Offprint

Social Panorama of Latin America and the Caribbean 2023

Labour inclusion as a key axis of inclusive social development

This document is an offprint of chapter III of Social Panorama of Latin America and the Caribbean, 2023, which may be consulted online at https://www.cepal.org/en/publications/68703-social-panorama-latin-america-and-caribbean-2023-labour-inclusion-key-axis

UNITED NATIONS
ECLAC
75 years
Working for a productive, inclusive and sustainable future

Offprint

Social Panorama of Latin America and the Caribbean 2023

Labour inclusion as a key axis of inclusive social development

This document is an offprint of chapter III of Social Panorama of Latin America and the Caribbean, 2023, which may be consulted online at https://www.cepal.org/en/publications/68703-social-panorama-latin-america-and-caribbean-2023-labour-inclusion-key-axis

UNITED NATIONS
ECLAC
75 years
Working for a productive, inclusive and sustainable future

CHAPTER

III

Labour inclusion amid the challenges of gender equality in care work and international migration in the region

Introduction

Latin America and the Caribbean is a region with deep structural inequality that has been perpetuated and reproduced even in periods of economic growth and prosperity. Inequality is an impediment to development and a major obstacle to poverty reduction, the expansion of citizenship and rights, social cohesion and democratic governance. Historically, the region's production matrix has been marked by sharp structural heterogeneity that has helped to produce great social and gender inequality. The lack of diversification and the highly uneven production structures (with unproductive sectors providing around 50% of employment) are key factors driving inequality in the economic sector. The labour market, in particular, is a key link in the relationship between productive structures and the resulting inequality in household income and stratified access to social protection (ECLAC, 2010, 2012 and 2014).

ECLAC has argued that, to move forward with strategies for action aimed at reducing inequality, it is important to recognize inequality as a complex and multidimensional phenomenon that goes far beyond inequality of means (income, property, financial and productive assets) and that it is rooted in the concepts of equal rights, capabilities, autonomy and recognition (ECLAC, 2014 and 2017a). Thus, other political, social and cultural factors add to the income inequality shaped by opportunities for labour inclusion, as do discriminatory mechanisms that are repeated in various socioeconomic areas outside of work, such as health, education, culture, and political and civic participation. These inequalities are the determinants of poverty and the main obstacles to ending it (ECLAC, 2016a).

In addition to socioeconomic level, gender inequalities, ethnic and racial inequalities, gaps associated with the different stages of the life cycle, territorial inequalities and migratory status are other axes of the matrix of social inequality in Latin America. These axes are structural because of their heavy impact on the reproduction of inequalities in different areas of development and the exercise of rights (ECLAC, 2016a).

The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development proposes to address and reduce inequalities in the different dimensions of development and move towards more inclusive societies, and makes the call to leave no one behind. The region has also produced the Regional Gender Agenda (ECLAC, 2022f), comprising the commitments that the member States of ECLAC have assumed over the last 45 years in the framework of the sessions of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean. This Agenda offers a road map to overcome the structural challenges of gender inequality and progress towards a new model of development and organization of society, namely the care society. The Regional Gender Agenda is in synergy with the Montevideo Consensus on Population and Development, which was adopted 10 years ago at the first session of the Regional Conference on Population and Development in Latin America and the Caribbean, and is geared towards the realization of the rights of all population groups, including international migrants. These commitments contribute to the design and implementation of comprehensive public policies able to transform intersectional inequalities in the region.

As described in chapter II, the impact of recent crises has generated more inequality and widened gaps in the labour market. The analysis in the present chapter focuses on two of these axes, which are crucial and must be brought into the open in order to advance labour inclusion and inclusive social development. First, it examines how the sexual division of labour and the social organization of care continue to constitute one of the structural challenges of gender inequality in the region and represent one of the main barriers to women's labour inclusion. It also analyses the expanded care sector and, in particular, paid domestic work, a sector plagued by high rates of informality. The second section analyses the growing migration processes in the region and the challenges that migrant populations face in terms of labour inclusion. This chapter also looks at situations where the various axes of the social inequality matrix are linked over the life cycle, so that they concatenate and exacerbate each other, giving rise to a multiplicity of factors of inequality or discrimination that impact individuals or certain population groups (ECLAC, 2016a). This is the case of migrant women devoted to paid domestic work. The chapter closes with a summary of the main findings and a series of recommendations on how to move towards the labour inclusion of women and migrants.

A. Labour inclusion and care: challenges and opportunities for women's autonomy

Over the past decade, the rise in women's labour participation has slowed and gaps persist in relation to gender inequality. Equally, women's presence in the labour market has not signified either a reduction in their participation in unpaid domestic and care work or a significant rise in men's participation in this kind of work. This impasse constitutes an obstacle to women's labour, which is compounded by rising demand for care, exacerbated by population ageing, changes in epidemiological trends and the effects of climate change. The unprecedented effects of the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) pandemic highlighted the critical role of paid and unpaid care work in sustaining life, as well as the increased labour exclusion of women during emergencies and crises. Care work is carried out mainly by women, either unpaid in the home, or in informal working conditions. Despite regulatory advances aimed at promoting the labour inclusion of domestic workers, this sector still typically shows a higher level of informality and challenges to full inclusion. In order to address the challenges of achieving women's labour inclusion, it is essential to design public policies on gender that respond to present and future care needs, and thus end the current sexual division of labour. ECLAC has proposed working on areas that are particularly promising to promote structural change: one of these is the care economy, as a key economic sector that could, among other factors, enhance the labour inclusion of women (ECLAC, 2022b).

1. The key link between paid and unpaid work for women's labour inclusion

Female labour inclusion is closely linked to the need to achieve women's autonomy and gender equality in Latin America and the Caribbean, which implies overcoming the structural challenges that perpetuate inequalities between men and women.[1] These challenges intersect, reinforce each other and prevent women from enjoying all rights, which is why they must be addressed through public policy with a comprehensive and intersectional approach. Moving towards the labour inclusion of women, that is, towards access to decent jobs that ensure adequate pay and social protection coverage (Espejo and Cortínez, 2023) is essential for breaking down these challenges and achieving women's economic autonomy.

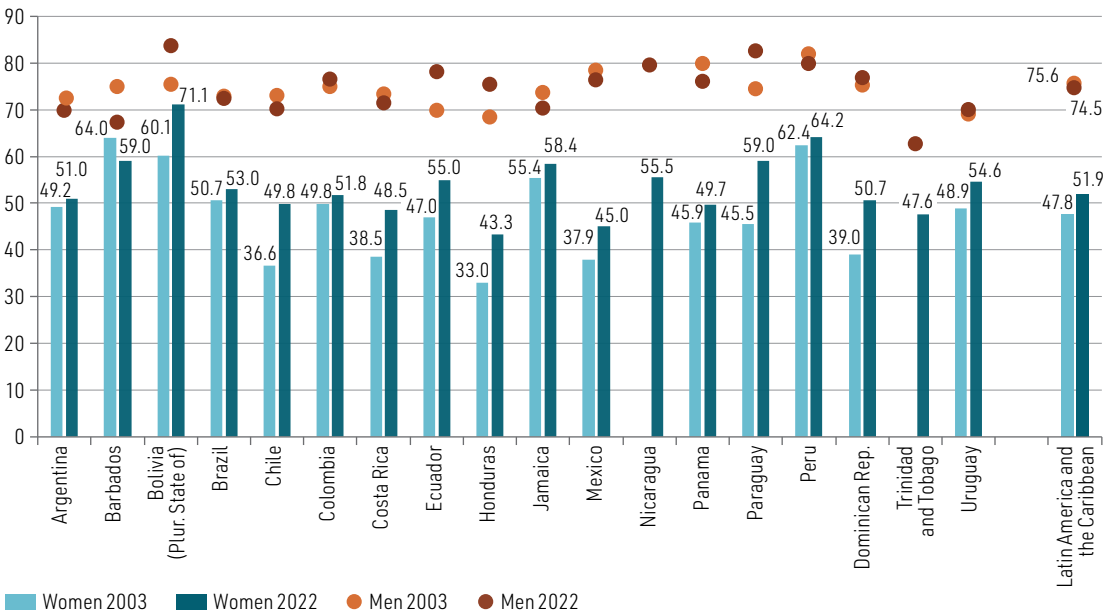
As described in chapter II, women are particularly affected by labour market entry barriers.

Women's labour market participation rose slowly between 2001 and 2019, but the massive job losses caused by the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 disproportionately affected women and set the female labour force participation rate back by 18 years (ECLAC, 2022d).

Thus, between 2001 and 2022, women's labour force participation shows a gradual rise in almost all countries in the region, reaching an average of 51.9% in 2022. However, a wide gap remains between the rates for men and women: in 2022, one in two women was outside the labour force, compared to one in four men. These figures have not changed significantly in the past 20 years (see figure III.1).

[1] As set forth in the Montevideo Strategy (ECLAC, 2017b), the structural challenges of inequality are the following: (i) socioeconomic inequality and the persistence of poverty; (ii) discriminatory, violent and patriarchal cultural patterns and the predominance of a culture of privilege; (iii) the sexual division of labour and the unfair social organization of care; and (iv) the concentration of power and hierarchical relations in the public sphere.

Figure III.1
Latin America and the Caribbean (18 countries): labour force participation rate of persons aged over 14, by country and sex, 2003 and 2022
(Percentages)



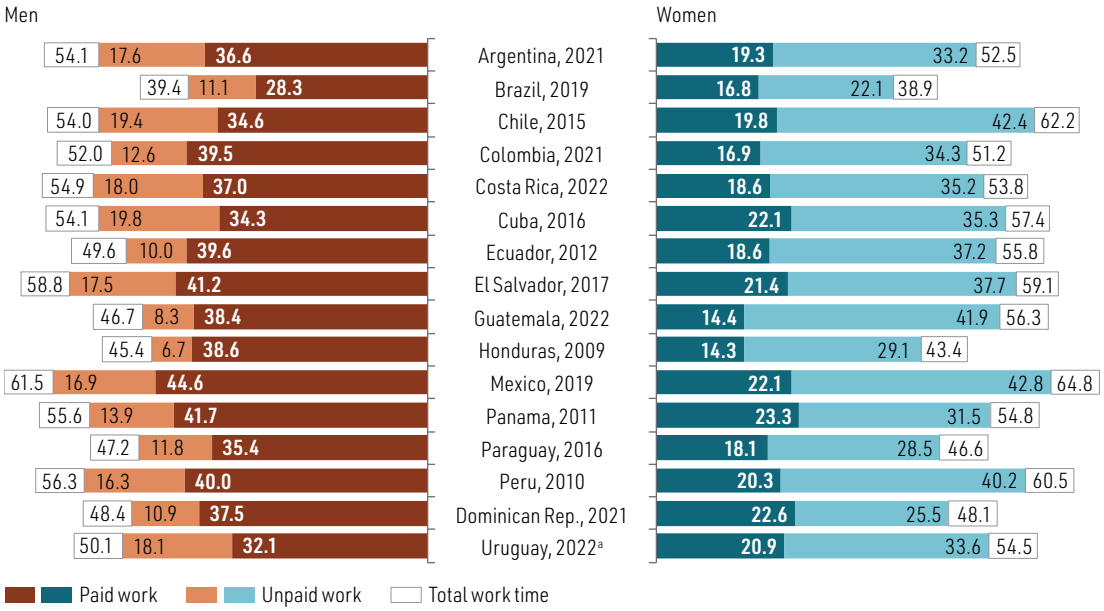
Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), *Economic Survey of Latin America and the Caribbean, 2023* (LC/PUB.2023/11-P), Santiago, 2023 and CEPALSTAT.

Note: The weighted average for Latin America and the Caribbean overall for 2003 includes the following 24 countries: Argentina, Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Plurinational State of Bolivia, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay. The weighted average for 2022 includes the following 20 countries: Argentina, Barbados, Belize, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Plurinational State of Bolivia, Trinidad and Tobago, and Uruguay.

These gaps in terms of labour market integration contrast with the achievements of women in the region in terms of years of education, in which they have even surpassed the average for men. In 2020, 67.4% of women aged between 20 and 24 years in 18 Latin American countries had completed secondary education, compared to 60.9% of men of the same age (ECLAC, 2022a). The proportion of women accessing and completing higher education has also exceeded that of men, on average. Despite these advances in education, the gender gap in labour participation has not closed: the participation rates of women and men in 2022 showed a difference of 23.8 percentage points in 2022 (ECLAC, 2022a). This makes it clear that the obstacles women face to labour market entry, as well as to better jobs and pay once in the market, do not reflect differences in years of schooling.

The unequal distribution of unpaid work is one possible reason why the labour participation gap persists. The total workload, expressed in average weekly hours of paid and unpaid work, is similar among women and men, or higher. Although obtaining a regional average is precluded by the differing characteristics of the countries' information collection processes, a clear pattern emerges regarding the proportion of time that men and women devote to each type of work. While men allocate more than half of their working time to the labour market, women devote approximately a third. In the case of unpaid work, the proportion is reversed: women allocate more than half of their working time to unpaid work, while in some countries men devote even less than a third (see figure III.2).

Figure III.2
Latin America (16 countries): total time that the population aged 15 years and older spends per week on paid and unpaid work on average, by sex, latest year available
(Hours)



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Repository of information on time use in Latin America and the Caribbean.
[a] Preliminary data.

This disparity reflects the gender inequalities that persist in the region in terms of the distribution of domestic and care tasks, and represents the main barrier to women's labour participation (ECLAC, 2019a). It is thus essential to strengthen care systems to ensure women's right to work.

2. Childcare: a barrier to women's labour inclusion

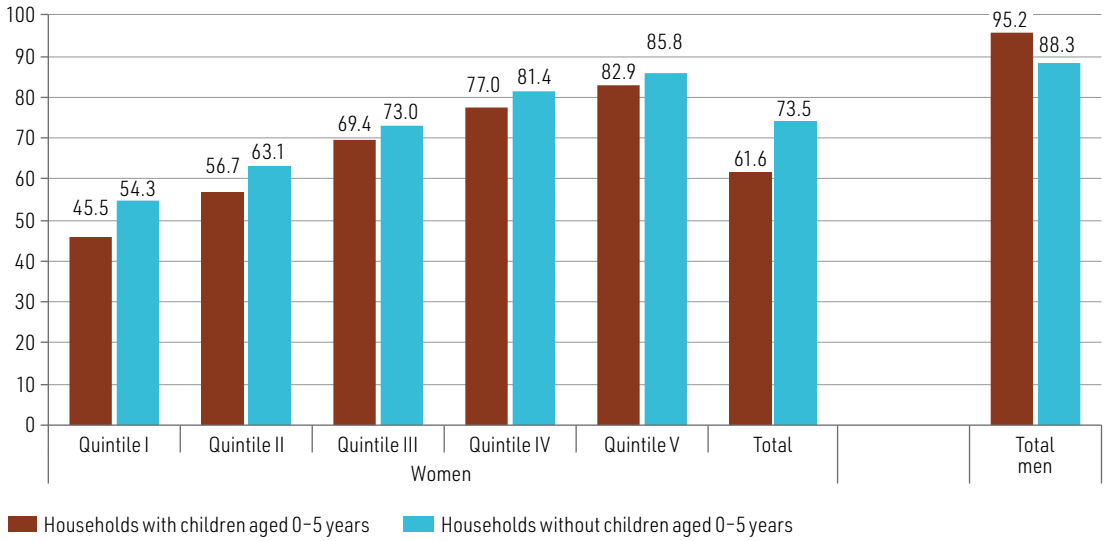
The sexual division of labour, which leads to the tasks relating to care for others (children, persons with disabilities and dependent older persons, among others) being shouldered to a greater extent by women, is one of the main barriers to women's inclusion in the labour force and gives rise to gaps in labour market integration and opportunities to access decent work throughout life. Barriers to integration become especially evident in the labour force participation of women who have children in their care. The care work associated with raising children aged between 0 and 5 years demands a great deal of time, usually overlapping with the years in which the caregivers are beginning and consolidating their careers. The unequal social distribution of this work and the lack of comprehensive care systems is reflected in the labour participation rates of women; faced with motherhood or child-rearing, they are forced to interrupt, postpone or suspend their professional careers.

Among other things, childcare entails devoting time and resources, which generates tension between care and women's potential labour inclusion. This conflict often turns into a considerable barrier to women's labour inclusion and thus a loss of autonomy and limitation of opportunities.

Furthermore, this situation unfolds unequally, since it disproportionately affects women in socioeconomically disadvantaged situations. The disparity in women's labour participation is sharper in the lowest income quintiles, compared to the participation of women in the richest quintiles. This difference is even greater in homes with children under age 5. In the lowest income quintile, there is a gap of almost 9 percentage points between the labour participation of women aged between 20 and 44 in households with and without children under age 5 (see figure III.3). In the highest income quintile, this gap is less than 3 percentage points, which partly reflects the ability

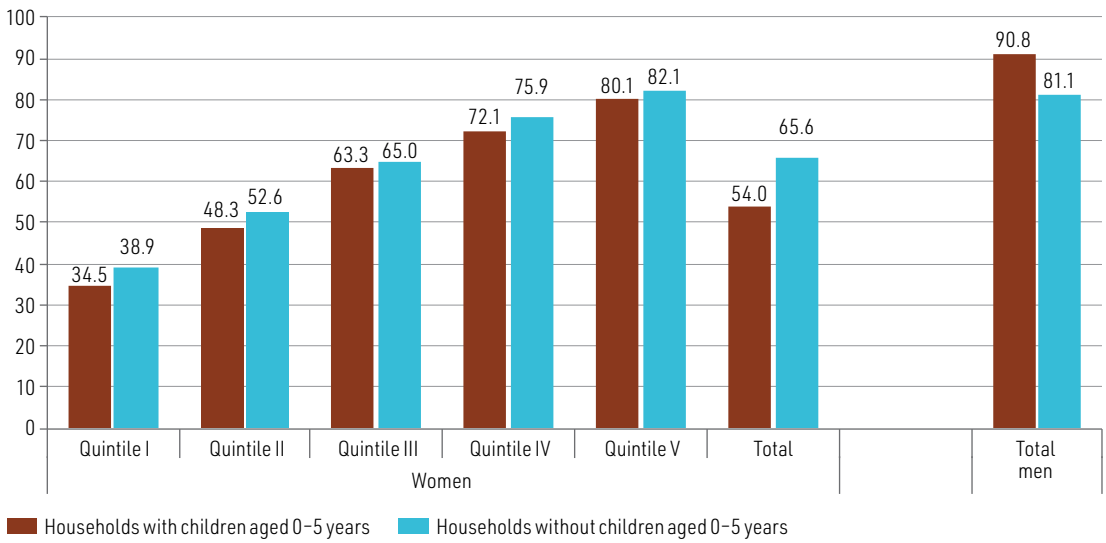
of higher-income women to hire private services to ease the burden of domestic and care work, an option that is less accessible to women in the lowest income quintiles. These differences remain observable in employment rates, which are double for women in the highest quintile compared to women in the lowest quintile, both when there are children aged between 0 and 5 years (80.1% and 34.5%, respectively), and when there are none (82.1% and 38.9%, respectively) (see figure III.4).

Figure III.3
Latin America (15 countries):[a] labour participation rate of persons aged between 20 and 44 years, by sex and presence of children aged between 0 and 5 years in the home, by household per capita income quintile, 2022[b]
(Percentages)



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).
[a] Weighted average for the following countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Plurinational State of Bolivia and Uruguay.
[b] In the case of Colombia, Honduras and the Plurinational State of Bolivia, the data refer to 2021.

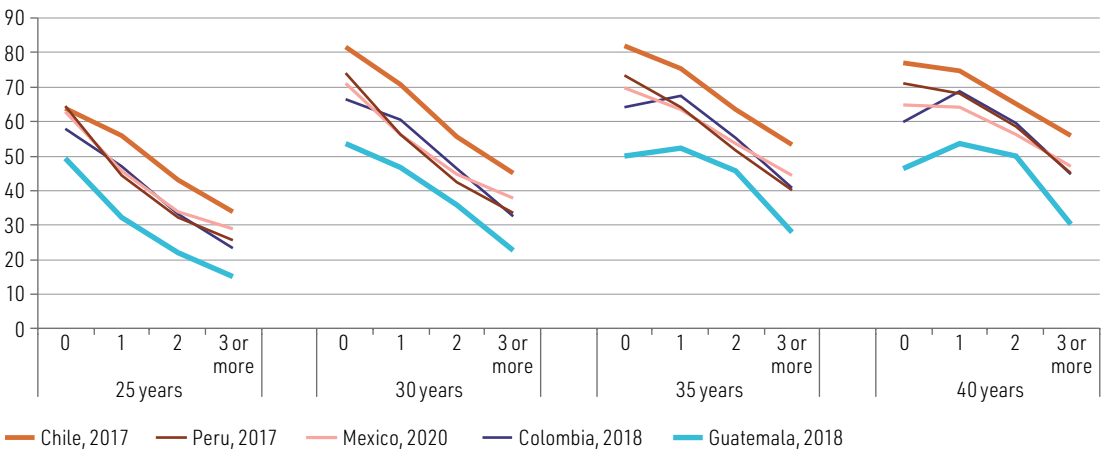
Figure III.4
Latin America (15 countries):[a] employment rate of persons aged 20–44 years, by sex and presence of children aged between 0 and 5 years in the home, by household per capita income quintile, 2022[b]
(Percentages)



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).
[a] Weighted average for the following countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Plurinational State of Bolivia and Uruguay.
[b] In the case of Colombia, Honduras and the Plurinational State of Bolivia, the data refer to 2021.

In addition, the more children they have, the lower women's labour participation. Based on census information on the number of children in the household, women with at least one child show lower employment rates than those with no children living with them. In the case of women with three children or more, labour market participation is one third or less than in the case of women with no children. The younger the women, the stronger this inverse relationship between number of children and labour force participation (see figure III.5). Studies carried out in six countries in the region show that the labour market participation of women who have children before the age of 20 is 25% lower than that for women who have children at a later age, an exclusion effect that could persist into the adult lives of women who have children during adolescence (UNFPA, 2020).

Figure III.5
Latin America (5 countries): employed women, by number of children and single ages, latest year available
(Percentages)

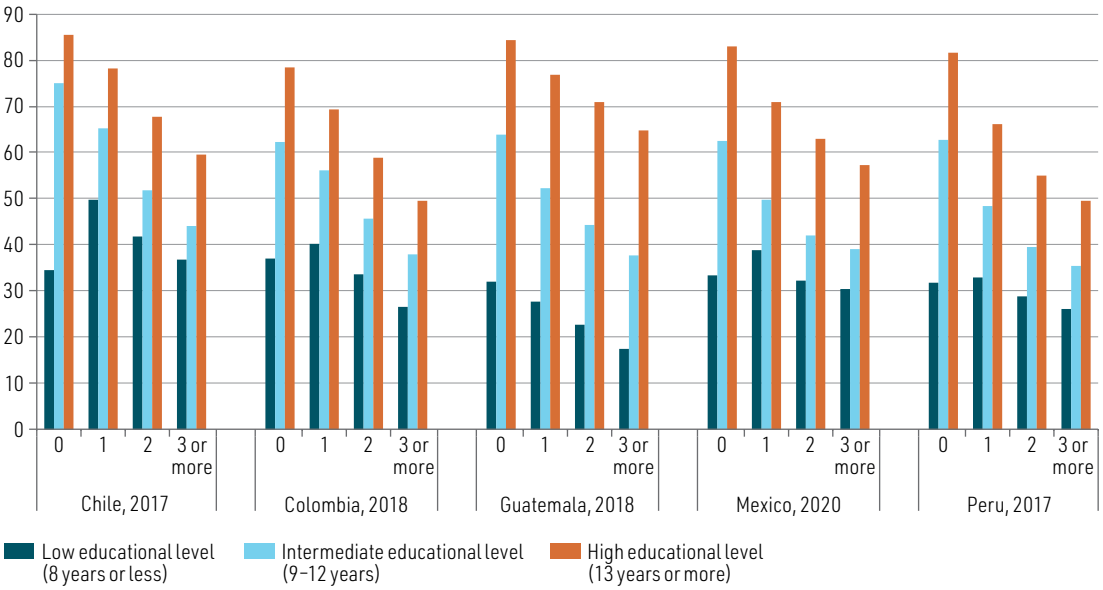


Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of special processing of population and household census data with REDATAM.

Analysis of the labour market integration of women by number of children and educational level shows that, for women of all educational levels, a greater number of children is associated with systematically lower labour participation. However, in some countries, women with one child and only primary education or a lower level of education show a higher rate of labour force participation than women without children, which may reflect the need for income (see figure III.6).

To analyse the link between motherhood and different dimensions linked to women's labour inclusion, a series of multivariate analysis models were developed based on household surveys in the region (see annex III.A1). The results show that the probability of women between 25 and 50 years of age being in paid work, regardless of age, education and area of residence, is significantly lower the more children they have. In Guatemala, for example, the probability of women with a child having a paid job is half that of women without children. Having more children reduces the probabilities even further and, in all the countries analysed, women with five children are 60% less likely to have paid work than women without children (see annex table III.A1.1). At the same time, the analysis shows a positive correlation between the number of children and devotion to unpaid work (see annex table III.A1.2).

Figure III.6
Latin America (5 countries): women aged 30 years in paid work, by educational level and number of children, latest year available
(Percentages)



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of special processing of population and household census data with REDATAM.

Similar models were explored to estimate the relationship between the number of children and working conditions, in particular the level of labour income and the existence of an employment contract. In all cases, a correlation was seen between the number of children and the deterioration of working conditions, either because hourly income or the probability of working under a contract decreases significantly with each additional child.[2]

It is essential to promote labour inclusion policies that are closely coordinated with care policies and comprehensive care systems, as well as with other areas of social protection, and that help strike a balance between paid and unpaid work, since this is one of the main barriers to women's labour market integration. Such policies, if applied in a coordinated manner and with a rights-based approach, will reduce the excess care burden that falls largely on women. To achieve this, it is necessary to foster both gender co-responsibility between men and women and social co-responsibility between the State, the market, communities and families.

3. Labour inclusion and the care economy

The care economy includes all domestic and care work that is carried out without pay, as well as paid care work in the labour market (ECLAC, 2019a). In a broad sense, the concept covers all work related to health, education and domestic and care work carried out with or without pay in the market, the home or the community. From the perspective of care, there is a flow of continuity between educational and health services and the care provided in the household, family or community. This must be taken into account when designing policies for the redistribution of responsibilities from households to the State and the private sector.

[2] This result was controlling for age, level of education and area of residence and, for the purposes of labour income, Heckman correction was applied to eliminate selection bias.

The COVID-19 pandemic, among other factors, showed how central care is in people's lives and how crucial its organization at a social level, as well as the vulnerability of women's labour inclusion in situations of crisis and emergency. The health measures aimed at preventing the spread of the virus, added to the saturation of health systems, the closure of educational establishments and the difficulties of families in finding support for domestic and care work, showed the extent to which society and the economy depended on health, education and care work, both paid and unpaid (ECLAC, 2020). In relation to the labour market, although jobs in the health sector, education and domestic work are very dissimilar in terms of type of tasks and working conditions, they share an important characteristic: they have a direct impact on the care burden that households must assume and on the autonomy of women, to the extent that they continue to be primarily responsible for care work.

In view of the care crisis, exacerbated by population ageing, changes in epidemiological trends and the effects of climate change, a sustained increase in the demand for care work and a reduction in the time and number of people available to provide it are expected, (ECLAC, 2022b). In demographic terms, the region faces a twofold challenge: meeting the increased demand for care for older persons without having yet resolved childcare. Unlike in other sectors, although the uptake of new technology has led to some productivity gains, the total demand for labour in the care sector is expected to increase (ECLAC, 2022b; ILO, 2019). This could offer a twofold opportunity in terms of both creating new jobs and reducing unpaid work time in the household.

(a) The feminization of the care sector

In 2021, 26.7% of women in paid work in Latin America were in care-related sectors (7.6% in the health sector, 9.2% in education and 9.9% in paid domestic work). Women represent 69.9% of workers in the teaching sector, 73.5% in the health sector and 92.8% in the domestic employment sector (Baron and Scuro, 2023).

Workers in care-related sectors and occupations share some characteristics: in addition to being mostly women, they perform jobs that require knowledge and skills that are not always valued. The fact that they often maintain relationships over time with people receiving care implies an emotional burden that is hard to measure, but is essential for sustaining life and social well-being (Vaca Trigo and Baron, 2022). This is nevertheless a very heterogeneous group, in terms of both occupational category, pay and working conditions, and the value and status it is afforded by society. The health and education sectors still show large wage gaps and evidence of the glass ceiling phenomenon, while the paid domestic work sector suffers from lack of basic labour rights and even wages below the poverty line.

The health sector has a highly heterogeneous workforce and marked occupational segregation, which is evidence of persistent gender gaps: in 2020 the sector showed a gender wage gap of 39.2%, the largest of all the paid sectors of the care economy (ECLAC, 2022b).

Detailed distribution by type of occupation shows that 25.5% of men employed in the health sector are medical professionals, compared with only 10.3% in the case of women. The majority of women (30.1%) are in mid-level occupations related to nursing and midwifery, which accounts for the gender stratification evident in the qualifications, functions and earnings of occupations in the sector. Indeed, the hourly wage of medical professionals is, on average, 4.9 times higher than that of the mid-level nursing and midwifery occupations (ECLAC, 2022b).

The education sector is highly feminized and segmented. More pronounced feminization of education-related jobs is typical of the preschool and primary levels of education, which entail precisely more intensive, direct care tasks. While 83.4% of the teaching staff at the primary and preschool levels is made up of women, that proportion decreases to 58.8% at the secondary level. At the tertiary level of education the composition is reversed: the majority of the teaching population is made up of men, and women represent 45.1% of employment (ECLAC, 2022b).

In addition to guaranteeing the right to formal education, the education system plays a key role in the provision of care for children and adolescents and, like the health sector, affords continuity of care with households. Educational institutions often provide food, medical and dental care and vaccinations, among other services, in addition to emotional assistance and support to children and adolescents. These are just some of the reasons why, when children attend an educational institution or a childcare centre, the time spent on their care at home is significantly reduced. On comparing the differences in time spent on care between households where children attend a childcare facility and households where they do not, the impact on women's autonomy is clear. Owing to traditional gender roles and low levels of co-responsibility for care within households, the reduction of time for men is negligible (ECLAC, 2022b).

Among the paid sectors of the care economy, domestic work has the poorest working conditions and is often called upon to make up for the lack of educational and health services. Latin America and the Caribbean is the world region where paid domestic work represents the highest proportion of employment for women: on average, 1 in 10 employed women is in domestic work, and women represent 92.8% of those working in the sector. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2023), of all the women working in domestic employment around the world, one in five is in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Given the fragility of income in the domestic work sector, one in four (23.5%) of the women employed in it live in poverty. Following the crisis caused by the pandemic, employment in the sector appears to have become even more precarious and has been slower to recover than in other sectors of the labour market (ECLAC, 2022b; Baron and Scuro, 2023). Domestic work is also one of the sectors with the highest levels of informality, which manifests in poor social security coverage and often an absence of a signed or registered contract (Valenzuela, Scuro and Vaca Trigo, 2020). Added to the feminization and low pay associated with domestic work are inequalities and discrimination on ethnic and racial grounds and arising from workers' immigration status, as will be described in greater detail in section B.

Paid domestic work has historically been performed in large proportion by Afrodescendent, Indigenous and rural migrant women; in recent decades, national origin has been added to the factors of inequality existing in the household employers sector as women from other countries have joined this labour force (Valenzuela, Scuro and Vaca Trigo, 2020). In 2015, ILO estimated that there were 4.3 million migrant workers in Latin America and the Caribbean, and that 17.2% of them were employed in paid domestic work. By 2019, 35.3% of those working in this occupation were migrants (ILO, 2021b). The feminization of migrations around the world has led to the formation of global care chains (Ehrenreich and Russell, 2003; Salazar, 2001) and a transnational transfer of care (ECLAC, 2020). Estimates for 2021 in three countries with high migratory flows show the burden of paid domestic work on female migrant workers. In Argentina, 19% of all employed migrant women were in this line of work; in Chile, 10%, and in Costa Rica, 18%. By contrast, among employed women born in the country, 12% were in paid domestic work in Argentina, 5% in Chile and 13% in Costa Rica (Gontero and Velásquez, 2023).

The care economy sectors are not expected to experience major risks of automation and job losses in the short term, mainly owing to the human, physical and bodily dimension of these jobs, which cannot be completely replaced. Unlike in other sectors, even if labour productivity grows, the total demand for labour in the care economy is expected to increase in pace with demographic changes and the environmental crisis (ECLAC, 2022b; ILO, 2019).

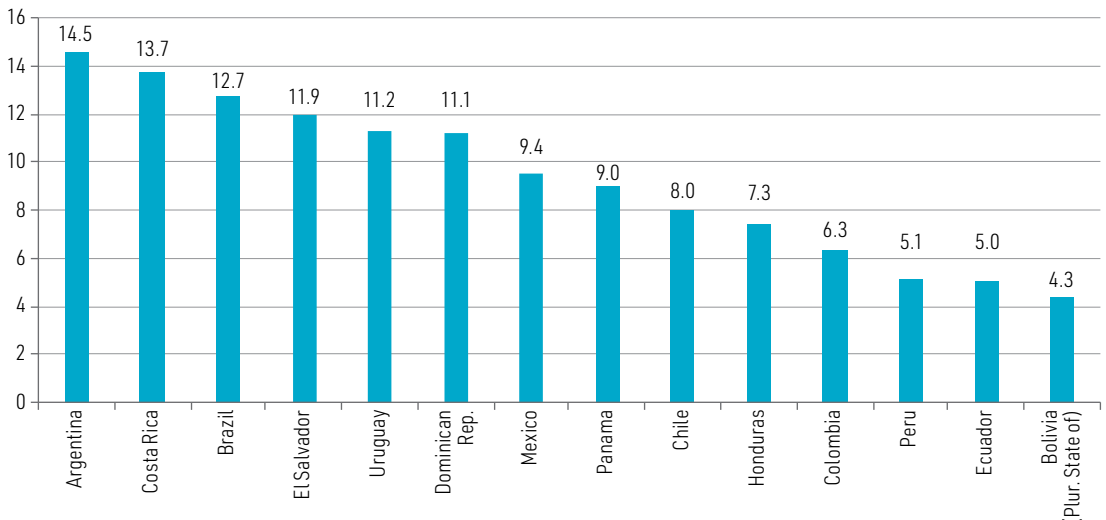
As noted earlier, Latin America and the Caribbean has a twofold opportunity both in terms of new job creation in the care economy (among other sectors) and in relation to the reduction of unpaid working time in the household. However, without the appropriate policies, this scenario could reproduce historical gender inequalities and deepen the precariousness already affecting some of the women employed in the expanded care sector. The time devoted to work on caring for children, older persons, and persons with disabilities depends directly on access to health, educational and

domestic work services, their quality and the development of professional home and community care, which is still incipient in the region. In Latin America and the Caribbean, middle- and high-income households often compensate for the weak or absent public provision of these services by buying them in the market. However, for low-income households, poor access to these services leads to a spiral of income and time impoverishment. Furthermore, the households in the lowest income deciles have the largest number of members and the greatest relative proportion of children and persons with disabilities. This means that women in these households have less time and face greater barriers to entering the labour market. A vicious circle thus forms between monetary poverty and scarcity of time, which translates into an urgent need to apply policies to foster women's labour inclusion and quality care services in order to break this spiral (ECLAC, 2016b).

(b) Paid domestic work: the most informal sector

Although there are marked differences between countries, domestic work represents one of the main avenues into the labour market for women in the region: the percentage of women employed in this sector ranges from 4.3% in the Plurinational State of Bolivia to 14.5% in Argentina (see figure III.7). Improvement of working conditions in this sector is a debt that the region's democracies owe to women, especially migrants, Afrodescendants and Indigenous Peoples, who make up a majority of paid domestic workers (Valenzuela, Scuro and Vaca Trigo, 2020).

Figure III.7
Latin America (14 countries): proportion of employed women working in the households as employers sector, 2022
(Percentages)



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).
Note: In the case of the Plurinational State of Bolivia and Colombia, the data refer to 2021, and in Honduras, to 2019. "Households as employers" corresponds to the 20th category of the International Standard Industrial Classification of All Economic Activities (ISIC) revision 4: activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods- and services-producing activities of households for own use.

In 2011, ILO adopted the Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189) and published the Domestic Workers Recommendation, 2011 (No. 201), which marked a significant milestone in the promotion of standards and policies aimed at improving the working conditions of domestic workers.[3]

[3] Convention No. 189 has been ratified by the following Latin American and Caribbean countries: Antigua and Barbuda (2021), Argentina (2014), Brazil (2018), Chile (2015), Colombia (2014), Costa Rica (2014), Dominican Republic (2015), Ecuador (2013), Grenada (2018), Guyana (2013), Jamaica (2016), Mexico (2020), Nicaragua (2013), Panama (2015), Paraguay (2013), Peru (2018), Plurinational State of Bolivia (2013) and Uruguay (2012).

Convention No. 189 recognizes those engaged in domestic work as being entitled to the same rights and protections as other workers, regardless of origin or immigration status, and seeks to ensure these rights and protections. This international regulatory framework urges States to guarantee a minimum wage for domestic work, set in accordance with national systems and without discrimination by sex. The Convention underlines the importance of transparency regarding conditions of employment, working hours, hours of rest, pay and the guarantee of occupational safety and health. In addition, it suggests that payments in kind be limited and, where they exist, they should not be deducted from the minimum wage. The framework also establishes that domestic workers must have access to the country's social security systems under conditions that are not less favourable than those applicable to workers generally. In addition to working conditions, Convention No. 189 emphasizes protection against abuse, harassment and violence. Uruguay was the first country in the world to ratify this Convention, and currently 18 countries in the region have done so. This approach is reinforced by the ILO Violence and Harassment Convention, 2019 (No. 190) and the Violence and Harassment Recommendation, 2019 (No. 206), which identify domestic work as a sector particularly vulnerable to situations of violence and harassment, especially in employer-provided accommodation.

The Regional Gender Agenda draws on and contributes to the international and regional legal framework to protect, respect and ensure all the human rights of women, adolescents and girls in all their diversity, as well as non-discrimination and the achievement of equality. Specifically, in the Buenos Aires Commitment, approved at the fifteenth session of Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean, the countries agreed to "adopt measures to promote and effectively protect the human rights of all women domestic workers, as established in Convention No. 189 of the International Labour Organization, and urge governments that have not yet done so to ratify and apply the Convention" (ECLAC, 2023b, p. 8).

Accordingly, most countries in the region have already set minimum wages for domestic workers in accordance with national systems, although there are some exceptions, such as Honduras and El Salvador, where domestic work is not yet subject to the national minimum wage. On the other hand, in countries with multiple wage-setting systems, such as Panama and Costa Rica, the minimum wage for domestic work may be lower than that for other job categories. By contrast, the experiences of collective bargaining systems aimed at establishing differentiated minimum wages, such as those of Argentina and Uruguay, do not necessarily imply disadvantages compared to the wages established for other occupations (ILO, 2021a).[4]

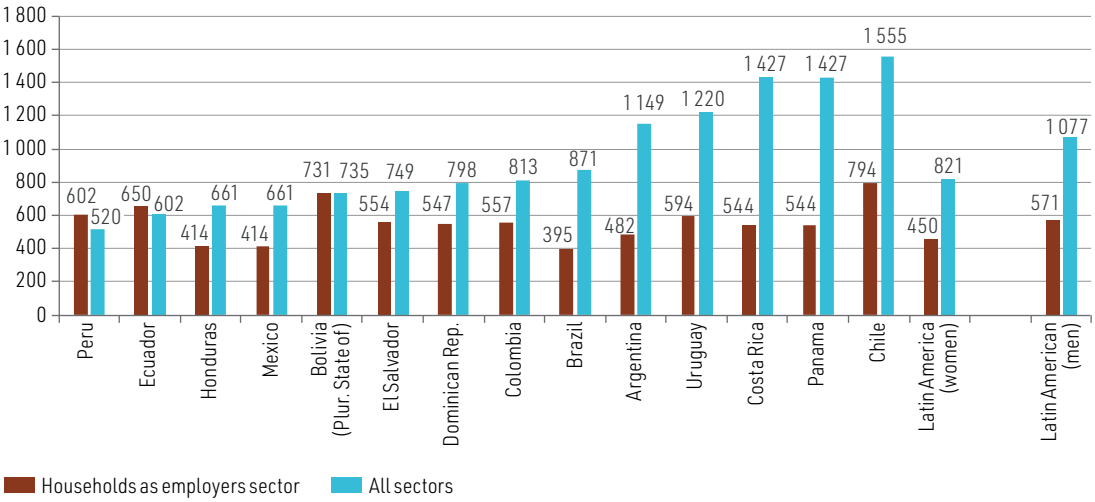
Despite progress, paid domestic workers in Latin America receive considerably lower incomes than employed women generally: half, on average. In some countries, the difference is even greater (see figure III.8). Several countries have pursued legal reforms to reduce wage gaps or discrimination in the legislation.[5]

In addition, domestic workers often experience longer working hours than the standards agreed upon within the ILO framework. In 2019, only 39.9% of domestic workers in the region worked between 35 and 48 hours per week, in contrast to 63.9% for the rest of wage-earners. Although regulatory reforms have been implemented in some countries to address these irregularities, in countries such as Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Peru and Guatemala, there are still high percentages of female workers whose working days exceed 60 hours per week (ILO, 2021a).

4 Both the National Commission for Work in Private Homes (CNTCP) of Argentina and Group 21 of the Wage Council of Uruguay have tripartite representation (representatives of workers, employers and the government) to set a minimum wage for the sector and attach importance to the possibility of social dialogue.

5 In Costa Rica, executive decree No. 43849-MTSS of the National Wage Council (CNS), of 2019, established an additional wage increase of 2.33962% to be afforded to domestic service over the following 15 years. In Paraguay, Act No. 5407 of 2015, which recognized pay for domestic work at equivalent to 60% of the legal minimum wage, was corrected in 2019 by Act No. 6338, which affords the legal minimum wage to workers devoted to various unspecified activities.

Figure III.8
Latin America (14 countries): women's average monthly labour income, by sector and country, 2022
(PPP dollars)



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).
Note: The weighted average for Latin America includes the 14 countries shown in the figure. In the case of the Plurinational State of Bolivia and Colombia, the data refer to 2021, and in the case of Honduras, to 2019. In PPP (purchasing power parity) dollars based on the year corresponding to the data used for each country.

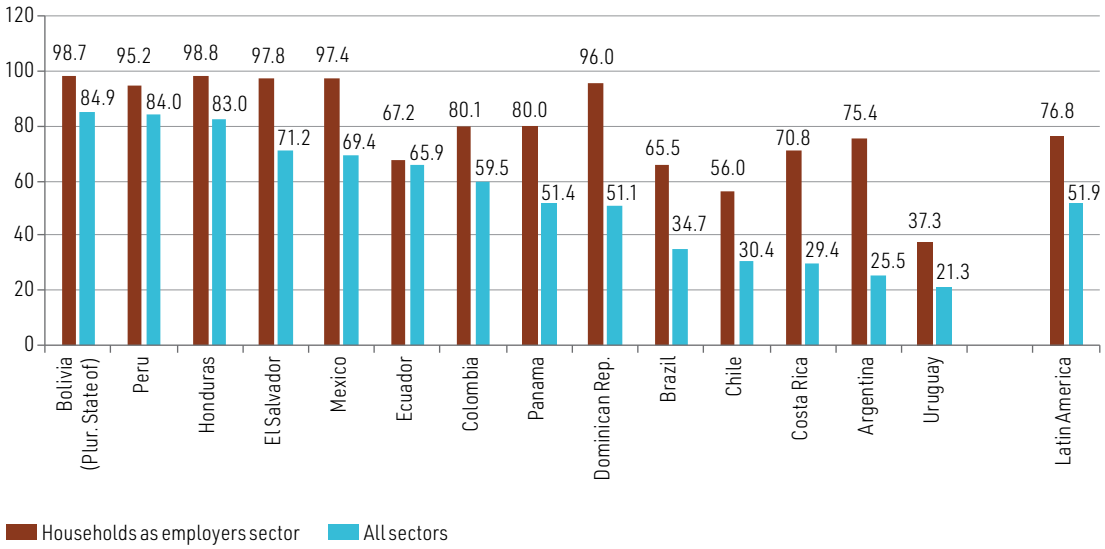
Similarly to the situation with income, and despite recent advances in international agreements and regulations, the household employer sector continues to be one of those with the highest informality rates. Although some countries have made major progress in the formalization of domestic work in the past 20 years (Gontero and Velásquez, 2023),[6] in all countries, except Chile and Uruguay, over 60% of women working in private households are not affiliated or contributing to social security. The Latin American average is 76.8%, in other words, three of every four women in the domestic work sector lack basic labour rights (see figure III.9).

In addition to the adverse working conditions that characterize the sector and hinder women's labour inclusion is the crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, which had a severe impact, due to both the loss of jobs and the drop in wages. Employment levels of domestic workers fell almost 20% between 2019 and 2020, and the proportion of these women living in poverty went from 20.7% in 2019 to 23.5% in 2021 (Baron and Scuro, 2023). This, in turn, reveals the level of job precariousness and insecurity experienced by paid domestic workers.

The analysis of paid domestic work in the region is crucial, since it is an important sector of employment for women in situations of greater vulnerability. As seen in table III.1, almost 60% of domestic workers have fewer than 10 years of schooling, compared with only 32.2% of all employed women. While 15.5% of all employed women belong to single-parent households,[7] this percentage rises to 19.4% among domestic workers: one in five is the main or sole breadwinner of a household with at least one child.

[6] For example, in Argentina, the percentage of pension contributors went from 6% in 2005 to 23.5% in 2021; in Peru, the percentage contributing to the pension system went from 3% in 2001 to 17.5% in 2021, and in Uruguay, the percentage contributing to the retirement fund rose from 33% in 2006 to 68.4 % in 2021 (Gontero and Velázquez, 2023).
[7] A single-parent household is one comprising a mother or father and at least one child.

Figure III.9
Latin America (14 countries): paid female domestic workers not affiliated or contributing to a social security system, by sector and country, 2022
(Percentages)



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).
Note: The weighted average for Latin America includes the 14 countries shown in the figure. In the case of the Plurinational State of Bolivia and Colombia, the data refer to 2021, and in the case of Honduras, to 2019.

Table III.1
Latin America (14 countries):[a] characterization of employed women, by sector of economic activity, 2022

Sector of activity	Women working in the household employer sector	Total employed women
Average age	**43.5**	**40.0**
Percentage distribution of employed women by level of schooling		
0–5 years	19.8	11.2
6–9 years	39.5	21.0
10–12 years	34.6	33.7
13 years or more	6.2	34.1
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**
Percentage distribution of employed women by type of household		
Two-parent with children	30.4	36.8
Single-parent	19.4	15.5
Two-parent without children	9.7	10.8
Extended	32.6	29.9
Other[b]	7.8	6.9
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).
[a] The data shown represent the weighted average for Latin America calculated on the basis of 14 countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Peru, Plurinational State of Bolivia and Uruguay. In the case of the Plurinational State of Bolivia and Colombia, the data refer to 2021, and in the case of Honduras, to 2019.
[b] This category includes single-person households (which account for 6.4% of women employed in the household as employers sector and 5.3% of all employed women), composite households (which account for 1.2% of women in both cases) and non-nuclear households (which account for 0.3% of women employed in the household as employers sector and 0.4% of all employed women).

In recent years, the average age of women employed in the paid domestic work sector has risen and concern remains over women who are unable to leave paid work at advanced ages because they lack a pension system that would allow them to retire. There is also ongoing concern over paid domestic work performed by girls. Moreover, studies show that the health status of women in the sector is deteriorating owing to the physical and mental demands involved in the related tasks (responsibility for looking after people) (MTEySS/OISS/SRT, 2020; Correa, 2021).

As well as the challenges posed by poor wages and low rates of social security affiliation or contribution in domestic work, the tasks included in it are often very diverse. The ILO Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189) describes domestic work as "work performed in or for a household or households" (ILO, 2011, art. 1). This may include activities such as cleaning, cooking, washing, ironing, caring for dependants, gardening and guard duty, driving for a family and caring for pets.

In this connection, several countries in the region have begun to clarify and delimit the responsibilities of female workers, in order to establish their labour rights and guarantees based on the distinction between strictly domestic work and more care-related work, which often involves heavier demands and responsibilities. In Chile, for example, domestic work contracts must specify the tasks to be performed, and must indicate whether these include the care of dependent persons.[8] The Ministry of Social Development and Family of Chile has also created a platform to identify caregivers and provides them with priority access to certain services. In Argentina, the National Commission for Work in Private Households (CNTCP) has set wage categories based on the tasks and modalities of work registered in the Federal Public Revenue Administration (AFIP).[9]

It is essential to clarify the tasks and responsibilities required and to invest in information systems for the design of labour inclusion policies specifically for paid domestic workers devoted mainly to caregiving. For example, providing preferential access to public institutions, or offering opportunities for continuous training, specialization or certifications will enable them to acquire or build on caregiving skills.

4. Digital platforms for domestic and care work: challenges for labour inclusion

The digital revolution is giving rise to a new era in which patterns of consumption, business and production are being transformed. This is driven by the adoption of advanced digital technologies, expansion of digital infrastructure and massification of access devices (ECLAC, 2022a). As described in chapter II, platform-based jobs in Latin America and the Caribbean have increased significantly in recent years, and these jobs often contribute to informality and are performed in precarious working conditions, giving rise to new challenges in relation to labour inclusion. Digital platforms for domestic and care work have emerged as innovative tools to link the supply of labour for domestic and care tasks with households' needs. The dissemination of technology and access to mobile devices and the Internet opens new possibilities for a sector that has traditionally been based on personal relationships of recommendation and trust (Cebollada, 2021). These digital platforms act as bridges between people who need specific services, such as housework, ironing, and care, among other tasks, and those who perform these jobs. Emerging technologies facilitate intermediation services, traditionally provided by employment agencies, combined with the digital platform economy. Unlike other platforms of this type that foster remote or distance work, these platforms focus on jobs that are inherently location-based, since they require direct physical interaction in the home or place of residence of the person hiring the service (ILO, 2021c).

[8] Act No. 20786 of 2014.

[9] Five wage categories are established: supervisors; personnel for specific tasks; caretakers; personal assistance and care, and staff for general tasks. Each category has a legal minimum hourly and monthly wage, and, if the activities performed correspond to more than one category, the minimum wage of the best-paid category applies.

These platforms have also enabled the emergence of new services, such as administrative arrangements for hiring domestic workers, in particular contract formalization, registration in social security systems, administration of payment and vacations, and tools to facilitate online payments. These advances can even make it easier for households to fulfil their responsibilities as employers and ultimately contribute to the formalization of labour relations (Pereyra, Poblete and Tizziani, 2023).

Although platforms may afford opportunities to improve working conditions in the sector, it is crucial to be alert to the ways in which they can make paid domestic work even more precarious, especially considering that this sector is one of the main avenues of employment for women in the region. Unlike home delivery or transportation services, domestic and care services were not widely consumed as on-demand services before the advent of digital platforms.

In the case of domestic and care work, the proliferation of digital platforms coincided with the change in consumer habits associated with online and home delivery services that proliferated during the COVID-19 pandemic. It also coincided with the crisis caused by the pandemic in the domestic work sector, as described in the previous section, in terms of the destruction of jobs and the fall in wages, which left female workers with less bargaining power than usual.

The characteristics of the platform economy —where employment relationships tend to become blurred, employers become clients and labour is an on-demand service— merit particular attention in the case of the domestic and care services sector, given that it already faces enormous challenges in relation to reducing job insecurity and guaranteeing a decent income.

(a) Changes in paid domestic work with the emergence of digital platforms

Although there are as yet no data to ascertain precisely the percentage of domestic workers hired over digital platforms, the trend is increasing and will continue to do so if its evolution elsewhere in the world is anything to go by (Hunt and Machingura, 2016). There are active platforms in at least 12 countries in the region, and the largest number are found in Colombia, Chile and Brazil. Colombia is the country in which online platforms that hire workers are most common, while in Chile and Brazil the main services are selection and connection between employers and employees, i.e. tasks similar to those previously performed by employment agencies. In the first case, the online platforms actually employ the workers, while in the second, the hiring is done by the person requesting the service. Most platforms also offer e-payment services and offer digitalized management of the workers hired (Pereyra, Poblete and Tizziani, 2023).[10]

A new development is the offer of on-demand services, where the employment relationship tends to become ambiguous. Messages are seen promoting services, such as: “Why wait? When you can have it NOW! “Housework NOW”, and “Last minute emergency?”

Although working conditions and regulatory frameworks vary from one country to another, in general platforms charge a commission and set service fees without defining working hours. These rates are published on the platform or negotiated privately by clients and workers. This negotiation is touted as a benefit for customers, using expressions such as “you set the price”. Although no platforms were found to state explicitly that offers below the legal minimum wage would be acceptable, there were cases in which the company stated that it would intervene in the negotiation if “the price is well above or well below the market price” (Blanchard, 2023). Some public testimonies on online platforms suggest that workers sometimes do not receive proper information about, for example, the size of the houses they are supposed to clean. Per-service setting, along with generally one-way evaluation systems, can expose workers to the risk of becoming committed without full information and, as a result, receiving negative feedback or working more hours than had been agreed upon (Kalla, 2022).

New forms of platform-based intermediation can also affect working conditions. Although some platforms assume responsibilities as employers, others adopt a role primarily as technological

[10] Some firms have even focused mainly on digitalizing administration, simplifying the formalization and affiliation procedures for social security systems. One example is Simplifica, in Colombia and Mexico.

intermediaries. Service contracts, which are usually similar in format to independent contractor arrangements, may include clauses of exclusivity with the platform company, provisions on the acceptance or rejection of work, and performance evaluation protocols, among other things.[11] This contract modality can affect labour rights such as social security, labour protections and the minimum wage. Despite the progress that has been made at the national and international level in adapting labour regulations to ensure decent work, significant challenges remain (ILO, 2021c).

Access to new paid work opportunities and the promise of labour flexibility offered by digital platforms have given rise to irregular working hours, fluctuating income and poor coverage of pension systems, in addition to the presumption of permanent availability. At the same time, labour income is affected by the payment of commissions to platform companies or possibly by the rejection of work (ILO, 2021c).

Despite the promise of greater autonomy, digital platforms can significantly limit the employment opportunities of female workers through algorithmic management of task allocation and evaluation mechanisms, among other factors. Algorithmic performance management redefines work relations and the daily experience of people offering their labour over the platform. Algorithms, based on data generated by workers themselves, often lack transparency and can lead to decisions that do not always properly reflect their actual performance. For example, a poor rating from someone who has contracted a service and feels dissatisfied owing to factors beyond the worker's control can adversely affect her reputation on the platform and, therefore, her future job opportunities. This results in a much higher level of exposure than the job references used in traditional hiring modalities. Algorithmic design can also exacerbate sources of discrimination and introduce biases along the lines of existing inequalities (ILO, 2021c; ECLAC/ILO, 2019). The lack of control by workers over mechanisms for assigning services, the exposure of their profiles and one-way evaluation systems can limit their autonomy and become another expression of the concentration of power in hierarchical relationships, as described in relation to the structural challenge of gender inequality (ECLAC, 2017b).

Regarding the services that are published, platforms usually establish a principal division between cleaning work and care tasks and, among the latter, between the care of children and care of older persons. Some platforms also offer home repairs and specific cleaning tasks (windows, floors, upholstery) and, as an effect of the COVID-19 pandemic, special disinfection services. In this respect, platforms are ahead of the regulations of countries that, for the most part, do not distinguish between the diverse activities carried out in households and performed in the domestic work sector. Many platforms also provide paid or free training and certifications for female workers through their applications or websites.

Although most of the initiatives in this arena are private and profit-seeking, public entities too are making incipient efforts to connect the demand and supply of paid domestic work via digital platforms (see box III.1). Conversely, although there are a number of projects involving cooperatives or trade unions that provide intermediation services or employment exchanges, no platform initiatives have been identified in this sector (Cebollada, 2021).

Box III.1
Federal Map of Care in Argentina

Since its establishment, the Ministry of Women, Genders and Diversity of Argentina has been pursuing a broad and profound strategy to set up a comprehensive care system. One of the pillars of this strategy is the Federal Map of Care.

The dashboard of the Federal Map of Care carries information on the supply of public, private and community institutions providing care services to various populations across the country, training for workers in the sector and estimates of demand for of care at the local level.

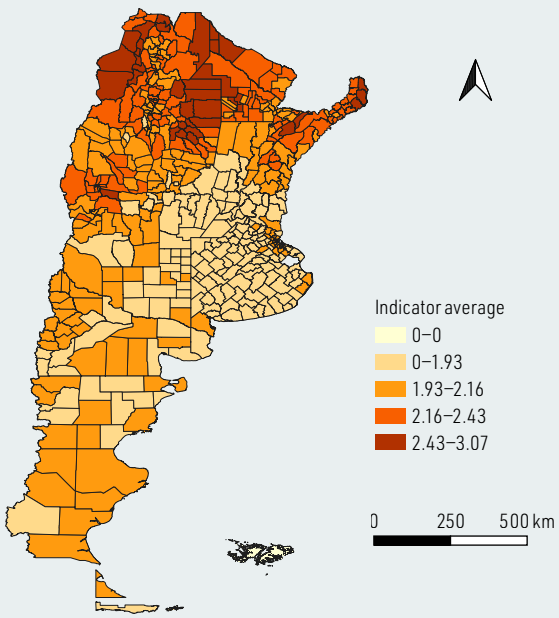
[11] It may be debated whether platforms actually generate new occupations, how similar or different they are with respect to other, traditional forms of non-standard employment and, above all, whether those who perform them are subordinate or independent (or self-employed or own-account) workers (Bensusán, 2020, p. 9).

The map is the product of close collaboration between the Ministry and the ECLAC office in Argentina, through the Early Childhood and Comprehensive Care System programme of the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals Fund. The objective of this collaboration was to create a platform and carry out studies that would contribute to the definition of public policies linked to the various spheres of care in Argentina.

The Map has an external interface for public use, consisting of a web portal and a mobile phone application, which provides georeferenced information on the care services available. The public map provides information about the following: (i) the supply of care services provided by public and private institutions, and social and community organizations, and (ii) the supply of training for caregivers and their certification. The system supports a search function and the use of various filters, and takes a rights-based approach to ensure accessibility for persons with disabilities and for people who have only old computer equipment, telephones with limited functions, or little or no connectivity.

The Map also has an internal interface in a visualization panel for policy management, with a dashboard providing information about care service supply and demand based on the visualization and analysis of spatial and statistical data. This interactive tool yields information on the social organization of care in the territory, the distribution of care facilities and care-related training, potential demand and areas in which coverage is satisfactory or poor, among other data. The mapping also serves to prepare a catalogue of care facilities and services at the territorial level, in order to identify areas that are critical or lacking sufficient care institutions at the territorial level, a task that was carried out with the support of ECLAC. On the basis of this information, it was estimated that care demand intensity was "high or very high", in 6 of 10 households with unmet basic needs; double the average for all households. It was also concluded that, of the more than 550,000 single-parent households with children under 15, 47% showed a "high or very high" intensity of demand for care (see map).

Argentina: departmental average of household care work demand intensity, adjusted by the potential caregiving population,[a] 2022



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INDEC).

Note: Data processed using Redatam+SP and mapped in QGIS.
The boundaries and names shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.

[a] The intensity of the demand for unpaid care work in households evaluates the need for care at the household level, weighting the hours of unpaid care that each individual requires by age group, following the methodology of Durán (2012), adjusted according to information from the 2013 Annual Urban Household Survey. The index is calculated by adding the score of all the weighted hours of the household members, then this figure is normalized by the number of potential caregivers (PPC) in the household. This index serves to identify geographical areas with different intensities of demand for care.

The existing structure also supports the provision of information to connect those working in the sector with potential sources of demand, as well as data on care-related training provided by the Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security or the Ministry of Social Development in order to certify specific workers. These data could be georeferenced in different parts of the territory and could include contact information, as a strategy that could help to drive decent work creation in the sector.

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INDEC); Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean/Ministry of Women, Genders and Diversity of Argentina (ECLAC/MMGyD), "Mapa Federal del Cuidado en la Argentina: construcciones conceptuales y usos", *Project Documents* (LC/TS.2022/173-LC/BUE/TS.2022/18), Santiago, 2022; Ministry of Women, Genders and Diversity of Argentina (MMGyD), "Mapa Federal del Cuidado" [online] https://mapafederaldelcuidado.mingeneros.gob.ar/; M. Á. Durán, *El trabajo no remunerado en la economía global*, Fundación BBV, 2012.

(b) The regulation of platform work to promote women's labour inclusion: the future of domestic and care work

The digital transformation has opened up new opportunities for the paid domestic work and care sector, because it allows those offering this type of labour to connect with those who require it. However, the structural inequality that exists in Latin America and the Caribbean threatens to limit access to these opportunities and even to accentuate existing gaps. In the case of digital platforms for domestic and care work, it is important both to protect workers' labour rights and to prevent the creation of a segmented market where those who have access to technology receive services with different standards and prices to those received by people lacking that access. Thus, public policies are increasingly important to ensure that digitalization improves the lives of all and prevents gaps from widening in a region already marked by great inequality (ECLAC, 2021b).

An exercise that compiled public information from over 70 digital platforms in 12 countries in the region served to identify practices that could exacerbate the structural challenges of gender inequality. Socioeconomic inequality and the persistence of poverty could be worsened by the casualization of work caused by low commissions and pay, and by asymmetric evaluation systems biased towards employers. The illustrations of care-related and cleaning work on websites tend to show a majority of women and to use terms such as "help" or "assistance", which perpetuates the sexual division of labour, reinforces patriarchal cultural patterns and gender stereotypes, and obscures the employment relationship. Finally, one-way evaluation systems and workers' lack of control over the allocation of services can limit their autonomy and reflect the concentration of power and hierarchical relationships inherent in gender inequality. Worker representation becomes all the more important in relation to this last point, especially evaluation by trade unions of the way platforms operate.

Without proper regulation, there is a risk of employment becoming even more precarious (ILO, 2021a). It is thus essential to consolidate regulatory frameworks to protect the rights of domestic workers and those working in the care sector. Platforms also have an unavoidable responsibility to ensure safe, fair working conditions in the framework of social co-responsibility between the State, the market or the private sector, households and families, and communities. In this context, social dialogue is a crucial tool for facilitating the creation of strategies to ensure the rights of female workers and recognize domestic and care work as essential for the sustainability of life.

Regulation of these technologies by the State in accordance with current non-discrimination legislation and within the framework of respect for labour rights, human rights and public participation could lead to more efficient and effective progress in decent work creation, in improving the well-being of those requiring domestic and care work, in the professionalization and certification of workers, and in the allocation of social value to these tasks. In this regard, the national care systems now being discussed, designed and implemented in several countries in the region have at their disposal a

powerful tool to advance in the recognition, redistribution and reduction of domestic and care work, and to accelerate the growth and revitalization of a sector of the economy that is fundamentally important for the sustainability of life (ECLAC, 2019a; ILO, 2019).

B. Labour inclusion and international migration: opportunities and challenges

Migration in the region has increased and become more diversified in recent decades, and it has become more prevalent in countries that had no previous tradition of migration. These changes open up opportunities and can make valuable contributions to receiving countries, but they also create pressure and pose significant challenges in terms of labour inclusion. The arrival of large numbers of migrants within a short period of time can make it particularly difficult for migrants to regularize their administrative status and render them more vulnerable to abuse and discrimination. It may also force them to find work in the informal sector, take jobs for which they are overqualified or work under exploitative conditions. The heterogeneity and the many different sociodemographic profiles (in terms of education, gender, ethnicity or race and other factors) of the migrant population, combined with the highly dynamic nature of labour markets, influence labour inclusion processes in receiving countries. In order to ensure that the migrant labour force can make a positive contribution to host countries, labour inclusion policies need to be developed that promote migrants' ability to exercise their rights and their access to formal employment that provides them with social protection.

1. The intensification of migration flows has hindered the labour inclusion of migrants

Migration in the region has become more diverse than it was in the past. While the number of persons migrating to developed countries (primarily the United States and Spain) remains very high, in the past two decades intraregional migration has increased sharply in terms of both numbers and territorial scope. Between 2000 and 2020, intraregional migration climbed by 72% in Latin America and the Caribbean, which was the steepest growth rate of any region in the world in relative terms (United Nations, 2020). In recent times, migration flows have also expanded to encompass countries that formerly had no tradition of immigration. The intensification of intraregional flows and the greater heterogeneity of the migrant population in terms of origin, destination and determining factors are associated with an increase in forced migration as well (Cecchini and Martínez, 2023).

These changes pose considerable challenges for Latin American and Caribbean societies, which must focus on achieving a sustainable economic recovery while also facilitating migrants' social and labour inclusion (ECLAC, 2019a). The associated challenges intensified during the pandemic, which impacted migrants' mobility and their ability to return to their home countries and altered their income-generating and employment opportunities. The participation of women and men as essential workers during lockdowns helped their host societies cope with the pandemic and contributed to those societies' well-being, but these workers were nonetheless targets of stigmatization and discrimination in many countries (ECLAC, 2020).

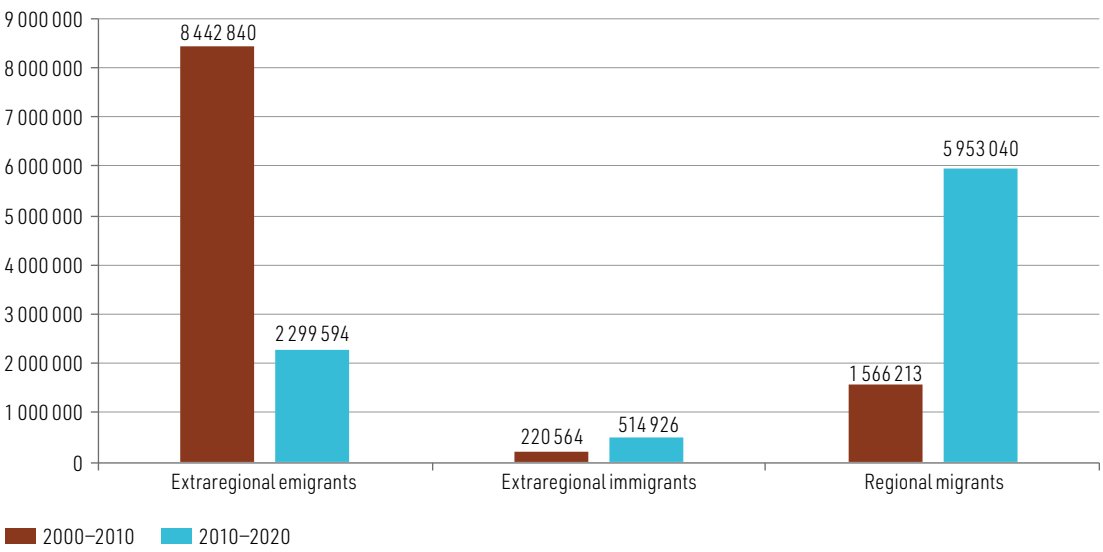
Migrant worker and migrant entrepreneurship makes a valuable contribution to host societies by creating economic activities, providing jobs for non-migrants and transferring human capacity and innovations. Analyses of the labour inclusion of migrants and their economic contributions to their host societies should also consider their possible contribution to a rejuvenation of the workforce in countries where the population is rapidly ageing. In such countries, the expansion of the labour force through migration has a positive impact on economic growth and helps to ease structural worker shortages, especially if migrant women and men are employed in accordance with labour laws and provided with social protection.

Migrants' contributions to their host countries may be undermined, however, when there is a massive inflow of migrants within a short period of time if receiving countries are unprepared to take advantage of those contributions, lack effective migrant regularization procedures and do not have the necessary information to take prompt, appropriate decisions and actions. In such situations, there is a greater likelihood that migrants will be subject to abuse, have to work in the informal sector and in jobs for which they are overqualified or be the object of blatant discrimination. Persons who come from less developed countries and markedly different cultures, persons who have been forced by circumstance to migrate and whose migration status is irregular, those who have few resources and persons from certain ethnic or racial groups are particularly vulnerable (ECLAC, 2020).

For centuries, the region was primarily a destination for large groups of migrants, but this changed dramatically in the second half of the twentieth century, when large numbers of people began to leave Latin America and the Caribbean for the United States and, later, for some European countries, such as Spain.[12] More recently, intraregional mobility has also increased sharply, all of which has redrawn the continent's migration map.

According to United Nations estimates (2020), the Latin American and Caribbean region continues to experience net out-migration, although the rate has diminished, primarily because of the curbs on the emigration of Mexican citizens to the United States and the consequent reduction in that flow (see figure III.10).

Figure III.10
Latin America and the Caribbean (46 countries and territories): variation in the number of migrants, by regional origin and destination, 2000–2010 and 2010–2020
(Number of persons)



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of United Nations, *International Migration 2020 Highlights* (ST/ESA/SER.A/452), New York, 2020.

Note: "Extraregional emigrants" are defined here as persons born in one of the 46 countries or territories covered in the figure who were residing in a country or territory outside Latin America and the Caribbean in the period in question. The term "extraregional immigrants" refers to persons born in a country or territory outside Latin America and the Caribbean who, during the period in question, resided in one of the 46 countries and territories covered in the figure. The category "regional migrants" refers to persons born in one of the 46 countries and territories of Latin America and the Caribbean who, during the period in question, were residing in a country or territory in the region other than their country or territory of birth. In all of these cases, the figures shown are the balance or variation in the number of such persons between the first and last year of the period in question.

[12] According to the American Community Survey, 22.7 million persons from Latin America and the Caribbean were living in the United States in 2021. According to the Municipal Census of Spain, 3.3 million persons from Latin America and the Caribbean were living in that country in 2021.

As may be seen from the figure, the number of intraregional migrants has soared: between 2000 and 2010, their number rose by 1.57 million but, in the following decade, it climbed by over 5.9 million. The most influential factor in this increase was the upsurge in emigration from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela; in the space of just five years (from 2015 to 2020), more than 5.3 million persons left that country, and 80% of them moved to another Latin American nation. This flow has reshaped the region's migration patterns and has resulted in some countries that did not attract any substantial number of migrants in the twentieth century receiving massive inflows of migrants during this period.

2. Migrants make a valuable contribution to inclusive social development

(a) Intraregional migration in Latin America and the Caribbean primarily takes the form of labour migration

In Latin America and the Caribbean, a majority of intraregional migrants are workers, i.e. persons of working age who are moving in search of a job that will enable them to improve their social and economic position. Labour migration, which entails a transfer of a portion of the workforce from countries of origin to countries of destination, has attracted a great deal of attention in production sectors (see box III.2).

Box III.2

The positive impact of migrant workers on private sector companies

Private-sector companies' inclusion of migrant workers has sparked growing interest on the part of the business world. Three recent studies have documented the positive impact of labour inclusion in Colombia and Chile.

Semi-structured interviews conducted with a number of companies as part of a study carried out by the National Business Association of Colombia (ANDI), the largest employers' association in that country, in cooperation with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Fundación Corona and ACDI/VOCA-Colombia led to the identification of seven specific benefits: (i) low staff turnover rates; (ii) high levels of staff qualifications; (iii) high effectiveness and productivity indicators; (iv) a strong sense of belonging in the company in question; (v) a stronger production chain and strategic partnerships; (vi) coverage of hard-to-fill vacancies; and (vii) creativity and innovation. With regard to the first point, the report notes that the low turnover rate may be associated with the precarious economic and social situation of migrant workers, who are therefore firmly committed and loyal to the people who have given them an opportunity to work. The high level of qualifications of such workers has to do with the human talent possessed by immigrants, mainly from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. With respect to productivity, respondents mentioned that the inclusive employment strategy used by these firms entails providing training to the migrants they hire. One of the aspects that the respondent companies place a great deal of value on is that migrants will accept positions that Colombian workers are not interested in (ANDI and others, 2022).

Another study draws on the results of the National Labour Demand Study (ENADEL). That study was designed and coordinated by the Labour Observatories Network of the National Training and Employment Service (SENCE), which is attached to the Ministry of Labour and Social Security of the Government of Chile, in cooperation with a number of Chilean universities. The survey has been carried out every year since 2019 and is aimed at characterizing the workforce, detecting training preferences and forecasting companies' demand for persons to fill certain types of positions and for certain types of skills based on regionally representative data. The survey is used to compile data on small, medium-sized and large companies in different sectors each year. One of the sectors surveyed in 2019 was the tourism industry. In the Santiago Metropolitan Region, 76% of the tourism agencies that were surveyed reported having difficulties in filling vacancies. Respondents underscored the contributions made by foreign workers to improvements in the quality of service and hospitality in the regional and national tourism industries. They also emphasized language competencies, which are needed and valued in the tourism business (SENCE, 2019).

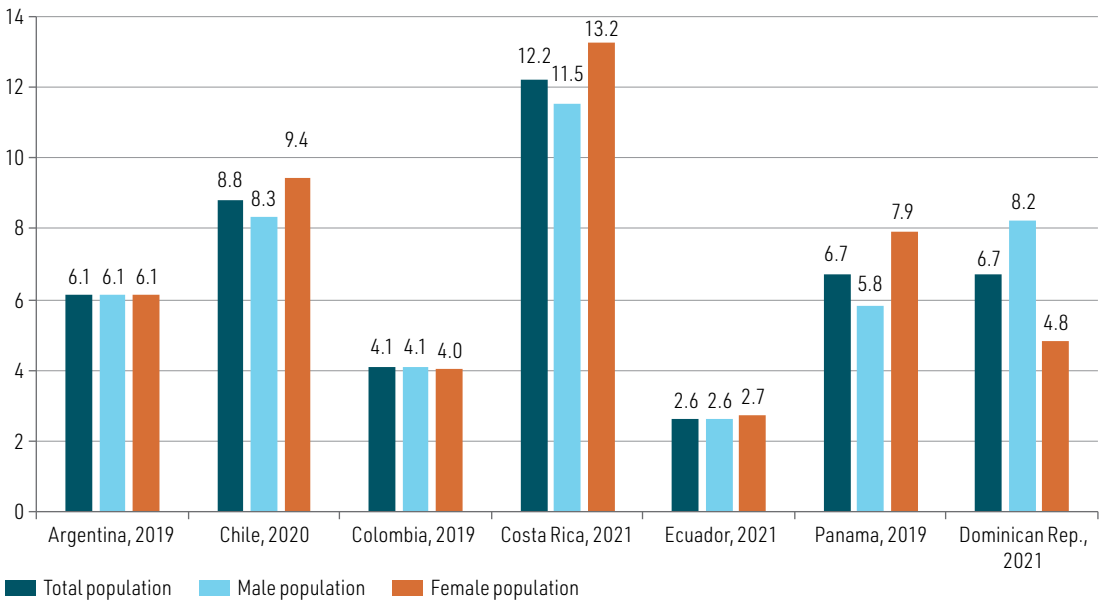
A third study carried out in 2021 was conducted by the Chilean office of the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The aim of that study was to identify employment opportunities for migrants in the country. A

total of 61 companies (78% of which were located in the Santiago Metropolitan Region) in different sectors in four regions of the country were interviewed. When asked about the attributes of migrant workers employed in those companies, the respondents' answers indicated the following: 37.7% said that migrants' productivity was above average, 27.7% said that they showed more initiative and 13.3% said that they had better social and emotional skills. The respondents' answers to questions about the effects that migrant workers had had on their businesses indicated the following: 31.9% said that they had improved the work environment, 26.4% said that they had boosted productivity, 11.1% said that they had improved the companies' satisfaction indicators and 9.7% said that they had improved customer relations. Employers' recognition of the social and emotional skills of migrants is significant given the fact that, in this same survey —which was conducted between July and September 2021 at the height of the economic recovery and reactivation following in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic— when employers were asked what worker skills were needed to overcome the crisis, 7 out of 10 of them said that those were the skills that were needed. That was far more than the 22% of employers who responded that technical skills were the ones required (Dehays, 2021).

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of National Business Association of Colombia (ANDI) and others, *Inclusión laboral de migrantes, una apuesta del sector privado*, Bogotá, 2022; National Training and Employment Service (SENCE), Encuesta Nacional de Demanda Laboral (ENADEL) 2019, Santiago, 2019; J. Dehays, "Oportunidades de inserción laboral para la población migrante y refugiada en Chile", *Cuadernos Migratorios*, No. 13, Santiago, International Organization for Migration (IOM), 2021.

The percentage of international migrants in the labour force of seven countries of the region is substantial but varies considerably, ranging from 2.6% in Ecuador to 12.2% in Costa Rica (see figure III.11). In both Chile and Costa Rica —which are important destination countries for women migrants seeking employment in care work (see section III.A herein and ECLAC, 2019a)— and in Panama, migrant women outnumber migrant men, whereas just the opposite is true in the Dominican Republic.

Figure III.11
Latin America (7 countries): percentage of immigrants in the labour force, by sex, latest year available



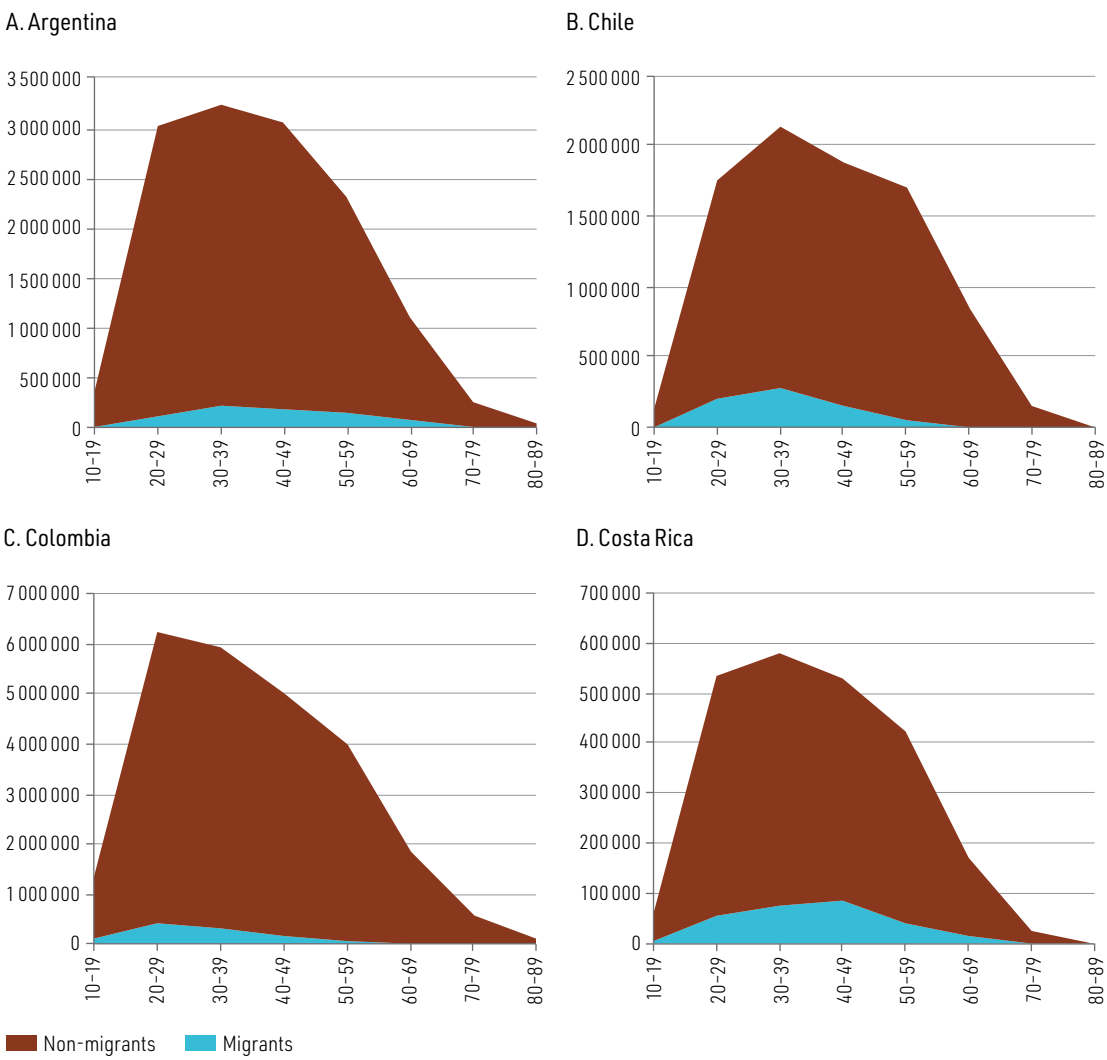
Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).

Census data illustrate the growth of the migrant labour force in some countries. In Chile, the percentage of migrants in the labour force rose from 1.6% in 2002 to 6.5% in 2017 and, in Colombia, between 2005 and 2018, that percentage increased from 0.3% to 2.5%. The proportion of migrants

in the labour force continued to climb thereafter in both countries and in Peru, where it went from 0.3% in 2007 to 1.4% in 2017. Household survey data indicate that the percentage of migrant workers in the labour force in the Dominican Republic rose from 4.5% to 6.7% between 2016 and 2021 and that it expanded in Argentina from 5.3% in 2014 to 6.1% in 2019.

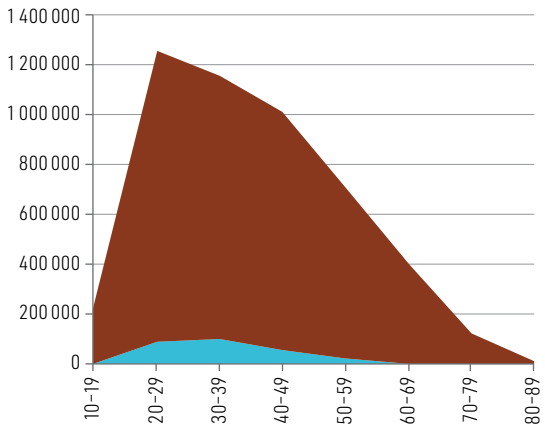
The migrant population's contribution to the labour force is primarily accounted for by younger migrants, particularly in countries where large numbers of migrants have recently arrived.[13] As indicated by the data shown in figure III.12, migrants represent 12% of the members of the labour force between the ages of 20 and 29 in Chile and 13% of workers between the ages of 30 and 39. In Colombia, the largest proportions of migrant workers in the labour force (nearly 7%) are found in the two youngest age groups (up to 29 years of age). In countries with a longer-standing migration tradition, such as Argentina and Costa Rica, migrants also make a contribution to older segments of the workforce. In the Dominican Republic, for example, migrants make up 10% of the members of the labour force between the ages of 30 and 39.

Figure III.12
Latin America (7 countries): distribution of the labour force, by age and migration status, latest year available
(Number of workers)

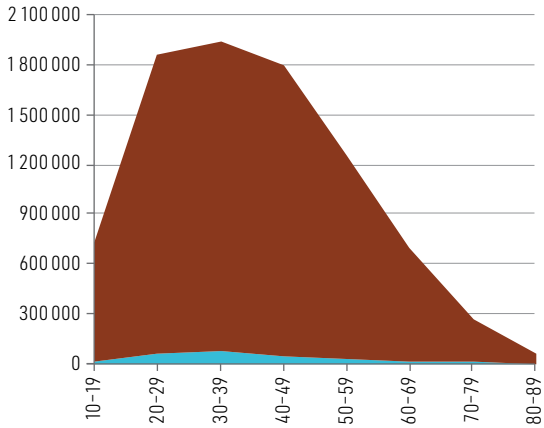


[13] The term "recent migrant" is understood to refer to persons born in another country who arrived in their country of destination within the five years preceding the census or survey in question.

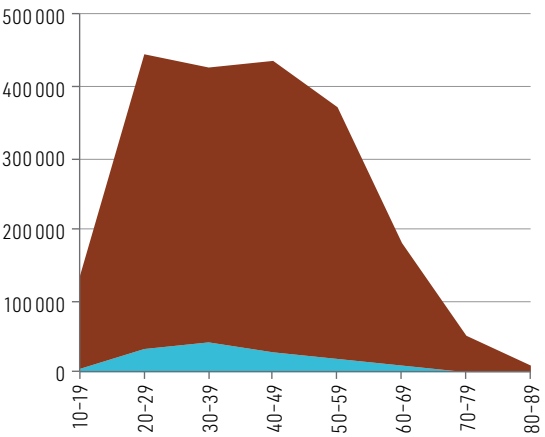
E. Dominican Republic



F. Ecuador



G. Panama



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).
Note: The data are from 2019 for Argentina, Colombia and Panama, from 2020 for Chile and from 2021 for Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic and Ecuador.

(b) Length of residence and nationality of origin

Given the small size of the samples of international migrants in most of the household surveys (Gutiérrez and others, 2020), the data used here cannot be disaggregated for two key variables, namely country of origin and length of residence in the host country. The data compiled in the most recent population censuses carried out in Colombia, Chile and Peru (three countries with large, recently arrived immigrant populations) provide some information on both of these variables. In Colombia, a large proportion of the migrant workforce arrived in the country quite recently. In 2018, 85% of those migrants had arrived in the country within the last five years preceding the census, and most of them (94% of the recent arrivals) had come from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

In Peru, the latest census was conducted in 2017, when large-scale migration from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela was just beginning. The number of immigrants rose steeply after that time (see box III.3) but, even then, 54% of the migrant labour force was composed of recent arrivals and 44% of them were from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

Box III.3
Venezuelan migrants in Peru

Information from the National Migration Superintendency indicates that there were 1,347,000 foreign residents in Peru in 2021 and that 87% of them were Venezuelan nationals. In order to learn more about this population group, in 2018 the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (INEI) carried out its first survey of the Venezuelan population in the country (ENPOVE I). It conducted another such survey (ENPOVE II) in 2022.

Data from that second survey indicate that the age profile of this group is quite young: 57.4% are between 20 and 49 years of age, 28.3% are between 0 and 14 years of age, 6.4% are between the ages of 15 and 19 and 7.7% are between the ages of 50 and 79. The composition of the migrant population in terms of sex is quite balanced (50.6% women and 49.4% men). Among those aged 18 years and over, 43.9% have a secondary education, 31.0% have a higher education, 14.4% have an advanced technical education, 9.6% have a basic technical level of instruction, 1% have a master's or doctorate degree and 0.1% have no education. Among those with a university education, 22.9% followed engineering, industrial or construction-related courses of study, 19.0% specialized in education, 16.7% in administration, 5.9% in law, 5.9% in accounting and finance, 5.0% in nursing and 3.1% in medicine.

Interestingly, while 35.3% of the Venezuelan migrants in Peru do not have a visa, 82.0% of them are in the labour force and, of that 82.0%, 97.9% are employed (92.5% of men and 71.8% of women).

The ENPOVE II results also show that only 19.2% of the employed Venezuelan refugee and migrant population in Peru has an employment contract; 55.0% of that population is working in the service sector, 24.3% in commerce, 12.7% in manufacturing and 7.2% in construction.

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (INEI), "Segunda Encuesta Dirigida a la Población Venezolana que Reside en el País II ENPOVE 2022: informe", Lima, 18 January [online] https://www.gob.pe/institucion/inei/informes-publicaciones/3352206-segunda-encuesta-dirigida-a-la-poblacion-venezolana-que-reside-en-el-pais-ii-enpove-2022.

In Chile, 58% of the members of the foreign labour force present in the country in 2017 were recent immigrants. By that time, Venezuelan migrants were beginning to arrive, but most of the migrants were from Peru (25%), the Plurinational State of Bolivia (19%), Colombia (14%), Argentina (9%) and Haiti (8%). Of the migrants who had arrived during the five-year period preceding the census, 17% were from Colombia, 17% were from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and 13% from Haiti.

While recent census data are not available for the other countries in the region, all of them, but particularly Argentina and Costa Rica, have a long history of immigration and it is therefore fairly certain that the percentage of recent arrivals in their migrant populations is far smaller than it is in the countries mentioned above.

(c) Migrants' contribution to GDP

Immigrants in receiving societies' workforces make a positive contribution to GDP, with the size of that contribution varying depending on the specific sectors in which they work. In order to gauge this impact, a model has been used to measure GDP, disaggregated by the country of origin of the members of the workforce, in six receiving countries: Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic and Ecuador. The model is outlined in box III.4 and the results are detailed in table III.2.

Box III.4

Method used to estimate migrants' contribution to GDP

Migrants' contribution to GDP has been estimated using a mathematical model for disaggregating annual GDP by the migrant and non-migrant components of the labour force using the following equation:

$$GDPLi = \sum_{j=1}^{n} OMeLj * Lij$$

where: *GDPLi* is the GDP generated by migration category *i* of the labour force (non-migrants and, here, migrants);

OMeLj is the mean output per worker in economic sector *j*; and

Lij is the volume of workers in migration category *i* in sector *j*.

In order to carry out this calculation, a methodology is needed for equating the classifications of members of the working population by national origin and by sector of economic activity used in population censuses and household surveys in each country with the classifications of economic activities used by central banks to disaggregate national GDP by sector. This has been done using each country's classification of economic activities, which is usually in line with international classification systems. For further information, see the study recently conducted by Canales (2022), who used this method to estimate the contributions of migrants in Chile, Costa Rica and Peru.

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of A. Canales, "Evaluación cuantitativa de las contribuciones de las migraciones recientes al desarrollo sostenible: el caso de Chile", *Sobre las contribuciones de la migración al desarrollo sostenible: estudios en países seleccionados*, Project Documents (LC/TS.2021/195), J. Martínez and M. Cano (eds.), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2022.

These data can be used to calculate the contributions that migrants make to economic growth in terms of their contributions to GDP during economic booms, crises and recoveries.

The contributions made by migrants to countries' GDP can be divided into three categories: situations in which they make a significant and continuously growing contribution to national GDP; those in which their contribution is somewhat less significant but is nonetheless steadily growing; and those in which migrants' contribution to GDP has been stable.

The first group includes countries such as Chile and the Dominican Republic, where migrants contributed 11.5% and 8.7%, respectively, to GDP in 2022, whereas their contributions had been less than 2% up to 2011 and 6.1% in 2017 in Chile and 5.5% in 2010 in the Dominican Republic.

In Ecuador and Colombia, migrants' contribution has also been on the rise, but less so than in the countries discussed earlier. In 2010, there were relatively few migrants in Colombia, and the migrant population accounted for just 0.4% of GDP. Since the latter half of the 2010s, however, with the growing inflow of Venezuelans, migrants' contributions to GDP rose to 2.1% in 2018 and 4.8% in 2022. In Ecuador, migrants' contribution to GDP climbed from just 1.1% in 2015 to 2.1% in 2020 and 2.5% in 2022.

The growth of migrants' economic contributions to Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic and Ecuador is associated with the increase in labour immigration to those countries. In such countries as Argentina and Costa Rica, which have a long migration tradition, on the other hand, immigration has remained fairly stable over the last decade or has risen very slowly. This could also be the reason why migrants' contribution to GDP has remained fairly flat, although it varies somewhat from country to country.

In Costa Rica, migrants' contribution to GDP during the 2010s and up to the start of the COVID-19 pandemic fluctuated between 10% and 11%, falling to 8.9% in 2022. The situation was similar in Argentina, although migrants' contribution was smaller (3.9% and 4.7% in 2013 and 2022, respectively).

Table III.2
Latin America (6 countries): gross domestic product, by migrant and non-migrant status of members of the labour force, 2009–2022

A. Volume
(Millions of dollars at constant 2018 prices)

	Chile			Costa Rica			Dominican Republic			Colombia			Ecuador			Argentina		
	Total GDP	Non-migrants	Migrants	Total GDP	Non-migrants	Migrants	Total GDP	Non-migrants	Migrants	Total GDP	Non-migrants	Migrants	Total GDP	Non-migrants	Migrants	Total GDP	Non-migrants	Migrants
2009	215 172	211 376	3 796	44 175			51 980			239 769			81 652			435 081		
2010	227 763			46 543			56 315	53 202	3 112	250 546	249 505	1 041	84 530			473 736	452 272	21 463
2011	241 939	237 066	4 873	48 592	43 583	5 009	58 079			267 953			91 181			505 089	483 936	21 153
2012	256 831			50 965	45 208	5 757	59 657			278 437			96 325			502 639	484 135	18 504
2013	265 328	257 408	7 921	52 236	46 949	5 287	62 566			292 732			101 090			512 316	490 328	21 987
2014	270 085			54 087	47 812	6 275	66 977			305 902			104 920			497 337	478 308	19 029
2015	275 897	265 080	10 817	56 062	50 323	5 739	71 616	68 162	3 455	314 945			105 024	103 826	1 198	509 686		
2016	280 733			58 419	51 804	6 615	76 386			321 519			103 736	102 602	1 134	498 435	477 997	20 438
2017	284 545	267 141	17 404	60 848	54 477	6 370	79 950	74 648	5 303	325 889			106 193	105 041	1 152	512 465	492 184	20 281
2018	295 898			62 439	55 583	6 857	85 533			334 246	325 284	8 962	107 562	105 630	1 932	502 284	480 615	21 669
2019	298 097			63 949	56 907	7 042	89 854			344 898	331 994	12 904	107 575	105 513	2 062	484 550	461 724	22 826
2020	279 778	251 077	28 701	61 216	54 477	6 739	83 816			319 885	308 387	11 498	99 198	97 123	2 075	433 674	416 774	16 900
2021	312 617	276 199	36 418	65 979	59 310	6 669	94 101			355 124	338 181	16 943	103 399	100 681	2 718	483 331	464 275	19 056
2022	320 246	283 359	36 887	68 882	62 765	6 117	98 673	90 107	8 567	380 894	362 613	18 281	106 447	103 750	2 697	512 995	489 751	23 245

B. Relative value
(Percentages of total GDP)

	Chile			Costa Rica			Dominican Republic			Colombia			Ecuador			Argentina		
	Total GDP	Non-migrants	Migrants	Total GDP	Non-migrants	Migrants	Total GDP	Non-migrants	Migrants	Total GDP	Non-migrants	Migrants	Total GDP	Non-migrants	Migrants	Total GDP	Non-migrants	Migrants
2009	100	98.2	1.8	100			100			100			100			100		
2010	100			100			100	94.5	5.5	100	99.6	0.4	100			100	95.7	4.3
2011	100	98.0	2.0	100	89.7	10.3	100			100			100			100	95.7	4.3
2012	100			100	88.7	11.3	100			100			100			100	95.7	4.3
2013	100	97.0	3.0	100	89.9	10.1	100			100			100			100	95.7	4.3
2014	100			100	88.4	11.6	100			100			100			100	96.2	3.8
2015	100	96.1	3.9	100	89.8	10.2	100	95.2	4.8	100			100	98.9	1.1	100		
2016	100			100	88.7	11.3	100			100			100	98.9	1.1	100	95.9	4.1
2017	100	93.9	6.1	100	89.5	10.5	100	93.4	6.6	100			100	98.9	1.1	100	96.0	4.0
2018	100			100	89.0	11.0	100			100	97.3	2.7	100	98.2	1.8	100	95.7	4.3
2019	100			100	89.0	11.0	100			100	96.3	3.7	100	98.1	1.9	100	95.3	4.7
2020	100	89.7	10.3	100	89.0	11.0	100			100	96.4	3.6	100	97.9	2.1	100	96.1	3.9
2021	100	88.4	11.6	100	89.9	10.1	100			100	95.2	4.8	100	97.4	2.6	100	96.1	3.9
2022	100	88.5	11.5	100	91.1	8.9	100	91.3	8.7	100	95.2	4.8	100	97.5	2.5	100	95.5	4.5

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) on the basis of Ministry of Social Development and Family of Chile. National Socioeconomic Characterization Survey (CASEN). 2009–2020; National Institute of Statistics of Chile. New National Employment Survey, 2020–2022; National Institute of Statistics and Census of Costa Rica. National Household Survey, 2011–2022; National Bureau of Statistics of the Dominican Republic. IX National Population and Housing Census, 2010; National Multipurpose Household Survey, 2015, 2017 and 2022; National Institute of Statistics and Censuses of Argentina (INDEC). Permanent Household Survey, 2010–2022; National Administrative Department of Statistics of Colombia (DANE), National Quality of Life Survey, 2010 and 2018–2022; National Institute of Statistics and Censuses of Ecuador, National Survey of Employment, Unemployment and Underemployment, 2015–2022; Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), CEPALSTAT [online database] https://statistics.cepal.org/portal/cepalstat/index.html?lang=en; and official data from the respective countries' central banks.

Finally, in addition to their many other contributions, migrants help to strengthen their home countries' economies through their remittances, which represent a large percentage of some nations' GDP (see box III.5).

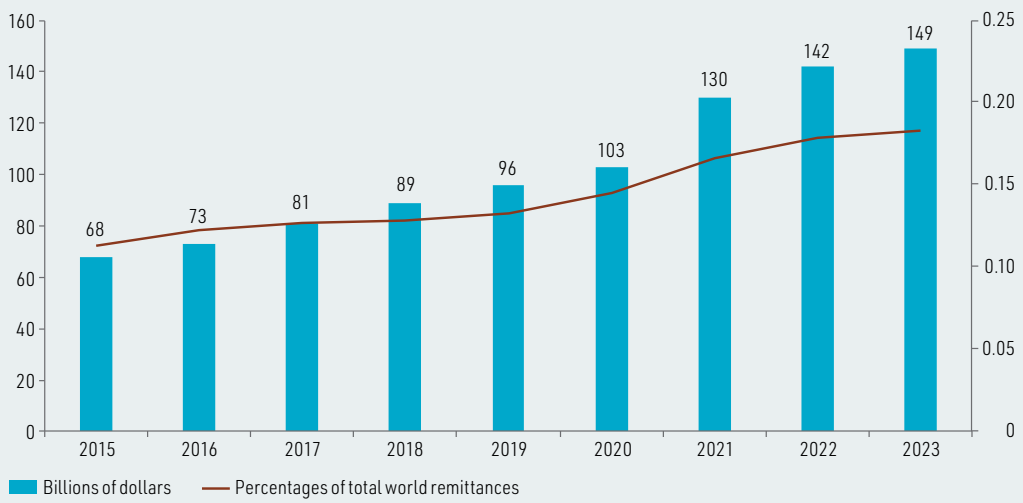
Box III.5

The contribution of remittances and their growth

Migrants contribute to their home countries and communities and to their families by transferring a portion of their incomes to them, thereby helping to meet the recipient households' basic needs (ECLAC, 2019b). Mexico continues to be the largest recipient of remittances in the region, accounting for 42% of the total. As a percentage of GDP, however, remittances make a larger contribution in a number of other countries where they represent a fifth or more of GDP. Remittances represent 23.8% of GDP in El Salvador, 19.8% in Guatemala, 22.5% in Haiti, 21.2% in Jamaica and 19.9% in Nicaragua (World Bank, 2022; Cecchini and Martínez, 2023).

World Bank data for 2022 indicate that the percentage of total world remittances represented by the total remittances received by Latin American and Caribbean countries has increased steadily over the past decade. In addition, remittance flows proved to be quite resilient during the COVID-19 pandemic, climbing by 26% between 2020 and 2021 and by 9.3% between 2021 and 2022. It is projected that the region's remittance receipts will represent 18% of total remittances worldwide in 2023.

Latin America and the Caribbean: remittances received, 2015–2023
(Billions of dollars and percentages of remittances worldwide)



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of World Bank, "Remittances brave global headwinds. Special focus: climate migration", *Migration and Development Brief*, No. 37, Washington, D.C., 2022.
Note: The figures for 2022 are estimates and those given for 2023 are projected.

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of World Bank, "Remittances brave global headwinds. Special focus: climate migration", *Migration and Development Brief*, No. 37, Washington, D.C., 2022; Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), *Social Panorama of Latin America, 2019* (LC/PUB.2019/22-P/Rev.1), Santiago, 2019; S. Cecchini y J. Martínez, "Migración internacional en América Latina y el Caribe: una mirada de desarrollo y derechos", *CEPAL Review*, Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 2023, in press.

3. Labour inclusion of migrants: obstacles to their inclusion, use of their capacities and protection of their labour rights

Analysing the processes involved in the labour inclusion of migrant populations in their host countries is a complex undertaking because, although the members of these population groups share the vulnerability associated with their status as migrants, they are also highly heterogeneous in terms of their sociodemographic backgrounds. The differing educational profiles, gender compositions and ethnic and/or racial identities of migrant groups influence the extent and nature of their economic integration. In addition to these factors, there are two others that must not be overlooked given their key importance in determining migrants' labour inclusion: their access to rights as a condition for access to formal employment offering social protection; and the characteristics and dynamism of host countries' labour markets.

(a) Migrants exhibit a greater propensity to join the labour force

Migrants, whose main motivation for leaving their home countries is, in most cases, to improve their living standards and quality of life, generally exhibit a greater propensity to join the workforce than non-migrants. As may be seen from figure III.13, the rates of economic activity for both male and migrant women are systematically higher than for non-migrants in some countries and notably so in the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Chile and Panama.

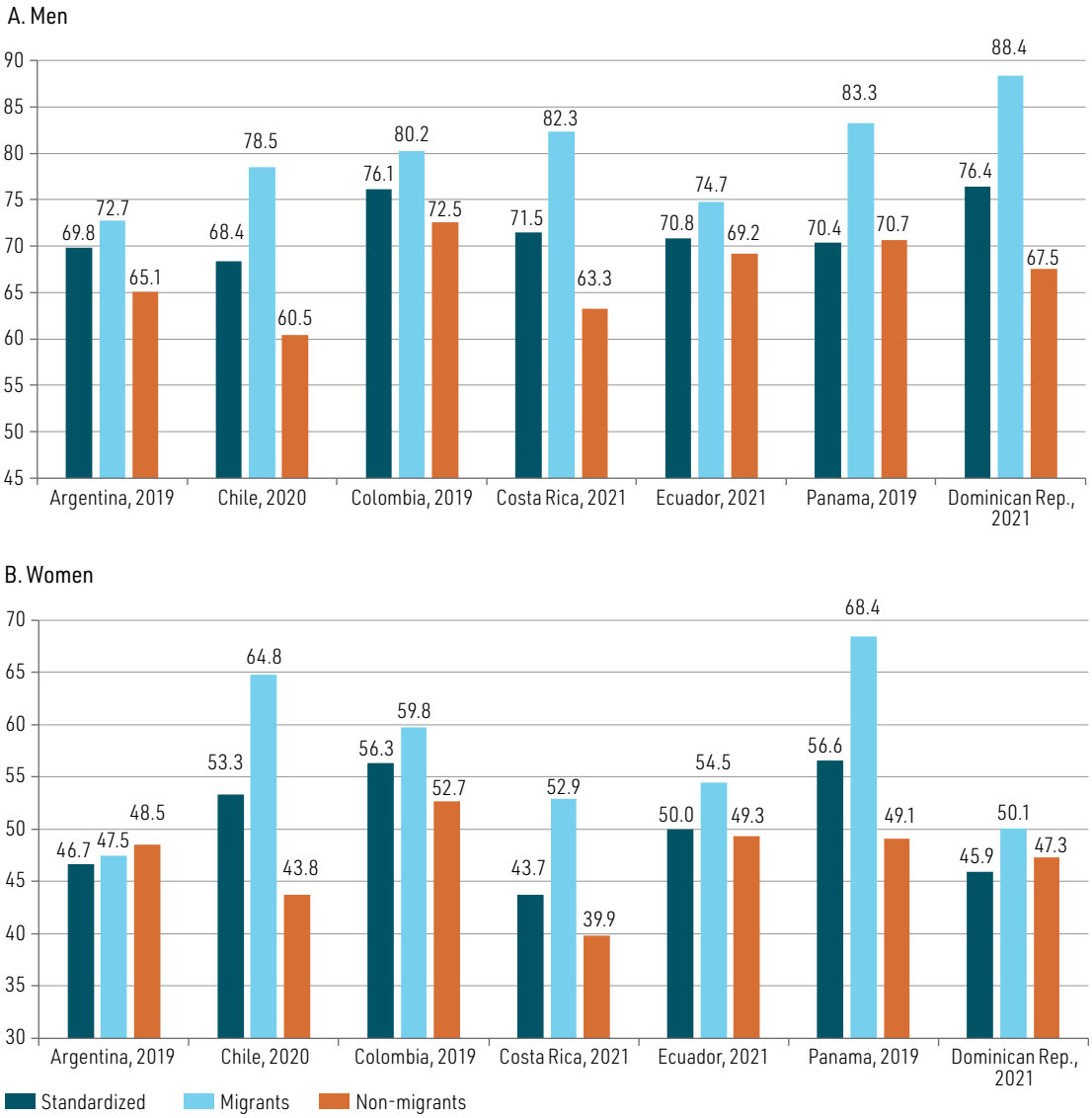
As the age profile of the non-migrant labour force is somewhat older, it could be argued that the differentials between the rates for the migrant and non-migrant workforces are a result of the two groups' differing age structures. However, when the migrant population's participation rates are re-estimated on the basis of the counterfactual supposition that its age structure is the same as the non-migrant population's, it is seen that these differentials are robust, although somewhat narrower, and that they vary by sex. The standardized male participation rates for migrants in Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Colombia and the Dominican Republic are still higher, although somewhat less so. In the cases of Ecuador and Panama, however, the differentials almost disappear. The figures show that migrant women have a greater propensity to participate in the labour force than non-migrant women in Chile, Panama and Costa Rica but, when the rates are standardized, the differentials are not significant in the cases of Ecuador, the Dominican Republic and Argentina.

In sum, this exercise indicates that, with some exceptions, migrants' participation in the labour force is greater than that of non-migrants even when it is assumed that the migrant and non-migrant populations have a similar age structure.

(b) Migrant populations' unemployment levels tend to be lower

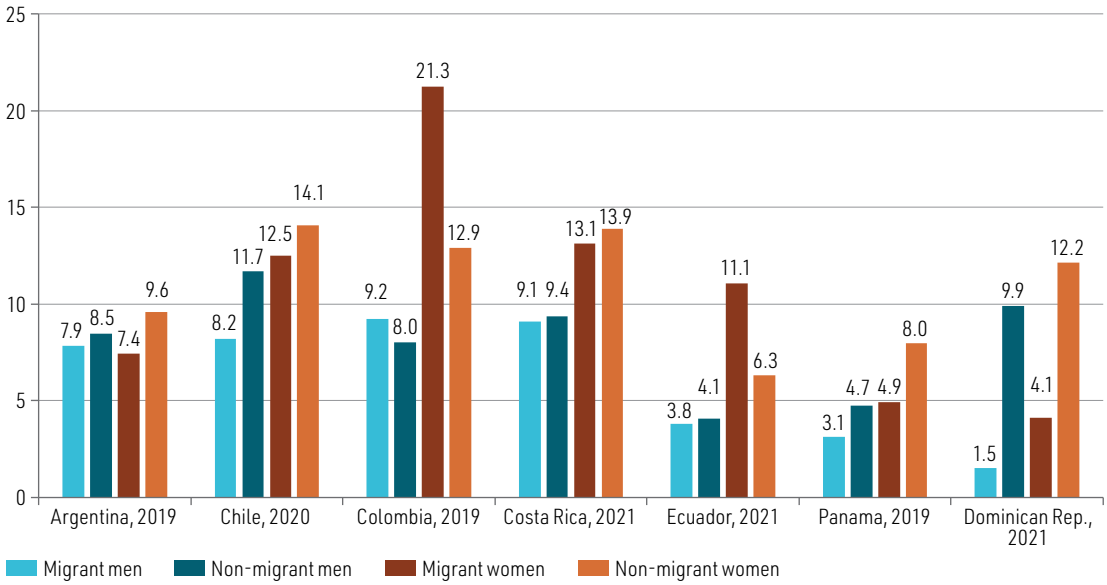
In the seven countries analysed, unemployment rates are lower for the migrant population than for non-migrants (see figure III.14). There may be various reasons for this, including greater employability, qualifications and skills, but it could also be attributable to migrants having less access to unemployment insurance or a greater willingness to forgo decent working conditions because of a greater need to obtain employment or some other source of income quickly (ECLAC/ILO, 2017). In Argentina, for example, this pattern is evident both during times of economic growth and during recessions and appears to be associated with greater flexibility on the part of migrants in adapting to ups and downs in demand and accepting less attractive working conditions (Cerrutti and Maguid, 2007).

Figure III.13
Latin America (7 countries): labour participation rates and standardized labour participation rates for the population aged 10 years and over, by migration status and sex, latest available data
(Percentages)



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).
Note: The standardized rate is calculated by adding the values obtained from multiplying the specific labour participation rates for each age group within the migrant population by the percentages of the total population represented by those same age groups in the non-migrant population.

Figure III.14
Latin America (7 countries): unemployment rates for migrants and non-migrants, by sex, latest year available *(Percentages)*



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).

Although, for the most part, migrants have lower unemployment rates than non-migrants do, the cases of Colombia and Ecuador are exceptions; this could be a consequence of the fairly sudden arrival of such large numbers of immigrants in these two countries and of the fact that recent immigrants, particularly women immigrants, have had difficulty in finding work or some other way to generate income, even in the informal sector.

(c) Educational profiles of migrant workers and their labour inclusion

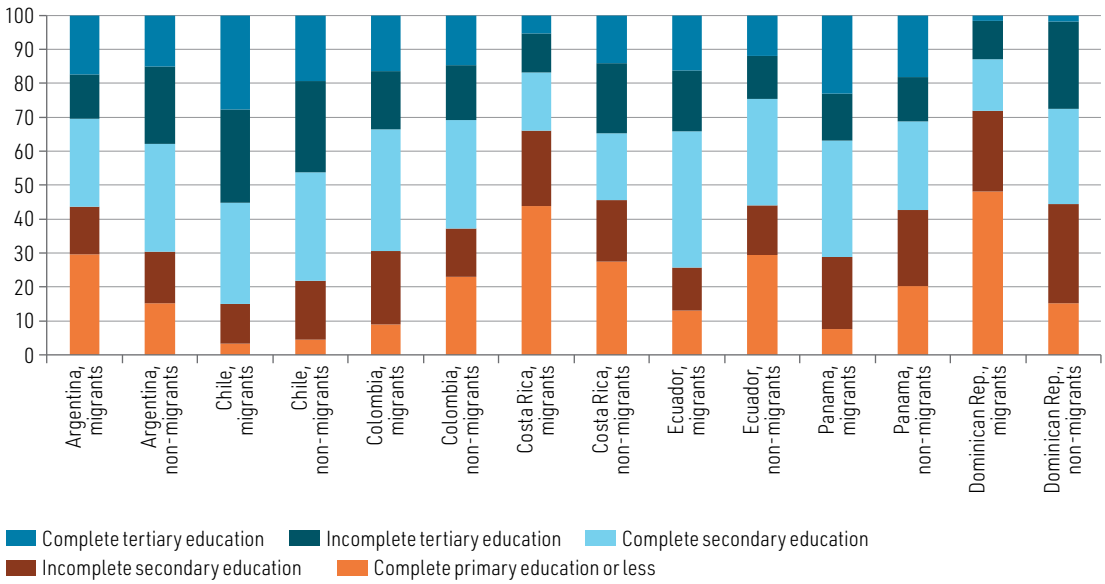
The educational profiles of migrant workers are a key factor in determining their extent of labour inclusion, particularly with regard to job quality and income levels. The human capital perspective, which has been highly influential in the literature on differentiated inclusion and the migrant population's wage gap, is based on a meritocratic concept as an explanation for inequalities. According to this line of thinking, differences in worker productivity (determined by the possession of different human capital endowments) account for such inequalities (Becker, 1964; Mincer, 1974). The indicator of educational attainment does not, however, provide a sufficient explanation for the differences in the labour inclusion of non-migrants and migrants. Other possible factors include the location where a person obtained his or her education (in the country of origin or destination) and the length of residence in the host country (which would correlate with the cumulative acquisition of experience in the host-country labour market and of greater social capital).

Migrants often encounter various types of barriers that hinder them from transferring their skills, whether because it is no easy matter to transfer prior experience to a labour market that has a quite different logic and dynamic or because degrees and educational credentials may not be officially recognized in the country of destination. These types of barriers may marginalize highly qualified members of the migrant workforce. In addition, persons with an irregular migration status may be barred from access to formal-sector employment and may be subject to open discrimination. Clearly, the underemployment of migrants as a result of these factors represents a loss for the host country, since it is not making full use of the skills and qualifications of these members of the workforce (Martínez and Cano, 2022).

Household survey data provide some of the inputs needed for an analysis of the educational levels of migrant workers.[14] A first observation that can be garnered from those data relates to the marked heterogeneity of immigrant populations, which reflects variations deriving from their countries of origin. Countries that have not traditionally been destinations for immigrants often have migrant populations that are more highly educated than the native-born population. This is the case of Venezuelan immigrants in Colombia and Ecuador, for example. The situation is somewhat similar in Chile, where 8 out of every 10 migrants who arrived in that country between 2010 and 2015 had a tertiary education (Carrasco and Suárez, 2018). On the other hand, in Costa Rica, which has traditionally been a destination for migrants from Nicaragua, the migrant population has a lower educational profile than the native-born population does.

In Argentina, the members of the immigrant population come from a wide range of countries and have widely differing educational profiles.[15] Immigrants from the Plurinational State of Bolivia and from Paraguay are, on the whole, less educated than native-born Argentines are, but those coming from Peru, Colombia, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and countries outside the region are generally more educated (Cerrutti, 2018).[16] Panama and the Dominican Republic are at opposite ends of the spectrum. The immigrant population in Panama has a higher educational profile than the non-migrant population, whereas, in the Dominican Republic, the educational levels of the members of the immigrant population, most of whom come from Haiti, is substantially lower than that of the native-born population (see figure III.15).

Figure III.15
Latin America (7 countries): percentage distribution of the migrant and non-migrant labour force, by educational level, latest year available



Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).
Note: The figures shown for Argentina, Colombia and Panama are from 2019, those given for Chile are from 2020 and those given for Costa Rica, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic correspond to 2021.

Recently arrived migrants, particularly from the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, have raised the educational profile of the migrant population in a number of host countries. This has been the case in Chile, where the percentage of migrants with a university degree or at least some tertiary education

[14] While most of these surveys provide a way of identifying migrants, usually by means of some variable relating to length of residence, the number of cases is generally too small to serve as a basis for any conclusions that do not have a considerable margin of error.
[15] The countries of origin of immigrants in Argentina include, for example, Paraguay, the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Peru, Chile, Uruguay, Colombia and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. There are also older immigrants from Europe and elsewhere.
[16] A study conducted in 2022 by the National Population Directorate (DNP, 2022) based on administrative data indicates that, of the 3,033,786 foreign residents in possession of a national identity card, 30% were born in Paraguay, 22% in the Plurinational State of Bolivia, 10% in Peru, 7% in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and 7% in Chile.

jumped from 39% in 2013 to 55% in 2020; in Argentina, where that percentage rose from 24% in 2014 to 30% in 2019; and in the Dominican Republic, where it climbed from 10% in 2016 to 13% in 2021. The opposite occurred in Panama, where the percentage of the migrant population with that level of education slipped from 45% to 37% between 2017 and 2019, while, in Costa Rica, the educational profile of the migrant population has remained virtually the same between 2014 and 2021.

(d) Labour inclusion: informality and the length of the workday

The fact that a larger portion of the migrant workforce tends to be employed in the informal sector is an important issue to be addressed by labour inclusion policies (ECLAC/ILO, 2017) (see chapter II). This disadvantageous situation has to do, on the one hand, with the concentration of migrant workers in occupations and sectors where informal working conditions are more prevalent (commerce, personal services, construction and small-scale workshops in the food and clothing industries) and, on the other, with the inherently more vulnerable position of migrants. International commitments concerning the protection of migrant workers notwithstanding (see box III.6), informal economic activities generally have lower entry barriers, and the influence exerted by situations of wage dependency falls outside the scope of labour regulations. In addition to the sectors where informal work has traditionally been common, new types of occupational informality are appearing, such as work performed on digital platforms, particularly transportation and delivery worker platforms, in addition to the domestic service work platforms discussed in section A of this chapter.

Box III.6

International commitments concerning the protection of migrant workers

Public policies on labour inclusion should be guided by the commitments assumed under international agreements such as the Montevideo Consensus on Population and Development (2013), the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration (2018) and the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (1990) and under International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions such as the Maintenance of Migrants' Pension Rights Convention, 1935 (No. 48), the Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97) and the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143).

The aim of these instruments is to facilitate labour mobility, prevent migrants from finding themselves in an irregular situation, protect the right to decent work and social protection, and prevent discrimination. While the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families is a binding instrument of international human rights law developed by the United Nations for the protection of all migrant workers and their families, the ILO conventions are more specific, targeted instruments focusing on upholding migrants' rights to receive a pension (No. 48), promoting equal treatment for non-migrant workers and migrant workers with a regular migration status (No. 97) and promoting equal opportunities and treatment for migrant workers (No. 143).

Under the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, which has been ratified by the vast majority of countries in the region, States parties assume the following commitments, among others: minimize the adverse drivers and structural factors that compel people to leave their country of origin (objective 2); enhance availability and flexibility of pathways for regular migration (objective 5); facilitate fair and ethical recruitment and safeguard conditions that ensure decent work (objective 6); empower migrants and societies to realize full inclusion and social cohesion (objective 16); invest in skills development and facilitate mutual recognition of skills, qualifications and competences (objective 18); and cooperate in facilitating safe and dignified return and readmission, as well as sustainable reintegration (objective 21).

The States parties to the Montevideo Consensus on Population and Development recognize the important contributions made by migrants to their countries of origin and destination and express concern at the impact of the economic crisis on migrants' living conditions and at the increasing complexity of migration. They also state that "…the global economic development process breeds inequalities and asymmetries which, in turn, generate an available workforce that is willing to work for minimum wages and in precarious conditions, and

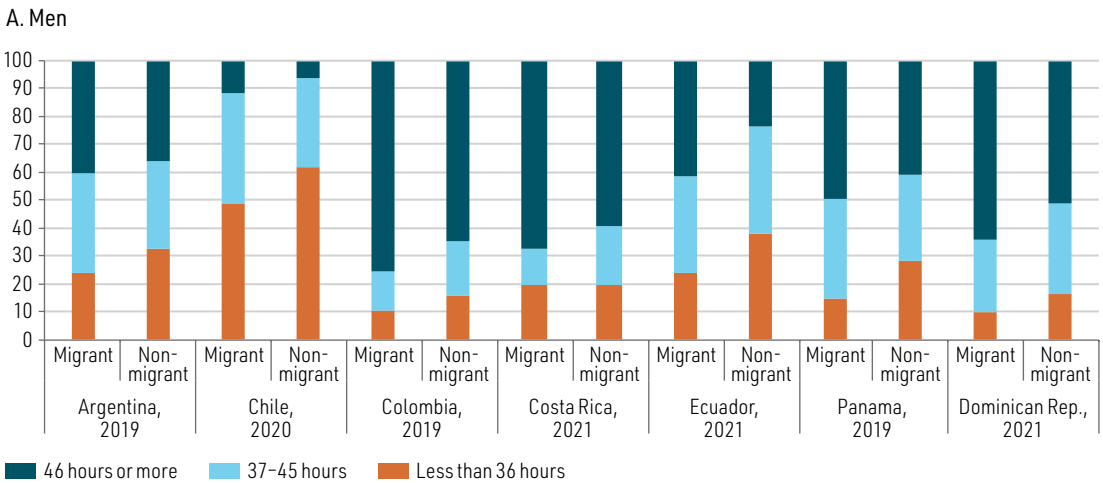
creates demand for highly flexible conditions that seek to extract the productive strength from these workers without respect for their human rights, in particular in the case of persons from less developed economies or living in dire poverty". Under the Montevideo Consensus, the signatory countries agreed on 10 priority measures regarding the protection of the human rights of all migrants, including: to prepare comprehensive global and regional strategies to prevent infringement of the human rights of migrants, as well as to take advantage of the benefits and face the challenges arising from migration, including those relating to remittances and skilled migration in high-demand sectors, as well as the differential participation of men and women and the transnationalization of care (priority measure 68); to promote the signing of bilateral and multilateral social security conventions to enable migrant workers to accumulate years of service (priority measure 69); and to give priority, in each country, to strengthening coordination channels between sectors and between countries and to reinforcing intergovernmental cooperation mechanisms in order to guarantee the exercise of the human rights of all migrants, regardless of their migration status, from a gender-based perspective (priority measure 73).

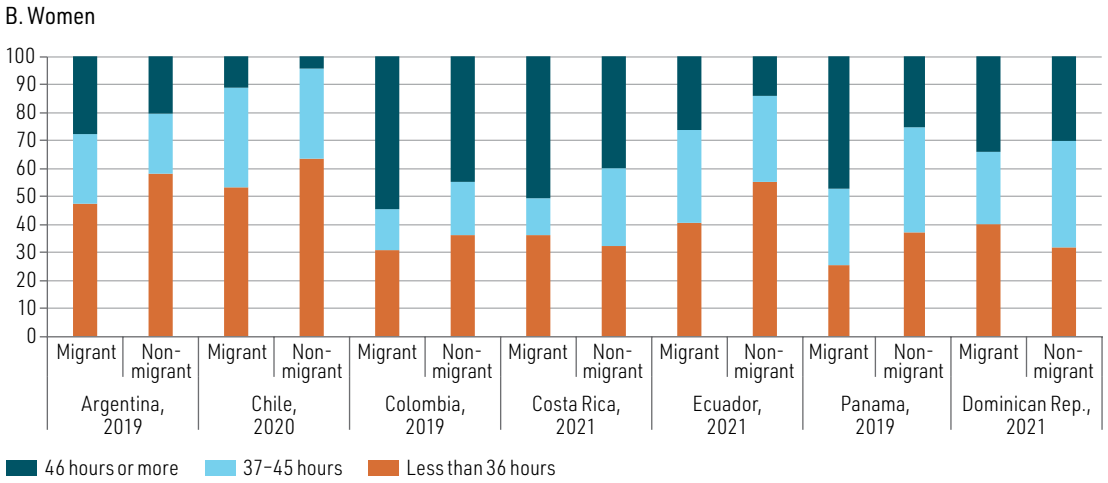
Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC).

A relatively unexplored aspect of the working conditions of the migrant labour force is the number of hours worked per day. The available information indicates that migrants work more hours per week than non-migrants. Even though the number of hours worked per week varies across countries, migrants work longer than non-migrants in all of them.

Unsurprisingly, men's workdays are longer than women's, since, despite migrant women's higher labour force participation rate, they still bear most of the responsibility for care work (see section A of this chapter). Nevertheless, differentials between the number of hours worked by migrants and non-migrants are apparent both for men and women (see figure III.16). These differentials should be studied in greater depth, since they may be indicative of a number of factors, such as a greater dedication to work owing to more pressing economic needs (including the need to send remittances), a greater willingness to work longer days as a way of achieving greater job stability and pressure from employers, especially in highly informal employment situations.

Figure III.16
Latin America (7 countries): distribution of employed migrants and non-migrants, by number of hours worked per week and sex, latest available year
(Percentages)





Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).

(e) Prominent features of migrants' participation in the labour force

Occupational categories relate to workers' positions in the labour market, i.e. whether they have a business of their own, are employed in a company or association, are manual workers or other types of employees or are family workers. These categories, in and of themselves, do not provide an indication of job quality or working conditions, although the direction of the occupational trends seen over the course of different national development processes has fuelled a debate around the dynamism of labour markets and their capacity to absorb workers into the formal sector in the region. The literature on Latin America has established a close link between certain own-account economic activities and the urban informal sector (ILO, 1987; Mezzera, 1987; Portes, 1990) and between such activities and dual or segmented labour markets. However, own-account work and microenterprise ownership encompass a wide variety of activities, ranging from independent professionals to street vendors, and this information therefore needs to be supplemented with information on the types of activities and working conditions involved.

As mentioned at the start of this chapter, the axes of the region's social inequality matrix merge and intersect, creating cores of exclusion that make opportunities for social and labour inclusion far less accessible for some population groups. When the situation is viewed from this perspective, it becomes clear how barriers to inclusion may be greater for women migrants. Table III.3 shows that wage-based employment is less prevalent among migrant women than among other women but that this is not necessarily the case for migrant men. In Argentina, Costa Rica and Panama, a large number of women immigrants are employed in domestic work, as noted in the preceding section. In the Dominican Republic, many migrants are own-account workers or employed as domestic workers. A significant number of male immigrants are employers in Panama and are own-account workers in Argentina.

Female migrant workers tend to be employed in lower-skilled and lower-ranked occupations than non-migrant women (see table III.4). With the exception of Ecuador, the percentage of migrant women working in unskilled occupations exceeds the percentage of non-migrant women in such occupations; if, in addition, account is taken of women migrants employed in services or as vendors, it can be seen that nearly 70% of all employed migrant women work in these occupational categories. Similar percentages of migrant and non-migrant women are employed in highly skilled occupations only in Ecuador and Panama. In most cases, then, migrant women are subject to occupational segregation on two different counts: because they are women and because they are migrants. Apart from domestic service and care work (see section A), the few other available employment options are found in commerce and the hotel industry.[17]

[17] In Colombia, for example, 50% of women migrant workers are employed in this sector; in Ecuador, the percentage is 46%.

Table III.3
Latin America (7 countries): employed migrant and non-migrant populations, by occupational category and sex, latest year available
(Percentages)

Sex and occupational category	Argentina, 2019		Chile, 2020		Colombia, 2019		Costa Rica, 2021		Ecuador, 2021		Panama, 2019		Dominican Republic, 2021	
	Migrants	Non-migrants	Migrants	Non-migrants	Migrants	Non-migrants	Migrants	Non-migrants	Migrants	Non-migrants	Migrants	Non-migrants	Migrants	Non-migrants
Men	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Wage earners	63.5	70.5	76.1	69.1	50.3	48.4	73.1	71.4	56.9	51.4	56.1	60.9	29.4	49.0
Own-account workers	36.5	29.5	23.9	30.9	49.7	51.6	26.9	28.6	43.1	48.6	43.9	39.1	70.6	51.0
Women	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Wage earners	34.9	61.3	66.8	67.5	40.8	43.9	49.7	66.9	43.3	31.2	42.4	55.5	27.5	57.0
Own-account workers	31.4	24.1	22.8	27.9	50.4	49.2	18.8	20.7	49.3	64.2	37.0	36.3	55.7	30.9
Domestic workers	33.7	14.6	10.3	4.7	8.8	6.9	31.5	12.5	7.4	4.7	20.6	8.1	16.8	12.1

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).

Table III.4
Latin America (6 countries): migrant and non-migrant populations, by occupational group and sex, latest year available
(Percentages)

Sex and occupational group	Argentina, 2019		Chile, 2020		Costa Rica, 2021		Ecuador, 2021		Panama, 2019		Dominican Republic, 2021	
	Migrants	Non-migrantes	Migrants	Non-migrantes	Migrants	Non-migrantes	Migrants	Non-migrantes	Migrants	Non-migrantes	Migrants	Non-migrantes
Men												
Directors, professionals and technicians	20.8	27.1	28.1	28.7	9.4	23.6	11.9	9.9	31.7	17.8	7.0	11.3
Office workers	5.3	7.7	7.0	4.6	3.7	6.5	2.1	2.4	2.3	3.3	2.1	5.2
Crafts and related trades workers	45.7	32.0	29.5	32.2	26.9	25.0	25.4	25.0	30.7	32.5	37.5	39.6
Service workers and vendors	19.0	18.8	18.3	15.7	13.7	15.7	21.8	13.8	20.3	13.0	9.4	20.4
Unskilled workers	9.0	13.8	16.4	16.0	42.7	24.2	26.7	23.7	13.1	20.1	39.1	13.7
Other occupations	0.2	0.6	0.7	2.9	3.5	5.1	12.2	25.1	1.9	13.3	4.8	9.8
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Women												
Directors, professionals and technicians	16.4	34.6	26.5	39.2	11.6	33.2	17.6	15.0	24.6	30.5	10.7	22.1
Office workers	7.0	12.9	6.9	7.6	3.9	11.7	2.8	3.4	5.4	11.0	3.2	13.3
Crafts and related trades workers	5.5	6.1	4.9	6.4	6.8	7.4	6.5	6.1	4.8	8.0	2.2	6.2
Service workers and vendors	37.9	28.0	35.6	27.8	29.7	25.5	39.1	27.8	39.1	26.5	45.2	34.1
Unskilled workers	33.1	18.2	25.9	18.5	47.2	21.3	29.8	33.7	25.9	16.0	37.3	23.6
Other occupations	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.8	0.8	4.2	14.0	0.3	8.0	1.4	0.7
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).

Although migrant men generally have less access than non-migrants to more highly skilled jobs, there are exceptions. In Panama, a larger percentage of migrant workers hold such jobs and, in Chile, the percentages of migrant men and non-migrants holding decision-making, managerial and technical positions are similar. In Ecuador, the occupational profiles of the two groups do not differ from one another to any significant degree except that non-migrants have a greater presence in skilled agrarian work and relatively more migrants are employed as service workers and vendors.

In Argentina, Costa Rica and the Dominican Republic, migrants are generally more likely to be employed in low-skilled jobs or jobs requiring operator skills, in line with their skill profiles and their concentration in specific sectors of the economy.[18] In the Dominican Republic, nearly 40% of migrants are unskilled workers and more than another 30% are employed as crafts or related trades workers.

(f) Income gaps between migrants and non-migrants

An examination of the income gaps, i.e. the ratio of the average incomes that non-migrants as opposed to migrants derive from their main occupation, while taking into consideration their level of education and their sex, leads to three noteworthy findings. The first is that no general trend in terms of lower incomes for migrants is discernible (see table III.5). The situation varies a great deal across countries, between men and women, and depending on the workers' level of education, all of which suggests that income differentials need to be studied with reference to a larger set of the variables that could play a role in that respect. Another finding that should be underscored is that the higher the educational level of the persons in question, the wider the gap between the higher incomes of non-migrants and the lower incomes of migrants. In other words, the income penalty is greater for more highly educated immigrants. This pattern is evident in five of the seven countries that were studied, with the exceptions being Panama (where migrants consistently have higher incomes than non-migrants) and Ecuador. The differentials between the incomes of low-skilled or unskilled migrant and non-migrant workers are smaller or, in some cases, are reversed, with the former group earning higher wages than the latter (clearly in the case of Chile and in that of women workers in Costa Rica).[19]

Table III.5
Latin America (7 countries): ratio of average incomes derived by non-migrants and migrants from their principal occupations, by level of education and sex, latest year available
(Percentages)

Country and sex		Completed or incomplete primary education	Incomplete secondary education	Completed secondary education	Incomplete tertiary education	Completed tertiary education
Argentina, 2019	Men	**100**	**125**	**103**	123	120
	Women	**91**	**106**	**119**	144	136
Chile, 2020	Men	**80**	**91**	**109**	**127**	**172**
	Women	**58**	**62**	**97**	**120**	**123**
Colombia, 2019	Men	**104**	**118**	**135**	**137**	**112**
	Women	**101**	**113**	**129**	**146**	**186**
Costa Rica, 2021	Men	**109**	**114**	**106**	139	121
	Women	**82**	**105**	**106**	129	127
Dominican Republic, 2021	Men	**102**	**108**	98	95	125
	Women	**121**	**88**	**121**	111	140

[18] In Argentina, 3 out of every 10 migrant workers are employed in the construction industry, while, in Costa Rica, 6 out of every 10 are employed in agriculture, construction, commerce or the hotel industry.

[19] The earnings gaps, disaggregated by migration status and sex, indicate that women systematically have lower average incomes than men, regardless of their educational level. A comparison of the earnings of non-migrant men with those of migrant women having with the same level of education shows that the former earn between 60% and 140% more than the latter.

Country and sex		Completed or incomplete primary education	Incomplete secondary education	Completed secondary education	Incomplete tertiary education	Completed tertiary education
Ecuador, 2021	Men	**99**	**101**	**112**	**131**	**97**
	Women	**97**	**97**	**114**	**116**	**111**
Panama, 2019	Men	41	**63**	**91**	52	67
	Women	56	63	**94**	90	95

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).
Note: Scores of 100 indicate income equality between migrants and non-migrants. Figures over 100 signify that non-migrants' incomes are higher, while values below 100 indicate that migrants' incomes are higher. (For example, a score of 90 indicates that the average income of non-migrants is equivalent to 90% of the average income of migrants). The figures shown in bold are statistically significant.

There are many different factors that may play a role in these differentials and that should therefore be taken into account, such as the number of hours worked, the length of residency in the host country, migration status and the labour inclusion landscape. In order to look into the possibility of a migrant income penalty while controlling for some of the factors mentioned above, ordinary least squares linear multiple regression models were used to arrive at monthly income logarithms for the principal occupations for men and for women. The first model includes migration status and controls for age, years of formal education completed and the number of hours worked, while the second model also includes wage earners that are not covered by a pension system and independent workers whose level of educational attainment falls into the category of completed primary education or less (see table III.6).

For men, the results indicate that the income penalty for migrant workers remains in evidence in Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador and Colombia even after controlling for those factors. These workers earn between 7% and 28% less than their non-migrant peers; with the exception of Chile, when the variables of the second model are factored in, then the effect of migrant status is slightly less. In Argentina and the Dominican Republic, the income penalty for migrant workers disappears once the controls are introduced, while, for Panama, the results indicate that migrants' incomes are higher than those of non-migrants.

For women, the results also indicate that migrants have lower incomes than non-migrants. In Colombia, the former earn, on average, a full 40% less than the latter and, in Argentina, unlike the results for men, the calculations show that women migrants are subject to an income penalty. Panama and the Dominican Republic are anomalous cases, since the average incomes of migrants are higher than the average for non-migrants.

In sum, while, for the most part, the results of these calculations corroborate the hypothesis that migrants earn less than non-migrants, the varying differentials between income levels and the data that point to anomalous cases raise questions as to how labour market structures and the specific characteristics of demand for migrant workers may influence these outcomes. Length of residence and national origin surely play an important role as well but, unfortunately, the sample is too small to permit an examination of these variables.

Table III.6
Latin America (7 countries): coefficients for the migration status variable in ordinary least squares multiple linear regression models for predicting the natural logarithm of incomes from men's and women's primary occupation, latest year available

Country	Men		Women	
	Model 1*	Model 2**	Model 1*	Model 2**
Argentina, 2019	**-0.0659**	**-0.00513**	**-0.145****	**-0.118****
	(0.0417)	(0.0410)	(0.0572)	(0.0559)
Number of cases	13.333	13.333	10.344	10.344
R squared	0.248	0.308	0.349	0.411
Chile, 2020	**-0.176*****	**-0.172*****	**-0.0969****	**-0.0951****
	(0.0612)	(0.0594)	(0.0443)	(0.0441)
Number of cases	34.767	34.767	28.272	28.272
R squared	0.311	0.314	0.352	0.354
Dominican Republic, 2021	**0.0225**	**0.0335**	**0.0602**	**0.132*****
	(0.0255)	(0.0261)	(0.0440)	(0.0437)
Number of cases	19.692	19.692	12.020	12.020
R squared	0.212	0.217	0.346	0.372
Colombia, 2019	**-0.281*****	**-0.205*****	**-0.407*****	**-0.352*****
	(0.0137)	(0.0139)	(0.0200)	(0.0202)
Number of cases	177.762	177.762	139.506	139.506
R squared	0.350	0.370	0.466	0.473
Costa Rica, 2021	**-0.0764*****	**-0.0578****	**-0.0592***	**-0.0480**
	(0.0262)	(0.0260)	(0.0330)	(0.0312)
Number of cases	7.556	7.556	4.696	4.696
R squared	0.419	0.451	0.570	0.600
Ecuador, 2021	**-0.150*****	**-0.0953*****	**-0.132*****	**-0.0858*****
	(0.0239)	(0.0243)	(0.0308)	(0.0297)
Number of cases	85.477	85.477	57.228	57.228
R squared	0.336	0.354	0.475	0.482
Panama, 2019	**0.138*****	**0.237*****	**0.0679**	**0.171*****
	(0.0377)	(0.0388)	(0.0414)	(0.0415)
Number of cases	11.083	11.083	6.978	6.978
R squared	0.459	0.496	0.559	0.586

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).
Note: Model 1 (*) controls for the following variables: age and age squared, years of education and hours worked. Model 2 (**) controls for those variables plus the variable of informal employment (Yes/No). ***: $p < 0.01$.

C. Summary

As noted in chapter II, labour inclusion is an aspect of inclusive social development, whose purpose is to ensure that all members of the labour force have access to decent work that will provide them with an adequate income and access to social protection. Thus, the concept of labour inclusion is not limited to entry into the workforce; it also has to do with working conditions. This year's edition of the *Social Panorama* looks at the greater obstacles to certain population groups' labour inclusion that are sited along the axes of the region's social inequality matrix (ECLAC, 2016a). This chapter has focused on gender inequalities and the sexual division of labour as determinants of labour inclusion processes as they relate specifically to women. Special emphasis has also been placed on persons employed in domestic service positions, most of whom are women. Significant headway has been made in the development of laws and policies for guaranteeing their rights, but their labour inclusion is still being hindered by formidable obstacles. This chapter has also focused on international migrants, particularly women, as seen against the backdrop of a very large and fairly sudden increase in intraregional migration.

Section A of this chapter illustrates how the sexual division of labour and the social organization of care remain one of the structural challenges of gender inequality in the region. They also pose one of the main barriers to women's labour inclusion and one of the main threats to their autonomy and the full exercise of their rights (ECLAC, 2021a). Consequently, a major challenge to be taken up in the region is the creation, for some countries, and the consolidation, for others, of policies and comprehensive care systems that will further the labour inclusion process, especially for women. Governments in the region have entered into a series of fundamental agreements concerning the design and application of care policies. These agreements are aimed at promoting co-responsibility between men and women and between the State, the market, communities and families (ECLAC, 2022b). These policies address both the needs of persons who require care —girls and boys, older adults and persons with disabilities who are in need of personal assistance— and the needs of those providing care.

These policies, which are an essential component of social protection systems, must make the relevant services available to those who need them. They also must strengthen the State's role in providing those services and ensuring that they are accessible. This entails expanding the supply of care services, strengthening the regulation of these services and the working conditions of those providing care and setting up training programmes (ECLAC/UN-Women, 2022). It is also essential to provide for policies establishing leave and other regulations related to the time spent on care and to allocate resources to population groups in need of care and to the groups that provide that care, especially those who do so without pay. One key aspect to be taken into consideration when designing these policies is the necessary coordination and harmonization between comprehensive care policies, their accompanying regulatory instruments and underlying principles and the overall design of the entitlements under social protection systems.

Given the demographic shifts occurring in the region and the ways in which the overall population's needs for care are changing, attention also has to be paid to the working conditions of those providing care. The growth in the demand for care work, combined with the fact that care is a female-dominated and undervalued activity, raises some troubling prospects regarding the impact that it will have on the labour market as a whole (ECLAC, 2022b). Promoting the labour inclusion of women employed as domestic workers will have a substantial influence on women's employment situation in general and will help to narrow existing gender gaps, especially given the sizeable proportion of all paid work performed by women that this occupational category represents. Labour policies are an important tool for modifying the rigid sexual division of labour, not only by providing incentives for women to enter more formalized and higher-paying male-dominated sectors of activity but also by promoting the entry of men into traditionally female-dominated care sectors. This is an especially important approach for the creation of comprehensive care systems marked by an increasing degree of labour inclusion, particularly for women.

Section B of this chapter delves into the situation of the migrant population in the region and the challenges that its members face in terms of labour inclusion. There has been a striking increase in the scale of intraregional migration in Latin America and the Caribbean, both in countries with a long tradition of immigration and in others that, until recently, were primarily countries of origin. This poses significant challenges for countries of origin, transit, destination and return in terms of the labour inclusion of migrants and means of combating discrimination and prejudice. Migration can contribute to inclusive social development processes in receiving countries, especially if it occurs through regular channels as an informed option and if migrants' rights are protected in accordance with the existing international instruments. Alongside the Montevideo Consensus on Population and Development, the 2030 Agenda and the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, it is essential for countries to reaffirm their commitment to the protection of migrants, regardless of their administrative status.

Household survey data from Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador and Panama have been used to gauge migrants' impact on demographic and labour force variables, the specific ways they have entered the labour market and their contribution to GDP (with the exception, in respect of this latter estimate, of Panama). Migrants make a contribution to countries' demographic profiles via two mechanisms: the propensity of young adults to migrate and migrants' greater propensity to participate in the labour force. Most migrants have been educated in their countries of origin, so they represent a lower fiscal cost than non-migrants. Obviously, the higher the educational profile, the more they benefit their country of destination. Migrant workers also make a considerable contribution to GDP. The extent of that contribution varies depending on the stage reached at any given point in time in the business cycle, productivity levels, the dynamism of different economic sectors and migrants' level of access to the labour market and labour inclusion.

The characteristics and profiles of migrant workers from the region vary a great deal, especially in the case of their educational profiles, as do the structures of the labour markets in which they participate. The ways in which they are received by their host countries largely determines the nature of their employment opportunities, although the way in which they are positioned relative to local workers also depends on other factors, such as whether their administrative status is regular or irregular. Job opportunities for migrants are more limited and are highly segmented in the case of women, who generally work longer hours than their non-migrant peers and are much more likely to be employed in the informal sector. As a result of these conditions, migrants earn less from their principal occupation, on average, than non-migrants do, with women migrants finding themselves in a more disadvantageous position than any other group.

In all of these cases, having a regular migration status is a basic (although not sufficient) condition for migrants to gain access to formal-sector employment and labour inclusion. In its absence, migrants cannot pay into the social security system or obtain the benefits associated with formal employment, such as protection from dismissal without cause, paid vacation time and all the other supplementary protections provided under national labour laws. Apart from the regularization of migration status, however, there are also other mechanisms for promoting the labour inclusion of migrants that would help to maximize their contribution to their host societies. In order to be in a position to carry out any initiative for furthering migrants' employability, however, an in-depth understanding of the traits and needs of these communities is key. One important challenge is to find ways of taking advantage of the knowledge and educational credentials previously obtained by migrants in their home countries. In the case of qualifying professional degrees, expediting accreditation processes is an obvious answer, but skills certifications are another avenue that should be promoted. Appropriate information management is another aspect of the issue; promoting the labour inclusion of migrants entails formulating labour policies that provide such persons with specific information about job search procedures in the various countries, their labour rights and how to obtain justice if that becomes necessary. There is thus a need to look into the barriers to the labour inclusion of migrants. In addition, labour inclusion policies need to promote access for migrants to national or

local employment programmes and incentives for business start-ups. A somewhat similar approach needs to be taken to professional training and skills certification. Targeted skills training can make an important difference in aligning the supply of migrant labour with demand. Another measure would be to develop suitable, effective job placement mechanisms that can help match up public- or private-sector labour supply and demand, thereby optimizing labour force placement and reducing job search costs. In sum, labour inclusion policies can make a big difference in terms of the rights and well-being of migrants and the contributions that they can make to inclusive, sustainable social development processes in the countries of the region.

Societies which have long had difficulties in achieving social and labour inclusion face considerable challenges. An effective approach for promoting inclusive, sustainable social development at the regional level is the application of public policies that protect gender equality and rights, that are aimed at promoting the inclusion of all persons without distinction as to their national origin, that provide for affirmative action to attain substantive equality and that promote the development of comprehensive care systems, decent forms of work and the full participation on an equal footing of women in strategic sectors of the economy.

This is a very valuable opportunity for honouring the commitments made in the Regional Gender Agenda, and particularly the recently proclaimed Buenos Aires Commitment and the Montevideo Consensus on Population and Development by ensuring that they are reflected in public policies that will improve people's lives and promote labour inclusion, leaving no one behind.

Bibliography

Arias, K., P. Carrillo and J. Torres (2020), "Análisis del sector informal y discusiones sobre la regulación del trabajo en plataformas digitales en el Ecuador", *Project Documents* (LC/TS.2020/75), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC).

Baron, C. and L. Scuro (2023), "Los nudos estructurales de la desigualdad de género y los desafíos para la autonomía de las mujeres en el futuro del trabajo", *Desigualdades, inclusión laboral y futuro del trabajo en América Latina*, Project Documents (LC/TS.2023/63), M. Huepe (ed.), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC).

Becker, G. (1964), *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Benencia, R. and A. Gazzotti (1995), "Migración limítrofe y empleo: precisiones e interrogantes", *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, vol.10, No. 31, Buenos Aires, Centre for Latin American Migration Studies (CEMLA).

Bensusán, G. (2020), "Ocupaciones emergentes en la economía digital y su regulación en México", *Macroeconomics of Development series*, No. 203 (LC/TS.2020/28), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC).

Blanchard, O. (2023), *Las plataformas digitales de cuidados y sus servicios workertech en América Latina y el Caribe: análisis de un sector incipiente*, Washington, D.C., Inter-American Development Bank (IDB).

Canales, A. (2022), "Evaluación cuantitativa de las contribuciones de las migraciones recientes al desarrollo sostenible: el caso de Chile", *Sobre las contribuciones de la migración al desarrollo sostenible: estudios en países seleccionados*, Project Documents (LC/TS.2021/195), J. Martínez and M. Cano (eds.), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC).

Canales, A. and others (2013), *Vidas vulnerables: migración, derechos humanos y políticas públicas en cinco zonas fronterizas de América Latina*, Guadalajara, University of Guadalajara.

Carrasco, I. and J. Suárez (2018), "Migración internacional e inclusión en América Latina: análisis en los países de destino mediante encuestas de hogares", *Social Policy series*, No. 231 (LC/TS.2018/57), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC).

Cebollada, M. (2021), *Mecanismos de intermediación laboral en el trabajo del hogar remunerado en la Ciudad de México*, Mexico City, International Labour Organization (ILO).

Cecchini, S. and J. Martínez (2023), "Migración internacional en América Latina y el Caribe: una mirada de desarrollo y derechos", *CEPAL Review*, No. 141, Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), forthcoming.

Cerrutti, M. (2018) "Migrantes y migraciones: nuevas tendencias y dinámicas", *La Argentina en el siglo XXI: cómo somos, vivimos y convivimos en una sociedad desigual. Encuesta Nacional sobre la Estructura Social*, J. Piovani and A. Salvia (coords.), Buenos Aires, Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO).
Cerrutti, M. and A. Maguid (2007), "Inserción laboral e ingresos de migrantes limítrofes y peruanos en el gran Buenos Aires", *Notas de Población*, No. 83 (LC/G.2340-P), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC).
Correa, M. (2021), "Los riesgos psicosociales en el trabajo doméstico y de cuidados", *Lex Social: Revista de los Derechos Sociales*, vol. 11, No. 1, Sevilla, Pablo de Olavide University.
Damas de Matos, A. (2021), "The fiscal impact of immigration in OECD countries since the mid-2000s", *International Migration Outlook 2021*, Paris, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD).
DNP (National Population Directorate) (2022), "Caracterización de la migración internacional en Argentina a partir de los registros administrativos del RENAPER", Buenos Aires [online] https://www.argentina.gob.ar/sites/default/files/2022/12/caracterizacion_de_la_migracion_internacional_en_argentina_a_partir_de_los_registros_administrativos_del_renaper_dnp.pdf.
ECLAC (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean) (2023a), CEPALSTAT [online database] https://statistics.cepal.org/portal/cepalstat/index.html?lang=en.
___(2023b), *Buenos Aires Commitment* (LC/CRM.15/6/Rev.1), Santiago.
___(2022a), *Social Panorama of Latin America and the Caribbean, 2022* (LC/PUB.2022/15-P), Santiago.
___(2022b), *The care society: a horizon for sustainable recovery with gender equality* (LC/CRM.15/3), Santiago.
___(2022c), *Towards transformation of the development model in Latin America and the Caribbean: production, inclusion and sustainability* (LC/SES.39/3-P), Santiago.
___(2022d), *Social Panorama of Latin America, 2021* (LC/PUB.2021/17-P), Santiago.
___(2022e), *Economic Survey of Latin America and the Caribbean, 2022* (LC/PUB.2022/9-P/Rev.1), Santiago.
___(2022f), *45 years of the Regional Gender Agenda* (LC/MDM-E.2022/4), Santiago.
___(2021a), *Social Panorama of Latin America, 2020* (LC/PUB.2021/2-P/Rev.1), Santiago.
___(2021b), *Digital technologies for a new future* (LC/TS.2021/43), Santiago.
___(2020), "The impact of COVID-19: an opportunity to reaffirm the central role of migrants' human rights in sustainable development", *COVID-19 Report*, Santiago.
___(2019a), *Women's autonomy in changing economic scenarios* (LC/CRM.14/3), Santiago.
___(2019b), *Social Panorama of Latin America, 2019* (LC/PUB.2019/22-P/Rev.1), Santiago.
___(2017a), *Linkages between the social and production spheres: gaps, pillars and challenges* (LC/CDS.2/3), Santiago.
___(2017b), *Montevideo Strategy for Implementation of the Regional Gender Agenda within the Sustainable Development Framework by 2030* (LC/CRM.13/5), Santiago.
___(2016a), *The social inequality matrix in Latin America* (LC/G.2690(MDS.1/2)), Santiago.
___(2016b), *Equality and women's autonomy in the sustainable development agenda* (LC/G.2686/Rev.1), Santiago.
___(2014), *Compacts for Equality: Towards a Sustainable Future* (LC/G.2586(SES.35/3)), Santiago.
___(2012), *Structural change for equality: an integrated approach to development* (LC/G.2524(SES.34/3)), Santiago.
___(2010), *Time for Equality: Closing Gaps, Opening Trails* (LC/G.2432(SES.33/3)), Santiago.
ECLAC/ILO (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean/International Labour Organization) (2023), "Towards the creation of better jobs in the post-pandemic era", *Employment Situation in Latin America and the Caribbean*, No. 28 (LC/TS.2023/70), Santiago.
___(2019), "The future of work in Latin America and the Caribbean: old and new forms of employment and challenges for labour regulation", *Employment Situation in Latin America and the Caribbean*, No. 20 (LC/TS.2019/31), Santiago.
___(2017), "Labour immigration in Latin America", *Employment Situation in Latin America and the Caribbean*, No. 16 (LC/TS.2017/30), Santiago.
ECLAC/MMGyD (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean/Ministry of Women, Genders and Diversity of Argentina) (2022), "Mapa Federal del Cuidado en la Argentina: construcciones conceptuales y usos", *Project Documents* (LC/TS.2022/173-LC/BUE/TS.2022/18), Santiago.
ECLAC/UN-Women (Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean/United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women) (2022), *Towards construction of comprehensive care systems in Latin America and the Caribbean: elements for their implementation* (LC/TS.2022/26), Santiago.
Ehrenreich, B. and A. Russell (eds.) (2003), *Global Woman: Nannies, Maids, and Sex Workers in the New Economy*, New York, Henry Holt & Company.
Espejo, A. and V. Cortínez (2023), "Memoria del Tercer Seminario Regional de Desarrollo Social: Promover la inclusión laboral como una forma de superar las desigualdades y la informalidad en América Latina y el Caribe", Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), forthcoming.

Gontero, S. and M. Velásquez (2023), "Trabajo doméstico remunerado en América Latina: claves para una ruta de formalización", *Project Documents* (LC/TS.2023/82), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC).
Gutiérrez, A. and others (2020), "Criterios de calidad en la estimación de indicadores a partir de encuestas de hogares: una aplicación a la migración internacional", *Statistical Studies series*, No. 101, (LC/TS.2020/52), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC).
Huepe, M. (ed.) (2023), "Desigualdades, inclusión laboral y futuro del trabajo en América Latina", *Project Documents* (LC/TS.2023/63), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC).
Hunt, A. and F. Machingura (2016), "A good gig? The rise of on-demand domestic work", *Working Paper*, No. 7, London, Overseas Development Institute (ODI).
ILO (International Labour Organization) (2023), "Who are domestic workers" [online] https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/domestic-workers/who/lang--en/index.htm.
___(2021a), *El trabajo doméstico remunerado en América Latina y el Caribe, a diez años del Convenio núm. 189*, Geneva.
___(2021b), *ILO Global Estimates on International Migrant Workers: Results and Methodology*, Geneva.
___(2021c), *World Employment and Social Outlook 2021: the role of digital labour platforms in transforming the world of work*, Geneva.
___(2020), "COVID-19 and care workers providing home or institution-based care", *ILO Sectoral Brief*, Geneva.
___(2019), *Care work and care jobs for the future of decent work,* Geneva.
___(2011), *Domestic Workers Convention, 2011 (No. 189)*, Geneva.
___(1987), *Adjustment and Social Debt: A Structural Approach*, Santiago.
Kalla, S. (2022), "Hacking platform capitalism: the case of domestic workers on South Africa's SweepSouth platform", *Gender & Development*, vol. 30, No. 3, Milton Park, Taylor & Francis.
Mármora, L. (1977), "Política e investigación en el proceso de planificación migratoria", Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean/Programme of Social Research on Population in Latin America (ECLAC/PISPAL).
Marshall, A. (1977), "Inmigración, demanda de fuerza de trabajo y estructura ocupacional en el área metropolitana argentina", *Desarrollo Económico*, vol. 17, No. 65, Buenos Aires, Institute of Economic and Social Development (IDES).
Martínez, J. and M. Cano (eds.) (2022), "Sobre las contribuciones de la migración al desarrollo sostenible: estudios en países seleccionados", *Project Documents* (LC/TS.2021/195), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC).
Mezzera, J. (1987), "Notas sobre la segmentación de los mercados laborales urbanos", *ILO Working Papers*, Santiago, International Labour Organization (ILO).
Mincer, J. (1974), *Schooling, Experience and Earnings*, New York, National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER).
Ministry of the Interior of Argentina (2022), *Caracterización de la migración internacional en Argentina a partir de los registros administrativos del RENAPER*, Buenos Aires.
Morales, A., G. Acuña and K. Li Wing-Ching (2010), "Migración y salud en zonas fronterizas: Colombia y el Ecuador", *Population and Development series*, No. 92 (LC/L.3247-P), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC).
MTEySS/OISS/SRT (Ministry of Labour, Employment and Social Security/Ibero-American Social Security Organization/Superintendence of Occupational Risks) (2020), "Condiciones de empleo, trabajo y salud de trabajadoras domésticas de casas particulares: resultados de la [ECETSS] 2018", Buenos Aires [online] https://www.argentina.gob.ar/sites/default/files/informe_tdcp_-_ecetss_2018_0.pdf.
Pereyra, F., L. Poblete and A. Tizziani (2023), *Plataformas digitales de servicio doméstico y condiciones laborales: el caso de Argentina*, Buenos Aires, International Labour Organization (ILO).
Portes, A. (1990), *La economía informal en los países desarrollados y en los menos avanzados*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Planeta.
Salazar, R. (2001), *Servants of Globalization: Women, Migration and Domestic Work*, Stanford, Stanford University Press.
UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund) (2020), *Socioeconomic consequences of adolescent pregnancy in six Latin American countries: implementation of the Milena methodology in Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico and Paraguay*, Panama City.
United Nations (2020), *International Migration 2020 Highlights* (ST/ESA/SER.A/452), New York.
Vaca Trigo, I. and C. Baron (2022), "Decentring GDP: well-being, care and time", *Project Documents* (LC/TS.2022/80), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC).
Valenzuela, M., L. Scuro and I. Vaca Trigo (2020), "Desigualdad, crisis de los cuidados y migración del trabajo doméstico remunerado en América Latina", *Gender Affairs series*, No. 158 (LC/TS.2020/179), Santiago, Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC).
World Bank (2022), "Remittances brave global headwinds. Special focus: climate migration", *Migration and Development Brief*, No. 37, Washington, D.C.

Annex III.A1

Table III.A1.1
Latin America (5 countries): odds ratios derived from logistic regressions with the dependent variable "performance of paid work" by women aged 25–50, latest available year

Variables	Countries and years				
	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), 2021	Chile, 2017	Guatemala, 2014	Mexico, 2020	Uruguay, 2021
1 child	0.714***	1.028	0.577***	0.819***	1.058
2 children	0.605***	0.729***	0.591***	0.577***	0.971
3 children	0.550***	0.665***	0.598***	0.559***	0.721**
4 children	0.605***	0.597***	0.480***	0.584***	0.572***
5 children or more	0.405***	0.532***	0.394***	0.636***	0.561***
Age	1.046***	1.017***	1.026***	1.016***	1.040***
Rural residence	2.011***	0.538***	0.475***	0.964	0.906
Secondary education	1.116	1.926***	1.688***	1.244***	2.417***
Tertiary education	2.084***	5.355***	2.806***	2.505***	9.419***
Constant	0.442***	0.654***	0.894	1.081	0.413***
Cases *(numbers)*	7 736	37 828	8 260	58 357	4 845

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).
Note: *** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Estimated standard errors are robust and incorporate the effect of sample design except in the case of Guatemala.

Table III.A1.2
Latin America (5 countries): odds ratios derived from logistic regressions with the dependent variable "performance of unpaid domestic work" by women aged 25–50, latest available year

Variables	Countries and years				
	Bolivia (Plurinational State of), 2021	Chile, 2017	Guatemala, 2014	Mexico, 2020	Uruguay, 2021
1 child	5.152***	4.313***	1.871***	2.103***	2.620***
2 children	6.798***	7.746***	2.145***	3.182***	3.307***
3 children	8.140***	9.083***	2.157***	3.407***	4.292***
4 children	7.455***	10.30***	2.614***	3.223***	3.765***
5 children or more	10.38***	9.303***	3.064***	3.082***	5.478***
Age	0.961***	0.986***	0.972***	0.986***	0.980***
Rural residence	0.595***	2.258***	2.233***	1.152***	1.319
Secondary education	0.939	0.738***	0.526***	0.877***	0.461***
Tertiary education	0.360***	0.208***	0.262***	0.401***	0.0902***
Constant	0.327***	0.103***	0.853	0.384***	0.210***
Cases *(numbers)*	7 736	37 828	8 260	58 357	4 845

Source: Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), on the basis of the Household Survey Data Bank (BADEHOG).
Note: *** $p < 0.01$; ** $p < 0.05$; * $p < 0.1$. Estimated standard errors are robust and incorporate the effect of sample design except in the case of Guatemala.

www.cepal.org/en

ECLAC

Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)
Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL)
www.cepal.org/en