The intersection between class and gender and its impact on the quality of employment in Chile[1]

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Abstract

This study explores the impact of the intersection between class and gender on the quality of employment in Chile. The method used to measure social class position is based on the work of Erik O. Wright, while, for the quality of employment, a multidimensional measurement was used, including one index for objective working conditions and two indices for subjective ones (motivation on the job and the perception of control over work processes). The results demonstrate that class and gender give rise to significant differences in objective and subjective job quality. However, the data also indicate that gender (more specifically, the fact of being female) does not necessarily amplify the class-based inequalities observed in the labour market. Drawing on these findings, a number of thoughts about how the class/gender intersection operates in the Chilean labour market are shared in the final section of this study.

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I.   Introduction

One approach to the analysis of inequality is based on the concept of intersectionality, which is also known as "intersectional discrimination." In this approach, it is assumed that economic and social inequalities are not solely a consequence of a person's position within the production structure (i.e. a person's class position) but are also a result of other factors and categories, such as gender, according to which people can be classified. The concept of intersectionality can therefore be used to gain an understanding of the processes by which class and gender, taken together, give rise to differentiated access to opportunities and resources.

This study focuses on measuring the intersectionality of class and gender and on gauging how these two factors influence job quality. Using the class-based scheme proposed by Erik O. Wright (1994) as a point of departure, an effort is made to quantify the ways in which class, gender and the intersection of these two factors translate into variations in job quality, with the latter being analysed on the basis of multidimensional measurements of objective and subjective employment and working conditions.

The aim of this study is to contribute to the development of multidimensional measurements of job quality in Chile and to the analysis of class and gender by examining the extent to which the intersection of these two factors provides a means of gaining a better understanding of the inequalities existing in highly flexible labour markets such as that of Chile. To that end, the study is divided into seven sections. Following this Introduction, section II presents an analysis of the literature dealing with class-based models as viewed from a gender perspective. Section III offers a discussion of the measurements of multidimensionality that have been applied to job quality, while section IV outlines the hypotheses on which this study is based. Section V reviews the data, variables and methods used in the research. Section VI presents and discusses the research results. Section VII provides an overview of the main findings of this study.

II.   Class-based models and a gender perspective

The most commonly used approach to the study of social inequality is based on an analysis of the positions that people occupy in the social structure. The concept of class has thus been frequently used in sociological studies that seek to determine the positions occupied by different individuals in production and market processes and to explore how that position affects their levels of material well-being and their life opportunities (Crompton, 2008).

Class position is not the only determinant of people's life opportunities, however. There are other dimensions in today's societies that also influence these outcomes. Sex, or gender, is one example (Crompton, 1989).[2] The available empirical evidence shows that gender is a core determinant of the opportunities that are open to people in the labour market (Browne and Misra, 2005; Stier and Yaish, 2014).

This has led researchers to look more closely into the relationships between class and gender. In the 1960s, the feminist movement engaged in a debate concerning the theoretical and methodological implications of the analysis of women's positions in the social structure (Pollert, 1996; Ferree and Hall, 1996; Yuval-Davis, 2006; Davis, 2008). As more and more women entered the labour market, they

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[2]   In the English-language literature, the term "gender", rather than "sex," is generally used to refer to the natural status of a person, as distinct from the social construct that may be associated with it. In this study, the term "gender" will, in most cases, be used to refer to a person's sex as viewed from the standpoint of the relationship it bears to the availability of resources and opportunities.

began to question the characterization of women as a peripheral component of the class system, which was, according to this point of view, reflected in the fact that class position was analysed on the basis of the occupational status of the head of household and chief breadwinner, who was generally a man.

The large-scale entry of women into forms of gainful employment in advanced capitalist societies prompted researchers to ask themselves to what extent sex was independent of class. They discussed, for example, how to go about analysing situations in which there were two heads of household who occupied different class positions. In the realm of empirical research, this debate raised questions as to which unit of analysis was appropriate, i.e. whether it was better to gather data at the individual or household level (Baxter, 1992).

The most well-known stance regarding the central importance of the household in studies of social class is that of John Goldthorpe (1983). In his view, all members of the household occupied the same class position. He argued that class position should be measured on the basis of the economic activity conducted by the man of the house because men were the main providers and breadwinners.

In contrast, feminists maintained that, given the fact that there were some households that were economically dependent on a woman and there were some in which both the man and the woman were breadwinners, it was necessary to have a joint classification model, i.e. a model that was capable of combining the attributes of both spouses in determining their class or status (Baxter, 1992). These discussions led to the development of an approach based on the concept of intersectionality, which focuses on the ways in which the interactions of various dimensions of inequality influence life opportunities.

Not all schools of thought have embraced the concept of intersectionality, however, with one of the main reasons for this being that it entails a complete overhaul of the theoretical assumptions underlying the way in which empirical data are interpreted. Be that as it may, Wright (1989 and 1997) has conducted empirical research on class and gender in which he demonstrates that gender is an extremely important determinant of access to positions of authority in countries such as Australia, Japan, Sweden and the United States.

However, in an effort to vindicate the Marxist theory of social class, Wright (1992) states that social class is a "gender-neutral" abstract concept in much the same way as patriarchy is, in the abstract, a "class-neutral" concept. In other words, in the abstract, class and gender can be understood as two totally distinct concepts. Accordingly, Wright contends that the complex relationship between class and sex can only be understood, in the abstract, if they are thought of as independent phenomena.

Based on this line of reasoning, Wright contends that the interaction between class and gender exists, but only at a concrete level. In other words, class structures are shaped by gender relations solely in a circumstantial, material sense. By the same token, it is only at that concrete, circumstantial level that gender shapes other class-related phenomena, such as class consciousness and collective action (Wright, 1992, p. 47).

In this study we follow Wright's line of thinking and define intersectionality between class and gender as a concrete, rather than as an abstract, phenomenon. On that basis, we explore how intersectionality is manifested, concretely and systematically, in the Chilean labour market.

Few quantitative studies on intersectionality have been conducted (Lovell, 2006), and those that do exist have used a wide variety of methodologies. While some are based on a comparison of wage gaps or the average wages of men and women (Browne and Misra, 2005; McCall, 2001 and 2005), others employ correspondence analysis, cluster analysis or discriminant analysis (Andes, 1992; Jaoul-Grammare, 2007). There have also been studies that examine the relationship between class and gender by looking at how gender influences the distribution of individuals in the class

structure. For example, using logit regression models, Mjøset and Petersen (1983) have demonstrated that women are much less likely to occupy class positions of authority (e.g. supervisory positions) than men.

In this study, a regression analysis will be used to examine the effect of class/gender intersectionality on the labour market using multidimensional measurements of objective and subjective job quality. The focus is on the labour market because it is one of the main areas in which the lasting effects of class and gender are evident (Stier and Yaish, 2014; Armstrong, Walby and Strid, 2009). Both in Chile and in other capitalist societies, the labour market is the main conduit for the allocation of resources and remuneration to individuals.

III. Multidimensional measurements of job quality

For some years now, scholars have shown interest in constructing job quality measurements that incorporate the dimensions of employment conditions, working conditions and the social/workplace environment (Burchell and others, 2012). Measurements of this type have been proposed in various countries and institutions, including Canada (Statistical Institute of Quebec, 2008), the United Kingdom (Green, 2006), the United States (Handel, 2005) and France (Guergoat-Larivière and Marchand, 2012; Ralle, 2006). In Europe, both the European Commission and the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions have made valuable contributions in this direction (Leschke, Watt and Finn, 2008 and 2012; Green and Mostafa, 2012; Eurofound, 2012). The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and the International Labour Organization (ILO) have also been moving forward with a line of work that involves the development of multidimensional employment quality metrics (Bescond, Chataignier and Mehran, 2003; Anker and others, 2003; Davoine, Erhel and Guergoat-Larivière, 2008). For the most part, these proposed systems of measurement include such factors as income, job stability, working time, training and worker autonomy, among other dimensions.

Ruiz-Tagle and Sehnbruch (2011) have proposed a multidimensional measurement of job quality in Chile that includes four dimensions: income level, type of contract and access to social security coverage, job seniority and training. The proposal that will be put forward here differs from that model in that it also includes subjective aspects, such as workers' own perceptions of their working conditions and their autonomy in the workplace.

The authors of recent research papers on the subject do not agree as to how to go about creating a synthetic measurement of employment quality. Our choice of indicators for measuring objective and subjective aspects of job quality was guided by the suggestions made in the specialized literature on the subject and by the results of a number of statistical tests that we ran (in particular, Cronbach's alpha coefficient and principal components analyses).

One problem with measuring the quality of employment is that, apart from income, none of the other measures in the models discussed in the literature incorporates a universal unit or metric; for the most part, nominal and/or ordinal variables are used. What the literature recommends in this connection is that indices are used only insofar as the procedures used for their construction and interpretation are transparent (Leschke, Watt and Finn, 2008; Green and Mostafa, 2012).

There are no universally accepted rules regarding how to weight the different indicators either. The different approaches used to determine the relative weighting of each indicator range from purely normative models to ones that rely entirely on empirical criteria. The general rule, however, is for most of the indices to be simply the sum of each of their components, with the result that each

component (variable) of a given index will have an equal relative weight (Guergoat-Larivière and Marchand, 2012).

These general recommendations were followed when building the indices for this study. However, the multidimensional measures of employment quality used here differ from the models reviewed in the literature in that they include subjective variables —that is, variables that measure workers' own perceptions of their working conditions. This study therefore is also intended to contribute to the debate on how to construct better measurements for use in empirical studies of job quality.

IV. Hypothesis

In this study, an effort will be made to compare two different hypotheses based on the results of studies on class, gender and the interaction between the two (Andes, 1992; Anthias, 2001; Browne and Misra, 2005; Wright, 1997; Mintz and Krymkowski, 2010).

The first (hypothesis 1) is a general one according to which gender and class have a significant impact on employment quality such that people in the working class (or in positions proximate to that class) and women are likely to have lower-quality jobs. More specifically, this hypothesis posits that women and members of the working class (or those in proximate positions) will have lower scores on the objective and subjective indices of employment quality.

The second hypothesis (hypothesis 2) is more specific than the first and is drawn from the findings of analyses of class/gender intersectionality. According to this line of thinking, the impact of social class on employment quality may be different for men than for women. More specifically, the difference may stem from the fact of being female could amplify class differences (especially those associated with membership in a subordinate class). Thus, for example, the quality of employment would be lower for members of the working class than for highly skilled professionals and would be even lower for working-class women than for working-class men.

In sum, based on these two hypotheses, the expectation is that working-class individuals will score lower on the objective and subjective indices of job quality (hypothesis 1) and that working-class women will score even lower (hypothesis 2).

V.   Data, variables and methods

This study draws on data from the National Survey on Employment, Work, Health and Quality of Life of Workers in Chile conducted in 2009 and 2010 by the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Labour and Social Security of Chile. The survey sample and its selection (9,503 cases chosen using a probability sampling method) are such that the data are representative of all Chilean workers over the age of 15 who were employed at the time that the survey was carried out or that, even if they were unemployed at that time, had had a job in the formal or informal sector within the preceding 12 months.

This database was chosen because it includes a series of variables that can be used to measure the relationship between gender and class and their impact on job quality. Standard multivariate analysis techniques —specifically, linear regression models based on ordinary least squares estimates— were used. These techniques were the most appropriate not only because the interpretation of the coefficients is straightforward, but also because all the dependent variables are interval variables (specifically, indices that were constructed to represent the objective and subjective components of job quality).

1.   Dependent variables

The main dependent variable in this study is "job quality" as measured by three indices: an objective job-quality index and two subjective job-quality indices.

(a)   The objective job-quality index

In line with earlier studies (Leschke, Watt and Finn, 2008 and 2012; Davoine, Erhel and Guergoat-Larivière, 2008; Green and Mostafa, 2012; Ruiz-Tagle and Sehnbruch, 2011), this index was built on the basis of two variables.

The first, "job security," was constructed by cross-tabulating the following variables: (i) the type of employment (temporary or permanent), and (ii) social security coverage. This last variable was generated by cross-referencing two questions: "Are you enrolled in a social insurance system?" and "At this point in time, are you making payments into that system or is your employer doing so on your behalf?". The responses to these two questions were combined to generate a variable that could take any one of three possible values: 0 = is not a member of a social insurance system and social insurance contributions are not being made; 1 = is a member but social insurance contributions are not currently being made; and 2 = is a member and social insurance contributions are being made.

Thus, the variable for job security is the result of a cross-tabulation of the type of employment and of social security coverage and contributions (or the absence thereof). The outcome was a variable whose values may range from 0 (does not have social insurance coverage and is employed on a temporary basis) and 5 (does have social insurance coverage, contributions to that system are being made and has a permanent job). The values between those two extremes represent various intermediate situations (e.g. has social insurance coverage but is employed on a temporary basis or does not have social insurance coverage but has a permanent job). The higher the score for this variable, the better the quality of employment is.

The second variable was "income level." This variable was constructed on the basis of the standard question regarding the income of survey respondents. Their answers were recorded using values ranging from 0 to 5 (the higher the score, the higher the income level).

The values for these two variables were added together in order to obtain the final index for objective job quality, with higher scores indicating a greater degree of objective job quality.

(b)   The subjective job-quality indices

Subjective perceptions of job quality were measured on the basis of two specific dimensions: motivation on the job and the perception of control over work processes.

(i)   Motivation on the job

The motivation index was constructed on the basis of the simple sum of responses to three questions on a Likert scale. The questions were: "Do you feel that the work you do is important?", "Do you feel motivated in your job and committed to your work?" and "Do you enjoy the work you do?". The values for the responses to each of these three questions ranged from 1 (never) to 5 (always).

(ii)   Perception of control over work processes

The index of perception of control over work processes was constructed on the basis of the simple sum of responses to four questions on a Likert scale. These questions were: "Are you

able to influence the amount of work that is assigned to you or that you have?", "Are you able to choose or change the order in which you do your various tasks?", "Are you able to choose or change the way in which you do your work?" and "Are you able to decide when to take a break?". The responses to each of these questions could range from 1 (never) to 5 (always).

In order to make the three indices of job quality comparable, the objective index and the two subjective indices were standardized on a scale of from 0 to 100, with a higher score corresponding to better job quality or a perception of better job quality. As shown in table 1, Cronbach's alpha and the principal component analyses indicate that the indices are one-dimensional and internally consistent. Cronbach's alpha for the objective quality index is lower than it ought to be (0.52), but it was retained nonetheless because it includes a number of elements (job stability, social insurance coverage and income) that are commonly used to measure job quality. The components of this index are also particularly relevant for an analysis of the relationship among class, gender and job quality. Unlike some of the measurements that are generally used for this purpose (e.g. type of employment contract), these items are applicable both to wage earners and to independent workers (entrepreneurs or the self-employed). Even though this objective quality index is one-dimensional, its low Cronbach's alpha coefficient suggests that the results of the analysis should be interpreted with caution.

Table 1
Employment quality indices

Indices	Variables	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimum value	Maximum value
Objective job quality (n = 9.248) Cronbach's alpha: 0.52 Eigenvalue, factor 1:1.37	1. Level of job security: type of employment (permanent or temporary) + social security coverage 2. Income level	50.82	23.37	0	100
Motivation (n = 9.177) Cronbach's alpha: 0.82 Eigenvalue, factor 1:2.20	1. Feels that the work he or she performs is important 2. Is motivated and committed to his or her work 3. Enjoys his or her work	84.72	21.07	0	100
Perception of control over work processes (n = 9.111) Cronbach's alpha: 0.83 Eigenvalue, factor 1:2.68	1. Can influence the amount of work assigned to him or her 2. Can change the order in which tasks are performed 3. Can change the way in which he or she does the work 4. Can decide when to take a break	55.97	32.63	0	100

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of data from the National Survey on Employment, Work, Health and Quality of Life of Workers in Chile (ENETS, 2009-2010).

2. Independent variables

The independent variables are gender and social class. Gender was included as a dummy variable, with the reference category being "male."

The variable of social class was defined on the basis of the work of Wright (1994). According to Wright's analytical scheme, there are three variables that determine the main class positions in today's capitalist societies: (i) the ownership of means of production or the lack thereof, from which a distinction is drawn between wage earners and independent workers; (ii) the possession of authority over work processes or the lack thereof, and (iii) the possession of skills or the lack thereof. Wright uses these last two criteria to distinguish between different positions within the wage-earning population.

Based on these general criteria, the variable "employment situation" ("as your main occupation, you work as…") was then used to distinguish between those who own means of production and those who do not. Owners of means of production are classified as big employers (business owners with 10 employees or more), small employers (business owners with between 2 and 9 employees) and self-employed persons.

The wage-earning population is divided into subcategories based on the authority over work processes and the skill level. A series of variables are used to measure the extent of a survey respondent's authority (e.g. if he or she supervises the work of others, is authorized to hire or dismiss employees, can oversee and organize the work of others or occupies a management, supervisory or subordinate position in the workplace). Based on these variables, people are classified as managers, supervisors or workers.

A person's skill level is gauged on the basis of the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO-88), which classifies occupations —especially in the case of those in the upper echelons— primarily in terms of the qualifications and skills required to carry out a given task or job (Ganzeboom and Treiman, 2003). Based on the 27 ISCO occupations listed at the two-digit level, survey respondents can be classified as "experts" (highly qualified professionals), "semi-skilled workers" (technicians and associate professionals) and "unskilled workers" (occupations for which no formal qualifications are required).

One major modification has been made in Wright's scheme: the addition of the category of "informal petty bourgeoisie." Since, in Latin America, many self-employed persons and small business owners conduct their economic activities in the informal sector (Tokman, 2009; Ministry of Economic Affairs, 2013), this class category was added in order to distinguish between those people and persons who, although they belong to the petty bourgeoisie or are small-scale employers, are linked to the formal sector of the economy. While there are many different definitions of informal labour and the informal sector (Portes and Haller, 2004), given the type of data that were available, we decided to use the general criteria proposed by the Regional Employment Programme for Latin America and the Caribbean (PREALC, 1978). Thus, "informal petty bourgeoisie" is defined as the category composed of self-employed persons and small-scale employers who are engaged in unskilled or low-skilled activities (i.e. those whose occupations are in ISCO-88 Major Groups 5 through 9). Based on these criteria, we constructed the classification of 13 social classes that is shown in table 2.

Table 2
Distribution of employed persons, by class position (13 classes) and gender
(Frequency and percentages)

	Men		Women		Total	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
1. Bourgeoisie	26	0.4	7	0.2	33	0.4
2. Small-scale employers	99	1.7	42	1.2	141	1.5
3. Formal petty bourgeoisie	106	1.8	65	1.9	171	1.9
4. Informal petty bourgeoisie	1 265	21.9	578	17.0	1 843	20.1
5. Expert managers	23	0.4	11	0.3	34	0.4
6. Expert supervisors	112	1.9	96	2.8	208	2.3
7. Non-managerial experts	85	1.5	171	5.0	256	2.8
8. Skilled managers	35	0.6	12	0.4	47	0.5
9. Skilled supervisors	285	4.9	121	3.6	406	4.4
10. Skilled workers	814	14.1	585	17.2	1 399	15.2
11. Unskilled managers	39	0.7	11	0.3	50	0.5
12. Unskilled supervisors	339	5.9	159	4.7	498	5.4
13. Unskilled workers	2 554	44.2	1 547	45.4	4 101	44.6
Total	5 782	100	3 405	100	9 187	100

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of data from the National Survey on Employment, Work, Health and Quality of Life of Workers in Chile (ENETS 2009-2010).

Since the main objective of this study is to analyse how the intersection of class and gender influences job quality, the categories in the 13-class scheme in which there were very few cases were merged. Thus, the categories "bourgeoisie" and "formal petty bourgeoisie" were combined to form the category of "small-scale employers." For the same reason, "expert managers," "expert supervisors," "skilled managers" and "skilled supervisors" were merged into a single category. These two modifications —grouping all employers into a single category and all persons whose skill level qualifies them as experts with managerial functions in another— resulted in a scheme composed of nine class positions. This was the scheme used for running the regressions.

The demographic controls and economic variables described below were also included in the regression models.

(a)   Demographic controls

Three demographic controls, apart from class and gender, were included in the regression models: age (in years); level of education (measured using four dummy variables, with the reference category being "completed primary education or less") and place of residence (1 for "Metropolitan Region" and 0 for "other region").

(b)   Economic variables

Two economic variables were also included in the regression models: "economic sector" (agriculture, manufacturing or services, with "services" being the reference category) and public sector or private sector (with "public sector" being the reference category).

A number of regression models (ordinary least squares estimates) were used to see how the intersection of class and gender translates into variations in job quality. The variables were introduced in the same order in all cases, with the main independent variables (social class and gender) being incorporated before the demographic controls and economic variables.

VI. Results

1.   The effect of class and gender on job quality

The figures shown in table 3 indicate that, together with members of the working class, the formal and informal petty bourgeoisie have the poorest-quality jobs. The size and similarity of the coefficients for these latter two groups —which are even higher than the coefficient for the working class— demonstrate the substandard nature of job quality among self-employed persons. This is true even in those cases where the self-employed persons' skill levels are such that it can be assumed that they are working in the formal sector (formal petty bourgeoisie).

In all of these cases, the correlation between being a woman or a member of the subordinate class (or both) and having a lower-quality job holds even after introducing the demographic controls and economic variables in models 2 and 3.

Table 3
Coefficients of objective job quality determinants in Chile

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Gender (reference: male)			
Female	-9.233***	-10.24***	-9.897***
	(0.442)	(0.427)	(0.460)
Social class (reference: small-scale employers)			
2. Formal petty bourgeoisie	-20.00***	-18.09***	-18.21***
	(2.247)	(2.158)	(2.141)
3. Informal petty bourgeoisie	-29.53***	-21.03***	-20.95***
	(1.673)	(1.644)	(1.631)
4. Expert managers	8.804***	8.694***	9.267***
	(1.780)	(1.712)	(1.705)
5. Non-managerial experts	13.30***	6.132**	6.519**
	(2.55)	(2.066)	(2.052)
6. Skilled workers	-8.940***	-2.490	-2.055
	(1.694)	(1.653)	(1.642)
7. Unskilled managers	-5.011	1.021	1.192
	(3.353)	(3.222)	(3.198)
8. Unskilled supervisors	-0.592	5.093***	4.829**
	(1.838)	(1.789)	(1.778)
9. Unskilled workers	-14.86***	-6.338***	-6.096***
	(1.635)	(1.610)	(1.602)
Demographic variables			
Age		0.132***	0.134***
		(0.0166)	(0.0166)
Secondary education		10.83***	9.500***
		(0.490)	(0.501)
Vocational institute/technical training centre		15.70***	14.13***
		(0.808)	(0.817)
University or higher		24.63***	23.15***
		(1.146)	(1.147)
Residence in the Metropolitan Region		2.560***	1.861***
		(0.527)	(0.527)
Economic variables			
Agricultural sector			-5.896***
			(0.619)
Manufacturing sector			1.675**
			(0.537)
Private sector			2.978***
			(0.698)
Constant	67.65***	46.48***	45.04***
	(1.609)	(1.866)	(2.014)
Adjusted R²	0.26	0.32	0.33
N	8 894	8 868	8 868

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of data from the National Survey on Employment, Work, Health and Quality of Life of Workers in Chile (ENETS 2009-2010).

Note: Unstandardized coefficients, ordinary least squares regression.
The omitted variables are male (for gender), employers (for social class), primary education (for level of education), does not live in the Metropolitan Region (for place of residence), services sector (for economic sector) and public sector (for public or private sector).
Standard errors are shown in brackets. *** $p<0.001$; ** $p<0.01$; * $p<0.05$.

Table 4 gives the determinants for the two subjective job-quality indices. In the first index (motivation on the job), it can be seen that gender and class have a significant impact. As was true in the preceding case, the condition of being a woman and/or belonging to a subordinate class —e.g. the informal petty bourgeoisie or the skilled or unskilled working class— is associated with lower levels of motivation. In both cases, this correlation remains robust even after the demographic controls and economic variables are introduced.

The results are different, however, when the determinants of the second subjective job quality index are analysed (perception of having control over work processes). Contrary to the initial hypothesis, the condition of being a woman does not give rise to any significant difference in that perception. In the case of social class, two factors are noteworthy. First, none of the classes composed of persons who own means of production —not even the lowest-ranking informal petty bourgeoisie— is associated with any significant decrease in the perception of control over work processes. This suggests that ownership of means of production —no matter how modest those means may be— is a highly important consideration in understanding how people perceive their jobs. Second, and in contradistinction to the foregoing, the data indicate that the impact of membership in a subordinate wage-earning class is quite large. Thus, for example, membership in the skilled or unskilled working class translates into a decrease of nearly 35 points on the index of perceived control over work processes.

Table 4
Coefficients of determinants of subjective job quality in Chile

	Motivation on the job			Perception of control over work processes		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Gender (reference: *male*)						
Female	-3.545***	-3.132***	-2.838***	0.173	0.573	-1.231
	(0.451)	(0.450)	(0.488)	(0.643)	(0.645)	(0.697)
Social class (reference: *small-scale employers*)						
2. Formal petty bourgeoisie	-2.165	-1.829	-1.674	0.586	1.165	1.262
	(2.253)	(2.232)	(2.230)	(3.252)	(3.246)	(3.233)
3. Informal petty bourgeoisie	-6.041***	-5.407**	-5.449**	1.915	2.464	2.761
	(1.661)	(1.686)	(1.685)	(2.410)	(2.461)	(2.451)
4. Expert managers	-1.517	-1.050	-1.472	-16.62***	-15.99***	-17.62***
	(1.768)	(1.753)	(1.757)	(2.561)	(2.561)	(2.560)
5. Non-managerial experts	-1.003	-1.901	-2.089	-28.38***	-29.65***	-31.01***
	(2.054)	(2.126)	(2.126)	(2.965)	(3.098)	(3.089)
6. Skilled workers	-8.837***	-6.958***	-7.152***	-34.78***	-32.87***	-33.85***
	(1.682)	(1.696)	(1.695)	(2.437)	(2.474)	(2.466)
7. Unskilled managers	-3.971	-2.474	-2.875	2.340	3.942	2.658
	(3.311)	(3.288)	(3.286)	(4.767)	(4.763)	(4.746)
8. Unskilled supervisors	-7.640***	-5.706**	-6.234**	-21.39***	-19.23***	-19.60***
	(1.836)	(1.846)	(1.847)	(2.656)	(2.689)	(2.681)
9. Unskilled workers	-14.16***	-12.16***	-12.63***	-35.18***	-33.13***	-34.02***
	(1.621)	(1.650)	(1.652)	(2.352)	(2.410)	(2.406)

Table 4 (concluded)

	Motivation on the job			Perception of control over work processes		
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
Demographic variables						
Age		0.168***	0.165***		0.167***	0.144***
		(0.0175)	(0.0176)		(0.0251)	(0.0251)
Secondary education		0.938†	0.727		-0.352	-0.0739
		(0.518)	(0.534)		(0.742)	(0.763)
Vocational institute / technical training centre		2.178*	1.986*		1.910	2.092†
		(0.846)	(0.861)		(1.213)	(1.232)
University or higher		3.483**	3.299**		3.167†	3.195†
		(1.192)	(1.202)		(1.717)	(1.726)
Residence in the Metropolitan Region		-5.430***	-5.569***		-4.438***	-4.204***
		(0.542)	(0.545)		(0.777)	(0.779)
Economic variables						
Agricultural sector			-0.670			0.312
			(0.658)			(0.941)
Manufacturing sector			2.440***			-1.484†
			(0.567)			(0.811)
Private sector			-1.449*			-8.735***
			(0.738)			(1.057)
Constant	95.68***	86.93***	88.24***	80.05***	71.87***	82.08***
	(1.593)	(1.930)	(2.104)	(2.314)	(2.809)	(3.044)
Adjusted R²	0.06	0.08	0.08	0.22	0.23	0.24
N	8 886	8 860	8 860	8 822	8 795	8 795

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of data from the National Survey on Employment, Work, Health and Quality of Life of Workers in Chile (ENETS 2009-2010).
Note: Unstandardized coefficients, ordinary least squares regression.
The omitted variables are male (for gender), employers (for social class), primary education (for level of education), does not live in the Metropolitan Region (for place of residence), services sector (for economic sector) and public sector (for public or private sector).
Standard errors are shown in brackets. *** $p<0.001$; ** $p<0.01$; * $p<0.05$, † $p<0.1$.

In general, the data shown in the above tables indicate that class and gender have a sizeable impact on objective job quality and on people's perceptions of job quality. With a single exception (the effect of gender on perceived control over work processes), the results are in keeping with hypothesis 1. It is noteworthy that the R-squared values for the motivation models are lower than they are for the other models (the most complete model has an R-squared of only 8%). This suggests that, by comparison to the other job quality indicators, motivation is influenced by more variables that have not been included in the regressions.

Although these data indicate how gender, on the one hand, and class, on the other, generate substantial differences in job quality, they do not show how gender and class intersect in terms of the generation of inequality. In order to explore this effect and compare our results with hypothesis 2, we decided to run the regressions for men and women separately.

2. The impact of gender on the structure of class-based inequality in the labour market

Table 5 gives the coefficients for the determinants of objective job quality, disaggregated by the survey respondents' gender. An examination of the coefficients for each class-based category shows up notable differences. For example, in model 2, there are class categories, such as "unskilled workers," that generate a significant difference for men but not for women. In addition, class categories such as "skilled workers" yield a negative sign for men but a positive one for women (unlike the result for men, women's membership in that class is associated with a higher score on the objective job-quality index).

The situation is somewhat similar for "unskilled supervisors" and "works in the private sector;" in these categories, the coefficients for men are not significant or have a negative sign, but the coefficients for women are positive and significant. This does not mean that skilled women workers, women supervisors or women who work in the private sector have better-quality jobs than men, but rather that the effect associated with being a skilled worker, a supervisor or a person who works in the private sector is positive only in the case of women.

There could be a number of different reasons for this. With respect to the coefficients for social class, the data could be showing how gender gives rise to differences among the members of a given class, and especially in certain specific social classes, such as the reference category (small-scale employers). When the average scores on the objective job quality index for each gender within each class-based category are compared, it turns out that men in all social classes score higher than women (e.g. while the average score for skilled male workers was 58, it was 51 for skilled female workers). Even more importantly, the data also show that the biggest difference between men's and women's scores is for the category of small-scale employers, with men averaging a score of 71 points versus 52 points for women.

This explains why the performance of a skilled job has a positive effect for women: unlike men, for women there is a fairly sizeable improvement in job quality relative to the level of job quality recorded for the reference category when they become an unskilled supervisor or a skilled worker. This also explains why being an unskilled worker does not translate, for women, into a sizeable reduction in job quality, since, in this case, the data show that the quality of employment for small-scale female employers is quite similar to what it is for low-skilled wage earners.

In the case of employment in the private sector, something quite similar may be occurring. According to the data, whereas, in the case of men, job quality in the private sector is lower than it is in the public sector (men in the former sector have a score of 53, on average, versus one of 70 for men in the latter), the situation is the opposite for women. The average score on the job quality index for women who work in the private sector is 46, while it is 43 for women working in the public sector. Although the differential is smaller in the case of women, it is nonetheless statistically significant (The analysis of variance (ANOVA) yields a result of $p < 0.05$). Accordingly, it is no surprise that the effect of working in the private sector is positive only for women.

Coefficients of determinants of subjective job quality in Chile, by gender

	Men		Women	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Social class (reference: small-scale employers)				
2. Formal petty bourgeoisie	-23.46***	-22.20***	-12.27**	-9.314*
	(2.761)	(2.622)	(3.931)	(3.739)
3. Informal petty bourgeoisie	-31.65***	-23.58***	-24.07***	-15.11***
	(1.975)	(1.928)	(3.134)	(3.027)
4. Expert managers	6.114**	6.310**	15.43***	14.01***
	(2.115)	(2.030)	(3.291)	(3.144)
5. Non-managerial experts	5.959*	0.480	21.85***	11.97***
	(2.911)	(2.857)	(3.395)	(3.389)
6. Skilled workers	-12.30***	-5.884**	-1.525	5.960*
	(2.020)	(1.961)	(3.130)	(3.010)
7. Unskilled managers	-4.947	-0.229	-6.818	2.600
	(3.861)	(3.673)	(6.745)	(6.428)
8. Unskilled supervisors	-3.463	0.601	6.469†	13.89***
	(2.181)	(2.111)	(3.408)	(3.273)
9. Unskilled workers	-17.00***	-9.422***	-9.206**	1.866
	(1.932)	(1.894)	(3.060)	(2.975)
Demographic variables				
Age		0.132***		0.143***
		(0.0201)		(0.0291)
Secondary education		9.790***		8.257***
		(0.616)		(0.865)
Vocational institute/technical training centre		13.75***		13.92***
		(1.050)		(1.312)
University or higher		19.68***		27.56***
		(1.473)		(1.850)
Residence in the Metropolitan Region		1.820**		2.067*
		(0.681)		(0.828)
Economic variables				
Agricultural sector		-5.889***		-5.690***
		(0.719)		(1.237)
Manufacturing sector		2.040**		0.859
		(0.600)		(1.257)
Private sector		-2.742*		6.128***
		(1.238)		(0.899)
Constant	70.09***	53.76***	52.27***	25.39***
	(1.890)	(2.556)	(3.016)	(3.523)
Adjusted R²	0.23	0.31	0.26	0.33
N	5 591	5 573	3 303	3 295

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of data from the National Survey on Employment, Work, Health and Quality of Life of Workers in Chile (ENETS 2009-2010).
Note: Unstandardized coefficients, ordinary least squares regression.
The omitted variables are male (for gender), employers (for social class), primary education (for level of education), does not live in the Metropolitan Region (for place of residence), services sector (for economic sector) and public sector (for public or private sector).
Standard errors are shown in brackets. *** p<0.001; ** p<0.01; * p<0.05; † p<0.1.

Table 6 gives the determinants for the two subjective job-quality indices, disaggregated by gender. The models for on-the-job motivation indicate that, while the impact of class is significant for men and women (in both cases, membership in a subordinate class, such as the working class, is associated with lower levels of motivation), it tends to be weaker for women. An analysis of model 2 shows, for example, that, for women, only the coefficient for the working class is significant, and the coefficient is slightly lower than it is for men.

In other words, while for men the results are more staggered, as was to be expected in line with the hypotheses used here, in the case of women, levels of motivation tend to be similar to those seen in the reference category, except among working-class women. The survey data indicate not only that women are less motivated on the job —the average score for men is 86, while for women it is 82 (ANOVA: $p<0.000$)— but also that the average scores for each social class do not differ significantly from the score for small-scale employers (except, of course, in the case of working-class women).

The importance of gender is also reflected in the coefficients for the economic variables. For example, while employment in the manufacturing sector generates significant increases in levels of motivation for men, no such increase is seen in the case of women. In fact, on-the-job motivation among women working in the manufacturing sector does not differ significantly from the level of motivation seen in the reference category (women workers in the services sector). Similarly, employment in the agricultural sector is significant only for women, with women who work in that sector being significantly less motivated than women who work in the services sector.

The data for the agricultural sector probably reflect the fact that substandard jobs in that sector are disproportionately held by women (e.g. female seasonal workers) (Caro, 2012). By the same token, it is likely that the results for employment in the manufacturing sector for men is reflecting the fact that declining job quality and stability in the services sector is having a greater influence on how job quality is perceived by men than by women, which does not mean that women have better-quality jobs than their male counterparts. Instead, this could well be an outcome of the fact that many men —especially those in the working class— have directly experienced the transition from a manufacturing-based economy (associated with more job stability) to a service-based one (associated with less job stability and greater flexibility). In other words, unlike the large number of women who entered the formal labour market during the 1980s, when the services sector was burgeoning, it is possible that many men who now work in services are comparing the jobs that they held during the import-substitution phase (when many were employed in the manufacturing sector) with the jobs that they hold now, which are a direct result of the introduction of the neoliberal economic regime. This point of comparison could well be the underlying cause of the gender-based variations observed in the economic-sector effect on motivation on the job.

The data reveal similar trends in terms of the distinction between employment in the public and private sectors. They indicate that men employed in the private sector are significantly less motivated than their public-sector counterparts. This does not occur in the case of women, however. As was seen in the case of employment in the manufacturing sector, it is probable that these data are a reflection of the transition from an economy that provided more protected forms of employment to certain segments of workers (public-sector employees, for example) to an economy in which the labour market is more flexible. As noted earlier, this transition has probably had a greater influence on men's career paths than on those of women, most of whom joined the labour market later, during a time when more flexible employment regimes were already in place.

Table 6 also shows the results for determinants of the perception of control over work processes. As in the preceding cases, the data reflect considerable differences between men and women. First, although the general patterns for the social class variable are similar for the two, the coefficients for some categories (e.g. the working class) are much higher for men. For example, while the impact

of belonging to the working class translates into a reduction of nearly 25 points on the index for the perception of control over working processes for women, the impact of working-class membership is -38 points for men (model 2).

Second, an examination of the R-squared values for model 1 clearly shows that the explanatory power of social class is greater for men than it is for women. One possible explanation for this is that, if social class has been construed as a "masculine" attribute (Acker, 2006), then it could have a stronger impact on men's perceptions than those of women.

Although certainly worthy of consideration, this interpretation should be taken with a grain of salt because, if social class were a primarily viewed as a masculine attribute, then its impact as expressed in R-squared values should be greater for men in all of the dimensions of job quality analysed here. However, this is not the case. Another possible explanation may be that it is not social class per se, but rather the positions of authority within the production process that are "masculinized." The results of the National Survey on Employment, Work, Health and Quality of Life of Workers in Chile provide support for this conclusion, since they indicate that 37% of men hold positions of authority (manager, supervisor or any other position in which the incumbent wields control over other workers), but that only 28% of women do so. These gender-based distinctions could be having an effect whereby those who do not hold positions of authority but who may be more likely to attain such positions in the future (male workers) perceive the distinction between having control over work processes and not having that control more keenly.

The data also indicate that employment in the agricultural sector is associated with a greater degree of perceived control over work processes for men than for women. There may be a dual explanation for this gender-based difference. On the one hand, women in this sector may be more exposed to a more "top-down" control structure because of the types of jobs they perform. On the other, the jobs held by men in this sector may be comparatively more autonomous. This is not necessarily because their forms of employment are of better quality or more stable; they may simply involve more independent forms of production (e.g. the farming of small, individual plots of land). Tabulations of the results of the National Survey on Employment, Work, Health and Quality of Life of Workers in Chile provide some support for this hypothesis in that they indicate that 27% of men in the category of "informal petty bourgeoisie" are employed in the agricultural sector, whereas only 11% of the women in that category are employed in this sector of the economy.

Gender-based differences are also observed in relation to employment in the private sector, which has a negative impact on the perception of control over work processes for women but not for men. This may be because workers in the private sector are more exposed to gender-based forms of labour inequality than employees in the public sector are (Tokman, 2011). One factor may be that there are highly standardized and codified administrative regulations governing promotions in the public sector. These standardized procedures, which map out specific career paths, may leave less scope for discretionary decisions on the part of supervisors or managers regarding who they will promote and what employee attributes should be assessed positively. The fact that less scope exists for discretionary decisions does not necessarily mean that there are more women in positions of authority in the public sector, but simply that the gateways to promotion in that sector are less subject to implicit value decisions regarding "commitment or loyalty to the firm" than they are in the private sector. Those kinds of implicit assessments are much more closely associated with the male-defined concept of "good workers;" in other words, they are defined by a concept of employment that does not take into account the way in which women, unlike men, are faced with the trade-off between being the "ideal worker" (i.e. being totally committed to one's job) and fulfilling their expected role as mothers and/or housewives (Blair-Loy, 2003). It is probable that the greater importance placed on gender-based assessments of such attributes in the private sector is the reason why women who work in that sector have a lower perceived level of control over work processes than men in that sector do.

All of the regressions indicate that hypothesis 2 should be rejected. While gender is certainly a central factor in understanding the differences that exist among different segments of workers in the labour market, the role that it appears to play does not dovetail with the propositions of that hypothesis. All results for all three of the indices indicate that gender does not amplify the social-class effect, which is negative, for example, in the case of the observed quality of jobs held by people in subordinate classes.

Thus, for example, the gender effect as measured by the objective job-quality index was just the opposite of what was expected. In the "skilled workers" and "unskilled workers" categories, the effect of social class was positive but not significant for women, whereas —according to the operative hypothesis— it was expected to be statistically significant, negative and greater than in the case of men. In contrast, in many cases gender did have an amplification effect, in a positive sense, in higher-ranking classes, such as that of "expert managers." In fact, contrary to expectations, the positive effect of belonging to the class of "expert managers" was greater for women than for men.

The coefficients for men and women on the second index (on-the-job motivation) were generally similar, although the class effect was weaker for women. In this case, although the only class-based category in which the results were significant for women (the working class) yielded coefficients that were as expected, the impact was quantitatively smaller than it was in the case of men.

Finally, the results on the third index (perception of control over work processes) indicate that, although the coefficients are similar for men and women, the effect of belonging to a subordinate class was stronger for men than for women. The models thus show that it is working-class men, rather than working-class women, who have the lowest perceptions of control over work processes.

Table 6
Coefficients of determinants of subjective job quality in Chile, by gender

	Motivation on the job				Perception of control over work processes			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Social class (reference: small-scale employers)								
2. Formal petty bourgeoisie	-4.843†	-4.359†	2.962	3.411	-1.962	-1.477	7.440	8.115
	(2.636)	(2.607)	(4.219)	(4.170)	(3.960)	(3.959)	(5.758)	(5.631)
3. Informal petty bourgeoisie	-6.365**	-6.615**	-5.112	-3.498	-0.677	-0.420	8.491†	10.86*
	(1.880)	(1.916)	(3.308)	(3.317)	(2.822)	(2.903)	(4.566)	(4.527)
4. Expert managers	-2.867	-3.382†	1.526	1.868	-17.96***	-17.13***	-12.16*	-14.63**
	(2.015)	(2.010)	(3.470)	(3.448)	(3.024)	(3.053)	(4.781)	(4.700)
5. Non-managerial experts	-5.047†	-4.943†	2.650	0.861	-27.21***	-27.56***	-22.69***	-28.32***
	(2.795)	(2.847)	(3.592)	(3.738)	(4.195)	(4.320)	(4.942)	(5.089)
6. Skilled workers	-11.85***	-11.03***	-3.786	-1.276	-36.79***	-35.36***	-28.58***	-28.11***
	(1.923)	(1.949)	(3.298)	(3.300)	(2.882)	(2.950)	(4.554)	(4.503)
7. Unskilled managers	-3.775	-3.543	-5.904	-3.163	-0.417	0.913	8.750	10.07
	(3.588)	(3.563)	(7.570)	(7.495)	(5.360)	(5.372)	(10.28)	(10.07)
8. Unskilled supervisors	-8.785***	-8.757***	-4.886	-1.364	-24.95***	-23.11***	-12.67*	-9.952*
	(2.085)	(2.106)	(3.625)	(3.620)	(3.122)	(3.183)	(4.990)	(4.926)
9. Unskilled workers	-14.28***	-14.03***	-13.28***	-9.779**	-39.43***	-37.84***	-25.56***	-25.01***
	(1.836)	(1.880)	(3.220)	(3.256)	(2.758)	(2.851)	(4.449)	(4.445)

Table 6 (concluded)

| | Motivation on the job | | | | Perception of control over work processes | | | |
| | Men | | Women | | Men | | Women | |
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2	Model 1	Model 2
Demographic variables								
Age		0.127***		0.235***		0.121***		0.186***
		(0.0205)		(0.0329)		(0.0304)		(0.0442)
Secondary education		1.135†		0.140		0.829		-0.747
		(0.628)		(0.984)		(0.935)		(1.322)
Vocational institute/ technical training centre		0.430		3.351*		2.087		2.833
		(1.064)		(1.472)		(1.586)		(1.976)
University or higher		2.277		4.364*		3.314		5.274†
		(1.480)		(2.067)		(2.221)		(2.778)
Residence in the Metropolitan Region		-6.054***		-4.544***		-4.104***		-4.828***
		(0.672)		(0.922)		(1.001)		(1.237)
Economic variables								
Agricultural sector		0.764		-4.284**		2.495*		-6.970***
		(0.733)		(1.402)		(1.093)		(1.875)
Manufacturing sector		3.295***		-0.647		-1.331		-0.994
		(0.608)		(1.414)		(0.906)		(1.897)
Private sector		-2.869**		-0.199		0.314		-11.07***
		(1.253)		(1.013)		(1.871)		(1.359)
Constant	96.51***	92.61***	90.07***	78.55***	83.15***	76.30***	72.50***	74.32***
	(1.794)	(2.570)	(3.171)	(3.894)	(2.698)	(3.870)	(4.383)	(5.290)
Adjusted R^2	0.05	0.07	0.06	0.09	0.25	0.25	0.17	0.21
N	5 606	5 588	3 280	3 272	5 557	5 538	3 265	3 257

Source: Prepared by the authors, on the basis of data from the National Survey on Employment, Work, Health and Quality of Life of Workers in Chile (ENETS 2009-2010).
Note: Unstandardized coefficients, ordinary least squares regression.
The omitted variables are male (for gender), employers (for social class), primary education (for level of education), does not live in the Metropolitan Region (for place of residence), services sector (for economic sector) and public sector (for public or private sector).
Standard errors are shown in brackets. *** $p<0.001$; ** $p<0.01$; * $p<0.05$; † $p<0.1$.

VII. Conclusions

The findings of this study demonstrate that class and gender have a significant impact on job quality and on people's subjective perceptions of job quality in the Chilean labour market. They also show that class, on the one hand, and gender, on the other, give rise to substantial variations in objective job quality and in on-the-job motivation. In addition, the degree of perceived control over work processes is heavily influenced by social class, but not by gender. Accordingly, evidence has been found that corroborates the general hypothesis on which this study was based (hypothesis 1), except in the case of the impact of gender on the perceived level of control over work processes.

The data also indicate, however, that the second hypothesis, relating to the intersectionality of class and gender, should be ruled out, since, in the cases of two of the three dependent variables that were analysed (objective job quality and motivation on the job), the condition of being a woman

did not amplify the impact associated with being, for example, a member of the working class. And when gender did influence the impact that social class has on the dependent variable (the perception of control over work processes), it did so in a way that ran counter to the expected effect (e.g. the negative effect on the dependent variable associated with membership in the working class is greater for men than it is for women).

The foregoing does not mean that gender is not a mechanism of fundamental importance in understanding how inequality in the labour market is generated or functions. The analyses of the sample when it was divided up into separate subsamples of men and women show that the impacts of a series of economic variables vary substantially depending on whether a worker is male or female, and this is also demonstrated by the data on the differences in working conditions and conditions of employment (Directorate of Labour, 2012).

Overall, these results suggest that both class and gender play a central role in the perpetuation of inequalities in the Chilean labour market. They also indicate that, in some cases, gender is a fundamental consideration in understanding how class-based inequalities operate or, in this specific case, how social class influences subjective aspects of job quality, such as the perception of control over work processes. In other words, in line with various gender studies dealing with industrialized nations (Ferree and Hall, 1996; McCall, 2001; Acker, 2006; Mintz and Krymkowski, 2010), these data suggest that, at a concrete level of analysis, studies on class-based inequalities should include gender as a variable because it is a major determinant of the way in which social class operates in capitalist societies in general (Wright, 1992) and, according to the results of this study, in Chile in particular.

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