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Thelma Gálvez P.





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Thelma Gálvez P.





**Women and Development Unit** 

Santiago, Chile, December 2002

This report was prepared by Thelma Gálvez, for the Women and Development Unit.

The opinions expressed in this report, which has not been subject to editorial review, are the exclusive responsibility of the author and are not necessarily those of the United Nations.

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### **Abstract**

In a number of its studies and publications, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) examines the effects of development on social equity in an approach that is complementary to its economic approach to development. In this document it seeks to demonstrate the importance of understanding and considering gender inequalities as a step towards achieving a more equitable society in Latin American.

To this end, the economic issues most developed by ECLAC have been selected and an assessment has been made of the status of women and men in the 1990s to underscore the main problems and current trends. For each issue, attention is drawn to new directions that warrant the consideration of public policy-makers and those responsible for monitoring public policy designed to eliminate gender inequities.

The author has worked with statistical information from the widest possible cross-section of Latin American countries. Much of this has been drawn from the 1997 and 1998 editions of the ECLAC publication Social Panorama of Latin America and was used in the context of that document. In addition, the ECLAC Statistics and Economic Projections Division was requested to furnish new tabulations of household survey data for selected countries representative of the different situations existing in Latin America and which would provide good coverage for the issues being researched. On some issues, such as quality of work or sex segregation of occupations, the sample is limited to as few as 5 or 3 countries.

Although in selecting the countries, the emphasis was on presenting a heterogeneous sample in terms of size and income levels, a number of economic characteristics of gender inequities as they affect women were also found and documented statistically. Overall income is in any case lower for women than for men, since women often work under more precarious employment conditions: a lower rate of activity, higher unemployment rates, lower hourly rates of pay. In the 1990s, the labour market dynamic operated in favour of the recruitment of women; however, the impact of globalization has been to reduce further the low income share received by women for paid work and to accentuate differences within the group. The market includes those that are better educated but systematically places a relatively high proportion of women in the low productivity sectors. The same trend has some favourable aspects which need to be researched in greater depth, such as the decline in the degree of sex segregation for paid work. Education -the greatest achievement for women in the decade- has not broken the mould of sexual segregation of labour, nor has it changed in any significant way the prejudices and culture which still prevent women from securing jobs consistent with their better formal preparation compared with that of men. Even more serious, there is no evidence of improvement in the case of the younger and more highly educated generations.

In addition, women's status with respect to ownership of capital and entrepreneurship is also inferior. Not only are the scope and type of business they undertake more limited, but they do not exercise the power that such activities normally confer.

There are obvious limitations in introducing consideration of gender inequities in thinking and in measuring instruments that have been designed without it. The issues to which attention is drawn are those that have been conceptualized for measuring them on the basis of a gender-sensitive vision of society and the economy. Research on economic phenomena not normally recognized as such –for example the distribution of unpaid work between women and men or the importance of the household economy in the context of the general economy— will be left to a subsequent study which may examine new instruments designed more specifically for that purpose. Until now, the measurements of domestic work have not been considered and, instead, "economic inactivity" is used as a proxy variable.

The study notes that the division of economic and cultural labour based on sex is at the root of discrimination, so that the rest of the evidence is in part a reflection of or complementary to this basic, culturally-reinforced inequality.

Lastly, the author wishes to acknowledge the invaluable role played by the Statistics and Economic Projections Division of ECLAC through the assistance of Rosa Bravo, who provided support for the selection of countries and the formulation of the required tabulations, as well as the household survey processing unit, which delivered the information required on a timely basis. Acknowledgements are also due to the Women and Development Unit, especially Sonia Montaño, Nieves Rico and Diane Almeras for the guidance received on the work and the support received as well as to Irma Arriagada and Rosa Bravo, who acted as a sounding board for the views expressed in this document.

### Introduction

At the twenty-seventh meeting of the Presiding Officers of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean (San Salvador, El Salvador, 2 to 4 December 1998), member countries serving as Presiding Officers agreed that the eighth meeting of the Regional Conference (Lima, Peru, 8-10 February 2000) should be devoted to the analysis of the issue "Gender equity: the basis for a just and equitable society" and that, in this context, the areas to be studied should be strategic areas I to V of the Regional Programme of Action for the Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, 1995-2001: (a) gender equity; (b) human rights, peace and violence.

The present document on the economic aspects of gender equity is one of a series of studies conducted by the Women and Development Unit of ECLAC within the framework of the ECLAC/GTZ project entitled "Development and Social Equity in Latin America and the Caribbean" as a contribution to the discussions and debates carried out by countries at the eighth meeting of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean. It illustrates the relevance of understanding and studying the inequities existing between women and men in order to achieve a Latin American society where greater equity prevails.

ECLAC, 1999. Report of the twenty-seventh meeting of the Presiding Officers of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean (San Salvador, El Salvador, 2-4 December 1998) (LC/L.1188(MDM.27/4)). Santiago, Chile, 24 March, paragraph 37, agreement 6.

Inequality is, precisely, one of the characteristics of Latin American societies. Serious efforts have repeatedly been made to underscore inequality between nations, regions, areas and social classes with a view to formulating proposals geared to overcoming the injustices and inequities that they generate.

More recently, efforts have been made to reveal other inequalities that affect the overall picture of inequity in the region. Studies concerning inequality between women and men are conspicuous by their absence, even among the flurry of socioeconomic literature. This lack has been more than compensated for by the proliferation of gender studies, whose main value consists in the academic and political status they give to the demands by women's social movements that this inequality should be acknowledged. Thanks to these movements, today we can be informed of issues that enable us to refine and deepen the analysis of the social reality. The interdisciplinary dialogue and the need for holistic policies that derive from this new knowledge are a fundamental contribution to the region.

The study we are presenting is part of the ECLAC proposals to Governments of the region for integrating the gender approach into analyses and policies with a view to productive restructuring with equity. It is useful not only for illustrating the complexity of equity issues but also insofar as the analysis of gender equality in the region can be a tremendous contribution to the reinforcement of an integrating proposal; moreover, it puts paid, in no uncertain terms to any optimism concerning approaches that favour growth over policies for social development and equity. The study of the gender gap is an excellent basis for demonstrating the imperative for a coordinated approach to economic and social development, productive restructuring and human rights, universal rights and respect for difference.

This document uses authenticated information sources, such as the household surveys, to assess one of the most dramatic features of inequity in the region. The economic issues selected are those analysed in depth by ECLAC, producing an assessment of the situation of women and men in the 1990s to highlight the principal problems and current trends. The statistical data used relate to a subgroup of countries in Latin America; clearly, this does not cover fully the whole picture although it does reveal the current trends.

The study shows how biological differences have become the basis for discrimination and have produced over time ethically unacceptable, although fortunately socially avoidable, gaps throughout Latin America. Discrimination against women can be avoided through policies for equity that go beyond the mere modification of roles in favour of the introduction of thoroughgoing structural and cultural changes in all institutions throughout the region.

The gender analysis of inequalities is not limited to a comparison between men and women, although it relies on this to make an appropriate analysis of the social reality. For this purpose, a first step is to ensure that these inequalities are demonstrated statistically. Knowing the differentiated effect that economic policies have on men and women is not just an academic exercise; indeed, it is vital, bearing in mind that, irrespective of the social group to which they belong, women are subject to discrimination and are invariably at a disadvantage with respect to their male counterparts.

Gender analysis is a tool for highlighting one of the greatest injustices perpetrated against humanity and can be used to formulate policies for the elimination of all forms of discrimination as a step towards promoting respect for human rights. But beyond this, gender analysis is a tool for economic growth since, by bringing to light and comparing the potential and limitations of half of the population, it can enable countries to achieve the desired objective of systemic competitiveness.

Official information is carefully analysed and used to show how income distribution is based on an imposed cultural contract which attaches a high value to women's role as mothers and takes

it for granted that they should provide the unpaid domestic work; meanwhile, the notion of man's role as provider continues to prevail however much at odds with the true social picture. Statistics on total income by sex reveal the extent of women's access to the labour market, property ownership and transfers. Although the gap is decreasing, the income-generating capacity continues to be lower for the women in the region, while the extent of their reproductive role remains clouded in statistical obscurity.

In Latin America, women account for the majority of economically dependent adults, although one of the most striking phenomena of the last decade was the massive entry of women into the paid labour force. The study highlights the strategic importance for equity of measuring the working hours spent on unpaid domestic work, an obligation which remains largely associated with women and girls and which, in addition to the increase in paid employment, attests to the unjust conditions which women have to face when entering the labour market. The redistribution of family responsibilities would seem to be a high priority on the social agenda.

Another significant contribution of the disaggregated analysis is that it enables us, not only to demonstrate the gap between men and women in the labour market, but also the disparities between groups of women due to the additional disadvantages faced by poor, indigenous and young women.

Although female participation rates in economic activity have increased, they have still not caught up with male labour participation rates, which suggests that there is still a marked bias in favour of men. There is no evidence of any relationship between participation rates and GDP. Unemployment is also higher in all cases, hence the need to understand the mechanisms for discrimination in seeking to achieve equal opportunities for employment.

Appropriate responses must therefore be found for increasing the participation of women in economic activities. These will not necessarily be limited strictly to the economic sphere but may involve expanding women's role as citizens, the type of structural reforms underway, the strength of social movements, and cultural and institutional factors as pointed out by the author.

Indications are that women are over-represented in low-productivity businesses and under-represented in medium and high productivity sectors. Similarly, women's income in these sectors is only 50% of that of men.

The study gives an overview of the economic aspects of gender equity showing that in practically all the indicators such as employment, unemployment, income, property and management, women suffer greater disadvantages. Employment segregation is also negative for them.

Despite the fact that more women are engaged in economic activity, that the income gap is narrowing and that education levels are improving, women in the region have still not managed to "catch up" with men and continue to face not only a heavier burden of work including unpaid domestic work and community work, but also smaller benefits from the social insurance systems and a gender gap at the level of decision-making, as demonstrated by complementary studies conducted by ECLAC.

The study is an illustration of the analytical scope for using available information as a basis for developing economic and social policy. However, conceptual and methodological challenges persist in terms of the need to measure factors linked to unpaid domestic work, use of time, contributions and differentiated benefits between men and women in the social insurance system and other important issues for equity policies in the region.

The purpose of this document is to demonstrate that the inequities existing between women and men must be comprehended and addressed if one hopes to achieve greater equity in Latin American society.

Consideration of gender differences broadens the spectrum of the issues for discussion. In general, the study of inequities has been centred on the shortcomings and exclusions that affect the majority in terms of income, education and participation. If we look at the inequities between women and men more serious deficiencies and exclusions also emerge that affect women belonging to minority groups at a higher level: better jobs, higher income, post-graduate education, science and technology, property and decision-making power. Both types of differences are obstacles to the achievement of a more egalitarian, more cohesive and inclusive society.

## I. Clarifications relating to gender equity

A few clarifications are in order if we are to focus on the problem of inequality between the sexes.

The word "sex" refers to the biological distinction between women and men. "Gender", on the other hand, refers to the construction of a set of roles and values corresponding to each of the sexes and is used to stress the fact that these roles and values are historically and socially constructed.

In Latin American society in the 1990s, two principles have regulated the basic relationship between the sexes and are a consistent feature of gender construction in the region, with differences of degree between countries as demonstrated below.

The first principle applies in the economic sphere and relates to the division of labour between women and men. Although the data for the 1990s show that a large segment of women share the role of economic provider for their household on an equal basis with men, labour regulations and patterns of social behaviour are governed by the idea that men are the breadwinners and women devote their time mainly to domestic chores and child-bearing.

The same principle governs the division of labour by sex on the labour market. Society is slow to adjust to economic changes in this respect much more than in others, hence the importance of taking the gender issue into account in designing general policies.

The other principle applies to the cultural sphere, although its origin is linked to the first principle and refers to the cultural devaluation of "the feminine" compared with "the masculine" in the social world: in economics, politics, work and education.

Describing the basis of our social organization in relation to gender is relevant for two reasons. First, because it constitutes the basic and deepest obstacles to providing equal opportunities for both sexes, and second, because these obstacles must be reduced and, ultimately, eliminated in order to achieve the goals of gender equity.

The following introduction reports on the trends that must be taken into account in the formulation of policies that promote the achievement of gender equity. It is based on the main issues treated in ECLAC, which range from social equity to the analysis of the most glaring examples of gender inequity.

ECLAC monitors economic developments closely and has drawn attention to the consequences of such developments on important aspects of the life of individuals with emphasis on the widening inequality in income distribution between households, based mainly on the way the labour market operates. The causes of income inequality are associated with the uneven distribution of educational capital between individuals and the lower creation and availability of medium and high productivity jobs. Remedial policies that can provide greater equity on the labour market are recommended both for education and for productive restructuring.

This approach is extended to encompass concerns in other areas, which are, to a greater or lesser degree, related to the inequitable distribution of the fruits of economic growth among the population, namely, inequalities in terms of access to social benefits (social security, health services and housing), political, economic and cultural empowerment, environmental degradation, integration in society (social empowerment and the expression of demands). Within this framework, ECLAC has been studying gender equity as a part of social equity. The emphasis placed on studies on the causes of poverty, to sum up the situation of those most deprived of wellbeing, incorporates the notion of exclusion which describes the situation of these groups who live and reproduce without proper access to social goods. Social policies are proposed for coping with these new issues.

According to one approach, the lack of equity in the region is attributable to the way the economy functions, which is reflected and reproduced in numerous aspects of economic, social and cultural life.

More recently, documents have been produced and discussions have taken place on equality, justice, rights, differences, recognition, essential concepts based on the introduction of a value such as equity in the study of Latin American society. Once a problem of values is deemed to exist and has been defined, one must explain why it is considered to be a problem, the issues it is related to, how it manifests itself, what policies have been adopted to solve it and under what conditions it can be resolved.

From the point of view of gender analysis, everything that prevents or systematically hinders access by men or women to some universal right constitutes a gender injustice. This analysis is superimposed on the general analyses of injustice highlighting the differences or gaps between the two sexes and seeking explanations that support the formulation of gender equity policies.

In order to direct the gender assessment, the review of texts in circulation reveals gender equity as the concept of citizens (both men and women) as persons endowed with inalienable rights. This calls for two clarifications: one relating to the approach based on individual rights or rights of persons, and the other to the sphere of rights which will be considered.

Under many approaches, the relationship between the sexes or concept of gender remains circumscribed to the sphere of the family. If we take the family as the unit, the individual rights of those that make it up become blurred and roles of gender, kinship, authority and subordination are intensified. To speak of equity in this document implies that the individual approach is given precedence as expressed in the following quotation, taken from a study on gender indicators: "The indicators compare adult individuals. Most women and men live much of their lives with others – spouses, children, elderly parents and non-relatives. But the family or household is not a suitable unit for gender indicators. Most definitions of well-being used for social indicators stress the importance of self-determination, security and ability to control resources such as money, one's own work effort and social relations. While income-sharing takes place within households, for example, it is not factored into the income indicators because actual control over "shared" income will vary from one situation to another. A better understanding of individual resources available to women and men is needed as this can affect an individual's ability to make economic decisions and to negotiate with others, inside and outside the household".<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, the family can compensate for gender imbalances produced at the individual level. This unit fulfils the duty of looking after children, elderly parents, relatives and, under certain matrimonial legislations, the husband's duty towards the wife or of either spouse, of whichever sex, towards the other. When individual rights are not applied on an equal basis to each sex, the task of redistributing monetary or non-monetary resources to ensure the survival of all its members falls to the family as an intermediary unit. Nevertheless, from the point of view of equity, the equality of individuals cannot be based on a family structure that is unequal for the two sexes.

Apart from the ethical principle that underlies this position, the tensions that families experience today are clearly a factor. From the social point of view, one of the trends characteristic of modern life and which weakens social cohesion... is family mobility and this weakens the protective family nucleus..." On the one hand, the demise of the welfare State with the resulting decline in social benefits increases risks for families, whose economic security becomes dependent on the market; on the other hand, families are less able to cope with such risks. They tend to be smaller in size and their economic security is no longer based on having many children who contribute to their work, but rather on a small number of children who are given higher education, and therefore greater opportunities for securing a job. There are many nuclear families that are incomplete, which have a female head of household and from which one spouse is missing. Therefore, individual security and protection of individual rights are more urgent at present.

With respect to rights, this document limits itself to the explanation of the situation in relation to economic rights, with full knowledge that there are also gender inequities in other areas, such as those that guarantee individual freedoms or the right to influence society politically. Within an area referred to as economic, social and cultural rights, the following rights are listed:

- 1. The right to work: the right to work, the right to a satisfactory remuneration and to a minimum wage, the right to a reasonable working day, to equitable conditions and equal pay for equal work;
- 2. The right to an acceptable standard of living
- 3. The right to social security

Project "Economic gender equality indicators" commissioned by the Federal-Provincial/Territorial Ministers Responsible for the Status of Women, Canada. Down-loaded from the Internet, publication ISBN 0-662-26159-3; 1997.

ECLAC/Inter-American Institute of Human Rights. La Igualdad de los Modernos. 1997; ECLAC: Cómo promover los derechos económicos, sociales y culturales? 1994.

ECLAC/Inter-American Institute of Human Rights. La Igualdad de los Modernos. 1997; ECLAC: Cómo promover los derechos económicos, sociales y culturales? 1994.

- 4. The right to health care and medical assistance
- 5. The right to housing
- 6. The right to education
- 7. The right to culture.

Not all of these are developed in this document, which is limited to those areas addressed by ECLAC and for which there is sufficient statistical evidence available to give an insight into the status of women. The study was carried out in collaboration with the Statistics and Economic Projections Division of ECLAC, which specially processed much of the material presented. When dealing with a group of countries, one should bear in mind that the enforcement of economic, social and cultural rights "depends on the level of social well-being that can be achieved subject to average productivity in the society and State capacity to influence directly and indirectly the distribution of resources". Nevertheless, since economic levels vary from one country to another, it is clear that gender gaps are not necessarily linked to average productivity or to the transfer of resources between social groups. Cultural factors also play an important role.

<sup>5</sup> ECLAC/Inter-American Institute of Human Rights. La Igualdad de los Modernos, 1997.

### II. Equity issues

### A. Total income by sex

Traditionally, presentations on equity tend to focus on income distribution between persons and their homes, as summed up in the following quotation ... "Since money is essentially a means of exchange, the amount of monetary income and its distribution between the recipients and households should be considered as the central indicator in any analysis of equity conditions in most societies in the modern world" ... "The growing expansion of market relations, not only towards particular zones, but even towards areas not previously regulated by market logic, is the main justification for treating income distribution as the central element among equity indicators."

Although this is not the only form of distribution of resources among persons, it is generally recognized as the most important and as determining other forms of distribution. From the perspective of individual rights, since the right to paid occupation is expressed as a right of citizens and since work is the principal source of income, the point is to determine the extent of the income differential between women and men.

The adoption of this approach implies a recognition that income permits and/or facilitates economic independence and the expression of citizenship, which should not be denied to any adult irrespective of sex.

<sup>6</sup> ECLAC/Inter-American Institute of Human Rights. La Igualdad de los Modernos, 1997.

In an ideal situation, some adults may, for personal reasons or as a result of negotiations within the home, opt to be economically dependent, which would not have gender connotations if it were the same for both women and men. In Latin America, economically dependent adults are predominantly women.

Just as per capita income expresses a relative and comparable magnitude between countries, total income by sex enables us to compare income obtained by the female population in a country with income obtained by men. The indicator presented refers to the *individual capacity to generate income and its average amount* and not to the availability of the income generated, which, to a large extent, is spent on the family from the home.

The relationship between the income levels of women as opposed to men is a summary indicator of the gender gap and expresses both the extent to which women have access to the labour market, ownership and transfer and to monetary levels in comparison to the situation for men. An indicator reading approaching 100 would imply that barriers for women to generate income have diminished, that transfers are unrelated to gender and that the economic system has changed its gender culture towards a culture free from segregation based on sex.

Table 1
TOTAL INCOME PER WOMAN/TOTAL INCOME PER MAN <sup>a</sup>

Country	Indicator	r value	Variation:	Per capita GDP
			1997-1990	(1990 US\$)
National level	1000	1007		
Brazil	36.1	44.6	8.5	3 214
Chile	32.6	37.6	5.0	3 557
Costa Rica	32.4	38.8	6.4	2 030
Honduras	30.5	44.4	13.9	722
Mexico	27.2	33.3	6.1	3 394
Panama	48.6	46.6	-2.0	2 711
Venezuela	31.5	39.3	7.8	2 681
Urban level				
Argentina	34.9	42.5	7.6	5 790
Bolivia	38.7	41.8	3.1	892
Colombia	40.6	52.1	11.5	1 442
Ecuador	35.2	43.6	8.4	1 284
Paraguay	36.7	46.7	10.0	1 248
Uruguay	37.0	53.5	16.5	3 783

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division. Special tabulations of household surveys. GDP: Social Panorama, 1998.

**Definition total income by sex:** income generated by women (or by men) divided by the total number of women (or men) of all ages.

Indicator: percentage relationship between total income per woman and total income by man.

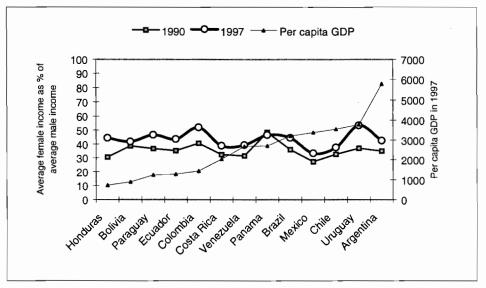
Concept of income: income distributed to households, which comes from household surveys and include wages, rents and transfers. Income from imputed rent of owner-occupied dwellings is excluded.

Methodological note: All the tables in this text which are based on special tabulations of the Statistical and Economic Projections Division of ECLAC for a maximum of 13 countries correspond to surveys of the dates set out below: Brazil and Chile: 1990 and 1996; Costa Rica, July 1990 and 1997; Honduras: September 1990 and 1997; Mexico: 1989 and 1996; Panama: August 1991 and 1997; Venezuela: second half 1990 and 1997; Argentina: Greater Buenos Aires, October 1990 and 1997; Bolivia: 1989 and November 1997; Colombia: September 1990 and 1997; Ecuador: November 1990 and 1997; Paraguay: 1990 and 1996; Uruguay: second half 1990 and 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Indicator suggested for the project "Economic gender equality indicators" commissioned by the Federal/Provincial-Territorial Ministries Responsible for the Status of Women, Canada. Taken from Internet, publication ISBN 0-662-26159-3; 1997. The statistical annex contains a variant of this indicator, calculated on the basis only of the population 15 years and older to eliminate the influence of different demographic structures among countries.

Figure 1 below ranks countries by level of per capita GDP in 1997, which is an indicator of the value produced annually relativized by population size and total income levels by sex have been considered depending on the availability of statistics, whether based on national or just urban coverage. In all countries, whether at the highest or lowest level of per capita GDP within Latin America, the average woman of economically active age generates income much lower than that generated by the average man. In each of the countries, despite poverty, there is an enormous unused potential, expressed as a loss of potential earnings for women. The gap between women and men in terms of their capacity to generate income is very high and is maintained at a very similar level between countries and between indicators in the national or urban sphere. The tendency between 1990 and 1997 has been positive: the gap between women's and men's income has narrowed in all countries except Panama, but in most there still remains a 50 percentage-point gap between women and men. In all countries, the situation remains far removed from a scenario where women do not face any specific gender barriers in terms of income generation.

Figure 1
FEMALE INCOME AS A PERCENTAGE OF MALE
INCOME AND PER CAPITA INCOME



**Source**: ECLAC data, Statistical and Economic Projections Division, Special tabulations of data from household surveys.

One should also take into account that production to which no economic values is normally attached and which is not traded on the market, but which increases the population's level of consumption. This refers to the work carried out in and/or for households by women considered economically inactive as well as the unpaid work carried out by economically active women.

It has been clearly demonstrated that neither the size of the gap nor the rate of decline is related to the economic level of countries, which suggests that differences between countries are due to institutional, cultural or regulatory factors rather than predominantly economic factors.

The differences between countries in terms of the size of the gap are less than may be expected in comparing countries with such diverse economic levels. Uruguay and Colombia are the only two countries where women's income is slightly above 50% of the income of men and both made significant progress in the 1990s. Mexico and Chile have the lowest values with relatively higher per capita income levels but where women seem to find it harder to achieve economic equality.

The variables that influence the size of this gap are: the activity rate, the level of unemployment, access to property rents and transfers, average wages obtained, the work day and continuity of employment throughout the year. The weight of each of these factors is not known, but can be estimated more accurately with a view to applying policies that promote women's access to higher individual income. It is also interesting to note the possible intergenerational differences between women in each of these variables. Along with the increase in the educational level of the youngest, labour force participation ratios are increasing and, thus, not only has the gap narrowed over time in terms of overall averages, but the inter-generational differential has also diminished.

These results have been skewed by other factors and more realistic comparisons obtained. The economic and social structure of the countries has provided greater or lesser protection to citizens of both sexes so that monetary income is more or less important for each one of them.

One element is the extent to which the economy is urban or rural; if it is predominantly rural, it is important to determine to what extent peasants have access to land. The larger the rural population and the greater its access to land, the greater the chances that a portion of production for home consumption will make up for the lack, or low level, of monetary income generated. There may be a high input generated by women, which, without going through the market, is an important part of the family support system and diminishes the gap compared with men, but it does not enhance their value or their independence as individuals. The value of this production should be estimated for policy-making purposes in those countries.

Another element which relativizes the comparisons between countries is how basic needs such as health, education and retirement are covered. To the extent that systems set up by the State or communities fail to provide protection against illness or preventive health care, or free education or if there is no social security system that offers wide coverage, then monetary income will be strategically more important and must cover a wider range of expenses. The study of the country's institutions will give insight into the origin of income differentials between women and men. Monetary income is not only strategic; in many cases, benefits are accessible only through specific types of paid work (generally paid work with a permanent contract). The fact that a significant proportion of women are excluded from paid work means that they are dependent on a wage-earner to meet their needs, in terms of income as well as the social benefits attached to paid employment.

The indicator shows clearly that women are systematically less protected as individuals than men for economic solvency and, to a great extent, are economically dependent. On the other hand, for their roles, dependent women are also subject to higher risks, since if the sole breadwinner dies, becomes ill, is disabled or abandons the family home, women have to provide for their own support and that of their children, if any. There is less risk of the opposite occurring, for two reasons, namely that there are few cases in which the woman is the sole breadwinner of a couple and also it is less frequent that the father is left alone in charge of the children. As will be shown below, women in paid jobs where the working conditions are worse than those of their peers also face situations in which their economic solvency is lower.

#### B. The overall labour situation

The importance of the income gap between the two sexes reveals the extent to which there is social division of labour by sex in Latin America between paid work and domestic and reproductive work. Although it corresponds to the cultural tradition and to training received in childhood, it now represents an obstacle to the economic independence of individuals, which is a sine qua non of their independence as citizens. No less important, the most highly rated activities economically and socially are paid labour, while domestic work and care of children and the elderly are undervalued even when they are performed for paid wages.

Clearly, both types of work are indispensable for society. Depending on the degree of development of countries and their special situations, it is more or less crucial to have an alternative process between these two types of production, which has meant that many of the activities that women perform in the home are offered on the market. Housework done on a "domestic" basis is not included in the calculation of gross domestic product (GDP) but when done such services are marketed, it is. In this case, the increase in statistically recorded output, which only includes monetary activities, is higher than "real" growth in terms of the provision of goods and services produced, since the latter have only been transferred from domestic production to commercial production. The market has gradually been absorbing part of the work carried out, and conducted in and for households, including child care in the home or in a kindergarten or the sale of take-home meals in a commercial establishment.

On the other hand, the opposite has also been observed in the developed countries. "A reversal has been observed in the trend for domestic work to shift to the market as countries develop. As labour costs have increased over the years in the high-income countries, there has been a significant increase in self-help activities such as home construction, carpentry and repairs, which are often performed by men. These activities are then added to the bulk of unpaid work at the househeld level, a trend reinforced by a decreasing tendency to hire domestic workers in these countries".

Since some portion of total work is done by persons in the home and the rest in the market, the figures for Latin America show that the number of persons of economically productive age who devoted themselves exclusively or principally to working in the home diminished in the 1990s in favour of jobs in the market. Further information on both types of work is crucial because they are interrelated and limited in terms of the total time available to individuals and its distribution between the two sexes. If women increase their work force participation in paid work and do not reduce their working hours for the home and the family, their total working day will be disproportionately longer compared with that of men. The reduction may be partially absorbed by the market, by men, by inactive women (young and older women), trends which must be ascertained more precisely in terms of hours spent in order to have an idea of the range of overall work and their burden by sex, bearing in mind also the possibility that the unpaid work of men in their own home will also begin to increase.

Labour income accounts for the greater part of income distributed to persons and reported in household surveys. According to these sources, around 1997, labour income varied from 67.6% to 68.1% of total income distribution for Brazil and Uruguay respectively up to 90.6% and 91.5% for Mexico and Ecuador, respectively.

Lourdes Benería. The enduring debate over unpaid labour. In International Labour Review, vol. 138 (1999), num. 3. The author attributes these ideas to Langfeldt, 1987; Chadeau, 1989 and UNDP, 1995.

Table 2 NUMBER OF PERSONS 20 TO 64 YEARS OF AGE DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO WORK IN THE HOME PER ONE HUNDRED ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS

Urban zone

Country	in all households			In the 20% poorest households		
	Circa 1990	Circa 1997	1997–1990	Circa 1990	Circa 1997	1997–1990
Argentina	33.4	25.1	-8.3	69.5	47.5	-22.0
Bolivia	26.9	23.0	-3.9	48.0	37.3	-10.7
Brazil	34.7	S/i	S/i	52.4	S/i	S/i
Colombia	33.4	26.8	-6.6	50.9	44.2	-6.7
Costa Rica	37.2	30.6	-6.6	72.0	61.5	-10.5
Chile	38.7	30.8	-7.9	61.0	53.8	-7.2
Honduras	36.2	28.6	-7.6	55.7	47.1	-8.6
Mexico	45.4	37.6	-7.8	67.2	55.3	-11.9
Uruguay	20.0	12.8	-7.2	34.2	21.8	-12.4

Source: ECLAC, Statistical and Economic Projections Division. Special tabulations of household surveys.

**Definition**: Number of persons aged 20-64 years who devote themselves exclusively to household chores divided by the number of economically active persons of both sexes multiplied by 100.

Methodological note: Household surveys give a rough and probably skewed approximation of this item. It is difficult for them to reflect the real unpaid work of women and men. Around 1997, the percentage of men between the ages of 20 and 64 years who worked exclusively in this area in urban areas in some Latin American countries was 0% in Argentina and Chile, 0.1% in Bolivia, 0.2% in Costa Rica and Mexico, 0.3% in Uruguay, 0.5% in Colombia and 0.6% in Honduras. With the exception of Mexico, in Latin America, there are no available surveys on time use that measure more accurately the trend in this type of work, whether it is done exclusively or shared with a paid job. In 1995 in Sweden, work for the home and the family represented 33 hours and 15 minutes per week on average per woman between the ages of 20 and 64 years and 20 hours and 10 minutes on average per man of the same age group. For Norway, in 1990/1991, it was 58 hours per woman and 30 hours per man.

Differences between countries included in table 2 seem most significant in the poorest segment. There is a greater proportion of adults of productive age who devote their time to domestic duties in Costa Rica, Mexico and Chile. If this is interpreted as meaning that these countries have a high proportion of domestic work, it may be expected, for example, that the overall fertility rate might be relatively high, but the statistics do not support this theory. On the other hand, it may be interpreted as meaning that these are countries with greater inequalities among women, so that the entry into the labour market tends to exclude women from the poor strata, who in all probability have a lower level of education and more children than the average.

Variations over the decade show an improvement for all countries and also for the poorest sectors in the sense that there are fewer and fewer people who devote themselves exclusively to domestic duties.

Moreover, in high income countries the burden of work in the home is still high and unevenly divided between women and men. The differences between countries partly influenced by concepts and the forms of measurement are also significant. In Sweden and Norway, for example, the average number of hours per week devoted to housework by both sexes (assuming that they share the same household) is estimated at 26.7 and 44 respectively.

The differences between Latin American countries measured with the proxy indicator used (percentage of adults who devote themselves exclusively to domestic duties) can only be hypothetical. It is striking that around 1997, the overall percentage of adults who dedicated themselves solely to such duties was lowest in Argentina, Bolivia and Uruguay, which differ so widely in terms of per capita income levels but also in terms of fertility levels. <sup>11</sup> There are various

<sup>9</sup> SCB, Statistiska centralbyràn. Women and Men in Sweden. Facts and Figures, 1998.

Statistisk sentralbyrá. Women and Men in Norway, 1995.

Overall fertility rates reported in the Human Development Report 1999, UNDP were 2.4 children per woman for Uruguay, 2.6 for Argentina and 4.4 for Bolivia in 1997.

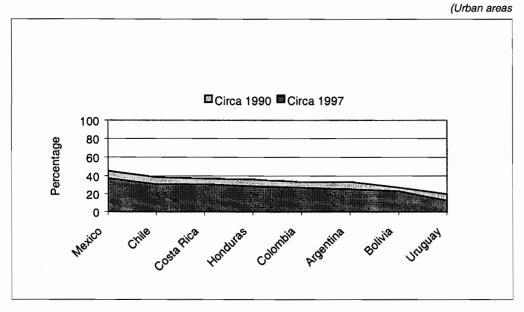
possible explanations and these can only be posed as interrogatives because of the lack of information. How do Bolivian mothers combine their high labour force participation with higher fertility? Are the mothers accompanied by the children while they work, whether in the home or as sidewalk vendors or in places where they can be accompanied? Or is the care of children and domestic work entrusted largely to younger or older women than the age group of the 20 to 64 year olds? Do family arrangements provide other ways of reconciling the two types of work?

On the other hand, some characteristics of domestic work for the household itself mean that has lower status than paid work owing to the greater expenditure of energy and more limited access to compensation that it entails. There is no payment, it continues without a break at week-ends or during holidays, it restricts mobility for participation and tends to exclude the exercise of citinzenship.

The major issue outstanding is whether women's increasing participation in economic activity and the pursuit of studies are occurring without any decrease in the burden of domestic work. There are no available indicators for responding to this question.

The variations between countries and between income strata indicate that the mass of work to be done in the home is flexible and up to a certain point compatible with paid employment. The path to greater gender equity implies reducing housework as an exclusive occupation for some and a more egalitarian distribution of this work between the sexes.

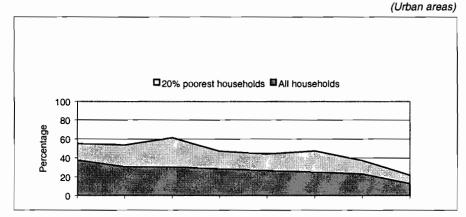
Figure 2 NUMBER OF PERSONS BETWEEN THE AGES OF 20 AND 64 DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO HOUSEHOLD DUTIES PER 100 ACTIVELY EMPLOYED PERSONS



**Source**: ECLAC data. Statistical and Economic Projections Division. Special tabulations of household surveys.

From the available data, and using the same indicator, it can be seen that in Latin America, the ratio of housework to paid work is systematically much higher among the poorest families. This gender imbalance is accentuated by poverty but it is not clear to what extent this is due to the volume of domestic duties (more children, less material resources and less domestic help) and to what extent it is due to the greater difficulty in obtaining paid employment faced by women in poor households. The trend for the period is positive: this indicator is seen to have decreased most in the poorest 20% of households.

Figure 3 NUMBER OF PERSONS BETWEEN THE AGES OF 20 AND 64 YEARS OCCUPIED EXCLUSIVELY WITH HOUSEHOLD DUTIES PER 100 ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE PERSONS IN THE 20% POOREST HOUSEHOLDS CIRCA 1997



**Source**: ECLAC data, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations of data from household surveys.

### C. Participation in the labour market

In income distribution measurements and national account calculations, labour income is the most important in quantitative terms, so that income distribution among the population is determined mainly by the distribution of employment opportunities on the labour market.

ECLAC has reported on numerous problems of inequity existing on the labour market. In the recent decade, it has been pointed out that, far from improving, income distribution between dependent and own-account workers and wage distribution among wage earners are becoming more uneven. There are differences in access to the labour market, in the level of unemployment and in the quality of the occupations to which persons have access, especially in terms of wage levels, stability and productivity. Attempts have been made to analyse the factors that are at the origin of these inequalities and to arrive at the formulation of remedial policies.

The labour market analysis is approached from two perspectives in this document: first, from the perspective of gender inequalities, the second, from inequalities within each gender group, which in many cases are even more significant.

Participation in the work force is the expression of a right which has been termed the right to paid work or —more appropriate to current conditions— the right to occupational mobility and, as proposed by Osvaldo Rosales (quoted in an ECLAC document), to obtain the necessary training to effect that change. <sup>12</sup> Irrespective of who is considered responsible for fulfilling or enforcing the right to work, the underlying point is the consensus that any adult, woman or man, hopes to secure a job which will afford him the wherewithal to live under socially acceptable conditions.

One of the most significant differences between women and men lies in their participation in paid employment. It is the other side of the coin and was announced since the first indicator of total income by sex, the primary and most important consequence of the division of social labour by sex.

ECLAC, August 1994. ¿Cómo promover los derechos económicos, sociales y culturales?, ECLAC Social Development Division.

Table 3
RATES OF PARTICIPATION IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY BY SEX AND DIFFERENTIAL,
PERSONS AGED 20 TO 64 YEARS, CIRCA 1990 AND 1997

(Urban areas)

Country		Circa 1990			Circa 1997		
	Women	Men	Differential	Women	Men	Differential	
Argentina	47.5	91.3	-43.8	56.4	92.3	-35.9	
Bolivia	52.3	85.3	-33.0	58.2	88.7	-30.5	
Brazil	49.3	90.6	-41.3	56.3	89.2	-32.9	
Chile	41.6	86.6	-45.0	46.7	88.3	-41.6	
Colombia	50.6	89.7	-39.1	57.8	90.6	-32.8	
Costa Rica	44.9	90.1	-45.2	49.4	89.4	-40.0	
Honduras	48.8	91.4	-42.6	57.2	93.5	-36.3	
MExico	39.2	90.2	-51.0	46.1	91.1	-45.0	
Uruguay	55.4	90.7	-35.3	62.1	89.9	-27.8	

Source: ECLAC statistics, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, Special tabulations of household surveys.

**Definition of the participation rate in economic activity**: women (or men) aged 20 to 64 years who are employed or unemployed over the total number of women (or men) of the same age group, multiplied by 100. The differential is calculated by the female ratio minus the male ratio and the percentage point variation represents the gap between the two, which, in a situation of equality, would be zero.

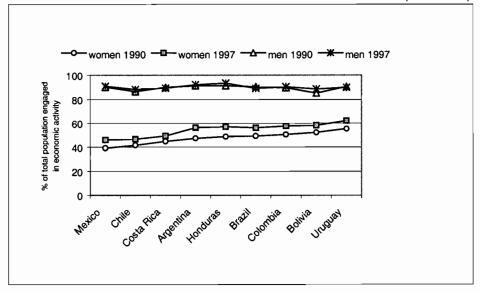
For the set of countries presented in table 3, male participation rates are similar in the different countries, with men fully integrated in economic activity, although some sectors do experience more or less serious jobless rates. The difference between male participation ratios in Honduras (the highest) and in Bolivia (the lowest) has ranged between 6.1 points in 1990 and 4.8 points in 1997. The male labour participation trend remained more or less constant throughout the decade.

On the other hand, women are affected by a number of variables which limit their options, willingness or success in terms of securing paid jobs and this is true across national boundaries and for all age groups. The differences between countries range from 16.2 points in 1990 for Uruguay (the highest) and Mexico (the lowest in 1990) to 16 points in 1997 for the same countries. The ranking between countries has not changed much in the decade and the increase is general throughout.

This widespread trend is remarkable; it demonstrates that the market has been more open to the entry of women in all countries, possibly owing to rising employment in the service-producing sectors and probably in the informal and less structured sectors also. This increase is clearly unrelated to income levels in countries. Further information on the national processes is required in order to clear up certain issues. In particular, it is important to know in which production sectors and at what levels of productivity women have been integrated, how their fertility has been affected, how and to what extent the problem of child care has been solved and how national participation ratios by age groups have changed. A number of other relevant questions should be asked: Do ratios differ according to the stage of child-rearing? Have couples tended to defer marriage and cohabitation? Are fewer children being born? Have marriage rates been maintained or are there differences? Has child-care infrastructure improved? Do women receive legal maternal benefits and do they have access to them in their new jobs? Among younger couples, do the men show greater commitment with respect to domestic work and bringing up children? One needs to understand and recognize how families function and what their relationship is with the labour market and the employment status of their various members. As a higher percentage of women take on paid employment, household income increases, children's educational opportunities improve and the households' risks of unemployment decreases.

Family structure should also be examined: to what extent is there a connection between the higher percentage of economically active women and the higher percentage of unmarried women supporting a family: female-headed households where the spouse is not economically active. What are the social implications of this phenomenon? One should check whether civil and commercial legislations take this into account and make adjustments so that such families can function fully without hindrance despite the absence of a spouse. Lastly, it is important to know how the needs of those members of the household that do not depend on the head's monetary income are met. How much domestic work is carried out within the household and who does it?

Figure 4
PARTICIPATION RATIOS BY SEX: 20-64 YEARS, CIRCA 1990 AND 1997
(Urban areas)

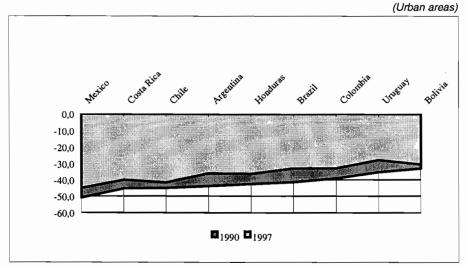


**Source**: ECLAC data, Statistical and Economic Projections Division, Special tabulations of household surveys.

Figure 4 shows the countries ranked by increasing order of female labour participation ratios in 1990. It shows how male ratios remained practically the same throughout the decade or even rose marginally in six of the nine countries —while female ratios increased almost evenly in all countries.

Around 1997, in six countries, rates stood at close to 60%, while they were lower and increased more slowly only in Mexico, Chile and Costa Rica. There is no relationship between the levels of female participation ratios and the per capita GDP and the reasons for the high participation in countries such as Bolivia and Uruguay are probably very different with cultural and institutional traditions having a significant influence in each case.

Figure 5
GAPS IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY RATES, BY SEX: 20-64 YEAR AGE GROUP



**Source**: ECLAC, Statistical and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations of household surveys.

**Definition**: Female participation ratio less male participation ratio.

The gender gap narrowed during the decade in the nine countries under consideration, as shown in figure 5. Annex 2 contains tables B.3, B.4, B.5 and B.6, based on information taken from the Social Panorama 1998. They present the same reduction through the 1990s except for El Salvador and the Dominican Republic and show that the gender gaps are lower for the younger generations. As will be seen below, gender gaps between young men and women who pursue their studies beyond the age of 15 have also diminished, so both males and females are entering the labour market for the first time with higher levels of schooling and with smaller differences between them; as a result, a lack of instruction is ceasing to be a handicap for young women. Despite this, their gender still militates against equity for young women. In 1997, in urban areas of countries, young women aged 15 to 24 had lower participation ratios of the order of a maximum of 27 percentage points (Costa Rica and Honduras) and a minimum of 13 percentage points (Bolivia and Colombia) unlike young men of the same age group. Such differences are not related to the income level within the country. The rate differentials between these new, better educated cohorts should be monitored closely to see if the career choices and specialities continue to be skewed with adverse effects on gender equity.

In figure 6, countries have been ranked in order of decreasing magnitude of the participation gap by sex in the 15-24 age group in 1997.

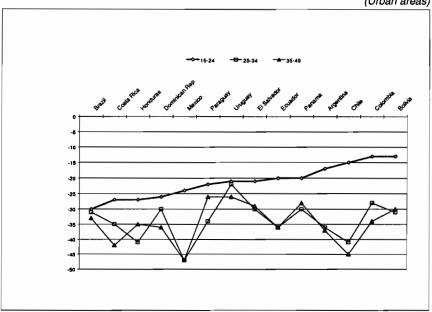
This order does not correspond to the order of the gaps for adult age groups, for which the disparities between countries are greater. Thus, although Brazil shows greater gaps for the younger groups, the gender gaps for adults are very close to those for younger groups and are situated in an intermediate segment (between -30% and -40%); this is similar to levels in most other countries. This is not the case in Uruguay, Paraguay, Panama and El Salvador, however, where the gaps among adults are smaller, or Mexico and Chile, where they are greater among older adults. The fact that the disparities between young persons have not diminished is not an indication of an improvement in absolute terms, since it may be assumed that up to 24 years of age, most women have not yet confronted the main obstacles in their working career: the end of their studies and full-time search for a job, marriage and small children, non-hiring of women during pregnancy, lack of capital for starting a business of one's own. In addition, the fact that the gaps are small is also due

in part to the fact that young men have lower economic participation ratios because they study until late. This has occurred in Chile, Bolivia and Colombia, where young men in the 15-24 age group have labour participation ratios of 44%, 48% and 55% respectively in 1997, lower than the rest of countries with the exception of El Salvador (54%).

For young adults between the ages of 25 and 34, a time when most men have already entered the work force, the imbalance has remained very high in Mexico, Chile and Honduras, which would be the countries where young adult women seem to have the most difficulties in obtaining paid employment. Figure 6 reveals clearly the situation in 1997 and shows those countries where the imbalance between young adults is greatest. This is of interest because it illustrates the difficulties experienced by women of reproductive age with domestic and family responsibilities. Policies should be directed in a different way for each age group, on the understanding that the causes for the imbalances differ from one generation to another and are influenced by the life cycle as well as by country-specific factors.

From the point of view of equity and in particular gender equity, it would be desirable for participation ratios of the younger age group (15-19) and of much older adults to not rise, on the one hand, to enable the former to devote more years to education and on the other, to give older persons access to pensions that allow them to enjoy a retirement which affords them financial independence and material well-being.

Figure 6
GAPS IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITY RATES, BY SEX AND AGE, CIRCA 1997
(Urban areas)



Source: ECLAC, Social Panorama, 1998.

Various studies have sought to establish which characteristics of women are associated with a higher labour force participation and have led to the conclusion that a strong relationship exists between the number of years of studies and higher participation ratios, which in turn is related to a better level of household income. Towards the end of the decade, there were some countries in Latin America where this difference did not exist, both because the less educated women had high participation ratios and because those with higher education had lower rates than in other

countries.<sup>13</sup> Studies on age cohorts show that the new age cohorts maintain a higher pattern of participation throughout their lives. In general, women with the lowest participation in the labour market are the poorest, least educated and the oldest.

Whether women in the 20-64 year age group are economically active depends to a large extent on their home situation. No data in this area have been processed for the countries taking part in the household survey, but the case of Chile —which has an exceptionally low female participation rate— may serve as an illustration. The participation rates for female heads of household, for wives and for daughters (aged 15 years or older) were 41%, 28% and 40% respectively, in 1996. This clearly indicates that the female heads of household are more active in producing income for themselves and their families, whereas wives face more barriers in doing so, which is also the case to a lesser extent for daughters. If this situation is widespread, it should be taken into account in designing policies for promoting gender equity.

The differences in female participation between household-income quintiles are presented under section J. *Income distribution among households*.

The increase in female labour participation is a factor to be taken into consideration in defining public policy. To what extent is this increase in different countries the reflection of economic necessity, a conscious change of attitude on the part of women who now seek to generate income and use for their own benefit and that of their families the higher level of education attained in the course of the decade, a more frequent and intense job expectation among the youngest, a reduction in the barriers to paid employment, a social change that makes it easier for women to work, or institutional and legal arrangements that promote paid work? Or are these changes just the fruit of pressing economic needs, higher male unemployment, lower opportunities in the masculinized production sectors, or else impeded by the absence of a public policy that facilitates the work of women or that puts in place suitable legislation and provides child care facilities? What is the quality of the new jobs which women have obtained during this decade? What is known about the increase in forms of work other than paid work with legal labour and social security protection, such as work in the home, casual work, seasonal work or work contracted by private agencies, part-time work, work subcontracted by companies that do not provide social benefits or job security and which work for others? How do these situations affect low-income and other sectors?

The national responses to these questions will help to determine whether the process is really positive or if the outcome is simply at the expense of women, who work more, continue to bear the brunt of housework in their own home and the social cost of motherhood, without enjoying the fringe benefits and whose earnings are disproportionately low in relation to their effort.

Urgent action must be taken on all issues relating to the quality of women's jobs both in terms of the labour market and the factors that determine the demand for women workers and in terms of the adaptation of legal, institutional and cultural conditions to ensure that paid work for women leads to their economic liberation rather than to complete burnout.

All of this should be considered both from the individual point of view of women and from the necessary adjustments from the different types of family groups. The family system may tend to collapse in some cases if the society does not closely monitor and reassess its public policies.

Table B.7, Annex 2, shows the differences in participation ratios around 1997 between the group with 4 to 6 years of schooling and the group with 13 and more years of schooling in urban areas. Better educated women participate to a greater extent in the labour force with the exception of Bolivia, Paraguay and the Dominican Republic, while the figures relating to men are more erratic. Source: ECLAC, Social Panorama 1998. Education opens up opportunities for women, both because they are better qualified and because they feel more secure, although they continue to be discriminated against in terms of income compared with men with the same qualifications.

One example is that of the health and social security systems. On the one hand, one must know to what extent workers from different categories and their families are covered theoretically and in reality, but they must also be reviewed in the light of the greater incorporation of women into paid work and their needs for economic independence faced with the eventualities of the risks covered. Usually, systems of coverage are calculated to apply to the dependent family and may prove excessively expensive when both spouses are contributors.

The objective of government and trade-union policies with respect to paid work for women may be identified as being to avoid barriers that are the result of sex discrimination. If the current trend continues, it should be accompanied by cultural changes that reduce the tension between family and work and are reflected in institutional, social and legal changes that permit a new type of parenting, of living together as a couple or family, of solving the risks that the entire family faces by contributing to the well-being of the family and that of each of its members.

Under existing conditions, employing women has advantages since they represent a source of potential workers who have more and more years of schooling to their credit, command a lower wage than men, whose supply is more elastic and who can be hired and move from activity to inactivity without pressure on the unemployment rates as in the case of men.

### D. Unemployment

Unemployment affects men and women in different ways. On the one hand, the rate of unemployment, whatever its level, tends to be higher for women over time and this is true practically throughout Latin America. The absolute differences shown in table 4 are obtained by dividing the female unemployment rates by the male rates and in five countries the former are at least 50% higher than the latter.

In addition, women have more flexibility in entering and withdrawing from the work force, because their supply is more elastic, depending on the size of demand, which regulates the rate of female unemployment more readily than male unemployment, through changes in job availability. This is facilitated by the fact that, culturally, society looks askance at male inactivity and unemployment. On the other hand, inactivity resulting from "job-seeker fatigue" affects women more, since it is socially more acceptable for them to be economically inactive; as a result, they are dropped from the statistical registers as job-seekers. In other words, the cost of this hidden unemployment is covered within the households and perhaps would be more visible under more favourable social conditions, for example before the existence of affordable unemployment insurance.

Demand-side factors are also included to explain this higher rate of female unemployment. As will be seen below, there is a degree of sex segregation of labour markets, whether in terms of occupations or cultural preferences of employers, which explains why male and female workers are not exactly interchangeable. It is possible to identify differentiated markets and, in the female work force, the supply of women's work tends to be systematically higher than demand, certainly more so than in the case of men.

The unemployment rate, as an expression of the imbalance between job supply and demand, is a highly sensitive indicator of the economic situation at any given point in time; accordingly, only data for the end of the decade are provided.

In actual fact, most women work constantly, whether in a paid job, reproductive work or both. Unemployment figures often represent an underestimation of their willingness to work for pay. A part of the so-called statistically inactive population would accept the offer of a job, although there may not have been an active attempt to seek employment and as women account for the greater part of the inactive population, the overwhelming majority of those available for work are women. Thus, even when unemployment rates are low, employment policies geared towards women, whether as poverty eradication policies or simply more general policies for promoting the employment of women, are justifiable and may meet with a more favourable response than expected.

Table 4
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND DIFFERENCE BETWEEN FEMALE
AND MALE RATES, POPULATION 20-64 YEARS OF AGE, CIRCA 1997

(Urban areas)

Country	Women	Men	Absolute difference women/men	Ratio women/men
Argentina	16.1	10.8	5.3	1.5
Bolivia	3.6	3.6	0.0	1.0
Brazil	8.4	5.5	2.9	1.5
Chile	6.9	4.6	2.3	1.5
Colombia	13.6	8.4	5.2	1.6
Costa Rica	5.6	4.6	1.0	1.2
Honduras	4.4	5.1	-0.7	0.9
Mexico	3.1	4.5	-1.4	0.7
Uruguay	12.5	6.9	5.6	1.8_

**Source**: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division. Special tabulations of data from household surveys,

**Definition:** Unemployment rate: unemployed and first-time job-seekers per 100 active persons. Active = employed plus unemployed

Table B.8 of the statistical appendix presents unemployment figures for a broader set of sixteen Latin American countries. The conclusions are similar: in eleven countries, the rate of female unemployment is higher than the male; in four, it is lower and in Bolivia, it is the same.<sup>14</sup>

Gender differences are fully overcome by the economic differences measured in terms of household income. The unemployment rates of the poorest (quintile 1) are ten to thirty points higher than for the richest (quintile 5).

Around 1997, unemployment rates both for women and men reached very high levels in quintile 1: as much as 39% and 29.1% respectively in Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires). The levels of the first quintile represented a maximum of 3.2% for men (Colombia) and 5% for women (Uruguay). In five of the nine countries under consideration, the differences in unemployment rates between women in the different quintiles are higher than for men without evidence of any conclusive trend. The figures show that, for both women and men, poverty is closely linked to serious difficulties in securing paid work. Only in Mexico and Bolivia are there smaller differences between the richest and poorest in terms of access to paid employment, but this is partly due to the fact that, around 1997, the overall unemployment level was lower in both countries. Employment policies for the poorest groups must therefore take into account the fact that the aspirations of both poor women and men are frustrated to a great extent, but that the type of barriers they face should be analysed on the basis of gender differences.

A global study gives the following explanations for the higher unemployment affecting women: their higher rotation on the job market, the narrower range of professional options than for men, greater deficiencies in education and vocational training and the fact that the they are more likely to be affected by staff cuts. Elder, S and Johnson, J. "Los indicadores laborales por sexo revelan la situación de la mujer" in International Labour Review, Vol.118 (1999), no. 4.

Table 5
POINTS OF DIFFERENCE IN UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BETWEEN
THE FIRST AND FIFTH QUINTILES CIRCA 1997

(Urban areas)

Country	Women	Men
Argentina	34.7	27.9
Bolivia	4.1	8.6
Brazil	14.1	11.1
Chile	22.0	10.6
Colombia	25.4	15.3
Costa Rica	13.1	13.8
Honduras	10.6	13.4
Mexico	3.6	5.3
Uruguay	20.3	9.1

**Source**: ECLAC, Statistical and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations of household surveys.

### E. Sex segregation by occupation

There are numerous indications that women and men are not completely interchangeable subjects on the labour market, and indeed that two inter-related markets coexist. Men and women hold different posts and positions in the production structure and receive different rates of income, a situation that has led to studies and measurements of the degree of sex segregation on the labour market.

Sex segregation on the market has been defined as the tendency for men and women to be employed in different occupations from each other across the entire spectrum of occupations under analysis. It is a concept which is inherently symmetrical; the relationship of female workers to male workers is its key feature. Men cannot be more "segregated" than women, nor women more "segregated" than men. Women and men are segregated in relationship to one another and, therefore, each are segregated to the same degree." <sup>15</sup>

The explanations of sex segregation in the labour market are to be found, on the one hand, in the supposed skills and limitations associated with one or other sex as a result of their generalized socialization and which affect the demand for workers and, on the other hand, in the choices of studies and training made by women and men, once again as a result of their general socialization, and which affect the supply of workers. An initial level of inequity lies in the fact that the sex of individuals determines and limits their choices and job opportunities within a range and a second level of inequity, no less important, is that the occupations and positions that women hold systematically carry a lower economic value.

Inequity could be reduced to the extent that the occupations and positions were held indiscriminately by women and men, the prerequisite for which is a cultural change in gender socialization and in the prestige and myths associated with different occupations.

In order to assess the degree of segregation existing in Latin America and its variation in the decade, the indicator recommended by the above-mentioned manual whose value is zero when there is no segregation and 1 when it is total: all women and men in different occupations. This was done for five countries, which ranked their occupations in 60 to 119 occupational categories. (see annex 1).

ILO. Siltanen, J; Jarman, J; Blackburn, R.M. Gender inequality in the labour market: Occupational concentration and segregation. A manual on methodology. 1995.

The results reveal that in all the countries under consideration, there is a high degree of sexual segregation and that this has declined in the decade, with the exception of Brazil.

Table 6
INDEX OF SEX SEGREGATION OF OCCUPATIONS ON THE LABOUR MARKET
(National level)

() tational			
Country	Circa 1990	Circa 1997	Variation 1997-1990
Brazil	0.528	0.554	+ 0.026
Costa Rica	0.595	0.565	- 0.030
Honduras	0.679	0.650	- 0.029
Panama	0.624	0.601	- 0.023
Venezuela	0.561	0.508	- 0.053

**Source**: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, Special tabulations of household surveys and author's calculations.

Honduras is the country with the highest level of sex segregation on the labour market and Venezuela, the one that has managed to reduce it the most significantly over the period. A comprehensive overview of Latin America in these terms would be a very good starting point for researching the differences between countries and the impact of the productive structure and the cultural context in these results.

The general trend in Latin America was towards a higher increase in female employment than in male employment, resulting in a feminization of labour. For the five countries of this group, the increase in the numbers of economically active women —recipients of earned income in the case of Panama and Venezuela— increased in the zones under consideration (whole country and urban areas, depending on the case) over and above the respective increases for men. In Brazil, the increase was 23.0% for women and 10.6% for men, in Costa Rica, 27.8% and 20.2%, in Honduras, 68.9% and 44.8%, in Panama, 35.7% and 27.4%, in Venezuela, 53.8% and 30.8%, respectively.

In four countries with the exception of Brazil, occupational segregation by sex has declined, that is, that job distribution between women and men tended to be more egalitarian, still at a considerable distance from the non-segregation (value 0). In Venezuela, there were wider differences in the employment growth rate in favour of women, although growth was high for both sexes, and, at the same time, there was a greater decrease in sex segregation on the job. The rate of growth for global employment is also high in Honduras, a country with high segregation which declined at a reasonable rate during the period.

Economic growth with growth in employment and even with growth in female employment exceeding that of male employment can have different effects on sex segregation on the job and does not necessarily help to reduce it. Female employment may grow faster if the more feminized branches and jobs grow faster than the rest. This occurred in the 1990s in Latin America as a result of the high growth in services, which generally employ a high percentage of women. In this case, sex segregation in occupations can even increase intensifying a trend towards concentration of work for women in a few highly feminized occupations. The structure by economic branch of growth was crucial for stimulating job creation for women without forcing very high changes in the division of labour between women and men, which has contributed to the invisibility of this remarkable growth in the numbers of women entering the paid workforce.

A different situation occurs when the rise in female employment causes important changes in sex segregation. Various factors make employment attractive for women in comparison with employment for men. One of them is the increase in the level of education attained by women and their self selection in the sense that the higher their level of education, the more willing they are to work, so that the overall supply of women is better educated than the overall supply of men. In

addition, well-qualified women tend to be paid lower wages than their male counterparts, thus representing a more qualified and cheaper labour force. In periods of very high employment growth, this can exceed the growth rate of persons 15 years and over, which is especially evident in countries with a population now starting to age and where the younger cohorts are not sufficient to ensure replacement and keep pace with job growth requirements. Women are the only ones whose labour force participation rate can increase appreciably, so that they are used to solve the labour shortage not covered by international migration and this can occur in previously male-dominated sectors.

Lastly, there are multiple signs that women themselves are showing a more proactive attitude to job-seeking since societies are becoming increasingly market-oriented in terms of production and consumption, and basic social benefits are linked to paid work.

The above is valid for analysing growth trends in each country and supporting the reduction in sex segregation of labour as one way of achieving the validity of economic rights on an equal basis for women and men.

An analysis of occupations at a more disaggregated level gives an idea of the origin of inequities. Following the wide dissemination of statistics revealing that women are not as well paid as men and that with the same level of education, they earn less, a selection was made of high-employment occupations comparing the average income of women and men and the average number of years of schooling for three countries with information on the subject. The occupations have been classified statistically in 29 groups in the case of Chile, 76 groups in Brazil and 96 groups in Honduras and the data correspond to all the persons in paid employment in each selected group.

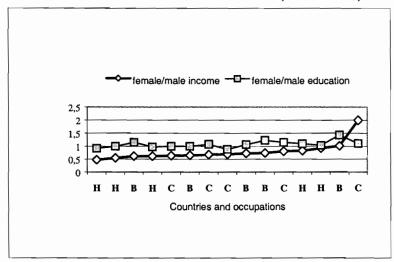
Table 7
INDICATORS FOR THE FIVE HIGHEST EMPLOYMENT OCCUPATIONS IN THREE COUNTRIES

Country and code of the five highest employment occupations	Percentage of women	Ratio of average income of women to that of men	Average number of years of schooling of women to that of men	Average number of years of schooling of women	Average number of years of schooling of men
		Brazil 19	96		
30	10.2	0.65	1.00	2.3	2.3
60	41.7	0.61	1.15	7.7	6.7
80	93.3	0.74	1.23	4.2	3.4
51	0.6	0.73	1.07	4.2	3.9
92	25.9	1.02	1.44	7.5	5.2
		Chile 199	96		
91	58.4	0.69	0.88	7.8	8.8
52	52.0	0.64	1.00	10.5	10.5
92	17.4	0.81	1.15	7.0	6.1
41	58.3	0.68	1.08	13.1	12.1
83	2.4	2.00	1,11	10.8	9.7
		Honduras 1	1997		
39	4.6	0.83	1.10	3.2	2.9
35	62.7	0.48	0.92	5.5	6.0
42	7.9	0.93	1.04	2.8	2.7
92	94.3	0.55	1.00	4.3	4.3
12	69.1	0.62	0.98	12.8	13.1

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, Special tabulations of Household Surveys.

The occupations selected by total number of jobs tend to be either highly feminized or highly masculinized. Women earn less than men in all of the remaining groups with the exception of Group 92 in Brazil and Group 83 in Chile. This has occurred irrespective of the level of participation of either sex and for widely varying levels of formal schooling. A comparison between the average years of schooling of women and the average years of schooling of men engaged in the same occupation shows that women have the same or a higher average in ten of the fifteen occupational groups. At a disaggregated level, it can be concluded that the income ratio is unfavourable to women and that, at the same time, the schooling ratio tends to be better for them causing a gap between the two. Gender equity would be achieved when both the income ratio and the years of schooling ratio are close to 1. The existing imbalances are shown in figure 7.

Figure 7
FEMALE/MALE INCOME AND EDUCATION RATIOS FOR FIVE OCCUPATIONS
BY COUNTRY. BRAZIL AND CHILE 1996, HONDURAS, 1997



**Source**: ECLAC, Division of Statistics and Economic Projections, Special tabulations of data from household surveys.

N.B.: H = Honduras; B = Brazil; C = Chile

Despite the significant number of occupational groups identified in the labour force, there is no certainty that the work is exactly the same in each case. There is evidence that the segregation of work by sex tends to be reproduced within each occupation in firms and workshops. However, these figures tend to refute, in part, the idea that women are not as well paid on average, since they perform different tasks than men. They also point up the possibility that the decline in the segregation of work by sex does not have the expected effects on equalization of income between women and men, or on an egalitarian valuation of the years of schooling received by women and men. There are still variables to be explained of those that equality policies will tend to target, probably in the context of culture and national power

## F. Heterogeneity of job productivity

ECLAC has focused its analysis on productivity differences in terms of the forms of organization of firms and producers, assuming differences in productivity by production method. (See definition). The existence of a low-productivity sector which in turn pays low wages and generates little profit for own-account workers or small entrepreneurs is an important factor of inequity within the labour market. On the other hand, within the medium and high productivity

sector (public sector and private businesses employing more than five persons), there are growing wage and profit differentials which are also a source of inequity as will be seen in section G. (Wage inequalities). Both are considered from the point of view of gender inequity.

The table below shows that the low-productivity sectors have a more feminized labour force than the medium- and high-productivity sectors.

Table 8
PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN OUT OF TOTAL EMPLOYEES BY SECTOR, CIRCA 1997
(Urban areas)

		Percentage of	women in	
Country	Low productivity sectors	Medium and high productivity sectors	Over- representation in low productivity sectors	Total
Bolivia	46.6	31.0	15.6	40.6
Brazil	43.8	35.7	8.1	39.2
Mexico	39.7	33.7	6.0	36.3

**Source**: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division. Special tabulations of data from household surveys. Bolivia: November 1997, Brazil and Mexico: 1996.

**Notes:** *Indicator of over- or under representation in low-productivity sectors*: percentage of women employed in low-productivity sectors less percentage of women in medium- and high-productivity sectors.

Low-productivity sectors: establishments that employ up to five persons, including employers and wage earners, independent, own-account workers without professional or technical skills, unpaid family workers and domestic workers.

**Medium and high productivity sectors**: employers and wage earners employed in public and private establishments that employ at least five persons, professional or technical own account workers. ECLAC. Social Panorama of Latin America 1997. Statistical Annex.

For the three countries in table 8, the positive values of the column "over-representation" show the extent to which women are over-represented in low-productivity sectors and under-represented in medium- and high-productivity sectors, whereas the opposite holds true for men. This gender inequity exacerbates, for women as a whole, the inequity produced in the economy as a whole between low-productivity sectors and the rest.

The relative importance of employees in low-productivity sectors with respect to the total in urban areas varies from very high values in Bolivia and Nicaragua to lower values in Panama and Costa Rica. Women are engaged in low-productivity sectors in higher proportions than men in all countries with the exception of Venezuela and the Dominican Republic. (See figure 8 and annex 2, table B.9). This indicator rounds out the picture in terms of labour force participation rates by sex, showing how limited the prospects are for the work force in Latin America. For example, in Bolivia, participation rates in the economic activity of women are very high, but 74% are employed in low-productivity sectors. In four countries, the women employed in low-productivity sectors account for more than 60% of total employed women and in eight countries, they account for more than 40%. In eleven countries, the men also exceeded 40%.

The level of productivity of economic activities is directly associated with their capacity for income generation, as has been highlighted by ECLAC. To illustrate the fact that in these low-productivity sectors, income is lower than in the rest of the economy, data for urban areas were calculated for three countries. Once again, the situation is plainly worse for women than for men. Table 9 shows average income differences generated in low-productivity sectors for three countries compared with income generated in the remaining sectors. As expected the income is substantially lower, but the differences are much greater between women employed in different sectors than

between men. The income of women employed in these sectors is only about 50% of those of the rest of women employed, whereas the difference among men is less: between 60 and almost 90%.

Bolivia Nicaragua Paraguay El Salvador Ecuador Honduras Brazil Argentina Venezuela Uruguay Mexico Dominican Rep. Chile Costa Rica Panama 70 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 80

Figure 8
PERCENTAGE OF THE URBAN POPULATION EMPLOYED
IN LOW-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS, CIRCA 1997

Source: ECLAC data, Social Panorama, 1998. Argentina: Greater Buenos Aires; Paraguay: Asunción; Venezuela: national total.

□Women ■Men

Table 9
RATIO OF INCOME IN LOW-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS/OTHER SECTORS, 1997
(Urban areas)

Average income of persons employed in low- productivity sectors as a percentage of average income of those employed in other sectors	Bolivia	Brazil	Mexico
Women	54.4	49.3	49.3
Men	61.0	74.1	87.1
Total	55.5	63.5	73.1

**Source**: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations of data from household surveys, Bolivia: November 1997, Brazil and Mexico: 1996.

N.B.: No trends have been worked out for these inequalities during the decade.

Some attempt should be made to explain why most jobs for women tend to be in the low-productivity sector. One possible reason is that domestic service in private households comes under this sector and is almost exclusively a female occupation. In many cases, domestic work accounts for the highest percentage of paid jobs for women workers. Something similar occurs with the work of unpaid family workers, a category in which women tend to be predominant.

Own-account work can appear to be less inaccessible since it can be undertaken without selection by an employer, whereas employers often seem to be prejudiced against hiring women. The scope for deciding on a location, timetable and working method can be an advantage from the point of view of women who have family obligations and can work them in alongside their paid work. Women who accept flexible labour arrangements as wage earners, despite the fact that they generally result in poorer benefits and lower work stability, tend to do so either because they lack better opportunities or because they combine them with other responsibilities. The reasons vary from one country to another but the root cause is the sex-based division of labour.

In low-productivity sectors, low wages are not the only disadvantage. Such jobs also have lower coverage for existing labour protection.

In countries with a large rural population, it is important to conduct a similar analysis of rural forms of production and gender inequities.

## G. Wage inequalities

In order to understand income inequalities for women and men, one must consider the labour income of wage earners, since this is the most important source of income for persons in most countries and has a significant impact on income distribution as a whole. Background information will be given on wage differentials between women and men and on the degree of inequality within each sex category.

The ratio of female to male wages is unfavourable for women overall, but has improved in seven of the nine countries considered (see table 10). Average wage inequality is affected by the employment structure, sex distribution between the various occupations, the skill levels of the labour force and, of course, the differences in wage levels by sex for equal work. Another factor is the fact that, on average, women work shorter work days than men, but this calculation does not include the influence of the different working day because income is calculated on an hourly basis.

Relative increases in the total number of women in paid employment, which has been generally higher than for men, can affect the salary average at the beginning and end of the decade. One should consider whether the general employment structure, for example, between the production of goods and services or between agriculture and industry has changed so that the general average is affected. If highly feminized services have increased with better salary levels than in other sectors, the averages for women would have increased. On the other hand, there may have been certain changes in the sex segregation of labour so that some jobs and professions become feminized. There is evidence that this is occurring with the medical profession and the humanities and with a higher participation by women in the areas of information technology, but it would be necessary to consider the situation in each country.

Years of schooling completed are used as a proxy for level of qualification. An interesting and general trend for all countries is that, on average, women in paid employment have a better level of education than men in a similar position. The ratio of the average number of years of schooling of female wage earners to male wage earners has varied in the course of the decade without any clear trend emerging for the set of nine countries, but is invariably higher than one, that is, in favour of women. Once again, one can see what has been demonstrated at the level of occupations: the income ratio is in most cases lower than 1, the ratio of years of schooling is above 1 in all cases, which corroborates gender inequity in terms of earnings. Women earn less on average even when, as this indicator shows, they are better qualified for the job.

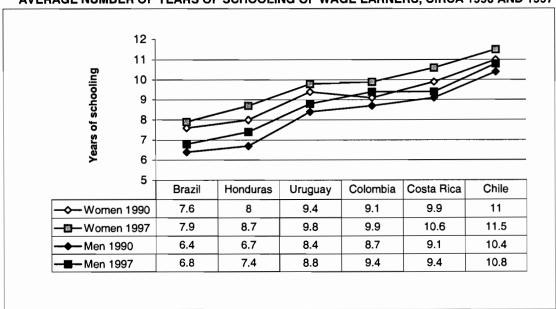
Table 10
VARIATION IN THE FEMALE/MALE RATIO RELATING TO WAGES AND YEARS OF SCHOOLING
(Urban areas)

Country	Hourly was			ooling women/ nooling men
,	Circa 1990	Circa 1997	Circa 1990	Circa 1997
Argentina	1.03	1.05	S/i	1.13
Brazil	0.75	0.78	1.19	1.16
Colombia	0.86	1.02	1.05	1.05
Costa Rica	0.84	1.03	1.09	1.13
Chile	0.73	0.81	1.06	1.06
Honduras	0.87	0.76	1.19	1.18
Mexico	0.86	0.89	S/i	S/i
Uruguay	0.83	0.68	1.12	1.11

**Source:** ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations of data from household surveys

During the decade, entrepreneurs of both sexes have seen a rise in the average number of years of schooling of their employees mainly as a result of the entry into the workforce of young people of both sexes with higher levels of education. Figure 9 shows the average rise in the 1990s.

Figure 9
AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF WAGE EARNERS, CIRCA 1990 AND 1997



Source: ECLAC, Statistical and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations of data from household surveys.

The data include wage earners employed as domestic workers, who are almost exclusively women, with a different relative importance in countries in terms of female employment. When the increase in the educational level of women wage earners exceeds that of men, it may contribute to a reduction in income differentials in those countries. With the exception of Bolivia, the educational gap has tended to persist throughout the 1990s, as shown also in table 10.

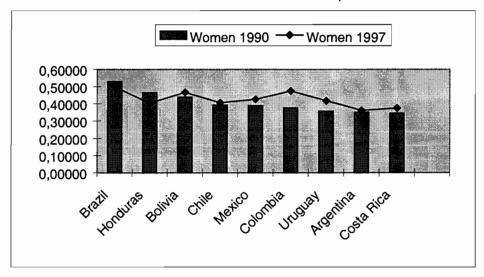
GINI coefficients have been calculated by wage decile for women and men to show the degree and variation in wage inequalities between wage earners. They represent the value of the difference between egalitarian distribution of wages and real distribution; zero represents the value when the two coincide, that is, when there is perfect wage equality and 1 is the maximum value of

inequality in distribution. The results are presented in annex 2, table B.10. In Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Mexico and Uruguay, the degree of wage inequality among wage earners has increased for both sexes. The increase in inequality implies that new employees systematically hold worse or better posts than those that existed, that is, the increase in employment and replacement by those leaving the post is biased in one way or other. Numerous studies have been conducted on the decline or improvement in conditions of wage earners, with the central issue being wage levels. There is a clear trend towards more precarious job conditions: temporary or part-time contracts, subcontracting of staff, outsourcing of services or production to smaller firms, which probably has led to a relative deterioration in the wages of those who enter the work force or who are laid off and rehired under worse conditions. All of these movements usually affect women and men differently, depending on the ease with which they are laid off, the difficulties of access and the willingness to accept worse conditions associated with each sex.

Figures 10 and 11 show values by country and their evolution during the decade. Brazil is the country with the highest inequality among wage earners, while Argentina, Uruguay and Costa Rica have the lowest levels of inequality. Brazil experienced a reduction in inequality between wage earners up to 1997, but, in general, inequalities between men have been maintained with increases in Mexico and Uruguay and inequalities between women have been accentuated. This is consistent with the rise in female employment with incorporation of women with higher levels of education, which increases the inequity within the group, and this may also correspond to the fact that the jobs women command are often poorly-paid jobs and ones that are available on a sporadic, irregular basis.

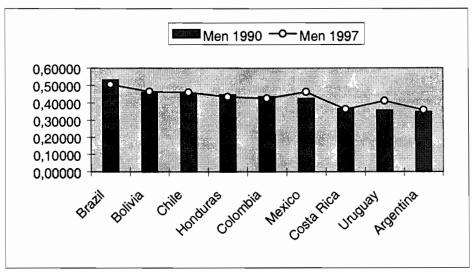
The fact that inequality is greater among women implies that the new trends on the job market are possibly affecting women more and that feminization of the work force has contributed to inequality among wage earners. That is, for cultural and institutional reasons, sexism on the labour market is contributing to unequal trends.

Figure 10
GINI COEFFICIENT: WAGE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WOMEN, CIRCA 1990 AND 1997



**Source**: ECLAC data, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations of data from household surveys.

Figure 11
GINI COEFFICIENT: WAGE DISPERSION AMONG MEN,
CIRCA 1990 AND 1997



**Source**: ECLAC data, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations of data from household surveys.

In 1990, in seven of the nine countries for which the calculation was made, inequality among women was less than that among male wage earners, which occurs only in four countries around 1997, as a result of the increase in inequality among women, except in Honduras, where GINI coefficients declined for both sexes.

Table 11 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GINI COEFFICIENTS FOR WOMEN AND MEN

(Urban areas)

Country	Wage dispersion among women minus wage dispersion among men		
	1990	1997	
Argentina	0.001	0.003	
Bolivia	-0.020	0.003	
Brazil	-0.003	-0.006	
Colombia	-0.061	0.049	
Costa Rica	-0.022	0.011	
Chile	-0.062	-0.053	
Honduras	0.019	-0.030	
Mexico	-0.037	-0.037	
Uruguay	-0.001	0.006	

**Source:** ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, Special tabulations of data from household surveys. Author's calculations of GINI coefficients by decile.

## H. Job quality

Job quality is a broad concept which encompasses various issues, most of them insufficiently covered by available statistics. Some important factors that affect job quality have been mentioned in the document, namely, productivity and wage levels in the relevant sector. At this point, elements linked to the stability of the same and the coverage of health and social security risks are

added. In the countries of Latin America, coverage against these risks is not available to the population as a whole but is more often linked to an employment package; however, even those that have paid employment do not necessarily have full coverage. Women who have no paid employment or who are employed on an irregular basis, are in a situation of dependence in this regard, since their risk coverage depends on another person who may have a proper job with the social security entitlements that are the norm in the country in question.

A stable job implies less risk to termination of employment, to a drop in income and to coverage of health risks or personal catastrophes. Women in paid employment face the same type of risk, as well as the possibility of pregnancy, since their fertile period coincides with their economically productive period. Thus, if biological reproduction of the population is considered seriously to be a social responsibility, job stability for women should be greater, with regulations established for interruptions linked to child-birth and bringing up of children and with guarantees to ensure that this responsibility is shared by workers of both sexes.

Some figures taken from the household survey on job quality for wage earners are presented below. They include data on the existence of a job contract, some social security rights and/or rights to health, and temporary job conditions.

Statistical constraints mean that only a few countries are covered; within the group, there are no clear conclusions for either sex, except with respect to temporary work, which affects men more than women for paid employment in urban areas.

Table 12
MALE AND WOMEN WAGE EARNERS WITH JOB CONTRACTS, 1996

(Urban areas)

Country	Percentage of women wage earners with job contract	Percentage of male wage earners with job contract	Percentage of women wage earners with a job contract minus percentage of male wage earners with job contract
Brazil	62.0	68.9	-6.9
Chile	74.9	81.3	-6.4
Mexico	66.2	62.8	3.4

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations of data from household surveys.

Among female wage earners, there is a large group of domestic workers engaged in private homes, a high percentage of whom are probably employed without a contract. There may be deficiencies in labour legislation or greater difficulties in controlling working conditions because their workplaces are private homes, at the same time as their employers are persons with less knowledge of, or less inclined to, exercise their obligations as employers, as is more frequently the case among employers of the productive private sector. Whether there is a contract or not may be related to some extent to specific production sectors, sizes of firms or else more precarious contractual arrangements may prevail; this could be researched more thoroughly with more comprehensive use of existing information taken from the household surveys of these countries; it would therefore be advisable to include questions on this issue in the surveys of other countries.

Table 13
FEMALE AND MALE WAGE EARNERS WITH HEALTH AND/OR
SOCIAL SECURITY ENTITLEMENTS, CIRCA 1997 a

Country	Percentage of women wage earners with health and/or social security entitlements	Percentage of male wage earners with health and/or social security entitlements	Percentage of women wage earners with health and/or social security entitlements minus percentage of male wage earners with health and/or social security entitlements
Argentina	60.1	64.3	-4.2
Brazil	62.1	67.4	-5.3
Chile	76.0	83.1	-7.1
Costa Rica	90.5	84.7	5.8
El Salvador	55.1	53.9	1.2
Mexico	65.3	63.9	1.4
Uruguay	96.8	95.6	1.2_

**Source**: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations of data from household surveys

For the three countries for which information was available on the job contract, there is a close link between the percentage of wage earners of each sex who have a job contract and the percentage who have the social security entitlements referred to in the survey, which points to one important consequence of not having a contract: the lack of social security benefits.

Moreover, the national context must be understood in order to make a more valid comparison between countries: the legislations in force, the types of job for which the rules may not apply, working conditions that lead to invisibility of workers before the law, and so forth. In this case, not only is it important to reduce the gender bias in terms of the lack of coverage but also the levels of coverage should be universal, bearing in mind that there are still high percentages of women who are economically dependent and whose sole access to benefits is through their spouse or a close family member.

Table 14
FEMALE AND MALE WAGE EARNERS WITH TEMPORARY WORK, CIRCA 1997

(Urban areas) Percentage of Percentage of Percentage of female female wage male wage wage earners with earners with earners with a temporary employment Country temporary minus male wage earners temporary employment with temporary employment employment Argentina 4.8 6.0 -1.2 Chile 17.1 20.2 -3.1-4.1 Colombia 21.7 17.6 Costa Rica 6.1 7.2 -1.1 29.7 -4.3 Ecuador 34.0 El Salvador 15.7 33.3 -17.6

**Source:** ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations of data from household surveys.

Neither the concept nor the measurement of temporary work is sufficiently standardized to permit an accurate interpretation of differences between countries. However, in each one of them,

The tabulated surveys included the following concepts: Argentina: with retirement, October 1997; Brazil; with social security benefits, 1996; Chile: with contributions, 1996; Costa Rica: with insurance, July 1997; Mexico, with medical service, 1996; El Salvador, with social insurance, 1997 and Uruguay: with medical attention, 1997.

there is systematically a higher percentage of men than women in temporary employment. In countries where the proportion is higher (Ecuador, El Salvador), it seems more urgent to check whether the temporary basis has been the norm for a continuous period, that is followed by other temporary jobs during the year, whether it is a one-off, seasonal job, that is, of short duration or whether during the periods without work, it is combined with some other type of own-account economic activity. Probably, the patterns differ for women and men, and this is relevant for the implementation of realistic and successful support policies for workers in these sectors.

## I. Access to property and business administration

Income differentials do not arise only from work. A minority group of the population receives proceeds or income from property and women are under-represented among the recipients of property income.

In household surveys on employment and income, information is collected on recipients of property income, but their validity is less than the information on earned income on account of the limited number of declarers and the possible underestimation of the number and amount in the declaration. With these provisos, the following figures should be interpreted as an approximate estimate provided in illustration of the statement in the first paragraph.

Table 15
INCOME RECIPIENTS

Country	Recipients of income from property as percentage of total recipients of income	Women as percentage of	total income recipients
	Circa 1997	Circa 1990	Circa 1990
Urban			
Argentina	1.4	36.0	43.1
Bolivia	4.9	-	38.7
Colombia	26.0	27.1	33.7
Ecuador	3.8	44.9	51 <i>.</i> 5
Paraguay	3.9	48.5	44.2
Uruguay	3.7	48.5	48.3
National			
Brazil	5.5	43.9	38.5
Chile	22.3	26.9	31.8
Costa Rica	19.7	25.0	27.1
Honduras	4.3	-	59.9
Mexico	3.4	37.2	29.4
Panama	1.8	25.3	40.0

**Source**: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division. Special tabulations of data from household surveys. Imputed rent for owner occupiers, if any, is excluded.

Gender inequity within this group is based on economic factors that restrict women's savings and capital accumulation owing to their lower income levels and cultural factors that determine the laws, rules and mode of operation of institutions, such as lower access to credit and barriers to legal access to properties and legacies. Egalitarian access to this type of income also constitutes an expression of gender equity, even when what is at stake is a form of income that is not widespread among the population. As such, some attention should be paid to establishing institutional regulations to avoid hindering access by women on the same basis as men.

The existence of a high percentage of income earners in some countries may give rise to greater interest and a more sustained effort to collect such information for the other countries.

Some of the income is received in one payment in the year (share dividends, bank interest) and may be difficult to recall at the time of the survey unless the survey-taker insists. The amounts also tends to be less precise and more overvalued than those of wages or other labour income.

In six countries, the percentage of women who receive income shows an increase between 1990 and 1997. Around 1997, in Honduras, in the national sphere and in Ecuador in urban areas, women account for more than 50% of income recipients.

Another type of income which is also exclusive to a small fraction of the population is entrepreneurial work expressed statistically as the work of employers. The figures in table B.11 in Annex 2 show that, around 1997, a maximum of 4.5% of women (Ecuador) and 10.1% of men (Bolivia) are employers. Between 1990 and 1997, changes took place that were favourable to the participation of women as employers. In seven of the fourteen countries, there was an increase in the percentage of employers of both sexes. However, in all of them, with the exception of Chile, the gender gap increased, that is to say, the increase in employers was greater among men than among women. In Panama, the gap increased not only because of the increase in male employers but also because of a decrease in the percentage of women. In all other countries, the gap narrowed, in Uruguay and Venezuela for both sexes, in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Paraguay, because the proportion of women and that of men declined or remained the same. The overall panorama shows that in 10 countries, women's share as employers grew by the end of the decade compared with the beginning, but not enough to reduce the gender gap.

Members of the quintile of the highest income households account for the bulk of employer income and the average income of employers of both sexes is several times higher than the average for the rest of employees. Access to property that makes it possible to contract hired labour is a factor of income differentiation between the population and women, who already have a relatively lower presence on the labour market, represent an even smaller percentage of this group, with the highest concentration in small businesses. Consequently, women in this group obtain lower average profits than male employers according to employment surveys which only take into account distributed income and not that reinvested in the business.

Gender equity still seems far removed within the most privileged job situations, in terms of income as well as economic power. Despite their presence as employers, women are generally absent from boards of employer associations and do not make their voices heard in trades union demands. A sex-related division can also be identified between the types of businesses in which women employers are to be found and those in which men are the administrators. All of this shapes a gender-biased entrepreneurial world with women in less privileged positions, a problem which should be addressed by institutions with a view to setting more equitable gender standards.

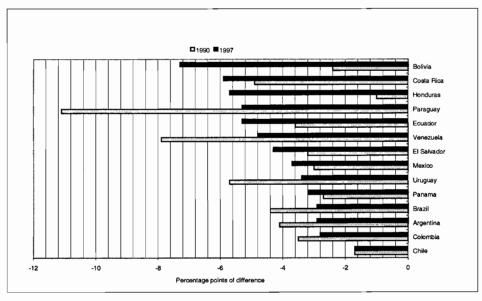
Table 16
AVERAGE HOURLY INCOME OF EMPLOYERS DIVIDED BY AVERAGE HOURLY
INCOME OF ALL EMPLOYED PERSONS, BY SEX, CIRCA 1990 AND 1997

	Circa	rca 1990 Circa 19		1997
Country	Women	Men	Women	Men
Argentina	1.9	2.8	2.6	2.7
Bolivia	3.0	2.9	2.4	2.0
Brazil	3.2	2.6	4.2	2.8
Colombia	3.2	2.6	2.1	2.4
Costa Rica	1.6	1.1	1.2	1.4
Chile	4.2	4.9	4.7	4.1
Honduras	2.5	5.1	2.9	2.7
Mexico	3.1	3.9	3.1	3.5
Uruguay	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.2

**Source**: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division. Special tabulations of data based on household surveys.

Figure 12 shows the extent of the gap between the percentage of women employers and that of male employers.

Figure 12
GAP BETWEEN PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED WOMEN WHO ARE EMPLOYERS
AND PERCENTAGE OF EMPLOYED MEN WHO ARE EMPLOYERS



Source: Calculated on the basis of ECLAC data, Social Panorama, 1998.

The gap has been widening in seven countries, diminishing in six and has remained stable in one, without the emergence of any common trend. In general, the proportion of female employers, which is highly influenced by movements in the other employment categories, shows that the probability of becoming an employers is still lower for women than for men.

As in the case of wage earners, women entrepreneurs have lower income on average than men and have a higher level of formal education except in Chile and Honduras. The group is too small to allow us to draw any conclusions on trends over the decade.

Table 17
INCOME AND EDUCATION LEVEL OF WOMEN AND MEN
ENTREPRENEURS, CIRCA 1990 AND 1997

Country	percentage of	of women as a hourly income men	Average years of women less of schooling of	average years
	1990	1997	1990	1997
Argentina	64	92	S/i	0.4
Bolivia	94	88	1.0	0.2
Brazil	83	114	1.7	1.2
Colombia	95	78	0.8	0.4
Costa Rica	127	82	0.0	1.5
Chile	58	89	-0.6	-0.1
Honduras	33	65	-1.4	1.3
Uruguay	73	66	0.4	1.0

**Source**: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections, Special tabulations of data from household surveys.

### J. Income distribution among households

Labour market inequities have been considered from the perspective of the rights of individuals, of women and men on an equal basis. They organize their daily life in households that are statistically defined as having a common budget and whose domestic production, consumption and expenditure is carried out by the individuals, but in the context of their family unit. In this section, the general and gender inequities affecting the welfare of households are considered.

One significant effect of the processes over the decade is that households are contributing an increasing amount of labour to the market, which is reflected in the increase in the average number of active members per household. As an approximate measure of this phenomenon, the concept of occupational density is used (ECLAC, Social Panorama 1998), which relates the number of employed persons to the number of household members, a quotient that has increased over the decade for the twelve countries in table 18, reflecting both a reduction in the number of household members, and an increase in employed members.

Table 18
OCCUPATIONAL DENSITY 1990-1997

Country	Occupational density (Ratio)			
Country	1990	1997	Variation	
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	0.40	0.41	0.01	
Brazil	0.45	0.46 <sup>a</sup>	0.01	
Chile	0.36	0.39 <sup>a</sup>	0.03	
Colombia	0.41 <sup>b</sup>	0.42	0.01	
Costa Rica	0.38	0.40	0.02	
Ecuador (urban)	0.41	0.44	0.02	
Honduras	0.35	0.40	0.05	
Mexico	0.37 <sup>c</sup>	0.42ª	0.05	
Panama	0.36 <sup>d</sup>	0.41	0.05	
Paraguay (urban)	0.44	0.47 <sup>g</sup>	0.03	
Uruguay (urban)	0.40	0.40	0.00	
Venezuela	0.36	0.41	0.05	

Source: ECLAC, Social Panorama 1998

**Notes:** Occupational density: number of employed persons as a proportion of the number of household members. <sup>a</sup> 1996. <sup>b</sup> For eight main cities only. <sup>c</sup> 1989. <sup>d</sup> 1991.

The changes in gender behaviour have had an impact on occupational density, on the one hand through the increase in women's labour participation rate, and on the other hand, through the decrease in fertility. Other trends which explain the reduction in the size of households are the increase in the number of persons living alone, the reduction in the number of domestic workers living in the household where they work, and the increase in marital separations, *inter alia*.

This phenomenon is positive, in the sense that there are more opportunities for paid employment, especially for women, which has improved their chances of economic independence. It remains to be seen however in the different countries, if the income per household has increased in proportion to the contribution to labour, or if, on the contrary, average salaries have depreciated in real terms so that more remunerated work is needed today in order to cover the same level of expenditure. In fact, the entry into the labour force of women who work with equal qualifications for a lower level of remuneration than men brings a reduction in labour costs. The reduction in the quality of work, as it becomes more precarious in some sectors and occupations, also brings a reduction in costs. Fixed-term contracts, and sub-contracts that are effective only when there is work, pass on to the workers the risks of a fall in demand and reduce the annual amount of remuneration received.

There are also changes that cause an increase in the level of monetary spending of households. The reduction in social services provided by the State free of charge or for very low fees, such as health and education services, increase the average monetary expenditure that households have to make to maintain the same level of real welfare, while the need for such services is increasing and becoming more complex. The increase in the diversity of products and services available commercially leads to greater consumption of a different nature, such as, for example, communications services or services that replace the domestic work carried out in households.

The conclusion is that, from the point of view of households, current economic trends indicate the need for a higher level of income in order to maintain a medium-sized household, and thus for a higher level of participation by adult women in generating monetary income.

It is not only the amount of income needed that leads to this conclusion. There has also been an increase in work-related risks and uncertainties, so that the greater instability of employment, the low level of coverage of unemployment risks, and the access to benefits such as health insurance and pensions through the status of being employed, increase the need to "diversify" the work force of each household. There is less probability of the household losing its labour income on account of unemployment if the work is shared among a greater number of economically active members.

Another important consequence of the production processes in relation to household income generation is that there are also gender factors that increase socioeconomic inequality. It is easier and quicker for persons with a higher level of education, from establishments of better educational quality, and with more social relationships, etc., to join the work force. As more women have been entering the work force, there have been clear advantages for those from the households of the upper quintile, in terms of both a higher level of labour participation and a lower rate of unemployment, assisted by their educational and cultural environments, which are usually more open to them having a more active social role.

There are known factors that increase the economic burden of the poorest households, aggravating the inequalities observed in the labour market. In addition to having a lower per capita income, they have more members per household, more minors per adult, and less working members which means there are more dependants per employed person, and a higher rate of unemployment.

To express this more dynamically, those households that do not manage to have a second or third member in paid employment tend to remain lower on the scale of income per person.

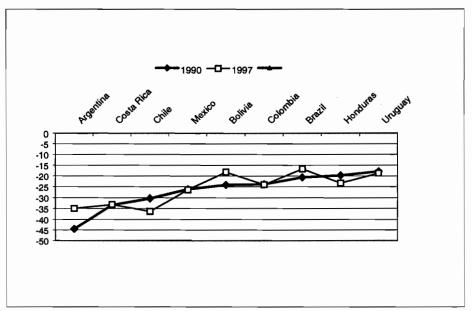
It is useful to consider the differences between women of the first and fifth income quintiles, as these differences are greater than those between men and lessons can be learned from this in order to suggest corrective policies. The problem of poor households cannot be resolved without an awareness and improvement of the situation of their female members. Household income can increase if the participation rate of women at all levels is increased, especially at the lowest levels, if the high unemployment rate among women of the poorest households is reduced, if the disparity of income between women and men is decreased, and if job stability for both men and women is improved.

The gaps in participation between women of the poorest 20% and the richest 20% of households vary from -18 points in Uruguay to -44 points in Argentina in 1990, while the trend over the decade has been very irregular between countries, diminishing only in Argentina, Bolivia and Brazil. The figures are shown in table B.12 of Annex 2.

Around 1997, the differences in unemployment rates between women of the first and fourth quartiles varied between 5.1 points (Mexico) and 33 (Argentina, Greater Buenos Aires). For this variable, the differences between men are similar in magnitude. See table B.13, Annex 2.

There is nothing to indicate that the gaps between the poorest and richest women tend to diminish without the application of specific policies. The increase in female labour participation has not been shared equitably among the different socioeconomic groups; graph 13 shows no relative improvement for the poorest women in six of the nine countries included.

Figure 13
GAPS IN LABOUR PARTICIPATION RATES BETWEEN WOMEN OF THE 1st AND 5th QUINTILES
(Urban areas)



Source: ECLAC data, Statistics Division, special tabulations from household surveys.

**Definition**: labour force participation rate of women in the first quintile minus the labour force participation rate of women in the fifth quintile.

#### K. Education

Education is an end in itself that has been recognized earlier than other individual rights. Governments have, as far as possible, provided the resources needed to achieve universal coverage at the primary level, including legislation on compulsory school attendance. This individual right has a social and economic counterpart: education is also a means to achieve better integration in the labour market, increase social productivity and individual income. From this second point of view, education has been considered in ECLAC studies and in others as an asset in terms of knowledge that has a significant impact on labour opportunities and achievement, and thus, on income inequalities.

The studies carried out have been providing a view of the situation in Latin America that can be summarized in the following statements.

- Over the 1990s, educational coverage has been expanding at all levels, especially for women.
- Reaching a specific educational level ensures a higher level of income, while at the same time, the educational level reached is the factor that produces the greatest differences of income in the labour market. According to ECLAC (Social Panorama 1997), people manage to get out of poverty when they pass the threshold of 12 years of study.
- Inequalities in income based on educational inequalities have increased.
- There has been a significant devaluation of education: an increasingly greater number of years of study is required to obtain the same position or income.
- The educational level of children is determined to a significant extent by that of the parents. The children of parents with a lower educational level tend also to have a lower educational level.
- Differences in the quality of education are an important aspect of inequality. The ECLAC/UNESCO proposal for education specifies, in connection with rights, that equality of opportunity originally is achieved not only by ensuring wide educational coverage but also by ensuring basic quality education for all.

In this familiar context, a brief summary will be made of the situation with regard to gender equity, focusing mainly on young people, as it is through them that the performance of the educational system over the decade is expressed.

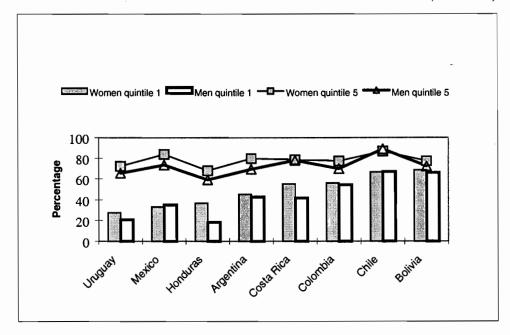
From the point of view of education as a right, in this decade women seem to have an advantage over men, although it remains to be seen if this trend is the result of a gender culture that obliges men, more than women, to find paid work at very young ages. At the same time, it is recognized that the barriers that prevented women from continuing their studies have been reduced. There is however a curious mixture of expectations with regard to daughters, in the sense that there is a preference for them to study more and take advantage of the opportunities that their parents did not have, and it is recognized that a longer time at school prepares them better for life, and specifically for work, yet at the same time they are expected to comply with the duties of their role, for which society does not offer them any additional assistance.<sup>16</sup>

An opinion survey carried out in Chile (CEP, 1995) indicates that 46% of parents from the low stratum and 56% from the high stratum have the expectation that their daughter "is or will be a good professional", but the former give much greater emphasis to the importance of maternity; the expectation that she "is or will be a good mother" is selected by 55% of the low stratum and 21% of the high stratum. Daughters from the low stratum will have additional difficulties in complying with the expectations of their parents, as

Figure 14 shows that, in around 1997, a high percentage of young people from the quintile of households with the highest level of income continued their studies, without significant differences between countries, but that the proportion of women students was higher than that of men. The situation of the poorest is worse in all countries, except in Bolivia, but in all cases a higher proportion of women study than men. The differences between countries in the proportion of students in the population aged 15 to 19 years are significant for the poorest strata. As these data come from employment surveys, it should be checked whether in some of the countries with a very low proportion of students, young people have the opportunity to work and study at the same time. In those cases, they may have been recorded as "employed", and only included as students in the educational statistics.

Figure 14
PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS AMONG THE POPULATION
AGED 15 TO 19, CIRCA 1997

(Urban areas)



**Source:** ECLAC data, Statistics Division, Special tabulations from household surveys. *Quintile 1 = 20% of households with the lowest income per person.* 

Quintile 7 = 20% of households with the lowest income per person.

Quintile 5 = 20% of households with the highest income per person.

The differences in studies between young people of each sex -the proportion of students among women aged 15 to 19 less the same proportion for men- are in general positive, with an irregular trend over the period considered: some have increased, others have decreased.

Table 19
GAPS IN STUDIES BETWEEN YOUNG PEOPLE AGED 15 TO 19
BY INCOME QUINTILES, CIRCA 1997

	Proportion of female students minus proportion of male students				
Country	Around 1990		Around 1997		
	Quintile 1	Quintile 5	Quintile 1	Quintile 5	
Argentina	10.4	9.6	2.6	10.4	
Bolivia	-7.4	5.5	2.6	5.1	
Brazil	11.3	8.5	S/I	S/I	
Colombia	3.9	2.7	1.6	7.5	
Costa Rica	-0.5	1.4	13.7	0.7	
Chile	1.8	-5.9	-0.3	-2.2	
Honduras	5.0	11.0	18.4	8.9	
Mexico	7.3	-4.8	-1.8	10.4	
Uruguay	10.6	19.5	6.7	6.8	

Source: ECLAC, Statistics Division, special tabulations from household surveys.

ECLAC calculations relating to the intergenerational transmission of inequalities by the educational level also show advantages for women. In the 1997 edition of the Social Panorama, the possibility in 1994 of children achieving a higher level of education than their parents and achieving a basic educational capital was considered. The simple average of the data from seven countries <sup>17</sup> is that 26% of men and 35% of women aged 20 to 24 years in urban areas have more education than their parents and achieve a basic educational capital. The proportions are not very high, but the difference is in favour of women.

To achieve a higher educational level than their parents: when the number of years of education is higher than the average number of years of study of the head of the household and the spouse, plus a number of years to allow for devaluation of education, which can be from 7 years or more if the parents have an educational level of less than three years to one year or more if the parents have 13 or more years of education.

To achieve a basic educational capital: to complete 12 years of education. 16

The differences between women of different socioeconomic levels continue to be significant, and the intergenerational transmission of poverty in terms of the educational level of the parents as a determining factor works to maintain them. The fact that women have improved more than men in relation to their parents, however, would indicate that prejudices that kept them with less education in the past have been overcome and that opportunities have opened up in the educational system.

With regard to the quality of education, both at the global level and with regard to differences in educational quality according to the sex of the pupils, there is no comparable information between countries. For example, in the case of Chile, women are also achieving more than men in terms of education. The gaps in favour of girls are not very large, but they exist at the

ECLAC, Social Panorama, 1997.

Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Panama, Uruguay and Venezuela. Social Panorama 1997, page 63.

three socioeconomic levels represented by the different types of financing and dependency of educational establishments.

Box 1
QUALITY OF EDUCATION

In Chile, pupils in primary and secondary education are tested for their achievements in Spanish and mathematics. The results are presented by type of school: municipal, subsidized private and private. In 1996, the results for girls were better than for boys.

Girls' scores/Boys' scores

	Mathematics	Spanish
Primary education		
Municipal	1.003	1.047
Subsidized private	1.008	1.042
Private	1.012	1.027
Secondary education		
Municipal	0.975	1.075
Subsidized private	1.019	1.077
Private	1.012	1.073

**Source**: SIMCE (system for measuring the quality of education). In SERNAM, Designaldades en cifras. Hombres y mujeres pobres en Chile, December, 1998.

The analysis shows that in the group of young people aged 20 to 24 years, women tend to have a higher educational level than men.

Table 20
PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS AGED 20 TO 24 WITH 13 AND
MORE YEARS OF STUDY AROUND 1990 AND 1997

(Urban areas)

		1990			1997	
Country	Women	Men	Difference women - men	Women	Men	Difference women – men
Argentina	31.0	25.8	5.2	27.9	21.1	6.8
Chile	29.1	27.5	1.6	35.6	33.1	2.5
Colombia	15.8	15.1	0.7	19.3	16.8	2.5
Costa Rica	18.1	18.0	0.1	24.6	20.2	4.4
Ecuador	2 <b>2</b> .0	20.8	1.2	25.2	22.1	3.1
El Salvador	N/i	N/i	N/i	19.9	20.1	-0.2
Uruguay	19.0	14.1	4.9	17.8	10.9	6.9

Source: ECLAC, Statistics Division, special tabulations from household surveys.

At the beginning of the decade, the proportion of young women with more than 13 years of study was higher than that of young men, and the differences had increased by the end of the 1990s. The result is good: a higher proportion of women completed more than 13 years of study. The global and average figures did not indicate that education is a mechanism for generating inequalities between women and men. There are many other factors in the educational system, however, that help to produce inequalities.

One of these factors, which has a direct impact on the work situation, is the areas of study chosen by women and men at higher levels of education. No comparable information has been considered in this document, but at the beginning of the decade, there were 74 women for every 100 men in Latin America and 86 in the Caribbean among those enrolled for science and engineering courses, while there were 254 women in Latin America and 204 in the Caribbean for

every 100 men among those enrolled for humanities courses (United Nations, The World's Women 1995: Trends and Statistics).

In order to achieve gender equity in education, some indicators of coverage for men would need to be improved, while more sophisticated indicators would be needed to deal with the inequalities that still affect women today.

The prospects for Latin America are that differences in favour of girls continue to increase. The assessment conducted by ECLAC for two educational goals in the primary cycle in the 1990s and up to 2000 is as follows:

Box 2
EDUCATIONAL GOALS

Edu	ucational goals:	Repetition rate in the first two grades	Percentage of boys and girls who finish primary school
	Current differences in favour of women will be reduced	Costa Rica	Colombia, <sup>a</sup> Ecuador, <sup>a</sup> Honduras, Uruguay <sup>a</sup>
	Current differences in favour of women will be maintained	Chile	Chile, Costa Rica, Panama
	Current differences in favour of women will increase	Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, (a Honduras, Panama, Uruguay, a	Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Paraguay, Venezuela

Source: ECLAC, Social Panorama 1998.

In most countries the gaps in favour of girls will continue to grow.

The differences generated in the educational system are even greater among the active population, owing to the selection that is made both by women seeking employment and by the employers, who prefer those with more years of study. There is a general gain in terms of a more educated work force, but at the same time it has been devalued, that is, wages are lower or working conditions are poorer.

As women increase their educational level they increase their labour participation rates, but they do not manage to take as much advantage of their education as do men in the labour market. This document contains information on the extent of the wage differences in relation to educational levels.

Theoretically education does not differentiate by sex, as enrolment at the various levels is almost the same, and the average level of achievement is in general higher for women, but when they enter the labour market, women narrow their options in terms of time (shorter careers) and in terms of value (jobs with lower pay). Here there is evidence of cultural pressure related to their role in the family as a spouse and mother, which operates in such a way that the returns of education are less for them, a factor that is supported by the sexual segregation of occupations.

It is important to note that the fact that the returns for education are less for women is an inequity that represents a cost for them and their households that is equal to the differential in income with men of an equal educational level. It is a social cost of reproduction that is entirely borne by women. At the end of the decade, the social losses varied between 60% of the average income of men (Bolivia, income of women with 0-8 years of education) and zero, in the case of Costa Rica, for the group of women with 13 and more years of education.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Urban areas only.

Table 21
AVERAGE INCOME FROM WOMEN'S LABOUR AS A PERCENTAGE OF AVERAGE INCOME OF MEN WITH THE SAME LEVEL OF EDUCATION BY YEARS OF STUDY, POPULATION AGED 20 TO 24, CIRCA 1990 AND 1997

Carratura	0	- 8	9 -	- 12	13 and	l more
Country	1990	1997	1990	1997	1990	1997
Argentina	84.6	88.2	64.4	88.5	81.6	85.1
Bolivia	66.9	39.9	76.8	76.1	78.3	70.3
Brazil	59.4	61.5	58.4	65.1	71.9	76.5
Chile	69.1	57.2	80.4	80.2	80.5	85.7
Colombia	86.4	75.6	83.8	92.2	85.7	69.6
Costa Rica	67.2	78.3	88.3	84.1	95.0	109.8
Honduras	54.0	65.4	91.8	78.9	79.2	60.3
Mexico	49.3	74.1	82.8	76.9	57.4	85.4
Uruguay	42.1	7 <b>7</b> .6	65.5	75.5	70.4	83.4

Source: ECLAC, Statistics Division, special tabulations from household surveys.

For young people aged 20 to 24 who enter the labour market with an educational differential in favour of women, the differences in income are maintained, which indicates that they continue to take lower-paying jobs. Between 1990 and 1997 there were improvements, but also some setbacks. In Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, there has been a reduction in the gaps at all educational levels. In the rest of the countries the variations are irregular. Case studies would help to understand when and under what conditions the gaps are diminished.

This document intends merely to indicate which global economic gender inequities are the most obvious and should be included in general assessments of the economic aspects of equity. There are many others not considered and there is clearly a need to obtain more local details within the region, as well as to incorporate cultural factors that differentiate between countries.



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# **Appendices**

# Appendix 1: Calculation of the occupational gender segregation index <sup>19</sup>

#### A. The conceptual framework chosen

The authors define segregation as the tendency for men and women to be employed in different occupations from each other across the entire spectrum of occupations. It is an inherently symmetrical concept: if women are separated from men, then men are separated from women in the employment structure under consideration. Women and men are segregated in relation to one other, and, therefore, both are segregated to the same degree.

There is total segregation if all occupations are staffed exclusively by one sex, either only women or only men, and there are no occupations in which both are employed.

Occupations are gendered to the degree that many of them are predominantly masculine or feminine. Segregation refers to "the extent to which this pattern occurs", the extent to which the sex distribution across occupations approaches total segregation. There is no segregation when the proportion of men and women is the same in all occupations.

#### 1. Marginal Matching (MM)

The authors recommend this measurement as it passes all of the tests which, when applied to other existing indicators, obtain poorer results.

It aims to measure the extent to which women and men are employed in female and male occupations and is based on the relationship between the sex of the workers and the gender of the occupations. The basic requirement for this procedure is to establish the dividing point of feminine occupations in the total volume of feminine employment and the same for men.

In order to establish a definition of female and male occupations, occupations are ordered on a descending scale according to the women/men ratio in each occupation. The totals (women and men) are accumulated by occupation until a number is reached that is equal to the total number of women employed, and this determines the cut-off point of female occupations. The remaining occupations are male, with a number of workers equal to the number of men employed. The basic table is constructed in the same way, using this definition. The conceptual basis of this calculation relies on its statistical properties.

The definition adopted is the one recommended by: Gender Inequality in the Labour Market. Occupational Concentration and Segregation. Janet Siltanen, Jennifer Jarman and Robert M. Blackburn, ILO, Geneva, 1995.

#### MM = (FfMm - FmMf)/FM

#### **BASIC SEGREGATION TABLE**

	Women	Men	Total	Total
"Male" occupations	Fm	Mm	Nm	М
"Female" occupations	Ff	Mf	Nf	F
Total	F	М	N	N

N = Total number of workers

Nf = Total number of workers in "female" occupations

Nm = Total number of workers in "male" occupations

F = Number of female workers

M = Number of male workers

Ff = Number of women in "female" occupations

Mf = Number of men in "female" occupations

Fm = Number of women in "male" occupations

Mm = Number of men in "male" occupations

#### **B.** Calculation

The occupations were ordered according to the decreasing percentage of women in each of them, accumulating the total numbers employed until they reached the equivalent of the number of women in the labour force and the dividing point was established at exactly that value. On that basis, the following tables were constructed in order to calculate the index.

Table A.1 CALCULATION OF THE OCCUPATIONAL GENDER SEGREGATION INDEX

Date: 1990				Date: 1996			
Country: BRAZIL	Women	Men	Total	BRAZIL	Women	Men	Total
Male occupations	5 757 580	29 193 837	34 951 417	Male occupations	6 126 638	30 610 502	36 737 140
Female occupations	12 961 411	5 757 580	18 718 991	Female occupations	15 044 470	6 126 638	21 171 108
Total	18 718 991	34 951 417	53 670 408	Total	21 171 108	36 737 140	57 908 248
INDICATOR MM	0.527689			INDICATOR MM	0.543843		
No. of occupational groups	19	55	74	No. of occupational groups	22	54	9/
% women in the total	34.87767			% women in the total	36.55974		
Date: 1990				Date: 1997			
Country: COSTA RICA	Women	Men	Total	Country: COSTA RICA	Women	Men	Total
Male occupations	77 465	608 622	686 087	Male occupations	108 627	706 572	815 199
Female occupations	187 460	77 465	264 925	Female occupations	250 852	108 627	359 479
Total	264 925	686 087	951 012	Total	359 479	815 199	1 174 678
INDICATOR MM	0,594688			INDICATOR MM	0.564568		
No. of occupational groups	18	45	63	No. of occupational groups	15	44	29
% women in the total	27.85716			% women in the total	30.60234		
Date: Sept 1990	_			Date: Sept. 1997			
Country: HONDURAS	Women	Men	Total	Country: HONDURAS	Women	Men	Total
Male occupations	84 762	807 547	892 309	Male occupations	143 064	1 034 126	1 177 190
Female occupations	290 658	84 762	375 420	Female occupations	483 320	143 064	626 384
Total	375 420	892 309	1 267 729	Total	626 384	1 177 190	1 803 574
INDICATOR MM	0.679229			INDICATOR MM	0.650073		
No. of occupational groups	12	49	19	No. of occupational groups	18	78	96
% women in the total	29.61358			% women in the total	34 73015		

Table A.1 (continuation)

Date: August 1991			:	Date: 1996			
Country: PANAMA	Women	Men	Total	Country: PANAMA	Women	Men	Total
Male occupations	56 091	407 881	463 972	Male occupations	78 889	509 522	588 411
Female occupations	163 672	56 091	219 763	Female occupations	218 497	78 889	297 386
Total	219 763	463 972	683 735	Total	297 386	588 411	885 797
INDICATOR MM	0.623872			INDICATOR MM	0.600653		
No. of occupational groups	56	93	119	No. of occupational groups	27	92	119
% women in the total	32.14154			% women in the total	33.57270		
Date: Second half of 1990				Date: Second half of 1996			
Country: VENEZUELA	Women	Men	Total	Country: VENEZUELA	Women	Men	Total
Male occupations	574 183	3 637 974	4 212 157	Male occupations	938 333	4 569 888	5 508 221
Female occupations	1 320 481	574 183	1 894 664	Female occupations	1 979 470	938 333	2 917 803
Total	1 894 664	4 212 157	6 106 821	Total	2 917 803	5 508 221	8 426 024
INDICATOR MM	0.560631			INDICATOR MM	0.508059		
No. of occupational groups	16	73	89	No. of occupational groups	91	63	79
% women in the total	31.02537			% women in the total	34.62846		

# Appendix 2 Statistical tables

Table B.1 PERCENTAGE OF POOR HOUSEHOLDS AND PER CAPITA GDP, CIRCA 1997

Country	% households below the poverty line	Per capital GDP (in 1990 dollars)	
Argentina	13 ª	5,790	
Uruguay	6 6	3,783	
Chile	20 °	3,557	
Mexico	43 °	3,394	
Brazil	29 °	3,214	
Panama	27	2,711	
Venezuela	42	2,681	
Peru	37	2,139	
Costa Rica	20	2,030	
Colombia	45	1,442	
Ecuador	50 b	1,284	
Paraguay	40 °	1,248	
El Salvador	48	1,161	
Dominican Republic	32	1,104	
Guatemala		964	
Bolivia	47 b	892	
Honduras	74	722	
Nicaragua		591	

Table B.2 GLOBAL INCOME PER WOMAN AGED 15 AND ABOVE / **GLOBAL INCOME PER MAN AGED 15 AND ABOVE** 

(Percentages)

0	Value of	indicator	Variation: 1997	
Country	Circa 1990	Circa 1997	minus 1990	
National level	-			
Brazil	34.9	43.4	8.5	
Chile	31.4	36.4	5.0	
Costa Rica	32.0	38.1	6.1	
Honduras	28.5	40.7	12.2	
Mexico	26.3	31.9	5.6	
Panama	47.6	45.2	-2.4	
Venezuela	31.2	38.8	7.6	
Urban level				
Argentina	33.7	40.7	7.0	
Bolivia	36.4	39.1	2.7	
Colombia	38.1	48.7	10.6	
Ecuador	33.8	42.2	8.4	
Paraguay	34.5	44.3	9.8	
Uruguay	34.9	50.9	16	

Source: ECLAC, Statistics Division, special tabulations from household surveys.

Definition: income generated by women (or by men) divided by the number of women (or men) aged 15 and above.

Indicator: percentage relationship between global income per women aged 15 and above and global income per man aged 1 and above.

Concept of Income: income received by households, based on the household surveys, including remuneration for labour, rents and transfers. Excludes rental value assigned to a housing unit inhabited by the owner.

**Source:** Panorama Social 1998. <sup>a</sup> Metropolitan area. <sup>b</sup> Urban areas. <sup>c</sup> 1996.

Table B.3
FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE MINUS MALE LABOUR FORCE
PARTICIPATION RATE, POPULATION AGED 15 AND ABOVE

						(	
Occupations		1990		1997			
Country	Women	Men	Difference	Women	Men	Difference	
Argentina	38	76	- 38	45	76	- 31	
Bolivia	51	73	- 22	51	75	- 24	
Brazil	45	82	- 37	50	80	- 30	
Chile	35	72	- 37	39	74	- 35	
Colombia	46	79	- 33	50	78	- 28	
Costa Rica	39	78	- 39	42	77	- 35	
Ecuador	47	80	- 33	49	81	- 32	
El Salvador	51	80	- 29	48	75	- 27	
Honduras	43	81	- 38	51	83	- 32	
Mexico	33	76	- 43	41	80	- 39	
Panama	43	74	- 31	50	78	- 28	
Paraguay	50	84	- 34	59	86	- 27	
Dominican Republic	53	86	- 33	49	83	- 34	
Uruguay	44	75	- 29	47	73	- 26	

Source: ECLAC, Social Panorama 1998.

The following dates and geographical coverages apply to tables 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 of this Annex.

Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires): 1990 and 1997, Bolivia: 1989 and 1997, Brazil: 1990 and 1996, Chile: 1990 and 1996, Colombia: 1990 and 1997, Costa Rica: 1990 and 1997, Ecuador: 1990 and 1997, El Salvador: 1990 and 1997, Honduras: 1990 and 1997, Mexico: 1989 and 1996, Panama: 1991 and 1997, Paraguay (Asunción): 1990 and 1996, Dominican Republic: 1992 and 1997, Uruguay: 1990 and 1997.

Table B.4
FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE MINUS MALE LABOUR
FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE, POPULATION AGED 15 TO 24

(Urban areas)

		1990		1997			
Country	Women	Men	Difference	Women	Men	Difference	
Argentina	41	62	-21	44	61	17	
Bolivia	35	47	-12	35	48	-13	
Brazil	48	- 78	-30	50	72	-22	
Chile	29	47	-18	29	44	-15	
Colombia	41	59	-18	42	55	-13	
Costa Rica	39	62	-23	33	60	-27	
Ecuador	33	56	-23	38	58	-20	
El Salvador	41	64	-23	33	54	-21	
Honduras	35	66	-31	43	70	-27	
Mexico	30	57	-27	36	60	-24	
Panama	37	58	-21	40	60	-20	
Paraguay	51	69	-18	54	76	-22	
Dominican Republic	57	77	-20	44	70	-26	
Uruguay	47	68	-21	51	71	-20	

Table B. 5
FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE MINUS MALE LABOUR FORCE
PARTICIPATION RATE, POPULATION AGED 25 TO 34

		1990			1997	
Country	Women	Men	Difference	Women	Men	Difference
Argentina	52	97	-45	61	97	-36
Bolivia	57	90	-33	61	92	-31
Brazil	56	96	-40	63	94	-31
Chile	47	94	-47	53	94	-41
Colombia	61	94	-33	68	96	-28
Costa Rica	53	96	-43	61	96	-35
Ecuador	54	95	-41	61	97	-36
El Salvador	66	95	-29	65	95	-30
Honduras	54	95	-41	63	96	-33
Mexico	44	94	-50	50	97	-47
Panama	59	95	-36	66	96	-30
Paraguay	63	97	-34	69	97	-28
Dominican Republic	66	96	-30	65	96	-31
Uruguay	69	98	-29	74	96	-22

Source: ECLAC, Social Panorama 1998.

Table 8.6
FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATE MINUS MALE LABOUR FORCE
PARTICIPATION RATE, POPULATION AGED 35 TO 49

(Urban areas)

	1990			1997			
Country	Women	Men	Difference	Women	Men	Difference	
Argentina	52	97	-45	60	97	-37	
Bolivia	61	<i>97</i>	-36	68	98	-30	
Brazil	53	95	-42	61	94	-33	
Chile	46	95	-49	51	96	-45	
Colombia	54	97	-43	63	97	-34	
Costa Rica	49	95	-46	54	96	-42	
Ecuador	56	98	-42	62	98	-36	
El Salvador	66	96	-30	68	97	-29	
Honduras	57	97	-40	63	98	-35	
Mexico	38	94	-56	50	97	-47	
Panama	59	96	-37	69	97	-28	
Paraguay	58	99	-41	71	97	-26	
Dominican Republic	57	98	-41	61	97	-36	
Uruguay	64	97	-33	71	97	-26	

Table B.7
LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES BY SEX AND
YEARS OF STUDY (TWO GROUPS), CIRCA 1997

		Women		Men	
Country	Date	4 to 6 years	13 or more years	4 to 6 years	13 or more years
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1997	29	74	68	88
Bolivia	1997	57	58	88	72
Brazil	1996	46	80	80	89
Chile	1996	26	62	74	79
Colombia	1997	43	76	82	84
Costa Rica	1997	37	68	82	83
Ecuador	1997	45	70	88	86
El Salvador	1997	49	65	80	76
Honduras	1997	53	67	90	82
Mexico	1996	36	62	87	82
Nicaragua	1997	52	68	80	76
Panama	1997	39	73	76	85
Paraguay (Asunción)	1996	57	53	91	91
Dominican Republic	1997	41	42	84	90
Uruguay	1997	35	57	70	84

Source: ECLAC, Social Panorama 1998.

Table B.8
FEMALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE MINUS MALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE,
POPULATION AGED 15 AND ABOVE, CIRCA 1997

(Urban areas)

Country	Date	Women	Men	Absolute difference women-men	Ratio women/ men
Argentina	Oct. 1997	17.2	12.4	4.8	1.4
Bolivia	Nov. 1997	3.7	3.7	0.0	1.0
Brazil	Sept 1996	10.0	6.7	3.3	1.5
Chile	Nov. 1996	7.3	5.1	2.2	1.4
Colombia	Sept. 1997	14.7	9.7	5.0	1.5
Costa Rica	July 1997	6.7	5.3	1.4	1.3
Ecuador	Nov. 1997	12.6	8.8	3.8	1.4
El Salvador	1997	5.5	8.8	-3.3	0.6
Honduras	Sept. 1997	4.3	5.9	-1.6	0.7
Mexico	3rd quarter of 1996	3.9	5.8	-1.9	0.7
Nicaragua	Oct. 1997	12.6	13.6	-1.0	0.9
Panama	Aug. 1997	18.2	13.3	4.9	1.4
Paraguay	Aug Dec. 1996	8.7	8.2	0.5	1.1
Dominican Rep.	April 1997	26.0	10.9	15.1	2.4
Uruguay	1997	14.7	8.9	5.8	1.6
Venezuela	2nd half of 1997	13.6	9.0	4.6	1.5

Table B.9
URBAN POPULATION EMPLOYED IN LOW-PRODUCTIVITY SECTORS

(Percentages of the total employed urban population, by sex)

Country	Year	Women	Men
Argentina (Greater Buenos Aires)	1997	48.6	44.7
Bolivia	1997	74.1	57.1
Brazil	1997	51.9	41.9
Chile	1996	40.5	29.3
Costa Rica	1997	40.4	37.5
Ecuador	1997	59.2	49.5
El Salvador	1997	62.6	46.9
Honduras	1997	56.4	51.7
Mexico	1996	46.0	40.4
Nicaragua	1997	66.2	54.1
Panama	1997	34.8	31.1
Paraguay (Asunción)	1996	64.5	50.2
Dominican Republic	1997	45.2	47.0
Uruguay	1997	46.6	38.7
Venezuela	1997	47.0	50.0

Table B.10 GINI COEFFICIENT MEASURED BY DECILES OF WAGE EARNERS

		Circa 1990			Circa 1997			
Country	Women	Men	Differences women - men	Women	Men	Differences women – men		
Argentina	0.34948	0.34874	0.00074	0.36060	0.35802	0.00258		
Bolivia	0.43856	0.45884	-0.02028	0.46634	0.46340	0.00294		
Brazil	0.52910	0.53202	-0.00292	0.49914	0.50528	-0.00614		
Colombia	0.37542	0.43630	-0.06088	0.47486	0.42604	0.04882		
Costa Rica	0.34378	0.36556	-0.02178	0.37392	0.36292	0.01100		
Chile	0.39242	0.45452	-0.06210	0.40622	0.45904	-0.05282		
Honduras	0.46552	0.44600	0.01952	0.40364	0.43414	-0.03050		
Mexico	0.38838	0.42524	-0.03686	0.42556	0.46218	-0.03662		
Uruguay	0.35568	0.35660	-0.00092	0.41758	0.41164	0.00594		

Source: ECLAC. Statistics Division. Special tabulations. Author's calculations.

Table B.11 EMPLOYERS BY SEX, AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL EMPLOYED FOR EACH SEX

		1990		1997				
Country	% employers among working women	% employers among working men	Gap: women minus men	% employers among working women	% employers among working men	Gap: women minus men		
Argentina	2.8	6.9	-4.1	3.5	6.4	-2.9		
Bolivia	0.8	3.2	-2.4	2.8	10.1	-7.3		
Brazil	2.5	6.9	-4.4	2.5	5.4	-2.9		
Chile	1.4	3.1	-1.7	2.8	4.5	-1.7		
Colombia	2.1	5.6	-3.5	2.8	5.6	-2.8		
Costa Rica	2.3	7.2	-4.9	4.0	9.9	-5.9		
Ecuador	2.7	6.3	-3.6	4.5	9.8	-5.3		
El Salvador	1.6	4.8	-3.2	3.3	7.6	-4.3		
Honduras	0.9	1.9	-1.0	3.1	8.8	-5.7		
Mexico	1.3	4.3	-3.0	2.1	5.8	-3.7		
Panama	1.7	4.4	-2.7	1.4	4.6	-3.2		
Paraguay	2.4	13.5	-11.1	4.0	9.3	-5.3		
Uruguay	2.4	8.1	-5.7	2.3	5.7	-3.4		
Venezuela	2.3	10.2	-7.9	1.9	6.7	-4.8		

Table B.12 PARTICIPATION RATES BY SEX, BY AGE AND BY QUINTILE. CIRCA 1990 AND 1997

				1990					1	1997		
į	, T				Diffe	Difference	West.		-	No.	Diff	Difference
Country	Ŏ.	мошеп	Мел		wome	women-men	Мотеп	Ten Ten	Ē		МОШ	women-men
	15 - 19	20 - 64	15 – 19	20 – 64	15 - 19	20 – 64	15 - 19	20 - 64	15 - 19	20 - 64	15 - 19	20 - 64
Argentina	25.3	47.5	42.8	91.3	-17.5	-43.8	23.4	56.4	36.8	92.3	-13.4	-35.9
Bolivia	20.4	52.3	29.9	85.3	-9.5	-33.0	24.4	58.2	32.7	88.7	-8.3	-30.5
Brazil	38.6	49.3	62.9	9.06	-27.3	-41.3	39.3	56.3	59.2	89.2	-19.9	-32.9
Chile	11.0	41.6	21.1	86.6	-10.1	-45.0	12.0	46.7	19.1	88.3	-7.1	-41.6
Colombia	50.6	50.6	36.1	89.7	-15.5	-39.1	23.4	57.8	35.4	90.6	-12.0	-32.8
Costa Rica	26.1	44.9	41.1	90.1	-15.0	-45.2	21.6	49.4	41.7	89.4	-20.1	-40.0
Honduras	20.3	48.8	53.6	91.4	-33.3	-42.6	27.5	57.2	56.5	93.5	-29.0	-36.3
Mexico	21.5	39.2	41.3	90.2	-19.8	-51.0	25.8	46.1	43.5	91.1	-17.7	-45.0
Uruguay	29.8	55.4	52.3	90.7	-22.5	-35.3	33.9	62.1	52.1	89.9	-18.2	-27.8
			•	1990					1	1997		
		Women			Men			Women			Men	
Country	Quintile 1	Quintile 1 Quintile 5	Difference Quintile 1 - 5	Quintile 1	Quintile 5	Difference Quintile 1 - 5	Quintile 1	Quintile 5	Difference Quintile 1 - 5	Quintile 1	Quintile 5	Difference Quintile 1 - 5
Argentina	24.2	68.7	-44.5	86.3	92.6	-9.3	38.6	73.5	-34.9	88.4	95.3	-6.9
Bolivia	36.6	60.7	-24.1	73.3	88.6	-15.3	48.6	8.99	-18.2	89.7	87.8	1.9
Brazil	38.4	29.0	-20.6	87.5	89.2	-1.7	46.4	63.1	-16.7	86.9	88.3	-1.4
Chile	25.6	55.9	-30.3	86.4	86.9	-0.5	28.1	64.4	-36.3	9.88	86.9	1.7
Colombia	38.8	62.6	-23.8	91.3	9.68	1.7	45.6	9.69	-24.0	89.9	89.0	6.0
Costa Rica	27.2	60.4	-33.2	81.3	90.2	-8.9	34.3	67.4	-33.1	82.8	83.8	-7.0
Honduras	41.8	61.5	-19.7	89.2	92.5	-3.3	46.1	69.4	-23.3	92.3	92.4	-0.1
Mexico	26.1	52.2	-26.1	8.06	8.06	0.0	33.7	60.1	-26.4	93.7	91.1	2.6
Uruguay	43.6	61.4	-17.8	9.68	91.0	4.1-	52.5	71.2	-18.7	89.3	91.4	-2.1

Source: ECLAC, Statistics Division, special tabulations from household surveys.

Table B.13
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR WOMEN IN THE POOREST 25% OF HOUSEHOLDS
AND IN THE RICHEST 25% OF HOUSEHOLDS, 1997

Country		Men		
	Cuartile 1	Cuartile 4	Difference	Difference
Argentina	38.0	5.0	33.0	27.4
Bolivia	7.5	1.0	6.5	7.8
Brazil	18.8	4.7	14.1	10.0
Chile	22.0	1.8	20.2	10.0
Colombia	31.6	5.7	25.9	14.3
Costa Rica	16.3	2.5	13.8	12.6
Ecuador	23.5	5.3	18.2	11.3
Honduras	10.6	1.3	9.3	12.3
Mexico	6.8	1.7	5.1	7.4
Panama	38.4	6.3	32.1	18.0
Uruguay	27.7	5.7	22.0	11.2
Venezuela	28.8	6.1	22.7	12.1





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