
Brazil c/	1979	5.6	21.8	4.6	-	4.6	9.4	4.8	2.5	1.1	5.8	5.2
	1990	4.7	16.1	4.1	-	4.1	8.2	3.8	2.6	1.0	3.8	3.4
	1993	4.3	15.6	4.2	6.4	3.6	10.9	3.5 d/	2.0	1.1	3.1	2.7
	1996	5.0	19.1	4.5	7.0	3.9	10.7	3.9 d/	2.5	1.5	4.2	3.7
Chile e/	1990	4.7	24.8	3.8	-	3.8	7.4	3.5	2.4	1.4	5.4	5.0
	1994	6.2	34.2	4.9	-	4.9	9.6	4.0	2.9	2.0	6.3	4.9
	1996	6.8	33.7	5.1	6.5	4.8	11.2	3.8	2.9	2.0	8.3	6.4
	1998	7.4	33.8	5.6	-	5.6	11.7	4.3	3.0	2.2	8.6	6.5
Colombia f/	1980	4.0	17.1	3.1	4.8	2.7	8.3	2.2	-	2.1	4.4	3.7
	1991	2.9	7.4	2.7	3.9	2.5	5.3	2.4	-	1.3	2.4	2.2
	1994	3.8	13.1	3.4	5.5	3.1	7.9	2.6	-	1.7	3.4	3.0
	1997	3.8	10.9	3.6	5.7	3.2	6.9	2.7	-	1.6	3.2	2.9
Costa Rica	1981	6.6	13.1	6.3	8.9	4.6	11.4	4.8	3.5	1.9	7.3	6.9
	1990	5.2	6.8	5.4	7.3	4.4	9.0	4.3	3.2	1.5	3.7	3.4
	1994	5.7	10.8	5.5	7.8	4.6	8.4	4.4	3.6	1.6	4.4	4.0
	1997	5.6	8.4	5.8	8.2	4.8	9.0	4.8	3.2	1.8	3.8	3.6
Ecuador	1990	2.8	4.8	3.2	4.1	2.8	6.0	2.9	2.3	0.8	1.9	1.9
	1994	2.9	6.6	2.8	3.5	2.5	5.2	2.6	1.9	0.9	2.2	2.0
	1997	3.0	6.0	3.0	3.9	2.7	5.7	2.9	1.8	0.9	2.2	2.1
El Salvador	1995	3.4	8.6	3.5	5.3	3.0	6.9	2.8	2.0	1.0	2.1	2.0
	1997	3.8	9.9	4.5	5.9	3.8	7.8	3.2	2.3	1.9	2.2	2.1
Guatemala	1986	3.1	10.8	2.9	4.6	2.4	6.5	2.4	1.5	1.7	2.4	2.2
	1989	3.5	17.7	3.0	4.8	2.5	5.2	2.6	1.7	1.4	3.2	2.9
Honduras	1990	2.8	16.4	3.1	4.9	2.5	6.5	2.7	1.6	0.8	1.6	1.5
	1994	2.3	7.3	2.2	3.4	2.0	4.5	1.9	1.3	0.5	1.7	1.6
	1997	2.0	6.5	2.1	2.9	1.9	4.2	1.8	1.1	0.5	1.3	1.2
Mexico g/	1984	4.8	14.8	4.7	-	4.7	8.8	4.4	-	1.7	4.2	4.1
	1989	4.4	21.7	3.5	-	3.5	6.9	3.1	-	1.4	4.8	4.4
	1994	4.4	18.3	3.9	5.0	3.6	9.5	3.0	-	1.2	3.7	3.3
	1996	3.7	15.2	3.3	4.9	2.9	6.4	2.8	1.7	1.2	2.5	2.3
	1998	4.1	18.2	3.5	5.3	3.1	6.9	3.1	1.9	1.3	3.0	2.6

Table 6 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE INCOMES OF THE EMPLOYED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1997 (In multiples of the respective per capita poverty line)												
Country	Year	Total	Employers	Wage earners							Own account and unpaid family workers	
				Total	Public sector	Private sector					Total b/	Non professional, non-technical
						Total a/	Professional and technical	Non professional, non technical				
								Establishments employing more than 5 persons	Establishments employing up to 5 persons	Domestic Employment		
Nicaragua	1997	2.6	11.7	2.6	3.0	2.5	6.6	3.0	1.6	0.9	2.0	1.9
Panama	1979	5.6	6.5	6.2 h/	7.1	5.4	13.6	5.0	-	1.4	3.0	2.9
	1991	5.0	11.8	5.5	7.4	4.4	9.4	4.1	2.6	1.3	2.5	2.3
	1994	5.1	17.7	5.1	7.3	4.1	9.4	3.8	2.4	1.3	3.5	3.4
	1997	5.6	15.4	5.6	8.0	4.6	10.0	4.1	2.6	1.4	3.7	3.4
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	3.1	9.0	2.6	3.5	2.4	6.9	2.6	1.7	0.7	2.6	2.2
	1990	3.4	10.3	2.5	3.4	2.2	4.7	2.6	1.8	0.8	3.8	3.6
	1994	3.6	10.0	3.0	4.4	2.7	6.7	2.7	2.0	1.3	2.9	2.9
	1996	3.6	10.6	3.3	5.1	2.9	6.5	3.1	2.3	1.2	2.8	2.5
	(Urban areas)	1994	3.3	9.6	2.8	4.3	2.5	6.6	2.6	1.9	1.2	2.5	2.5
	1996	3.3	9.7	3.1	5.1	2.6	6.3	3.0	2.1	1.1	2.5	2.3
Dominican Republic	1997	4.4	13.5	3.9	4.7	3.7	7.5	3.5	2.4	1.4	4.3	4.0
Uruguay	1981	6.0	23.6	4.3	5.0	4.0	10.0	4.1	3.0	1.8	8.6	8.1
	1990	4.3	12.0	3.7	4.0	3.6	7.6	3.7	2.5	1.5	5.1	5.1
	1994	4.8	12.3	4.6	5.3	4.2	9.6	4.5	2.9	1.7	3.9	3.5
	1997	4.9	11.5	4.8	5.9	4.5	9.8	4.6	3.0	1.8	4.0	3.5
Venezuela i/	1981	7.6	11.6	7.8	9.0	7.3	14.9	6.9	6.7	4.1	5.2	4.9
	1990	4.5	11.9	3.7	4.0	3.6	6.6	3.6	2.5	2.1	4.5	4.3
	1994	3.8	8.9	3.2	2.7	3.4	6.7	3.4	2.0	1.9	4.1	3.8
	1997	3.6	11.2	2.6	2.9	2.5	5.8	2.4	1.7	1.4	4.2	3.9

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ For Argentina, Brazil (1979 and 1990), Chile (1990, 1994 and 1998), and Mexico (1984, 1989 and 1994), this includes public-sector wage earners. In addition, for Chile (1996), El Salvador, Panama, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (1990) and Venezuela, this includes non-professional, non-technical wage earners in establishments employing up to four workers. Where no information was available about the size of the establishments, no data are provided for the total population employed in low-productivity sectors.
- b/ Includes own account professional and technical workers.
- c/ Brazil's national household survey (PNAD) does not provide information on the size of business establishments, except in 1993 and 1997. Therefore, the figure given for Brazil in the column for establishments employing over 5 workers shows the percentage of wage earners who have an employment contract ("carteira"), while the column for establishments employing up to 5 workers shows the percentage of workers who do not have such contracts.
- d/ Includes private sector employees in non-professional, non-technical occupations in business establishments of undeclared size.
- e/ Information from national socio-economic survey (CASEN).
- f/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.
- g/ Information from National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (ENIG).
- h/ Includes persons employed in the Panama Canal Zone.
- i/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 6.1

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE INCOMES OF THE EMPLOYED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MALE POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1997 (In multiples of the respective per capita poverty line)												
Country	Year	Total	Employers	Wage earners							Own account and unpaid family workers	
				Total	Public sector	Private sector					Total b/	Non professional, non-technical
						Total a/	Professional and technical	Non professional, non technical				
								Establishments employing more than 5 persons	Establishments employing up to 5 persons	Domestic employment		
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	7.8	19.8	7.3	-	7.3	18.6	7.0	5.5	3.5	6.5	5.7
	1990	7.3	22.2	5.1	-	5.1	11.4	4.7	3.7	4.4	9.4	8.8
	1994	9.7	28.0	7.1	-	7.1	-	-	-	4.5	12.3	-
	1997	8.2	25.7	6.1	-	6.1	-	-	-	2.7	10.2	-
Bolivia	1989	5.1	17.1	4.3	4.8	4.0	9.6	3.7	2.8	4.0	5.4	4.9
	1994	4.4	10.8	4.4	4.7	3.5	8.3	2.8	2.2	1.7	3.6	3.2
	1997	4.5	10.5	4.4	5.4	4.2	9.8	3.3	2.4	1.8	3.1	2.9
Brazil c/	1979	6.9	22.6	5.5	-	5.5	14.9	5.4	2.6	1.5	7.6	6.8
	1990	5.7	17.2	4.8	-	4.8	11.3	4.2	2.8	1.3	4.9	4.4
	1993	5.3	16.6	4.9	7.9	4.2	14.5	3.7 d/	2.0	1.5	4.0	3.6
	1996	6.0	20.1	5.2	8.4	4.6	13.8	4.2 d/	2.6	2.0	5.2	4.7
Chile e/	1990	5.4	27.4	4.4	-	4.4	10.4	3.6	2.5	1.9	5.8	5.3
	1994	7.0	37.6	5.4	-	5.4	12.0	4.1	3.1	2.2	6.7	5.4
	1996	7.7	36.3	5.7	7.2	5.5	13.3	4.0	3.0	2.4	9.2	7.2
	1998	8.4	37.0	6.3	-	6.3	14.1	4.5	3.2	3.3	9.5	7.1
Colombia f/	1980	4.8	18.0	3.4	5.5	3.0	9.4	2.2	-	2.1	5.3	4.5
	1991	3.3	7.8	3.1	4.2	2.8	6.5	2.5	-	1.5	3.0	2.7
	1994	4.4	14.5	3.6	6.1	3.3	9.8	2.6	-	1.7	4.0	3.5
	1997	4.4	11.8	4.0	6.4	3.5	8.4	2.9	-	1.6	3.9	3.4
Costa Rica	1981	7.3	13.8	6.5	9.0	5.3	12.1	5.3	3.5	3.2	8.6	8.0
	1990	5.8	7.0	6.0	7.9	5.1	9.9	4.6	3.3	1.5	4.8	4.3
	1994	6.4	11.9	6.0	8.2	5.2	9.6	4.7	3.9	2.1	5.3	4.9
	1997	6.1	8.9	6.1	8.7	5.3	9.7	5.0	3.5	2.3	5.0	4.6
Ecuador	1990	3.3	4.9	3.6	4.6	3.2	8.0	3.0	2.4	1.1	2.4	2.3
	1994	3.4	7.2	3.1	3.8	2.9	6.7	2.6	2.0	1.1	2.9	2.6
	1997	3.4	6.3	3.3	4.1	3.1	6.9	2.9	1.8	1.3	2.7	2.6
El Salvador	1995	4.1	9.4	3.9	5.5	3.5	7.6	3.0	2.2	1.7	2.1	2.8
	1997	4.4	10.5	4.3	5.9	3.9	8.5	3.3	2.4	2.8	2.9	2.7
Guatemala	1986	3.6	11.7	3.8	4.5	2.8	7.5	2.6	1.6	1.4	2.8	2.6
	1989	4.0	18.6	3.3	4.8	2.8	6.2	2.7	1.8	2.6	3.9	3.6
Honduras	1990	3.4	20.3	3.3	5.1	2.9	7.3	2.8	1.7	1.6	2.4	2.2
	1994	2.7	7.8	2.5	3.8	2.2	5.2	2.0	1.3	1.6	2.1	2.0
	1997	2.5	7.1	2.2	3.3	2.0	5.3	1.9	1.1	0.8	1.8	1.7
Mexico g/	1984	5.4	15.0	5.0	-	5.0	10.2	4.5	-	2.0	5.3	5.2
	1989	5.1	23.4	3.8	-	3.8	7.8	3.3	-	2.1	6.1	5.6
	1994	5.2	19.4	4.4	5.6	4.1	11.5	3.2	-	2.0	5.0	4.4
	1996	4.3	16.0	3.6	5.3	3.3	7.7	3.1	1.8	1.9	3.4	3.1
	1998	4.9	19.2	3.9	5.9	3.5	8.2	3.4	2.1	1.9	4.3	3.6

Table 6.1 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE INCOMES OF THE EMPLOYED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MALE POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1997 (In multiples of the respective per capita poverty line)												
Country	Year	Total	Employers	Wage earners							Own account and unpaid family workers	
				Total	Public sector	Private sector					Total b/	Non professional, non-technical
						Total a/	Professional and technical	Non professional, non technical				
								Establishments employing more than 5 persons	Establishments employing up to 5 persons	Domestic employment		
Nicaragua	1997	3.1	12.8	3.1	3.6	2.9	7.9	3.1	1.7	1.5	2.5	2.3
Panama	1979	6.3	7.1	7.1 h/	8.2	6.4	15.7	5.1	-	1.7	3.3	3.2
	1991	5.3	11.9	6.1	7.9	5.0	10.2	4.2	2.7	1.4	2.7	2.5
	1994	5.6	19.2	5.7	8.2	4.6	10.6	3.8	2.3	2.0	3.9	3.7
	1997	6.2	16.6	6.4	9.0	5.3	11.0	4.1	2.6	2.0	4.3	3.8
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	4.0	9.4	3.3	4.1	3.2	7.8	2.7	1.8	0.7	3.7	2.9
	1990	4.2	10.4	2.9	4.0	2.6	5.8	2.6	1.9	-	4.8	4.6
	1994	4.4	10.6	3.5	5.1	3.2	8.5	2.7	2.1	2.1	3.5	3.5
	1996	4.3	11.7	3.6	5.5	3.3	7.3	3.2	2.4	2.0	3.5	3.2
(Urban areas)	1994	4.0	10.0	3.2	5.0	2.9	8.2	2.7	2.0	1.9	3.0	3.0
	1996	3.9	10.3	3.4	5.5	3.0	6.9	3.1	2.2	1.7	3.1	2.9
Dominican Republic	1997	4.8	14.5	4.0	4.6	3.9	8.0	3.6	2.6	2.2	4.8	4.5
Uruguay	1981	7.4	24.4	5.1	5.4	4.9	13.4	4.5	3.2	4.3	11.6	11.1
	1990	5.5	13.0	4.3	4.4	4.2	10.1	4.0	2.7	1.5	7.3	7.3
	1994	5.8	13.1	5.5	6.0	5.3	12.5	5.0	3.1	3.0	4.9	4.4
	1997	5.8	12.3	5.6	6.6	5.3	12.9	5.0	3.2	2.0	4.8	4.2
Venezuela i/	1981	8.3	11.7	8.6	9.7	8.2	16.8	7.2	7.1	6.7	6.0	5.7
	1990	5.1	12.0	4.0	4.4	3.9	7.6	3.7	2.5	3.4	5.1	4.9
	1994	4.3	9.1	3.4	3.1	3.5	7.6	3.4	2.0	2.9	4.6	4.3
	1997	4.0	11.4	2.8	3.2	2.7	6.7	2.5	1.7	2.2	4.6	4.3

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ For Argentina, Brazil (1979 and 1990), Chile (1990, 1994 and 1998), and Mexico (1984, 1989 and 1994), this includes public-sector wage earners. In addition, for Chile (1996), El Salvador, Panama, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (1990) and Venezuela, this includes non-professional, non-technical wage earners in establishments employing up to four workers. Where no information was available about the size of the establishments, no data are provided for the total population employed in low-productivity sectors.
- b/ Includes own account professional and technical workers.
- c/ Brazil's national household survey (PNAD) does not provide information on the size of business establishments, except in 1993 and 1997. Therefore, the figure given for Brazil in the column for establishments employing over 5 workers shows the percentage of wage earners who have an employment contract ("carteira"), while the column for establishments employing up to 5 workers shows the percentage of workers who do not have such contracts.
- d/ Includes private sector employees in non-professional, non-technical occupations in business establishments of undeclared size.
- e/ Information from national socio-economic survey (CASEN).
- f/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.
- g/ Information from National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (ENIG).
- h/ Includes persons employed in the Panama Canal Zone.
- i/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 6.2

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE INCOMES OF THE EMPLOYED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE FEMALE POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1997 (En múltiplos de las respectivas líneas de pobreza per cápita)												
Country	Year	Total	Employers	Wage earners							Own account and unpaid family workers	
				Total	Public sector	Private sector					Total b/	Non professional, non-technical
						Total a/	Professional and technical	Non professional, non technical				
								Establishments employing more than 5 persons	Establishments employing up to 5 persons	Domestic employment		
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	5.2	16.3	5.2	-	5.2	9.4	5.6	4.2	3.1	4.4	4.1
	1990	4.7	13.6	4.7	-	3.9	6.6	4.0	3.4	2.0	5.8	4.5
	1994	6.7	29.4	6.5	-	5.4	-	-	-	3.2	8.3	-
	1997	5.6	19.6	4.8	-	4.8	-	-	-	2.5	6.2	-
Bolivia	1989	2.9	10.7	3.6	2.9	3.4	4.1	3.4	2.2	1.6	4.1	2.9
	1994	2.2	8.4	2.3	2.7	2.1	5.3	2.2	1.5	0.9	2.5	1.6
	1997	2.5	8.1	3.0	3.5	2.8	6.8	2.6	1.8	1.0	1.8	1.7
Brazil c/	1979	3.0	14.1	3.0	-	3.0	5.6	3.3	2.1	1.1	2.5	2.2
	1990	3.1	11.1	3.1	-	3.1	5.6	2.9	2.0	0.9	2.2	1.9
	1993	2.8	11.1	3.0	4.9	2.3	5.7	2.8 d/	1.8	1.1	1.7	1.4
	1996	3.6	15.4	3.6	5.7	3.1	7.0	3.2 d/	2.3	1.5	2.5	2.0
Chile e/	1990	3.4	14.3	3.0	-	3.0	4.5	3.2	2.2	1.4	4.4	4.2
	1994	4.7	26.4	3.8	-	3.8	6.5	3.5	2.6	2.0	5.8	3.8
	1996	5.1	26.4	4.1	5.5	3.9	7.8	3.6	2.8	2.0	6.4	4.4
	1998	5.6	24.9	4.7	-	4.7	8.8	3.8	2.7	2.2	6.8	5.0
Colombia f/ (8 main cities)	1980	2.7	10.2	2.6	3.8	2.4	6.0	2.2	-	2.1	2.4	2.0
	1991	2.2	5.9	2.3	3.5	2.1	3.9	2.1	-	1.2	1.6	1.4
	1994	3.0	8.4	3.0	4.8	2.7	5.9	2.5	-	1.7	2.3	2.0
	1997	2.9	8.4	3.0	5.0	2.6	5.2	2.4	-	1.6	2.3	2.0
Costa Rica	1981	5.2	7.7	5.4	8.8	3.2	7.6	3.7	3.4	1.6	3.8	3.7
	1990	4.0	5.4	4.4	6.5	3.3	6.5	3.7	2.9	1.5	1.9	1.7
	1994	4.4	6.9	4.6	7.1	3.5	6.1	3.7	2.9	1.6	2.7	2.5
	1997	4.7	6.2	5.3	7.7	3.9	7.6	4.2	2.8	1.8	2.2	2.1
Ecuador	1990	2.0	4.5	2.5	3.4	2.0	3.5	2.6	1.9	0.7	1.2	1.2
	1994	2.1	4.8	2.3	3.1	2.1	3.2	2.7	1.7	0.9	1.5	1.4
	1997	2.4	5.2	2.7	3.6	2.4	4.2	3.1	1.7	0.9	1.5	1.4
El Salvador	1995	2.5	5.8	3.0	4.9	2.5	5.7	2.5	1.5	0.9	1.6	1.6
	1997	3.1	8.1	4.0	6.0	3.6	6.6	3.1	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.7
Guatemala	1986	2.3	6.3	2.4	4.7	1.9	3.9	2.0	1.4	1.7	1.7	1.6
	1989	2.6	14.4	2.7	5.0	2.0	3.5	2.4	1.5	1.4	2.1	1.9
Honduras	1990	2.0	4.3	2.2	4.7	1.9	4.8	2.5	1.2	0.8	1.0	0.9
	1994	1.6	5.1	1.8	2.9	1.5	3.3	1.7	1.1	0.5	1.2	1.1
	1997	1.4	4.6	1.7	2.5	1.5	2.9	1.6	0.9	0.5	1.3	0.8
Mexico g/	1984	3.4	13.0	3.9	-	3.9	5.7	4.0	-	1.7	1.9	1.9
	1989	2.8	9.4	2.9	-	2.9	4.8	2.8	-	1.3	2.3	2.3
	1994	2.9	11.6	3.0	4.2	2.6	5.3	2.5	-	1.1	2.0	1.8
	1996	2.5	11.8	2.7	4.2	2.2	4.1	2.3	1.4	1.1	1.4	1.3
	1998	2.7	13.2	2.8	4.4	2.3	4.5	2.5	1.5	1.1	1.7	1.6

Table 6.2 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE INCOMES OF THE EMPLOYED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE FEMALE POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1997 (En múltiplos de las respectivas líneas de pobreza per cápita)												
Country	Year	Total	Employers	Wage earners							Own account and unpaid family workers	
				Total	Public sector	Private sector					Total b/	Non professional, non-technical
						Total a/	Professional and technical	Non professional, non technical				
								Establishments employing more than 5 persons	Establishments employing up to 5 persons	Domestic employment		
Nicaragua	1997	1.9	8.1	2.0	2.4	1.9	4.4	2.7	1.3	0.9	1.6	1.6
Panama	1979	4.5	3.2	4.8 h/	5.7	3.9	8.5	4.7	-	1.4	2.0	1.9
	1991	4.6	11.2	4.8	6.9	3.3	7.9	4.0	2.6	1.3	2.0	1.6
	1994	4.1	12.0	4.2	6.1	3.2	7.1	3.7	2.5	1.2	2.4	2.3
	1997	4.6	10.1	4.8	6.8	3.9	8.3	4.0	2.7	1.4	2.5	2.3
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	1.9	7.7	1.6	2.7	1.4	4.4	2.1	1.5	0.7	1.8	1.7
	1990	2.3	9.0	1.8	2.4	1.6	3.4	2.4	1.5	0.8	3.0	2.9
	1994	2.6	8.6	2.3	3.4	2.0	4.3	2.5	1.8	1.2	2.3	2.3
	1996	2.7	7.2	2.8	4.7	2.3	5.5	2.8	2.0	1.2	2.2	1.9
(Urban areas)	1994	2.4	8.5	2.2	3.4	1.9	4.2	2.4	1.7	1.2	2.0	2.0
	1996	2.4	7.5	2.6	4.6	2.0	5.3	2.7	2.0	1.1	1.9	1.7
Dominican Republic	1997	3.6	7.7	3.7	4.7	3.4	7.0	3.5	2.0	1.4	3.3	2.9
Uruguay	1981	3.6	17.4	3.0	4.3	2.5	4.3	2.9	2.3	1.7	4.6	3.9
	1990	2.7	6.9	2.7	3.4	2.5	4.8	2.8	1.9	1.5	2.1	1.8
	1994	3.4	9.9	3.4	4.4	3.1	6.4	3.4	2.5	1.7	2.7	2.2
	1997	3.7	8.3	3.8	5.0	3.4	6.7	3.8	2.6	1.8	2.9	2.3
Venezuela i/	1981	5.9	10.5	6.3	8.0	5.3	10.1	5.7	5.4	3.3	3.0	2.7
	1990	3.3	10.8	3.2	3.6	2.9	4.9	3.3	2.4	1.7	2.9	2.7
	1994	3.0	7.5	2.8	2.3	3.2	5.6	3.3	2.0	1.5	3.1	2.6
	1997	2.8	9.4	2.4	2.6	2.2	4.5	2.2	1.6	1.2	3.4	3.0

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ For Argentina, Brazil (1979 and 1990), Chile (1990, 1994 and 1998), and Mexico (1984, 1989 and 1994), this includes public-sector wage earners. In addition, for Chile (1996), El Salvador, Panama, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (1990) and Venezuela, this includes non-professional, non-technical wage earners in establishments employing up to four workers. Where no information was available about the size of the establishments, no data are provided for the total population employed in low-productivity sectors.
- b/ Includes own account professional and technical workers.
- c/ Brazil's national household survey (PNAD) does not provide information on the size of business establishments, except in 1993 and 1997. Therefore, the figure given for Brazil in the column for establishments employing over 5 workers shows the percentage of wage earners who have an employment contract ("carteira"), while the column for establishments employing up to 5 workers shows the percentage of workers who do not have such contracts.
- d/ Includes private sector employees in non-professional, non-technical occupations in business establishments of undeclared size.
- e/ Information from national socio-economic survey (CASEN).
- f/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.
- g/ Information from National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (ENIG).
- h/ Includes persons employed in the Panama Canal Zone.
- i/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 7

LATIN AMERICA (12 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE INCOMES OF THE EMPLOYED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, RURAL AREAS, 1980-1997 (In multiples of the respective per capita poverty line)								
Country	Year	Total	Employers	Wage earners			Own account and unpaid family workers	
				Total a/	Public sector	Private sector	Total b/	Agriculture
Bolivia	1997	1.3	10.5	3.5	3.7	3.4	0.8	0.6
Brazil	1979	2.1	10.9	2.3	-	2.3	1.5	1.3
	1990	2.0	9.3	2.2	-	2.2	1.5	1.3
	1993	1.8	11.6	2.2	2.9	2.1	1.3	1.2
	1996	2.0	13.5	2.8	4.0	2.6	1.3	1.1
Chile c/	1990	4.9	39.3	3.2	-	3.2	5.2	5.2
	1994	4.6	28.9	3.8	-	3.8	4.2	3.7
	1998	5.3	32.8	3.9	-	3.9	6.3	5.3
Colombia	1991	3.1	10.7	2.9	-	2.9	2.3	1.7
	1994	2.5	5.8	2.8	-	2.8	1.9	2.3
	1997	2.7	7.0	3.1	5.0	3.0	1.8	1.8
Costa Rica	1981	5.9	16.6	5.1	9.8	4.1	7.1	6.9
	1990	5.1	9.9	5.2	8.4	4.6	4.0	3.9
	1994	5.8	11.7	5.4	8.4	4.9	5.4	6.3
	1997	5.6	9.3	5.5	9.4	4.9	4.7	4.9
El Salvador	1995	2.4	5.5	2.7	5.4	2.6	1.7	1.4
	1997	2.4	4.3	3.1	5.7	2.9	1.5	1.1
Guatemala	1986	2.4	19.0	2.1	5.0	1.9	2.2	2.1
	1989	2.5	21.1	2.3	4.9	2.1	2.4	2.1
Honduras	1990	1.7	14.7	2.2	4.9	1.8	1.3	1.3
	1994	2.0	8.6	2.1	4.1	1.8	1.8	1.8
	1997	1.7	9.0	1.6	3.4	1.4	1.4	1.5
Mexico d/	1984	3.5	7.8	3.5	-	3.5	2.9	2.5
	1989	3.0	9.3	2.7	-	2.7	3.0	2.6
	1994	2.7	9.7	2.6	5.1	2.3	2.2	1.8
	1996	2.3	7.1	2.4	4.9	2.0	1.6	1.3
	1998	2.6	8.7	2.9	5.2	2.5	1.8	1.6
Panama	1979	3.6	4.0	5.6 e/	6.7	4.6	2.3	2.0
	1991	3.4	10.8	5.2	7.7	4.0	1.9	1.9
	1994	3.5	13.8	4.1	6.7	3.2	2.2	1.6
	1997	4.0	16.4	4.5	8.1	3.3	3.1	2.3
Dominican Republic	1997	4.3	6.6	4.3	6.2	3.8	4.2	3.4
Venezuela	1981	6.1	11.0	7.4	9.4	6.9	3.9	3.3
	1990	3.8	9.5	3.3	4.3	3.1	3.5	2.9
	1994	3.4	7.2	2.9	4.3	2.6	3.4	3.2

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ Includes domestic employees. For Brazil (1979 and 1990), Chile (1990, 1994 and 1998), Colombia (1991 and 1994) and Mexico (1984 and 1989), public-sector wage earners are included.

b/ Includes workers in all sectors of activity.

c/ Information from national socio-economic survey (CASEN).

d/ Information from National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (ENIG).

e/ Includes persons employed in the Panama Canal Zone.

Table 8

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): RATIO OF AVERAGE FEMALE INCOME TO AVERAGE MALE INCOME IN URBAN AREAS, BY AGE GROUPS, 1980-1997 (Percentages)													
Country	Year	Earned income disparity by age group a/						Wage disparity by age group b/					
		Total	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 and over	Total	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 and over
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	63	83	66	61	71	48	70	90	73	60	77	62
	1990	65	87	77	61	59	51	76	94	82	72	72	54
	1994	71	87	88	64	72	50	76	94	80	69	73	61
	1997	70	95	83	66	67	49	79	98	92	77	63	66
Bolivia	1989	59	71	65	54	54	62	60	74	68	60	54	44
	1994	54	61	61	58	44	40	61	60	71	68	56	40
	1997	60	60	67	72	47	40	69	65	74	85	64	39
Brazil	1979	44	64	51	39	38	40	54	69	60	49	50	55
	1990	56	73	64	54	47	35	65	77	71	63	57	52
	1993	56	74	66	53	43	48	61	77	68	56	46	54
	1996	62	77	67	62	51	54	68	80	72	65	56	60
Chile	1987	64	96	77	61	57	50	63	95	80	60	53	48
	1990	61	81	67	60	56	52	66	86	72	63	54	61
	1994	67	81	84	71	56	54	70	84	78	67	64	56
	1998	66	90	77	69	59	54	74	93	83	69	67	69
Colombia c/	1980	57	94	66	55	44	38	77	108	81	69	59	59
	1991	68	88	77	64	56	55	77	87	79	73	75	74
	1994	68	97	80	69	52	48	83	104	90	82	67	57
	1997	79	90	95	83	60	58	77	92	85	73	64	60
Costa Rica	1981	73	100	77	63	75	54	83	101	82	74	87	66
	1990	72	86	75	66	60	61	74	87	78	66	62	81
	1994	69	82	76	64	60	55	75	84	79	70	65	77
	1997	78	99	79	73	74	51	87	102	87	79	87	55
Ecuador	1990	66	80	70	61	60	64	67	78	73	63	63	60
	1994	67	77	73	65	57	58	76	81	82	76	65	72
	1997	75	90	84	70	64	67	83	94	90	77	75	62
El Salvador	1995	63	76	70	58	52	47	79	80	81	72	85	61
	1997	72	97	74	69	64	53	88	100	85	85	91	73
Honduras	1990	59	77	68	51	56	43	78	81	80	70	89	103
	1994	63	80	72	69	47	43	73	82	80	82	67	32
	1997	60	81	72	58	47	37	77	86	78	74	70	72
Mexico	1984	64	93	77	48	57	38	80	98	86	69	74	64
	1989	55	71	63	52	46	48	73	86	78	69	59	82
	1994	57	83	65	57	45	46	68	91	74	78	49	49
	1996	59	83	61	62	45	52	73	90	73	66	72	84
	1998	57	84	71	51	54	40	72	89	79	68	63	72
Nicaragua	1997	61	73	75	56	46	46	66	74	76	62	43	57
Panama	1979	71	79	77	74	62	53	67	74	75	69	59	48
	1991	80	76	90	83	73	74	80	71	89	86	74	67
	1994	71	81	77	73	58	54	75	80	86	73	63	52
	1997	74	82	81	71	73	52	76	81	87	73	73	50

Table 8 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): RATIO OF AVERAGE FEMALE INCOME TO AVERAGE MALE INCOME IN URBAN AREAS, BY AGE GROUPS, 1980-1997 (Percentages)													
Country	Year	Earned income disparity by age group a/						Wage disparity by age group b/					
		Total	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 and over	Total	15 - 24	25 - 34	35 - 44	45 - 54	55 and over
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	50	60	55	52	58	52	50	56	59	58	53	53
	1990	55	63	68	52	50	60	63	66	72	58	63	77
	1994	60	73	71	58	68	33	64	77	71	58	70	47
	1996	64	76	66	71	48	56	76	76	74	82	72	93
Dominican Republic	1997	75	95	77	76	51	69	90	97	87	90	84	67
Uruguay	1981	51	72	62	46	44	44	58	75	61	56	51	50
	1990	45	63	60	46	37	30	64	79	73	61	59	49
	1994	61	76	65	58	56	51	63	76	66	59	60	51
	1997	65	79	72	63	59	55	67	79	71	64	60	55
Venezuela d/	1981	71	84	78	65	57	54	86	88	90	82	75	80
	1990	66	80	72	64	57	48	79	86	82	74	68	66
	1994	70	96	77	64	56	57	83	106	84	75	67	69
	1997	69	84	77	62	60	55	83	92	87	77	73	65

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ Income differential among the entire employed population.

b/ Income differential among wage earners.

c/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.

d/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 9

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): RATIO OF AVERAGE FEMALE INCOME TO AVERAGE MALE INCOME IN URBAN AREAS, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, 1980-1997 (Percentages)													
Country	Year	Earned income disparity by years of schooling a/						Wage disparity by years of schooling b/					
		Total	0 - 3	4 - 6	7 - 9	10 - 12	13 and over	Total	0 - 3	4 - 6	7 - 9	10 - 12	13 and over
Argentina c/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	63	64	63	62	59	55	70	63	64	67	63	55
	1990	65	...	66	...	63	51	76	...	73	...	68	62
	1994	71	...	62	65	65	63	76	...	...	...	...	...
	1997	70	73	66	67	69	55	79	60	57	69	76	64
Bolivia	1989	59	62	67	76	77	46	60	40	49	69	85	49
	1994	54	60	58	67	65	54	61	44	48	56	70	60
	1997	60	59	66	53	75	57	69	61	46	48	79	60
Brazil	1979	44	39	40	43	42	36	54	50	48	51	48	41
	1990	56	46	46	50	49	49	65	56	51	57	53	52
	1993	56	49	46	49	51	46	61	56	51	56	55	45
	1996	62	57	52	53	53	53	68	65	57	57	57	56
Chile	1987	64	79	73	81	67	46	63	80	74	83	68	50
	1990	61	56	58	69	62	49	66	64	49	66	69	55
	1994	67	93	70	69	69	54	70	83	68	66	72	58
	1998	66	71	63	65	71	54	74	72	64	71	75	63
Colombia d/	1980	57	66	64	66	60	52	77	96	92	86	84	58
	1991	68	57	60	70	72	64	77	71	70	78	78	68
	1994	68	59	68	65	71	57	83	80	81	83	86	66
	1997	79	69	65	108	88	61	77	74	74	71	78	67
Costa Rica	1981	73	46	53	72	74	79	83	46	59	80	82	85
	1990	72	53	62	65	73	67	74	58	66	67	76	66
	1994	69	61	55	58	64	70	75	61	63	68	67	75
	1997	78	61	58	61	77	75	87	66	67	70	83	77
Ecuador	1990	66	49	57	68	79	57	67	42	47	70	77	56
	1994	67	60	61	70	72	59	76	56	59	68	83	66
	1997	75	57	60	61	87	70	83	64	61	63	92	72
El Salvador	1995	63	61	56	63	69	65	79	59	56	67	83	72
	1997	72	77	67	76	80	66	88	80	73	85	92	71
Honduras	1990	59	47	50	58	69	54	78	55	55	66	82	63
	1994	63	60	65	66	67	56	73	57	70	80	74	63
	1997	60	52	56	58	66	54	77	60	69	76	76	59
Mexico e/	1984	64	...	59	73	60	48	80	...	73	73	61	53
	1990	55	61	50	70	62	46	73	71	68	83	78	63
	1994	57	...	58	65	70	48	68	...	59	78	76	56
	1996	59	56	67	71	63	49	73	67	69	81	76	63
	1998	57	72	56	65	63	47	72	61	65	75	78	56
Nicaragua	1997	61	56	68	66	69	57	66	51	65	62	78	59
Panama	1979	71	58	55	63	74	65	67	49	50	60	70	65
	1991	80	45	55	67	80	72	80	45	52	66	78	76
	1994	71	51	52	60	68	61	75	57	53	62	76	62
	1997	74	58	54	58	69	62	76	49	55	65	75	63

Table 9 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): RATIO OF AVERAGE FEMALE INCOME TO AVERAGE MALE INCOME IN URBAN AREAS, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, 1980-1997 (Percentages)													
Country	Year	Earned income disparity by years of schooling <i>a/</i>						Wage disparity by years of schooling <i>b/</i>					
		Total	0 - 3	4 - 6	7 - 9	10 - 12	13 and over	Total	0 - 3	4 - 6	7 - 9	10 - 12	13 and over
Paraguay	1983	50	67	53	57	55	51	50	45	44	46	59	52
	1990	55	69	55	60	65	42	63	51	50	58	72	58
	1994	60	64	59	66	67	52	64	64	59	66	75	51
	1996	64	69	62	55	67	58	76	56	61	60	81	70
Dominican Republic	1997	75	57	60	60	75	66	90	67	71	67	95	75
Uruguay	1981	51	45	49	49	47	43	58	48	53	57	57	44
	1990	45	50	41	40	42	37	64	52	57	63	59	57
	1994	61	59	55	55	56	50	63	57	54	59	59	51
	1997	65	54	57	60	58	56	67	51	57	62	62	57
Venezuela <i>f/</i>	1981	71	58	59	70	74	74	86	69	73	80	81	81
	1990	66	62	58	68	61	62	79	73	68	77	78	71
	1994	70	68	62	70	63	67	84	83	75	90	71	76
	1997	69	71	61	64	60	63	83	74	73	71	75	70

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ Income differential among the entire employed population.

b/ Income differential among wage earners.

c/ The levels of schooling in Argentina are 0 to 6 years, 7 to 9 years, and 10 years and over.

d/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.

e/ For 1984 and 1994, the levels of schooling in Mexico are 0 to 5 years, 6 to 9 years, 10 to 12 years, and 13 years and over.

f/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 10

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): URBAN POPULATION EMPLOYED IN LOW-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS OF THE LABOUR MARKET, 1980-1998 (Percentages of the total employed urban population)										
Country	Year	Total	Micro-enterprises a/				Domestic employment	Unskilled self-employed workers b/		
			Employers	Wage earners				Total c/	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services
				Total	Professional and technical	Non- professional, non-technical				
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	48.9	2.6	10.2	0.2	10.0	3.9	32.2	6.5	25.7
	1990	44.4	3.8	12.0	0.4	11.6	5.7	22.9	6.9	16.0
	1994	47.9	3.4	14.7	-	-	4.8	25.0	6.3	18.6
	1998	45.8	3.6	15.8	-	-	4.8	21.6	5.2	16.3
	(Urban areas)	1998	47.4	3.3	15.6	-	-	5.6	22.9	5.7	17.0
Bolivia	1989	61.9	1.1	13.9	1.6	12.3	5.8	41.1	9.8	30.0
	1994	63.0	6.2	14.8	1.0	13.8	5.2	36.8	9.1	27.1
	1997	65.5	5.0	12.0	1.0	11.0	3.6	44.9	11.9	27.7
Brazil d/	1979	41.1	2.9	11.4	0.7	10.7	7.5	19.3	3.3	13.5
	1990	49.2	-	21.6	4.3	17.3	6.2	21.4	3.5	15.8
	1993	45.5	1.9	9.0	0.5	8.5	8.2	26.4	4.7	16.0
	1997	46.8	2.2	10.3	0.6	9.7	8.6	25.7	5.1	16.1
Chile e/	1990	38.8	0.8	10.3	0.9	9.4	7.0	20.7	5.7	14.0
	1994	34.6	1.8	9.4	0.8	8.6	6.1	17.3	5.4	11.2
	1998	34.4	2.6	10.7	1.0	9.7	5.9	15.2	4.1	10.2
Colombia f/	1980	-	-	-	-	-	6.8	24.6	7.6	16.6
	1991	-	-	-	-	-	5.6	27.3	6.4	20.0
	1994	-	-	-	-	-	5.3	25.0	6.2	18.4
	1998	-	-	-	-	-	4.6	32.9	7.1	24.9
Costa Rica	1981	35.0	2.6	10.2	0.2	10.0	5.5	16.7	3.6	11.5
	1990	36.9	4.4	10.5	0.8	9.7	4.4	17.6	6.4	10.1
	1994	38.0	5.0	12.6	1.4	11.2	3.8	16.6	4.6	11.1
	1998	39.1	6.9	12.1	1.5	10.6	4.8	15.3	4.4	10.2
Ecuador	1990	54.5	3.6	11.9	0.6	11.3	4.5	34.5	7.8	24.4
	1994	56.5	6.5	13.2	1.0	12.2	4.7	32.1	6.0	24.1
	1998	57.5	6.1	13.8	0.7	13.1	5.5	32.1	5.5	24.9
El Salvador	1990	55.6	2.7	13.6	0.3	13.3	6.1	33.2	8.7	21.8
	1995	51.0	4.9	10.7	0.2	10.5	4.4	31.0	8.1	20.2
	1998	50.5	3.1	12.8	0.7	12.1	4.3	30.3	6.5	21.0
Guatemala	1986	59.6	3.6	17.1	0.8	16.3	7.7	31.2	6.3	15.5
	1989	54.6	2.1	14.6	0.8	13.8	7.0	30.9	7.4	14.9
Honduras	1990	53.3	1.0	13.9	0.7	13.2	6.7	31.7	8.9	18.7
	1994	49.9	3.0	11.9	0.9	11.0	5.4	29.5	8.1	16.1
	1998	53.2	4.6	12.6	0.9	11.7	4.6	31.4	7.1	20.5

Table 10 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): URBAN POPULATION EMPLOYED IN LOW-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS OF THE LABOUR MARKET, 1980-1998 (Percentages of the total employed urban population)										
Country	Year	Total	Micro-enterprises a/				Domestic employment	Unskilled self-employed workers b/		
			Employers	Wage earners				Total c/	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services
				Total	Professional and technical	Non-professional, non-technical				
Mexico g/	1984	-	2.4	-	-	-	2.6	24.7	2.1	14.0
	1989	-	2.8	-	-	-	2.7	18.9	3.0	12.5
	1994	-	3.3	-	-	-	3.7	20.4	4.2	14.9
	1998	44.3	3.9	15.9	1.0	14.9	4.1	20.4	3.2	16.4
Nicaragua	1997	60.1	1.3	15.8	0.5	15.3	6.6	36.4	9.1	25.7
Panama	1979	-	-	-	-	-	6.1	16.9	2.0	11.8
	1991	37.9	2.6	5.8	0.6	5.2	7.0	22.5	4.3	11.2
	1994	35.4	1.7	6.0	0.3	5.7	7.3	20.4	4.4	11.4
	1998	34.3	2.5	7.0	0.6	6.4	6.6	18.2	3.8	13.6
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	56.0	5.9	13.1	1.1	12.0	13.3	23.7	6.3	16.4
	1990	55.5	6.8	17.0	1.1	15.9	10.5	21.2	5.2	15.5
	1994	54.6	7.1	14.6	1.3	13.3	11.5	21.4	5.3	15.9
	1997	58.9	6.0	13.1	0.6	12.5	10.3	29.5	6.5	20.6
(Urban areas)	1994	61.2	7.2	16.0	1.0	15.0	10.5	27.5	5.4	20.2
	1997	63.3	6.1	15.8	0.9	14.9	9.4	32.0	6.4	22.3
Dominican Republic	1992	-	-	-	-	-	3.2	32.8	5.6	23.0
	1995	-	-	-	-	-	3.8	30.6	4.9	22.1
	1997	47.0	2.1	9.1	0.7	8.4	4.4	31.4	6.8	21.3
Uruguay	1981	37.2	2.8	9.2	0.4	8.8	7.5	17.7	5.4	10.9
	1990	39.2	2.7	10.6	0.3	10.3	6.9	19.0	5.6	12.0
	1994	40.3	3.3	9.9	0.5	9.4	7.0	20.1	6.4	12.7
	1998	41.0	2.8	11.1	0.5	10.6	7.2	19.9	6.5	12.3
Venezuela h/	1981	51.5	4.5	22.8	2.6	20.2	6.1	18.1	4.2	12.6
	1990	39.2	4.9	6.7	0.2	6.5	6.3	21.3	4.1	15.3
	1994	45.3	4.2	9.7	0.5	9.2	4.0	27.4	5.9	19.0
	1998	52.0	3.6	11.3	0.5	10.8	3.1	34.0	6.3	22.7

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ Refers to establishments employing up to 5 persons. In the cases of El Salvador (except for 1998), Panama, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (1990) and Venezuela, this refers to establishments employing up to four persons.

b/ Refers to own account workers and non-paid family workers engaged in non-professional, non-technical occupations, except for Argentina, where no distinction could be made between skilled and unskilled workers in 1994 and 1998.

c/ Includes persons employed in the agricultural, forestry, hunting and fisheries sectors.

d/ To 1990, the heading "Micro-enterprises" refers to wage earners lacking an employment contract. In 1993 and 1997, however, it refers to wage earners in establishments employing up to five persons, so that the figures from these years are not comparable to those of previous years.

e/ Information from national socio-economic survey (CASEN).

f/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.

g/ Information from National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (ENIG). In the 1984, 1989 and 1994 surveys, no information was provided about the size of establishments in which wage earners were employed.

h/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 10.1

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): URBAN MALE POPULATION EMPLOYED IN LOW-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS OF THE LABOUR MARKET, 1980-1998 (Percentages of the total employed urban population)										
Country	Year	Total	Micro-enterprises a/				Domestic employment	Unskilled self-employed workers b/		
			Employers	Wage earners				Total c/	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services
				Total	Professional and technical	Non- professional, non-technical				
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	47.2	3.1	10.0	0.2	9.8	1.0	33.1	7.4	25.7
	1990	42.2	4.6	12.7	0.3	12.4	1.8	23.1	8.5	14.6
	1994	45.2	4.4	15.7	-	-	0.4	24.7	8.8	15.7
	1998	44.0	4.8	18.0	-	-	0.3	20.9	7.2	13.7
	(Urban areas)	1998	45.7	4.3	17.6	-	-	0.3	23.5	8.0	15.3
Bolivia	1989	52.9	1.5	17.9	1.5	16.4	0.6	32.9	11.5	19.9
	1994	53.7	8.6	19.2	0.9	18.3	0.5	25.4	9.1	15.6
	1997	58.4	7.1	15.2	1.1	14.1	0.5	35.6	12.6	17.1
Brazil d/	1979	36.5	4.0	13.1	0.5	12.6	0.4	19.0	4.5	11.4
	1990	44.7	-	23.4	2.3	21.1	0.4	20.9	5.1	12.9
	1993	40.6	2.5	10.6	0.5	10.1	0.8	26.7	6.7	14.8
	1997	43.0	2.8	11.9	0.6	11.3	0.9	27.4	7.5	15.2
Chile e/	1990	33.8	0.9	10.7	0.7	10.0	0.2	22.0	6.3	14.3
	1994	30.1	2.0	9.8	0.7	9.1	0.1	18.2	6.2	10.9
	1998	30.0	2.9	10.5	0.8	9.7	0.1	16.5	5.0	10.2
Colombia f/	1980	-	-	-	-	-	0.3	26.1	8.1	17.4
	1991	-	-	-	-	-	0.3	28.4	6.2	20.9
	1994	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	26.0	6.7	18.7
	1998	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	33.7	8.0	24.2
Costa Rica	1981	34.3	3.4	11.2	0.2	11.0	1.6	18.1	2.6	13.1
	1990	35.1	5.7	11.1	0.8	10.3	0.2	18.1	5.7	10.8
	1994	36.2	6.1	13.1	1.5	11.6	0.3	16.7	4.4	10.9
	1998	38.0	8.9	13.6	1.6	12.0	0.2	15.3	4.4	9.8
Ecuador	1990	50.7	4.3	14.2	0.4	13.8	0.6	31.6	8.0	20.7
	1994	52.5	7.8	15.9	0.9	15.0	0.3	28.5	5.8	20.2
	1998	53.5	7.6	17.1	0.6	16.5	0.9	27.9	5.3	20.3
El Salvador	1990	45.9	3.8	18.6	0.4	18.2	0.4	23.1	6.0	12.8
	1995	43.0	6.7	14.5	0.2	14.3	0.5	21.3	5.2	11.5
	1998	43.1	4.1	16.9	0.7	16.2	0.4	21.7	4.5	12.3
Guatemala	1986	54.4	4.5	20.9	0.9	20.0	0.2	28.8	4.9	10.2
	1989	49.5	2.5	18.2	0.8	17.4	0.2	28.6	5.7	10.1
Honduras	1990	46.6	1.2	18.2	0.8	17.4	0.4	26.8	6.6	13.5
	1994	43.0	4.1	12.0	0.9	14.2	0.0	26.9	5.6	12.6
	1998	51.6	6.1	16.8	1.0	15.8	0.6	28.1	5.2	16.6

Table 10.1 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): URBAN MALE POPULATION EMPLOYED IN LOW-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS OF THE LABOUR MARKET, 1980-1998 (Percentages of the total employed urban population)										
Country	Year	Total	Micro-enterprises a/				Domestic employment	Unskilled self-employed workers b/		
			Employers	Wage earners				Total c/	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services
				Total	Professional and technical	Non- professional, non-technical				
Mexico g/	1984	-	3.1	-	-	-	0.5	23.7	2.0	11.1
	1989	-	3.5	-	-	-	0.6	17.5	2.5	10.5
	1994	-	4.4	-	-	-	0.6	17.9	4.0	12.6
	1998	41.3	5.1	18.4	1.0	17.4	1.2	16.6	2.6	13.2
Nicaragua	1997	54.7	1.7	20.3	0.6	19.7	0.1	32.6	9.2	20.7
Panama	1979	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	21.7	3.3	13.6
	1991	39.3	3.4	6.5	0.6	5.9	0.6	28.8	5.4	12.7
	1994	35.7	2.1	7.0	0.3	6.7	1.2	25.4	5.6	13.0
	1998	32.5	3.0	7.9	0.7	7.2	1.0	20.6	4.7	14.6
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	43.7	8.3	18.0	1.5	16.5	0.4	17.0	5.3	10.2
	1990	48.0	10.2	21.4	0.8	20.6	0.0	16.4	4.3	11.5
	1994	47.9	8.8	19.3	1.2	18.1	1.6	18.2	5.4	11.9
	1997	51.5	8.0	17.1	0.5	16.6	1.0	25.4	6.4	16.8
(Urban areas)	1994	55.1	9.0	21.2	1.0	20.2	1.4	23.5	5.3	15.4
	1997	57.7	7.7	20.5	0.8	19.7	0.8	28.7	6.6	18.1
Dominican Republic	1992	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	36.2	5.8	24.0
	1995	-	-	-	-	-	0.2	35.1	5.3	24.4
	1997	47.5	2.7	9.9	0.5	9.4	0.4	34.5	8.7	20.8
Uruguay	1981	30.9	3.8	10.3	0.3	10.0	0.4	16.4	4.1	10.4
	1990	34.8	3.7	12.1	0.3	11.8	0.1	18.9	5.4	11.7
	1994	36.0	4.2	11.0	0.4	10.6	0.1	20.7	6.9	12.4
	1998	38.0	3.7	12.0	0.4	11.6	0.2	22.1	8.2	12.5
Venezuela h/	1981	52.3	6.0	24.9	2.7	22.2	1.9	19.5	4.2	13.5
	1990	39.1	6.5	8.2	0.2	8.0	1.9	22.5	4.0	15.7
	1994	47.8	5.8	11.3	0.4	10.9	1.5	29.2	6.5	19.0
	1998	52.3	4.8	13.7	0.3	13.4	1.4	32.4	6.9	18.2

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ Refers to establishments employing up to 5 persons. In the cases of El Salvador (except for 1998), Panama, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (1990) and Venezuela, this refers to establishments employing up to four persons.

b/ Refers to own account workers and non-paid family workers engaged in non-professional, non-technical occupations, except for Argentina, where no distinction could be made between skilled and unskilled workers in 1994 and 1998.

c/ Includes persons employed in the agricultural, forestry, hunting and fisheries sectors.

d/ To 1990, the heading "Micro-enterprises" refers to wage earners lacking an employment contract. In 1993 and 1997, however, it refers to wage earners in establishments employing up to five persons, so that the figures from these years are not comparable to those of previous years.

e/ Information from national socio-economic survey (CASEN).

f/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.

g/ Information from National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (ENIG). In the 1984, 1989 and 1994 surveys, no information was provided about the size of establishments in which wage earners were employed.

h/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 10.2

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): URBAN FEMALE POPULATION EMPLOYED IN LOW-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS OF THE LABOUR MARKET, 1980-1998 (Percentages of the total employed urban population)										
Country	Year	Total	Micro-enterprises a/				Domestic employment	Unskilled self-employed workers b/		
			Employers	Wage earners				Total c/	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services
				Total	Professional and technical	Non- professional, non-technical				
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	52.6	1.6	10.7	0.1	10.6	10.1	30.2	4.7	25.5
	1990	48.0	2.3	10.6	0.4	10.2	12.5	22.6	4.0	18.6
	1994	52.4	1.6	13.1	-	-	12.3	25.4	1.9	23.4
	1998	48.3	1.7	12.4	-	-	11.6	22.6	2.2	20.2
	(Urban areas)	1998	50.1	1.8	12.3	-	-	13.8	22.2	2.3	19.8
Bolivia	1989	73.6	0.4	8.2	1.6	6.6	12.9	52.1	7.5	43.6
	1994	75.0	3.1	9.0	1.1	7.9	11.2	51.7	9.1	42.1
	1997	75.2	2.1	7.9	0.9	7.0	7.7	57.5	11.1	41.8
Brazil d/	1979	50.3	0.9	8.0	1.0	7.0	21.6	19.8	1.0	17.6
	1990	56.8	-	18.8	7.6	11.2	15.6	22.4	0.9	20.7
	1993	53.2	1.0	6.6	0.6	6.0	19.8	25.8	1.6	17.8
	1997	53.0	1.2	8.1	0.7	7.4	20.3	23.4	1.7	17.4
Chile e/	1990	47.5	0.5	9.5	1.3	8.2	19.4	18.1	4.6	13.3
	1994	42.7	1.5	8.6	0.9	7.7	16.8	15.8	4.0	11.7
	1998	41.7	2.1	11.1	1.4	9.7	15.2	13.3	2.8	10.3
Colombia f/	1980	-	-	-	-	-	17.3	22.2	6.8	15.3
	1991	-	-	-	-	-	13.6	25.5	6.8	18.6
	1994	-	-	-	-	-	12.7	23.4	5.4	17.9
	1998	-	-	-	-	-	10.6	31.7	5.8	25.8
Costa Rica	1981	36.6	0.9	8.1	0.2	7.9	13.9	13.7	5.7	8.0
	1990	40.1	1.9	9.5	0.9	8.6	12.0	16.7	7.7	8.9
	1994	40.9	3.1	11.5	1.2	10.3	10.1	16.2	4.9	11.3
	1998	41.4	3.7	9.9	1.4	8.5	12.2	15.6	4.5	10.9
Ecuador	1990	61.1	2.3	7.6	0.9	6.7	11.6	39.6	7.5	31.0
	1994	62.8	4.4	8.8	1.1	7.7	11.8	37.8	6.2	30.5
	1998	63.6	3.8	8.5	0.8	7.7	12.8	38.5	5.8	32.0
El Salvador	1990	67.9	1.4	7.5	0.3	7.2	13.1	45.9	12.1	33.0
	1995	60.8	2.8	6.1	0.3	5.8	9.1	42.8	11.6	30.7
	1998	58.9	1.9	7.9	0.6	7.3	8.8	40.3	8.9	31.1
Guatemala	1986	68.4	1.8	10.3	0.6	9.7	21.0	35.3	8.8	24.8
	1989	62.7	1.3	8.7	0.8	7.9	18.1	34.6	10.1	22.7
Honduras	1990	63.3	0.8	7.5	0.6	6.9	16.0	39.0	12.3	26.5
	1994	55.6	1.5	6.8	0.8	6.0	13.7	33.6	12.0	21.4
	1998	55.6	2.5	6.9	0.8	6.1	10.2	36.0	9.8	26.0

Table 10.2 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): URBAN FEMALE POPULATION EMPLOYED IN LOW-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS OF THE LABOUR MARKET, 1980-1998 (Percentages of the total employed urban population)										
Country	Year	Total	Micro-enterprises a/				Domestic employment	Unskilled self-employed workers b/		
			Employers	Wage earners				Total c/	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services
				Total	Professional and technical	Non- professional, non-technical				
Mexico g/	1984	-	0.9	-	-	-	7.5	27.2	2.5	20.7
	1989	-	1.2	-	-	-	7.1	21.9	4.0	16.7
	1994	-	1.1	-	-	-	9.6	25.0	4.6	19.1
	1998	49.6	1.9	11.6	0.9	10.7	9.0	27.1	4.4	22.0
Nicaragua	1997	66.7	0.8	10.5	0.5	10.0	14.4	41.0	9.1	31.7
Panama	1979	-	-	-	-	-	15.3	9.2	0.0	8.9
	1991	35.1	1.3	4.5	0.5	4.0	17.8	11.5	2.3	8.6
	1994	35.3	1.0	4.5	0.5	4.0	18.1	11.7	2.3	8.7
	1998	36.9	1.6	5.7	0.6	5.1	14.9	14.7	2.6	12.1
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	71.0	3.1	7.2	0.7	6.5	28.8	31.9	7.6	23.9
	1990	65.9	2.0	10.2	1.6	8.6	25.6	28.1	6.5	21.1
	1994	65.0	4.9	9.0	1.5	7.5	24.3	26.8	5.3	21.1
	1997	68.2	3.5	8.2	0.8	7.4	22.0	34.5	6.7	25.3
(Urban areas)	1994	69.9	4.7	8.5	1.0	7.5	23.3	33.4	5.6	27.0
	1997	71.4	3.8	9.1	0.9	8.2	21.7	36.8	6.2	28.3
Dominican Republic	1992	-	-	-	-	-	8.7	26.7	5.2	21.4
	1995	-	-	-	-	-	10.5	21.9	4.0	17.8
	1997	46.0	1.1	7.6	0.9	6.7	11.6	25.7	3.6	22.0
Uruguay	1981	47.7	1.1	7.2	0.5	6.7	19.5	19.9	7.5	11.8
	1990	46.1	1.4	8.5	0.4	8.1	17.1	19.1	6.0	12.3
	1994	46.3	2.0	8.2	0.6	7.6	16.8	19.3	5.7	13.0
	1998	44.9	1.7	9.8	0.7	9.1	16.6	16.8	4.2	12.0
Venezuela h/	1981	49.7	1.1	18.4	2.5	15.9	15.4	14.8	4.1	10.5
	1990	39.6	1.7	3.7	0.3	3.4	15.0	19.2	4.4	14.6
	1994	40.7	1.2	6.6	0.7	5.9	9.0	23.9	4.7	19.0
	1998	51.1	1.3	6.8	0.7	6.1	6.1	36.9	5.3	30.8

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ Refers to establishments employing up to 5 persons. In the cases of El Salvador (except for 1998), Panama, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (1990) and Venezuela, this refers to establishments employing up to four persons.
- b/ Refers to own account workers and non-paid family workers engaged in non-professional, non-technical occupations, except for Argentina, where no distinction could be made between skilled and unskilled workers in 1994 and 1998.
- c/ Includes persons employed in the agricultural, forestry, hunting and fisheries sectors.
- d/ To 1990, the heading "Micro-enterprises" refers to wage earners lacking an employment contract. In 1993 and 1997, however, it refers to wage earners in establishments employing up to five persons, so that the figures from these years are not comparable to those of previous years.
- e/ Information from national socio-economic survey (CASEN).
- f/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.
- g/ Information from National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (ENIG). In the 1984, 1989 and 1994 surveys, no information was provided about the size of establishments in which wage earners were employed.
- h/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 11

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE INCOMES OF THE URBAN POPULATION EMPLOYED IN LOW-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS OF THE LABOUR MARKET, 1980-1997 (In multiples of the respective per capita poverty line)										
Country	Year	Total	Micro-enterprises a/				Unskilled self-employed workers b/			Domestic employment
			Employers	Wage earners			Total c/	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services	
				Total	Professional and technical	Non-professional, non technical				
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	5.7	18.4	5.3	16.5	5.1	5.2	8.0	4.5	3.1
	1990	6.6	18.4	3.7	7.6	3.6	7.2	7.0	7.4	2.5
	1994	9.3	24.8	5.0	-	-	10.8	9.1	11.2	3.3
	1997	7.2	23.1	3.9	-	-	8.6	6.9	9.2	2.6
Bolivia	1989	3.7	11.8	3.2	6.7	2.7	3.9	3.3	4.0	1.6
	1994	2.7	8.1	2.4	3.6	2.0	2.2	2.0	2.3	1.0
	1997	2.6	7.1	2.5	5.7	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.6	1.1
Brazil d/	1979	4.6	16.6	2.8	7.1	2.5	5.4	5.0	5.7	1.1
	1990	4.1	-	3.6	7.6	2.6	3.4	3.3	3.6	1.0
	1993	2.6	11.3	2.2	5.1	2.0	2.7	2.6	3.4	1.1
	1996	3.4	14.0	2.7	5.9	2.5	3.7	3.5	4.5	1.5
Chile e/	1990	4.1	19.0	2.6	4.8	2.4	5.0	4.0	5.5	1.4
	1994	4.8	18.0	3.2	7.0	2.9	4.9	4.7	5.0	2.0
	1996	5.6	22.7	3.4	8.0	2.9	6.3	5.7	6.5	2.0
	1998	6.2	24.5	3.4	7.1	3.0	6.5	5.8	6.9	2.2
Colombia f/	1980	-	-	-	-	-	3.7	2.9	3.9	2.1
	1991	-	-	-	-	-	2.2	2.0	2.3	1.3
	1994	-	-	-	-	-	2.9	2.6	2.9	1.7
	1997	-	-	-	-	-	2.8	2.4	2.8	1.6
Costa Rica	1981	5.5	12.9	3.5	5.0	3.5	6.8	5.2	7.1	1.9
	1990	3.7	6.5	3.5	6.7	3.2	3.4	2.9	3.6	1.5
	1994	4.3	9.2	3.8	6.3	3.5	4.0	2.9	4.2	1.6
	1997	3.9	7.4	3.3	4.9	3.2	3.6	3.3	3.7	1.8
Ecuador	1990	2.0	4.0	2.3	3.4	2.3	1.8	1.7	1.9	0.8
	1994	2.4	6.1	2.0	3.9	1.9	2.0	1.8	2.1	0.9
	1997	2.3	5.5	2.0	5.0	1.8	2.1	1.8	2.2	0.9
El Salvador	1995	2.4	6.8	2.0	3.1	2.0	2.0	1.6	2.4	1.0
	1997	2.6	7.3	2.5	6.4	2.3	2.1	2.0	2.4	1.9
Guatemala	1986	2.3	7.6	1.6	3.2	1.5	2.2	1.8	2.5	1.7
	1989	2.8	13.1	1.8	3.9	1.7	2.8	2.4	3.5	1.4
Honduras	1990	1.6	7.6	1.7	3.9	1.6	1.5	1.1	1.6	0.8
	1994	1.6	4.8	1.4	2.5	1.3	1.6	1.1	1.7	0.5
	1997	1.5	4.7	1.2	2.6	1.1	1.2	1.0	1.3	0.5
Mexico g/	1984	-	13.3	-	-	-	4.1	4.4	3.6	1.7
	1989	-	15.5	-	-	-	3.8	3.5	5.2	1.4
	1994	-	13.8	-	-	-	3.3	2.7	3.6	1.2
	1996	3.2	13.7	1.8	2.9	1.7	2.3	1.9	2.4	1.2
	1998	3.1	11.7	2.1	4.7	1.9	2.6	2.1	2.7	1.3
Nicaragua	1997	1.9	9.0	1.8	6.8	1.6	1.9	1.6	2.0	0.9

Table 11 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE INCOMES OF THE URBAN POPULATION EMPLOYED IN LOW-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS OF THE LABOUR MARKET, 1980-1997 (In multiples of the respective per capita poverty line)										
Country	Year	Total	Micro-enterprises a/				Unskilled self-employed workers b/			Domestic employment
			Employers	Wage earners			Total c/	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services	
				Total	Professional and technical	Non-professional, non technical				
Panama	1979	-	-	-	-	-	2.9	3.2	3.2	1.4
	1991	2.5	7.7	3.1	7.4	2.6	2.3	2.5	3.0	1.3
	1994	3.3	11.4	2.6	6.4	2.4	3.4	3.7	4.2	1.3
	1997	3.4	11.6	2.9	5.1	2.6	3.4	3.7	3.9	1.4
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	2.4	7.6	1.9	4.5	1.7	2.2	1.6	2.5	0.7
	1990	3.1	8.2	1.9	3.8	1.8	3.6	2.4	4.1	0.8
	1994	3.0	8.7	2.3	4.9	2.0	2.4	2.0	2.6	1.3
	1996	2.5	7.2	2.3	3.3	2.3	2.5	2.1	2.7	1.2
(Urban areas)	1994	2.7	8.3	2.1	4.7	1.9	2.3	1.9	2.4	1.2
	1996	2.4	6.8	2.2	3.7	2.1	2.3	2.2	2.5	1.1
Dominican Republic	1997	3.8	9.9	2.6	5.1	2.4	4.0	4.2	4.1	1.4
Uruguay	1981	6.5	19.9	3.1	5.2	3.0	8.1	5.7	7.9	1.8
	1990	3.8	8.9	2.6	4.8	2.5	5.1	2.1	3.0	1.5
	1994	3.5	10.5	3.0	4.6	2.9	3.5	2.8	3.9	1.7
	1997	3.5	9.8	3.1	4.2	3.0	3.5	2.8	3.8	1.8
Venezuela h/	1981	6.7	11.0	7.6	14.8	6.7	4.9	4.5	5.2	4.1
	1990	4.2	9.5	2.5	3.5	2.5	4.3	4.0	4.5	2.1
	1994	3.6	7.5	2.2	6.0	2.0	3.8	3.5	4.0	1.9
	1997	3.6	9.4	1.8	2.9	1.7	3.8	4.0	4.2	1.4

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ Refers to establishments employing up to 5 persons. In the cases of Chile (1996), El Salvador, Panama, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (1990) and Venezuela, this refers to establishments employing up to four persons. In cases where no information was available on the size of establishments, no data are given for the total population employed in low-productivity sectors.
- b/ Refers to own account workers and non-paid family workers engaged in non-professional, non-technical occupations.
- c/ Includes persons employed in the agricultural, forestry, hunting and fisheries sectors.
- d/ In 1979 and 1990 wage earners without a contract of employment were included under the heading "Micro-enterprises".
- e/ Information from national socio-economic survey (CASEN).
- f/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.
- g/ Information from National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (ENIG). In the 1984, 1989 and 1994 surveys, no information was provided about the size of establishments in which wage earners were employed.
- h/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 11.1

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE INCOMES OF THE URBAN MALE POPULATION EMPLOYED IN LOW-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS OF THE LABOUR MARKET, 1980-1997 (In multiples of the respective per capita poverty line)										
Country	Year	Total	Micro-enterprises a/				Unskilled self-employed workers b/			Domestic employment
			Employers	Wage earners			Total c/	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services	
				Total	Professional and technical	Non-professional, non technical				
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	6.6	18.7	5.7	16.7	5.5	5.7	9.0	4.8	3.5
	1990	8.3	19.9	3.8	8.9	3.7	8.8	7.3	9.6	4.4
	1994	11.0	25.2	5.3	-	-	12.4	9.7	13.5	4.5
	1997	8.9	23.8	4.0	-	-	10.2	7.7	11.4	2.7
Bolivia	1989	4.6	12.9	3.3	8.6	2.8	4.9	3.6	5.6	4.0
	1994	3.6	8.2	2.3	4.3	2.2	3.2	2.5	3.6	1.7
	1997	3.3	7.3	2.6	5.3	2.4	2.9	2.6	3.8	1.8
Brazil d/	1979	6.4	17.2	2.9	11.0	2.6	6.8	5.4	8.4	1.5
	1990	4.0	-	3.7	11.6	2.8	4.4	3.5	5.2	1.3
	1993	3.7	12.0	2.2	6.6	2.0	3.5	2.8	4.6	1.5
	1996	4.7	14.4	2.8	7.3	2.6	4.7	3.8	6.0	2.0
Chile e/	1990	4.8	21.6	2.8	6.7	2.5	5.3	4.3	5.9	1.9
	1994	5.8	18.0	3.5	8.9	3.1	5.4	5.1	5.7	2.2
	1996	7.0	23.3	3.6	9.3	3.0	7.2	6.5	7.5	2.4
	1998	7.7	27.5	3.6	8.1	3.2	7.1	6.3	7.7	3.3
Colombia f/	1980	-	-	-	-	-	4.5	3.4	4.8	2.1
	1991	-	-	-	-	-	2.8	2.4	2.9	1.5
	1994	-	-	-	-	-	3.5	3.0	3.5	1.7
	1997	-	-	-	-	-	3.4	2.6	3.5	1.6
Costa Rica	1981	6.9	13.6	3.5	6.1	3.5	8.0	7.2	8.0	3.2
	1990	4.5	6.8	3.6	8.0	3.3	4.3	3.9	4.5	1.5
	1994	5.4	9.9	4.3	7.4	3.9	4.8	3.7	4.9	2.1
	1997	4.7	7.9	3.7	5.7	3.5	4.5	3.9	4.9	2.3
Ecuador	1990	2.5	3.9	2.4	4.0	2.4	2.3	1.9	2.5	1.1
	1994	3.0	6.6	2.2	5.3	2.0	2.6	2.2	2.8	1.1
	1997	2.9	5.6	2.0	7.9	1.8	2.6	2.3	2.8	1.3
El Salvador	1995	3.2	7.4	2.2	3.4	2.2	2.8	2.2	3.8	1.7
	1997	3.3	7.9	2.5	5.8	2.4	3.2	2.7	3.5	2.8
Guatemala	1986	2.7	8.1	1.7	3.5	1.6	2.7	2.4	3.5	1.4
	1989	3.5	13.7	1.9	4.9	1.8	3.6	3.4	5.4	2.6
Honduras	1990	2.2	9.4	1.8	4.1	1.7	2.2	1.7	2.4	1.6
	1994	2.1	5.1	1.4	2.5	1.3	2.0	1.6	2.3	1.6
	1997	1.9	5.0	1.1	2.2	1.1	1.7	1.6	1.8	0.8
Mexico g/	1984	-	13.3	-	-	-	5.3	5.9	4.9	2.0
	1989	-	16.5	-	-	-	5.5	4.8	7.2	2.1
	1994	-	14.2	-	-	-	4.4	3.7	4.9	2.0
	1996	3.9	14.2	1.9	3.1	1.8	3.1	2.5	3.4	1.8
	1998	3.8	11.6	2.3	5.6	2.1	3.6	2.8	3.8	1.9

Table 11.1 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE INCOMES OF THE URBAN MALE POPULATION EMPLOYED IN LOW-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS OF THE LABOUR MARKET, 1980-1997 (In multiples of the respective per capita poverty line)										
Country	Year	Total	Micro-enterprises a/				Unskilled self-employed workers b/			Domestic employment
			Employers	Wage earners			Total c/	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services	
				Total	Professional and technical	Non-professional, non technical				
Nicaragua	1997	2.4	9.7	1.9	9.0	1.7	2.3	1.8	2.5	1.5
Panama	1979	-	-	-	-	-	3.2	3.2	3.8	1.7
	1991	4.0	7.5	2.7	7.8	2.7	2.5	2.9	3.4	1.4
	1994	3.8	11.7	2.5	6.7	2.3	3.7	4.1	4.8	2.0
	1997	4.1	12.1	2.8	4.8	2.6	3.8	4.2	4.7	2.0
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	3.4	7.6	2.1	5.1	1.8	2.9	2.3	3.6	0.7
	1990	4.2	8.2	2.0	4.8	1.9	4.5	2.9	5.2	-
	1994	3.9	9.0	2.3	5.8	2.1	2.9	2.5	3.2	2.1
	1996	3.3	7.6	2.5	3.5	2.4	3.1	2.6	3.6	2.0
(Urban areas)	1994	3.5	8.4	2.2	5.3	2.0	2.8	2.5	3.0	1.9
	1996	3.1	7.0	2.3	4.0	2.2	2.9	2.7	3.3	1.7
Dominican Republic	1997	4.4	10.8	2.7	4.8	2.6	4.7	4.6	4.8	2.2
Uruguay	1981	9.6	20.6	3.3	7.2	3.2	11.1	8.4	10.3	4.3
	1990	6.1	9.6	2.8	6.3	2.7	7.3	2.7	3.8	1.5
	1994	4.7	10.8	3.2	7.0	3.1	4.4	3.5	5.0	3.0
	1997	4.5	10.5	3.3	6.0	3.2	4.1	3.3	4.6	2.0
Venezuela h/	1981	7.5	11.1	8.1	16.7	7.1	5.6	5.5	6.0	6.7
	1990	5.1	9.5	2.5	3.9	2.5	4.9	4.8	5.4	3.4
	1994	4.2	7.6	2.2	6.4	2.0	4.2	3.9	4.7	2.9
	1997	4.1	9.5	1.7	2.8	1.7	4.3	4.6	5.0	2.2

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ Refers to establishments employing up to 5 persons. In the cases of Chile (1996), El Salvador, Panama, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (1990) and Venezuela, this refers to establishments employing up to four persons. In cases where no information was available on the size of establishments, no data are given for the total population employed in low-productivity sectors.

b/ Refers to own account workers and non-paid family workers engaged in non-professional, non-technical occupations.

c/ Includes persons employed in the agricultural, forestry, hunting and fisheries sectors.

d/ In 1979 and 1990 wage earners without a contract of employment were included under the heading "Micro-enterprises".

e/ Information from national socio-economic survey (CASEN).

f/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.

g/ Information from National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (ENIG). In the 1984, 1989 and 1994 surveys, no information was provided

h/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 11.2

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE INCOMES OF THE URBAN FEMALE POPULATION EMPLOYED IN LOW-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS OF THE LABOUR MARKET, 1980-1997 (In multiples of the respective per capita poverty line)										
Country	Year	Total	Micro-enterprises a/				Unskilled self-employed workers b/			Domestic employment
			Employers	Wage earners			Total c/	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services	
				Total	Professional and technical	Non-professional, non technical				
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	4.4	17.3	4.3	15.3	4.2	4.1	4.9	3.9	3.1
	1990	4.2	13.2	3.5	5.8	3.4	4.5	5.7	4.2	2.0
	1994	6.5	23.0	4.4	-	-	8.3	4.1	8.6	3.2
	1997	5.4	21.1	3.7	-	-	6.2	3.6	6.6	2.5
Bolivia	1989	2.7	6.1	2.6	4.3	2.2	2.9	2.7	3.0	1.6
	1994	1.8	7.5	1.7	2.8	1.5	1.6	1.4	1.7	0.9
	1997	1.9	6.6	2.3	6.3	1.8	1.7	1.3	2.0	1.0
Brazil d/	1979	1.9	11.5	2.3	3.7	2.1	2.2	1.0	2.4	1.1
	1990	2.2	-	3.5	5.6	2.1	1.9	1.1	2.0	0.9
	1993	1.5	8.4	2.1	3.3	1.8	1.4	1.1	1.9	1.1
	1996	2.2	12.6	2.5	4.1	2.3	2.0	1.5	2.6	1.5
Chile e/	1990	2.8	10.3	2.3	3.1	2.2	4.2	3.0	4.6	1.4
	1994	3.4	18.0	2.7	4.1	2.6	3.8	3.5	3.9	2.0
	1996	3.9	21.2	3.1	5.7	2.8	4.4	3.6	4.7	2.0
	1998	4.1	17.5	3.2	6.3	2.7	5.1	4.2	5.3	2.2
Colombia f/	1980	-	-	-	-	-	2.0	1.7	2.1	2.1
	1991	-	-	-	-	-	2.2	1.9	2.3	1.2
	1994	-	-	-	-	-	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.7
	1997	-	-	-	-	-	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.6
Costa Rica	1981	2.9	7.0	3.4	2.4	3.4	3.7	3.2	4.1	1.6
	1990	2.1	5.0	3.1	4.5	2.9	1.7	1.6	1.8	1.5
	1994	2.8	6.5	2.9	4.0	2.8	2.5	1.7	2.9	1.6
	1997	2.4	5.3	2.9	3.7	2.8	2.1	2.1	2.1	1.8
Ecuador	1990	1.3	4.2	2.0	2.8	1.9	1.3	1.2	1.3	0.7
	1994	1.6	4.4	1.7	1.9	1.7	1.4	1.3	1.4	0.9
	1997	1.7	4.9	1.9	2.9	1.7	1.5	1.0	1.6	0.9
El Salvador	1995	1.7	5.2	1.6	2.9	1.5	1.6	1.3	1.7	0.9
	1997	2.1	5.9	2.3	7.2	2.0	1.7	1.5	1.8	1.8
Guatemala	1986	1.8	5.7	1.5	2.4	1.4	1.6	1.2	1.8	1.7
	1989	1.6	11.1	1.8	2.5	1.5	1.9	1.6	2.1	1.4
Honduras	1990	1.0	4.0	1.4	3.5	1.2	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.8
	1994	1.0	3.5	1.3	2.6	1.1	1.1	0.7	1.2	0.5
	1997	0.9	3.5	1.2	2.9	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.9	0.5
Mexico g/	1984	-	13.7	-	-	-	1.9	1.5	2.0	1.7
	1989	-	9.4	-	-	-	2.3	1.7	2.6	1.3
	1994	-	11.6	-	-	-	1.8	1.1	2.1	1.1
	1996	1.7	11.3	1.6	2.6	1.4	1.3	1.1	1.4	1.1
	1998	1.9	12.5	1.6	3.2	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.1
Nicaragua	1997	1.5	7.2	1.4	3.7	1.3	1.5	1.3	1.6	0.9

Table 11.2 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE INCOMES OF THE URBAN FEMALE POPULATION EMPLOYED IN LOW-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS OF THE LABOUR MARKET, 1980-1997 (In multiples of the respective per capita poverty line)										
Country	Year	Total	Micro-enterprises a/				Unskilled self-employed workers b/			Domestic employment
			Employers	Wage earners			Total c/	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services	
				Total	Professional and technical	Non-professional, non technical				
Panama	1979	-	-	-	-	-	1.9	-	1.9	1.4
	1991	2.0	8.4	3.1	6.7	2.6	1.6	1.1	1.8	1.3
	1994	1.9	10.1	2.9	6.0	2.5	2.3	1.9	2.5	1.2
	1997	2.4	9.3	3.2	5.5	2.7	2.3	1.8	2.5	1.4
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	1.5	7.5	1.7	3.0	1.5	1.7	1.1	1.9	0.7
	1990	2.0	8.2	1.8	3.1	1.5	2.9	1.9	3.2	0.8
	1994	2.1	8.0	2.2	4.0	1.8	1.9	1.3	2.1	1.2
	1996	1.8	6.1	2.1	2.8	2.0	1.9	1.4	2.1	1.2
(Urban areas)	1994	2.0	7.9	2.0	3.9	1.7	1.8	1.1	2.0	1.2
	1996	1.7	6.1	2.0	2.8	2.0	1.7	1.3	1.9	1.1
Dominican Republic	1997	2.5	5.8	2.4	5.6	2.0	2.9	2.5	3.0	1.4
Uruguay	1981	3.2	16.3	2.4	3.5	2.3	3.9	3.1	4.4	1.7
	1990	1.9	6.3	2.0	3.1	1.9	1.8	1.2	1.9	1.5
	1994	2.2	9.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.2	1.5	2.5	1.7
	1997	2.4	7.4	2.6	2.9	2.6	2.3	1.6	2.6	1.8
Venezuela h/	1981	4.4	10.1	6.1	10.3	5.4	2.6	2.2	2.8	3.3
	1990	2.5	9.8	2.5	3.1	2.4	2.7	2.6	2.8	1.7
	1994	2.6	6.7	2.4	5.6	2.0	2.6	2.4	2.6	1.5
	1997	2.6	8.3	1.2	3.0	1.6	3.1	2.5	3.2	1.2

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ Refers to establishments employing up to 5 persons. In the cases of Chile (1996), El Salvador, Panama, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (1990) and Venezuela, this refers to establishments employing up to four persons. In cases where no information was available on the size of establishments, no data are given for the total population employed in low-productivity sectors.

b/ Refers to own account workers and non-paid family workers engaged in non-professional, non-technical occupations.

c/ Includes persons employed in the agricultural, forestry, hunting and fisheries sectors.

d/ In 1979 and 1990 wage earners without a contract of employment were included under the heading "Micro-enterprises".

e/ Information from national socio-economic survey (CASEN).

f/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.

g/ Information from National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (ENIG). In the 1984, 1989 and 1994 surveys, no information was provided

h/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 12

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): OPEN UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND AGE IN URBAN AREAS, AROUND 1990, 1994 AND 1998																
Country	Sex	Age groups														
		Total			15 - 24			25 - 34			35- 44			45 and over		
		1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	Total	5.9	13.0	13.4	13.0	22.8	23.6	4.9	10.0	10.5	4.1	10.5	11.0	3.8	10.3	10.8
	Males	5.7	11.5	11.8	11.5	20.3	21.5	5.0	8.8	8.9	3.9	7.3	8.1	4.2	10.5	10.4
	Females	6.4	15.5	15.7	15.6	26.7	26.5	4.9	11.9	13.1	4.3	15.4	14.9	3.0	10.0	11.3
Bolivia	Total	9.4	3.2	3.7	17.4	5.8	6.4	8.5	2.8	3.7	5.1	2.0	2.9	6.6	2.1	2.1
	Males	9.5	3.4	3.7	18.2	6.3	5.8	7.5	2.5	3.4	5.5	2.1	3.1	8.5	2.9	2.8
	Females	9.1	2.9	3.7	16.5	5.2	7.1	9.9	3.2	4.2	4.6	1.9	2.5	3.8	0.9	1.2
Brazil	Total	4.5	7.4	9.2	8.3	14.3	17.3	4.4	6.9	8.4	2.4	4.3	5.9	1.5	2.6	4.2
	Males	4.8	6.4	7.5	8.7	12.4	14.6	4.7	5.5	6.2	2.8	3.8	4.6	2.0	2.7	4.1
	Females	3.9	8.9	11.6	7.7	17.0	21.0	3.8	8.8	11.5	1.7	5.0	7.6	0.6	2.5	4.2
Chile	Total	8.7	6.8	10.1	17.9	16.1	21.8	8.3	6.5	9.9	5.1	3.7	7.4	5.3	3.7	6.3
	Males	8.1	5.9	9.4	17.0	14.0	20.4	7.5	5.5	9.3	4.8	3.0	6.4	5.6	3.9	6.7
	Females	9.7	8.4	11.2	19.1	19.3	23.7	9.8	8.4	10.9	5.8	4.9	8.9	4.7	3.4	5.6
Colombia	Total	9.3	8.0	15.0	19.7	16.2	30.0	8.3	7.6	14.4	4.2	4.7	9.1	3.8	3.3	7.8
	Males	6.7	5.4	12.5	15.3	11.9	26.0	5.5	4.4	10.9	2.8	3.4	7.0	3.7	2.9	8.5
	Females	13.0	11.6	18.2	24.8	21.0	34.3	11.8	11.6	18.3	6.2	6.3	11.6	3.9	4.2	6.6
Costa Rica	Total	5.3	4.2	5.3	10.5	9.7	12.6	4.9	3.8	4.0	2.5	2.3	3.2	2.9	1.6	2.1
	Males	4.9	3.7	4.4	9.8	8.6	10.0	4.1	3.7	3.6	2.3	1.5	2.4	3.1	1.6	2.3
	Females	6.2	5.1	6.7	11.6	11.6	16.6	6.2	4.0	4.6	2.8	3.5	4.3	2.3	1.5	1.6
Ecuador	Total	6.1	7.1	11.5	13.5	14.9	23.5	6.4	6.6	11.3	2.7	3.9	6.3	1.3	2.7	5.1
	Males	4.2	5.7	8.4	11.2	12.7	17.6	3.2	4.4	7.0	1.7	3.1	4.9	1.3	2.9	4.5
	Females	9.2	9.2	15.9	17.2	17.8	31.9	11.3	9.8	16.6	4.5	5.2	8.2	1.4	2.2	6.1
El Salvador	Total	9.9	6.8	7.6	19.3	14.0	15.0	9.2	6.8	6.2	5.7	2.6	4.8	4.3	3.4	4.6
	Males	10.0	8.3	9.1	17.7	15.4	15.8	8.4	7.5	7.1	7.0	3.7	6.9	6.5	5.4	6.6
	Females	9.7	4.9	5.8	21.3	11.9	14.0	10.0	6.0	5.1	4.3	1.5	2.8	1.3	0.6	1.9
Guatemala	Total	3.5	-	-	7.1	-	-	2.9	-	-	1.6	-	-	1.2	-	-
	Males	3.3	-	-	7.2	-	-	2.6	-	-	1.5	-	-	1.4	-	-
	Females	3.8	-	-	7.0	-	-	3.4	-	-	1.8	-	-	0.9	-	-
Honduras	Total	6.9	4.1	4.7	11.2	7.1	8.1	7.0	3.6	3.8	4.3	3.1	3.0	3.7	1.3	2.7
	Males	7.6	4.5	5.4	11.5	7.5	8.9	6.6	3.7	4.0	6.0	4.1	3.6	5.3	2.0	4.1
	Females	5.9	3.4	3.6	10.7	6.6	6.9	7.6	3.6	3.6	2.0	1.3	2.4	0.7	0.1	0.3
Mexico	Total	3.3	4.5	3.2	8.1	9.4	7.4	2.4	2.9	2.8	0.7	2.3	1.5	0.8	3.1	1.1
	Males	3.4	5.1	3.6	8.4	10.0	8.1	2.5	3.0	3.1	0.9	2.8	1.8	1.0	4.2	1.5
	Females	3.1	3.6	2.6	7.6	8.3	6.2	2.0	2.7	2.3	0.2	1.2	0.8	0.1	0.4	0.4
Nicaragua	Total	-	-	13.1	-	-	20.9	-	-	13.7	-	-	9.2	-	-	7.4
	Males	-	-	13.6	-	-	18.9	-	-	13.2	-	-	11.2	-	-	10.1
	Females	-	-	12.6	-	-	23.8	-	-	14.3	-	-	7.2	-	-	3.9
Panama	Total	18.6	15.7	15.5	35.1	31.0	31.7	20.6	15.1	16.3	9.5	9.7	8.6	6.9	5.9	6.6
	Males	15.9	12.4	12.4	31.9	27.5	27.8	16.5	9.7	11.2	7.4	6.8	5.2	7.0	5.7	6.7
	Females	22.8	21.0	19.7	39.9	36.9	37.4	26.3	22.7	22.6	12.5	14.0	12.7	6.5	6.2	6.4
Paraguay (Asunción)	Total	6.3	4.4	6.4	15.5	8.3	12.7	4.8	3.2	4.8	2.3	2.9	4.6	1.4	2.6	2.3
	Males	6.2	5.1	5.6	14.7	9.9	11.5	5.0	3.4	3.9	3.2	3.1	3.8	2.0	3.9	2.7
	Females	6.5	3.5	7.2	16.5	6.5	14.1	4.7	3.0	5.8	1.1	2.6	5.6	0.0	0.7	1.7

Table 12 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): OPEN UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND AGE IN URBAN AREAS, AROUND 1990, 1994 AND 1998																
Country	Sex	Age groups														
		Total			15 - 24			25 - 34			35 - 44			45 and over		
		1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998
Dominican Republic	Total	19.7	17.0	17.0	34.1	30.6	27.8	17.3	16.1	15.7	9.2	10.0	10.2	7.4	7.4	8.7
	Males	11.3	12.1	10.9	22.3	24.0	20.0	9.2	10.4	8.0	5.0	6.3	6.9	4.0	5.8	6.1
	Females	31.5	24.8	26.0	47.3	39.9	38.2	27.7	23.4	25.5	15.8	15.5	15.0	15.4	11.5	14.8
Uruguay	Total	8.9	9.7	11.4	24.4	24.7	26.3	8.2	8.4	10.5	4.3	5.5	7.1	3.5	3.8	5.3
	Males	7.3	7.3	8.9	22.2	19.8	21.8	6.0	4.9	7.5	2.5	3.4	4.4	3.0	3.4	4.4
	Females	11.1	13.0	14.7	27.5	31.5	32.7	11.0	12.8	14.3	6.4	7.8	10.2	4.4	4.5	6.7
Venezuela a/	Total	10.2	8.9	11.0	19.3	17.1	21.3	11.3	9.1	10.7	5.9	5.3	6.8	4.5	4.2	5.5
	Males	11.2	9.1	10.0	19.9	17.2	18.6	12.3	8.8	9.2	6.9	5.9	6.4	5.5	4.9	5.9
	Females	8.4	8.3	12.7	18.0	17.0	26.5	9.6	9.6	13.1	4.0	4.2	7.4	1.7	2.5	4.6

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 13

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): OPEN UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND YEARS OF SCHOOLING IN URBAN AREAS, AROUND 1990, 1994 AND 1998																
Country	Sex	Years of schooling														
		Total			0 - 5			6 - 9			10 - 12			13 and more		
		1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998
Argentina a/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	Total	5.9	13.0	13.4	6.8	14.0	18.5	5.9	-	17.0	3.0	15.0	12.5	-	7.7	6.8
	Males	5.7	11.5	11.8	6.1	13.1	20.4	4.7	-	14.2	3.4	12.1	10.7	-	5.9	4.5
	Females	6.4	15.5	15.7	8.5	15.8	15.2	7.4	-	22.2	2.5	19.7	15.1	-	9.5	9.1
Bolivia	Total	9.4	3.2	3.7	7.1	2.4	2.7	9.3	2.8	2.1	13.1	3.7	5.4	8.1	3.8	4.1
	Males	9.5	3.4	3.7	9.0	3.1	3.2	8.2	3.1	1.8	12.5	3.9	4.6	7.9	3.1	4.7
	Females	9.1	2.9	3.7	5.4	1.7	2.3	11.1	2.4	2.6	14.1	3.4	6.8	8.4	5.0	3.1
Brazil	Total	4.5	7.4	9.2	4.2	6.5	8.6	6.2	11.0	12.3	4.5	7.3	9.1	1.8	3.3	4.2
	Males	4.8	6.4	7.5	4.8	5.9	7.3	6.2	8.8	9.6	4.6	5.9	6.9	1.6	2.4	3.6
	Females	3.9	8.9	11.6	3.1	7.4	10.9	6.2	14.4	16.3	4.5	8.8	11.5	2.1	4.2	4.7
Chile	Total	8.7	6.8	10.1	9.3	5.9	12.8	10.1	8.1	12.2	9.2	7.8	10.2	6.3	4.4	7.1
	Males	8.1	5.9	9.4	9.3	5.8	14.0	10.3	7.4	12.1	7.9	6.5	8.7	4.9	3.3	5.7
	Females	9.7	8.4	11.2	9.2	6.2	10.7	9.5	9.6	12.5	11.7	10.2	12.5	8.0	6.0	8.8
Colombia	Total	9.3	8.0	15.0	6.6	6.2	12.6	11.3	9.7	18.0	12.4	10.2	18.3	7.4	5.2	9.7
	Males	6.7	5.4	12.5	5.1	4.7	11.6	8.2	6.3	15.0	8.1	6.5	14.1	0.6	3.4	8.0
	Females	13.0	11.6	18.2	9.0	8.5	14.1	16.3	14.9	22.3	17.6	14.6	23.0	9.1	7.3	11.6
Costa Rica	Total	5.3	4.2	5.3	6.4	5.0	7.3	6.0	5.0	5.9	5.7	4.1	6.3	3.0	2.7	2.7
	Males	4.9	3.7	4.4	6.9	4.3	7.8	5.4	3.7	4.5	4.6	4.3	3.7	2.3	2.7	3.1
	Females	6.2	5.1	6.7	5.2	6.6	6.5	7.3	7.5	8.3	7.2	3.9	10.4	3.9	2.6	2.3
Ecuador	Total	6.1	7.1	11.5	2.6	5.0	6.7	4.8	5.7	11.0	10.3	10.2	15.1	6.1	6.7	10.4
	Males	4.2	5.7	8.4	3.0	4.9	6.5	3.3	4.9	8.3	6.8	7.8	10.9	4.2	4.9	6.5
	Females	9.2	9.2	15.9	2.0	5.0	7.0	8.0	7.3	15.4	14.9	13.6	20.3	8.7	9.0	15.5
El Salvador	Total	9.9	6.8	7.6	8.1	6.0	5.9	9.9	6.8	8.6	14.6	9.2	9.8	7.6	4.9	5.8
	Males	10.0	8.3	9.1	11.0	9.2	9.2	9.1	8.1	10.7	11.8	9.6	9.5	6.9	4.7	4.9
	Females	9.7	4.9	5.8	5.2	2.6	2.5	11.2	4.8	5.4	17.8	8.7	10.2	8.6	5.2	6.8
Guatemala	Total	3.5	-	-	2.3	-	-	4.3	-	-	5.9	-	-	2.3	-	-
	Males	3.3	-	-	2.3	-	-	4.1	-	-	5.3	-	-	2.3	-	-
	Females	3.8	-	-	2.3	-	-	4.7	-	-	6.5	-	-	2.3	-	-
Honduras	Total	6.9	4.1	4.7	5.1	3.0	4.3	7.7	5.0	4.9	9.3	4.4	5.1	6.3	2.8	4.0
	Males	7.6	4.5	5.4	7.3	3.8	5.6	8.1	5.9	5.9	8.0	3.8	5.0	5.3	2.3	3.8
	Females	5.9	3.4	3.6	1.7	1.7	2.5	6.9	3.5	3.2	10.6	5.3	5.2	7.8	3.6	4.4
Mexico	Total	3.3	4.5	3.2	1.3	3.9	2.1	4.3	5.0	2.6	3.8	4.9	3.7	2.4	2.6	3.9
	Males	3.4	5.1	3.6	1.6	5.4	3.2	4.4	5.7	3.0	4.4	5.3	4.0	2.1	2.8	3.9
	Females	3.1	3.6	2.6	0.4	1.2	0.5	4.0	3.7	1.9	2.7	4.2	3.2	3.3	5.2	3.9
Nicaragua	Total	-	-	13.1	-	-	10.9	-	-	14.3	-	-	14.9	-	-	11.6
	Males	-	-	13.6	-	-	12.5	-	-	14.7	-	-	15.1	-	-	10.7
	Females	-	-	12.6	-	-	9.0	-	-	13.8	-	-	14.7	-	-	12.7
Panama	Total	18.6	15.7	15.5	10.7	9.6	12.0	18.4	16.0	16.3	24.9	19.7	18.0	14.8	12.5	12.5
	Males	15.9	12.4	12.4	9.6	9.6	9.5	16.5	13.2	13.5	20.5	13.9	14.2	12.9	9.9	9.2
	Females	22.8	21.0	19.7	13.9	9.3	16.4	22.5	21.6	21.0	30.4	27.7	23.2	16.6	15.1	15.8
Paraguay (Asunción)	Total	6.3	4.4	6.4	4.4	5.2	5.9	6.4	5.2	6.4	8.4	4.5	7.9	3.7	1.3	4.1
	Males	6.2	5.1	5.6	4.2	7.6	5.2	6.7	6.2	6.9	7.9	4.1	4.8	2.9	1.1	4.1
	Females	6.5	3.5	7.2	4.7	2.5	6.5	6.0	3.8	5.8	9.1	4.9	12.4	4.8	1.5	4.1

Table 13 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): OPEN UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND YEARS OF SCHOOLING IN URBAN AREAS, AROUND 1990, 1994 AND 1998																
Country	Sex	Years of schooling														
		Total			0 - 5			6 - 9			10 - 12			13 and more		
		1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998	1990	1994	1998
Dominican Republic	Total	19.7	17.0	17.0	15.6	13.6	15.3	19.6	18.7	18.9	25.2	21.4	18.1	16.6	13.4	15.1
	Males	11.3	12.1	10.9	7.0	10.2	10.4	11.1	12.8	11.2	15.5	14.3	11.5	11.2	10.9	10.0
	Females	31.5	24.8	26.0	30.5	21.3	24.8	34.7	29.8	32.7	37.2	30.5	26.2	21.8	16.1	19.5
Uruguay	Total	8.9	9.7	11.4	5.6	5.7	8.1	10.2	12.4	13.2	10.0	9.5	11.8	5.9	4.9	6.8
	Males	7.3	7.3	8.9	5.6	5.2	6.7	8.4	9.1	10.1	7.5	6.1	8.9	4.4	4.0	4.8
	Females	11.1	13.0	14.7	5.6	6.5	10.7	13.0	17.5	18.1	12.8	13.3	14.9	7.2	5.6	8.3
Venezuela b/	Total	10.2	8.9	11.0	9.7	7.9	9.2	12.1	9.8	11.8	9.3	9.1	12.3	6.1	6.7	9.4
	Males	11.2	9.1	10.0	11.4	8.2	8.3	12.9	10.4	11.3	9.7	9.0	10.8	5.6	5.9	6.9
	Females	8.4	8.3	12.7	5.4	7.1	11.6	10.1	8.5	12.7	8.7	9.2	14.3	6.7	7.8	11.8

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ In 1990, the levels of schooling which have data entered correspond to 0-6 years, 7-9 years and 10 years or more, respectively. In 1994, however, the range of 0-5 years actually represents 0-9 years of schooling.

b/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 14

LATIN AMERICA (18 COUNTRIES): POVERTY AND INDIGENCE LEVELS, 1980-1997 (Percentages)												
Country	Year	Total	Households below the poverty line ^{a/}				Households below the indigence line					
			Urban areas			Rural areas	Total	Urban areas			Rural areas	
			Total	Metropolitan area	Other urban areas			Total	Metropolitan area	Other urban areas		
Argentina	1980	9	7	5	9	16	2	2	1	2	4	
	1990	-	-	16	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	
	1994	-	12	10	16	-	-	2	2	3	-	
	1997	-	-	13	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	
Bolivia	1989	-	49	-	-	-	-	22	-	-	-	
	1994	-	46	-	-	-	-	17	-	-	-	
	1997	-	47	-	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	
Brazil	1979	39	30	21 ^{b/}	34	62	17	10	6 ^{b/}	12	35	
	1990	41	36	-	-	64	18	13	-	-	38	
	1993	37	33	-	-	53	15	12	-	-	30	
	1996	29	25	-	-	46	11	8	-	-	23	
Chile ^{c/}	1987	39	38	33	41	45	14	14	11	15	17	
	1990	33	33	28	37	34	11	10	8	11	12	
	1994	23	23	17	26	26	6	6	4	7	8	
	1996	20	19	12	22	26	5	4	2	5	8	
	1998	18	17	12	19	23	5	4	3	5	7	
Colombia ^{d/}	1980	39	36	30	37	45	16	13	10	14	22	
	1991	50	47	39	50	55	23	17	14	18	31	
	1994	47	41	35	43	57	25	16	12	18	38	
	1997	45	39	30	43	54	20	15	10	16	29	
Costa Rica	1981	22	16	15	17	28	6	5	5	6	8	
	1990	24	22	20	25	25	10	7	5	9	12	
	1994	21	18	16	21	23	8	6	4	7	10	
	1997	20	17	16	18	23	7	5	5	5	9	
Ecuador	1990	-	56	-	-	-	-	23	-	-	-	
	1994	-	52	-	-	-	-	22	-	-	-	
	1997	-	50	-	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	
El Salvador	1995	48	40	30	50	58	18	12	7	17	27	
	1997	48	39	26	50	62	19	12	6	18	28	
Guatemala	1980	65	41	26	52	79	33	13	5	19	44	
	1986	68	54	45	59	75	43	28	20	31	53	
	1990	-	-	-	-	72	-	-	-	-	45	
Honduras	1986	71	53	-	-	81	51	28	-	-	64	
	1990	75	65	-	-	84	54	38	-	-	66	
	1994	73	70	-	-	76	49	41	-	-	55	
	1997	74	67	-	-	80	48	35	-	-	59	
Mexico ^{e/}	1984	34	28	- ^{e/}	-	^{e/}	45	11	7	-	^{e/}	-
	20											
	1989	39	34	-	-	49	14	9	-	-	23	
	1994	36	29	-	-	47	12	6	-	-	20	
1996	43	38	-	-	53	16	10	-	-	25		

Table 14 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (18 COUNTRIES): POVERTY AND INDIGENCE LEVELS, 1980-1997 (Percentages)											
Country	Year	Total	Households below the poverty line ^{a/}				Households below the indigence line				
			Urban areas			Rural areas	Total	Urban areas			Rural areas
			Total	Metropolitan area	Other urban areas			Total	Metropolitan area	Other urban areas	
Nicaragua	1997	-	66	-	-	-	-	36	-	-	-
Panama	1979	36	31	27	42	45	19	14	12	19	27
	1991	36	34	32	40	43	16	14	14	15	21
	1994	30	25	23	35	41	12	9	8	13	20
	1997	27	25	24	29	34	10	9	8	10	14
Paraguay	1986	-	-	46	-	-	-	-	16	-	-
	1990	-	-	37	-	-	-	-	10	-	-
	1994	-	42	35	51	-	-	15	10	21	-
	1996	-	40	34	48	-	-	13	8	20	-
Peru	1979	46	35	29	41	65	21	12	9	15	37
	1986	52	45	37	53	64	25	16	11	22	39
	1995 f/	41	33	-	-	56	18	10	-	-	35
	1997 f/	37	25	-	-	61	18	7	-	-	41
Dominican Republic	1997	32	32	-	-	34	13	11	-	-	15
Uruguay	1981	11	9	6	13	21	3	2	1	3	7
	1990	-	12	7	17	-	-	2	1	3	-
	1994	-	6	4	7	-	-	1	1	1	-
	1997	-	6	5	6	-	-	1	1	1	-
Venezuela g/	1981	22	18	12	20	35	7	5	3	6	15
	1990	34	33	25	36	38	12	11	7	12	17
	1994	42	41	21	46	48	15	14	4	16	23
	1997	42	-	-	-	-	17	-	-	-	-
Latin America h/	1980	35	25	-	-	54	15	9	-	-	28
	1990	41	35	-	-	58	18	12	-	-	34
	1994	38	32	-	-	56	16	11	-	-	34
	1997	36	30	-	-	54	15	10	-	-	31

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ Includes households below the indigence line.

b/ Average of the figures for Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo.

c/ Calculations based on the 1987, 1990, 1994, 1996 and 1998 national socio-economic survey (CASEN). Estimates adjusted for the latest figures for the household income and expenditure account from the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation (MIDEPLAN).

d/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.

e/ The sample size was too small to allow estimates for the Federal District.

f/ Figures provided by the national Institute of Statistics and Informatics (INE), based on the National Household Survey (ENAHO) for the fourth quarter of 1995 and 1997.

g/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

h/ Estimate for 19 countries of the region.

Table 15

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): BREAKDOWN OF HOUSEHOLDS BY PER CAPITA INCOME BRACKETS, EXPRESSED AS MULTIPLES OF THE POVERTY LINE, URBAN AREAS, 1990-1997									
Country	Year	Per capita income expressed as multiples of the poverty line							
		0 - 0.5 (Indigent)	0.5 - 0.9	0.9 - 1.0	0.0 a-1.0 (Poor)	1.0 - 1.25	1.25 - 2.0	2.0 - 3.0	More than 3.0
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1990	3.5	10.6	2.1	16.2	7.3	22.5	18.7	35.3
	1994	1.5	6.6	2.1	10.2	7.4	16.7	19.0	46.7
	1997	3.3	7.0	2.8	13.1	7.2	19.0	17.5	43.2
Bolivia	1989	22.1	23.1	4.1	49.3	9.0	16.4	10.6	14.5
	1994	16.9	24.3	4.6	45.8	9.8	19.3	10.2	14.9
	1997	19.2	22.6	5.1	46.8	9.7	17.2	11.2	15.2
Brazil a/	1990	14.8	17.3	3.7	35.8	8.3	16.6	12.3	27.1
	1993	13.5	16.0	3.8	33.3	8.5	19.0	13.3	26.0
	1996	9.7	11.9	3.1	24.6	7.3	17.5	15.5	35.1
Chile	1990	10.2	18.5	4.5	33.2	9.5	20.3	14.3	22.7
	1994	5.9	13.3	3.6	22.8	8.5	20.7	16.6	31.4
	1996	4.6	11.8	3.4	19.8	8.5	20.5	17.2	34.1
	1998	4.4	10.4	3.0	17.8	7.7	20.0	17.7	36.7
Colombia	1991	17.2	24.6	5.3	47.1	10.0	19.0	10.7	13.3
	1994	16.2	20.3	4.1	40.6	9.1	18.2	12.6	19.5
	1997	14.6	20.3	4.5	39.5	9.6	18.9	12.6	19.4
Costa Rica	1990	7.3	11.2	3.7	22.2	7.9	21.9	20.2	27.9
	1994	5.7	9.1	3.4	18.2	7.9	20.4	20.7	32.9
	1997	5.2	9.0	2.8	17.0	8.1	20.5	20.3	34.0
Ecuador	1990	22.6	28.1	5.2	55.8	10.5	16.7	8.8	8.2
	1994	22.4	24.7	5.2	52.3	10.1	19.1	9.1	9.4
	1997	18.6	25.6	5.6	49.8	10.0	19.4	10.7	10.0
El Salvador	1995	12.5	22.4	5.1	40.0	12.0	22.0	12.8	13.3
	1997	12.0	21.8	4.8	38.6	11.0	21.8	13.6	15.0
Guatemala	1989	22.9	21.0	4.3	48.2	8.5	17.3	11.0	15.0
Honduras	1990	38.0	22.7	3.8	64.5	8.2	12.0	6.5	8.8
	1994	40.8	24.5	4.3	69.6	7.6	12.0	5.1	5.8
	1997	36.8	26.0	4.2	67.0	8.2	12.5	5.9	6.4
Mexico	1989	9.3	19.8	4.8	33.9	11.0	22.3	13.1	19.8
	1994	6.2	18.2	4.6	29.0	10.8	21.8	14.4	24.0
	1996	10.0	22.2	5.3	37.5	10.7	21.3	12.4	18.1
	1998	6.9	19.1	5.1	31.1	11.0	22.0	15.3	20.6
Nicaragua	1997	35.7	27.0	3.6	66.2	8.3	11.6	6.6	7.4
Panama	1991	13.9	15.5	4.2	33.6	8.5	17.0	13.7	27.2
	1994	8.7	13.2	3.4	25.3	7.7	19.2	16.5	31.3
	1997	8.6	12.2	3.7	24.6	7.5	18.8	15.4	33.7

Table 15 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): BREAKDOWN OF HOUSEHOLDS BY PER CAPITA INCOME BRACKETS, EXPRESSED AS MULTIPLES OF THE POVERTY LINE, URBAN AREAS, 1990-1997									
Country	Year	Per capita income expressed as multiples of the poverty line							
		0 - 0.5 (Indigent)	0.5 - 0.9	0.9 - 1.0	0.0 a-1.0 (Poor)	1.0 - 1.25	1.25 - 2.0	2.0 - 3.0	More than 3.0
Paraguay (Asunción)	1990	10.4	21.7	4.7	36.8	13.6	19.6	14.2	15.9
	1994	9.5	20.9	5.0	35.4	11.6	20.4	13.4	19.3
	1996	8.0	19.2	6.4	33.5	11.3	22.2	13.5	19.5
Dominican Republic	1997	11.0	16.6	4.0	31.6	10.4	21.5	15.6	21.0
Uruguay	1990	2.0	7.0	2.8	11.8	7.1	22.7	23.1	35.3
	1994	1.1	3.4	1.3	5.8	3.6	15.4	23.2	52.0
	1997	0.9	3.5	1.4	5.7	4.0	15.2	21.4	53.8
Venezuela b/	1990	10.9	17.5	5.0	33.4	10.9	21.5	14.8	19.4
	1994	13.5	22.0	5.4	40.9	10.4	21.4	12.9	14.4
	1997	16.5	21.2	4.6	42.3	10.6	19.3	11.5	16.3

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ In Brazil the measurements of poverty (0-1.0 poverty lines) may not coincide with those in table 14. This is because the poverty line is calculated by multiplying the indigence line by a variable coefficient instead of a fixed value (2.0) as is the case in the other countries.

b/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 16

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): INCIDENCE OF POVERTY IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, a/ URBAN AREAS, 1990-1997 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Total population	Total employed	Public sector wage earners	Private-sector wage earners in non-professional non-technical occupations			Own account workers in non-professional, non-technical occupations	
					In establishments employing more than 5 persons	In establishments employing up to 5 persons b/	Domestic employees	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1990	21	10	-	12 c/	15	21	6	8
	1994	13	5	-	5 c/	7	10	4	3
	1997	18	8	-	8 c/	12	18	8	6
Bolivia	1989	53	39	-	42	53	31	46	40
		52	41	35	48	58	31	52	44
		52	43	30	42	50	35	59	46
Brazil d/	1990	41	32	-	30	48	49	40	36
	1993	40	32	20	31	39	47	43	33
	1996	31	22	14	22	27	35	28	22
Chile	1990	38	29	-	30 c/	38	37	28	23
	1994	28	20	-	20 c/	27	21	20	17
	1996	22	15	7	18	24	20	10	10
	1998	21	14	-	14 c/	21	19	11	9
Colombia	1991	52	41	27	45 e/	-	38	54	53
	1994	45	34	15	41 e/	-	31	42	42
	1997	40	33	15	37 e/	-	34	48	42
Costa Rica	1990	25	15	-	15	22	28	28	24
	1994	21	12	5	11	19	25	24	18
	1997	23	10	4	10	17	23	21	18
Ecuador	1990	62	51	33	50	60	56	70	61
	1994	58	46	31	49	58	56	60	56
	1997	56	45	28	46	62	53	56	54
El Salvador	1995	54	34	14	35	50	32	50	41
	1997	56	35	13	35	48	40	50	43
Guatemala	1989	53	42	20	47	61	42	48	35
Honduras	1990	70	60	29	60	76	51	81	73
	1994	75	66	42	71	83	56	84	77
	1997	73	64	44	69	83	52	84	72
Mexico	1989	42	33	-	37 g/	-	60	32	28
	1994	37	29	-	33 f/	-	56	27g/	-
	1996	45	38	19	41	59	63	48	41
	1998	39	31	12	36	49	57	39	30
Nicaragua	1997	72	63	57	58	74	68	75	68
Panama	1991	40	26	12	24	38	31	42	38
	1994	31	18	6	16	30	28	26	25
	1997	33	18	6	17	27	26	32	25
Paraguay (Asunción)	1990	42	32	23	40	49	29	41	31
	1994	42	31	14	38	44	36	42	37
	1996	39	29	13	27	40	33	44	37

Table 16 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): INCIDENCE OF POVERTY IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, a/ URBAN AREAS, 1990-1997 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Total population	Total employed	Public sector wage earners	Private-sector wage earners in non-professional non-technical occupations			Own account workers in non-professional, non-technical occupations	
					In establishments employing more than 5 persons	In establishments employing up to 5 persons b/	Domestic employees	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services
Dominican Republic	1997	37	21	21	18	25	26	20	25
Uruguay	1990	18	11	8	10	17	25	21	14
	1994	10	6	2	6	7	13	12	7
	1997	10	6	2	5	9	12	10	9
Venezuela h/	1990	39	22	20	24	34	33	25	22
	1994	47	32	38	29	48	41	32	32
	1997	48	35	34	44	50	52	27	27

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ Refers to the percentage of employed persons in each category residing in households below the poverty line.

b/ For Chile (1996), El Salvador, Panama, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (1990) and Venezuela, this category includes establishments employing up to four persons only.

c/ Includes public-sector wage earners.

d/ For 1990, the columns corresponding to establishments employing more than 5 persons and up to 5 persons refer to wage earners with and without a contract of employment ("carteira"), respectively.

e/ Includes wage earners in establishments employing up to five persons.

f/ Includes public-sector wage earners and those occupied in establishments employing up to five persons.

g/ Refers to all non-professional, non-technical own account workers.

h/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 17

LATIN AMERICA (12 COUNTRIES): INCIDENCE OF POVERTY IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, a/ RURAL AREAS, 1990-1997 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Total population	Total employed	Public sector wage earners	Private-sector wage earners in non-professional non-technical occupations			Own account workers in non-professional, non-technical occupations	
					In establishments employing more than 5 persons	In establishments employing up to 5 persons b/	Domestic employees	Manufacturing and construction	Agricultural forestry and fisheries
Bolivia	1997	79	79	35	48	41	49	87	89
Brazil c/	1990	71	64	-	45	72	61	70	74
	1993	63	57	56	58	53	53	59	60
	1996	56	49	33	46	35	40	54	56
Chile	1990	40	27	-	28	36	23	22	24
	1994	32	22	-	20	28	13	21	24
	1996	31	21	13	21	27	16	18	21
	1998	28	18	-	16 d/	21	13	17	21
Colombia	1991	60	53	-	42 d/ e/	-	54	67	73
	1994	62	55	-	55 d/ e/	-	57	61	59
	1997	60	48	16	40 e/	-	48	62	67
Costa Rica	1990	27	17	-	13	23	22	24	27
	1994	25	14	7	3	20	23	21	24
	1997	25	14	5	9	20	25	21	24
El Salvador	1995	64	53	24	43	56	50	63	72
	1997	69	58	26	47	57	49	67	79
Guatemala	1989	78	70	42	72	76	61	71	76
Honduras	1990	88	83	-	71	90	72	88	90
	1994	81	73	40	65	79	74	78	81
	1997	84	79	37	75	86	74	83	85
Mexico	1989	57	49	-	53 f/	-	50	47	54
	1994	57	47	-	53 f/	-	53	46	54
	1996	62	56	23	57	67	64	59	68
	1998	58	51	23	48	60	64	55	64
Panama	1991	51	40	10	25	43	43	52	57
	1994	49	38	6	23	39	40	52	61
	1997	42	29	6	22	39	33	36	42
Dominican Republic	1997	39	25	17	14	26	40	30	42
Venezuela	1990	47	31	22	35	36	44	31	36
	1994	56	42	27	50	50	53	42	44

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ Refers to the percentage of employed persons in each category residing in households below the poverty line.

b/ For Chile (1996), El Salvador, Panama, Dominican Republic and Venezuela, this category includes establishments employing up to four persons only.

c/ For 1990, the columns corresponding to establishments employing more than 5 persons and up to 5 persons refer to wage earners with and without a contract of employment ("carteira"), respectively.

d/ Includes public-sector wage earners.

e/ Includes wage earners in establishments employing up to five persons.

f/ Includes public-sector wage earners and those occupied in establishments employing up to five persons.

Table 18

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): BREAKDOWN OF TOTAL EMPLOYED POPULATION LIVING IN POVERTY BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1997 (Percentages of total employed urban population living in poverty)								
Country	Year	Public sector wage earners	Private-sector wage earners in non-professional, non-technical occupations			Own account workers in non-professional, non-technical occupations		Total b/
			In establishments employing more than 5 persons	In establishments employing up to 5 persons a/	Domestic employees	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services	
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	-	68	17	5	4	4	98
	1990	-	53	17	12	6	10	98
	1994	-	52	22	10	6	10	100
	1997	-	49	23	11	5	12	100
Bolivia	1989	18	15	17	5	12	31	98
	1994	11	18	19	4	11	29	92
	1997	7	14	13	3	16	29	82
Brazil d/	1979	-	38	17	10	3	13	81
	1990	-	32	26	10	5	18	91
	1993	9	32	11	12	6	17	87
	1996	8	31	12	13	7	16	87
Chile	1990	-	53	14	10	6	12	95
	1994	-	54	14	8	7	11	94
	1996	6	53	16	9	3	8	95
	1998	-	56	18	10	4	8	96
Colombia e/	1980	-	64 c/	-	2	9	16	91
	1991	-	48 c/	-	5	8	26	87
	1994	4	58 c/	-	5	8	22	97
	1997	4	46 c/	-	5	10	30	95
Costa Rica	1981	-	33	19	11	7	10	80
	1990	-	28	13	8	12	17	78
	1994	11	28	18	9	10	18	94
	1997	7	30	18	8	10	22	95
Ecuador	1990	11	21	13	5	11	29	90
	1994	9	23	15	6	8	29	90
	1997	9	24	15	6	8	27	89
El Salvador	1995	5	28	15	4	12	25	89
	1997	5	25	16	5	10	27	88
Guatemala	1986	6	23	24	5	8	16	82
	1989	7	26	20	7	8	12	80
Honduras	1990	7	27	17	6	12	23	92
	1994	7	33	14	5	10	19	88
	1997	7	30	14	4	10	23	88
Mexico	1984	-	62 c/	-	5	15 f/	-	82
	1989	-	72 c/	-	5	3	11	91
	1994	-	71 c/	-	7	17 f/	-	95
	1996	7	36	23	6	5	17	94
	1998	14	33	15	4	3	16	85

Table 18 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): BREAKDOWN OF TOTAL EMPLOYED POPULATION LIVING IN POVERTY BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1997 (Percentages of total employed urban population living in poverty)								
Country	Year	Public sector wage earners	Private-sector wage earners in non-professional, non-technical occupations			Own account workers in non-professional, non-technical occupations		Total b/
			In establishments employing more than 5 persons	In establishments employing up to 5 persons a/	Domestic employees	Manufacturing and construction	Commerce and services	
Nicaragua	1997	13	19	17	7	11	28	95
Panama	1979	-	30 c/	-	7	7	15	59
	1991	12	24	8	8	7	16	75
	1994	9	30	19	14	7	19	98
	1997	8	29	9	10	9	18	83
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	6.3	28	18	10	10	20	92
	1990	8.4	30	24	10	7	15	94
	1994	5.4	30	19	14	7	19	94
	1996	5.3	22	19	11	10	26	93
Dominican Republic	1997	12	27	10	6	7	26	88
Uruguay	1981	-	40	11	21	3	9	84
	1990	16	30	11	15	10	15	97
	1994	8	32	13	16	13	15	97
	1997	7	27	17	15	12	19	97
Venezuela g/	1981	15	16	20	8	9	23	91
	1990	19	33	10	10	5	15	92
	1994	21	26	14	5	6	19	91
	1997	17	32	15	7	5	15	91

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ For Chile (1996), El Salvador, Panama, Dominican Republic, Uruguay (1990) and Venezuela, this category includes establishments employing up to four persons only.

b/ In most cases, the totals amount to less than 100%, since employers, professional and technical wage earners and public-sector employees have not been included.

c/ Includes wage earners in establishments employing up to five persons.

d/ For 1990, the columns corresponding to establishments employing more than 5 persons and up to 5 persons refer to wage earners with and without a contract of employment ("carteira"), respectively.

e/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.

f/ Refers to all non-professional, non-technical own account workers.

g/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Cuadro 19

LATIN AMERICA (12 COUNTRIES): BREAKDOWN OF TOTAL EMPLOYED POPULATION LIVING IN POVERTY BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY, RURAL AREAS, 1980-1997 (Percentages of total employed rural population living in poverty)								
Country	Year	Public sector wage earners	Private-sector wage earners in non-professional, non-technical occupations			Own account workers in non-professional, non-technical occupations		Total b/
			In establishments employing more than 5 persons	In establishments employing up to 5 persons a/	Domestic employees	Total	Agriculture	
Bolivia	1997	1	2	2	0	94	89	98
Brazil c/	1979	-	6	25	2	66	62	99
	1990	-	9	26	4	57	51	99
	1993	5	23	2	3	66	61	99
	1996	3	21	2	3	70	65	99
Chile	1990	-	40	29	3	27	23	99
	1994	-	39	26	2	31	25	98
	1996	2.4	29	35	3	30	27	99
	1998	-	36	25	3	35	31	99
Colombia	1991	-	34 d/	-	2	58	35	94
	1994	-	47 d/	-	4	45	24	96
	1997	1	35 d/	-	3	57	35	96
Costa Rica	1981	-	29	36	10	20	14	95
	1990	-	25	23	6	41	27	95
	1994	5	20	28	7	35	19	95
	1997	3	20	28	9	36	19	96
El Salvador	1995	1	23	15	3	52	36	94
	1997	1	23	15	4	54	39	97
Guatemala	1986	1	22	16	1	58	49	98
	1989	2	23	12	2	61	52	100
Honduras	1990	2	11	17	2	68	51	100
	1994	3	14	15	2	65	49	99
	1997	2	13	16	2	65	45	98
Mexico	1984	-	43 d/	-	2	53	45	98
	1989	-	50 d/	-	3	45	38	98
	1994	-	50 d/	-	3	45	35	98
	1996	3	20	22	4	49	35	98
	1998	6	19	18	2	49	29	94
Panama	1979	-	13 d/	-	2	80	73	95
	1991	3	9	9	3	75	65	99
	1994	3	10	15	4	68	56	100
	1997	2	11	17	4	65	50	99
Dominican Republic	1997	7	12	9	5	63	48	96
Venezuela	1981	4	9	13	3	68	53	97
	1990	5	27	15	4	47	39	98
	1994	5	23	19	6	45	31	98

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ For Chile (1996), El Salvador, Panama, Dominican Republic and Venezuela, this category includes establishments employing up to four persons only.

b/ In most cases, the totals amount to less than 100%, since employers, professional and technical wage earners and public-sector employees have not been included.

c/ In 1990, the columns corresponding to establishments employing more than 5 persons and up to 5 persons refer to wage earners with and without a contract of employment ("carteira"), respectively.

d/ Includes wage earners in establishments employing up to five persons.

Table 20

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): EXTENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY AND INDIGENCE IN FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1997									
Country	Year	Percentage of female-headed households at each poverty level				Distribution of female-headed households by poverty level			
		Total	Indigent	Non-indigent poor	Non-poor	Total	Indigent	Non-indigent poor	Non-poor
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	18	36	17	18	100.0	2.8	3.4	93.7
	1990	21	26	12	22	100.0	4.3	7.0	88.7
	1994	24	22	20	24	100.0	1.0	7.5	91.1
	1997	26	32	24	26	100.0	4.1	9.0	86.9
Bolivia	1989	17	23	16	15	100.0	30.2	25.5	44.3
	1994	18	20	17	18	100.0	18.1	27.0	54.9
	1997	21	24	22	19	100.0	22.2	30.0	47.8
Brazil	1979	19	33	20	16	100.0	17.4	20.7	62.0
	1990	20	24	23	18	100.0	16.0	25.1	58.9
	1993	22	23	21	22	100.0	12.3	20.9	66.8
	1996	24	24	22	24	100.0	7.7	15.9	76.4
Chile	1987	23	27	23	22	100.0	16.1	24.1	59.8
	1990	21	25	20	22	100.0	11.7	21.3	67.0
	1994	22	27	21	22	100.0	7.1	16.0	76.8
	1996	23	29	22	23	100.0	5.3	13.6	81.1
	1998	24	28	23	24	100.0	4.9	12.3	82.7
Colombia <i>a/</i>	1980	20	23	21	19	100.0	13.9	22.4	63.8
	1991	24	28	22	24	100.0	19.8	27.6	52.6
	1994	24	24	24	24	100.0	16.1	24.0	59.9
	1997	27	32	28	25	100.0	17.5	25.9	56.6
Costa Rica	1981	22	53	38	18	100.0	12.9	18.5	68.6
	1990	23	36	25	21	100.0	10.9	16.5	72.6
	1994	24	42	27	22	100.0	9.8	14.0	76.2
	1997	27	51	36	24	100.0	9.9	15.7	74.4
Ecuador	1990	17	22	16	15	100.0	28.9	31.2	39.9
	1994	19	23	18	18	100.0	27.3	28.1	44.6
	1997	19	24	19	17	100.0	23.9	31.1	45.0
El Salvador	1995	31	38	31	29	100.0	15.4	28.1	56.5
	1997	30	36	33	28	100.0	14.2	29.3	56.5
Guatemala	1987	20	23	19	20	100.0	30.9	24.8	44.3
	1989	22	23	21	22	100.0	24.2	24.3	51.5
Honduras	1988	28	39	26	23	100.0	38.5	23.6	37.9
	1990	27	35	21	21	100.0	50.4	21.1	28.5
	1994	25	28	25	21	100.0	45.8	29.2	25.0
	1997	29	32	28	28	100.0	40.3	28.6	31.1
Mexico	1984	17	16	13	19	100.0	6.3	15.7	78.0
	1989	16	14	14	17	100.0	8.2	21.9	69.9
	1994	17	11	16	18	100.0	4.0	21.3	74.7
	1996	18	17	15	19	100.0	9.8	23.0	67.3
	1998	19	18	16	20	100.0	6.3	20.0	73.7
Nicaragua	1997	37	41	36	33	100.0	39.6	30.4	30.0

Table 20 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): EXTENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF POVERTY AND INDIGENCE IN FEMALE-HEADED HOUSEHOLDS, URBAN AREAS, 1980-1997									
Country	Year	Percentage of female-headed households at each poverty level				Distribution of female-headed households by poverty level			
		Total	Indigent	Non-indigent poor	Non-poor	Total	Indigent	Non-indigent poor	Non-poor
Panama	1979	25	50	25	20	100.0	27.7	17.1	55.2
	1991	26	34	29	24	100.0	18.0	22.0	60.0
	1994	25	35	25	24	100.0	12.1	16.2	71.7
	1997	28	37	29	26	100.0	11.4	16.7	71.9
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	19	26	14	20	100.0	22.3	21.7	56.0
	1990	20	21	23	18	100.0	11.2	30.5	58.3
	1994	23	20	26	22	100.0	8.4	29.3	62.3
	1996	27	25	26	27	100.0	7.4	24.7	67.9
Dominican Republic	1997	31	50	31	29	100.0	17.5	20.5	62.0
Uruguay	1981	22	25	22	22	100.0	2.5	7.4	90.1
	1990	25	28	22	26	100.0	2.2	8.4	89.4
	1994	27	21	23	27	100.0	0.8	4.0	95.1
	1997	29	27	23	29	100.0	0.8	3.9	95.3
Venezuela b/	1981	22	50	31	19	100.0	10.5	18.7	70.7
	1990	22	40	25	18	100.0	19.6	25.4	55.1
	1994	25	34	28	21	100.0	18.7	30.8	50.5
	1997	26	28	29	24	100.0	18.6	28.4	53.0

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.

b/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 21

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): TRENDS IN HOUSEHOLD INCOME LEVELS AND DISTRIBUTION, 1980-1997															
Country	Year	Average household income <i>a/</i>		Gini coefficient <i>b/</i>		Income share of poorest quartile <i>c/</i>		Income share of poorest 40%		Income share of richest 10%		Average income of richest 10% as multiple of average income of poorest 40%		Households with below-average income	
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
		(Percentages)												(Percentages)	
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	4.56	-	0.375	-	9.3	-	18.0	-	29.8	-	6.7	-	66	-
	1990	3.59	-	0.423	-	8.4	-	14.9	-	34.8	-	9.3	-	72	-
	1994	4.91	-	0.439	-	6.8	-	13.9	-	34.2	-	9.8	-	72	-
	1997	4.55	-	0.439	-	7.5	-	14.9	-	35.8	-	9.6	-	73	-
	(Urban areas)	1994	4.53	-	0.438	-	7.0	-	14.4	-	34.6	-	9.7	-	73
Bolivia <i>d/</i> (17 cities) (9 cities) (Urban areas)	1989	1.77	-	0.484	-	5.4	-	12.1	-	38.2	-	12.6	-	71	-
	1994	1.97	-	0.435	-	7.5	-	15.2	-	35.6	-	9.4	-	75	-
	1997	1.95	1.16	0.455	0.531	6.5	4.2	13.6	9.8	37.0	42.0	10.8	17.2	73	76
Brazil	1979	3.33	1.28	0.493	0.407	5.6	8.1	11.8	16.6	39.1	34.7	13.3	8.4	74	72
	1990	3.28	1.30	0.528	0.456	4.7	7.1	10.3	14.5	41.8	38.2	16.3	10.6	76	73
	1993	3.24	1.76	0.519	0.473	5.4	6.0	11.5	13.1	43.2	41.2	15.0	12.6	76	72
	1996	4.53	2.08	0.538	0.460	4.9	6.1	10.5	13.4	44.3	39.6	16.8	11.8	77	73
Chile <i>e/</i>	1987	2.56	1.80	0.485	0.387	6.1	9.3	12.6	17.7	39.6	34.1	12.6	7.7	74	74
	1990	2.68	2.93	0.471	0.486	6.6	6.8	13.4	13.8	39.2	45.1	11.7	11.6	74	80
	1994	3.48	2.72	0.473	0.409	6.6	8.8	13.3	17.3	40.3	37.7	11.7	8.7	74	76
	1996	4.00	2.74	0.473	0.402	6.5	8.4	13.4	16.8	39.4	35.6	11.8	8.5	74	75
	1998	4.37	2.91	0.474	0.404	6.5	8.7	13.3	16.9	39.1	40.5	11.7	9.6	74	74
Colombia	1980 <i>f/</i>	2.82	-	0.518	-	4.9	-	11.0	-	41.3	-	15.0	-	75	-
	1991	1.76	1.68	0.403	0.497	7.8	5.5	16.0	12.3	31.9	43.3	8.0	14.1	72	77
	1994	2.52	1.53	0.505	0.494	5.3	3.7	11.6	10.0	41.9	34.6	14.5	13.8	76	72
	1997	2.43	1.45	0.477	0.401	6.1	6.5	12.9	15.4	39.5	30.1	12.2	7.8	74	71
Costa Rica	1981	2.95	2.50	0.328	0.355	9.5	7.9	18.9	17.2	23.2	25.6	4.9	6.0	65	66
	1990	2.56	2.30	0.345	0.351	8.2	7.8	17.8	17.6	24.6	24.5	5.5	5.6	65	65
	1994	3.09	2.59	0.363	0.372	8.3	7.6	17.4	17.1	27.5	28.5	6.3	6.6	69	69
	1997	3.02	2.56	0.357	0.357	8.5	7.9	17.3	17.3	26.8	25.9	6.2	6.0	66	67
Ecuador	1990	1.35	-	0.381	-	8.2	-	17.1	-	30.5	-	7.1	-	70	-
	1994	1.48	-	0.397	-	7.4	-	15.6	-	31.7	-	7.9	-	70	-
	1997	1.55	-	0.388	-	8.5	-	17.0	-	31.9	-	7.4	-	70	-
El Salvador	1995	1.83	1.15	0.382	0.355	8.7	7.3	17.3	17.0	31.7	26.1	7.3	6.2	70	65
	1997	1.91	1.12	0.384	0.317	8.4	9.7	17.2	19.4	31.1	24.7	7.2	5.1	70	67
Guatemala	1986	1.55	1.01	0.464	0.472	5.8	6.1	12.5	13.1	36.4	39.5	11.6	12.1	72	76
	1989	1.89	1.00	0.479	0.432	5.4	6.4	12.1	14.4	37.9	35.1	12.5	9.7	73	73
Honduras	1990	1.27	0.74	0.487	0.465	5.4	6.1	12.2	13.1	38.9	37.4	12.8	11.4	73	75
	1994	1.08	0.88	0.459	0.467	6.2	5.1	13.3	12.1	37.2	36.2	11.2	11.9	73	71
	1997	1.19	0.78	0.448	0.427	6.5	6.7	14.3	14.4	36.8	33.5	10.3	9.3	73	72
Mexico <i>g/</i>	1984	2.32	1.75	0.321	0.323	10.5	10.6	20.1	20.3	25.8	26.4	5.1	5.2	70	71
	1989	2.54	1.50	0.424	0.345	8.5	9.6	16.0	18.7	36.9	27.4	9.1	5.9	75	70
	1994	2.76	1.68	0.405	0.330	9.0	11.0	16.8	20.1	34.3	27.1	8.2	5.4	74	71
	1996	2.21	1.40	0.392	0.334	9.4	10.6	17.6	20.3	33.7	28.3	7.7	5.6	73	69
	1998	2.68	1.63	0.405	0.378	9.0	9.9	17.2	18.0	34.8	31.5	8.1	7.0	75	70
Nicaragua	1997	1.23	-	0.443	-	6.6	-	14.4	-	35.4	-	9.8	-	74	-

Table 21 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (17 COUNTRIES): TRENDS IN HOUSEHOLD INCOME LEVELS AND DISTRIBUTION, 1980-1997																
Country	Year	Average household income a/		Gini coefficient b/		Income share of poorest quartile c/		Income share of poorest 40%		Income share of richest 10%		Average income of richest 10% as multiple of average income of poorest 40%		Households with below-average income		
		Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	
		(Percentages)												(Percentages)		
Panama	1979	2.65	1.67	0.399	0.347	7.0	9.5	15.5	17.8	29.1	28.1	7.5	6.3	67	67	
	1991	2.72	2.14	0.448	0.431	5.9	7.5	13.3	15.0	34.2	35.6	10.3	9.5	71	72	
	1994	3.40	2.16	0.451	0.411	6.4	7.7	13.8	15.5	37.4	33.1	10.9	8.5	73	71	
	1997	3.67	2.79	0.462	0.440	6.1	7.4	13.3	14.9	37.3	37.7	11.2	10.1	73	74	
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	1.81	-	0.404	-	8.0	-	16.3	-	31.8	-	7.8	-	71	-	
	1990	1.92	-	0.357	-	9.4	-	18.6	-	28.9	-	6.2	-	68	-	
	1994	2.33	-	0.417	-	8.3	-	16.2	-	35.2	-	8.7	-	74	-	
	1996	2.22	-	0.389	-	8.8	-	17.4	-	33.1	-	7.6	-	70	-	
	(Urban areas)	1994	2.01	-	0.423	-	5.7	-	16.1	-	35.2	-	8.7	-	73	-
		1996	2.00	-	0.395	-	8.4	-	16.7	-	33.4	-	7.9	-	72	-
Dominican Republic	1997	2.57	1.41	0.432	0.392	6.9	7.9	14.8	16.5	35.5	32.6	9.6	7.9	74	69	
Uruguay	1981	3.91	-	0.379	-	9.3	-	17.7	-	31.2	-	7.1	-	69	-	
	1990	3.29	-	0.353	-	10.9	-	20.1	-	31.2	-	6.2	-	70	-	
	1994	4.06	-	0.300	-	11.8	-	21.6	-	25.4	-	4.7	-	67	-	
	1997	4.72	-	0.300	-	11.9	-	22.0	-	25.8	-	4.7	-	68	-	
Venezuela h/	1981	2.90	2.00	0.306	0.288	10.0	10.2	20.2	20.5	21.8	20.5	4.3	4.0	66	67	
	1990	2.18	1.80	0.378	0.316	8.2	10.1	16.8	19.8	28.4	23.8	6.8	4.8	69	68	
	1994	1.90	1.58	0.387	0.349	8.4	9.3	16.7	18.6	31.4	29.3	7.5	6.1	71	69	
	1997	1.97	-	0.425	-	7.0	-	14.7	-	32.8	-	8.9	-	72	-	

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ Average monthly per capita household income divided by the per capita poverty line.

b/ Calculated on the basis of per capita household income distribution by deciles.

c/ Percentage of total income received by the 25% of all households having the lowest incomes.

d/ The 1989 survey includes the eight departmental capitals and El Alto. It also includes another eight cities which together represented 8.2% of the total.

e/ Calculations based on national socio-economic survey (CASEN) of 1987, 1990, 1994, 1996 and 1998. Estimates adjusted for the latest figures for the household income and expenditure account from the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation (MIDEPLAN).

f/ In 1980, the geographical coverage of the survey included only eight major cities.

g/ Information from National Survey of Household Income and Expenditure (ENIG).

h/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 22

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): POPULATION BETWEEN 15 AND 24 YEARS OF AGE, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Argentina a/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	7.6	77.3	15.0	...	...	...	...
	1990	3.3	78.6	18.2	...	...	...	...
	1994	3.9	77.2	18.9	...	...	...	...
	1998	3.0	43.1	37.6	16.2	...	...	...
Bolivia	1997	11.9	31.1	44.4	12.6	48.3	34.9	15.3	1.5
Brazil	1979	48.2	34.6	14.1	3.1	86.8	9.7	1.9	1.6
	1990	41.0	37.5	18.2	3.3	79.0	16.9	3.7	0.3
	1993	40.7	38.9	17.6	2.8	77.9	17.4	4.3	0.3
	1997	34.0	41.1	21.8	3.1	70.6	22.6	6.5	0.3
Chile	1990	5.6	33.1	45.5	15.8	16.9	56.5	22.6	4.1
	1994	4.2	31.2	46.4	18.2	14.4	54.8	26.1	4.7
	1998	3.2	31.8	47.8	17.2	10.9	52.7	32.6	3.8
Colombia b/	1980	31.2	40.9	21.1	6.8	...	...	...	...
	1990	19.6	40.4	31.0	9.0	...	...	...	...
	1991	21.8	37.9	29.7	10.6	60.1	25.7	13.6	0.5
	1994	17.7	37.9	35.9	8.4	55.8	29.5	14.0	0.7
	1997	15.1	35.9	39.6	9.4	52.9	30.0	16.0	1.0
Costa Rica	1981	7.3	50.5	33.9	8.2	19.8	64.7	13.8	1.7
	1990	9.1	50.1	29.8	10.9	20.0	64.5	13.6	2.0
	1994	8.6	49.6	30.9	10.9	21.2	64.3	12.3	2.2
	1998	7.8	48.3	31.3	12.5	17.9	62.6	15.8	3.7
Ecuador	1990	5.8	45.9	37.0	11.4	...	...	...	...
	1994	4.8	42.3	39.5	13.4	...	...	...	...
	1998	5.5	43.4	38.4	12.7	...	...	...	...
El Salvador	1995	20.6	41.4	28.8	9.2	60.4	31.2	7.3	1.1
	1998	16.7	39.6	33.3	10.3	49.9	37.7	10.9	1.4
Honduras	1990	24.1	55.7	15.3	5.0	57.6	39.8	2.3	0.3
	1994	20.5	56.1	17.3	6.0	45.9	49.3	4.4	0.4
	1998	16.3	57.3	19.5	6.9	44.3	49.8	5.4	0.4
Mexico a/	1989	8.3	60.5	22.1	9.1	31.4	59.2	7.7	1.7
	1994	7.5	57.5	24.4	10.6	25.8	65.1	8.0	1.1
	1996	4.9	58.7	25.3	11.2	19.9	66.8	11.2	2.1
Nicaragua	1997	17.0	52.3	22.0	8.7	...	...	...	...
Panama	1979	6.3	49.1	35.5	9.1	20.5	61.3	16.2	1.9
	1991	6.3	42.7	39.5	11.5	15.6	57.3	23.6	3.5
	1994	5.0	45.9	36.4	12.6	16.4	56.3	23.3	4.0
	1998	3.4	39.3	40.2	17.1	12.8	57.8	25.1	4.3
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	10.6	50.9	31.1	7.5	...	...	...	...
	1990	7.3	46.7	36.8	9.3	...	...	...	...
	1994	7.9	49.0	34.8	8.3	...	...	...	...
	1997	6.2	48.1	37.1	8.6	33.2	54.2	11.4	1.3

Table 22 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): POPULATION BETWEEN 15 AND 24 YEARS OF AGE, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Dominican Republic	1997	20.2	39.7	29.7	10.4	41.2	39.6	17.1	2.1
Uruguay	1981	7.4	55.5	31.8	5.3	...	...	...	...
	1990	3.7	52.6	35.4	8.3	...	...	...	...
	1994	3.5	51.1	37.6	7.8	...	...	...	...
	1998	3.1	49.6	38.6	8.7	...	...	...	...
Venezuela ^{c/}	1981	13.5	58.5	20.4	7.7	46.1	46.4	6.8	0.7
	1990	10.3	56.5	23.6	9.6	39.0	51.3	8.5	1.2
	1994	10.2	48.2	28.8	12.8	38.2	48.4	10.9	2.5
	1998	11.2	48.6	26.5	13.7	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ Information allowing the calculation of the number of years of schooling became available in 1996 in Mexico and 1997 in Argentina. Previous figures correspond to estimates based on the categories of incomplete primary schooling, complete primary and incomplete secondary, complete secondary, and higher education.
- b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.
- c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 22.1

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): MALE POPULATION BETWEEN 15 AND 24 YEARS OF AGE, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Argentina a/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	7.6		78.9	13.5	...	...	...	...
	1990	3.1		81.6	15.3	...	...	...	...
	1994	4.8		80.1	15.0	...	...	...	...
	1998	3.5	46.9	36.0	13.6	...	...	...	...
Bolivia	1997	9.2	31.3	46.6	12.9	40.0	39.1	19.8	1.1
Brazil	1979	49.2	34.6	13.1	3.1	87.0	9.5	1.6	2.0
	1990	44.4	37.0	15.8	2.9	81.7	15.6	2.6	0.2
	1993	44.8	37.4	15.5	2.2	81.0	15.6	3.2	0.2
	1997	38.0	40.7	18.8	2.5	74.6	19.7	5.5	0.2
Chile	1990	6.0	33.5	45.6	14.9	18.8	57.0	20.5	3.6
	1994	4.5	32.1	45.6	17.8	16.2	55.5	24.1	4.1
	1998	3.4	33.7	47.0	15.9	11.4	55.3	30.1	3.1
Colombia b/	1980	29.5	42.7	21.3	6.6	...	...	...	...
	1990	18.2	42.5	30.7	8.6	...	...	...	...
	1991	22.1	39.8	28.4	9.7	64.3	23.5	11.6	0.5
	1994	18.1	39.0	35.1	7.8	60.3	28.3	10.9	0.5
	1997	15.7	37.9	38.0	8.4	58.5	28.1	12.9	0.6
Costa Rica	1981	7.8	52.4	31.6	8.2	19.6	65.8	12.7	1.9
	1990	10.5	50.1	28.6	10.8	22.3	63.7	12.2	1.8
	1994	9.4	47.9	31.5	11.2	22.4	64.7	11.0	1.9
	1998	8.8	49.6	30.0	11.6	19.2	62.7	15.2	2.9
Ecuador	1990	6.7	48.9	33.9	10.6	...	...	...	...
	1994	4.9	42.9	39.9	12.3	...	...	...	...
	1998	6.0	45.4	37.1	11.5	...	...	...	...
El Salvador	1995	20.7	43.5	26.7	9.1	61.1	31.5	6.7	0.7
	1998	16.1	41.2	33.0	9.6	48.7	39.2	10.8	1.4
Honduras	1990	23.8	57.3	14.6	4.3	60.2	38.2	1.6	0.1
	1994	21.4	56.2	15.9	6.5	48.2	47.9	3.5	0.4
	1998	17.2	60.5	15.4	6.9	47.1	48.2	4.2	0.5
Mexico a/	1989	7.6	58.1	23.8	10.5	31.4	58.6	8.4	1.5
	1994	7.1	56.1	25.2	11.5	27.4	63.5	7.9	1.2
	1996	4.8	57.2	27.0	11.0	19.8	66.1	12.2	1.9
Nicaragua	1997	18.6	52.2	20.0	9.2	...	...	...	...
Panama	1979	6.5	52.6	32.3	8.6	20.3	63.5	14.6	1.6
	1991	7.2	47.1	36.0	9.7	17.8	58.2	21.2	2.8
	1994	5.6	49.5	34.8	10.1	18.2	59.1	19.9	2.8
	1998	3.5	41.5	38.8	16.1	13.8	60.8	22.7	2.6
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	7.7	52.3	31.2	8.8	...	...	...	...
	1990	5.6	46.6	38.8	9.1	...	...	...	...
	1994	7.4	47.5	37.2	7.8	...	...	...	...
	1997	5.3	45.8	40.1	8.7	36.5	53.2	10.0	0.3

Table 22.1 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): MALE POPULATION BETWEEN 15 AND 24 YEARS OF AGE, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Dominican Republic	1997	24.5	39.2	27.5	8.8	46.6	36.7	14.5	2.1
Uruguay	1981	8.8	57.4	28.7	5.1	...	...	...	...
	1990	4.0	57.3	31.8	6.9	...	...	...	...
	1994	4.1	56.5	33.2	6.2	...	...	...	...
	1998	3.8	56.4	33.5	6.3	...	...	...	...
Venezuela ^{c/}	1981	15.3	59.0	18.6	7.1	49.0	44.5	6.0	0.5
	1990	11.9	58.4	21.1	8.6	44.4	48.8	6.0	0.8
	1994	12.2	51.0	26.0	10.8	43.5	45.2	9.7	1.6
	1998	14.0	51.9	23.3	10.9	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ Information allowing the calculation of the number of years of schooling became available in 1996 in Mexico and 1997 in Argentina. Previous figures correspond to estimates based on the categories of incomplete primary schooling, complete primary and incomplete secondary, complete secondary, and higher education.
- b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.
- c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 22.2

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): FEMALE POPULATION BETWEEN 15 AND 24 YEARS OF AGE, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Argentina a/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	7.7		75.9	16.5	...	...	...	...
	1990	3.4		75.2	21.3	...	...	...	...
	1994	3.0		74.1	22.9	...	...	...	...
	1998	2.5	39.4	39.2	18.8	...	...	...	...
Bolivia	1997	14.5	30.9	42.3	12.4	56.9	30.5	10.8	1.8
Brazil	1979	47.3	34.5	15.0	3.2	86.6	9.9	2.2	1.3
	1990	37.9	38.0	20.4	3.7	76.1	18.5	5.0	0.4
	1993	36.8	40.3	19.5	3.4	74.3	19.5	5.7	0.4
	1997	30.1	41.6	24.6	3.7	66.2	25.8	7.7	0.3
Chile	1990	5.3	32.6	45.4	16.7	14.7	55.9	24.7	4.6
	1994	3.8	30.3	47.2	18.6	12.5	54.0	28.2	5.3
	1998	2.9	29.9	48.7	18.5	10.3	49.7	35.3	4.7
Colombia b/	1980	32.5	39.5	21.0	7.0	...	...	...	...
	1990	20.8	38.7	31.2	9.3	...	...	...	...
	1991	21.5	36.3	30.8	11.4	55.9	28.0	15.6	0.5
	1994	17.4	37.1	36.6	8.9	50.9	30.8	17.4	0.8
	1997	14.6	34.3	40.9	10.2	47.1	32.1	19.4	1.4
Costa Rica	1981	6.9	48.7	36.2	8.2	19.9	63.7	14.8	1.6
	1990	7.7	50.1	31.1	11.1	17.4	65.4	15.0	2.2
	1994	7.7	51.4	30.3	10.6	19.8	63.9	13.8	2.5
	1998	6.8	47.0	32.7	13.5	16.4	62.5	16.4	4.6
Ecuador	1990	5.0	43.1	39.8	12.1	...	...	...	...
	1994	4.8	41.8	39.2	14.3	...	...	...	...
	1998	5.1	41.6	39.6	13.7	...	...	...	...
El Salvador	1995	20.5	39.6	30.6	9.3	59.7	30.9	7.8	1.5
	1998	17.2	38.2	33.6	10.9	51.2	36.3	11.1	1.4
Honduras	1990	24.2	54.4	15.9	5.5	55.0	41.5	3.1	0.4
	1994	19.8	56.0	18.5	5.6	43.4	50.8	5.3	0.4
	1998	15.5	54.6	23.0	6.9	41.3	51.6	6.8	0.3
Mexico a/	1989	8.9	62.7	20.5	7.8	31.4	59.8	6.9	1.9
	1994	7.8	58.8	23.6	9.8	24.3	66.7	8.1	0.9
	1996	5.0	60.2	23.6	11.3	20.0	67.4	10.3	2.3
Nicaragua	1997	15.5	52.3	24.0	8.2	...	...	...	...
Panama	1979	6.1	46.1	38.2	9.6	20.8	58.6	18.2	2.3
	1991	5.4	38.4	42.9	13.3	12.9	56.2	26.5	4.4
	1994	4.5	42.3	38.0	15.2	14.4	53.0	27.2	5.4
	1998	3.3	37.1	41.6	18.0	11.7	54.4	27.7	6.3
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	12.4	49.9	31.0	6.7	...	...	...	...
	1990	8.7	46.7	35.1	9.4	...	...	...	...
	1994	8.3	50.2	32.8	8.7	...	...	...	...
	1997	6.9	50.1	34.5	8.5	29.6	55.2	12.9	2.2

Table 22.2 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): FEMALE POPULATION BETWEEN 15 AND 24 YEARS OF AGE, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Dominican Republic	1997	16.7	40.1	31.5	11.6	35.2	42.7	20.0	2.1
Uruguay	1981	6.1	53.9	34.6	5.5	...	...	...	...
	1990	3.3	48.0	38.9	9.7	...	...	...	...
	1994	2.8	45.8	42.0	9.4	...	...	...	...
	1998	2.5	42.7	43.7	11.1	...	...	...	...
Venezuela ^{c/}	1981	11.8	58.0	22.0	8.2	42.2	48.8	7.9	1.0
	1990	8.7	54.5	26.2	10.6	32.5	54.3	11.5	1.7
	1994	8.3	45.3	31.6	14.8	32.0	52.1	12.4	3.5
	1998	8.4	45.2	29.8	16.6	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ Information allowing the calculation of the number of years of schooling became available in 1996 in Mexico and 1997 in Argentina. Previous figures correspond to estimates based on the categories of incomplete primary schooling, complete primary and incomplete secondary, complete secondary, and higher education.
- b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.
- c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 23

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): POPULATION BETWEEN 25 AND 59 YEARS OF AGE, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Argentina a/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	21.6		67.4	11.1	...	...	...	...
	1990	12.4		69.6	18.0	...	...	...	...
	1994	10.3		70.7	19.0	...	...	...	...
	1998	9.5	38.9	28.7	22.8	...	...	...	...
Bolivia	1997	34.1	17.3	28.4	20.3	78.3	12.2	5.8	3.8
Brazil	1979	70.0	12.6	10.0	7.3	96.0	1.9	1.0	1.0
	1990	55.5	17.1	16.8	10.7	89.2	6.3	3.7	0.8
	1993	53.4	19.0	17.7	10.0	88.3	6.8	3.9	1.0
	1997	48.4	20.7	19.9	11.1	85.3	8.9	4.9	1.0
Chile	1990	15.7	29.4	34.6	20.3	43.7	37.5	13.1	5.7
	1994	14.0	24.2	39.0	22.8	39.6	38.7	15.8	5.9
	1998	10.9	24.7	39.4	25.0	37.0	42.6	15.9	4.4
Colombia b/	1980	52.4	22.3	13.7	11.6	...	...	...	...
	1990	37.4	23.4	23.1	16.1	...	...	...	...
	1991	39.9	23.0	21.3	15.8	78.2	12.4	7.3	2.1
	1994	35.9	22.9	25.3	15.9	76.2	12.0	9.5	2.4
	1997	33.2	21.9	27.6	17.2	74.8	12.2	9.7	3.3
Costa Rica	1981	27.2	41.5	17.8	13.5	58.1	33.5	5.8	2.6
	1990	16.7	40.5	22.1	20.7	40.0	44.8	10.6	4.5
	1994	14.1	39.5	24.9	21.5	34.8	49.2	10.7	5.3
	1998	11.6	38.9	22.9	26.6	28.1	53.6	11.5	6.8
Ecuador	1990	16.1	43.0	21.9	19.0	...	...	...	...
	1994	11.7	39.8	24.6	24.0	...	...	...	...
	1998	10.9	38.7	25.9	24.6	...	...	...	...
El Salvador	1995	35.8	30.2	19.7	14.3	80.2	16.3	2.6	0.9
	1998	30.4	31.2	22.2	16.2	73.6	20.5	4.3	1.5
Honduras	1990	42.7	31.0	18.2	8.1	81.4	15.9	2.5	0.2
	1994	35.1	34.4	22.0	8.5	69.9	25.1	4.5	0.5
	1998	32.4	36.6	20.4	10.5	68.7	25.6	5.2	0.6
Mexico a/	1989	29.5	47.2	9.6	13.7	70.0	25.1	2.3	2.6
	1994	23.0	48.4	11.8	16.8	63.3	31.4	3.4	1.9
	1996	16.5	52.2	13.6	17.7	45.8	44.8	5.3	4.2
Nicaragua	1997	27.1	38.8	18.8	15.3	...	...	...	...
Panama	1979	18.2	47.8	20.5	13.5	57.4	36.6	4.4	1.7
	1991	13.8	39.6	25.1	21.6	37.6	43.9	12.3	6.1
	1994	11.2	39.9	26.6	22.3	35.0	44.8	13.2	6.9
	1998	7.2	35.3	29.4	28.1	27.4	50.4	15.9	6.3
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	21.6	37.5	23.3	17.6	...	...	...	...
	1990	16.9	40.5	28.1	14.6	...	...	...	...
	1994	17.9	42.1	22.9	17.1	...	...	...	...
	1997	17.0	39.0	25.5	18.5	59.5	34.1	4.8	1.7

Table 23 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): POPULATION BETWEEN 25 AND 59 YEARS OF AGE, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Dominican Republic	1997	32.0	26.9	25.5	15.6	62.1	25.2	9.9	2.7
Uruguay	1981	26.6	46.4	18.2	8.8	...	...	...	...
	1990	17.2	46.3	23.6	12.8	...	...	...	...
	1994	14.5	46.3	25.3	13.8	...	...	...	...
	1998	9.5	47.4	27.0	16.2	...	...	...	...
Venezuela ^{c/}	1981	29.9	49.4	11.9	8.7	73.5	22.8	2.8	0.9
	1990	19.4	48.3	17.8	14.5	61.0	32.4	5.2	1.4
	1994	18.5	45.8	20.2	15.5	54.0	36.3	7.0	2.8
	1998	18.5	45.8	19.9	15.8	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ Information allowing the calculation of the number of years of schooling became available in 1996 in Mexico and 1997 in Argentina. Previous figures correspond to estimates based on the categories of incomplete primary schooling, complete primary and incomplete secondary, complete secondary, and higher education.
- b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.
- c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Cuadro 23.1

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): MALE POPULATION BETWEEN 25 AND 59 YEARS OF AGE, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Argentina a/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	20.9	66.1	13.1	...	...	...	...
	1990	11.2	70.1	18.7	...	...	...	...
	1994	9.1	71.9	19.1	...	...	...	...
	1998	9.5	39.7	29.4	21.3	...	...	...
Bolivia	1997	25.1	18.4	32.3	24.2	71.3	15.6	7.9	5.2
Brazil	1979	67.9	13.7	9.7	8.6	95.9	2.0	1.0	1.1
	1990	54.6	17.8	16.6	11.0	89.0	6.6	3.4	0.9
	1993	52.8	19.7	17.4	10.1	88.4	6.9	3.7	1.0
	1997	48.4	21.6	19.0	11.0	86.0	8.8	4.2	1.0
Chile	1990	13.8	28.5	35.3	22.4	42.9	38.5	12.9	5.7
	1994	12.9	23.6	39.5	24.0	38.3	40.4	15.1	6.2
	1998	10.0	23.7	40.1	26.3	36.5	43.6	16.0	3.9
Colombia b/	1980	48.8	21.0	13.8	16.4	...	...	...	...
	1990	34.6	22.8	23.3	19.2	...	...	...	...
	1991	36.9	23.0	21.6	18.5	78.0	12.4	7.3	2.2
	1994	33.8	22.8	25.4	18.0	76.9	11.4	9.2	2.6
	1997	31.6	21.3	27.8	19.4	76.0	10.9	9.4	3.7
Costa Rica	1981	25.4	40.3	18.4	15.8	55.5	35.9	5.9	2.7
	1990	15.0	40.1	22.1	22.9	38.1	46.6	10.7	4.7
	1994	13.4	38.3	24.5	23.7	34.3	49.9	10.3	5.5
	1998	10.1	37.7	23.8	28.5	27.9	54.8	10.7	6.7
Ecuador	1990	14.0	43.4	20.6	22.1	...	...	...	...
	1994	10.1	39.7	23.7	26.5	...	...	...	...
	1998	9.8	39.2	23.8	27.2	...	...	...	...
El Salvador	1995	29.4	32.8	20.4	17.3	75.0	20.6	3.4	1.0
	1998	25.2	34.0	22.5	18.3	68.0	24.8	5.5	1.7
Honduras	1990	39.7	32.9	17.2	10.2	81.0	16.5	2.2	0.3
	1994	32.3	34.3	21.9	11.5	69.0	26.8	3.6	0.6
	1998	29.7	38.6	18.4	13.4	67.9	26.3	4.7	1.1
Mexico a/	1989	25.3	43.9	10.7	20.1	66.8	25.7	3.6	3.9
	1994	19.8	45.5	12.3	22.4	59.7	33.0	4.4	2.9
	1996	14.4	47.8	15.8	22.1	44.4	44.0	6.6	5.0
Nicaragua	1997	25.2	37.6	18.6	18.6	...	...	...	...
Panama	1979	17.6	46.8	20.4	15.1	56.5	37.3	4.5	1.7
	1991	13.9	40.3	24.5	21.3	37.3	45.0	12.1	5.5
	1994	11.4	40.4	26.4	21.7	35.4	46.5	11.7	6.4
	1998	6.7	36.2	29.8	27.4	27.7	52.0	15.0	5.3
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	17.4	37.6	23.7	21.3	...	...	...	...
	1990	15.1	40.6	28.3	16.0	...	...	...	...
	1994	15.7	42.2	23.3	18.8	...	...	...	...
	1997	13.3	39.4	28.5	18.9	57.7	35.4	5.0	1.9

Table 23.1 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): MALE POPULATION BETWEEN 25 AND 59 YEARS OF AGE, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Dominican Republic	1997	31.6	27.9	25.8	14.7	60.2	27.0	9.8	2.9
Uruguay	1981	26.6	47.4	18.3	7.7	...	...	...	...
	1990	17.5	47.4	23.4	11.7	...	...	...	...
	1994	14.7	47.7	25.7	11.9	...	...	...	...
	1998	9.8	50.0	26.4	13.8	...	...	...	...
Venezuela c/	1981	26.0	50.9	12.1	11.1	70.9	25.0	2.9	1.2
	1990	17.5	49.6	17.4	15.5	58.9	34.5	5.1	1.6
	1994	17.3	46.5	19.7	16.4	53.6	37.4	6.2	2.8
	1998	18.5	47.5	19.4	14.5	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ Information allowing the calculation of the number of years of schooling became available in 1996 in Mexico and 1997 in Argentina. Previous figures correspond to estimates based on the categories of incomplete primary schooling, complete primary and incomplete secondary, complete secondary, and higher education.
- b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.
- c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 23.2

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): FEMALE POPULATION BETWEEN 25 AND 59 YEARS OF AGE, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Argentina a/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	22.3	68.3		9.4	...	...	...	...
	1990	13.5	69.1		17.4	...	...	...	...
	1994	11.4	69.7		19.0	...	...	...	...
	1998	9.5	38.2	28.1	24.1	...	...	...	...
Bolivia	1997	42.0	16.3	24.9	16.8	85.3	8.8	3.6	2.3
Brazil	1979	72.0	11.6	10.3	6.1	96.2	1.8	1.1	0.9
	1990	56.2	16.4	17.0	10.3	89.4	5.9	3.9	0.8
	1993	53.9	18.4	17.9	9.8	88.1	6.7	4.2	1.0
	1997	48.3	19.9	20.7	11.1	84.5	8.9	5.6	1.0
Chile	1990	17.4	30.1	34.0	18.5	44.5	36.4	13.4	5.8
	1994	15.0	24.7	38.5	21.8	40.9	37.0	16.5	5.6
	1998	11.8	25.6	38.8	23.8	37.6	41.5	15.9	5.0
Colombia b/	1980	55.5	23.5	13.7	7.4	...	...	...	...
	1990	39.9	23.9	22.9	13.3	...	...	...	...
	1991	42.3	23.0	21.1	13.6	78.4	12.4	7.3	2.0
	1994	37.6	23.0	25.3	14.2	75.5	12.6	9.7	2.2
	1997	34.6	22.4	27.5	15.5	73.5	13.5	10.0	3.0
Costa Rica	1981	28.7	42.6	17.3	11.4	60.9	31.1	5.6	2.5
	1990	18.2	40.9	22.1	18.9	42.0	43.0	10.6	4.4
	1994	14.8	40.4	25.3	19.5	35.3	48.5	11.1	5.1
	1998	12.9	40.0	22.1	25.0	28.4	52.4	12.3	7.0
Ecuador	1990	18.0	42.7	23.1	16.2	...	...	...	...
	1994	13.1	39.8	25.4	21.7	...	...	...	...
	1998	11.9	38.1	27.8	22.2	...	...	...	...
El Salvador	1995	40.7	28.2	19.1	12.0	84.7	12.6	1.9	0.7
	1998	34.6	28.9	22.0	14.5	78.5	16.8	3.2	1.4
Honduras	1990	45.1	29.6	18.9	6.4	81.8	15.4	2.7	...
	1994	37.4	34.5	22.1	6.0	70.8	23.5	5.3	0.5
	1998	34.6	35.1	22.1	8.2	69.3	25.0	5.6	0.2
Mexico a/	1989	33.3	50.1	8.6	8.1	72.9	24.6	1.1	1.4
	1994	25.9	51.0	11.3	11.9	66.6	29.9	2.5	1.1
	1996	18.5	56.3	11.6	13.7	47.1	45.5	4.0	3.4
Nicaragua	1997	28.6	39.8	18.9	12.7	...	...	...	...
Panama	1979	18.6	48.6	20.6	12.1	58.3	35.9	4.2	1.6
	1991	13.7	39.0	25.6	21.8	37.9	42.7	12.6	6.7
	1994	10.9	39.5	26.8	22.8	34.6	43.1	14.7	7.5
	1998	7.6	34.6	29.1	28.7	27.1	48.7	16.9	7.4
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	25.4	37.5	22.9	14.3	...	...	...	...
	1990	18.4	40.3	27.9	13.3	...	...	...	...
	1994	19.8	42.0	22.6	15.6	...	...	...	...
	1997	20.3	38.7	22.9	18.1	61.4	32.6	4.5	1.5

Table 23.2 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): FEMALE POPULATION BETWEEN 25 AND 59 YEARS OF AGE, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Dominican Republic	1997	32.3	26.0	25.3	16.4	64.1	23.4	10.0	2.5
Uruguay	1981	26.6	45.6	18.1	9.7	...	...	...	...
	1990	17.0	45.4	23.9	13.7	...	...	...	...
	1994	14.4	45.2	25.0	15.4	...	...	...	...
	1998	9.2	45.1	27.4	18.3	...	...	...	...
Venezuela c/	1981	33.6	48.1	11.7	6.6	76.5	20.1	2.7	0.6
	1990	21.3	46.9	18.1	13.6	63.5	30.0	5.4	1.1
	1994	19.6	45.1	20.7	14.6	54.4	35.0	7.9	2.8
	1998	18.5	44.1	20.3	17.1	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ Information allowing the calculation of the number of years of schooling became available in 1996 in Mexico and 1997 in Argentina. Previous figures correspond to estimates based on the categories of incomplete primary schooling, complete primary and incomplete secondary, complete secondary, and higher education.
- b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.
- c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 24

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION OF 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Argentina a/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	17.8	67.2		15.0	...	...	...	...
	1990	13.1	69.0		17.9	...	...	...	...
	1994	8.1	70.2		21.7	...	...	...	...
	1998	8.2	38.6	29.7	23.6	...	...	...	...
Bolivia	1997	31.7	19.7	30.8	17.8	74.5	15.9	6.7	2.8
Brazil	1979	60.9	19.2	12.4	7.6	93.2	4.0	1.3	1.4
	1990	47.5	24.3	18.4	9.8	85.0	10.3	3.9	0.8
	1993	53.6	23.0	16.2	7.2	86.5	9.2	3.6	0.7
	1997	43.2	24.6	21.8	10.4	83.0	11.1	5.1	0.8
Chile	1990	12.9	26.9	36.5	23.8	36.8	40.9	15.2	7.1
	1994	11.7	22.8	40.2	25.4	34.3	40.9	17.7	7.1
	1998	9.5	22.8	41.3	26.3	33.1	42.6	19.2	5.1
Colombia b/	1980	47.1	25.3	16.1	11.5	...	...	...	...
	1990	28.4	28.2	26.9	16.5	...	...	...	...
	1991	35.3	24.4	24.2	16.0	75.9	13.5	8.8	1.8
	1994	32.0	23.1	28.7	16.2	73.1	13.3	11.2	2.4
	1997	29.3	22.1	31.1	17.5	72.4	13.2	11.2	3.2
Costa Rica	1981	20.4	43.4	23.0	13.3	42.0	47.3	8.2	2.5
	1990	14.1	41.1	24.1	20.7	32.9	50.7	11.7	4.6
	1994	12.7	39.7	25.8	21.7	31.1	52.6	11.2	5.0
	1998	11.3	38.9	23.5	26.3	25.6	54.8	12.5	7.1
Ecuador	1990	14.5	43.1	24.1	18.2	...	...	...	...
	1994	11.1	39.5	27.0	22.4	...	...	...	...
	1998	10.9	39.1	27.1	22.8	...	...	...	...
El Salvador	1995	33.7	31.5	21.3	13.5	74.2	20.9	4.0	1.0
	1998	28.7	31.8	24.4	15.1	66.4	25.6	6.4	1.6
Honduras	1990	38.2	36.7	18.2	7.0	74.8	22.2	2.8	0.2
	1994	32.0	38.9	20.5	8.7	62.3	32.2	4.9	0.6
	1998	28.9	41.6	19.9	9.6	62.1	31.8	5.4	0.6
Mexico a/	1989	21.7	50.4	13.2	14.6	59.8	34.1	3.5	2.6
	1994	19.0	50.0	14.0	16.9	54.6	39.4	4.0	2.0
	1996	13.7	52.4	16.0	17.9	39.1	50.1	6.8	4.0
Nicaragua	1997	26.3	41.2	18.8	13.8	...	...	...	...
Panama	1979	14.0	46.3	25.3	14.4	47.8	42.3	7.8	2.1
	1991	11.7	37.6	29.1	21.6	34.0	45.2	14.9	5.8
	1994	9.3	38.7	29.2	22.8	32.4	45.8	15.2	6.6
	1998	5.9	34.1	31.4	28.6	27.3	49.3	16.8	6.6
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	18.7	40.8	24.8	15.7	...	...	...	...
	1990	14.7	41.6	29.3	14.4	...	...	...	...
	1994	15.7	42.1	25.8	16.4	...	...	...	...
	1997	15.0	39.8	27.9	17.3	53.8	37.9	6.4	1.9

Table 24 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION OF 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Dominican Republic	1997	28.3	29.0	26.4	16.2	57.0	27.5	12.4	3.2
Uruguay	1981	21.3	47.4	21.8	9.5	...	...	...	...
	1990	14.2	46.3	26.2	13.3	...	...	...	...
	1994	12.2	46.9	27.6	13.4	...	...	...	...
	1998	8.6	47.5	28.3	15.7	...	...	...	...
Venezuela ^{c/}	1981	24.3	52.3	14.7	8.7	67.0	28.8	3.5	0.8
	1990	16.6	49.6	19.7	14.1	56.7	36.1	5.8	1.4
	1994	16.3	45.9	22.1	15.7	51.4	37.8	7.9	2.9
	1998	17.4	45.5	21.0	16.0	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ Information allowing the calculation of the number of years of schooling became available in 1996 in Mexico and 1997 in Argentina. Previous figures correspond to estimates based on the categories of incomplete primary schooling, complete primary and incomplete secondary, complete secondary, and higher education.
- b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.
- c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 24.1

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MALE POPULATION OF 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Argentina a/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	18.6	68.1	13.3	...	...	...	...
	1990	12.5	71.1	16.3	...	...	...	...
	1994	8.3	73.7	18.0	...	...	...	...
	1998	8.8	42.1	29.8	19.3	...	...	...
Bolivia	1997	25.7	21.0	34.3	18.9	68.2	19.1	9.0	3.6
Brazil	1979	63.5	19.2	10.4	7.0	93.7	3.9	1.0	1.4
	1990	51.4	23.8	16.2	8.6	87.3	9.2	2.9	0.6
	1993	53.7	23.4	15.5	7.4	87.5	8.8	3.1	0.7
	1997	46.9	25.3	18.9	8.9	84.2	10.9	4.2	0.7
Chile	1990	13.2	28.7	37.3	20.8	39.2	42.0	13.8	5.0
	1994	12.2	24.2	40.7	22.8	36.4	42.0	16.0	5.5
	1998	10.0	24.5	41.8	23.6	35.4	44.0	17.0	3.5
Colombia b/	1980	46.8	25.3	15.3	12.7	...	...	...	...
	1990	29.8	28.6	25.4	16.1	...	...	...	...
	1991	36.8	25.5	22.5	15.2	78.4	13.0	7.2	1.4
	1994	33.8	24.1	27.0	15.1	77.0	12.8	8.4	1.8
	1997	31.6	22.8	29.3	16.3	76.8	11.8	8.9	2.6
Costa Rica	1981	21.7	45.6	20.5	12.2	44.9	46.3	6.9	2.0
	1990	15.7	43.1	22.4	18.8	35.7	50.9	10.0	3.4
	1994	13.9	41.7	24.7	19.7	33.9	52.7	9.5	3.9
	1998	11.9	41.0	23.6	23.4	28.4	55.5	10.7	5.4
Ecuador	1990	14.2	46.9	21.9	17.1	...	...	...	...
	1994	10.8	41.9	26.2	21.2	...	...	...	...
	1998	10.9	41.8	25.4	22.0	...	...	...	...
El Salvador	1995	31.7	34.4	20.6	13.3	74.6	21.1	3.6	0.7
	1998	26.7	35.0	23.4	14.9	66.5	26.2	6.0	1.3
Honduras	1990	39.1	38.7	15.1	7.1	76.0	22.1	1.7	0.2
	1994	32.7	39.3	19.0	9.1	64.9	31.7	2.9	0.5
	1998	29.8	44.6	16.0	9.5	64.2	31.5	3.7	0.7
Mexico a/	1989	23.3	48.5	12.3	15.9	59.8	34.1	3.5	2.5
	1994	19.1	49.6	13.4	17.8	54.5	39.9	3.7	1.9
	1996	13.5	52.0	16.8	17.8	40.1	49.7	6.7	3.5
Nicaragua	1997	26.4	41.6	17.8	14.3	...	...	...	...
Panama	1979	16.2	48.3	22.8	12.8	50.6	42.3	5.8	1.3
	1991	14.2	42.0	26.4	17.5	38.3	46.0	11.9	3.8
	1994	11.5	42.2	27.5	18.7	36.5	47.2	11.8	4.4
	1998	6.6	37.4	31.5	24.5	30.6	51.1	14.2	4.0
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	17.5	40.8	24.3	17.4	...	...	...	...
	1990	14.6	41.5	30.0	13.8	...	...	...	...
	1994	14.9	43.3	26.2	15.6	...	...	...	...
	1997	13.1	39.6	30.8	16.5	55.9	37.4	5.4	1.3

Table 24.1 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE MALE POPULATION OF 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Dominican Republic	1997	31.6	31.4	24.5	12.6	60.1	27.1	10.4	2.4
Uruguay	1981	22.9	49.6	20.4	7.2	...	...	...	...
	1990	16.0	49.4	24.3	10.3	...	...	...	...
	1994	13.8	50.5	25.7	10.0	...	...	...	...
	1998	9.7	52.1	26.3	11.9	...	...	...	...
Venezuela ^{c/}	1981	25.6	53.8	12.5	8.1	68.7	28.0	2.6	0.6
	1990	17.8	52.5	17.4	12.3	58.7	35.8	4.6	1.0
	1994	18.1	48.8	19.8	13.4	55.2	36.8	6.1	1.9
	1998	20.0	48.6	19.1	12.3	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ Information allowing the calculation of the number of years of schooling became available in 1996 in Mexico and 1997 in Argentina. Previous figures correspond to estimates based on the categories of incomplete primary schooling, complete primary and incomplete secondary, complete secondary, and higher education.
- b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.
- c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 24.2

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE FEMALE POPULATION OF 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Argentina a/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	16.2	65.6		18.2	...	...	...	...
	1990	14.0	65.7		20.3	...	...	...	...
	1994	7.7	64.5		27.7	...	...	...	...
	1998	7.2	33.2	29.5	30.1	...	...	...	...
Bolivia	1997	39.6	17.9	26.3	16.2	82.4	12.0	3.8	1.9
Brazil	1979	55.7	19.1	16.3	9.0	91.8	4.5	2.0	1.6
	1990	41.6	25.0	21.7	11.7	80.0	12.7	6.3	1.1
	1993	53.4	22.7	16.7	7.1	85.4	9.7	4.2	0.7
	1997	38.0	23.5	25.9	12.6	81.2	11.4	6.5	0.9
Chile	1990	12.3	23.5	35.1	29.2	24.8	35.2	22.5	17.4
	1994	10.6	20.3	39.3	29.8	25.2	36.1	24.8	13.9
	1998	8.7	20.2	40.5	30.6	24.8	37.2	26.9	11.1
Colombia b/	1980	47.6	25.4	17.4	9.6	...	...	...	...
	1990	26.5	27.6	29.0	16.9	...	...	...	...
	1991	33.2	22.8	26.8	17.2	69.9	14.8	12.5	2.8
	1994	29.4	21.7	31.1	17.8	63.4	14.7	18.2	3.7
	1997	26.2	21.2	33.6	19.0	61.0	16.9	17.1	5.0
Costa Rica	1981	17.5	38.8	28.0	15.7	31.1	51.3	13.3	4.3
	1990	11.4	37.5	27.1	24.0	23.5	50.2	17.6	8.7
	1994	10.6	36.4	27.7	25.3	22.5	52.5	16.6	8.4
	1998	10.2	35.7	23.2	30.9	18.2	52.8	17.3	11.8
Ecuador	1990	15.1	36.6	28.0	20.2	...	...	...	...
	1994	11.6	35.8	28.3	24.3	...	...	...	...
	1998	11.0	35.3	29.6	24.1	...	...	...	...
El Salvador	1995	36.2	28.0	22.0	13.8	73.0	20.3	5.0	1.7
	1998	31.0	27.9	25.7	15.5	66.1	24.0	7.5	2.4
Honduras	1990	36.8	33.7	22.7	6.8	69.6	22.7	7.3	0.4
	1994	31.0	38.2	22.8	8.0	53.6	33.9	11.4	1.1
	1998	27.6	37.4	25.2	9.7	56.1	33.0	10.6	0.3
Mexico a/	1989	18.5	54.4	15.0	12.0	60.0	33.8	3.2	2.9
	1994	18.9	50.6	15.1	15.3	54.9	38.4	4.5	2.2
	1996	14.0	53.3	14.7	18.1	36.8	50.9	7.1	5.2
Nicaragua	1997	26.2	40.7	19.9	13.2	...	...	...	...
Panama	1979	10.6	43.3	29.1	16.9	32.1	42.2	19.2	6.5
	1991	7.9	30.7	33.4	28.0	17.5	42.2	26.5	13.8
	1994	5.7	33.0	31.9	29.4	18.2	40.8	26.8	14.2
	1998	5.0	29.6	31.3	34.1	16.4	43.1	25.3	15.1
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	20.2	40.9	25.4	13.5	...	...	...	...
	1990	14.7	41.8	28.3	15.2	...	...	...	...
	1994	16.8	40.4	25.3	17.5	...	...	...	...
	1997	17.3	40.1	24.5	18.1	48.4	39.2	8.9	3.4

Table 24.2 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE FEMALE POPULATION OF 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)									
Country	Year	Urban areas				Rural areas			
		Years of schooling				Years of schooling			
		0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Republic Dominicana	1997	23.5	25.6	29.3	21.6	48.7	28.6	17.5	5.2
Uruguay	1981	18.6	43.7	24.2	13.4	...	...	...	...
	1990	11.6	42.0	29.0	17.4	...	...	...	...
	1994	10.0	42.2	30.0	17.8	...	...	...	...
	1998	7.1	41.7	30.8	20.4	...	...	...	...
Venezuela ^{c/}	1981	21.2	48.9	19.9	9.9	56.9	33.5	8.2	1.5
	1990	14.0	43.9	24.3	17.8	46.7	38.0	12.1	3.2
	1994	12.8	40.2	26.6	20.4	37.1	41.6	14.7	6.6
	1998	13.0	40.2	24.5	22.3	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ Information allowing the calculation of the number of years of schooling became available in 1996 in Mexico and 1997 in Argentina. Previous figures correspond to estimates based on the categories of incomplete primary schooling, complete primary and incomplete secondary, complete secondary, and higher education.
- b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.
- c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 25

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE YEARS OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED BY POPULATION BETWEEN 25 AND 59 YEARS OF AGE, BY SEX, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Averages)							
Country	Year	Urban areas			Rural areas		
		Average years of schooling			Average years of schooling		
		Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
Argentina a/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	7.9	7.9	7.8	...	...	...
	1990	8.8	8.9	8.8	...	...	...
	1994	9.0	9.0	9.0	...	...	...
	1998	10.1	10.0	10.1	...	...	...
Bolivia	1997	8.7	9.8	7.8	3.8	4.8	2.9
Brazil	1979	5.1	5.3	4.9	2.4	2.5	2.3
	1990	6.2	6.3	6.1	2.6	2.6	2.6
	1993	6.3	6.4	6.2	2.7	2.7	2.8
	1997	6.7	6.7	6.7	3.0	2.9	3.1
Chile	1990	9.7	10.1	9.5	6.2	6.3	6.2
	1994	10.2	10.4	10.0	6.6	6.7	6.5
	1998	10.6	10.8	10.4	6.6	6.6	6.6
Colombia b/	1980	6.8	7.4	6.2	...	...	...
	1990	8.2	8.6	7.8	...	...	...
	1991	8.1	8.5	7.8	4.1	4.1	4.1
	1994	8.3	8.6	8.1	4.4	4.3	4.4
	1997	8.6	8.9	8.4	4.5	4.5	4.6
Costa Rica	1981	7.5	7.9	7.3	4.6	4.7	4.5
	1990	9.6	10.0	9.3	6.3	6.6	6.0
	1994	9.1	9.3	8.9	6.0	6.0	6.0
	1998	9.6	9.9	9.3	6.5	6.4	6.5
Ecuador	1990	8.9	9.2	8.6	...	...	...
	1994	9.7	10.0	9.5	...	...	...
	1998	9.9	10.2	9.7	...	...	...
El Salvador	1995	7.5	8.3	6.9	2.7	3.1	2.3
	1998	8.1	8.7	7.7	3.4	3.8	3.0
Honduras	1990	6.4	6.8	6.1	2.5	2.6	2.4
	1994	7.0	7.5	6.6	3.4	3.4	3.4
	1998	7.3	7.6	7.0	3.5	3.6	3.4
Mexico a/	1989	7.5	8.1	7.0	4.7	5.0	4.5
	1994	8.0	8.5	7.6	5.0	5.3	4.8
	1996	8.6	9.1	8.2	5.7	5.9	5.5
Nicaragua	1997	7.9	8.4	7.6	...	...	...
Panama	1979	8.5	8.6	8.3	4.4	4.4	4.3
	1991	9.6	9.6	9.7	6.1	6.1	6.2
	1994	9.9	9.9	10.0	6.4	6.3	6.6
	1998	10.8	10.9	10.8	6.9	6.7	7.0
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	8.8	9.4	8.3	...	...	...
	1990	9.0	9.3	8.8	...	...	...
	1994	8.9	9.2	8.6	...	...	...
	1997	9.2	9.6	8.8	4.7	4.9	4.5

Table 25 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE YEARS OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED BY POPULATION BETWEEN 25 AND 59 YEARS OF AGE, BY SEX, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Averages)							
Country	Year	Urban areas			Rural areas		
		Average years of schooling			Average years of schooling		
		Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
Dominican Republic	1997	8.2	8.2	8.2	4.7	4.8	4.6
Uruguay	1981	7.3	7.3	7.3	...	...	...
	1990	8.3	8.3	8.4	...	...	...
	1994	8.6	8.6	8.7	...	...	...
	1998	9.2	9.0	9.3	...	...	...
Venezuela c/	1981	6.8	7.3	6.4	3.1	3.3	2.7
	1990	8.2	8.4	8.0	4.0	4.2	3.8
	1994	8.3	8.4	8.1	4.7	4.7	4.6
	1998	8.3	8.2	8.4	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ Information allowing the calculation of the number of years of schooling became available in 1996 in Mexico and 1997 in Argentina. Previous figures correspond to estimates based on the categories of incomplete primary schooling, complete primary and incomplete secondary, complete secondary, and higher education.
- b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.
- c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 26

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE YEARS OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED BY POPULATION BETWEEN 25 AND 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY SEX, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Averages)							
Country	Year	Urban areas			Rural areas		
		Average years of schooling			Average years of schooling		
		Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
Argentina a/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	8.3	8.4	8.2	...	...	...
	1990	9.2	9.1	9.2	...	...	...
	1994	9.3	9.3	9.4	...	...	...
	1998	10.5	10.3	10.7	...	...	...
Bolivia	1997	9.3	10.2	8.4	4.5	5.5	3.6
Brazil	1979	5.6	5.8	5.4	2.6	2.8	2.5
	1990	6.9	6.9	6.9	3.1	3.1	3.2
	1993	6.9	6.8	6.9	3.2	3.1	3.3
	1997	7.3	7.2	7.4	3.5	3.3	3.8
Chile	1990	10.4	10.6	10.2	7.0	7.0	7.1
	1994	10.7	10.8	10.7	7.5	7.5	7.5
	1998	11.2	11.4	11.1	7.4	7.3	7.5
Colombia b/	1980	7.2	7.7	6.7	...	...	...
	1990	8.8	9.1	8.5	...	...	...
	1991	8.7	9.1	8.5	4.7	4.6	4.7
	1994	8.9	9.0	8.7	4.9	4.9	5.0
	1997	9.2	9.4	9.1	5.1	5.0	5.2
Costa Rica	1981	8.2	8.5	7.9	5.2	5.3	5.1
	1990	10.1	10.5	9.8	7.0	7.2	6.8
	1994	9.6	9.8	9.5	6.7	6.7	6.7
	1998	10.1	10.2	10.0	7.0	6.9	7.2
Ecuador	1990	9.6	9.8	9.3	...	...	...
	1994	10.4	10.6	10.2	...	...	...
	1998	10.4	10.6	10.3	...	...	...
El Salvador	1995	8.4	9.0	7.8	3.2	3.6	2.8
	1998	8.8	9.2	8.5	4.0	4.5	3.6
Honduras	1990	7.0	7.3	6.8	3.0	3.0	2.9
	1994	7.6	7.9	7.4	4.0	3.9	4.1
	1998	7.8	8.0	7.7	4.0	4.0	4.0
Mexico a/	1989	8.1	8.6	7.5	5.1	5.5	4.8
	1994	8.5	8.8	8.2	5.6	5.9	5.3
	1996	9.1	9.5	8.7	6.2	6.5	6.0
Nicaragua	1997	8.5	8.8	8.3	...	...	...
Panama	1979	9.0	9.2	8.9	4.9	5.0	4.8
	1991	10.2	10.1	10.3	7.0	6.9	7.2
	1994	10.4	10.3	10.5	7.3	7.1	7.5
	1998	11.3	11.3	11.4	7.7	7.5	8.0
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	9.5	10.0	9.0	...	...	...
	1990	9.5	9.7	9.3	...	...	...
	1994	9.3	9.6	9.0	...	...	...
	1997	9.7	10.2	9.3	5.2	5.4	5.0

Cuadro 26 (conclusión)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE YEARS OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED BY POPULATION BETWEEN 25 AND 44 YEARS OF AGE, BY SEX, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Averages)							
Country	Year	Urban areas			Rural areas		
		Average years of schooling			Average years of schooling		
		Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
Dominican Republic	1997	8.9	8.8	9.1	5.3	5.4	5.3
Uruguay	1981	8.1	8.1	8.2	...	...	...
	1990	9.1	9.0	9.2	...	...	...
	1994	9.3	9.2	9.5	...	...	...
	1998	9.7	9.5	10.0	...	...	...
Venezuela <i>c/</i>	1981	7.4	7.7	7.1	3.6	3.9	3.3
	1990	8.7	8.8	8.7	4.7	4.8	4.6
	1994	8.8	8.8	8.8	5.2	5.0	5.4
	1998	8.8	8.5	9.1	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ Information allowing the calculation of the number of years of schooling became available in 1996 in Mexico and 1997 in Argentina. Previous figures correspond to estimates based on the categories of incomplete primary schooling, complete primary and incomplete secondary, complete secondary, and higher education.
- b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.
- c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Cuadro 27

**LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE YEARS OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED BY POPULATION
BETWEEN 45 AND 59 YEARS OF AGE, BY SEX, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998**
(Averages)

Country	Year	Urban areas			Rural areas		
		Average years of schooling			Average years of schooling		
		Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
Argentina a/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	7.3	7.3	7.2	...	...	...
	1990	8.2	8.4	8.0	...	...	...
	1994	8.5	8.6	8.4	...	...	...
	1998	9.2	9.3	9.1	...	...	...
Bolivia	1997	7.4	8.7	6.2	2.5	3.5	1.5
Brazil	1979	3.9	4.2	3.7	1.8	1.8	1.7
	1990	4.6	4.9	4.3	1.6	1.6	1.5
	1993	4.8	5.1	4.5	1.7	1.8	1.7
	1997	5.4	5.7	5.2	1.9	1.9	1.8
Chile	1990	8.3	8.8	7.8	4.4	4.5	4.2
	1994	9.0	9.5	8.6	4.7	4.9	4.5
	1998	9.2	9.6	8.9	4.8	5.0	4.7
Colombia b/	1980	5.8	6.5	5.1	...	...	...
	1990	6.5	7.1	6.0	...	...	...
	1991	6.2	6.8	5.7	2.9	3.0	2.8
	1994	6.8	7.5	6.3	3.1	3.2	3.0
	1997	7.1	7.8	6.6	3.3	3.4	3.2
Costa Rica	1981	6.1	6.3	5.8	3.1	3.2	3.0
	1990	8.2	8.8	7.7	4.3	4.9	3.8
	1994	7.7	8.3	7.2	4.0	4.2	3.9
	1998	8.5	9.0	8.0	5.0	5.2	4.7
Ecuador	1990	7.0	7.6	6.4	...	...	...
	1994	8.0	8.6	7.4	...	...	...
	1998	8.5	9.0	7.9	...	...	...
El Salvador	1995	5.5	6.5	4.8	1.6	1.8	1.4
	1998	6.2	7.2	5.4	2.0	2.4	1.6
Honduras	1990	4.5	5.0	4.1	1.4	1.6	1.2
	1994	5.3	6.2	4.6	2.1	2.2	1.9
	1998	5.8	6.5	5.2	2.4	2.6	2.2
Mexico a/	1989	6.0	6.6	5.6	3.7	3.8	3.5
	1994	6.8	7.5	6.2	3.8	4.0	3.6
	1996	7.2	7.8	6.6	4.1	4.2	3.9
Nicaragua	1997	6.2	7.1	5.5	...	...	...
Panama	1979	7.1	7.4	6.8	3.2	3.2	3.1
	1991	8.2	8.3	8.0	4.4	4.5	4.3
	1994	8.6	8.6	8.5	4.6	4.5	4.6
	1998	9.7	10.0	9.5	4.9	5.0	4.9
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	7.1	8.0	6.3	...	...	...
	1990	7.9	8.5	7.3	...	...	...
	1994	7.9	8.3	7.6	...	...	...
	1997	7.9	8.3	7.6	3.7	3.9	3.4

Cuadro 27 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): AVERAGE YEARS OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED BY POPULATION BETWEEN 45 AND 59 YEARS OF AGE, BY SEX, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Averages)							
Country	Year	Urban areas			Rural areas		
		Average years of schooling			Average years of schooling		
		Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
Dominican Republic	1997	6.0	6.5	5.5	3.5	3.7	3.2
Uruguay	1981	6.2	6.2	6.1	...	...	...
	1990	7.1	7.1	7.2	...	...	...
	1994	7.6	7.6	7.5	...	...	...
	1998	8.3	8.2	8.3	...	...	...
Venezuela ^{c/}	1981	5.1	5.9	4.4	1.7	2.0	1.3
	1990	6.6	7.4	5.9	2.4	2.9	1.9
	1994	6.8	7.3	6.3	3.1	3.7	2.4
	1998	7.0	7.4	6.7	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

- a/ Information allowing the calculation of the number of years of schooling became available in 1996 in Mexico and 1997 in Argentina. Previous figures correspond to estimates based on the categories of incomplete primary schooling, complete primary and incomplete secondary, complete secondary, and higher education.
- b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.
- c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 28

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): 20 TO 24 YEAR-OLDS WHO DO NOT ATTEND SCHOOL AND HAVE COMPLETED LESS THAN 10 YEARS OF SCHOOLING, BY SEX, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)							
Country	Year	Urban areas			Rural areas		
		Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
Argentina a/ (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	51.3	55.1	48.2	...	...	...
	1990	50.8	54.7	46.9	...	...	...
	1994	43.7	48.5	39.0	...	...	...
	1998	31.9	35.1	28.8	...	...	...
Bolivia	1997	26.9	21.7	31.6	79.7	74.8	84.7
Brazil	1979	63.6	64.7	62.5	90.8	91.4	90.1
	1990	59.4	62.9	56.2	88.4	91.2	85.2
	1993	59.7	63.6	56.0	86.8	89.2	84.1
	1997	53.0	57.2	48.9	81.2	82.7	79.5
Chile	1990	26.1	25.3	26.9	68.0	71.8	63.8
	1994	20.2	20.8	19.5	60.8	63.5	58.0
	1998	17.1	18.9	15.4	56.6	59.3	53.6
Colombia b/	1980	53.6	52.2	54.7	...	...	...
	1990	42.9	43.6	42.4	...	...	...
	1991	45.0	46.2	44.1	77.8	79.8	76.0
	1994	39.6	40.6	38.7	74.8	76.9	72.8
	1997	35.0	36.0	34.2	72.2	75.3	69.0
Costa Rica	1981	41.6	43.7	39.7	75.2	75.1	75.3
	1990	45.5	46.2	44.7	78.1	80.0	76.0
	1994	40.6	37.8	43.9	78.6	81.2	75.6
	1998	40.9	41.5	40.3	70.3	72.4	68.3
Ecuador	1990	35.7	38.3	33.4	...	...	...
	1994	32.1	31.9	32.3	...	...	...
	1998	35.1	36.9	33.4	...	...	...
El Salvador	1995	46.2	48.7	43.9	85.6	86.7	84.6
	1998	43.3	42.4	44.1	81.8	80.4	83.2
Honduras	1990	61.4	62.4	60.7	93.9	95.2	92.6
	1994	61.9	62.6	61.4	90.3	91.9	88.7
	1998	58.9	63.8	55.3	89.3	91.4	87.1
Mexico a/	1994	58.3	54.7	61.7	89.9	89.2	90.6
	1996	55.2	51.0	59.3	83.6	82.3	84.6
Nicaragua	1997	49.9	51.0	49.0	...	...	...
Panama	1991	36.9	41.9	32.1	63.4	66.1	60.2
	1994	36.4	41.7	31.2	64.1	68.7	59.0
	1998	28.9	31.5	26.3	65.4	71.3	59.1
Paraguay (Asunción)	1994	42.8	45.8	40.3	...	...	...
	1997	42.9	39.9	45.6	83.2	86.3	80.0
Dominican Republic	1997	43.1	47.0	39.7	67.9	72.0	63.4

Cuadro 28 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): 20 TO 24 YEAR-OLDS WHO DO NOT ATTEND SCHOOL AND HAVE COMPLETED LESS THAN 10 YEARS OF SCHOOLING, BY SEX, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)							
Country	Year	Urban areas			Rural areas		
		Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
Uruguay	1981	52.8	55.4	50.5	...	...	...
	1990	41.9	47.0	37.3	...	...	...
	1994	44.1	51.7	36.9	...	...	...
	1997	45.4	52.0	38.5	...	...	...
	1998	46.4	53.7	39.1	...	...	...
Venezuela ^{c/}	1981	57.1	59.2	55.1	86.6	89.0	83.6
	1990	51.7	55.5	48.0	84.9	88.7	80.7
	1994	47.1	52.2	42.1	80.2	82.0	78.0
	1998	48.7	55.6	41.6	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries..

- a/ Information allowing the calculation of the number of years of schooling became available in 1996 in Mexico and 1997 in Argentina. Previous figures correspond to estimates based on the categories of incomplete primary schooling, complete primary and incomplete secondary, complete secondary, and higher education.
- b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.
- c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 29

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): 15 TO 24 YEAR-OLDS WHO NEITHER WORK NOR ATTEND SCHOOL, BY SEX, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)							
Country	Year	Urban areas			Rural areas		
		Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	19.9	10.5	29.4	...	...	...
	1990	21.0	12.7	29.9	...	...	...
	1994	21.1	15.4	27.0	...	...	...
	1998	21.0	15.7	26.2	...	...	...
Bolivia	1997	10.8	4.2	16.9	9.4	1.8	17.2
Brazil	1979	21.4	9.6	32.4	23.8	3.7	45.3
	1990	21.3	11.5	30.7	22.7	4.8	43.0
	1993	21.0	11.7	29.8	17.3	5.2	31.4
	1997	20.2	12.3	27.7	17.5	5.9	30.5
Chile	1990	26.1	15.8	35.8	37.6	14.7	62.1
	1994	22.6	13.3	31.8	36.5	14.8	58.4
	1998	21.9	15.4	28.3	31.5	17.9	46.5
Colombia <i>a/</i>	1980	21.2	11.4	28.7	...	...	...
	1990	22.3	13.4	29.6	...	...	...
	1991	22.6	11.9	31.2	29.5	7.8	51.3
	1994	18.8	9.8	26.2	26.4	6.3	48.2
	1997	22.7	15.0	29.3	26.6	8.0	46.3
Costa Rica	1981	23.5	14.5	32.3	35.4	13.4	57.1
	1990	20.1	10.3	30.5	32.3	9.9	56.5
	1994	17.2	8.4	26.3	28.0	9.4	48.6
	1998	17.1	10.1	24.2	28.3	10.7	47.1
Ecuador	1990	17.4	7.5	26.7	...	...	...
	1994	18.2	9.4	26.2	...	...	...
	1998	20.1	10.8	29.0	...	...	...
El Salvador	1995	20.9	12.0	28.8	36.7	14.1	59.3
	1998	22.0	13.9	29.4	33.3	12.7	53.9
Honduras	1990	27.0	13.8	37.6	39.9	7.2	73.5
	1994	24.3	12.4	34.0	35.6	8.0	64.8
	1998	22.6	11.4	32.3	33.9	6.3	64.3
Mexico	1994	23.4	10.3	35.7	32.6	8.6	55.5
	1996	24.0	13.2	34.9	31.4	8.1	52.8
Nicaragua	1997	24.5	17.3	31.2	...	...	...
Panama	1991	27.3	20.5	34.0	32.3	12.4	55.5
	1994	24.8	18.0	31.7	32.5	13.6	54.3
	1998	21.3	15.4	26.9	32.3	13.1	53.4
Paraguay (Asunción)	1994	15.2	6.6	22.0	...	...	...
	1997	17.8	11.9	23.0	29.2	8.8	51.1
Dominican Republic	1997	20.5	12.4	27.3	25.7	10.8	42.1

Table 29 (concluded)

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): 15 TO 24 YEAR-OLDS WHO NEITHER WORK NOR ATTEND SCHOOL, BY SEX, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1998 (Percentages)							
Country	Year	Urban areas			Rural areas		
		Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
Uruguay	1981	22.6	11.3	32.7	...	...	...
	1990	19.9	13.7	25.8	...	...	...
	1994	21.4	15.0	27.7	...	...	...
	1998	20.7	15.7	25.8	...	...	...
Venezuela b/	1981	25.8	14.8	36.3	32.2	11.0	60.6
	1990	28.7	19.8	37.6	37.3	13.7	65.8
	1994	24.6	14.6	34.6	32.1	11.0	57.4
	1998	25.2	16.3	34.4	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries..

- a/ Information allowing the calculation of the number of years of schooling became available in 1996 in Mexico and 1997 in Argentina. Previous figures correspond to estimates based on the categories of incomplete primary schooling, complete primary and incomplete secondary, complete secondary, and higher education.
- b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.
- c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 30

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): MONTHLY LABOUR INCOME CAPACITY EQUIVALENT (CEMIT) ^{a/} OF 15 TO 24 YEAR-OLDS WHO WORK 20 HOURS OR MORE PER WEEK, BY SEX, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1997 (Averages)							
Country	Year	Urban areas			Rural areas		
		CEMIT average			CEMIT average		
		Both sexes	Males	Females	Both sexes	Males	Females
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	5.1	5.3	4.7	...	...	...
	1990	2.6	2.6	2.7	...	...	...
	1997	4.3	4.2	4.3	...	...	...
Bolivia	1989	2.3	2.7	1.9	...	...	...
	1997	2.2	2.5	1.6	2.3	2.6	1.5
Brazil	1979	2.7	3.1	2.1	1.8	2.0	1.4
	1990	2.2	2.4	1.9	2.0	2.2	1.6
	1996	2.7	2.9	2.4	2.1	2.2	1.8
Chile	1990	2.2	2.3	2.0	2.3	2.4	2.2
	1998	3.5	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.1
Colombia ^{b/}	1980	2.2	2.2	2.1	...	...	...
	1990	2.2	2.3	2.2	...	...	...
	1991	1.8	1.9	1.7	2.2	2.4	1.6
	1997	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.4	2.5	2.0
Costa Rica	1981	3.8	3.7	4.0	3.2	3.4	2.7
	1990	3.5	3.5	3.4	4.1	4.3	3.6
	1997	3.6	3.6	3.8	4.2	4.2	4.2
Ecuador	1990	2.2	2.3	2.0	...	...	...
	1997	2.3	2.2	2.4	...	...	...
El Salvador	1997	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.4	2.5	2.0
Honduras	1990	1.6	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4
	1997	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.0
México	1989	2.3	2.6	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.7
	1996	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.3
Nicaragua	1997	1.6	1.8	1.3	...	...	...
Panama	1979	3.9	4.3	3.4	4.1	3.9	4.7
	1991	2.7	3.0	2.3	2.7	2.9	2.1
	1997	3.2	3.4	2.9	3.3	3.3	3.5
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	1.3	1.7	1.1	...	...	...
	1990	1.6	1.9	1.2	...	...	...
	1996	1.9	1.8	2.0	...	...	...
Dominican Republic	1997	3.1	3.1	3.2	4.0	4.1	3.4
Uruguay	1981	3.1	3.3	2.7	...	...	...
	1990	2.3	2.4	2.1	...	...	...
	1997	2.9	3.0	2.8	...	...	...
Venezuela ^{c/}	1981	5.7	5.9	5.3	5.9	6.0	5.3
	1990	3.2	3.3	2.8	3.3	3.3	2.9
	1997	2.4	2.5	2.3	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ Represents monthly income calculated on the basis of value per hour worked, expressed as multiples of the poverty line. Does not include unpaid family workers.

b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.

c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.

Table 31

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES): MONTHLY LABOUR INCOME CAPACITY EQUIVALENT (CEMIT) ^{a/} OF 25 TO 59 YEAR-OLDS WHO WORK 20 HOURS OR MORE PER WEEK, BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING, URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, 1980-1997 (Averages)											
Country	Year	Urban areas					Rural areas				
		CEMIT average					CEMIT average				
		Total	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more	Total	0 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 or more
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1980	9.0	5.6	7.4	11.9	16.3	...	...	...	...	...
	1990	4.5	2.9	3.4	4.6	7.8	...	...	...	...	...
	1997	7.9	4.1	5.0	7.3	13.1	...	...	...	...	...
Bolivia	1989	4.7	3.2	3.6	4.7	7.8	...	...	...	...	...
	1997	4.4	2.6	3.2	4.2	8.6	2.9	2.0	4.0	4.4	8.4
Brazil	1979	7.0	4.2	7.4	10.8	20.7	3.1	2.9	6.6	9.9	11.1
	1990	5.7	3.0	4.5	7.2	15.2	3.5	3.0	5.5	7.3	17.4
	1996	6.6	3.4	4.9	7.7	18.4	3.6	2.9	4.5	7.5	19.8
Chile	1990	4.1	2.1	2.3	3.2	7.5	3.3	2.5	2.6	3.7	8.7
	1998	7.8	3.2	3.9	5.9	14.3	5.5	3.8	4.1	7.7	16.8
Colombia ^{b/}	1980	4.6	2.3	3.6	5.9	12.3	...	...	...	...	...
	1990	4.2	2.3	3.0	4.5	8.5	...	...	...	...	...
	1991	3.1	1.9	2.4	3.2	5.7	3.7	3.0	4.7	6.3	10.0
	1997	4.3	2.1	3.0	4.5	8.1	3.0	2.4	2.9	4.9	7.8
Costa Rica	1981	7.7	5.1	6.0	8.7	13.8	7.9	7.0	7.5	11.2	18.3
	1990	5.7	3.2	4.0	5.9	9.4	5.8	4.9	5.4	7.4	11.5
	1997	6.0	3.4	4.0	5.6	9.7	6.2	4.8	5.5	7.7	12.7
Ecuador	1990	3.5	2.1	2.7	3.7	5.7	...	...	...	...	...
	1997	3.4	1.9	2.2	3.5	5.3	...	...	...	...	...
El Salvador	1997	4.8	2.2	3.2	5.7	10.1	3.1	2.7	4.9	2.9	11.8
Honduras	1990	3.4	1.6	2.5	5.2	10.0	2.3	1.9	3.3	7.4	8.4
	1997	2.4	1.2	1.9	2.9	5.7	2.2	1.9	2.5	4.3	6.4
Mexico	1989	4.8	3.0	3.8	5.8	8.9	3.7	3.0	4.4	6.0	7.9
	1996	4.2	2.0	2.8	4.4	8.6	3.1	2.2	2.9	5.2	7.8
Nicaragua	1997	2.8	1.7	2.3	2.7	5.7	...	...	...	...	...
Panama	1979	7.0	3.7	5.0	8.0	13.2	4.6	3.4	5.1	8.6	14.3
	1991	6.5	3.3	4.1	5.9	10.8	6.1	3.7	5.1	7.3	12.2
	1997	6.5	3.1	4.0	5.8	10.5	5.8	3.6	5.0	6.7	10.7
Paraguay (Asunción)	1986	3.6	1.5	2.3	4.1	7.5	...	...	...	...	...
	1990	3.7	2.0	2.7	4.0	7.1	...	...	...	...	...
	1996	4.1	2.3	3.0	3.9	11.8	...	...	...	...	...
Dominican Republic	1997	5.1	3.4	4.4	4.9	8.8	5.1	4.6	5.4	5.7	8.8
Uruguay	1981	6.2	4.4	5.4	7.2	12.2	...	...	...	...	...
	1990	4.2	2.8	3.4	5.0	6.8	...	...	...	...	...
	1997	5.6	3.5	4.2	6.2	9.4	...	...	...	...	...
Venezuela ^{c/}	1981	9.0	6.1	8.0	11.3	17.8	7.4	6.2	9.3	14.2	23.3
	1990	5.4	3.9	4.6	5.8	8.5	5.1	4.4	5.8	6.8	9.4
	1997	4.3	3.0	3.5	4.2	7.0	...	...	...	...	...

Source: ECLAC, on the basis of special tabulations of data from household surveys in the respective countries.

a/ Represents monthly income calculated on the basis of value per hour worked, expressed as multiples of the poverty line. Does not include unpaid family workers.

b/ As of 1993, the geographical coverage of the survey was extended to nearly the entire urban population of the country. Up to 1992, the survey covered approximately half the urban population, with the exception of 1991, when a nationwide survey was conducted. Therefore, the figures for 1980 and 1990 refer to eight major cities only.

c/ The design of the sample used in surveys conducted since 1997 does not provide for urban/rural disaggregation, and the figures therefore refer to the national total.