



International
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THEMATIC Labour **Overview**

Women in the World of Work

Pending Challenges
for Achieving Effective
Equality in Latin America
and the Caribbean

Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean

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Overview

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THEMATIC Labour
Overview

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Women in the World of Work
Pending Challenges for
Achieving Effective Equality in
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Preface

Women's labour market participation is on the rise in Latin America and Caribbean. In the mid- 20th century, just one in five women formed part of the labour force; today that number is one in two. Notable progress has also been made in incorporating women into the education system. The road to gender equality at work is a long one, however. Indicators of wages, formality, occupational segregation and work-family balance are evidence of this.

We are experiencing a unique moment in the region and the world today. Technological progress, the rise of life expectancy of the population, climate change and globalization, coupled with structural conditions of informality, inequality, poverty and low productivity, define the agenda of the present and future of work.

In this scenario, the debate concerning the future of women in the world of work and gender equality deserves special attention. Gender differences are one of the most clearly unjustifiable forms of inequality today. It is a situation that conspires against the possibility of building more prosperous, fair and cohesive societies.

This new *Thematic Labour Overview* of the ILO Regional Office, "Women in the World of Work. Pending Challenges to Effective Equality in Latin America and the Caribbean," seeks to contribute to the discussion, reflection and decisions necessary to redouble efforts to achieve equality, especially given that progress has slowed in recent years.

This report presents a historical perspective of the situation of women in the 100 years since the founding of the ILO, which reveals the progress made and demonstrates that this subject has always appeared on the ILO agenda. It even formed part of the discussions during the initial ILO American Regional Meetings of 1936 and 1939. The report reviews the instruments of the ILO system of international labour standards adopted since the organization's establishment in 1919 that address the challenge of achieving gender equality.

It also presents an overview of different labour market indicators today, providing a detailed look at gender pay gaps. To this end, it uses advanced econometric techniques to report not only on the average situation of female workers as compared with their male colleagues, but also to provide details on the gaps in different labour market segments.

Although gender pay gaps of 17 per cent per hour worked are still large, they experienced a slight decline between 2012 and 2017. Two

variables are crucial for understanding this situation: education and the hours people work weekly. The gaps are widest among own-account workers and the segment of lower-income workers.

After reviewing different manifestations and dimensions of the gender pay gap, this *Thematic Labour Overview* offers a vision of the future of work and the challenges the region faces to eliminate inequality to enable women to develop the skills they need to meet the demands of the new employment scenarios.

This report concludes with a set of recommendations that can serve to guide the discussions and actions of governments, employers, workers and other members of society to achieve more effective, equitable spaces for men and women in the future.

For the ILO, gender equality is a priority. Accordingly, it is present in all the organization's activities, in the discussions with tripartite constituents, documents and reports and the instruments of the regulatory system.

It is not surprising, then, that gender equality forms part of the ILO Centenary Declaration for the Future of Work, adopted by representatives of governments and employers' and workers' organizations at the 108th International Labour Conference in June 2019. The declaration calls on the 187 ILO members states to work towards "the effective realization of gender equality in opportunities and treatment."

It also proposes "achieving gender equality at work through a transformative agenda," which: (i) ensures equal opportunities, equal participation and equal treatment, including equal remuneration for women and men for work of equal value; (ii) enables a more balanced sharing of family responsibilities; (iii) provides scope for achieving a better work-life balance by enabling workers and employers to agree on solutions, including on working time, that consider their respective needs and benefits; and (iv) promotes investment in the care economy.

Juan Felipe Hunt

Acting Director, ILO Regional Office
for Latin America and the Caribbean

Acknowledgments

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ILO external consultants Andrea Bentancor, Carla Calero, Werner Gárate, Virginia Robano and María del Pilar López Uribe also made substantial contributions to the report. The ILO's Panama-based Labour Analysis and Information System for Latin America and the Caribbean (SIALC) was responsible for the statistical analysis of household surveys of the region. Ángelo Cozzubo and Daniel Pajita managed the computational and econometric data of the surveys. Luis Yslas was responsible for editing the Spanish-language edition of the report. Kristin Keenan was in charge of the English edition.

Executive summary

In Latin America and the Caribbean, despite considerable advances in strengthening the human capital of women and sociodemographic changes in society, gender differences in the labour market remain one of the most unjustifiable forms of inequality.

- ▶ The gender gap in years of schooling reversed a few decades ago to the point where female workers are now better educated than their male counterparts, on average.
- ▶ Today, women tend to have fewer children and at an older age (enabling their increased accumulation of human capital and labour market participation).
- ▶ Family arrangements are changing: single-parent households are on the rise, particularly those with a female household head (this means there is more pressure to generate labour income).

Despite these advances and changes, women are still at a disadvantage compared with men: for each hour worked, women earn an average of 17 per cent less than men of the same age, educational level, presence of children in the household, presence of other wage earners in the household, geographic location and type of work.

Women's unfavourable labour market conditions are not restricted to wages: the labour force participation rate among women is just over two-thirds that among men; the women's unemployment rate exceeds that of men and cultural barriers persist in the gender concentration of certain labour market sectors, such as women in domestic work and men in mining. In recent decades, women have increased their labour market presence, but they are doing so largely in the more flexible market segments: part-time employment, informality, sporadic employment (only a few months a year) and own-account employment.

With the turn of the century, the growing rate of female labour participation began to slow. While gender pay gaps are declining, they are doing so at a slow pace. These trends contrast with the human capital conditions of women, especially of younger women.

All of this points to the need to revise policy instruments given that many barriers to women's progress lie in households. The gender distribution of domestic chores remains overwhelmingly unequal. Women are responsible for 80 per cent of domestic tasks, which limits their effective labour force participation.

In the framework of the ILO's 100th anniversary this year, the report takes a historical look at the changing situation of women in the labour market and the actions of this organization. It presents the main ILO Conventions and Recommendations that have been ratified and that are reflected in national laws. This sheds light on the ILO's contribution throughout the years to expanding the frontier of knowledge and action to improve the ability of labour markets to generate and increase social wellbeing.

Based on the analysis of primary data from 17 Latin American and Caribbean countries (representing 85 per cent of the region's total population) using advanced computational techniques, the report presents an overview of women in the labour market. For each hour worked, women earn 17 per cent less, on average, than men of the same age, educational level, presence of children in the household, presence of other wage earners in the household, geographical zone and type of work. This gender pay gap has declined between two and three percentage points during the period 2012-2017.

The report goes beyond the analysis of averages, however. The diversity of labour relations in the region are a rich source of information useful for policymaking:

- ▶ Gender pay gaps are widest in the lowest income percentiles. Additionally, non-compliance with minimum wages disproportionately affects women. This trend is especially prevalent in informal employment and the region is widely known for its high level of informality. In other words, there are important links among three of the region's most daunting challenges: gender equality, poverty reduction and informality.
- ▶ In the mid-range of income distribution percentiles, gaps are lower, but beginning with the mean (50th percentile), the gap widens. This indicates the potential existence of glass ceilings in the region.
- ▶ Gender pay gaps are markedly larger and more disperse in own-account employment than in dependent employment. This is especially relevant in a region such as LAC, where two in five workers are own-account workers. A key difference between LAC labour markets and those of more advanced economies is precisely the prevalence of own-account employment.
- ▶ Among own-account workers, gender pay gaps are largest when there are children under age six years in the household, in part time work and informal employment. Women have

entered the more flexible labour market segments, but this flexibility means lower wages.

- In rural areas, gender gaps are characterized by more pronounced differences (with respect to urban areas) in the distribution of unpaid domestic chores.

The report also offers an exhaustive review of the literature that explores unobservable factors behind gender pay gaps: stereotypes, cognitive biases, discrimination, individual behaviours, aspirations, attitudes toward risk, negotiation capability, new family arrangements, marriage, fertility and social norms. Part of the solution to the problems of gender inequality in the labour market is outside the markets themselves – it is in households. Women are mainly responsible for unpaid care duties and domestic work in general, hindering their full labour force participation.

The report also takes a close look at the challenges that women will face in the future of work. Automation of many areas of modern life has clear, direct implications in the world of work. It will present both challenges and opportunities. The demand for cognitive and socio-emotional skills will alter the competitive advantages of men and women in the labour market.

Technological progress will also open other doors. For example, it will create new, more flexible work relationships. As regularly occurs with progress, these changes will involve both gains and risks. The challenge, then, will be to appropriately combine the advantages of the modern age without making social and work relationships more precarious.

Social dialogue is an effective tool for the adequate balance of future challenges and risks. This report discusses its importance and the use of practical ILO social dialogue tools of proven effectiveness.

Finally, the report offers a broad range of recommendations to improve women's labour force participation.

With the awareness of the advances in women's labour force participation in the region, but especially of what remains to be done with respect to gender gaps in the world of work, this report attempts to thoroughly examine the issue as well as to facilitate tools that can serve to make ideals a reality: a more just society with increased well-being and gender equality.

1. Introduction

Most households in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) generate four-fifths of their total income through employment (the remainder comes from revenue and transfers). Thus, what occurs in the labour markets is crucial for the development possibilities of households and their members. The labour environment reflects and reproduces several of the dimensions of the gender disparities of society.

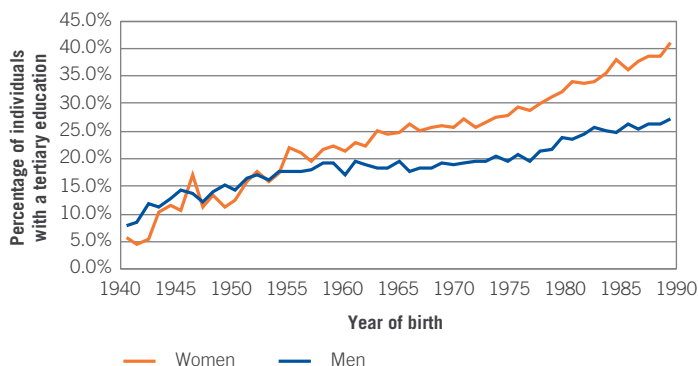
Labour markets in LAC demonstrate notorious gender gaps. Despite the advances of recent decades, there are still spheres of public and private life where women are subject to inferior conditions. Although women have made progress in the world of work, the road ahead is long and at times very steep.

These inequalities are increasingly unjustified today, especially considering the major shifts in human capital indicators of women.

In LAC, women are now better educated and have a better-quality education than do men (Duryea, et. al, 2007). Their education levels have risen at a notable pace in recent decades. This is easily verified in universities and tertiary education institutes, where women outnumber men.

This is nothing new. In fact, it has been occurring in the region for some time, beginning with the population born in 1950. Starting in that year, the data reveal that more women than men had a complete or incomplete tertiary education. The tertiary education gap between women and men has continued to rise, in favour of women. Among women born in 1990 (who will turn 30 in the year of this report's publication), 40 per cent of those who work have a tertiary education, as compared with 25 per cent of men (Figure 1.1).

FIGURE 1.1. Latin America: Change in the Percentage of Individuals with a Tertiary Education (13 or more years of study), by Year of Birth



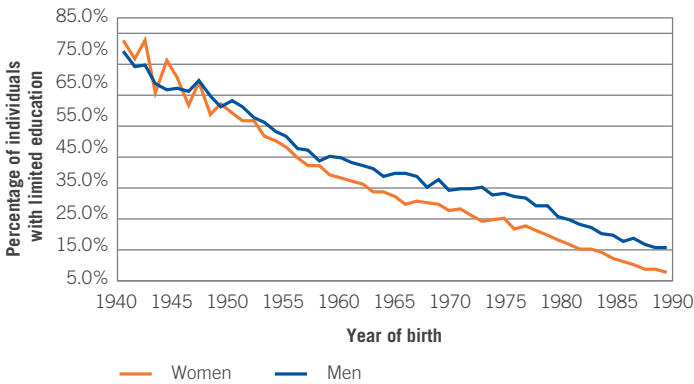
Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

However, this does not only occur among individuals who complete the highest level of education. Similar results are observed in the percentage of the least-educated workers in the countries of the region. For example, Figure 1.2 demonstrates the change in the percentage of men and women with six or fewer years of schooling, according to birth cohorts.

In this regard, two facts stand out: (i) The percentage of men and women with six or more years of education has fallen sharply. Among those born before World War II, four in five Latin American workers have six years of education or less; in other words, they completed primary school at best. For those born in 1990, however, just one in 10 Latin American workers were in that situation; (ii) and, beginning with the cohort born in 1955, the percentage of women with little education is lower than that of men. The gender gap also reverted there.

Clearly, for those born between 1950 and 1955, gender parity still exists in terms of education level of workers. However, for those born after that date, regional statistics demonstrate that employed women are more highly educated than their male counterparts. Interestingly, the group born between 1950 and 1955 is approaching retirement age at the time of publication of this report. From now on, then, labour markets will be composed of women who are better educated than men in all birth cohorts.

FIGURE 1.2. Latin America: Change in the Percentage of Individuals with Limited Education (6 or fewer years of schooling), by Year of Birth

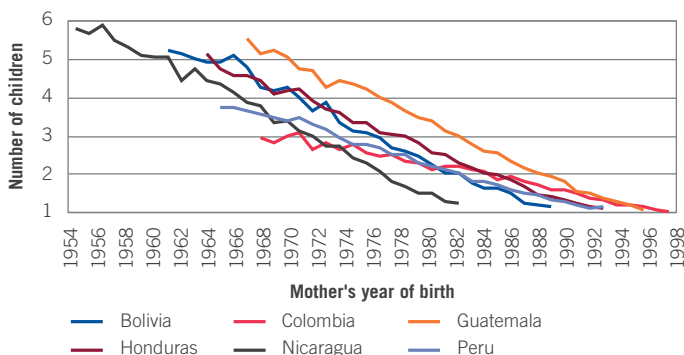


Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

Fertility is another area where the situation of women has changed in recent decades. Demographic and health surveys (DHS) available for some countries of the region enable researchers to study these changes.

Figure 1.3 lists the average number of children for mothers who had at least one child, by year of birth of the mothers surveyed in DHS. Beyond the exact numbers of children per mother, which could be biased by data source limitations, a clear pattern emerges: in all countries of the region with available data, the number of children per mother is much lower among younger mothers than among older ones.

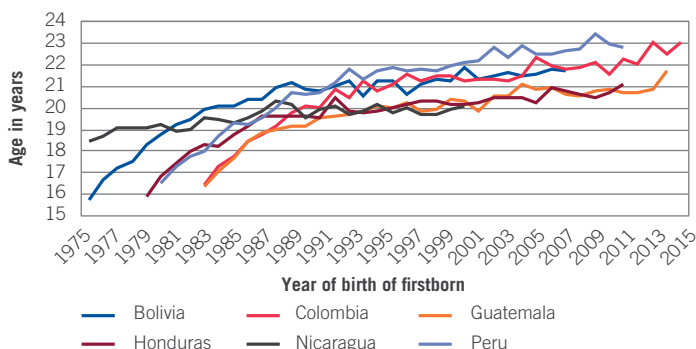
FIGURE 1.3. Latin America: Average Number of Children, by Year of Mother's Birth and Country (for women with at least one live birth)



Source: ILO, based on demographic and health surveys of the Plurinational State of Bolivia (2008), Colombia (2015), Dominican Republic (2013), Guatemala (2014), Honduras (2011), Nicaragua (2001) and Peru (2014).

Mothers of the region have not only decided to have fewer children; they are also delaying motherhood. The same DHS data reveal that in the 1980s, the average age of first-time mothers was under age 20; today, the average age is 22.

FIGURE 1.4. Latin America: Average Age of First Birth by Year of Birth of the Firstborn



Note: For women with one or more children.

Source: ILO, based on demographic and health surveys of the Plurinational State of Bolivia (2008), Colombia (2015), Dominican Republic (2013), Guatemala (2014), Honduras (2011), Nicaragua (2001) and Peru (2014).

Another statistic that reflects the reduction in fertility is the presence of children in households. In the early 1990s, one in nine women

workers lived in a household with at least one child aged six or under; by the end of the 2010s, this number had declined by nearly half: one in 15.

The proportion of households headed by women has increased over the past 30 years, whereas the proportion of single-parent households with a female household head has remained constant at approximately 80 per cent (Ñopo, 2011).

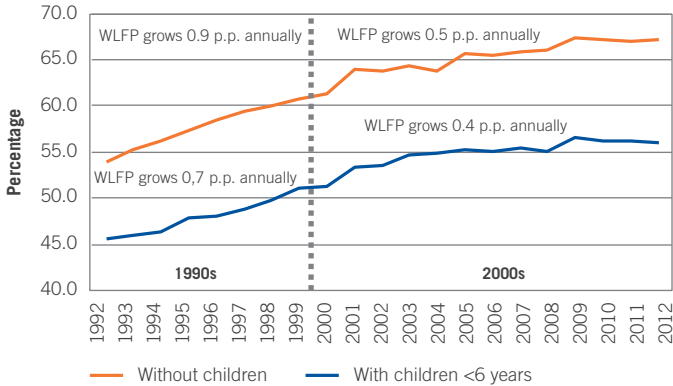
Clearly, decisions on issues such as marriage, education and employment have changed. Skilled women are less likely to marry (or live with a partner) than are unskilled women. Interestingly, skilled women in the region are more likely to marry less skilled men. This phenomenon of education gaps in favour of women within marriage unions is more pronounced in LAC than in other regions around the world (Ganguli et al., 2010).

Today, women postpone maternity, have fewer children, study more and reorganize themselves within their households. All of this points to the increased employability of women. This has occurred to some extent. Women's labour force participation has continued to rise for at least the past two decades. By contrast, men's labour force participation remained constant during the same period.

Most of the increase in women's employment has occurred because of: (i) young women married to more highly educated husbands, and (ii) the absence of children or elderly relatives in the household.

Women continue to face challenges in the labour market, however. For one, the pace of the increase in women's labour force participation slowed at the turn of the century (Gasparini and Marchionni, 2015). This is not surprising since from that point on, economic growth potential has slowed, which means that each percentage point of progress in women's labour force participation will be more difficult to achieve.

FIGURE 1.5. Latin America: Change in Women's Labour Force Participation (WLFP)



Source: Gasparini and Marchioni (2015).

In terms of women's employability, several challenges remain. For example, the cost of hiring women is higher than that of men given legal provisions that establish a variety of differentiated policies. Provisions that make hiring women more expensive include paid leave for the birth or adoption of children and childcare in the workplace.

Thus, men dominate LAC labour markets, while gender segregation by occupation continues. Today, men account for three in five workers in the region. Additionally, differences persist in terms of working conditions between predominately male occupations and those that are predominately female.

Women workers continue to be concentrated in a limited number of occupations and professions, performing duties that do not require significant skills. As this report documents in subsequent sections, aggregate indicators demonstrate lower remuneration of women compared with their male colleagues who perform the same work. Moreover, women tend to work fewer, less regular hours than men throughout the lifecycle. Men also far outnumber women in managerial positions.

Not only is women's labour force participation below that of men, but the women's unemployment rate in the region is also higher. Women's higher levels of education and training in the region have not been compensated by substantial improvements in working and occupational conditions.

While women today have greater access to employment, a large percentage of those women pay for this access with compensation gaps in the form of less protection and job security. Economic recessions, technological innovations, labour market reorganization and changes tend to have a greater impact on women than men. Additionally, women are more likely to have precarious employment, such as part-time, temporary or seasonal jobs, with less healthcare or old-age pension coverage. In both advanced and developing countries, women face higher levels of unemployment and informality.

Despite the increased awareness of women's rights, women still face social, economic and cultural barriers. They frequently have the dual burden of family and work responsibilities and face negative cultural attitudes with respect to their participation in economic activity. For this reason, and despite efforts to promote their improved working conditions, women are still in a position of inferiority.

The following chapter presents a historical overview of the challenges associated with women's labour market participation throughout the 100 years of the ILO.

2. Women in the labour market during the 100 years of the ILO

Over the past 100 years, women have increased their participation in the workforce and in paid employment. Women have entered sectors and occupations that were traditionally considered exclusively male. Currently, more women occupy high-level positions that demand considerable technical knowledge as well as management and decision-making capabilities. In practice, however, the labour market has not yet achieved gender equality. Most labour market indicators reveal differences between men and women workers.

Overall, the countries in the region have followed the global patterns of the past 100 years. The incorporation of women into the labour market has risen sharply over the past century. The economic crisis of the 1980s had a particularly strong impact on women's increased employment. The need to supplement household income, which was affected by the loss of purchasing power of wages during the crisis, was one reason for the increase in women's employment during those years.

Throughout its 100 years of existence, the ILO has fought against discrimination in the workplace and especially against gender discrimination. Since its founding in 1919, the ILO has promoted equality for all workers, a principle reiterated in the 1944 Declaration of Philadelphia, which stated that "all human beings, irrespective of race, creed or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity." These principles have been expressed in several Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conference, as well as in programmes of action, and were reiterated in the recent ILO Centenary Declaration for the Future of Work (2019).

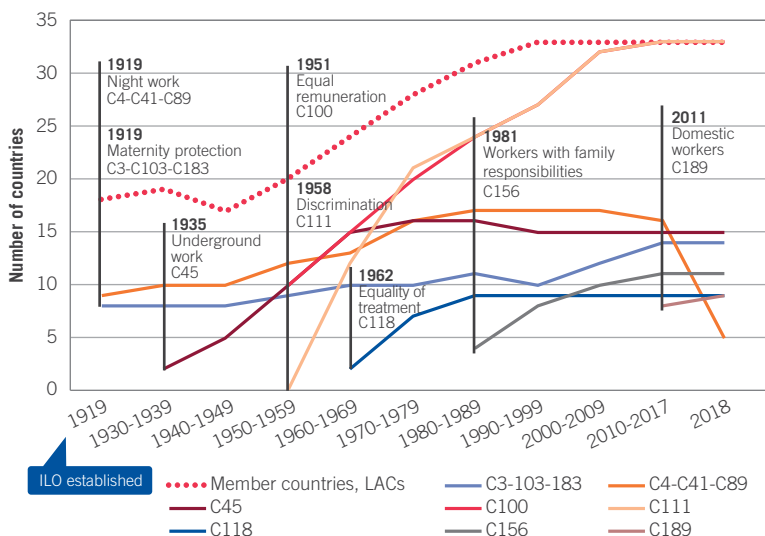
2.1 History of International Standards on Women's Employment

In 1919, the Treaty of Versailles established the ILO. The ILO's founding marked the beginning of a more in-depth discussion of the problems of workers. In its Constitution, the ILO proclaimed the principle of gender equality by recognizing the right to "equal remuneration for work of equal value" (Article 41, 1919) and, in the 1944 Declaration of Philadelphia established the principle of equal opportunity and

expanded the principle of equal pay for work of equal value. This would be the precursor of the important Convention signed in 1951 concerning equal remuneration between men and women.

The countries of the region played a key role in these discussions and during the process of establishing the ILO. About one-third of the ILO's founding countries were in the region (Villasmil, 2019). Shortly after the organization's formal establishment, LAC countries began to ratify ILO Conventions. Chile led this process from the beginning (Figure 2.1).

FIGURE 2.1. Ratification in Latin America and the Caribbean of ILO Conventions Associated with Women



Source: ILO.

Notes:

- C3-103-183: Maternity protection.
- C4-C41-C89: Night work (women).
- C45: Underground work (women).
- C100: Equal remuneration.
- C111: Discrimination (employment and occupation).
- C118: Equality of treatment (social security).
- C156: Workers with family responsibilities.
- C189: Domestic workers.

In 1954 in Lima, the ILO organized the first meeting on the use of women's labour in Latin America, with the participation of all

LAC member countries at the time – 17 –, and observers of the Organization of American States (OAS) and UNESCO. The discussions centred on the vocational guidance and training of women and problems associated with the regulation of women's employment. At that meeting, participants voiced the need to increase knowledge of the structure and conditions of women's employment to improve their labour force participation. It was a first step to focusing the discussion on the promotion of women as key actors of economic development.

In the brief historical overview of the 100 years of the ILO (Gaudier, 1994; ILO, 1951a, 1951b) and of the topics of the Conventions concerning women's employment, two distant phases are evident in the history of international standards concerning women's employment: 1919-1950 and 1951-2019. The Conventions and Recommendations are a normative context of the actions of the ILO (1951a, 1951b) in relation to women workers, and both phases address two main concerns:

1. Protect women against working conditions that may threaten their reproductive function.
2. Guarantee equal opportunity and treatment for women in employment and occupation (ILO, 1951a, 1951b).

Box 2.1. ILO Conventions and the Recommendations

The ILO Standards are the Conventions and Recommendations adopted by the International Labour Conference (ILC) to improve living and work conditions. Each Convention is a legal instrument that regulates some aspects of the administration of work, social wellbeing or human rights.

Ratification entails a dual obligation for a member state. On the one hand, it represents the official commitment to apply the provisions of the Convention, and on the other, it indicates a willingness to accept a certain level of international oversight. Recommendations are not ratified but establish guidelines or techniques that should be applied nationwide. They frequently provide detailed guidelines that complement the principles established in the Conventions.

Noteworthy standards concerning gender equality include Convention and Recommendation No. 111 concerning discrimination in employment and occupation, adopted in 1958. This Convention and Recommendation had the objective of fighting discrimination based on the different reasons most commonly occurring. Even before that date, several instruments had referred to equal rights in some areas or in favour of some group of individuals. These include freedom of asso-

(continues...)

ciation and protection of the right to organize (1948 and 1949), social policy in non-metropolitan territories (1947) and migrant workers (1949).

The ILO has continued its regulatory actions, based on Convention No. 111, for some groups of workers, such as migrants (1975), older workers (1980), workers with family responsibilities (1981) and disabled persons (1983).

From the beginning, the ILO adopted Conventions that protected women workers. For example, maternity leave and benefits (before and after the birth), regulations on night work in manufacturing, prohibition of dangerous work, limitation on hours of work and protection of women's health and employment against the risks and abuses of industrialization.

In the region, some Conventions received more direct support from member states. This was because it was easier to ratify Conventions that imposed relatively simple obligations than to adopt those that required a more complicated mechanism to benefit individual workers. For example, the first group includes Conventions that prohibit the work of minors or the possibility of employment outside of prescribed hours. The second group includes Conventions on social security (ILO, 1939a).

The Convention on maternity protection called for the creation of social security or assistance institutions that had a certain amount of economic resources. This did occur, but only slowly in most of the countries of the region. In member states that ratified the Convention but that did not have social security systems, such as LAC countries, employers eventually covered maternity benefits.

Additionally, the ILO Constitution required that the Conventions adopted be subject to the competent authority (parliament or congress) in the different countries within a one-year period. Naturally, however, it did not mandate a deadline for ratification (ILO, 1939a).

In some LAC member states, ratifications were deferred to study several Conventions at once. For example, Argentina ratified nine Conventions in 1933 and seven Conventions in 1936; Uruguay and Nicaragua ratified 30 Conventions in 1933 and 1934, respectively; Colombia, 24 in 1933; Chile, eight in 1925, five in 1931, six in 1933 and 14 in 1935. This was partly because advances in legislation enabled simultaneous ratifications of Conventions on the same issue.

In general, ratifications progressed at a satisfactory rate in countries of the region in terms of total volume and the growing average of

ratifications. However, the pace was irregular, and the number of additional ratifications was insufficient. An additional obstacle to ratifying Conventions in some LAC countries was the limitation that the federal nature of the national constitution imposed on central government activities.

The need to better harness productive forces, especially the need for women’s participation in labour-intensive sectors, led some countries to renounce these Conventions. For example, shortly after the ILC adopted Convention No. 3, the Maternity Protection Convention, in 1919, there were proposals to revise it.

Moreover, Conventions whose ratification entailed a high economic cost for the public and private sectors were rarely ratified. This is the case of Convention No. 103 (1952) on maternity protection. Only four countries in the region ratified this instrument: Brazil, Guatemala, Uruguay and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (ILO, 1979).

Some LAC member states included principles of equality in their constitutions even before the ILO introduced them in the 1944 Declaration of Philadelphia. The 1917 Mexican Constitution and that of Brazil of 1934 proclaimed the principle of equal remuneration without regard for sex in cases of work of equal value. Labour laws to this effect were also enacted before they were adopted by the ILO (Brazil in 1932, Chile in 1931, Cuba in 1934, Mexico in 1931, and a bilateral agreement between Colombia and Peru in 1935 concerning working conditions in the Amazon region) (ILO, 1935).

By the late 20th Century, all constitutions of the countries of the region established the principle of equality without discrimination based on sex, including the protection of equal employment. Despite these advances, however, effective mechanisms to directly apply these constitutional rights still need to be developed.

TABLE 2.1. ILO Recommendations Concerning Women’s Employment	
Year	Recommendations
1919	R4: Lead Poisoning.
1921	R12: Maternity Protection (Agriculture).
	R13: Night Work of Women (Agriculture).
1926	R26: Migration (Protection of Females at Sea)
1944	R71: Employment (Transition from War to Peace).
1951	R90: Equal Remuneration.
1952	R95: Maternity Protection.

(continues...)

Year	Recommendations
1958	R111: Discrimination (Employment and Occupation).
1965	R123: Employment (Women with Family Responsibilities).
1981	R165: Workers with Family Responsibilities.
2000	R191: Maternity Protection.

Source: ILO (2019b), ILO (2006).

TABLE 2.2. ILO Resolutions Concerning Women's Employment

Year	Resolutions
1948	Night Work of Women Employed in Transport (31 st ILC, San Francisco).
1951	Employment of Women and Children in the Construction Industry. (3 rd Session of the Construction, Civil Engineering and Public Works Committee, Geneva).
1952	Final Articles of the Convention concerning Maternity Protection (Revised) (35 th Session, Geneva).
1955	Part-Time Employment of Women and the Employment of Older Women (38 th Session, Geneva).
	Employment of Women Having Dependent Young Children (38 th Session of the ILC, Geneva).
1956	Abolition of Discrimination Based on Sex in the Field of Remuneration (39 th Session of the ILC, Geneva).
1959	Future ILO Activities with Respect to Non-manual Female Workers (5 th Session of the Advisory Committee on Employers and Intellectual Workers, Cologne).
1960	Protection of Female Workers against Ionising Radiations (44 th Session of the ILC, Geneva).
1963	Discrimination (Tripartite Technical Session for Food and Beverage Industries).
	Problem of Female Labour Force (Tripartite Technical Session for Food and Beverage Industries).
1964	Women Workers in a Changing World (48 th Session of the ILC, Geneva).
	Economic and Social Advancement of Women in Developing Countries (48 th Session of the ILC, Geneva).
	Maternity Protection (48 th Session of the ILC, Geneva).
1965	Periodic Review of the Effects of the Recommendation concerning the Employment of Women with Family Responsibilities (49 th Session of the ILC, Geneva).
1968	Vocational Preparation of Girls and Women (52 nd Session of the ILC, Geneva).
	Wages of Women Employed in the Textile Industry (Textile Committee, 8 th Session).
1972	Women Workers (57 th Session of the ILC, Geneva).

(continues...)

Year	Resolutions
1975	Plan of Action with a View to Promoting Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers (60 th Session of the ILC, Geneva). Equal Status and Equal Opportunity for Women and Men in Occupation and Employment (60 th Session of the ILC, Geneva).
1978	Mothers Who Work in the Textile Industry (Textile Committee, 10 th Session).
1979	Conditions of Work, Vocational Training and Employment of Women (ILO Americas, 11 th Session).
1981	Participation of Women in ILO Meetings (Session 67 of the ILC, Geneva).
1985	Equal Opportunities and Equal Treatment for Men and Women in Employment (71 st Session of the ILC, Geneva).
1991	ILO Action for Women Workers (78 th Session of the ILC, Geneva).
2004	Promotion of Gender Equality, Pay Equity and Maternity Protection (92 nd Session of the ILC, Geneva).
2006	Recruitment and Retention of Women Seafarers (94 th Session of the ILC, Geneva).
2009	Gender Equality at the Heart of Decent Work (98 th Session of the ILC, Geneva).
2011	Efforts to Make Decent Work a Reality for Domestic Workers Worldwide (100 th Session of the ILC, Geneva).

Source: ILO (2019b), ILO (2006).

2.2 Phase I: 1919-1950

In Phase I (1919-1950), ILO Standards were markedly protective of women in terms of their health and safety, working conditions and special needs associated with their reproductive functions. Standards regulating women's employment addressed everything from the protection of their social and family role to maternity protection and the prohibition of night work and employment in certain production sectors.

The first specific Convention concerning women was Convention No. 3 on maternity protection (1919), which guaranteed the protection of maternity through five conditions. It stated that a woman:

1. shall not be permitted to work during the six weeks following her confinement.
2. shall have the right to leave her work if she produces a medical certificate stating that her confinement will probably take place within six weeks.
3. shall, while she is absent from her work in pursuance of paragraphs (a) and (b), be paid benefits sufficient for the full and healthy maintenance of herself and her child.

4. shall, if she is nursing her child, be allowed half an hour twice a day during her working hours for this purpose.
5. shall be protected against dismissal during maternity leave.

During this phase, other Standards and Conventions concerning women workers were adopted concerning night work (Nos. 4, 41, 89) and the prohibition of certain jobs such as underground work (No. 45). In these cases, protection was based on regulating the traditional role of women, who were considered limited subjects and sometimes even likened to minors (ILO, 1935, 1939a, 1947).

During those years, ILO international Conventions reflected the concern of governments for protecting women against working conditions that implied exploitation such as that women experienced, particularly during the age of industrialization of advanced countries.

International Standards in LAC that protected maternity or the traditional role of women in terms of family and reproductive responsibilities (Conventions Nos. 3, 4, 41, 45, 89 and 103) did not experience difficulties in their ratification by member states of the region, although there were some exceptions. Of the 33 countries that ratified Convention No. 3, nine were LAC countries¹; of the 58 countries that ratified Convention No. 4, nine were in the region; of the 38 countries that ratified the Convention No. 41, five were in LAC; of the 98 that ratified Convention No. 45, 16 were countries of the region; and of the 41 countries that ratified Convention No. 103 and the 67 that ratified Convention No. 89, nine were in LAC in both cases (ILO, 2014, 2019).

The Conventions regulating women's night work (Convention No. 4, 1919 and the 1934 revised version, Convention No. 41) demonstrated legal trends of protecting the interests of women workers. According to this Convention, the night work of women in industry was prohibited except for work in family enterprises. It also established that the night signifies a period of at least 11 consecutive hours, including the interval between ten o'clock in the evening and five o'clock in the morning. Among the modifications of 1934, two are particularly relevant: (i) women are excluded who hold management positions that imply responsibility and who do not normally engage in manual labour; and (ii) the competent authorities may change the interval of hours after consulting with the employers' and workers' organizations concerned.

1 Chile ratified the Convention in 1925; Cuba in 1928; Argentina, Colombia and Uruguay in 1933; Nicaragua and Brazil in 1934; the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela in 1944; and Panama in 1958.

The revision of Convention No. 4 through Convention No. 41 reflected the need to make the regulations more flexible and to include certain exceptions. The change made in 1934 did not seek to ensure the global protection of all women workers. To the contrary, it attempted to make important distinctions between the different types of activities and occupations of women workers. The two Conventions were widely ratified in advanced countries but were slower to be accepted in LAC member states (ILO, 1979).

In 1935, the ILO adopted the Convention on underground work that prohibited the employment of women in mines, with a few exceptions: women working in mining companies in some technical positions or those who engaged in non-manual work, management personnel, those in health and social services; and women who study and other employees who enter the underground parts of a mine for the purpose of a non-manual occupation. These exceptions sought to prevent the risk of reducing the possibilities of employing female technicians in areas whose functions may require their voluntary presence in the mines without putting their health at risk (ILO, 1935).

At the time of its application, several countries had already prohibited this type of work among women through legal provisions enacted before the Convention was adopted (ILO, 1939b). The introduction of these regulations before the Convention's adoption can be attributed to the absence of underground mines or to the fact that women's employment in mines went against local customs, which made it unnecessary to make it unlawful (ILO, 1951a, 1951b). Notwithstanding, some countries in the region objected to the prohibition of women's employment in underground jobs (Convention No. 45), including Uruguay and Brazil.

Of the 82 Recommendations that the ILO adopted between 1919 and 1950, 11 contained specific provisions concerning women, mainly to guarantee equal treatment of workers of both sexes, in accordance with national law.

Among the general Recommendations, which suggest procedures for applying the Conventions adopted, some stipulated equal remuneration for work of equal value; maternity protection through social security systems; and, appropriate representation of women in institutions that managed disability, old-age and survivors' benefits.

Other Recommendations sought to guarantee women labour inspectors' equal right to enroll in technical and vocational training and to obtain identical certificates when they completed their course of

study, among others (ILO 1947). Additionally, four Recommendations suggested measures in favour of unemployed women who were relatives of workers, with respect to social security, migrant workers and workers of dependent territories.

The Recommendations concerning employment (transition from war to peacetime) in 1944 defined the principles of social policy for women workers during this period. They formally called for gender equality with respect to participation in employment, established the principle of wage scales in accordance with the type of work, without regard to sex, and called for measures to improve working conditions in industries and services that traditionally employed women. These Recommendations played a key role in the ILO's postwar activities. They were the first steps to promoting the principles that would guarantee women workers equal and full opportunities in all types of employment based on their individual skills. This trend would be consolidated in Phase II (ILO, 1947).

There are no comparable figures of remunerations during this period in the region. However, the original ILO Constitution expressly established the principle of equality and the prohibition of wage discrimination. The 1919 ILO Constitution formulated the principle of "equal remuneration for equal work." Subsequently, the 1946 reform expanded the concept, establishing the principle of "equal remuneration for work of equal value."

This instrument did not significantly alter women's labor force participation, however, especially in the region. While industrialized countries during and after World War II demanded that more women participate in the labour force and demonstrated that they could adapt to certain types of skilled labour, in LAC, this need only became fully apparent during the crisis of the 1980s. Consequently, women's labour force participation in the region only began to rise significantly beginning in that decade.

The most salient feature of women's economic activity in the region was their limited participation in the workforce during the first decades of the 20th Century (Table 2.3). Economic and social growth during that period, which resulted from the expanding commodity export sector and industrialization fed mainly by domestic demand and a sustained growth in investment, did not substantially change women's labour force participation (Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos, 1989).

During 1920-1950, few women entered the labour force in the region. In the few countries with available information, women's participation

remained at about 20 per cent throughout the period. During those years, the rate of women’s labour force participation in the region was half of that of women in industrialized countries, which was approximately 43 per cent (Kirsch, 1975).

Women’s limited labour force participation in the region during those years may be partly explained by measurement issues. Labour force participation rates included only the labour market activities of women. In other words, they excluded activities associated with domestic work and family enterprises, particularly in rural areas. The larger the traditional sector of the economy, the more significant the underreporting. This was the case of LAC countries during much of the 20th century. Therefore, these figures should be taken with caution (Pardo, 1988).

Table 2.3 shows that in the 1950s, women’s labour force participation was substantially higher in Caribbean countries² (with rates averaging over 30 per cent) than in South American countries (an average of 18 per cent). Within the region, Costa Rica, Honduras, Mexico, Guatemala and Nicaragua had women’s labour force participation rates below 15 per cent. Data for the Plurinational State of Bolivia in the 1950s were atypical, exhibiting implausible fluctuations over time. The data indicate that the women’s labour force participation rate was the highest in the region at 60 per cent, while a decade later it had fallen to one of the lowest. These results may reflect a change in the measurement method since the 1950 Census included in the labour force unemployed individuals who were seeking work for the first time and who were contributing family workers. In 1970, the ILO recommended conducting population censuses without including the types of workers mentioned (Pantelides, 1976).

TABLE 2.3. Latin America and the Caribbean: Labour Force Participation, 1920-1950

Country	1920		1930		1940		1950	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Argentina					92.0	27.0	79.1	21.7
Bahamas							61.3	38.7
Barbados							59.8	40.2
Belize							81.9	18.1

(continues...)

2 Including Haiti, Dominica, Granada, Jamaica, Bahamas, Guadalupe and Martinica.

Country	1920		1930		1940		1950	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Bolivia, P. S. of							84.8	59.3
Brazil ^{/a}					92.0	23.8	81.2	15.1
Chile ^{/a}	91.8	35.0	86.0	24.6	82.0	32.8	82.4	25.9
Colombia							81.1	17.5
Costa Rica							83.9	14.3
Cuba								
Dominica							56.9	43.1
Dominican Republic							80.4	17.7
Ecuador							85.2	15.4
El Salvador							85.2	16.1
Grenada							60.0	40.0
Guadalupe							61.3	38.7
Guatemala							85.7	12.3
Guyana							77.2	22.8
Haiti							51.0	49.0
Honduras							86.7	11.6
Jamaica							77.0	39.8
Martinica							61.7	38.2
Mexico ^{/a}	99.1		91.6		83.2	6.0	82.3	12.1
Nicaragua							85.8	13.8
Panama							77.8	19.5
Peru							80.2	34.7
Trinidad and Tobago							77.4	26.9
Uruguay ^{/b}	91.6	21.0	85.5	21.0	83.1	23.0	73.4	21.7
Venezuela, B. R. of							80.2	17.1
LAC ^{/a /b}	94.0	22.0	88.0	18.0	85.0	26.0	81.0	18.2

Source: Tsacharopoulos and Tzannatos (1989), Pardo (1988), Maubrigades (2018).

Notes: M: Men W: Women.

^{/a} Period 1920-1940, average of 15 countries.

^{/b} Period 1920-1940, taken from Maubrigades (2018).

2.3 Phase II: 1951-2019

By the mid-20th century, legislation concerning the work of women began to vary. This change coincided with Convention No. 100 on equal opportunities and remuneration. It resulted from the recognition by industrialized countries of the important role women were beginning to play in the labour market. In those countries, statistics demonstrated that women participated in a wider variety of occupations. The percentage of women workers, particularly married women, rose dramatically (ILO, 1951a, 1951b). At the same time, women became increasingly and more actively involved in trade unions and professional associations.

The basic conditions of all workers also improved notably, especially in more industrialized countries. Governments began to better regulate job risks, mandate fewer working hours and improve workplace hygiene and social welfare services.

The political situation of women improved considerably in most advanced economies, which influenced legislation on the work of women in many countries. The fact that women had acquired the right to vote and participated more frequently and actively in trade unions enabled them to exercise their democratic rights more fully, including choosing their occupation and defending their interests. Women themselves frequently demanded that the limitations imposed on their employment be reduced to those resulting from their biological characteristics only (ILO, 1947).

All these factors led governments to implement mechanisms that increased demand for women in the labour force by promoting equal opportunity and equal treatment of all workers with respect to employment, vocational guidance and wages (ILO, 1951a, 1951b).

Thus, this second phase sought to increase equal opportunities and treatment. During the 1950s, it was becoming clear that women needed to be protected against gender discrimination in employment and occupation. This facilitated the adoption of explicit prohibitions established in ILO Conventions. The notion of discrimination they contained refers both to direct and indirect discrimination. Direct discrimination refers to that which implies differential, discriminatory treatment of women based on sex and where gender is the object of direct consideration (for example, the prohibition of women's employment in certain economic sectors). Indirect discrimination includes formally neutral or equal treatment that leads to unequal or harmful consequences for women.

The three most important Conventions associated with equal opportunities and treatment are that of equal remuneration (Convention No. 100), prohibition of discrimination in employment and occupation (Convention No. 111), and that of workers with family responsibilities (Convention No. 156).

In the mid-20th century, a trend began toward the progressive elimination of legislation contrary to the ILO's principle of equality, although protective Standards continued to be in effect that limited women's labour market access under equal conditions with men, as were the maternity protection Standards implemented in Phase I.

Convention No. 100 of 1951 marked the starting point of this transformation in that it proposed equal remuneration, where member states agreed to achieve this equality through legislative changes such as the introduction of a system to fix wages and the promotion of collective bargaining agreements (ILO, 1951a; 1951b).

Another Convention that called for improving equal opportunity for all workers was No. 111 of 1958, which had the objective of eliminating all forms of discrimination that could occur in employment through public policy centred on equal opportunities. This Convention, which 33 countries of the region ratified, was not subsequently rejected by any member state (ILO, 1979).

Two other Conventions focusing on women were Convention No. 156 of 1981 concerning workers with family responsibilities, which sought to reconcile the employment and family lives of workers, and Convention No. 189 of 2011 concerning domestic workers, which promoted respect for the principles and fundamental rights of individuals engaged in domestic work.

Although these Conventions did not directly address issues of discrimination and equal opportunities, they did focus on aspects of work or actions mainly carried out by women (ILO, 2012).

In contrast to the difficulties LAC countries had in ratifying Conventions during the first phase, during this period, Conventions were rapidly ratified, and their contents were included in legal instruments promoting equal opportunities and treatment. However, their application was slow and limited. Only Argentina, Peru, Uruguay and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela ratified Convention No. 156 concerning workers with family responsibilities. Conventions explicitly called on countries to increase their commitment and facilitate change in traditional schemes of female employment. Conventions that were ratified by most of the countries of the region (Conventions No. 100 and 111) did

not result in direct improvements in labour relations, whether because the pertinent national legislation was not introduced or because its effective enforcement was not guaranteed. In a region with a high level of labour informality, these are still daunting challenges (ILO, 1979).

Over the past three decades, a series of labour law reforms have been introduced, which have had a significant impact on women workers. These legislative reforms are partly the result of the mass labour market incorporation of women during this period. This change made it necessary to eliminate barriers that hindered the provision of services by women workers in certain activities and time schedules. Additionally, the modernization of general labour standards had an important impact on the regulation of women's employment by harmonizing national laws with international Standards (ILO, 2014).

In 1990, the ILO adopted Protocol P089 concerning the Convention (revised) on night work (women) of 1948 and Convention No. 171 of 1990 concerning night work for both sexes. When Protocol P089 was adopted, members declared that Convention No. 89 was no longer justified given that it was mainly of historical interest only. Moreover, they expressed their firm conviction that all Conventions concerning the night work of women were synonymous with gender discrimination and violated the basic principle of equal opportunities (ILO, 2006).

In 2001, the Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations declared Convention No. 4 as a "rigid instrument, ill-suited to present-day realities." In 2014, the ILO mandated that in the year 2022, Conventions Nos. 4, 41 and 89 should no longer be binding for the countries, but that No. 171 should be. However, at the 106th ILC Session in 2017, Conventions Nos. 4 and 41 were repealed in all the countries that would have ratified them.

Women's increasing participation in employment was accompanied by a process to eliminate existing legal barriers. These provisions are reflected in the fact that in several European countries, the phase of labour equality legislation followed conflicts since the shortage of available workers made the mass incorporation of women into the labour market necessary (ILO, 1947).

Although the labour model was modified in LAC in the mid-20th century, this did not result in a considerable increase in women's labour force participation. Demographic changes (such as the declining fertility rate) and cultural ones (such as rural-urban migration, access to formal education and exposure to urban culture) contributed to modifying

the employment model. However, this new model was not directly reflected or uniformly adopted in all the countries (León, 2000).

From 1950 until 1980, women's labour force participation grew just 8 percentage points on average. In the 1960s and 1970s, it increased moderately, by 2.8 and 4.7 percentage points, respectively. Of note was the decline in labour force participation rates in Chile since 1950, mainly explained by the transition from an agricultural to an industrialized economy (Pantelides, 1976). Other countries, such as the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Guatemala and Peru, also reduced their labour force participation rates, especially Peru (4 percentage points). During these decades, Caribbean countries, including the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, Panama, and Trinidad and Tobago, continued to record the highest women's labour force participation rates, ranging from 20 per cent to 30 per cent in 1960, and from 24 per cent to 38 per cent in 1970.

By the early 1980s, all LAC countries had increased their women's labour force participation rates as compared with the previous decade, except for Jamaica, although that country continued to record rates exceeding 30 per cent. This increase reflected the reduction in the labour force participation rates of older and the youngest women, the latter presumably because of longer enrolment in the education system, and the increase in the labour force participation rates of women aged 20 to 59 (Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos, 1992).

The region's serious economic crisis of the 1980s, with the resulting decline in GDP per capita and real growth rates, led countries to adopt economic adjustment policies. These helped overcome the macro-economic crisis but had negative effects on women's employment. Although the aggregate women's labour force participation rose, this rate decreased in the formal sector. The net effect was the loss of stable jobs for women (León 2000). The unemployment rate among women was higher than that among men in all countries with available information for that decade, with gaps of up to 12 percentage points (Paraguay).

Unlike the advanced economies, where growth in women's labour force participation rates occurred in a context of sustained economic growth and an adjusted labour market that favoured increasing women's wages; in the case of LAC, the increase in women's labour force participation occurred during the countercyclical relationship with the GDP and was due to the "added worker" effect. This term means that when household incomes falls, a new household member enters the labour force to contribute to household income, which contrib-

utes to raising the labour force participation rate (Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos, 1992). Although this effect can refer to both sexes, Sabarwal et al. (2010) suggests that the added worker effect is most prevalent among less educated, older women, whereas the effect of the discouraged worker is most common in the segment of young, more highly educated women.

This decrease in the purchasing power of wages during the 1980s created a need for new contributors to household income, which led to the massive entry of women into the labour market. However, as mentioned, this entry occurred mainly in the informal sector, including some forms of own-account employment, such as household and domestic work. The difficulty in quantifying the extent of the informal sector in the region resulted in the underreporting of women's labour force participation during those years. Nevertheless, estimates indicate that this figure was 60 per cent in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, 62 per cent in Paraguay and 70 per cent in Peru.

Women's informal incorporation into the labour market implied lower wages given the supplementary nature of their earnings within the household and the need to make these jobs compatible with traditional domestic and family responsibilities.

From 1990 to the present, the region has experienced stable, sustained growth in women's labour force participation, recording an increase of 8 percentage points in the period 1990-2010. Women's increasing participation is concentrated in the 24-54 age group. This trend reflects women's increased access to secondary and tertiary education, reduced discrimination or occupational segregation, a cultural shift evident in women's more active participation in different economic sectors; the reduction in the fertility rate; and the expansion of urbanization (Edward and Roberts, 1993).

Despite advances in women's labour force participation, women are in a more vulnerable labour market situation than men in the region. This is reflected in women's increased difficulties in accessing vocational and job training, as well as in choosing positions of higher responsibility and quality in the labour market. Women continue to access employment in worse conditions and gender employment segmentation continues, as do poorer working conditions for women, particularly in terms of equal remuneration.

TABLE 2.4. Latin America and the Caribbean: Labour Force Participation Rate, 1950-2010

Country	1950		1960		1970		1980		1990 ^a		2000 ^b		2010 ^c	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Argentina ^{d/g}	79.1	21.7	77.7	21.8	72.6	24.0	71.3	25.3	75.4	55.2	75.2	56.9	73.6	56.0
Bahamas ^{e/g}	61.3	38.7					55.5	44.5	81.5	72.3	81.4	74.8	81.9	75.1
Barbados ^{e/g}	59.8	40.2					56.1	43.9	76.3	74.0	75.0	75.4	71.0	74.9
Belize ^{e/g}	81.9	18.1					77.3	22.7	81.6	38.7	82.1	47.5	82.0	55.4
Bolivia, P. S. of ^{d/g}	84.8	59.3	79.1	22.6	75.1	20.6	78.2	21.6	81.9	59.4	82.2	63.2	80.6	60.7
Brazil ^{d/g}	81.2	15.1	77.1	16.3	72.3	18.3	70.9	19.9	81.2	49.5	78.0	57.8	75.5	59.0
Chile ^{d/g}	82.4	25.9	77.5	20.9	71.7	19.7	67.3	22.8	77.4	40.2	74.8	45.7	74.7	56.1
Colombia ^{d/g}	81.1	17.5	74.5	17.3	68.5	21.7	68.4	23.9	83.4	56.0	82.3	57.0	82.8	62.8
Costa Rica ^{d/g}	83.9	14.3	78.7	15.3	73.2	16.3	73.8	18.8	82.1	38.8	80.0	47.3	75.7	52.6
Cuba ^{e/g}									67.3	41.3	67.9	44.9	68.1	49.3
Dominica ^e	56.9	43.1					65.9	34.1						
Dominican Republic ^{d/g}	80.4	17.7	76.4	20.5	69.6	24.1	68.1	24.5	76.5	37.8	74.9	42.3	76.4	50.7
Ecuador ^{d/g}	85.2	15.4	82.4	15.7	77.8	18.2	73.9	20.1	82.1	51.4	83.5	54.4	80.7	54.9
El Salvador ^{d/g}	85.2	16.1	81.8	16.6	77.1	17.2	75.2	18.8	82.6	45.2	79.3	48.7	76.7	49.7
Grenada ^e	60.0	40.0					61.0	39.0						
Guadalupe ^e	61.3	38.7					57.5	42.5						

(continues...)

Country	1950			1960			1970			1980			1990 ^a			2000 ^b			2010 ^c		
	M	W		M	W		M	W		M	W		M	W		M	W		M	W	
Guatemala ^{d/g}	85.7	12.3		82.0	12.0		78.1	11.8		77.4	13.3		86.3	41.3		85.2	43.3		84.9	43.1	
Guyana ^{e/g}	77.2	22.8								76.2	24.8		81.4	39.7		77.9	37.2		74.2	42.2	
Haiti ^{e/g}	51.0	49.0								55.3	44.7		74.5	58.7		70.1	60.0		72.0	63.1	
Honduras ^{f/g}	86.7	11.6		84.2	11.9		78.7	13.0		75.4	15.5		88.8	47.0		85.7	44.2		84.1	46.5	
Jamaica ^{f/g}	77.0	39.8		72.4	37.9		64.8	38.1		60.0	36.5		77.7	65.4		75.1	62.1		73.0	64.1	
Martinica ^e	61.7	38.2								55.3	44.7										
Mexico ^{f/g}	82.3	12.1		77.8	13.8		71.8	15.1		71.4	16.5		84.0	39.1		81.5	43.3		79.5	46.9	
Nicaragua ^{f/g}	85.8	13.8		80.8	16.2		75.7	18.3		74.6	20.4		85.8	36.5		83.4	44.9		83.7	51.7	
Panama ^{f/g}	77.8	19.5		74.5	20.9		72.2	26.3		71.0	28.7		80.6	45.3		81.2	50.7		80.0	54.0	
Paraguay ^{f/g}													85.7	55.6		85.5	56.6		83.5	59.9	
Peru ^{f/g}	80.2	34.7		73.9	29.7		68.1	26.5		66.7	26.8		77.6	52.6		83.5	67.6		85.0	73.2	
Puerto Rico ^{f/g}													61.3	38.8		58.4	42.8		52.5	41.0	
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines ^{f/g}													80.5	52.5		80.0	59.3		79.8	62.7	
Surinam ^{f/g}													66.0	36.4		65.8	39.9		64.4	43.8	
Trinidad and Tobago ^{f/g}	77.4	26.9		71.2	25.8		66.7	27.4		66.4	30.0		75.5	48.8		75.9	56.0		72.8	58.0	
Uruguay ^{f/g}	73.4	21.7		73.4	22.7		71.7	22.3		69.7	26.4		75.9	58.6		75.2	64.5		75.3	67.9	
Venezuela, B. R. of ^{f/g}	80.2	17.1		75.7	17.5		67.9	18.5		68.2	21.3		81.3	49.4		80.4	52.2		78.1	53.6	

COMPARACIÓN INTERNACIONAL

Regions	1950		1960		1970		1980		1990 ^{/a}		2000 ^{/b}		2010 ^{/c}	
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
LAC ^{/d, e, f, g}	81.0	18.2	77.0	17.8	71.7	19.2	70.5	20.6	80.6	47.9	79.0	53.4	77.7	55.9
OECD ^{/g}									72.7	57.8	70.6	60.0	68.9	62.5
Sub-Saharan Africa ^{/g}									76.7	62.5	75.3	63.0	73.3	62.5
East Asia and the Pacific ^{/g}									82.9	71.3	79.8	68.1	77.3	66.2
Middle East and Northern Africa ^{/g}									75.9	18.8	73.7	20.6	73.7	21.3

Source: Tsacharopoulos and Tzannatos (1989), World Bank, Waubrigades (2018), Pardo (1988).

Notes: For labour force participation rates for the period 1950-1980, women aged 20 to 59 were used. For labour force participation rates beginning in 1990, the range was for women aged 15 to 64.

^{/a} Average, 1990-1999.

^{/b} Average, 2000-2009.

^{/c} Average, 2010-2018.

^{/d} Period 1950-1980, average of 19 countries and for the period 1990-2010, average of 33 countries.

^{/e} Period 1950-1980 taken from Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos (1989), women from 20 to 59.

^{/f} Period 1950-1980, taken from Pardo (1988).

^{/g} Period 1990-2010, ILO based on World Bank data, women aged 15 to 64.

With respect to wages, the principle of equality and the prohibition of wage discrimination were formally established in Convention No. 100 of 1951 concerning equal remuneration. That Convention establishes the need to promote and guarantee “the application to all workers of the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value” (Article 2.1), as well as the extension of this principle to the objective appraisal of jobs (Article 3).

The ILO Constitution expressly states the principle of equality and the prohibition of wage discrimination. Other ILO instruments reiterate this principle, although not exclusively. Convention No. 111 of 1956 and Convention No. 117 of 1962 concerning social policy (basic aims and standards) include as objectives the prevention of wage discrimination by reason of sex, based on the principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value in the same operation and enterprise.

Although the countries of the region ratified Convention No. 100, its application in national laws has been limited. This is the result of the lack of national legislation of this principle and is reflected in the persistence of significant gender pay gaps.

National legislation of LAC countries is still in the process of fully applying the broad principle of “work of equal value” set forth in Convention No. 100. These laws are limited given that they do not directly promote the “objective appraisal of the job” to guarantee the effective application of the principle of equality.

Examples include Chile, which calls for the prohibition of discrimination based on sex, among other reasons, without expressly stating the principle of equal remuneration for workers of both sexes. The organic law of the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela directly refers to remuneration and states that women shall not be subject to differences in terms of remuneration. The federal labour law of Mexico and labour legislation in Peru establish equal remuneration for “identical jobs.” The labour code of Paraguay states that work of “equal efficacy, nature or duration should receive remuneration of equal value.” The labour codes of Colombia and Costa Rica stipulate that equal work performed in an equal job, workday and conditions should also have identical remunerations. Uruguayan legislation and the Office of the Human Rights Defense Ombudsman of Costa Rica prohibit gender pay gaps and have established objective evaluation criteria to that end. As will be evident later in this report, the figures demonstrate that the principle of equal pay is not reflected in the labour market reality of the countries of the region.

Women are the object of occupational segregation that is both vertical (within the same sector of activity, they hold lower status, less skilled positions) and horizontal (within the different sectors in which remunerations are lower). The statistics show that women workers are concentrated around the lowest wage scale levels.

Table 2.5 lists the differences in earnings (by occupation) of workers in some Latin American cities in 1985. The economic crisis of that decade triggered a sharp reduction in real wages of workers in general, which had a particularly strong effect on women workers in low-wage sectors. Surprisingly, the table demonstrates a smaller gender pay gap in less skilled occupations while the differences are larger in occupations that require a higher level of education.

TABLE 2.5. Latin American Cities: Index of Average Income of the Economically Active Population, by Sex and Occupation, 1985

Sex and Occupation	Bogota		Caracas		San Jose		Sao Paulo	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Professionals	313	193	240	154	200	175	340	142
Technicians and similar	197	154	138	71	167	125	168	72
Directors and managers, public sector	540	373	205	175	234	124	347	191
Secretaries and cashiers	105	85	77	70	98	50	95	102
Trade workers	89	43	102	76	93	69	114	52
Own-account trade workers	163	78	118	49	116	79	139	69
Skilled and semi-skilled workers	75	49	89	60	81	73	86	93
Unskilled workers	61	51	75	46	75	53	40	33
Domestic workers	58	54	48	40	80	46	28	20
Total	116	74	116	70	197	85	117	62

Source: ECLAC, household surveys (1985).

Note: Index (=100) is the average income of the total population.

In the decades that followed, women's average earnings remained below those of men in all countries of the region, especially in Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay, where women's earnings were just 47, 53 and 57 per cent of those of men in the 1980s, respectively, and in Costa Rica, where women's remuneration was 80 per cent of that of men (Arriagada, 1997).

TABLE 2.6. Latin America: Comparison of Average Earnings, by Sex, 1980, 1990 and 1994

Country	Women/Men (%)		
	1980	1990	1994
Argentina	63.5	68.8	70.5
Bolivia, Pluri. State of		57.4	54.4
Brazil	46.3	56	55.8
Colombia	56.1	66.7	68.1
Costa Rica	80.6	71	69.2
Chile		59.2	66.8
Guatemala		65.7	
Honduras		57.9	62.7
Mexico		68.2	55.5
Panama		77	73.1
Paraguay		56.7	59.9
Uruguay	53.9	44.3	60.6
Venezuela, Boliv. Rep. of	67.8	72.7	69.4

Source: Arriagada (1997).

Women workers are at the lower levels of the wage scale. This partly reflects the lack of professional promotion systems that do not discriminate for reasons of sex (Saavedra, 2001).

In the 1980s, 45 per cent of the female workforce in Mexico, 50 per cent in Peru, 54 per cent in the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela and 66 per cent in Brazil was in the bottom wage scale. In terms of hourly minimum wages during those years, in Colombia, 23.9 per cent of women earned below the minimum wage, versus 9.3 per cent of men. In Uruguay, 63 per cent of women received fewer than two minimum wages while just 34 per cent of men earned below that amount.

In the 1990s, indicators demonstrated that the gender pay gap narrowed slightly in some countries of the region. Nevertheless,

according to Arriagada (1997), women earned between 44 and 77 per cent of men's wages, on average. The author argues that this difference is not explained by the different levels of skills, but rather by the marked gender occupational segmentation. This situation did not appear to improve significantly with the introduction of new production technologies during subsequent decades. To the contrary, in the manufacturing sector (textile, shoemaking), men tend to be responsible for operating the new machinery while women are concentrated in more manual, routine jobs (Camps et al., 2006).

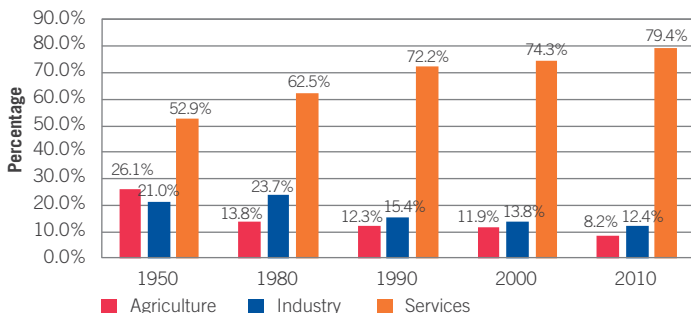
The occupational structure of the female population varies significantly from that of the male population. Overall, since the second half of the 20th century, women in LAC have worked mainly in urban areas given that progressive industrialization attracted workers to the cities. Women's insertion in the occupational structure reveals little diversification by areas of activity. They are concentrated in specific areas of manufacturing, trade and especially services.

Figure 2.2 illustrates the change in the sector distribution of women's labour force participation in the region. Since 1950, their participation has been concentrated in the service sector. While women's labour force participation in agriculture was the second-most important area in 1950, by 1980, manufacturing had surpassed agriculture (23.7 per cent). This shift in the trend resulted from increased foreign direct investment and the industrialization of the region, which was mainly concentrated in manufacturing activities to supply protected domestic markets.

Women's labour force participation in agriculture in the region declined between the 1970s and 1980s by just over 3 per cent, compared with a decrease of 7 per cent worldwide. In the rural sector, however, statistics generally underreport the real volume of women's employment since they do not consider women's contribution to agricultural production on family farms (ILO, 1979, 2012).

In LAC, the reduction in women's labour force participation in the agricultural sector was transferred completely to the service sector, unlike what occurred in advanced economies, where it was divided between the service and manufacturing sectors. Within services, health, teaching and trade are the main activities of women, together with domestic service (ILO, 1979).

Within the manufacturing sector, women's participation is concentrated in labour-intensive, low-wage activities. In all countries of the region, the textile industry employs more women than men.

FIGURE 2.2. Latin America and the Caribbean: Distribution of Sector Participation, 1950-2018

Source: ILO, period 1950-1980, based on Tsacharopoulos and Tzannatos (1989), period 1990-2010, based on World Bank data.

Notes: The sector decomposition varied between the periods 1950-1980 and 1990-2010. Agriculture includes agricultural activities; industry includes mining, manufacturing, construction, transportation and public enterprises. Services include trade, negotiation and other services. For the years 2000-2018, agriculture includes agricultural, fishing and forestry activities. Industry includes high- and low-technological industries, construction and public service companies. Services include trade, professional services, education, health, public administration and domestic services. Years 1950(60) and 1980, weighted average of 14 LAC countries, years 1990, 2000 and 2010, weighted average of 32 LAC countries.

1990: average for 1990-1999.

2000: average for 2000-2009.

2010: average for 2010-2018.

The reduction in the men's labour force participation rate in the agricultural sector in LAC and in the rest of the world led to a focus on employment in the manufacturing sector, and, to a lesser extent, in the service sector (ILO, 2012). In countries where agricultural activity absorbed much of the workforce during this period (Brazil, Dominican Republic and Peru), agriculture continued to be a key source of wage employment for women. This situation was practically non-existent in the countries of the Southern Cone (Argentina, Chile and Uruguay) and in others such as Costa Rica and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

In the service sector, the range of occupational activities for women is wider and has achieved higher levels. In all LAC countries, women hold nearly half of the jobs in this economic sector. Since the 1970s, this percentage has been even higher, on average, in Argentina (54 per cent), Brazil (55 per cent), Colombia (58 per cent), Guatemala (56 per cent), Nicaragua (55 per cent) and Panama (61 per cent) (ILO, 1979).

The sustained increase until 1990 in the percentage of women employed in the service sector responds to three trends. First, it resulted from the creation of manufacturing trade networks in Mexico and some Central American countries, which drove demand for women workers in service activities associated with the manufacturing sector. Second, it was due to the rise in the trade of South America's natural resources and commodities. Finally, it resulted from the growing importance of tourist services in the region. In the 1990s, women's participation in manufacturing declined to 15.4 per cent and to 12.3 per cent in agriculture.

Differences among women in terms of education and earnings were also reflected in sector differences. More educated, higher-earning women were employed mainly in non-manual activities and in the modern social service sector, where wage levels were below what was considered the main household income. Women of lower income and educational levels obtained jobs in the traditional tertiary sector, mainly in domestic service and agricultural activities (ILO, 1979, 2012).

The feminization rate in the public sector is higher than in the private sector. The public sector receives a large share of women's contribution to economic activity, although access to management positions continues to be limited. Colombia, the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, Costa Rica and Argentina all have high levels of women's labour force participation in the public sector.

Over the past 100 years, women's access to education rose sharply, which reversed gender gaps at both extremes of educational achievement (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). The laws regulating the education system do not at first glance contain stipulations that run contrary to the principle of equal opportunity. Deficiencies in national vocational training systems generally affect both sexes.

The promotion of gender equality in education is a key concern of the different ILO instruments. The Resolution on equal opportunities and equal treatment for men and women in employment (27 June 1985) and the Resolution concerning ILO action for women workers (25 June 1991) stress the importance of education and vocational training in the promotion of equal opportunities.

The importance of equal opportunities for women in access to education and vocational training is closely linked to equal opportunities for access to employment and working conditions, established in ILO Convention No. 111 of 1958 concerning discrimination.

Although LAC countries have specific laws referring to women's employment, advocacy to promote women's employment remains limited. Law 2694 of 1960 in Costa Rica on the Prohibition of Discrimination in the workplace was a pioneering effort to prohibit discrimination for reasons of sex, among others, and that resulted in limited equal opportunities. Nevertheless, this law did not go into effect. The 1988 Brazilian Constitution recognized the need for special labour market protection for women and provided specific incentives to develop laws to that end. No provision was adopted, however. In Uruguay, Law 16045 of 1989 prohibited all forms of discrimination that violated the principle of equal treatment and opportunities for both sexes, although this law did not mandate any positive action. The Employment Promotion Law in effect in Peru since 12 December 1991 defines women with family responsibilities as beneficiaries of "special employment programmes."

Although the ILO has urged governments to adopt positive measures in this area and promote the diversification of women's professional options, vocational guidance programmes are often lacking. The figures demonstrate that more years of education do not always result in a better job. The concentration of women in low-paid occupations with little responsibility continues, despite improvements in the average years of education completed.

Legislation in LAC countries has incorporated the principle of equal opportunities through legal reforms. All countries in the region have ratified ILO Conventions concerning fundamental human rights (Convention Nos. 100 and 111). Nevertheless, provisions persist which, despite their good intentions, discriminate against women since they tend to reduce women's opportunities to join the labour market. These provisions in some way project an image of women's lesser capacity as compared with men and increase the costs of hiring women (these take the form of differentiated access to leave, breast-feeding rooms and daycare centres, among others). Coupled with firmly rooted cultural beliefs, this threatens women's right to equal opportunities.

A summary of the ILO's work during the century

The ILO, through its legal instruments, has advocated for the adequate protection of all workers, regardless of their sex, and for the promotion of equal opportunities and remuneration in the world of work. Thus, the ILO has actively contributed to the generation of mechanisms

to increase women's labour for participation and the quality of their employment.

In the first phase, dating from the ILO's establishment to the mid-20th century, laws that resulted in social progress were enacted for the government protection of women. Despite women's growing political empowerment, they still had a limited capacity to defend their interests, for which reason the role of the ILO was relevant. The legal provisions during this period protected women workers as part of a special category, whether because they were thought to be especially vulnerable to exploitation in industries or because the resistance to regulating working conditions could only be partly overcome.

Beginning in the mid-20th century, the motives behind the legislation concerning women workers began to change. It tended to make the situation of workers of both sexes equal, considering the special maternity and family responsibilities that weighed more heavily on women than on men. However, statistics for the region demonstrate that these changes did not lead to a substantial increase in women's labour force participation or to the narrowing of gender pay gaps.

In the region, these two phases overlap, although with specific characteristics. First, the process to adopt provisions promoting equality has been slow and uneven in some of the laws. While most constitutional texts of LAC countries make the principle of equality explicit, laws dating from the first phase of protection of working women continue to be in effect in some countries.

Additionally, the economic crisis of the 1980s, which had a significant impact on the region, coincided with international trends to promote equality. This phenomenon strengthened the deregulation of women's employment and eliminated some barriers that impeded their labour market access through the repeal of protective laws unrelated to maternity and through the growth of the informal sector, where women are in the majority.

The labour market scenario and statistics in the region indicate that LAC women do not have equal access to employment under equal conditions as compared with men, either in the number of jobs or type of employment. Economic crises also mainly affect women since in addition to performing their traditional family role, they are forced to take poorly paid, often precarious jobs.

Although all countries of the region have ratified Convention No. 111 concerning discrimination in employment and occupation (1958), which requires governments to formulate and implement a "national

policy” that promotes equal opportunities and treatment in terms of employment and occupation, much remains to be done. Specific policies to promote women’s employment are limited.

Overall, labour laws concerning women have shifted from a protective focus to the proclamation of formal equality, to the extent that practically all LAC countries have included the prohibition of gender discrimination in their legislation.

The analysis of ILO Conventions and the Recommendations, together with available information for LAC, clearly demonstrates the change in national and international legislation with respect to women’s employment. Despite the reduction in the gender pay gap in recent decades, women in the region continue to earn less than men and have a higher unemployment rate and a lower labour force participation rate.

Through advances in labour law concerning women and in the provisions of the principle of equality of workers of both sexes that the ILO has actively promoted in recent decades, the organization has helped to eliminate these legal gaps. Nevertheless, women still fall behind men in terms of labour force participation and remuneration. They suffer job discrimination and lack equal opportunities in practice. The road to equality in the workplace is long. It should begin with the need to promote policies to combat the stereotypes existing in the different work environments in the region.

Box 2.1. Ratification of International Instruments and Gender Policy in the Caribbean

The countries of the English-speaking Caribbean have ratified conventions on principles of gender equality: CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women) and Conventions Nos. 100 and 111. The situation varies with respect to Conventions Nos. 156, 183 and 189, which are also related to specific issues of gender equality. The United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) appears to have encouraged the ratification of the international instruments. The table below lists the status and year of the ratification of these instruments to July 2019.

(continues...)

Country	CEDAW	CEDAW Optional Protocol	C. 100	C. 111	C. 189	C 156	C 183
Antigua and Barbuda	X (1989)	X (2006)	X (2003)	X (1983)			
Bahamas	X (1993)		X (2001)	X (2001)			
Barbados	X (1980)		X (1974)	X (1974)			
Belize	X (1990)	X (2002)	X (1999)	X (1999)		X (1999)	X (2005)
Dominica	X (1980)		X (1983)	X (1983)			
Grenada	X (1990)		X (1994)	X (2003)	X (2018)		
Guyana	X (1980)		X (1975)	X (1975)	X (2013)		
Jamaica	X (1984)		X (1975)	X (1975)	X (2016)		
Saint Kitts and Nevis	X (1985)	X (2006)	X (2000)	X (2000)			
Saint Lucia	X (1982)		X (1983)	X (1983)			
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	X (1981)		X (2001)	X (2001)			
Suriname	X (1993)		X (2017)	X (2017)			
Trinidad and Tobago	X (1990)		X (1997)	X (1970)			

(continues...)

National legislation

National legislation in these countries contains provisions prohibiting gender discrimination, although with limitations in some cases. Grenada is an interesting case given that its Labour Relations Act prohibits trade unions from discriminating against any individual because of sex or other reasons.

These international instruments are implemented through national legislation.

Country	Legislation
Antigua and Barbuda	Labour Code of Antigua and Barbuda
Bahamas	Employment Act
Barbados	Labour Rights Act, 2012-9
Belize	Labour Law, Employment (Amendment) Law 2005
Dominica	Labour Standards Law 1977 (Amended 1983, 1990, 1991), Labour Contracts Law 1983 (Amended in 1990)
Grenada	Employment Act, Labour Relations Act
Guyana	Equal Rights Act (1990), Prevention of Discrimination Act
Jamaica	Employment Law (Equal Pay for Men and Women)
Saint Kitts and Nevis	Equal Remuneration Act No. 23 of 2012
Saint Lucia	Employment Act (2006)
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	Equal Pay Act
Suriname	Dismissal Permits Act
Trinidad and Tobago	Equal Opportunity Act

The principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value is implemented in different measure according to national labour law. The laws of the countries of the English-speaking Caribbean generally stipulate equal remuneration of men and women for the same work rather than for "work of equal value."

In this regard, the legislation of Antigua and Barbuda (Section E8) and Guyana (Section 2 of the Equal Rights Act) specifies that women should receive the same pay for the same work but does not address the question of work of equal value. Likewise, in Dominica and Jamaica, the law covers the same or similar work in the same business under the same working conditions but does not address work of equal value in different enterprises and different working conditions. In the Bahamas, Section 6 (b) of the Employment Act prohibits paying less for substantially the

(continues...)

same kind of work or for work of equal value performed in the same establishment.

Equal Pay Act No. 23 of 2012 of Saint Kitts and Nevis only prohibits an employer from discriminating between male and female employees by failing to ensure "equal pay for equal work." Section 2(1) defines "equal work" as "the work performed for an employer by males and females in which: (i) the duties, responsibilities or services to be performed are similar or substantially similar in kind, quality and amount; (ii) the conditions under which such work is performed are similar or substantially similar; (iii) similar or substantially similar qualifications, degrees of skill, effort and responsibility required; and (iv) the difference, if any, between the duties of male and female employees are not of practical importance in relation to terms and conditions of employment or do not occur frequently."

In Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Section 3 (1) of the Equal Pay Act of 1994 calls for equal pay for the same work, but not the same remuneration for work of equal value. Other countries have legal provisions that establish the principle of equal pay for men and women for work of equal value. In Section 27, the Grenada Employment Act specifically states that every employer shall pay male and female employees equal remuneration for work of equal value. However, the law does not provide details on the implementation of this principle. In Saint Lucia, Section 270 of the Labour Code declares that men and women should receive the same pay for performing work of equal value. Section 281 of the Code stipulates that if it is necessary to determine which work is work of equal value, the minister shall consult the Labour Commissioner to make a determination in relation to equal remuneration for work of equal value.

The following table lists the countries of the English-speaking Caribbean that have gender policies.

Country	Policy
Belize	Belize: Revised National Gender Policy
Dominica	Dominica: National Policy and Action Plan for Gender Equity and Equality
Grenada	Granada: Gender Equality Policy and Action Plan, 2014-2024
Guyana	Guyana: The National Policy on Women was adopted in 2006. The government recently announced that it has developed a National Policy of Gender and Social Inclusion that will be implemented during the second semester of 2019.
Jamaica	Jamaica: National Policy for Gender Equality (2011), Vision 2030, Jamaica, National Development Plan - Gender Sector Plan (2010)
Suriname	Suriname: Genderwerkplan 2013

(continues...)

Policies address the problem of employment and focus on provisions to prohibit discrimination in terms of remuneration (equal remuneration for work of equal value) and make reference to improving access to social protection (safety nets) and economic opportunities, with an emphasis on conditions related to business activities and access to production factors. Special elements of note include the policy of Dominica, which addresses protection of employment for domestic workers and paternity leave, as well as that of Jamaica, which calls for a systematic assessment of gender when establishing policies and which recognizes the sector distribution of employment that is disadvantageous to women.

3. Gender gaps in labour markets

A look at gender pay gaps provides an evidence-based starting point for analyzing the current situation of women in the labour market. This section demonstrates that men earn more than women for each hour worked in the main occupation. The analysis not only presents average gaps; it also explores these gaps in different labour market segments of the region. This is followed by an analysis of gender gaps among lower-income workers, with a discussion on the role of minimum wages. The next section focuses on the assessment of women workers in the Caribbean followed by an analysis of women's employment in rural areas of the region.

3.1 Beyond the averages. Decomposition of gender pay gaps

Convention No. 100 of the ILO states that women and men should be paid equally for engaging in work of equal value. However, it is difficult to determine whether two jobs are of the same value. A commonly used estimate is that of equal remuneration for work with the same characteristics, which is discussed below.

This analysis uses information from household or employment surveys of 17 countries of the region. The authors of this report standardized the variables of these data sources to enable their simultaneous use. Combining these sources provides data representative of 85 per cent of the LAC workforce.

The study focused on workers with complete information on age, education, presence of children in their household, presence of other wage earners in their household, urban/rural residence, job position, formality of employment, number of hours worked weekly, occupation, economic sector and size of the enterprise. The study eliminated exceptionally high-earning workers (the top 1 per cent of each country). Annex 1 lists the data sources and the criteria for including/excluding information.

Gender pay gaps presented in this report are calculated using the matching comparison method proposed in Ñopo (2008). According to that method, only the wages of individuals with the same observable characteristics are compared (age, education, etc.). Thus, after controlling for gender differences in observable characteristics, what is left is the unexplained pay gap. This unexplained gender pay gap is comparable to that obtained using the renowned Blinder-Oaxaca method and its multiple variants. Readers interested in the method-

ological details and comparability of the econometric-computational technique used in this report with the other methods in the literature may consult Fortin et al. (2011).

Box 3.1. The Use of Matching Comparisons to Decompose Gender Pay Gaps

Workers' earnings depend on several factors: age, education, household responsibilities, occupation, economic sector, formality and other characteristics. The observed trend that men earn more than women may be the result of differences in these observable characteristics. Thus, a key empirical question when analyzing gender pay gaps is: to what extent is the gender pay gap explained by differences in the observable characteristics of workers and how much of the gap is unexplained?

This is a question that attracted the attention of Blinder (1973) and Oaxaca (1973), who published their studies on the decomposition of gaps at the same time. Decomposing the gender pay gap means representing it in two additive elements: one corresponding to the part of the pay gap that exists because men and women have different observable characteristics (age, education, etc.) and the other corresponding to the part of the gap that cannot be explained by these observable characteristics (and that may be attributed to other, unobservable individual characteristics, to some group aspects or even to discrimination).

Nearly five decades have passed since that time and the methods to answer this key question (in other words, to decompose the gaps) have changed. This report uses the decomposition method based on matching comparisons developed by Ñopo (2008), which consists of comparing workers with the same observable personal and labour characteristics. To construct it, the algorithm of the matching comparisons produces a set of men and women in which the differences in observable characteristics are non-existent. Thus, the gender pay gap remaining after the matching is equivalent to the unexplained gap of the original Blinder and Oaxaca model.

This decomposition enables researchers to conduct a more precise comparative analysis for the unexplained gap since it compares only the wages of individuals with the same characteristics. This makes it possible to more accurately measure the concept of "equal pay for the same characteristics."

Not all workers can be matched (that is, to identify workers of the opposite sex, but with the same observable characteristics). Examples include profiles of managers of large corporations (for which it is possible to identify men but is more difficult to find women) and the profiles of domestic workers (for which it is possible to identify women, but difficult to find men). As a result, the decomposition based on matching comparisons produces two additional elements. While these

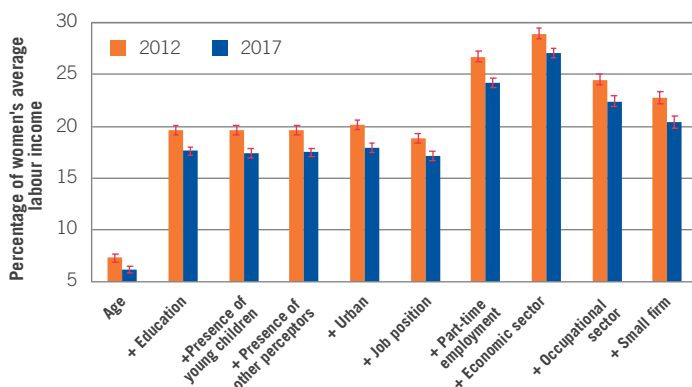
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provide information on relevant phenomena such as segregation, this report focuses on the measurement of the unexplained gender pay gap.

The selection of matching variables is crucial given that it can ensure a more accurate comparative study. However, this method has its limitations given that when the number of comparison variables is excessive, the likelihood of finding matches diminishes. In addition to the selection of matching variables, another important consideration is the order in which matching variables are analyzed (Figure 3.1). For more information, see Ñopo (2008).

The following section demonstrates the average hourly pay gap in the main occupation for the years 2012 and 2017 (Figure 3.1). The first two columns represent the gap for 2012 and 2017, after controlling for gender differences of age only. Moving towards the right, the next two columns in the figure control for other factors. The two columns at the extreme right list the pay gap after controlling for 10 factors of gender differences. The bars represent the average magnitude of the pay gap whereas the marks at the top of the bars show the confidence intervals (95 per cent) for those gaps.

FIGURE 3.1. Latin America: Unexplained Gender Pay Gap after Controlling for Demographic and Employment Variables, 2012 and 2017



Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

Here there are two facts of note. The first is that the gender pay gap fell two percentage points between 2012 and 2017. This decline is observed for all groups of explanatory variables. The second is that there are two explanatory variables that modify the unexplained pay

gap considerably: education and the hours worked weekly. This result persists despite changes in the order that the explanatory variables are introduced in the matching model. Additionally, the introduction of these two explanatory variables causes the unexplained pay gap to rise (see Box 3.1).

Average gaps illustrated in the figure above hide several differences. For this analysis, and especially for public policymaking, it is important to explore what is behind the averages. These variations are discussed below.

One difference refers to workers' earnings (Figure 3.2). In LAC, after controlling for the observable variables described, gender pay gaps are most pronounced among low-income workers. In other words, the problem of gender pay gaps is associated with poverty. This contrasts with what occurs in other regions around the world. However, gender pay gaps increase beginning in the 50th percentile of workers' labour income.

The same figure shows the segments of the income distribution where the decline in gender pay gaps was most pronounced between 2012 and 2017. Gap reductions occurred especially for workers between percentiles 15 and 35 of the wage distribution, as well as for those between percentiles 65 and 85. For the lowest-income workers — those in percentiles 1 through 10 — gender pay gaps remain practically unchanged.

FIGURE 3.2. Latin America: Unexplained Gender Pay Gap, by Percentage of Labour Income, 2012 and 2017



Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

Note: Unexplained gap after controlling for all demographic and employment variables.

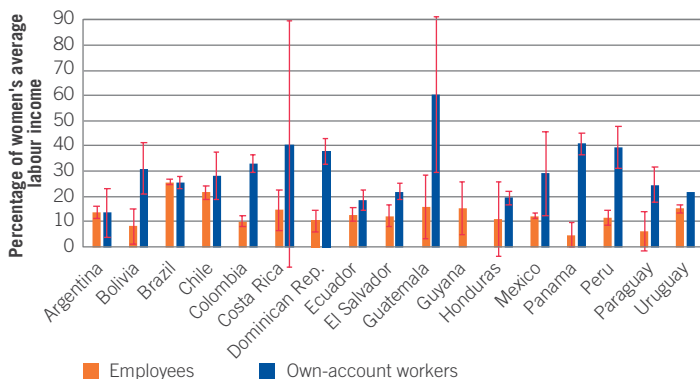
Differences in gender pay gaps between the two years analyzed are not significant. During the period 2012-2017, the gender pay gap fell between two and three percentage points in the region. The remainder of this report will concentrate on gaps for the most recent year: 2017.

A key characteristic of LAC labour markets is the prevalence of own-account employment. Approximately 40 per cent of workers in the region are own-account workers. For this reason, the report uses the term "gender pay gap" rather than "wage gap." Within the group of employees, one can refer to wages, but this term does not apply to the own-account workers. This report distinguishes between employees and own-account workers.

This is an important distinction given that ILO Convention No. 100 focuses mainly on dependent employment. In that case, there is an employer who may apply policies designed to reduce pay gaps. This is not possible in the case of own-account employment. It would require a series of measures that go beyond the employer-employee labour relationship. Gender equality requires cultural changes that transcend labour relations, an issue that will be discussed later in this report.

The figure below demonstrates the gender pay gap for the 17 countries under study, distinguishing, between employees and own-account workers. Except for significant differences in Argentina and Brazil, in nearly all the countries of the region, gender gaps are higher in own-account employment, and in several of them, the differences are statistically significant (Figure 3.3). These gender pay gaps remain after controlling for a series of observable characteristics of the workers and of their jobs, such as occupation, economic sector, job position and several others (see Figure 3.1 for a detailed description of all control variables and their role in explaining gender pay gaps).

FIGURE 3.3. Latin America: Unexplained Gender Pay Gap Among Employees and Own-account Workers, 2017



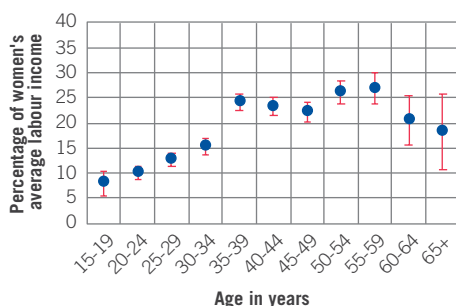
Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

Note: Unexplained gap after controlling for all demographic and employment variables.

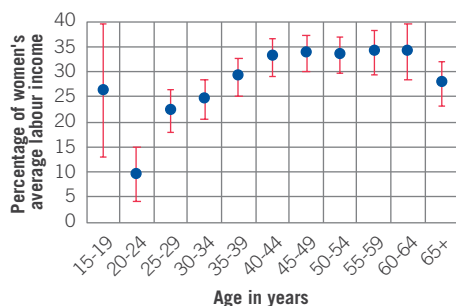
The gaps follow a pattern clearly influenced by the lifecycle of individuals. While people are young, and presumably have no children, gaps are small. However, these gaps widen at some point. This occurs earlier among own-account workers (25-29) than among employees (30-34). Gaps are at their widest between the ages of 50 and 54 and then begin to decline. The gap between the youngest own-account workers (15-19) deserves special mention. The gap is larger here, for which reason is does not follow the previously described pattern; it is also quite dispersed. This is evident because the confidence interval is much broader than for the other groups (Figure 3.4).

FIGURE 3.4. Latin America: Unexplained Gender Pay Gap, by Age Group, 2017

Employees



Own-account workers



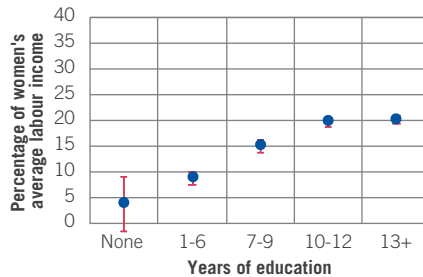
Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

Note: Unexplained gap after controlling for all demographic and employment variables.

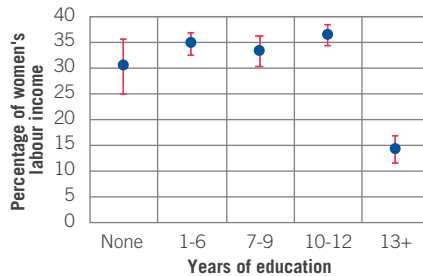
The figure below shows gender pay gaps by the workers' education level. The groups correspond approximately to primary, early secondary, secondary and higher education. Gaps grow as the level of education increases, and this growth is more pronounced among employees than among own-account workers. However, for the group of own-account workers with the highest level of education (13 or more years), the gap is significantly smaller (Figure 3.5).

FIGURE 3.5. Latin America: Unexplained Gender Pay Gap, by Years of Education, 2017

Employees



Own-account workers



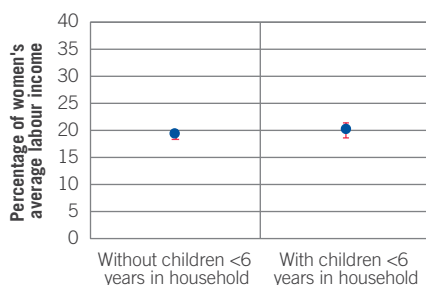
Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

Note: Unexplained gap after controlling for all demographic and employment variables.

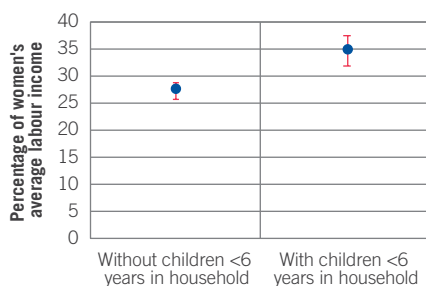
To what extent does the presence of children under age six in the household of workers correlate with wider gender pay gaps? Among employees, gaps are similar in households with and without children under age six. However, differences exist among own-account workers. For those workers, the gaps are larger among workers who live in households with young children. Family responsibilities have a greater effect on workers with job flexibility. This can indicate a two-way street in the causality between job flexibility and pay gaps (Figure 3.6).

FIGURE 3.6. Latin America: Unexplained Gender Gap, by Presence of Young Children in the Household, 2017

Employees



Own-account workers



Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

Note: Unexplained gap after controlling for all demographic and employment variables.

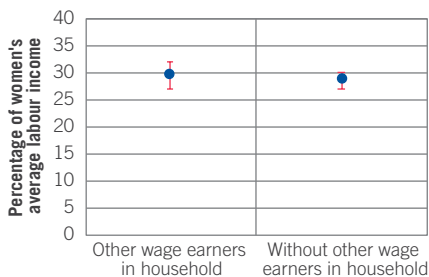
The presence of other wage earners in the household is associated with smaller gender pay gaps. This may mean that the presence of other wage earners provides some economic relief to the household. The reserve wages of women may be higher. Thus, women may take jobs only when conditions are less favourable (Figure 3.7).

FIGURE 3.7. Latin America: Unexplained Gender Gap, by Presence of Other Wage Earners, 2017

Employees



Own-account workers



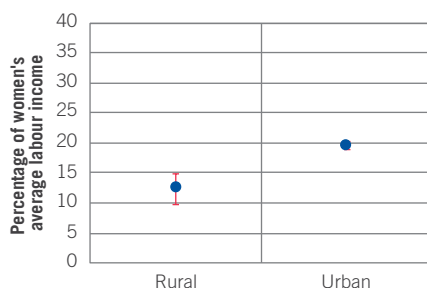
Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

Note: Unexplained gap after controlling for all demographic and employment variables.

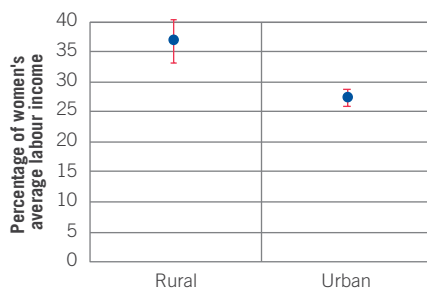
In terms of rural-urban gaps, patterns vary. Among employees, gender pay gaps are higher in urban areas while among own-account workers, it is higher in rural areas. In both cases, these differences are statistically significant. Considering the four groups of workers, gender pay gaps are the largest among rural own-account workers. This is most likely associated with the need for physical strength, where men clearly have an advantage (Figure 3.8).

FIGURE 3.8. Latin America: Unexplained Gender Gap, by Area (urban-rural), 2017

Employees



Own-account workers



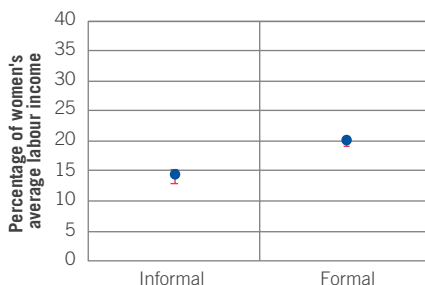
Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

Note: Unexplained gap after controlling for all demographic and employment variables.

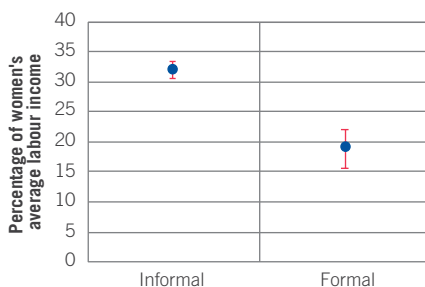
Like in the case of urban/rural residence, there are also different patterns in terms of formality of employment. Among employees, the gender pay gap is larger with formal employment, but among own-account workers, the gap is wider among those with informal employment. In this case, considering the four groups of workers, gender pay gaps are largest among informal own-account workers. This is most likely associated with the need for flexibility mentioned earlier. It may be additional evidence of the vicious cycle of requiring job flexibility and larger gender pay gaps associated with women's more limited ability to negotiate wages in those labour market segments (Figure 3.9).

FIGURE 3.9. Latin America: Unexplained Gender Gap, by Formality in Employment, 2017 Latin America

Employees



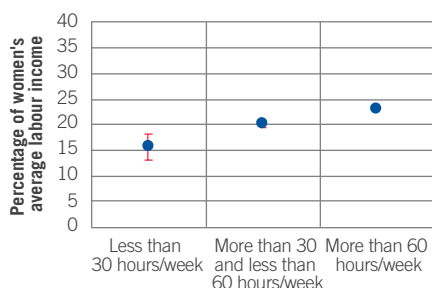
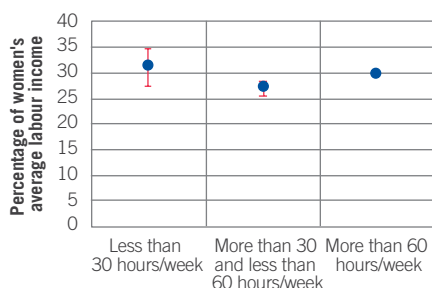
Own-account workers



Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

Note: Unexplained gap after controlling for all demographic and employment variables.

As mentioned earlier in this report, hours worked weekly is one of the variables that best explains the gender pay gap of workers in the region. The study also looked at how these gaps occurred for different segments of the labour force. Among own-account workers, the gap is almost the same for the three groups of hours worked weekly. In this group, no clear relationship exists between labour supply and gender pay gaps. By contrast, there is a link among employees. For workers who can work more hours weekly, pay gaps are more pronounced. Thus, the benefits of working more hours are greater among men than among women in dependent employment (Figure 3.10).

FIGURE 3.10. Latin America: Unexplained Gender Gap, by Hours Worked Weekly, 2017**Employees****Own-account workers**

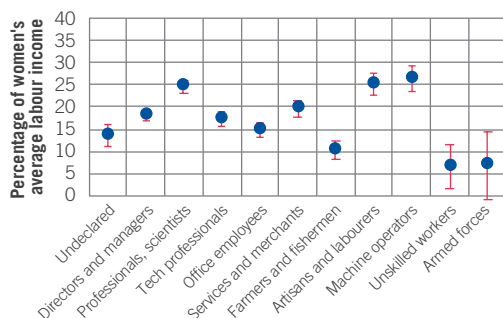
Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

Note: Unexplained gap after controlling for all demographic and employment variables.

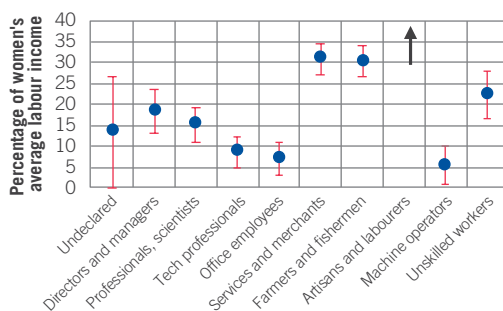
The variation in gender pay gaps by worker occupation reveals some patterns. The gap is largest among artisans and labourers, both for employees and own-account workers. The case of machine operators is interesting. While for employees, the gender pay gap is one of the largest, for own-account workers, it is one of the smallest. This may be because the machines that own-account workers operate, which are not capital-intensive, are not very sophisticated. For this reason, gender differences in their use are not particularly relevant. In the armed forces (for employees only, there are no own-account workers in this occupational category), pay gaps are small. This may be explained by the military's transparent hierarchical structure (Figure 3.11).

FIGURE 3.11. Latin America: Unexplained Gender Gap, by Occupation, 2017

Employees



Own-account workers



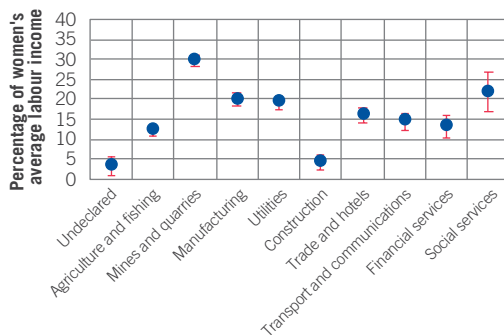
Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

Note: Unexplained gap after controlling for all demographic and employment variables. The gap between artisans and labourers (in the own-account workers category) is 62.3.

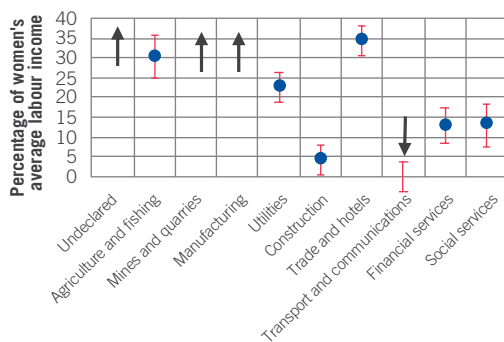
The variability of gender pay gaps by economic sector is even more significant than that observed between occupations. The mining sector has one of the widest gender pay gaps, which occurs among both employees and own-account workers. Among own-account workers, large gender pay gaps also exist in manufacturing. Construction has some of the smallest gaps. The transport and communication sector deserves special mention among own-account workers given that negative gender pay gaps are observed (in other words, women earn higher wages than men), but the estimate is not significantly different from zero (Figure 3.12).

FIGURE 3.12. Latin America: Unexplained Gender Gap, by Economic Sector, 2017

Employees



Own-account workers



Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

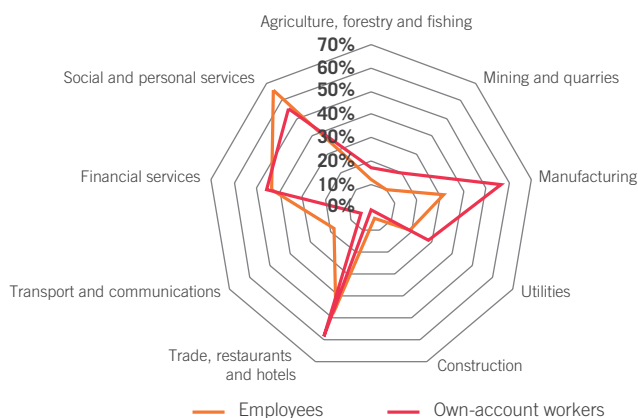
Note: Unexplained gap after controlling for all demographic and employment variables. The value of the gap for the sectors Undeclared, Mines and quarries, Manufacturing and Transport and communications (in the own-account workers category) is 251.3, 181.5, 67 and -0.1, respectively.

Defined as the proportion of women in the sector, sector feminization is a factor frequently associated with gender pay gaps. Women account for the highest share of workers in community, social and personal services (64 per cent), half of those employed in the retail trade, restaurants and hotels sector, and have a significant presence in the financial service sector (43 per cent). In other words, women predominate in all service sectors except for transport and communications. By contrast, traditional patterns of sector segregation persist given that women are

practically non-existent in construction (3 per cent), mines and quarries (11 per cent) and agriculture, forestry and fishery (14 per cent). In most sectors, excepting construction, transport and communications, and social and personal services, the feminization rate is higher among own-account workers than among wage employees (Figure 3.13).

Sector feminization is positively associated with the unexplained gender pay gap between wage employees (Pearson Correlation Coefficient of 0.21), but not among own-account workers (in this group, the correlation is negligible). This implies that the more feminized the wage employment is in a sector, the larger the gap not explained by the variables included in the analysis (age, education, young children in the household, other wage earners in the household, urban/rural residence, job position, weekly hours worked, economic sector, occupation, small enterprise and formality). The large share of women in the sectors is associated with women's reduced negotiation capacity, as well as with fewer barriers to entry in some sectors (community, social and personal services, for example) in comparison with others (construction).

FIGURE 3.13. Latin America. Sector Feminization of Main Economic Activity, 2017



Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

Note: Ratio of female participation calculated as the number of women in the total workers in an economic activity.

3.2 Gaps and low earnings. The role of minimum wages

As mentioned, the largest gender pay gaps are those in the lowest percentiles of wage distribution (Figure 3.2). In those labour market segments, the minimum wage serves to protect employees from receiving unfairly low wages. This instrument attempts to help dependent workers benefit from a fair distribution of the fruits of progress. To promote this objective, a well-enforced minimum wage policy can also contribute to integrating policies designed to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality, including gender pay gaps.

In this sub-section, the analysis will focus on dependent workers only since minimum wage policies are generally designed for them rather than own-account workers or employers. Figure 3.13 shows the average gender pay gap in each decile (D1 – D10) of the hourly wage distribution for 20 countries, which represent 94 per cent of the population of wage employees in LAC.³

Each of the 20 countries listed in Figure 3.14 has a minimum wage law in effect (see Annex 2). Assuming full compliance with the corresponding law, it would be expected that in all 20 countries, the gender pay gap at the bottom of the wage distribution would either not exist or would be substantially lower than in the higher levels of wage distribution.

An initial general observation evident in Figure 3.14 is that for all the countries represented, the gap varies widely throughout the wage distribution. The second observation is that, except in five of the 20 countries (Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guyana and Honduras), the pay gap per hour worked is larger in the lower end of the distribution, especially in the first and second deciles of the hourly wage distribution, which exactly corresponds to the effective minimum wage zone in all of those countries.

Moreover, beyond the minimum wage zone –in terms of the bottom deciles– in most of the countries (excepting Brazil, Chile and Guyana), the gap narrows in the upper deciles of the wage distribution. In most of those countries, the gap becomes negative at the top deciles of the distribution, which would indicate that women in the upper deciles

3 The data used are from the most recent available source for each country: for the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Guyana, Honduras, Panama, Peru, El Salvador and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela, data are from 2017; for Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, data are from 2016; for the remainder of the countries, data are from 2018. See Annex 2 for more information.

(with respect to their own wage distribution) receive higher hourly wages than men in similar deciles.

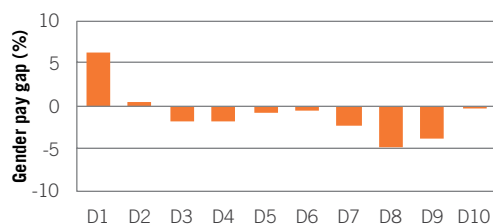
This raises the question: what explains these characteristics of the gender pay gap through the wage distribution? First, women's participation in wage employment tends to be relatively low compared with that of men in LAC countries. Often, the distribution of women is asymmetrical: a higher percentage are in the lower deciles (such as in the case of domestic workers) and a smaller proportion are included in the top levels of the wage distribution. By contrast, male employees are much more prevalent and are more uniformly represented throughout the wage distribution.

This suggests that, in practice, the comparison is between a relatively small number of women and a larger, more diverse group of men at each level of the wage distribution. Thus, the results – particularly at the highest levels of the wage distribution – are disproportionately influenced by the presence of few women. This small sample size results in what is known as a sampling bias.

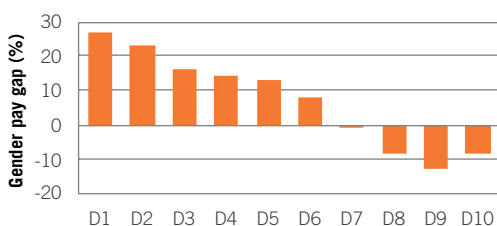
Figure A.1 in Annex 2 shows the respective proportions of men and women at different levels of the wage distribution in each of the 20 countries. The first observation is that for the five countries of exception according to Figure 3.14 (Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guyana and Honduras), men outnumber women in the lowest levels of the wage distribution. By contrast, in the 15 other countries, the estimates in Annex 2 demonstrate that women are overrepresented at the bottom of the wage distribution. In all the countries, this is precisely where gender pay gaps tend to be largest.

**FIGURE 3.14. Latin America and the Caribbean (20 countries):
Gender Pay Gaps in the Wage Distribution, by Country, Recent Years**

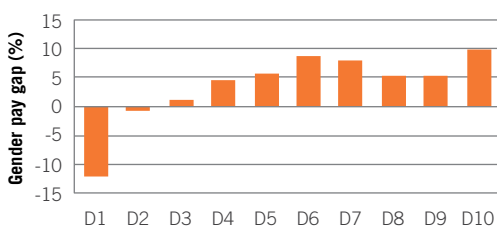
Argentina



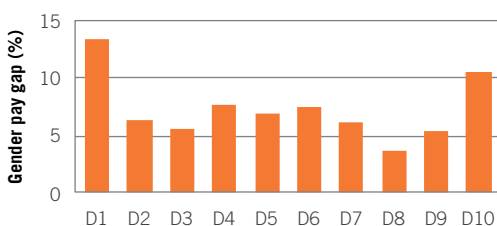
Bolivia, Plurinational State of



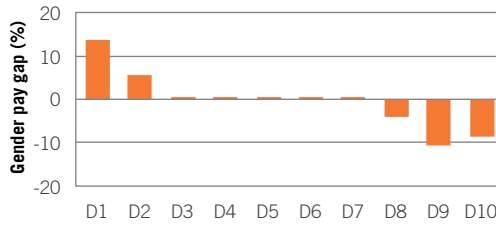
Brazil



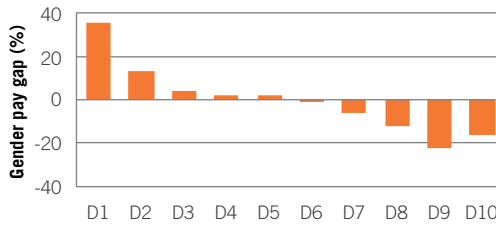
Chile



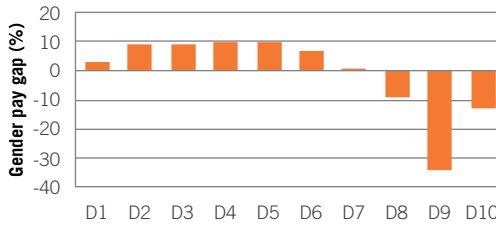
Colombia



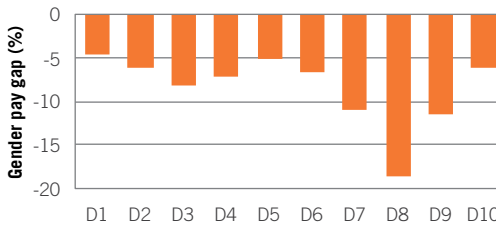
Costa Rica



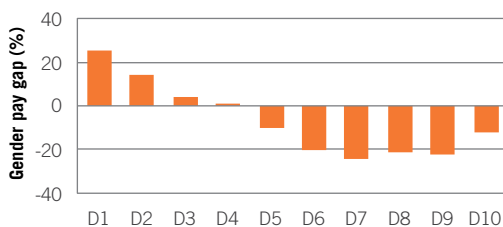
Dominican Republic



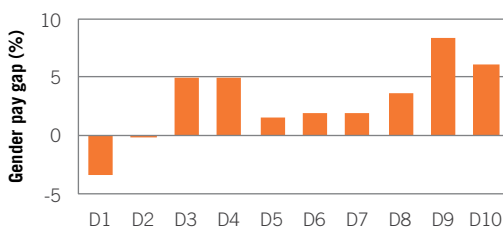
Ecuador



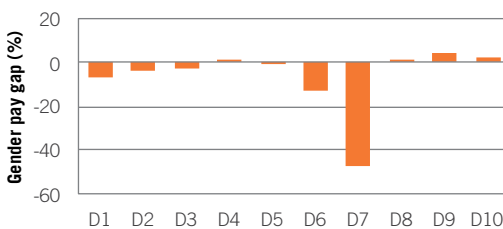
Guatemala



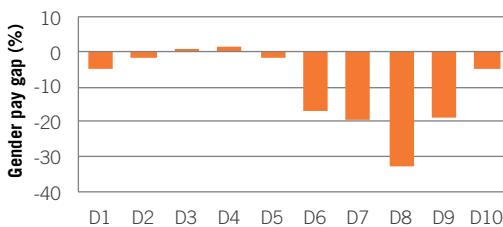
Guayana



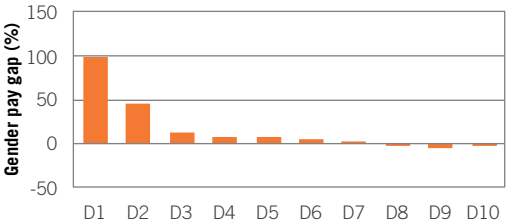
Honduras



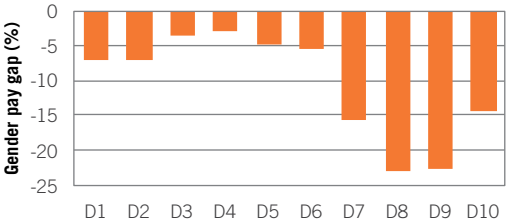
Jamaica



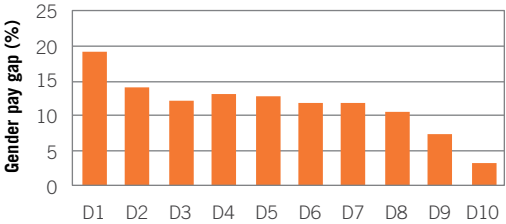
Mexico



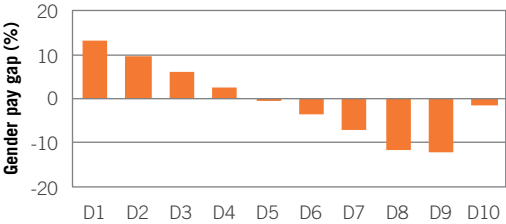
Panama



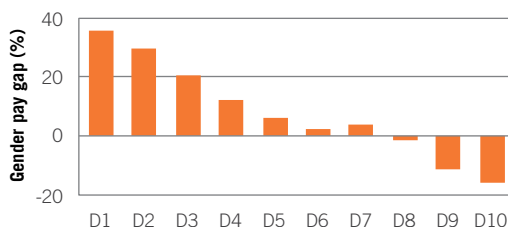
Peru



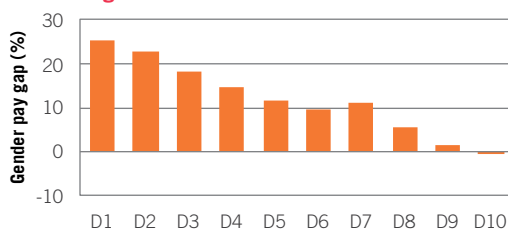
Paraguay



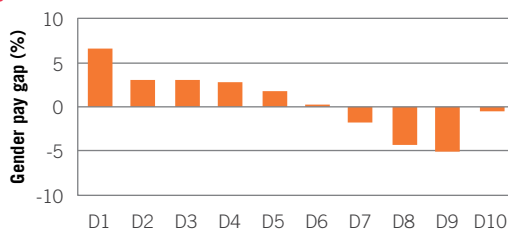
| El Salvador



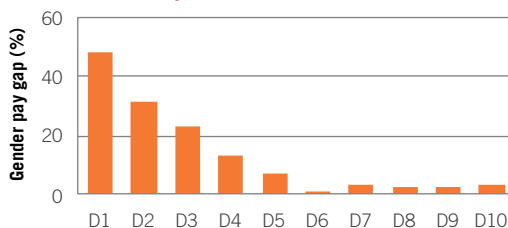
| Trinidad and Tobago



| Uruguay



| Venezuela, Bolivarian Republic of



Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American and Caribbean countries (see Annex 2).

A second question is: why is the gender pay gap so large precisely in the area surrounding the minimum wage zone? It is explained by the high level of informality existing in countries of the region, which has an adverse effect on compliance with the legal minimum wage. According to the latest ILO statistical report on informality (ILO, 2018n), approximately 30 per cent of employees in LAC are informal, with a variation across countries ranging from 12 per cent (Uruguay and the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela) to 68 per cent (Guatemala). Colombia, Brazil and Mexico all have intermediate levels, with a percentage of informality among employees of 27, 34 and 46 per cent, respectively.

The result is that the existence of a legal minimum wage does not contribute as it should to reducing gender pay gaps, either at the bottom of the wage distribution or in the global total of the average pay gap. Figure 3.15 illustrates the relationship between the gender pay gap and non-compliance with the minimum wage in the 20 countries. Using current minimum wages of each country (see Annex 2), the study identified the additional percentage of women with respect to men who earn less than the minimum wage (non-compliance). This is shown in the horizontal axis of Figure 3.15. The vertical axis of the figure demonstrates the average of the gender pay gap in the first and second deciles of the wage distribution. The figure reveals that the higher the minimum wage non-compliance among women as compared with men, the wider the gender pay gap according to the measurement of this gap in the two bottom deciles of the wage distribution.

An interesting counterfactual question is: How much would the gender pay gap change in the event of full compliance with the minimum wage among employees? This can be determined by: (i) using the factor-weighted gender pay gap (ILO, 2018n). The pay gap in each of the countries is estimated based on the hourly wage declared by employees;⁴ (ii) the hourly wage corresponding to the minimum wage is attributed to all wage employees who earn an hourly wage that is below the legal minimum wage of each country, without modifying the wage declared by wage employees who earn the same or more than the minimum wage; and (iii) with the "attributed" variable, the factor-

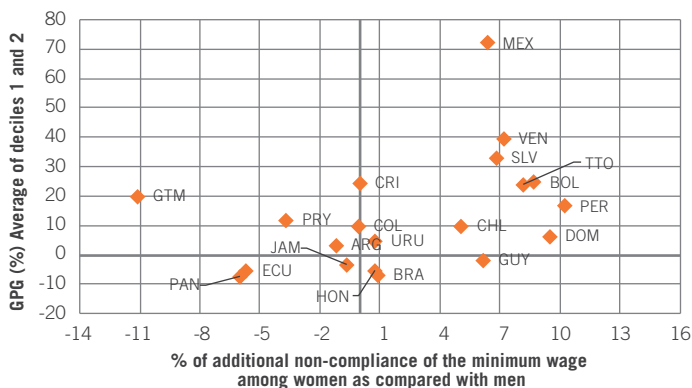
4 The fact-weighted gender pay gap method groups the population of wage employees based on four factors (age, workday, education and institutional sector), which helps to create more homogenous groups of wage employees in terms of their labour market characteristics. This grouping eliminates some of the composition effects that often occur, especially in countries where women's participation in wage employment is low and where women tend to be grouped in sectors and concrete ranges of the wage distribution.

weighted gender pay gap is again estimated and compared with the original.

Figure 3.16 provides comparisons for each of the 20 countries and each of the four sub-regions (Central America, Southern Cone, Andean countries, Caribbean countries). In effect, when the minimum wage is “applied” in places where this condition of decent work does not exist, the gender pay gap diminishes in all the countries except for Ecuador, Jamaica, Panama and Uruguay. These are the four countries with low levels of minimum wage non-compliance. By contrast, in countries with high non-compliance rates (especially Guatemala, El Salvador and Honduras), the gender pay gap would fall sharply if all wage employees received the minimum wage. Note that in the case of El Salvador, the gap disappears: this is not surprising given that some 70 per cent of wage employees in the lower deciles of the wage distribution are women (see Annex 3) and that the gender pay gap is largest in the two lowest deciles. In the LAC region, simply achieving minimum wage compliance would reduce the hourly gender pay gap (according to the factor-weighted method)⁵ by 2.8 per cent, from 15.6 per cent to 12.8 per cent.

⁵ Note that the factor-weighted gender pay gap in Figure 3.15 is 6.6 per cent in Panama, even though in Figure 3.13 the gap –unweighted– is negative across the wage distribution. In the case of Figure 3.13, individuals are not aligned and grouped by factors that match men and women by their labour market characteristics. For example, women in the first decile of the wage distribution may have labour market attributes that are comparable to those of men belonging to the second decile. Comparing deciles without considering this grouping is subject to composition effects that are adjusted when the population is regrouped by key factors of labour force participation. This is what the factor-weighted gender pay gap does. In the case of Panama, it shows that the gender pay gap exists and is positive, even though the average gap would give a negative result. This example serves for any of the 20 countries with a wage distribution profile similar to that of Panama.

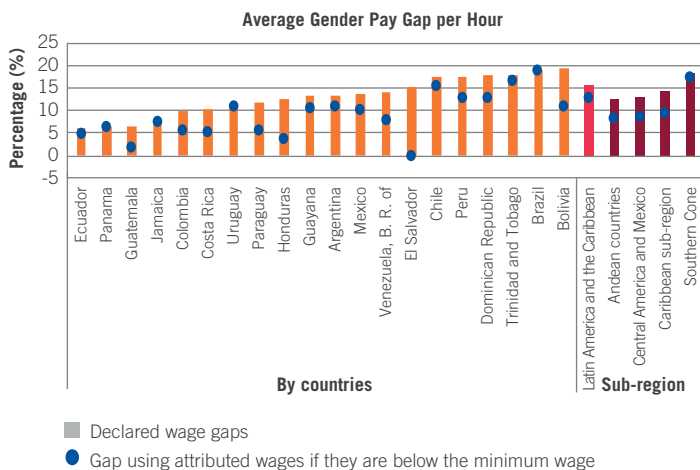
FIGURE 3.15. Latin America and the Caribbean (20 countries): Gender Pay Gap in Non-compliance with the Minimum Wage versus Gender Wage Gap (average of deciles 1 and 2)



Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American and Caribbean countries (see Annex 2).

Note: Positive (negative) values in the horizontal axis denote higher (lower) non-compliance with the minimum wage among men than among women.

FIGURE 3.16. Latin America and the Caribbean. Gender Pay Gap Weighted by Factors Using Declared or Attributed Wages (Counterfactual Explanation)



Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American and Caribbean countries (see Annex 2).

3.3 Gender gaps in the Caribbean

Evidence in the Caribbean tends to be limited, although it is consistent in its findings. The most recent data come from the World Economic Forum with information for Jamaica (2018) and Guyana (2016) (WEF, 2016, 2018). In both cases, the results indicate that gaps are slightly wider than in other LAC countries.

Several studies in Saint Lucia report gaps comparable to those of the rest of the region after controlling for gender differences in occupations, sector, status in employment and level of education (Budlender, undated; Xavier, 2015; ILO, 2018a). Barbados and Jamaica show gaps similar to those of the rest of the region after controlling for the characteristics mentioned (Bellony et. al, 2010). All cases document a prevalence of gaps at the primary and secondary education levels, which disappear at the level of tertiary education.

Gender gaps in labour force participation (just over 70 per cent for men and 50 per cent for women) and unemployment (about 10 per cent for women and 6 per cent for men) are similar to the rest of the region. Thus, in the Caribbean, women tend to be overrepresented at the bottom of the wage distribution and underrepresented among entrepreneurs and at the other extreme of the wage distribution (Stuart et. al, 2018; Lashley, 2010). In terms of education, women are overrepresented among individuals with a secondary and tertiary education, men among those with a primary education. Despite their higher level of education, women have poorer working conditions. This result is also similar to what occurs in the rest of the region (Chipman-Johnson and Vanderpool, 2003).

While overall trends in labour force participation and unemployment are similar for men and women in the medium term, it is possible to identify some minor differences. On the one hand, improved macro-economic conditions favoured employment, but women were more likely to become employed after being outside of the labour market while men who became employed had been unemployed (UN Women, 2019). Additionally, the fluctuations in business cycles have slightly different effects on the participation and unemployment of men and women. During periods of economic growth, the women's unemployment rate declined more slowly than that of men (Seguino, 2003).

Two characteristics of Caribbean women limit their labour force participation: (i) the percentage of households headed by women is higher than in the rest of the world, and (ii) there is a high incidence of women under 18 who live with small children (UN Women, 2019).

This also has implications for the kinds of jobs women can choose (occupations, management positions, economic sectors, formality, part time work, etc.). Many of the results for the rest of the region apply here as well. Women are underrepresented in management positions, but overrepresented in the category of sales professionals, technicians and employees (UN Women, 2019). Gradually, as workers advance up the career ladder in their enterprises, women tend to disappear. In the service sector, and especially in tourism, women are in the majority (Platanova and Gény, 2017; ILO, 2018e). Women are mainly employees rather than employers or own-account workers. They are also relatively predominant in government employment (Lashelay and Smith, 2015).

Institutional framework. In the English-speaking Caribbean, most of the national agencies responsible for gender issues were established during the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985), while a few were established more recently. They take the form of women's or gender committees, inter-ministerial committees or specific government agencies (for example, Jamaica's Office of Gender Affairs or Saint Lucia's Division of Gender Relations). Generally, their mission has been to:

- ▶ Provide administrative and technical assistance to non-governmental organizations of women, and occasionally, of men.
- ▶ Provide a referral service for women in areas such as domestic violence and labour rights.
- ▶ Conduct gender-based research and provide disaggregated data to inform policymaking and programme design.
- ▶ Advise government agencies on gender policy and on "general" gender issues in the work of government ministries.

The effectiveness of these entities has depended on the ministry to which they report (with implications in operational terms). In Jamaica, the success of gender focal points within each ministry is dependent upon the specific dynamics of the public ministry or agency in which they are established (Maziki and Thakur, 2014).

The Caribbean also has programmes designed to directly improve women's employability, whether through the development of cognitive or socioemotional skills, access to credit or technical assistance for enterprise development (as well as market access). Given the problems in the region, some programmes target men to achieve positive gender impact. This is the case of Guyana's Training Programme for Single Fathers of the Ministry of Social Protection. Also noteworthy in that country is the aid of the Small Business Bureau (SBB) and the Small

Business Development Fund (SBDF), which serve women exclusively (training, subsidies and facilitation of marketing opportunities). Women outnumber men in Saint Lucia's National Apprenticeship and Placement Programme (representing two-thirds of participants). Jamaica's Steps to Work Programme targets beneficiaries of the national conditional cash transfer programme, many of whom are single mothers.

3.4 Not one but many worlds: gender in rural labour markets

The high levels of poverty and inequality in the region are associated with decent work deficits in rural areas. Poverty rates in rural areas are higher than in urban zones due to a combination of factors: low total factor productivity, low workforce productivity, low levels of formal education, jobs of insufficient quality (which are often characterized by low earnings), fewer options for paid employment and increased weakness of labour institutions (which is reflected in the high level of labour informality), among other setbacks and inequalities persisting in rural areas.

Women face an additional disadvantage: gender roles in rural zones tend to be more rigid than in urban areas. Women are mainly responsible for tasks associated with reproduction, housework and the care of children, older persons and the disabled. This not only hinders their access to the labour market, but also affects their employment trajectories and their occupational possibilities. This in turn reduces their earnings and possibilities for accessing social security. Finally, they are considered secondary workers who supplement the household income or are invisible as contributing family workers or producers for household consumption.

Analyzing women's labour force participation requires valuing their work in the labour market and for household consumption as an economic activity. Women in both rural and urban areas devote a large share of their time performing unpaid tasks, which significantly affects their labour market participation. Unpaid work that women in rural areas frequently perform also includes agricultural activity, raising of small animals, collection of firewood and water. Working-age women devote more than twice the amount of time as men to unpaid domestic work, especially in rural areas, and less time than men in paid employment.

Gender inequalities in the rural labour market

Despite the advances made in recent decades in terms of rural women's labour force participation and development, significant gaps

exist between rural men and women, as well as between rural women and their urban counterparts. This occurs in terms of labour force participation and unemployment rates, employment-to-population ratios, segmentation in labour markets and quality of employment.

In most of the countries of the region, women's labour force participation rates are higher in urban than in rural areas (the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru are notable exceptions). By contrast, in all the countries except Brazil, the labour force participation rate among men is higher in rural than in urban areas and is a key reason for their early incorporation into the labour market (Table A.6 of Annex 1).

The labour markets of the Plurinational State of Bolivia and Peru are unusual in the region given the high rates of labour participation among both men and women. This is partly due to the prevalence of small-holder agriculture, youths' early exit from the education system and the adequate measurement of own-account and contributing family employment (ECLAC/ILO 2016). At the other extreme, the low labour force participation rate recorded among rural women of Honduras may result from a measurement system that does not adequately capture rural women's participation in production activities (Weller, 2009).

Despite the disadvantages, rural women in several countries of the region have made important strides in the labour market in recent years. Between 2012 and 2017, the labour force participation rate of rural women increased in five of 11 countries with available, comparable information. Rural women's labour force participation increased the most in Ecuador (16 percentage points), the Plurinational State of Bolivia (6 percentage points) and Panama (5 percentage points). In some countries, however, the labour force participation rate fell (Paraguay and Peru). Nevertheless, despite advances in the labour force participation rate of women in some countries of the region, the employment-to-population ratio of women is still below that of men in both rural and urban areas in all LAC countries.

Rural unemployment rates also tend to be lower than urban unemployment rates given that the excess or surplus supply of labour is more commonly expressed in migratory flows towards the cities and in low-paid jobs with less social protection coverage than in open unemployment (ILO, 2014). The opportunity to access paid employment varies with the agricultural cycle, which is reflected in the higher level of labour inactivity in periods of low labour demand. Additionally, poverty rates and the limited savings of households do not permit individuals to spend extended periods seeking employment with the desired characteristics. Rather, they are forced to take advantage of

employment opportunities, even when jobs are less than desirable, or to create own-account employment, which in rural areas is more limited than in urban areas.

Of the 15 countries with available information for 2017, just two (El Salvador and Costa Rica) have higher unemployment rates in rural areas than in urban ones. In Ecuador, Colombia and the Dominican Republic, urban unemployment rates double those of rural areas.

Gaps in unemployment rates by geographic area also occur by gender, to the disadvantage of women, and are more prevalent in rural areas in nine of the 15 countries with available information. The largest gender gaps in rural unemployment rates are in Colombia (2.9 times), Guatemala (2.6 times) and Honduras (8.7 times). Once again, this reflects women's greater difficulties in finding employment as compared with men, which in many countries is an even more serious problem in rural areas.

Segmented labour markets and quality of employment

Labour markets of the region are extremely segmented, which limits women's incorporation into the labour market as they are concentrated in certain areas of economic activity. The countries with the highest rates of rural women's labour force participation are the same ones with the highest percentages of women's participation in the primary sector, composed mainly of agriculture and fishing, to a lesser extent. In the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay and Peru, most rural women are employed in agriculture, while in the remainder of the countries, women mainly work in rural non-agricultural activities (FAO 2019). In countries such as Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador and Mexico, less than 20 per cent of rural women work in agriculture. By contrast, between 50 per cent and 70 per cent of rural men work in agriculture, except in Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic and Uruguay.

In some LAC countries, women's participation in agriculture has increased sharply in recent years as a result of women's paid employment in the export of non-traditional, labour-intensive agricultural products and due to the number of women managing farms. However, one of the most serious gender inequalities in rural areas continues to be women's unequal access to land ownership and means of production. This occurs due to market mechanisms or patriarchal practices hidden in laws on inheritance rights. Additionally, women are responsible for smaller farms with poor production and marketing conditions (FAO, 2017).

The trade, restaurants and hotels sector also employs a large percentage of rural women. This sector is associated with many part-time jobs and relatively low wages (ILO, 2016). Although in all countries, the proportion of female wage employees in rural areas is lower than in urban areas, percentages vary across countries. In most cases, it ranges from between a third to two-thirds of the total. Additionally, men outnumber women in the group of rural own-account workers in most of the countries in the region.

Beyond the segmentation by economic activity and status in employment, another key indicator for measuring the quality of employment is informal employment. This is even more true considering that its incidence is one of the most persistent and troubling characteristics of labour markets in LAC (ILO, 2018o). Informal employment includes employed individuals who, by law or in practice, are not covered by national labour law or who do not have access to social protection or labour benefits. They are employed in formal-sector enterprises, informal-sector enterprises and in households. International standards distinguish between informal-sector employment and informal employment. Informal-sector employment is an enterprise-based concept defined in terms of workplace characteristics. By contrast, informal employment is a job-based concept defined in terms of the employment relationship and protections associated with the worker's job. Unlike the concept of the informal sector, which uses production units as units of observation, the concept of informal employment uses jobs as units of observation (ILO, 2013a).

According to recent information produced by the ILO's Labour Analysis and Information System in Latin America and the Caribbean (SIALC), the total informal employment rate (agricultural and non-agricultural) in LAC in 2017 was 50.6 per cent of the national total — 44.6 per cent in urban areas and 76.8 per cent in rural areas.⁶ This means that rural residents are nearly twice as likely to have informal employment than urban dwellers. Table 3.1 demonstrates that the main difference between rural and urban areas is that economic units of the informal sector contribute more than twice as much to informal employment in rural areas than they do in urban areas.

6 Estimate based on 16 countries: Argentina, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay.

TABLE 3.1. Latin America (16 countries): Components of Informal Employment by Geographic Region and Sex, 2017

Employed population		Workers with informal employment					Workers with formal employment
		Total	In the informal sector	Outside of the informal sector			
				Total	In the formal sector	In households	
National							
Total	100.0	50.6	37.6	13.0	9.0	4.1	49.4
Men	100.0	51.0	40.8	10.2	9.2	1.0	49.0
Women	100.0	50.2	33.1	17.0	8.6	8.5	49.8
Urban							
Total	100.0	44.6	31.7	12.9	9.0	3.9	55.4
Men	100.0	44.2	34.5	9.7	9.2	0.5	55.8
Women	100.0	45.2	28.1	17.1	8.7	8.4	54.8
Rural							
Total	100.0	76.8	63.2	13.7	8.9	4.7	23.2
Men	100.0	75.9	63.8	12.1	9.4	2.7	24.1
Women	100.0	78.8	61.9	16.9	8.0	8.9	21.2

Source: ILO, based on information from household surveys.

Note: Estimate based on 16 countries: Argentina, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay.

Rural employers and own-account workers, as well as wage employees of production units that are not registered either because of their limited capital or small scale of operations, tend to have more difficulty reaching sufficient production volumes to achieve an adequate level of productivity as compared with their urban counterparts.

Informal employment for both sexes is 1.7 times higher in rural areas than in urban ones. Interestingly, there is not a significant gender gap in urban and rural areas, except in the household sector, although it varies. This is explained by the limited participation of men in domestic work.

Informal employment in the formal sector represents nearly 9 per cent of the total of urban and rural employment. In the case of informal employment, the main cause of informality is non-compliance or unfamiliarity with labour law, limited regulation and institutional weakness.

Disaggregating the data by status in employment (Table 3.2), except for contributing family workers, who by definition are informal, the highest rates of informality correspond to own-account workers, 79.5 per cent in urban areas and 87.4 per cent in rural areas. Women own-account workers have higher levels of informality than those of men in this category in both rural and urban areas. Moreover, indices of informal employment among rural wage employees of both sexes are nearly double those of urban wage employees.

Considering that own-account workers tend to be more prevalent in rural labour markets while wage employees tend to be more predominant in urban markets, the high percentages of informal employment in these types of employment in rural areas are largely explained by the higher percentage of informal employment in rural than in urban areas.

TABLE 3.2. Latin America (16 countries): Informal Employment by Geographic Region and Sex, 2017

Geographic region and sex	National			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Latin America ^{a/}	50.6	51.0	50.2	44.6	44.2	45.2	76.8	75.9	78.8
Status in employment									
Employers	41.0	43.1	35.0	35.7	37.0	32.4	74.7	76.6	64.7
Employees	34.2	35.1	33.0	30.2	29.7	30.7	61.0	63.1	55.8
Own-account workers	81.6	80.9	82.6	79.5	78.8	80.5	87.4	85.9	90.9
Contributing family workers	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Members of cooperatives and others	35.7	32.7	40.1	31.3	23.2	40.7	43.6	45.8	38.6

Source: ILO, based on information from household surveys.

^{a/} Estimate based on 16 countries: Argentina, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay.

Women's opportunities to achieve autonomy and access to employment are therefore more limited than those of men, particularly in rural areas given the patriarchal social and cultural practices that contribute to different forms of gender discrimination. This complex reality of rural women presents several challenges that should be addressed through different channels and levels, beginning with the household, followed by the community, the school and the workplace, to spaces of local, national and international policymaking.

4. What is behind the gaps?

The previous section revealed the gender pay gaps that resulted after incorporating a series of observable factors into the analysis (age, education, presence of children in the household, rural residence, formality, occupation, economic sector, etc.). These factors partly explain the gap, yet gaps persist that cannot be explained in that context. These gaps originate from other causes addressed in the literature in recent years.

This chapter first offers an exhaustive literature review on the different unobservable factors behind gender pay gaps. It then focuses on a factor that has been gaining importance within gender analysis: the relationship between women's labour force participation and care duties (or, more generally, domestic responsibilities).

4.1 Unobservable factors

After reviewing the economic literature that explores some of the unobservable factors behind gender pay gaps in the region with respect to the differentiated treatment of women, this report groups the studies in three main categories that are mutually reinforcing:

1. Stereotypes: presence of a variety of cognitive biases and discrimination;
2. Behaviours: aspirations, negotiation skills and risk aversion; and
3. Social norms: sexual division of labour and new family arrangements.

Increasingly, there is a growing consensus that culture has an impact on the economic development of a society. Culture is understood as the set of values, beliefs and preferences shared by a society (Mokyr, 2016). Culture consciously or unconsciously defines people's ideas about the world, and these ideas may include different cognitive biases. By typifying these ideas with respect to the behaviour of a certain group of people, stereotypes emerge, which can reduce the effectiveness of policies designed to promote gender equality. For example, Le Barbanchon and Sauvagnat (2018) have shown that, despite the enactment of the law of parity for elected officials in France, the biases of voters (measured through the existence of a gender pay gap in the region) led political parties to nominate fewer women in those regions.

When people act based on their biases, results may be discriminatory. Discrimination, in turn, has direct and indirect effects on both individual behaviour and social norms. The limited expectation of perfor-

mance of a collective effectively leads to the individuals belonging to the collective to function below their possibilities and abilities. This reduces the wellbeing of that group, and consequently, the general wellbeing (Dalton et. al, 2014).

For example, Babcock and Laschever (2003) found that up to 10 per cent of the gender pay gap can be explained by women's assumed lack of ability to negotiate. This situation clearly perpetuates situations of labour and economic inequality (Babcock and Laschever, 2003; Bowles et. al, 2007; Bowles and Babcock, 2008). Women tend to be more risk-averse than men (Borghans et. al, 2019); however, Sapienza et. al (2009) demonstrated that men and women with equal levels of testosterone have similar levels of aversion to financial risk. If it is assumed that women will be worse negotiators, they will indeed negotiate less effectively. This poor performance does not reflect a lack of ability, but rather a desire to avoid social punishment.

Another area susceptible to biases and stereotypes is the sexual division of labour (known as "gender roles"), which often determines the access to, use and control of resources, both in society (public space) and within the household (private space). Although women participate in the labour market, they are expected to be the main people responsible for domestic chores and care of dependent individuals. Men who perform these same tasks are seen as responsible for the economic maintenance of the household. An analysis from a gender perspective is useful for identifying and questioning inequality, discrimination and the exclusion of women in different spheres of society.

The extensive literature demonstrates the risks of the motherhood penalty. By contrast, men enjoy a fatherhood wage premium, which exacerbates gender pay gaps (Weeden et. al, 2016). Goldin (2014) reports that women with children work 24 per cent less than men and women without children and choose different occupations and sectors than do men. A study by Caldwell and Oehlsen (2018) on the gig economy (Uber and Lyft drivers) revealed that the elasticity of the earnings of young women without children is greater than that of other demographic groups (it is double that of men).

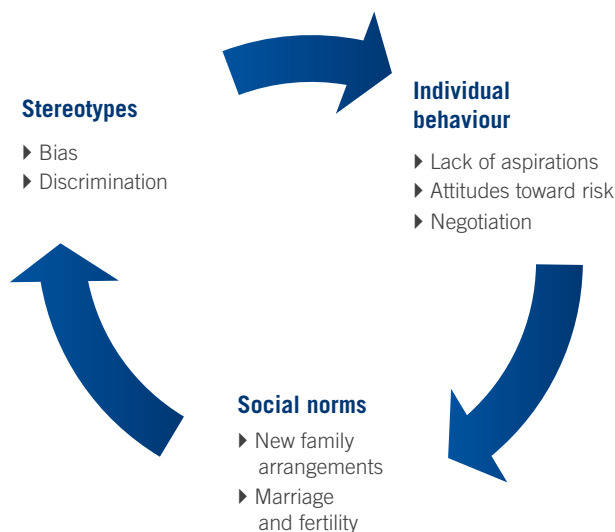
To a large extent, the impact of biases on gender pay gaps meant that LAC economic growth during the 2000s did not result in women's increased labour force participation. To the contrary, Gasparini and Marchionni (2015) found that women's labour force participation has slowed mainly because of the exit of married women from the market, low education levels and vulnerable workplaces conditioned by economic growth (secondary workers). In Chile, Berniell et. al (2019) reported that the

likelihood of women's having informal work increases after the birth of the first child, with the subsequent costs in terms of social protection, wages and the accumulation of skills. It is even estimated that, if the increased level of informality did not mitigate the negative effect of motherhood on women, the impact would be 23 per cent rather than the 17 per cent recorded. Results were similar in much of the developed and developing world (Agüero et. al, 2017; Grimshaw and Rubery, 2015).

The decisions people make before entering the labour market deserve special mention. In Colombia, among recent graduates, the type of occupation chosen explains between 3 and 4 per cent of the gender wage gap at the beginning of their professional careers, when promotions, experience and interruptions in the career have yet to occur and therefore have no impact (Cepeda-Emiliani et. al, 2014). Along these same lines, in developing economies, women's career choices incorporate decisions on maternity and the desire to support a family (Agüero et. al, 2017).

Figure 4.1 presents the diagram of unobservable factors explaining women's poorer results in the labour market. The chapter expands on the literature review in the following sections.

FIGURE 4.1. Unobservable Factors Behind Gender Pay Gaps



Stereotypes

In an increasingly pluralistic, rapidly changing world, people must consult several information sources when making decisions. Ideally, they should seek effective approximations that are easily interpreted and that generate quality predictions. Occasionally, however, a simple approximation negatively identifies and classifies individuals belonging to disadvantaged groups, even when the initial intention is to promote equality. Thus, a formal inconsistency may exist between simplicity and equality, which results in the reduction of utility for disadvantaged groups, and consequently, in less general wellbeing. Simplicity transforms the disadvantage into bias against the disadvantaged group and thereby generates a form of statistical discrimination (Kleinberg and Mullainathan, 2019).

Cognitive biases. During the 1960s, Philip Goldberg found that women evaluated texts written by men more positively than those written by women. Since then, several studies have examined how men and women assess the work of their colleagues (Ellsberg, 1961; Goldberg, 1968). Sarsons (2017) documented this effect among surgeons in the United States. She found, for example, that if a patient of a female surgeon died in the operating room, her colleagues would send her fewer patients in the future. By contrast, if the same scenario occurred with a male surgeon, patient referrals would be unaffected.

Carlana et. al (2017) found that recommendations of Italian secondary schoolteachers with respect to the vocational guidance of their students (to continue in an academic programme or to choose a vocational training programme) are biased by gender and students' origin (natives versus immigrants). Despite the considerable capacities of the immigrant students, teachers recommended that they enroll in vocational training rather than pursue an academic programme. In LAC, a recent study identified gender biases that reduce girls' confidence in subjects such as math, which may explain the underrepresentation of women in those fields of study (Edo, Gasparini and Marchionni, 2018).

Discrimination. Audit studies, which are useful for identifying discriminatory hiring practices of employers, use fictitious résumés of men and women with identical qualifications (education, experience and other characteristics) to apply for jobs. Once these jobs applications were submitted, the differences in the rates of invitations for interviews received by men and women reveal, at least partially, signs of discrimination. Even when academic performance, work experience and personal characteristics associated with productivity were equal for both sexes, men received more requests for interviews. This type of study has

been applied in several countries around the world, including in LAC, with similar results (Bravo et. al, 2007, Galarza and Yamada, 2014). This method also shows that married women of childbearing age without children and who are ambitious, competitive and dominant (characteristics associated with higher productivity) suffer from discrimination in hiring practices. This would indicate that employers base their hiring decisions on gender stereotypes (Weichselbaumer, 2004, Becker et. al, 2019).

Behaviour

The extensive literature in different fields demonstrates that discriminated-against groups tend to make worse decisions (Carlana et. al, 2017; Dalton et. al, 2014; Genicot and Ray, 2017). The problem would not be so serious if it did not also produce consequences that affect equality, overall wellbeing and the economic growth of women. Additionally, the academic performance of discriminated-against groups is determined by the level of social cohesion in their environment (El Ferrara and Devarajan, 2019).

Aspirations. The lack of aspirations of minority groups is both a cause and consequence of biases against those groups (Dalton et. al, 2014; Genicot and Ray, 2017). This situation may even affect economic growth. In India, elected women officials have proven to be less corrupt, more patient and more effective in implementing infrastructure works than men (Baskaran et. al, 2018). When decisions are made, people may be discriminated against because of their economic status. This leads lower-income individuals to make less of an effort, and therefore, to have fewer achievements (Dalton, Ghosal and Mani, 2014). For example, in the Italian education system, immigrant children who perform well at school have fewer aspirations than do native Italian students (Carlana, El Ferrara and Pinotti, 2017), which also results in fewer achievements.

Genicot and Ray (2017) developed a theory of socially determined aspirations. They relate the bidirectional interaction of these aspirations to economic growth and inequality, where aspirations, income and its distribution evolve together. The authors demonstrated that aspirations that are moderately above the current living standard of the individual tend to foster investment; consequently, they positively influence economic growth, while higher aspirations may lead to frustration. At any rate, the results on inequality are inconclusive.

Negotiation skills. US research studies demonstrate that women negotiate less than men, for which reason they end up accepting lower wages, thereby widening the gender gap (Babcock and Laschever, 2003).

In Peru, researchers found that when seeking employment, women's salary expectations are 7 per cent below those of men, on average, despite having the same job qualifications (Moreno et. al, 2012).

Women tend not to negotiate for two main reasons. First, they tend to be socially penalized when they assume masculine stereotypes such as negotiating for a higher salary, for example (Bowles et. al, 2007). Nevertheless, the social cost of negotiating better salaries is lower in enterprises with a larger share of women (Bowles and Babcock, 2008). Thus, if women negotiate on behalf of a collective, the social cost diminishes (Carli et. al, 1995; Eagly and Johnson, 1990; Ridgeway, 1982; Bohnet, 2016). Another strategy for avoiding the bias is to use external validation of the request and comparison with the salary offered by the previous employer (Babcock and Laschever, 2003; Bowles and Babcock, 2008).

Secondly, women are perceived as poor negotiators when negotiation is understood as a zero-sum game, as opposed to a cooperative game (Sambuco et. al, 2013). In many areas of society, there is still more tolerance of men's mistakes than of women's, which influences the attitudes of each gender with respect to risk and ambiguity (Ellsberg, 1961).

Risk aversion. The literature review indicates that women are more risk-averse than men in environments of low uncertainty; however, when the uncertainty increases, the gender differences in risk aversion tend to disappear. By contrast, women may better deal with ambiguity than men, but only when it is moderate. When ambiguity levels are higher, there are no differences between men and women (Borghans et. al, 2009). In financial contexts, women are more risk-averse than men (Byrnes et. al, 1999). An increased exposure to testosterone is associated with a lower level of risk-aversion, which influences the behaviour of both sexes (Sapienza et. al, 2009). Individuals with high testosterone levels and low risk-aversion tend to choose riskier careers in finance, regardless of gender.

Social norms

The sexual division of labour in the household and control over resources change over time and from one society to another. For example, societies still exist in which the first son of the family receives more resources than subsequent siblings. In poor households, the birth order of the children (and their gender) can be crucial for determining the investments that the households make in them, and consequently, in their future (Brown et. al, 2018).

According to its gender identification, each group makes different decisions regarding marriage and fertility. While men make decisions

on the acquisition of human capital without considering their skills, women assess their own skills and the consequent delay of fertility that acquiring human capital would entail. The average woman who postpones marriage tends to earn more (Zhang, 2019). Adams and Andrews (2018) encountered this same implicit rationale in a study on parental preferences with respect to the education and marriage of adolescent daughters in India. The parents of the bride consider that the likelihood of obtaining a high-quality marriage match increases with the young woman's education. While the family prefers to wait until their daughter turns 18 before marriage, the likelihood of obtaining a good marriage offer decreases at the age she leaves school.

A growing body of literature is identifying the high labour costs of motherhood worldwide. The birth of a child brings labour costs to mothers (in wages, part time work and formality) that are not recovered over time. For example, Berniell et. al (2018) analyzed the impact of women's role as caregivers on women's labour force participation — especially with respect to the birth of the first child — in Chile from 2002 to 2016. During that period, there was a strong, negative and persistent impact on women, which affected their labour force participation by 17 per cent. Unlike in Scandinavian countries, where women who become mothers have a higher likelihood of obtaining employment, in Chile the probability of obtaining informal employment rose following motherhood, with the consequent costs in terms of social protection, wages and skill accumulation.

New family arrangements. Increasing parents' labour flexibility when their children are born has positive effects on mothers' well-being since it reduces both their likelihood of hospitalization during the first six months postpartum, as well as their need for antibiotics and anxiety medications. This is the result of paternity leave reforms in Sweden beginning in 2000. The country first established a paternity leave of one month at full pay as an incentive for fathers to stay home. In 2012, the system was changed to allow for an additional 30 days of leave at full pay during the first year of life of the child. A week after implementing the reform, paternity leave increased. The impact of the policy was even stronger in families where the mother had a complicated medical history. The programme provided families with increased support precisely at the time when the presence of the father in the household was most needed. The likelihood of hospitalization of mothers and children in the first six months of life also declined. There was also a reduction in the mothers' use of antibiotics and anxiety medications, especially during the first three months

postpartum. These effects intensified in cases where the mother had a complicated medical history (Persson and Rossin-Slater, 2019).

These results demonstrate that the presence of fathers in the household during the first years of life improve the health and wellbeing of mothers. It was believed that the likelihood that fathers would take paternity leave would be higher in cases where the household did not have other family members to care for the child. However, fathers with or without other family members present are equally likely to take leave.

One unanswered question about inequality is why gaps in gender and parental status have been so persistent. Weeden et. al (2016) argued that cultural beliefs about "natural" characteristics of men and women lead to persistent gaps in terms of gender and parental status, and in behaviours and results relevant to wages. From the 1990s to the mid-2000s, the largest gap in long working hours was between mothers and fathers. Gender gaps and parental status in hours of part time work have been less resistant to change, although the proportion of mothers who still work part time is much higher than that of women without children, fathers or men without children.

Marriage and fertility. Women with children work an average of 24 per cent fewer hours than men or women without children. This factor conditions the flexibility of women's employment. A year after having their first child, women end up working an average of 17 per cent fewer hours than before they became mothers (Goldin, 2014). On a global scale, Becker (2018) compared the economic dimension of the restrictions on female sexuality and found that the absence of the father in child raising is frequent in pastoral societies. The dependence on livestock grazing favours the adoption of customs and norms that constrain women's sexual liberty. When evaluating the causal affect, the author found that the absence of the man explained the restrictions on women's sexuality more so than did masculine domination. Becker recommends empowering women by increasing their control of household resources.

Based on 2004-2008 data from Portugal, Lopes (2018) studied the decision of women to delay motherhood based on the extension of employment contracts. The study analyzed women aged 23 to 50, the time during which they are considered fertile and active in the labour market. Through the development of a structural model, the author described the dynamics of women's decisions with respect to their fertility and labour market participation during the lifecycle. The first finding was that decisions on motherhood are conditioned by the life of the partner, while labour decisions depend on the wage and duration of the employment contract. There is a strong preference

for motherhood when women have stable employment, and women with permanent employment contracts have higher fertility rates. Thus, increased employment uncertainty has strong repercussions on the fertility rate. For example, births increase when the mother is employed: from 63 to 73 per cent. The increased fertility is mainly explained by the number of children per mother given that the number of mothers with just one child decreased to 4 per cent.

A recent study (Folke and Rikne, 2019, forthcoming) reported discouraging results for intermarital interactions and women's labour progress. In Sweden, employment promotion (being named a manager) or a political victory (winning the mayoral election or a seat in Parliament) is associated with significant increases in divorce rates for women, but not for men.

4.2 Unpaid care work and labour force participation

According to the International Labour Conference, direct or indirect care work, whether paid or unpaid, is considered work. For that reason, it is essential to establish policies of social justice and gender equality.

Throughout the world, women are the main paid and unpaid caregivers, as are girls in socially disadvantaged groups (ILO, 2018). Frequently, these factors limit their labour market access because they have no one to replace them in their daily tasks.

Sociodemographic changes increase the need for caregiving. In the near future, there will be more adults over age 65 and fewer young people (15-24) in LAC. The proportion of adults over age 65 is growing in the total population; in 2100, this group could account for more than 30 per cent of the total population, as compared with less than 10 per cent in 2020. Additionally, the working-age population (15-65) represented nearly 70 per cent of the total population in 2015; in 2100, it will represent just 55 per cent (United Nations, 2017). These demographic trends will influence the need for care services.

Traditional family roles are changing, and women are increasingly joining the labour force. The and the continuing significant gaps, have created a growing need for an economy of institutionalized care services, even though women traditionally care for people and the household, and their remunerated activity does not allow them enough time for unpaid care activities.

The situation of unpaid care work

The care economy is becoming increasingly institutionalized, but women continue to provide most unpaid care services. Worldwide, the

distribution of unpaid work in households continues to be profoundly unequal: women perform nearly four-fifths of all unpaid care work. The provision of unpaid care services represents the most important constraint to women's labour market entry.

The situation in LAC is no different in terms of the trend and the gap. While not every country in the region reports information on time usage of men and women to quantify the hours spent performing unpaid work, available information reveals a significant gender gap. In countries with available information, women spend most of their time performing unpaid work while men spend most of their time in paid employment. Despite advances in men's increased participation in the household and women's labour force participation, equality remains elusive. Women are mostly responsible for the traditional roles of domestic work and childcare (Table 4.1).

TABLE 4.1. Latin America (11 countries): Average Hours Dedicated to Unpaid Domestic and Caretaking Activities during the Week by Household Members, by Sex

Countries	Unit	Men	Women	Total
Argentina 2013	Hours	15.2	49.3	64.5
	Percentage	23.6%	76.4%	100.0%
Brazil 2018	Hours	10.1	25.3	35.4
	Percentage	28.6%	71.4%	100.0%
Chile 2015	Hours	16.8	41.1	57.9
	Percentage	29.0%	71.0%	100.0%
Colombia 2017	Hours	16.3	22.1	38.3
	Percentage	42.4%	57.6%	100.0%
Costa Rica 2017	Hours	14.2	41.2	55.3
	Percentage	25.6%	74.4%	100.0%
Ecuador 2012	Hours	12.3	52.6	64.9
	Percentage	18.9%	81.1%	100.0%
Guatemala 2018	Hours	6.0	51.6	57.6
	Percentage	10.4%	89.6%	100.0%
Mexico 2014	Hours	20.2	68.5	88.7
	Percentage	22.8%	77.2%	100.0%
Paraguay 2016	Hours	15.0	51.9	66.9
	Percentage	22.4%	77.6%	100.0%

(continues...)

Countries	Unit	Men	Women	Total
Peru 2010	Hours	20.0	54.7	74.7
	Percentage	26.8%	73.2%	100.0%
Uruguay 2013	Hours	14.8	38.5	53.3
	Percentage	27.8%	72.2%	100.0%

Source: ILO, based on available surveys of time use in the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean (see Annex 2).

Note: Refers to domestic and care work for one's own household, without considering productive activities for household consumption. Data refer to the average of the total number of hours dedicated to domestic and care activities of all household members. Household members' ages vary by country: Argentina (18 years); Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay (14 years); Chile, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, Guatemala; Peru (12 years); and Colombia (10 years).

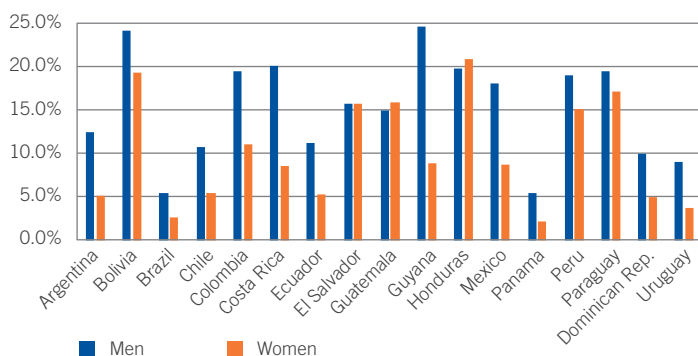
The main constraint to women's labour force participation is their unpaid workload. In 2018, 42.4 per cent of working-age women said they were not seeking employment or were unavailable to work because of unpaid work. Just 5.2 per cent of men were in this group (ILO, 2018). Women's larger share of time devoted to care activities occurs even when they participate in the labour market. This leads them to accept more precarious employment to conciliate household responsibilities with those of paid employment. For example, data from Argentina demonstrate that while the gender gap in the rate of participation in the care of household members is just 7.5 percentage points among formal wage employees, it rises to nearly 20 percentage points in the case of informal wage employees. Thus, women face time constraints that pose significant barriers to their economic autonomy, which in turn limits household income (Lupica, 2015).

The opinions of men and women on women's work present some interesting patterns. A survey developed by Gallup in association with the ILO found that in the region, 71 per cent of men reported that they want women to participate in the labour market, but only less than half of them (36 per cent) agreed that women should work exclusively in paid employment outside of the household. This result is associated with the cultural role that views women as caregivers of individuals and households. It is also linked with the lack or insufficiency of institutionalized care services (ILO and Gallup, 2017).

In search of flexibility, women tend to take jobs with less favourable conditions than men and with less possibility for negotiation. Jobs with more rigid hours or dates of deliverables are less conducive to women's labour force participation (Blau and Kahn, 2017; Goldin, 2014).

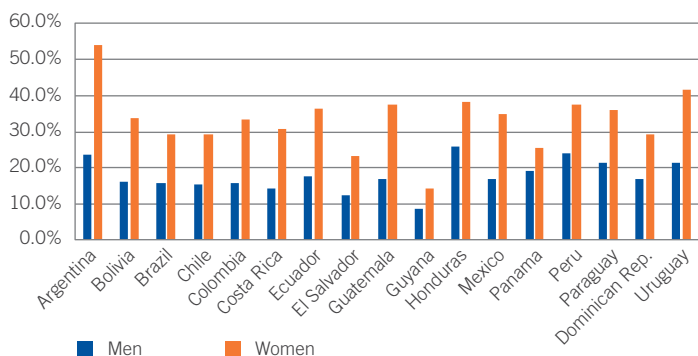
Thus, gender gaps in the labour force that works longer hours are not surprising. While men predominate in overtime jobs (60 or more hours weekly), women are in the majority in part time work (less than 30 hours weekly) in most of countries of the region (Figures 4.2 and 4.3).

FIGURE 4.2. Latin America: Percentage of Individuals Who Work 60 or More Hours Weekly (Main Occupation), 2017



Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

FIGURE 4.3. Latin America: Percentage of Individuals Who Work 30 or Fewer Hours Weekly (Main Occupation), 2017

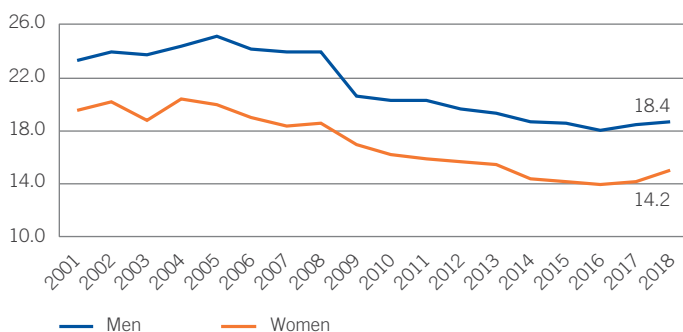


Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American countries, 2017 (see Annex 1).

The recent shifts in these data, however, are cause for guarded optimism. Evidence from Peru indicates that since 2001, the proportion of workers of both sexes who devote 60 or more hours weekly to the

main occupation has declined. In the medium term, this suggests improvements in workers' health and the distribution of domestic chores. For the latter, it is advisable to accompany these changes in the labour supply with increased incentives for a cultural shift that leads to the more equitable co-existence of the sexes (Figure 4.4).

FIGURE 4.4. Peru: Percentage of Labour Force that Works 60 or More Hours Weekly (Main Occupation), 2001-2018



Source: ILO, based on National Household Surveys, 2001-2018.

Note: Refers to workers ages 15 and over: employers, employees (including labourers) and own-account workers.

The burden of women's unpaid work not only affects their labour force participation. It also has an impact on the quality of employment: women with care responsibilities are more likely to be self-employed, work in the informal economy and to not contribute to social security, as compared with women without unpaid care responsibilities (ILO, 2018). The evidence indicates that labour force participation rates are higher among women with families in countries where there are larger budgets for childcare services, short- and long-term care and maternity, disability and health benefits, among others (ILO, 2019a).

Box 4.1 Paid care work

The care economy is growing to the extent that demand for care of children and older persons is increasing in all regions. This will create many jobs over the next few years. However, working conditions of care occupations are still deficient. Most paid care workers are women, frequently migrants, and when they work in the informal economy they do so for low wages in precarious conditions.

In LAC, 47.2 million people (36.8 million women and 10.4 million men) work in different areas of the care economy. This represents 16 per cent of total employment and 31 per cent of female employment. Paid care

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work is performed mainly by workers in the education (12.6 million), health and social work sectors (7.7 million), and in domestic work, although the groups are quite diverse.

Investment in care policies and domestic work remains limited. These policies, which would enable women's increased participation in other economic sectors, are defined as the direct delivery of care of children and older persons, as well as transfers and social benefits associated with the care of workers with family or care responsibilities, unpaid caregivers or individuals that require care. Along with these policies, adequate infrastructure should be implemented to provide water and sanitation and electricity services, for example.

In LAC, deficits persist in terms of access to care services, particularly in rural areas. Universal access to childcare services, for example, is far from becoming a reality and coverage in the region varies considerably. Long-term care for older persons is practically non-existent in the region. Its absence is largely due to the belief that women will perform this work free-of-charge.

Paid domestic work in LAC has been a particularly symbolic challenge for women entering the labour market in the region. Initially, this type of employment served as a gateway to the labour market for young women with limited skills and little education who migrated from rural areas to the cities. Recent shifts in migratory patterns have led to changes in the profile of these workers.

During the 20th century, most of the countries in the region regulated basic employment conditions of domestic workers: their earnings and working hours. However, precariousness prevailed: low wages, long workdays, limited social security coverage and restricted access to labour services and institutions (training, inspection, etc.).

During that period, the more precarious conditions of paid domestic work were associated with institutional frameworks limited by insufficient resources and legal instruments. Above all, there were evident cultural limitations in the type of labour relations. Despite a clear structure of subordination, domestic workers often functioned as own-account workers in a subordinate relationship. The absence of employment contracts and of a formal work relationship led paid domestic work in the region to become a hybrid status in employment: while it included wage employment, in practice it functioned under conditions of informal employment.

Notwithstanding, over the past two decades, paid domestic work has undergone changes. On the one hand, the dynamics of this type of employment, as the gateway to the labour market for young women who migrated from rural areas to the cities, were transformed when domestic migrations flows diminished. At the same time, young women have become more educated and households increasingly have fewer

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members. All of this, coupled with women's increased labour force participation in the region, have affected demand: live-in, fulltime domestic work is increasingly shifting to external hourly employment.

Additionally, different legislative innovations have been introduced in the regulatory framework of domestic work. In the 2000s, reforms occurred in the Plurinational State of Bolivia (2003), Peru (2003), Uruguay (2006), Nicaragua (2008) and Costa Rica (2009). These included different aspects of labour relations: remuneration (often associated with compliance of the national or specific minimum wage), workdays (specifying the number of work and rest hours) and establishing mandatory or optional social security coverage.

During this period, reforms in Uruguay served as an example. For the first time in LAC, these reforms included the inclusion of the possibility of collective bargaining for domestic workers. This was the result of the re-establishment of the institution that has regulated collective bargaining in Uruguay since 2005 and of the Wage Councils that enabled the collective bargaining of sectors. This facilitated a series of legal reforms, together with campaigns to increase the registration of domestic workers in the social security system. Labour inspections also increased to guarantee compliance.

These innovations implemented in Uruguay, together with other experiences around the world, served as a reference framework for the discussion and adoption of ILO Convention No. 189 concerning domestic workers during the 100th International Labour Conference in 2011. That Convention recognizes respect for domestic workers' fundamental rights and the criterion of equality with respect to the working conditions of other dependent workers (contract, working hours, remuneration, rest periods, overtime and health and safety conditions).

It also recognizes the right to freedom of association of domestic workers and to the possibility of signing collective agreements, as well as the right to social security coverage in accordance with the national legislation of each country. Additionally, it acknowledges domestic workers' access to labour justice, as well as the need for countries to apply labour inspection mechanisms in the sector. Given its content and guidelines, Convention No. 189 has become a guide for the recognition of the labour rights of domestic workers in the framework of equality with respect to other dependent workers.

The ratification of Convention No. 189 in LAC in this second decade of the 21st century is advancing. Uruguay was the first country in the world to sign the Convention in 2012, followed in the region by Nicaragua, Bolivia (Plurinational State of), Ecuador and Guyana in 2013; Costa Rica, Argentina and Colombia in 2014; Chile, the Dominican Republic and Panama in 2015; Jamaica in 2016; and Brazil, Peru and Granada in 2018. In these last two countries, the Convention will enter into effect in

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November 2019. To April 2019, LAC has been the region with the highest rate of ratification of Convention No. 189: 16 (57 per cent) ratifications in the region of a total of 28 worldwide.

The ratification of Convention No. 189 has also contributed to the discussion of reforms of the regulatory framework that regulates domestic work in several countries of the region during the second decade of the 2000s. Noteworthy reforms were implemented in Argentina (2013), Brazil (2013/2015), Chile (2014) and Paraguay (2015), which incorporated many of the Convention's recommendations (even before its ratification, in the cases of Brazil, Chile and Paraguay) or made innovative changes to the general framework regulating dependent workers. Together with these reforms, there have been recent advances in the legal framework concerning domestic workers. In December 2018, the Supreme Court of Mexico determined that not registering domestic workers in the Mexican Social Security Institute (IMSS) was unconstitutional and ordered the mandatory social security enrolment of two million Mexican domestic workers within three years. Paraguay passed a law making it mandatory to pay domestic workers the national minimum wage beginning in June 2019.

All these legal changes resulted in clear improvements in earnings and social security coverage of domestic workers, which increased more than those of other dependent workers between 2005 and 2015. This is good news; yet more must be done. Pending challenges for the region are associated with the need to ensure that the institutional framework accompanies the implementation of reforms. To this end, both oversight of compliance and the facilitation of social security registration mechanisms are recommended.

The region requires new solutions for care services on two fronts: with respect to the nature and facilitation of care policies and services, and in terms of the conditions in which care services are provided. Increasing investment in care services has the potential to create millions of jobs, which currently would mainly benefit women. Additionally, adequately funded, transformative care policies would have a positive impact on the redistribution of unpaid care services and the freeing up of women's time. The investment in quality care services could be a strategic policy intervention to improve women's economic empowerment through the creation of decent job opportunities in care sectors, which are indispensable for women's labour force participation.

The ILO's 5R Framework for decent care work —recognize, reduce, redistribute the work of unpaid care workers, reward paid care work and represent care workers— offers a successful formula of legislative and policy measures to achieve decent work.

Women's labour force participation

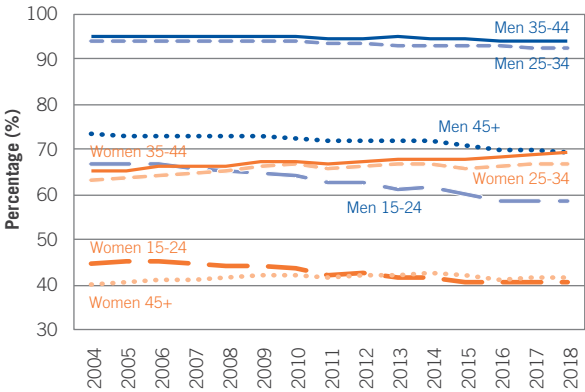
In 2018, the labour force participation rate among women of LAC was 25 percentage points below that among men. For Mexico and the Central American countries together, this gap was even wider: 35 percentage points. Labour force participation demonstrates clear patterns associated with the lifecycle of individuals. Throughout the region, the highest labour force participation rates correspond to working-age men (25-44), with rates above 90 per cent. By contrast, the lowest labour force participation rates occur among the youngest group of working-age women (15-24) and among those over age 45. For other groups, rates vary across countries.

Another common phenomenon in all LAC countries is the increase in women's labour force participation rates over the past two years, particularly of women aged 25 to 44. While no evidence exists that this trend will continue, this recent increase may point to a countercyclical pattern of women's labour force participation consistent with the "added worker effect." During periods of recession, more women join the workforce in response to the decline in household income associated with the recession. This phenomenon has been observed in several countries of the region during the different economic crises, for example, during the Argentine recession of the early 2000s (Beccaria, Maurizio and Vázquez, 2017). Additionally, as discussed below, this growth in women's labour force participation driven by economic crises is consistent with the recent increase in rates of women's underemployment and unemployment, and in their increased presence in informal employment.

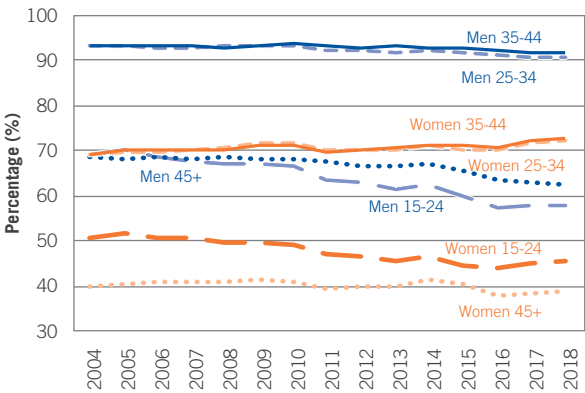
Despite this recent trend, the changes over the past 15 years indicate some stability in the women's labour force participation rate and a slight decline in that of men. While the labour force participation rates among men aged 25 to 44 remain stable – which, except in Southern Cone countries, extends to men over age 45—, there is a sustained increase in the labour force participation among women over age 25 in most of the region, excepting the Southern Cone. While this increased labour force participation is desirable from several standpoints, it is important to consider how this influx of women are entering the labour market. In Andean and Central American countries, women join the labour force in precarious jobs characterized by a high level of informality, low wages, instability, a lack of protection and an absence of rights. This leads women's contributions to economic activity and the wellbeing of these countries to be well below their potential.

FIGURE 4.5. Latin America and the Caribbean: Labour force Participation Rate, by Sex, Age Group and Region, 2004-2018

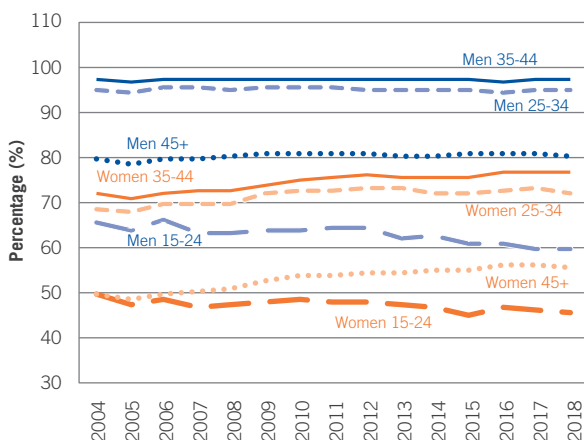
Panel A. Latin America



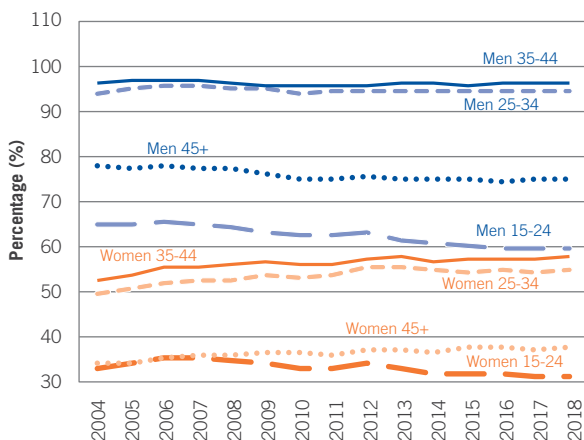
Panel B. Southern Cone



| Panel C. Andean Countries



| Panel D. Mexico and Central America



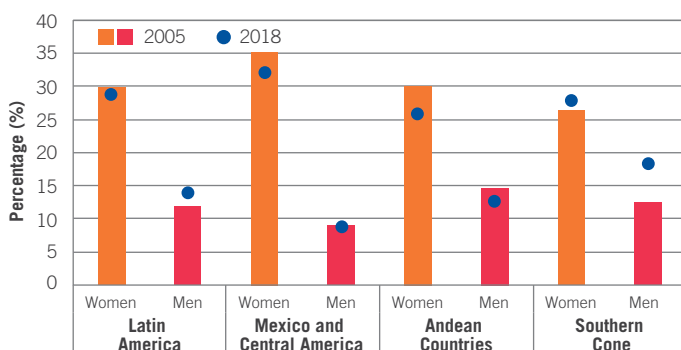
Source: ILOStat.

Another striking trend is the sharp, sustained decline in participation rates among the population aged 15 to 24, a reduction of 4 percentage points in the case of women and nearly double that for men. There is a relationship between the sustained decline of the labour force participation rate of youth and their higher levels of participation in tertiary education. Nevertheless, in the case of young men, the reduction in the rate is also explained by the growing percentage of workers who

neither study nor work, an increase observed especially in Southern Cone countries.

In OECD countries, approximately 10 per cent of youth neither study nor work; in LAC, this percentage exceeds 20 per cent. According to the most recent available data, among youth aged 15 to 24, 14 per cent of men neither study nor work, a percentage that doubles in the case of women, to nearly 29 per cent. Several studies indicate that this gap reflects gender differences associated with domestic and care responsibilities. Available information confirms that a larger percentage of young women who do not study, have a job or engage in training spend their time performing care activities. This limits their possibilities for labour force participation.

FIGURE 4.6. Latin America and the Caribbean: Percentage of the Population Aged 15 to 24 that Does Not Study, Work or Participate in Training, 2005-2018



Source: ILOSTAT.

Given that women often work in informal or precarious jobs so that they can care for members of their household, a comprehensive care policy would also favour formalization (ILO, 2013a). The increased presence of women in the workforce would have considerable potential for economic development, but quantity is not the only consideration: decent jobs are needed that guarantee dignified income to overcome the risk of poverty in the household, offer autonomy and economic security and provide social protection coverage in the event of unemployment and adequate retirement benefits in old age.

The increased supply of care services for children and older people would give women more time and opportunities to work more hours, most likely in higher quality employment (social protection and

higher wages, among other benefits). Likewise, the establishment of balanced, untransferable maternity and paternity leave that promotes joint responsibility for care would contribute to empowering women and dispelling gender stereotypes. However, employment policies that support women's entry into the labour market are also needed, including information and guidance services that address women's specific needs, training and vocational education programmes to improve their employability, and specific programmes that target women affected by inequality (migrants, youth, rural women and agricultural workers) (ILO, 2018).

5. Women in the future of work

Today, two parallel phenomena are redefining the nature of the labour market and affect the countries of the region: the ageing of the population and technological change.

On the one hand, the ageing of the population has increased in the region, in some cases at a rapid pace. While some European nations required 50 to 75 years to double the percentage of older adults, from 10 to 20 per cent of the population, in LAC countries such as Chile, Costa Rica, Mexico and Nicaragua, this change will occur in less than 25 years (IDB, 2019a). Additionally, older adults will live longer and therefore will require more care. Who will provide this care and what implications does this have for the labour market? In principle, families – and especially women, barring a cultural change – are expected to care for older people. Given the gaps in coverage and the low old-age pensions that social security systems provide, older people will most likely have to work for longer (ILO, 2018k). This means that the labour market will have to adapt in order to provide opportunities to this population group.

At the same time, technological progress is increasing the potential of the automation of jobs and facilitating the expansion of new forms of labour contracting that move away from the traditional wage employment relationship. This report analyzes the effects of technological change on the female labour force. While the region has made important strides in terms of their labour force participation, women are still more likely to be employed in the informal sector, to earn lower wages and to be underrepresented in better paid careers and management positions. This raises the question: will gender gaps persist or decline in this context?

The technological revolution may have repercussions on the future of the work for women in at least two ways.

First, the automation of certain tasks will alter the composition of jobs and the skills necessary to perform them. As the number of tasks that become automated increases, the risks increase for some types of jobs since they could be replaced by a robot or an algorithm. In the case of activities involving complementary skills or those that are difficult to replace with a machine (for example, empathy, communication, etc.), employment opportunities will continue or improve. This raises the question: how will the impact of automation on men and women differ?

Secondly, information and communication technologies have enabled the expansion of atypical labour relationships characterized by increased flexibility and mobility, as well as the rise of digital platforms

where workers offer their services. These work arrangements can be a promising alternative, particularly for women. By providing more flexibility in terms of space and time, they can facilitate combining paid employment with care of household members – tasks that generally fall on women – and promote the supply of female labour.

However, these systems also pose challenges such as the lack of social protection and the persistence of gender gaps observed in more traditional labour markets. To what extent are these new types of employment an opportunity to achieve a work-family balance, or, to the contrary, a threat to gender equality?

The following sections attempt to answer those questions. The first section analyzes automation and its potential consequences on the labour market and examines the skills most likely in demand in the future, in the context of women's training needs. The next section discusses the growing presence of new types of employment and their advantages and disadvantages. Finally, the role of social dialogue is analyzed as a tool for achieving effective equality in the world of work.

5.1 Automation, skills and labour markets

Artificial intelligence, robotics and computer-assisted machinery are widely used in several industries, enabling the automation of many production tasks (Acemoglu and Restrepo, 2019). It is estimated that more than 200,000 industrial robots are employed every year and the figure continues to grow (World Bank, 2016). What are the implications of technological progress in the labour market? The response to this question is at the centre of the discussion on the future of the work.

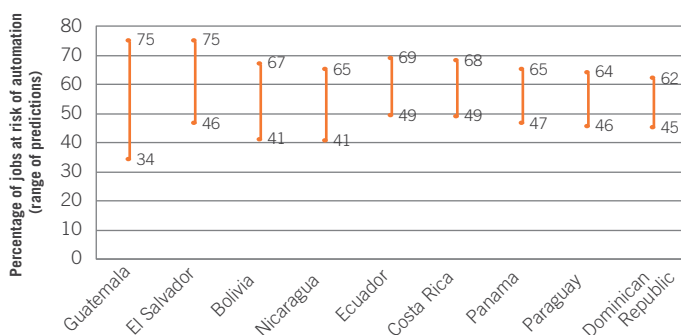
On the one hand, some experts warn about the risks of labour automation, but estimates vary widely. Frey and Osborne (2017), of Oxford University, predicted that 47 per cent of jobs in the United States are at risk of becoming automated by mid-2030. Likewise, McKinsey and Company (Manyika et. al, 2017) estimated that 51 per cent of US economic activities could become automated if proven technologies are adopted, representing some USD 2.7 billion in wages.

For OECD countries, some 57 per cent of jobs are expected to be susceptible to automation (World Bank, 2016). By contrast, Arntz et. al (2016) reports that many workers specialize in tasks that are not easily automated and therefore estimates that just 9 per cent of jobs are at risk.

In LAC, some 50.6 per cent of activities will potentially become automated, affecting over 100 million employees. Estimates for the region are even more variable. For example, in Guatemala, the country with

the largest variation in percentages, estimates range from 34 to 75 per cent. In the Dominican Republic, between 45 and 62 per cent of jobs are thought to be vulnerable to automation (Figure 5.1). This wide range of estimates reflects the difficulty in assessing the effects of technological advances on employment.⁷

FIGURE 5.1. Latin America: Range of Predictions on the Percentage of Jobs at Risk of Automation



Fuente: Banco Mundial (2016) y BID (2019a).

Studies also report that automation will create new jobs, such as has occurred in the technological revolutions of the past. In Europe, for example, it is estimated that technological advances that led to the replacement of routine tasks generated some 23 million jobs between 1999 and 2006 (World Bank, 2019). Acemoglu and Restrepo (2018) found that roughly half of the growth in the US employment rate over the past 35 years occurred in occupations where the job titles or tasks performed by the workers changed. Additionally, automation can contribute to improving productivity (Manyika et. al, 2017).

What is certain is that this discussion has focused on the challenges that male workers face (Kinder, 2019), but women have received little attention. Will they do better or worse? What are the implications of automation for the female labour market? To answer these questions requires a look at the past and the present.

⁷ In the region, the data reveal that automation is occurring, but more slowly than in more advanced economies. The density of robots (the number of industrial robots for every 100 manufacturing workers) is relatively lower in LAC than in more developed countries (Nübler, 2017). While in most developed countries, the robotic density approaches 1 or more, in LAC countries, it is below 0.1. Possible explanations include the characteristics of the region, such as the abundance of skilled, inexpensive labour or the existence of regulatory constraints to the adoption of new technologies (Messina, 2017; AfDB et. al, 2018).

A look at the past: changes in the occupational structure

How much has the occupational structure of the labour market changed with the dissemination of new technologies? To respond to this question, this report will first review the employment classification system developed by Autor and co-authors (Autor, et. al, 2003; Autor, 2010; Acemoglu and Autor, 2011; Autor and Dorn, 2013). Employment is classified by its potential for automation and distinguishes between occupations that have a higher proportion of routine tasks (which can be coded with a programme or algorithm and can therefore be replaced by a machine) and those that have a larger proportion of non-routine tasks (which have low levels of predictability and cannot be codified; consequently, they are less likely to be automated). Non-routine tasks include abstract tasks (for example, problem-solving, persuasion and intuition), which complement technological advances and manual tasks (for example, adaptability to each situation, in-person interaction, visual recognition) that are difficult to replace with robots.

Empirical evidence indicates that over the past few decades, jobs in occupations with more routine tasks (administrative, operational and artisanal employees, operators and assemblers, etc.) have declined sharply. At the same time, employment in occupations that are less susceptible to being automated have grown considerably. This is the case of highly skilled occupations that require intensive abstract tasks (for example, managers, professionals and technicians), as well as low-skill occupations that require more manual tasks (including workers in personal and protection services and other tasks associated with basic services).

These changes in the occupational structure have created a phenomenon known as labour market polarization, which is mainly evident in advanced economies (for the United States, see Autor et. al, (2006); for Europe, see Goos et. al, (2009)). In LAC, labour market polarization is partially occurring (IDB, 2019c). While employment in occupations with high and low wages has grown (those of mid-level wages have decreased), this change has occurred much slower than in developed countries.

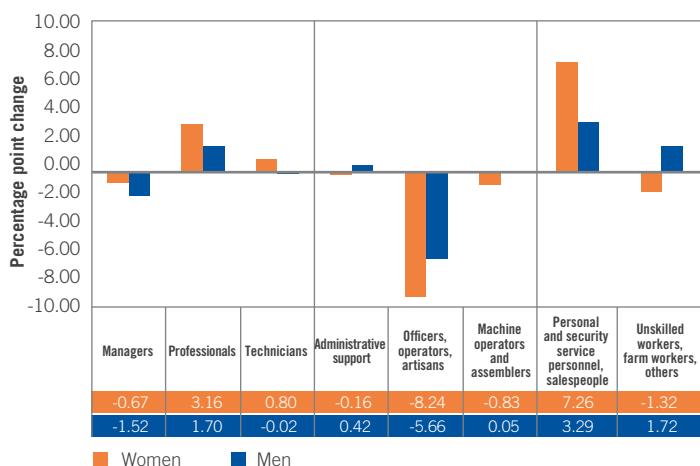
Are differences between men and women observed in labour market polarization?

Available evidence demonstrates that the movement among occupations differs by sex. For example, in the United States during 1979-2007, the reduction in employment in occupations with mid-level wages was much more pronounced among women than among men, but the movement of women was toward high-paid occupations (not so for men). An estimated 85 per cent of the decline in female employ-

ment in occupations of mid-level wages was offset by an increase in highly skilled positions. Male employees moved nearly equally to the two extremes of the wage distribution: 55 per cent of the those who moved were employed in occupations with high wages while the remaining 45 per cent transferred to low-skill occupations.

The figure below uses ILOSTAT data to estimate the labour market polarization of men and women in the region during the period 2000-2022. In line with the results mentioned above, routine occupations have declined more among women (9.2 percentage points) than among men (5.2 percentage points). The occupation that includes officers, operators and artisans of mechanical and other trades declined sharply. There is even a shift in the employment trend among women in administrative support, an occupation they have traditionally dominated. In the case of women, the reduction in mid-level occupations was offset by an increase in employment in occupations at the two extremes of the skills distribution. Women moved mainly to jobs in the low-skill services and trade sectors, and to a lesser extent, to abstract occupations. However, more than a third of women who were displaced opted for this last type of occupation, where the growth in science professionals is noteworthy. By contrast, the reduction in men's participation in mid-level occupations was nearly wholly compensated by an increase in low-skill employment (Figure 5.2).

FIGURE 5.2. Latin America: Change in Employment by Occupation, by Sex, 2000-2022

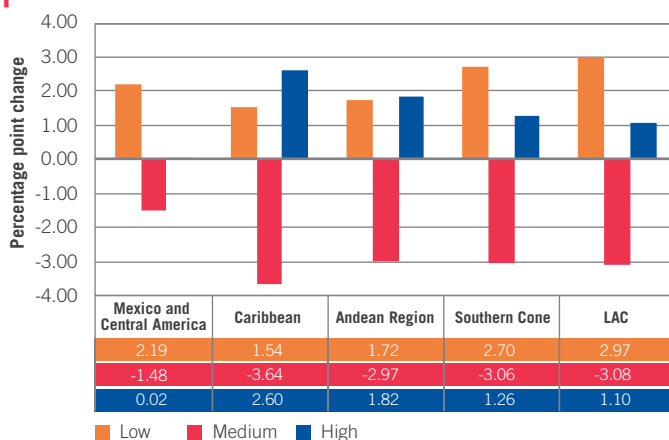


Source: ILOSTAT.

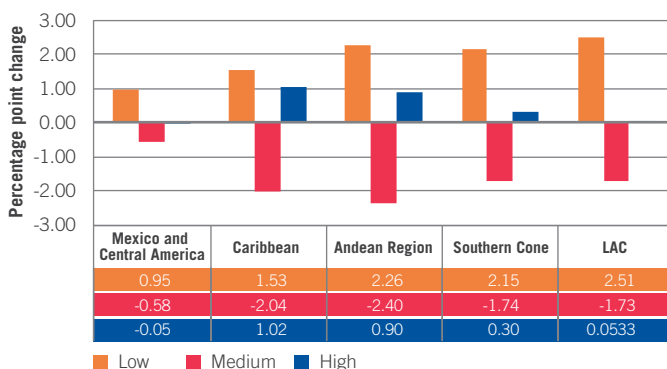
In keeping with the polarization hypothesis, the reduction in demand for mid-level occupations was compensated by an increase in high- and low-skill employment in most of the countries. In the case of women, data indicate that the pace of change varied across countries. In the Caribbean, demand for high-skill occupations rose more rapidly than those of low skill. This did not occur in the Southern Cone, Central American countries and Mexico, where the expansion of low-skill jobs was much more pronounced. In Andean countries, high- and low-skill jobs grew at a similar pace. By contrast, in the case of men, practically all countries of the region experienced the more rapid growth of low-skill employment. The expansion of unskilled jobs was noteworthy in the Andean countries, followed closely by Southern Cone and Caribbean countries (Figure 5.3).

FIGURE 5.3. Latin America: Change in Employment by Occupation, by Sex and Country, 2000-2022

a. Women



| b. Men



Source: ILOSTAT.

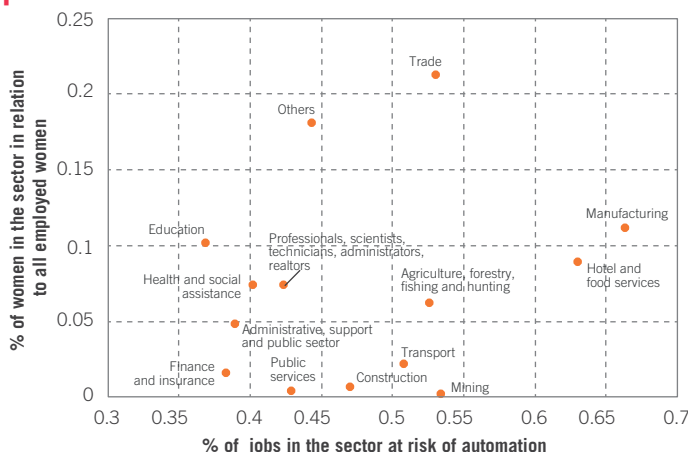
Note: Definition of skill level: High = Directors and managers; scientific and intellectual professionals; and, technicians and mid-level professionals. Medium = Administrative support personnel; officers, operators and artisans of mechanical and other trades; and, operators of installations, machines and assemblers. Low = Service personnel, salespeople of businesses and markets; unskilled workers; and farmers and skilled farm, forestry and fishery workers. The countries included in this figure are grouped as follows: Countries of Central America and Mexico= Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama. Countries of the Caribbean = Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Guyana, Haiti, Jamaica, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago. Countries of the Andean Region = Plurinational State of Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela. Southern Cone countries = Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay.

Automation and gender differences

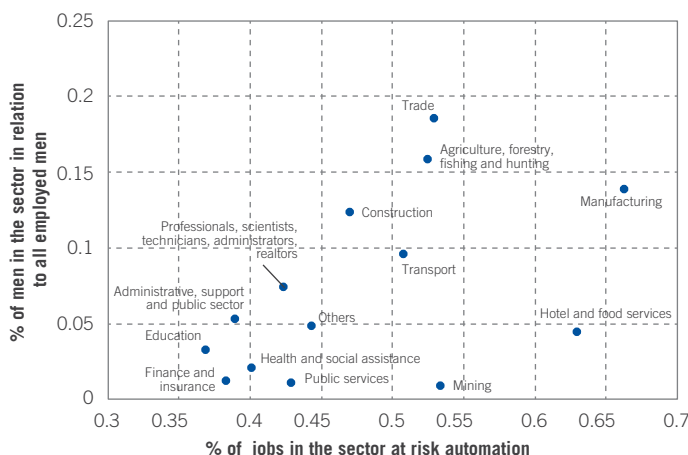
Evidence (Manyika et. al, 2017) indicates that some sectors are more at risk of automation than others. The sectors most affected by automation in the region include hotels, catering and tourism, manufacturing, trade, agriculture, mining and transport. By contrast, the health, social welfare and education sectors, where women are in the majority, have fewer risks of automation (Figure 5.4).

FIGURE 5.4. Latin America: Risk of Automation and Distribution of Employment, by Sector and Sex, 2017

a. Women



b. Men



Source: ILOSTAT and McKinsey Global Institute.

Note: The data on the percentage of employment in the sector at risk of being automated are from Manyika et al., 2017. The current state of technology is used with respect to 18 performance skills, estimating the potential for automation of more than 2,000 activities (associated with over 800 occupations).

A group of sectors at high risk of automation and which has a high concentration of women workers poses a threat to women. The sectors at greatest risk of automation (above 60 per cent of the sector) are manufacturing and hotels, catering and tourism, which account for 20 per cent of women's employment and 18.2 per cent of men's employment. The sectors at moderate risk for automation (between 45 and 60 per cent) are trade, construction, transport, mining and agriculture, which represent 30.3 per cent of women's employment and 57 per cent of that of men. The sectors with larger concentrations of men tend to be more susceptible to automation.

The education and health sectors, which require certain interpersonal skills that are difficult to replace with robots, are less likely to be automated. These are segments employing many women under good labour conditions. A large share of professionals (89 per cent of teachers, 84 per cent of physicians and 86 per cent of nurses) contribute to social security, for which reason they are likely to receive a pension in old age. It is estimated that over the next 15 years, the region will need 12 million new teachers, three million physicians and eight million nurses. Women are expected to fill 70 per cent of those jobs (IDB, 2019b). In the future, employment prospects in these sectors appear to be promising for women in the region and in other parts of the world.⁸

Women are also largely excluded from growing sectors that have a low risk of automation, such as information and communications technology (ICT) (Brussevich et. al, 2018). In developing countries, men are an estimated 2.7 times more likely to work in the technology sector and 7.6 times more likely to work in ICT-related areas (World Bank, 2016). When women do manage to enter the sector, they tend to perform administrative and other routine tasks, for which reason they receive less remuneration and hold positions that are more likely to become automated (ILO, 2018g).

A detailed look at work activities

While the sector analysis above examines the risk automation poses for both men and women, several studies have identified disparities in the content of the tasks workers perform within the same sector or

8 According to the ILO (2018i), between 2017 and 2025, the participation of education as a share of total employment is expected to increase by 0.1 percentage points in developing countries; 0.2 percentage points in lower-middle income countries; and 0.1 percentages points in higher-middle income countries. Participation of the health and social welfare sectors as a share of total employment is expected to rise 0.6 percentage points in both upper middle-income countries and developed countries.

occupation (Autor and Handel, 2013; Arntz et. al, 2016; de la Rica and Gortazar, 2016). Accordingly, technological change would be expected to affect the sexes differently given the gender difference in the type of tasks performed, even within the same sectors or occupations. Brussech et. al (2018) demonstrated that in the education sector –where women are in the majority–, women are more likely than their male colleagues to be replaced by automation given that they engage in more routine tasks. Likewise, Drahokoupil and Piasna (2017) found that in Europe, within the same occupational category, women tend to perform more routine tasks than men, making them more vulnerable to automation. Thus, the risk of automation that women face not only depends on sector or occupational decisions, but also on the type of work they perform within the same sector or occupation.

To more accurately assess automation risk, measures were designed that reflect the intensity of repetitive, complex and manual tasks in work carried out by men and women. For the OECD, Brussech et. al (2018) used data of the Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIACC) to develop an index quantifying routine task intensity (RTI). The index ranges from 0 to 1, where higher values indicate that the worker performs more routine tasks. The results show that, on average, the index is 13 per cent higher for women. In other words, women perform more well-defined, repetitive tasks than men and are therefore at a greater risk of having their jobs automated.

According to that study, women face an 11 per cent risk of losing their jobs to automation, on average, while for men the likelihood is 9 per cent. Women with less education who are over age 40 have the highest risk. This last finding underscores the importance of lifelong learning and continuous training to remain in a changing, demanding labour market.

In LAC, based on the work of Spitz-Oener and others (2006) (Autor and Handel, 2013; de la Rica and Gortazar, 2016), three indices were created that reflect the level of exposure of both sexes to performing abstract, routine and manual tasks at their job.⁹ To this end, data

⁹ Autor and Handel (2013) and de la Rica and Gortazar (2016) analyze key components to identify continuous variables given that the responses to questions on the surveys used had multiple results. In a different way, the survey questions used by Spitz-Oener (2006) contain binary responses on whether the worker does or does not perform a certain type of work, for which reason the measures constructed reflect only a percentage of the activities carried out for each index created. In this study, given that most of the questions included binary responses, the research team used the Spitz-Oener (2006) approach to create the indices. An index is calculated as follows:

from the World Bank's Skills Measurement Program for Employment (STEP) were used, which include information on tasks or activities that workers regularly perform in jobs in low- and middle-income countries, among them the Plurinational State of Bolivia and Colombia.

Specifically, the abstract index is based on the requirement that each job has in terms of the following tasks: Reading of documents (of at least six pages), writing of reports (of at least six pages), use of math skills (e.g., calculating prices or costs, estimating fractions, decimals or percentages, using algebra or trigonometry), problem-solving that requires at least 30 minutes, persuading or providing information to colleagues or clients through formal presentations and supervision of other workers.

The routine analysis includes the following items: absence of interactions with people (excluding colleagues, clients and students), following fixed procedures, engaging in repetitive tasks, not learning new things and operating heavy machinery or industrial equipment.

The manual index includes the following activities: making a physical effort (such as lifting heavy objects), driving cars or trucks and manually repairing or maintaining electronic equipment (cellphones, printers and others).

Table 5.1 presents the results for the Plurinational State of Bolivia and Colombia. The first finding of this analysis is that men and women tend to perform the same proportion of routine tasks in their jobs, such as following fixed procedures or carrying out repetitive tasks. In other words, both women and men face a similar risk of automation.

A second area of note is that women engage in fewer abstract or analytical tasks that complement technological advances. For example, they tend to write fewer lengthy documents in the workplace, employ lower math skills and less often deal with problems that require more than 30 minutes to resolve. Finally, men are more likely to perform manual tasks that demand physical effort such as lifting heavy objects or manually repairing objects.

$$Index_i = \sum_{task} \sum_{ques} \sum_{d_{task,ques}} d_{task,ques}$$

where i refers to the individual surveyed, $task$ refers to the characteristics described that each index measures, and $ques$ refers to a question associated with a $task$. The dummy $d_{task,ques}$ variable assumes the value of 1 if the response fulfills a condition for the individual, $task$ and question. For example, in general, the routine index will have questions whose responses will have a value of 1 if the work is routine and 0 otherwise.

By education level, male and female workers with less education are more likely to perform routine and manual tasks in their jobs while more highly educated workers engage in more abstract or analytical tasks.

**TABLE 5.1. Plurinational State of Bolivia and Colombia:
Type of Activities Performed at Work, by Sex, 2012**

Tasks	Pluri. State of Bolivia		Colombia	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Index				
Abstract	43.9	35.4	38.9	32.3
Routine	27.6	27.9	30.9	30.8
Manual	18.6	7.0	21.1	9.6
Length of documents written at work:				
Not applicable	34.1	40.1	34.9	36.7
5 or fewer pages	44.7	44.5	55.7	54.2
6-25 pages	12.1	9.8	6.4	6.3
> 25 pages	9.1	5.7	3.1	2.9
Mathematical skills used at work:				
Not applicable	8.3	11.9	10.0	20.2
Low	35.2	41.8	37.8	39.7
Medium	35.8	39.5	40.2	34.6
High	20.7	6.8	12.1	5.5
Resolving problems that take at least 30 minutes to resolve:				
Never	25.7	36.2	36.9	45.7
Less than once a month	16.7	16.6	12.0	11.9
Once a week	36.9	28.8	29.9	25.0
Daily	20.8	18.5	21.2	17.5
Frequency of repetitive tasks at work:				
Never	55.6	57.4	73.8	80.2
All the time	19.8	19.9	13.5	8.1
More than half the time	18.1	14.5	7.4	7.5
Less than half the time	6.5	8.2	5.3	4.3
Follow established procedures:				
Yes	7.4	9.2	8.7	8.3
No	92.6	90.8	91.3	91.7

(continues...)

Tasks	Pluri. State of Bolivia		Colombia	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Lift heavy objects at work:				
Not applicable	6.5	8.4	6.0	9.7
Low	33.7	39.6	23.9	29.5
Medium	31.9	28.4	23.1	28.5
High	27.9	23.6	47.0	32.3
Repair electronic equipment manually:				
Yes	10.0	2.0	9.5	2.4
No	90.0	98.0	90.5	97.6

Source: ILO, based on STEP data.

Note: unweighted averages.

Skills in the future of the work

In the context of the fourth technological revolution, it is estimated that the tasks people perform — and the skills necessary to perform them — will change significantly. Recent studies confirm that certain skills will be crucial for navigating the new employment era: socioemotional skills, non-routine cognitive skills and those associated with technological development (Bakhshi et. al, 2017; AfDB et. al, 2018; McKinsey and Company, 2018; World Bank, 2019). There is evidence that workers with these skills earn wages that are from 25 to 40 per cent above those of their colleagues of the same educational level, but who perform traditional tasks and jobs (World Bank, 2016).

Technological change will be accompanied by an increase in the demand for skills that robots cannot yet perform. For example, it is expected that socioemotional skills (e. g., communication, empathy, teamwork, learning to learn and unlearn) that facilitate interaction and collaboration with other people will continue to be essential for the jobs of the future, just as they have been since ancient times (Barone et. al, 2017). It is estimated that from now until 2030, demand for those skills will increase across all industries by 26 per cent in the United States and by 22 per cent in Europe (McKinsey and Company, 2018). In the region, employers' surveys of businesspeople found that socioemotional skills such as responsibility, the capacity for teamwork, emotional stability and decision-making capacity are the most important skills, even more so than technical and academic abilities (Bassi et. al, 2012; Messina, 2017; Novella et. al, 2019).

Non-routine cognitive skills such as creativity, critical thinking, the processing and interpretation of complex information, abstraction and complex problem-solving, among others, will also be in increasing demand. It is estimated that from now until 2030, demand for these skills will increase 19 per cent in the United States and 14 per cent in Europe. According to the same study, routine cognitive skills will become less valuable in the labour market as automation advances. For example, the demand for skills associated with basic data entry and processing will decline by 19 and 23 per cent in the United States and Europe, respectively, between 2016 and 2030 (McKinsey and Company, 2018).

Additionally, as technologies (e.g., automation, artificial intelligence, robotics, advanced analytics) are incorporated into productive processes, digital skills will be increasing in demand – particularly the most advanced skills: programming, data design and database management. For the United States and Europe, demand for computer science and programming skills are expected to grow by up to 90 per cent between 2016 and 2030.¹⁰ In the region, an increasing demand for advanced digital skills has also been observed. Using anonymous data from LinkedIn profiles, a study in four countries of the region found that among the 20 skills that experienced growing demand during the period 2015-2017, half were associated with technological development (IDB, 2019c).

Do women have the skills needed in the new employment age?

Evidence from psychology and neuroscience reveals that women have an advantage over men in social and interpersonal skills such as empathy (Chapman et. al, 2006), the ability to judge non-verbal communication (Hall, 1978) and extroversion (Feingold, 1994), among others. In fact, several studies report that women have a comparative advantage in tasks requiring intellectual skills (brain) as opposed to those involving motor and physical abilities (brawn).¹¹ A recent study demonstrated that women rank higher in 17 of the 19 skills associated with leadership, such as collaboration and teamwork, problem-solving, effective communication and others (Zenger and Folkman, 2019).

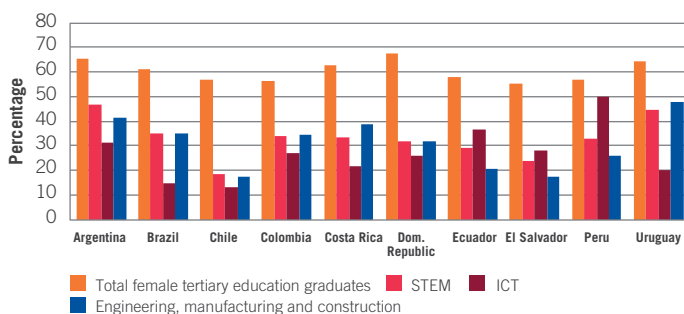
10 McKinsey and Company, 2018.

11 These studies link increased demand for tasks that use intellectual attributes (thanks to technological advances) with hiring in the gender wage gap observed in recent years in some countries. For the United States, see Cortes et. al (2018), Beaudry and Lewis (2014), Rendall (2017), and Yamaguchi (2018); for Mexico, see Bhalotra, Fernández, and Venkataramani (2015); and, for Brazil, Mexico, Thailand and India, see Rendall (2013).

Nevertheless, other studies have identified some psychological patterns that can affect women's employment trajectory. For example, women are more risk-averse, have less of a preference for competitive environments (Bertrand, 2010) and tend to underestimate their skills as compared with men (Mayo, 2016).

With respect to digital skills, women are at a disadvantage compared to men. In LAC, while women outpace men in tertiary education, they represent less than 35 per cent of all students graduating in fields related to science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) in the countries with available information, with the exception of Argentina and Uruguay, where approximately four in 10 STEM graduates are women (Figure 5.5). Additionally, within STEM academic fields, the share of women in the total population of graduates is especially low in information and communications technology (ICT) and engineering, manufacturing and construction.

FIGURE 5.5. Latin America: Participation of Women in the Total Population of Tertiary Education Graduates and STEM Fields, 2016

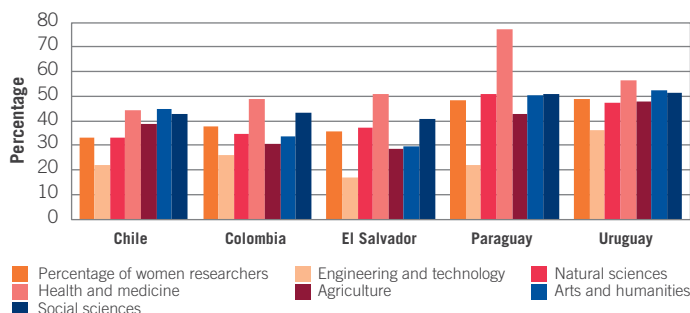


Source: ILO, based on UNESCO.

Note: In the case of Uruguay, the indicator of the percentage of female tertiary education graduates is for 2010.

Latin America and the Caribbean has one of the highest percentages of women researchers in the world at 44 per cent (Huyer, 2015). Women have limited participation in the fields of engineering and technology, however. For example, in Paraguay, where women account for 48.6 per cent of researchers, just 21.8 per cent work in STEM fields. Women researchers also tend to be employed most often in the public sector and academia rather than in the private sector, which pays higher wages and offers more employment opportunities (Figure 5.6).

FIGURE 5.6. Latin America: Participation of Women Researchers in the Total, by Discipline, 2016



Source: ILO, based on UNESCO.

5.2 New employment relationships

In addition to automation, another major trend is the growing presence of atypical or new employment relationships, which are more flexible and mobile. These blur the formal employer-employee relationship and create new work practices that call into question the traditional figure of the wage employee (Abraham et. al, 2017; IDB, 2019a). Additionally, the notion of lifelong employment or the need to work in an office is disappearing (Páges and Ripani, 2017).

This is leading to innovative, collaborative ways to use office space. For example, over the past five years, coworking spaces have experienced double-digit growth in advanced economies (Deskmag, 2017).

Besides this phenomenon, made possible thanks to technological advances, there is a proliferation of digital platforms connecting suppliers with buyers of services, which dramatically reduces transition costs (IDB, 2019a). The term “gig economy” or collaborative economy was adopted to refer to this type of labour arrangement mediated by platforms, as well as those jobs that involve daily tasks or ones of short duration (Abraham et. al, 2017; ILO, 2018j).

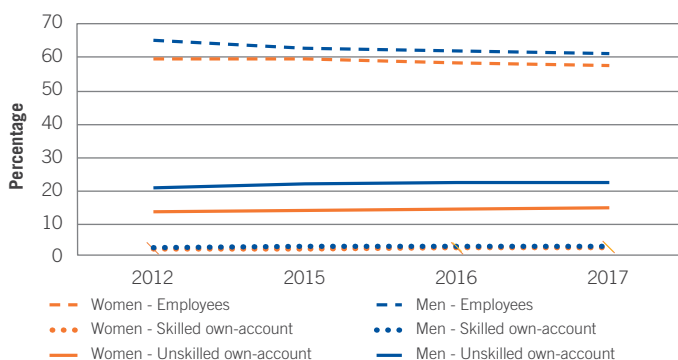
Broadly speaking, this category includes two types of platforms: that of crowdwork, where specific tasks are assigned through open invitations to people regardless of their location (for example, Amazon Mechanical Turk), and that of applications (or apps), where tasks are assigned to individuals according to their location (Uber and Rappi, for example) (de Stefano, 2016; ILO, 2018f). How widespread is this phenomenon? While no official statistics exist on the number of

workers operating under these schemes, some studies have reported an increase in recent years, particularly in developed countries.¹²

Although digital platforms in the region are in the incipient stages with respect to other economies, they are growing, particularly in the transport and tourism sectors (ECLAC/ILO, 2019). For example, Uber Technologies Inc. operates in more than 100 cities in Central and South America. The region is also one of the emerging markets with increasing Airbnb guest arrivals (Airbnb, 2019).

An approximate statistic potentially reflecting this growth is that of own-account workers. According to the latest edition of the Labour Overview of Latin America and the Caribbean (ILO, 2018h), during this decade, the percentage of employees as a share of total workers in the region recorded a clear downward trend in the case of women (from 59.3 per cent in 2012 to 57.8 per cent in 2017) and of men (65.1 per cent in 2012 to 61.3 per cent in 2017). By contrast, the percentage of own-account workers rose for both sexes. Examining the internal composition of this group, it is interesting to note that the increase in the subgroup of skilled own-account workers was slightly higher among women than men. Thus, there are some indicators that the labour market is becoming more flexible in the region (Figure 5.7).

FIGURE 5.7. Latin America: Change in the Percentage of Employees and Own-account Workers, by Sex, 2012-2017



Source: ILO, 2018 Labour Overview of Latin America and the Caribbean.

¹² In United States, for example, administrative data from the tax system reflect an increase in the percentage of tax returns reporting self-employment income, with 11.3 per cent of workers reporting self-employment earnings (Abraham et. al, 2017). Other US studies report estimates ranging from 15.8 per cent (Katz and Krueger, 2017) to 27 per cent (Manyika et. al, 2016).

The new information and communication technologies are transforming the organization of employment, which has important repercussions for workers, particularly women. On the one hand, by providing increased flexibility and autonomy in terms of the location and time work is performed, these technologies can facilitate the conciliation of paid employment with care responsibilities – tasks that usually fall to women. Consequently, technological advances could promote the female labour supply (IDB, 2019a).

There is evidence that working remotely from home may contribute to the labour force participation of women, especially more highly educated, married women with small children (Dettling, 2014). In United States, the percentage of female Uber drivers is much higher than that of women who drive traditional taxis (14 per cent versus 8 per cent) and women mention flexibility as the main reason for working with Uber more often than do men (42 per cent versus 29 per cent) (Hall and Krueger, 2015).

The growth of these new forms of employment could imply greater challenges to social security mechanisms, however. The likelihood that gig workers will not have a permanent employment contract would suggest that they do not enjoy employment benefits such as social security and health insurance (de Stefano, 2016; Páges and Ripani, 2017). In effect, results of a survey of digital platform workers revealed that in the United States, just 8.1 per cent of the workers contributed to a private retirement account and just 9 per cent paid social security taxes. A similar situation is observed in India, where 13.7 per cent of workers reported that they contributed to a retirement fund and over 64 per cent did not have health insurance coverage (Berg, 2016). This situation puts women at greater risk. In LAC, for example, practically no own-account workers are protected by labour laws and they do not have access to social protection (such as pensions and health benefits) (Marchionni et. al, 2018).

These types of arrangements could perpetuate the gender gaps observed in the more traditional labour market in terms of wages and participation, as well as in the type of activities men and women engage in. For example, a recent study based on information from over a million Uber drivers in the United States found that women earn 7 per cent less per hour, on average, than men who do the same work (Cook et. al, 2019). According to the authors, three key variables explain that pay gap: driver experience, when and where they drive

(hour and location) and the average driving speed.¹³ Another study, which uses data of the Amazon Mechanical Turk platform in the United States, found that women earn an average of USD 1 less for each hour worked as compared with men. The gender pay gap is wider in the lowest-earning deciles (24 per cent) than in those of higher earnings (11 per cent) (Adams and Berg, 2017). Variables explaining that gender pay gap, particularly in the lower-earnings deciles, include women's selection of less demanding, lower paying work to combine household responsibilities with employment.

Other researchers have documented significant gender differences in terms of the tendency to participate in the gig economy. According to an ILO study (2018b) based on surveys of digital platform workers in 75 countries around the world, in advanced economies, one in three digital platform workers is a woman. In developing countries, this figure is much lower: one in five digital platform workers is a woman. In the United States, approximately 20 per cent of the Uber ride-sharing drivers are women (Manyika et. al, 2016). This number is even lower in other countries. According to a study conducted in six countries around the world, the number of women Uber drivers ranges from 0.2 per cent in Egypt to 5.2 per cent in Mexico (IFC and Uber, 2018). This study cites the lack of safety as one of the main constraints to attracting and retaining women Uber drivers. In Mexico, for example, a third of women report that safety is their main concern.

Also of note is the gender segregation of tasks in the digital world. Evidence from Ukraine demonstrated that women who work in digital platforms are concentrated mainly in jobs involving document translation, editing and writing, as well as the review of surveys and data entry in spreadsheets. By contrast, men's work focuses on tasks in the field of information technology and in other areas such as design and printing, sales and client searches, and processing and editing of photos and videos (Aleksynska et. al, 2018). The study authors believe that this variable is key for explaining the gender pay gap, estimated at more than 200 per cent, far above that recorded in the traditional labour market in Ukraine. Similarly, a U.K. study found that women

13 According to the study, men have more experience than women for two main reasons. Women are more likely to abandon the platform, and in the case of male and female workers on the platform for the same amount of time, men make more trips weekly than women, on average. This factor explains 30 per cent of the gender pay gap. Approximately 20 per cent of the pay gap is due to the hour and place where they drive. Average speed explains the remaining 50 per cent of the gap. Men tend to drive a bit faster than women, which enables them to end and begin a new trip in less time and therefore to make more trips per hour (Cook et. al, 2019).

gig workers tend to perform administrative, customer service and domestic work tasks (Balaram et. al, 2017).

There are some signs of discrimination against women in digital work. For example, an ILO study (2019b) found that buyers were willing to pay less to women than men for the same product. Buyers could identify the seller's gender based on information available in the platform publications.

The use of algorithms to find jobs deserves special mention. While these offer the possibility of invigorating labour markets by reducing frictions in the meeting of supply and demand, their initial use has revealed gender biases (ILO, 2019c). This is largely due to the unintended bias of design and development teams dominated by male employees. Initially, machine learning algorithms were trained using mainly data on men. This led the drivers of algorithm decision-making to be calibrated without information for half of the population. Manufacturers of this type of software are correcting these initial errors, which should produce some interesting results.

Finally, while the new information and communication technologies provide increased flexibility and autonomy, they can also create a larger workload by blurring the line between work and home (ILO, 2018b). Additional workloads tend to fall on women, who more often assume household responsibilities (Ñopo, 2012). An ILO study (2018b) on working conditions in digital platforms found that one in five women reported that she was responsible for the care of a child aged birth to five years. On average, this group of participants spends 20 hours weekly working in platforms (five hours less than the average for the total sample). Most worked afternoon or evening hours.

In the future, the challenge will be to identify the adequate balance around the thin line between labour flexibility and labour precariousness.

Platform economies and employment: What is it like to work for an app in Argentina?

According to Madariaga et. al (2019), digital platforms facilitate several economic and social activities considered as a platform economy,¹⁴ which offers new opportunities to generate income and plays a social containment role in response to unemployment and underemployment-

14 Platform economy is a general term referring to the concepts of gig economy, on-demand economy, sharing economy, crowdworkers, collaborative economy and access economy.

ment. At the same time, it poses challenges because it: (i) is associated with the generation of atypical forms of work; (ii) hinders skills accumulation; (iii) contributes to labour market volatility; (iv) and, has the potential to generate a bipolar labour market structure.

Own-account employment prevails in the digital economy. This type of employment tends to have poorer working conditions compared with those of dependent workers: no paid holidays, no system of family benefits, no severance pay in the case of dismissal, no sick or maternity leave. Neither do these workers have unemployment insurance or union representation.

The study makes an initial empirical exploration of platform employment in Argentina based on changes in the labour market, mainly among employees and own-account workers, according to typical and atypical labour relations.¹⁵

Employment in platforms can be divided into different categories. First is Mercado Libre, which leads the segment focusing on the purchase-sale of goods, but which also offers many professional services. This platform has 10 million users-suppliers in Latin America, 2.5 million of which are in Argentina and two-thirds of whom are men. The market has been expanding; it is currently estimated that more than 33 million users-consumers utilize the platform in the region.

There are other platforms associated with services that require physical movement and whose performance requires a lower skill level. Within this category are the express messenger or door-to-door services. Glovo, Rappi (multinational), Ando and Rapiboy (local) operate in LAC, among others. Glovo has 34,500 users.

Cabify and Uber operate in the passenger transport market, where the skill level of the task required also tends to be low. With respect to Uber, to the last semester of 2018, it had registered 30 million users-passengers in LAC. In Argentina, Uber has 2.2 million users-passengers and 55,000 active partners-drivers, of which 91 per cent are men. Forty per cent of drivers derive their main source of income from this service.

Additionally, there are household service platforms such as Zolvers,¹⁶ which bring together private household workers (mostly women). In Argentina, Zolvers has 30,000 active workers, all of them women,

15 There are four atypical types of employment: (i) temporary employment; (ii) part time and on-demand employment; (iii) multi-party work relationships; and (iv) hidden employment relations and economically dependent, own-account employment.

16 Provides coverage in Argentina, Colombia, Chile and Mexico. <https://zolvers.com/ayuda>

who work an average of 10 hours weekly and earn an annual average of 42,000 pesos. Forty thousand clients contract the service through the platform.

Another household service platform, Iguanafix,¹⁷ currently has 10,000 registered workers in Argentina, of which 90 per cent are men, who work an average of five hours weekly. Twenty-eight per cent of the workers are highly skilled and some of the registered users are employers.

In the case of Argentina, if all users-suppliers of services who have generated income at least once over the past 12 months (more than 160,000) are grouped together, platform workers represent just 1 per cent of the total employed population.

The Platform Workers' Survey of Argentina identified significant differences between men and women according to the level of skill required to perform the tasks in each platform. Eight in 10 men report performing operational or technical tasks while seven in 10 women stated that they perform tasks that do not have a required skill level. If Zolvers female workers are excluded from the survey, the figure declines to four in 10 women.

About half of the individuals surveyed do not enjoy the labour rights of the Argentinian labour system (57.8 per cent social benefits and 45.4 per cent old-age pension contributions).

In the international discussion on the challenges of labour rights in the platform economy, three clear positions emerge:

1. Most platforms insist on considering their workers as own-account workers; nevertheless, some platforms recognize certain labour rights.
2. Some platforms are required to comply with current regulatory frameworks in the countries.
3. The limits of labour relations and labor protection create the need for recommendations to establish specific categories of "dependent contractors," who would enjoy a limited number of labour rights.

Digital platforms and the future of work: how to promote decent work in the digital world

The report by Berg J. et. al (2019) presents the results of an ILO survey on the working conditions of 3,500 workers living in 75 countries and

17 Provides coverage in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico and Uruguay. <https://www.iguanafix.com/>

who work in five English-speaking platforms dedicated to the assignment of microtasks. The global survey was conducted in 2015 and 2017. Workers from developed and developing countries participated.

The study points to an important gender gap with respect to the propensity to perform this type of work: just one in three workers is a woman. This figure is lower in developing countries, with women representing just one in five workers.

Most of the women surveyed combined this type of employment with responsibilities caring for others, and one in five was responsible for the care of at least one child under the age of five. Nevertheless, the female survey respondents devote an average of 20 hours weekly to platforms, five hours less than the average for the total sample, and most did so in the afternoons or evenings.

In 2017, the representation of men and women was quite disparate overall. In the total sample, one in three workers was a woman. In 2015, a gender balance was observed in the gender representation of Amazon Mechanical Turk (AMT) in the United States (52 per cent men and 48 per cent women); Nevertheless, many more men than women were registered with AMT and CrowdFlower in India. In 2017, the gender balance was even more biased in AMT, in both India and the United States.

Some regional differences include:

- ▶ The average age of digital platform workers was 28 in developing countries and 35 in developed countries.
- ▶ On average, African and LAC workers were younger than those of Asia and developed countries.
- ▶ In Africa and LAC, ages ranged from 18 to 51 and from 18 to 54, respectively, while in Asia and the Pacific zone, the age range was 18-65 in 2017.
- ▶ In developed countries, the age range was 18-71 in 2017. In 2015, both genders were equally represented in the 26-45 age group, but not in 2017.
- ▶ In 2017, there were more female than male workers in digital platforms in the age range 36-45 and in the group over age 46.

5.3 The challenge of addressing the gender pay gap through social dialogue

Social dialogue, and especially collective bargaining, is an effective mechanism for achieving equal remuneration between men and

women for work of equal value, as per ILO Convention No. 100 (see Annex 3). Additionally, social dialogue plays a crucial role in achieving the ILO objective of promoting decent, productive work in conditions of freedom, equity, security and dignity. All progress in this direction also contributes to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, especially those referring to gender equality (SDG 5) and decent work and economic growth (SDG 8, especially target 8.5). This concept is clearly stated in the Centenary Declaration recently adopted by the ILO.

But what is social dialogue? Can it be used to reduce the gender pay gap? For the ILO, social dialogue "includes all types of negotiation, consultation or simply exchange of information between, or among, representatives of governments, employers and workers, on issues of common interest relating to economic and social policy."¹⁸ Dialogue can exist as a bipartite (workers and employers) or tripartite process (workers, employers and government). This process can take place within the enterprise, government institution or non-governmental organization, with or without government representatives. The ILO guide *Promoting equity: Gender-neutral job evaluation for equal pay* (ILO, 2008, 2013b) gives a step-by-step explanation of the internationally accepted methodology for evaluating jobs without gender biases, implemented through social dialogue between representatives of workers and employers. This methodology serves to identify and quantify gender pay gaps in cases of work of equal value, which builds capacities and creates mechanisms for developing a bipartite or tripartite action plan to reduce the gap.

Specifically, the method proposes estimating the objective value of the job using a set of factors and subfactors, including job knowledge, responsibilities, efforts and working conditions that are adapted to the reality of the workplace. Social dialogue processes using this method gain legitimacy and sustainability since job value is estimated based on the consensus between the parties following an in-depth, rigorous analysis.

The method calls for the creation of a bipartite committee in which human resource managers participate so that staff management is strengthened in the process. The application of the different steps proposed in the method promotes the ownership of the tool by participating social partners, who are decisive in the world of work and, in accordance with the ILO mandate, collectively construct

18 Available at: <https://www.ilo.org/ifpdial/areas-of-work/social-dialogue/lang--en/index.htm>

results (points that represent the job value) and improve the quality of the labour relations of the organization, the sector and the country in which it operates. Lessons learned during the implementation of these dialogue processes not only enable a change in organizational culture, but also strengthen the capacities of social partners, who should influence the national development agenda (ILO, 2019a).

Thus, the methodology promoted by the ILO since 2008 constitutes a tool for identifying advances in the application of ILO Convention No. 100 concerning equal remuneration between male and female workers for work of equal value. It also contributes to increasing capacities and improving labour relations.

ILO Convention No. 100 of 1951: Recent changes, origin and arguments put forward

Changes in the effective application of Convention No. 100

Following the analysis of the promotion of ILO Convention No. 100 and of the work being done in this area in different LAC countries in recent decades, it is generally agreed that making advances in complying with this Convention has been difficult. The Committee of Experts on the Application of Conventions and Recommendations (CEARC) has observed that many countries of the region have had difficulties in applying this Convention in law and in practice.

That assessment also applies to other regions around the world. On a global scale, the difficulties of advancing toward equal gender remuneration for work of equal value have led to the establishment of an international alliance among the OECD, UN Women and the ILO. This Equal Pay International Coalition (EPIC) has the objective of generating alliances, synergies and efforts to achieve SDG 8.5¹⁹ of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

In December 1948, in response to the limited equal remuneration between male and female workers for work of equal value, a principle established in the 1919 ILO Constitution,²⁰ the Governing Body of

19 By 2030, achieve full and productive employment and decent work for all women and men, including young people and persons with disabilities, and equal pay for work of equal value.

20 The Preamble to the ILO Constitution states that: "Whereas universal and lasting peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice; And whereas conditions of labour exist involving such injustice, hardship and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperilled; and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required; as, for example, by the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a

the International Labour Office agreed to examine the issue in future proceedings.

In accordance with Conference Regulations, the ILO prepared a preliminary report on the legislation of and practices followed by the different countries. Together with this report, it presented the results of a survey questionnaire sent in September 1949 to member states. It processed the results of 26 governments: Argentina, Austria, Belgium, the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Canada, Cuba, the Czech Republic, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Finland, France, India, Israel, Luxemburg, Mexico, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the Philippines, Poland, South Africa, Syria, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and the United Kingdom. Considering these responses during the 33rd Session of the International Labour Conference, held in 1950 in Geneva, the Office proposed discussing future international regulations that could take the form of (i) a Convention and a complementary Recommendation, or (ii) a Recommendation.

The document presenting the results of the country questionnaires also established the general principles to be addressed. In that session, the use of one instrument or another was discussed (Convention and Recommendation, or a Recommendation only), as well as the content of that tool, which should feature the following: (i) definition of the term "remuneration" and the expression "equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value"; (ii) the commitments the countries adopt to guarantee the application of the principle, in accordance with the setting of wages in their countries; (iii) methods by which the principle in question may be put into operation (legislation, collective agreements between employers and workers, or a combination of both); (iv) measures adopted to enable authorities to collaborate with organizations of

maximum working day and week, the regulation of the labour supply, the prevention of unemployment, the provision of an adequate living wage, the protection of the worker against sickness, disease and injury arising out of his employment, the protection of children, young persons and women, provision for old age and injury, protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own, recognition of the principle of equal remuneration for work of equal value, recognition of the principle of freedom of association, the organization of vocational and technical education and other measures; Whereas also the failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labour is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions in their own countries; The High Contracting Parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, and with a view to attaining the objectives set forth in this Preamble, agree to the following Constitution of the International Labour Organization..."

employers and workers interested in the application of equal pay for work of equal value for men and women.

It also determined that each member state, in collaboration with representatives of organizations of employers and workers, should establish or have available methods to evaluate work without bias. From the start, it was explicitly stated that differences in the application of these methods for calculating the value would be considered consistent with the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value. Vocational guidance and training were promoted, as well as mediation to increase the performance and capacity of women workers. Additionally, the document called for the creation of publicly funded social and welfare services to support women workers with family responsibilities, and for raising public awareness with respect to justice and non-discrimination.

Additionally, during the 34th Session of the International Labour Conference, held in Geneva in 1951, participants discussed the texts analyzed in the previous annual meeting, as well as the comments and responses to a second round of consultations with member states. They subsequently voted to make the international legal instrument a Convention and a Recommendation, establishing their content, consistent with prior discussions, which are summarized in the previous paragraphs.

Arguments set forth in responses of the countries and plenary discussion

After reviewing the arguments made during the discussions on the type of instrument that would regulate the objective of equal pay for men and women workers for work of equal value, the revolutionary ideas of some tripartite representatives of the late 1940s and early 1950s became clear in the establishment of this principle through a Convention and a Recommendation.

On the one hand, some governments and representatives of employers recommended adopting a Recommendation only (governments and employers of Finland and Switzerland in the 1950 discussion, for example). By contrast, several LAC governments considered it appropriate to adopt a Convention.

Interestingly, the countries that made objections argued that the wage structure of the countries was based on a model of the male provider, who should receive sufficient remuneration for himself and his dependents. In that context, according to those actors, making equal

pay for women would mean increasing total costs, and consequently would raise inflation.

In 1951, in a context where trade union movements and organizations with a presence of women favoured the adoption of a Convention, the Government of Finland changed its position. In justifying its vote, the country argued that it had no precise statistics proving that women were more costly due to higher rates of absenteeism and that neither did it agree that women should assume the cost of childcare, but rather that this should be assumed as a social cost considering that for every child a father also existed.

For their part, workers' representatives maintained that progress was possible if the principle of the Convention was progressively incorporated into consolidated collective bargaining processes in the member states. This position was supported by the French government, whose representative stated that "... each country should simply express the principle, leaving the definition of what is equal work to the collective agreements."

To summarize, 100 years after the ILO Constitution and six decades after the adoption of Convention No. 100, the limited progress made in applying the principle of equal pay for work of equal value has led to the inclusion of this principle in the SDG of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the establishment of international partnerships to guide and promote policies and campaigns to this end. As a result, the international context is now conducive to this aim and the evaluation of work without gender bias is included as an appropriate tool for quantifying the value of work and identifying gender pay gaps through social dialogue.

6. Conclusions and recommendations. How can women's participation in the world of work be improved?

Although progress in human capital and sociodemographic changes have been evident in recent decades, the labour market situation of women has improved only very slowly. How can this process be accelerated? This final section of the report discusses effective actions and initiatives to this end.

Among the observable characteristics that explain gender pay gaps, two stand out: education and hours worked. Addressing them requires medium- and long-term strategies, but now is the time to begin. In addition to the two observable characteristics that explain gender pay gaps, this report explored non-observable characteristics associated with the gaps. Addressing these factors requires action on several fronts.

Changes in schools. Even though women have higher levels of education and a majority presence on college campuses, significant gender pay gaps remain. Women complete more years of education, but they do not earn what they should. Thus, policies should shift from a perspective of "how many years do women study?" to determining "what they study." Technical and scientific professions pay the highest wages; in other words, sectors where men predominate. The current distribution of opportunities does not appear to favour women given that they represent just one-third of graduates of STEM-related study programmes.

Promote lifelong learning. Over the past five decades, women have gained an additional 20 years in life expectancy, but just five years more of education, on average. Extending education beyond school is crucial. Technological advances require a continuous education approach to allow workers, particularly women, to keep up to date with the demand for rapidly changing skills. A lifelong learning approach requires the active participation of governments, employers, the education sector, and of course, workers. Governments can provide financing mechanisms tailored to the characteristics of national and sector demand. In the case of regions with high levels of informality, such as LAC, national or sector funds should be established that promote education and training. In cases where employers implement training programmes, workers should be involved in the design of relevant training frameworks. Moreover, the government should develop

mechanisms to create incentives for enterprises to invest in training (ILO, 2019b).

Lifelong learning to close the gap between supply and demand.

In LAC, the private and education sectors must coordinate more closely to close the gap between the skills being taught in schools and those in demand in the labour market (Bassi, et al., 2012). This linkage has become increasingly critical given the speed with which labour market needs change. Lifelong learning initiatives should also have a gender perspective that addresses structural barriers and stereotypes. This would guarantee women's equal participation in training (ILO, 2019b).

Promote STEM studies. Digital skills will be among those in increasing demand in the future. However, women are underrepresented in STEM-related disciplines and consequently in STEM careers and research. This may limit women's access to future opportunities.

Measures to this end include the organization of STEM clinics; STEM summer camps; coding and robotics programmes; improvements in the education system (such as better trained teachers, shorter math and science classes and others); expanded access to research grants; and the creation of partnerships among educational institutions, research institutes, the private sector and other areas to encourage girls to pursue STEM careers, among others (UNESCO, 2019).

The role of teachers and parents. A wholistic approach to stimulate interest in STEM careers among girls and women is needed that includes interventions at the level of the individual, family, school and society. Encouraging women to choose more STEM careers must start with secondary school because it is the point at which women's performance lags behind that of men in STEM subjects. Here efforts should focus on teachers and parents. It is advisable —and urgent— to raise awareness of the importance of channeling female talent to the sciences.

Vocational training. Vocational training programmes have an interesting potential to improve the employability of youth, particularly women (Girsberger et. al, 2019). This effect intensifies when combined with microfinance and sexual and reproductive health services. This not only helps improve the human capital of participants, but also reduces the incidence of unwanted pregnancies (Bandiera et. al, 2018). The region has high rates of teenage pregnancy. Policies that improve girls' access to high quality education have proven effective

for preventing school abandonment and early marriage (Adams and Andrew, 2018).

Life and work. The other observable characteristic that largely explains the gender pay gap is the number of hours worked. In the region, one in four employed women works part-time (less than 30 hours per week); by contrast, just one in eight men work part-time in LAC. Gender differences in the labour supply are also observed with respect to the possibility of working overtime. While one in eight men work over 60 hours per week, just one in 15 women do so. These gender differences in availability to work are linked with several labour market indicators (wages, possibility for promotions, stability, formality, etc.). Measures such as allowing for flexible hours and telecommuting can lessen these gaps (Women in the Profession, 2019).

Equal rights and flexibilities. Work arrangements that help achieve a better work-family balance can have significant impact. Several countries of the region are working to make maternity and paternity leave equal. Work flexibility measures for both sexes are also being implemented, as are emergency leaves and policies that help to better reconcile multiple family arrangements with work. Additionally, extending school days can give working adults more flexible schedules. Other practices are rethinking ways of working. Some enterprises, for example, are moving toward four-day workweeks. Workers with longer weekends are less stressed but equally productive. Staff turnover and sick-day rates are also lower.

Flexibility in the workplace. Working from home or in a cwork arrangement has become increasingly popular. While this arrangement provides more flexibility and other benefits, it also presents certain disadvantages such as social isolation, exhaustion and others. To address this challenge, the in-the-office day innovation offers an intermediate solution that encourages telecommuters to go to the office on certain days. These workers report higher levels of satisfaction than those working only from home. For their part, cworking spaces, which replace offices, are now available in some shopping centres and provide more facilities to their users (for example, parking, food courts, etc.). There are also cworking spaces designed exclusively for women.

Improve the distribution of household chores. This is probably the most important cultural change required for achieving equal opportunities. While some roles will inevitably fall on women, such as maternity, the challenge is to identify ways to more equitably distribute childcare tasks between men and women. Promoting paternity leave is a sign of progress in this area, but it should be complemented by

behavioural incentives to encourage men to become more involved in household chores. With respect to women, rethinking maternity leave could also be useful. Policies for a gradual or staggered return to work postpartum could have a positive impact.

Cognitive biases. At some point, people are influenced by unconscious biases. To eliminate these requires an important first step: recognizing that they exist. Revealing the stereotypes that people have helps to reduce biases while they become more aware of how these hinder efforts to end discrimination. In some cases, cognitive biases can be lessened through more exposure to women in different areas of life, which can be achieved through quota systems. To a large extent, this also requires work to raise awareness. Initiatives such as the GenderLab are interesting innovations to this end.

Quotas. Gender equality policies have implemented quotas in different social contexts (business, politics and education, among others). These have been criticized, however, since they consist of distortions or alterations of the balance in which societies function. However, when quotas are temporary and focus on promoting equal opportunities between men and women, they can be useful. Studies have found mixed results on the impact of quotas for executive boards of enterprises with respect to the success of the business and the reduction of the gender pay gap (Eagly, 2016). By contrast, quotas in politics have had a positive impact on the agenda and on the population's perceptions on women. In both politics and business, women's quotas have raised aspirations and expectations of younger women (Bertrand et. al, 2019).

Information flow. Full-disclosure policies in remunerations and decision-making rules for promotions and formation of working groups improve the performance of minority groups (Bohnet and Saidi, 2019) and decrease the gender pay gap (Baker et. al, 2019). They also reduce the existence of stereotypes, discrimination and the consequent lack of aspirations of groups that view themselves as disadvantaged.

Negotiation skills. Participating in collective bargaining processes or learning about negotiation techniques (for example, participatory negotiation or mechanisms focusing on the principles of justice) could aid career advancement. Efforts should also focus on rejecting the stereotype that socially penalizes women who assume typically masculine attitudes (negotiating a higher salary for themselves) (Babcock et. al, 2017; Bowles and Babcock, 2018; Bohnet, 2016).

Socioemotional skills. Several initiatives highlight the importance of having certain skills to prosper in the age of automation, as well as the need to be prepared. Adaptability has become increasingly essential in the changing world of work. The good news is that this skill can be developed, according to researchers. Having the grit to achieve goals despite difficulties will mark the difference in the future of work.

Rethinking the one-person-one-job model. So-called super-jobs are expected to prosper. These are jobs where a single worker carries out the work of two or more people at the same time. This will require workers to have a combination of socioemotional, digital and specific-knowledge skills. Some innovations focus on training workers. In LAC, for example, Platzi, a platform offering courses in technology and e-business, teaches students the skills that are expected to be in greater demand in the future. The African Leadership University is modifying the traditional academic model: the core programme focuses on entrepreneurship and students must choose missions, rather than majors, to propose solutions to the challenges the continent faces.

Training and role models. Poverty negatively conditions people's choices and aspirations since it leads them to underestimate the potential achievements of making an effort. Orientation programmes can contribute to increasing individual achievements and improving the effectiveness of poverty redistributive policies (Dalton, Ghosal and Mani, 2014). For this reason, public policies should include improved access to women's justice to combat gender violence and increase investment in the human capital of children (Kavanaugh et. al, 2018).

Productive development policies, particularly in the rural economy. Productive development policies and instruments in rural areas are needed to increase productivity of agricultural and non-agricultural activities; improve employment quality; and promote women's economic empowerment. In this context, interventions or measures to strengthen economic units led by women are useful. In other words, they will encourage entrepreneurial initiatives and the diversification of livelihoods, promote associative action and the incorporation of economic units in value chains. This is achieved through compliance with quality standards and productivity of production units as the basis for moving toward the formalization of the rural economy. The public sector offers opportunities to promote enabling environments in investments in machinery and equipment, training and technical assistance (extension work), certifications, financing, innovation and technology transfer, among others.

Care services in the rural economy. Rural women carry a heavy burden. The recognition, reduction and redistribution of domestic chores are crucial for fostering women's economic autonomy and for guaranteeing that men and women have equal opportunities. To this end, it is important to develop effective, adapted solutions for the care of children and other people, which generally is the responsibility of women.

Social protection policies for rural women. Gender inequality in labour markets and the unequal distribution of domestic chores pose challenges for improving women's social protection in the rural economy. This is especially difficult in a context of dispersion with a prevailing informal economy. Complementary policies and instruments are needed to address gaps in assets, commodities and services, and the different inequalities (economic, land, ethnic and gender) that rural areas and their inhabitants face (Trivelli and Berdegué, 2019).

The future and technology. Technological changes in the future will offer several opportunities and challenges. On the one hand, while the risk of automation of jobs for men and women seem similar in terms of routine tasks, which both sexes currently perform, more men than women perform abstract or analytical tasks associated with technological advances. At the sector level, men outnumber women in the field of information and communications technology. Technological changes have also created new, more flexible labour relations in the form of the so-called gig economy. While there are no comprehensive statistics for the region, evidence from case studies indicates that gender differences persist or intensify in this area. Accordingly, policies are needed to reduce the adverse effects of the occurrence of risks and to decrease opportunity gaps.

Mentoring workers in their transitions. Technological change will eliminate some workers' jobs, forcing them to find new ones. Therefore, they will need support during those periods. Public job placement services have significant potential in this area. Workers who have to significantly reorient their careers will need individual advice on ways to reenter the labour force and improve their employability, as well as to establish mechanisms to reduce the information limitations labour market actors face. The introduction of unemployment insurance or the redesign of these mechanisms in countries where they exist should consider the structural change that certain workers will confront in terms of the duration of the transition resulting from the automation of their jobs (ILO 2019c).

Good practices and innovations in the gig economy. Initiatives have been implemented to lessen the challenges inherent in the gig economy. For example, the platform co-op movement, made up of activists and entrepreneurs from around the world, is developing alternatives that combine digital platform models with the basic rights of workers. Start-ups are on the rise that offer the same services in a more just way, such as taxi services (Co-op Taxi Line), sharing networks (Peerby) and others. Other possible solutions focus on increased government intervention to facilitate workers' increased benefits and to prevent the companies that hire them from exploiting them.

Algorithms and their biases. Recent initiatives seek to reduce biases originating from the use of algorithms, which can lead to discriminatory practices. The Algorithmic Justice League promotes increased diversity in the coding of algorithms used to recognize facial features in an effort to avoid discrimination. Additionally, several innovations are attempting to correct unconscious biases that occur during hiring processes or in the daily contact with other people. These initiatives include everything from selection committees with diverse profiles, online tests to identify blind spots to apps that replace LinkedIn profile photos with dog photos.

Highlight good practices. Other innovations focus on promoting a gender balance. For example, Bloomberg has developed a Gender Equality Index that enables investors to monitor and compare financial information of companies that claim to be committed to women's advancement. Similarly, Aequales, a company founded by two Latin American women, classifies companies according to gender equality based on several indicators (for example, sexual harassment, the percentage of women in managerial positions) and also provides in-company training on gender issues. By putting conversations about violence and harassment in the world of work on the table, the #MeToo movement has led companies to take concrete action, such as introducing mandatory programmes on sexual harassment and discrimination, among others. Marième Jamme, founder of iamtheCODE, has the goal of teaching more than one million women to code by 2030. Her organization also provides opportunities to women in the technology field through digital clubs, public hackathons and tutorials.

Gender-neutral job evaluation. The joint participation of representatives of employers and workers is strategic for addressing the challenges of reducing gender gaps. The ILO is successfully implementing pilot projects for gender-neutral job evaluation in the region. These tools have the following advantages. They: (i) introduce a new way

assessing jobs by comparing diverse opinions expressed by human resource managers and employees through a rigorous analysis free of gender bias; (ii) ensure that the process and results will be seen as legitimate in the eyes of employees represented in the different processes; (iii) distribute the workload of the job evaluations among many different individuals; (iv) identify other gaps in job quality and skills of workers that could significantly impact the productivity of companies and/or public agencies; and, (v) and, strengthen the organization and cohesion between staff and management.

The entity that implements gender-neutral evaluations acquires new and better capacities in several human resource management processes: recruitment and selection, orientation, training, career development, management of compensation, performance evaluation, safety, health, and a work environment conducive to social dialogue and collective bargaining. As a result, the initiative integrates all aspects of decent work: (i) rights, by correctly applying a Convention that establishes a fundamental right in the workplace; (ii) employment, by facilitating the identification of training and skills-development needs; (iii) improved working conditions by identifying job quality gaps; (iv) and, a positive working environment with mutual trust among the parties to improve collective bargaining through effective social dialogue.

To summarize, this pilot experience demonstrates that the task of objectively assessing the value of a job without gender bias and of determining the corresponding pay gaps is feasible and necessary for reducing these gaps, as well as for achieving decent work through the active participation of social partners. This contributes to improving human resource management and labour relations.

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Annex 1. General statistics

**TABLE A.1 Latin America and the Caribbean: Household Surveys,
by Country, 2012 and 2017**

Country	Survey	Year	Periodicity
Argentina	Permanent Household Survey	2012	2 nd quarter
		2017	
Bolivia	Household surveys	2012	Annual
		2017	
Brazil	National Survey of Households	2012	2 nd quarter
		2017	
Chile	National Employment Survey	2012	4 th quarter
		2017	
Colombia	Integrated Household Survey	2012	2 nd quarter
		2017	
Costa Rica	Continuous Employment Survey	2012	2 nd quarter
		2017	
Ecuador	National Employment, Unemployment and Underemployment Survey	2012	4 th quarter
		2017	
El Salvador	Multipurpose household surveys	2012	Annual
		2017	
Guatemala	National Employment and Income Survey	2012	1 st semester
		2017	1 st semester
Guyana	Labour Force Survey (LFS)	2017	1 st semester
Honduras	Permanent Multipurpose Survey	2012	1 st semester
		2017	
Mexico	National Occupation and Employment Survey	2012	2 nd quarter
		2017	
Panama	Labour Market Survey	2012	Annual
		2017	
Peru	National Household Survey	2012	Annual
		2017	

(continues...)

Country	Survey	Year	Periodicity
Paraguay	Permanent Household Survey	2012	Annual
		2017	
Dominican Republic	National Labour Force Survey	2012	Annual
		2017	4 th quarter
Uruguay	Continuous Household Survey	2012	Annual
		2017	

Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American and Caribbean countries, 2017.

Notes:

1. Includes population aged 15 and over.
2. Extreme values of labour income were eliminated (top 1%).
3. Individual observations with at least one variable of lost information were eliminated.
4. Data for Argentina are urban only.

**TABLE A.2 Latin America and the Caribbean: Methodological
Characteristics of Time Use Surveys, by Country, 2010-2018**

Country	Latest survey	Geographic coverage	Name	Period	Method
Argentina	2013	National Urban	Módulo trabajo no remunerado y uso del tiempo de la Encuesta Anual de Hogares Urbanos (EAHU)	Previous day	Module
Brazil	2018	National	Módulo en la Encuesta Nacional de hogares continua (PNADC)	Week	Module
Chile	2015	National	Encuesta Nacional sobre uso del tiempo (ENUT)	Previous day	Independent
Colombia	2016-2017	National	Encuesta Nacional de uso del tiempo (ENUT)	Previous day	Independent
Costa Rica	2017	Greater Metropolitan Area	Encuesta Nacional de uso del tiempo (ENUT)	Week	Independent
Ecuador	2012	National	Encuesta específica de uso del tiempo (EUT)	Week	Independent
Guatemala	2018	National	Encuesta Nacional de empleo e ingresos	Week	Module
Mexico	2014	National	Encuesta Nacional sobre uso del tiempo (ENUT)	Week	Independent
Paraguay	2016	National	Encuesta sobre uso del tiempo (EUT)	Week	Independent
Peru	2010	National	Encuesta Nacional de uso del tiempo (ENUT)	Week	Independent
Uruguay	2013	National	Encuesta de Uso del tiempo y trabajo no remunerado	Previous day	Independent

Source: ILO, based on available surveys of time use in Latin American and Caribbean countries (see Annex 2).

TABLE A.3 Latin America and the Caribbean: Demographic and Relative Wage Characteristics, by Hour and Sex, 2017

Individual characteristics	Composition (percentage)		Relative income (base: female average labour income, by country-year = 100)	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
All	100.0%	100.0%	100.00	104.92
Age				
15-19	3.69%	4.90%	60.11	61.82
20-24	10.23%	10.87%	75.47	77.91
25-29	12.10%	12.16%	96.33	96.69
30-34	13.06%	12.51%	106.78	108.80
35-39	13.49%	12.33%	107.04	114.96
40-44	12.75%	11.43%	107.55	115.03
45-49	10.95%	10.03%	108.02	116.62
50-54	9.56%	9.06%	108.80	116.75
55-59	6.74%	6.91%	104.92	115.40
60-64	3.91%	4.85%	104.11	114.07
65+	3.52%	4.97%	83.44	100.13
Years of education				
None	3.24%	4.21%	52.56	57.52
1 to 6	18.60%	25.35%	63.93	73.01
7 to 9	15.39%	18.90%	71.93	82.74
10 to 12	34.15%	32.75%	81.55	99.19
13 or more	28.62%	18.78%	165.93	190.95
Presence of children (6 years or younger) in the household	27.39%	29.72%	95.11	101.08
Presence of another wage earner in the household	71.03%	59.44%	100.07	106.65
Urban	87.46%	79.43%	104.02	113.17

Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American and Caribbean countries, 2017.

TABLE A.4. Latin America and the Caribbean: Labour and Relative Wage Characteristics by Hour and Sex, 2017

Labour characteristics	Composition (Percentage)		Relative income (Base: women's average labour earnings by country-year = 100)	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Job position				
Employer	2.72%	5.21%	164.69	175.59
Employee	69.92%	64.60%	104.69	107.31
Self-employed	27.37%	30.19%	81.60	87.64
Hours worked weekly				
Work less than 30 hours weekly	26.71%	13.08%	114.22	128.01
Work more than 30 and less than 60 hours weekly	66.37%	74.75%	98.32	105.08
Work more than 60 hours weekly	6.92%	12.17%	61.25	79.18
Formal employment	50.48%	49.16%	123.31	129.69
Size of enterprise				
Work alone or with a maximum of 10 workers	59.55%	59.56%	79.36	87.73
11 or more workers	39.78%	39.27%	131.02	131.36
Occupation				
Undeclared	4.71%	4.10%	100.09	100.00
Directors and managers	2.91%	2.99%	189.46	223.48
Science professionals	9.50%	4.64%	204.42	248.17
Technical professionals	9.09%	7.53%	153.56	170.09
Office employees	10.00%	4.96%	103.06	114.46
Service and trade workers	35.05%	16.60%	76.13	92.33
Farmers, fishermen	3.04%	12.34%	56.79	65.24
Artisans and labourers	8.59%	22.34%	69.54	91.52
Machine operators	1.53%	11.35%	75.13	94.45
Unskilled workers	15.42%	12.17%	66.41	64.15
Members of the armed forces	0.17%	1.00%	191.74	181.73

(continues...)

Labour characteristics	Composition (Percentage)		Relative income (Base: women's average labour earnings by country-year = 100)	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Economic sector				
Undeclared	0.07%	0.12%	104.49	96.66
Agriculture, fishing	4.09%	16.90%	58.49	64.49
Mines, quarries	0.15%	0.91%	163.22	156.20
Manufacturing	11.45%	13.72%	80.87	106.40
Utilities	0.37%	1.02%	124.12	128.48
Construction	0.58%	12.92%	135.60	92.90
Trade, hotels	30.81%	21.54%	79.15	92.73
Transport, communication	2.17%	10.03%	119.34	105.51
Financial services	6.16%	5.59%	120.04	133.49
Social services	44.14%	17.24%	118.71	153.98

Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys of Latin American and Caribbean countries, 2017.

TABLE A.5. Latin America and the Caribbean: Activities Included in the Areas of Unpaid Domestic Work and Care of Individuals, by Country

Areas included in time use surveys	Argentina 2013	Brazil 2018	Chile 2015	Colombia 2017	Costa Rica 2017	Ecuador 2012	Guatemala 2018	Mexico 2014	Paraguay 2016	Peru 2010	Uruguay 2013
Unpaid domestic work											
Cleaning of the household	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Care of pets		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
Arrangement, care and cleaning of clothes	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Preparing and cooking foods	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Purchasing for the household	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Repairing and maintaining the household (housing and properties)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Administration of the home (payments, procedure, management or organization)		x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
Schoolwork of household members	x										
Productive activities for household consumption				x	x	x		x	x		x
Unpaid caretaking of individuals											
Caretaking of small children	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Caretaking of ill individuals (temporary or chronic)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Caretaking of the elderly	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x
Caretaking of individuals with special needs/disabled individuals		x	x	x				x	x	x	x
Caretaking of relatives who do not live in the household		x									

Source: ILO, based on available time use surveys of Latin American and Caribbean countries.

TABLE A.6. Latin America (15 countries): Key Labour Market Indicators by Geographic Area and Sex, 2017

Country	National			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Bolivia, Plurinat. State of									
Labour force participation rate	62.4	72.4	52.9	56.8	67.1	47.1	75.1	84.0	66.4
Employment-to-population Ratio	60.2	70.2	50.8	54.2	64.5	44.5	74.1	83.1	65.3
Unemployment rate	3.4	2.9	4.0	4.6	4.0	5.5	1.3	1.1	1.6
Brazil									
Labour force participation rate	61.7	72.0	52.3	63.2	72.9	54.6	52.4	66.6	37.0
Employment-to-population Ratio	53.8	63.9	44.7	54.9	64.4	46.5	47.2	61.0	32.2
Unemployment rate	12.7	11.3	14.6	13.1	11.7	14.7	10.0	8.5	12.9
Chile									
Labour force participation rate	59.7	71.2	48.5	59.9	70.9	49.5	58.5	73.3	41.6
Employment-to-population Ratio	55.7	66.7	45.0	55.8	66.1	45.9	55.5	70.3	38.7
Unemployment rate	6.7	6.3	7.2	6.9	6.7	7.2	5.1	4.2	7.0
Colombia ^{a/}									
Labour force participation rate	64.8	74.9	55.2	65.9	74.4	58.1	61.1	76.2	43.9
Employment-to-population Ratio	59.0	69.6	48.7	59.1	68.2	50.9	58.4	74.1	40.5
Unemployment rate	9.0	7.0	11.7	10.2	8.4	12.4	4.4	2.7	7.8
Costa Rica									
Labour force participation rate	58.8	73.0	44.5	59.5	72.5	46.8	56.9	74.1	37.7

(continues...)

Country	National			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Employment-to-population Ratio	53.5	67.5	39.4	54.2	67.0	41.7	51.5	68.8	32.3
Unemployment rate	9.1	7.5	11.6	9.0	7.7	10.9	9.4	7.1	14.4
Ecuador ^{b/}									
Labour force participation rate	67.7	80.6	55.6	65.9	78.8	53.9	72.1	84.8	59.6
Employment-to-population Ratio	64.6	77.7	52.2	62.0	75.2	49.8	70.6	83.4	58.0
Unemployment rate	4.6	3.6	6.0	5.8	4.5	7.5	2.1	1.6	2.8
El Salvador									
Labour force participation rate	61.9	80.6	46.3	63.3	77.1	52.3	59.6	85.9	35.9
Employment-to-population Ratio	57.6	73.9	43.9	59.0	70.7	49.7	55.2	78.7	34.0
Unemployment rate	7.0	8.3	5.2	6.8	8.3	5.1	7.4	8.4	5.4
Guatemala ^{c/}									
Labour force participation rate	61.0	84.3	40.6	62.6	80.4	47.3	59.1	88.8	32.5
Employment-to-population Ratio	59.0	82.1	38.8	60.1	77.5	45.3	57.7	87.4	31.2
Unemployment rate	3.2	2.6	4.2	3.9	3.6	4.3	2.3	1.6	4.1
Honduras ^{d/}									
Labour force participation rate	58.7	75.6	43.7	58.0	69.3	48.7	59.7	82.7	36.9
Employment-to-population Ratio	54.8	72.5	39.0	53.2	64.6	43.9	56.8	81.5	32.3
Unemployment rate	6.7	4.1	10.8	8.2	6.8	9.8	4.9	1.4	12.6

(continues...)

Country	National			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Mexico									
Labour force participation rate	59.3	77.6	43.0	60.5	76.5	46.2	55.3	81.5	30.9
Employment-to-population Ratio	57.3	75.0	41.4	58.2	73.6	44.5	54.2	79.9	30.1
Unemployment rate	3.4	3.3	3.6	3.8	3.7	3.8	2.2	2.0	2.6
Panama ^{a/}									
Labour force participation rate	64.0	77.6	51.2	64.3	76.1	53.4	63.4	81.3	45.5
Employment-to-population Ratio	60.1	73.7	47.2	59.8	71.7	48.9	60.8	78.6	42.9
Unemployment rate	6.1	5.0	7.7	6.9	5.8	8.4	4.1	3.2	5.7
Paraguay									
Labour force participation rate	63.1	75.3	50.9	63.9	74.1	54.1	61.7	77.1	45.4
Employment-to-population Ratio	59.8	71.7	47.9	60.2	69.9	50.8	59.2	74.5	42.9
Unemployment rate	5.2	4.7	5.9	5.8	5.6	6.1	4.2	3.3	5.6
Peru									
Labour force participation rate	72.4	81.0	64.0	70.7	79.4	62.4	79.0	86.4	70.6
Employment-to-population Ratio	69.5	77.8	61.1	67.2	75.7	59.1	78.4	85.7	70.0
Unemployment rate	4.1	3.8	4.4	5.0	4.8	5.4	0.8	0.8	0.8
Dominican Republic									
Labour force participation rate	62.2	76.1	49.0	62.6	75.3	51.1	60.2	78.9	39.6
Employment-to-population Ratio	58.7	73.1	45.2	58.8	72.0	46.9	58.4	77.1	37.7

(continues...)

Country	National			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Unemployment rate	5.5	4.0	7.8	6.1	4.4	8.3	3.1	2.3	4.9
Uruguay									
Labour force participation rate	62.9	71.6	55.0	63.4	71.4	56.2	60.5	72.2	48.4
Employment-to-population Ratio	57.9	66.9	49.8	58.1	66.4	50.8	57.0	69.1	44.5
Unemployment rate	7.9	6.6	9.5	8.3	7.0	9.7	5.8	4.3	8.1
Latin America and the Caribbean (15 countries)									
Labour force participation rate	62.1	75.0	50.3	62.9	74.4	52.6	58.8	77.0	40.1
Employment-to-population Ratio	57.1	69.7	45.5	57.3	68.4	47.2	56.1	74.1	37.6
Unemployment rate	8.3	7.2	9.8	9.0	8.1	10.3	5.2	4.1	7.1

Source: ILO, based on information from household surveys of the countries.

a/ Data from 2nd quarter.

b/ Data from 4th quarter.

c/ March data.

d/ June data.

e/ August data.

Annex 2. Supplementary materials for analyzing minimum wages

TABLE A.7. Latin America and the Caribbean: Minimum Wage (20 Countries): Minimum Wage per Country (circa 2017)

Country (year)	Type of minimum wage	Levels used	Notes
Argentina (2018)	National	11,300 Argentine pesos per month	Except domestic and farm work
Bolivia, Pluri. State of (2017)	National	2,000 Bolivarian pesos per month	
Brazil (2018)	National	954 Brazilian reals per month	The geographic regions can establish their own minimum wage, as long as it is above the national minimum wage.
Chile (2017)	National, by worker's age	Younger than 18 or over 65 years = 197,082 Chilean pesos per month; for all other workers, 27, 000 Chilean pesos per month	
Colombia (2018)	National	781,242 Colombian pesos per month	Employees also receive a monthly transportation benefit
Costa Rica (2018)	Multiple minimum wages (13) according to the worker's occupation	Nine levels are established, ranging from 309,143.36 colons per day worked (unskilled workers) to 633,772.10 colons per month for workers with advanced university studies. Additionally, four levels per day worked are established, ranging from 10,358.55 colons per day (unskilled occupations) to 13,530.38 colons per day (specialized occupations)	
Dominican Republic (2017)	Multiple minimum wages (5) according to enterprise size, commercial/free zone and industrial sector	Large enterprises (15,448 Dominican pesos per month), medium-sized enterprises (10,620 Dominican pesos per month), small enterprises (9,412 Dominican pesos per month), enterprises located in free zones (8,310 Dominican pesos per month), public sector (5,019 Dominican pesos per month)	

(continues...)

Country (year)	Type of minimum wage	Levels used	Notes
Ecuador (2018)	Multiple minimum wages (22) according to the productive sector of the enterprise/ establishment	Unified base throughout the country; USD 386 per month	A national minimum wage for all employees is established and 21 levels according to the production classification identified with two digits as per the Economic Sector Code
Guatemala (2018)	Three levels: farm, non-farm and export/maquiladores sector	2,742 quetzals per month in the farm and non-farm sector; 2,508 quetzals per month in the export/maquiladora sector	Despite defining three sectors, since 2009, the farm and non-farm sectors share the same level
Guyana (2017)	Two levels according to sector (public sector and private sector)	44,200 Guyanese dollars in the private sector and 60,000 Guyanese dollars in the public sector.	
Honduras (2017)	Multiple levels	The lowest level (5,870 lempiras per month) for agriculture in small enterprises (maximum of 10 employees); the highest level (10,168 lempiras per month) in large enterprises (151 or more employees) in the financial sector.	The Economic Sector Code and size of enterprise are considered
Jamaica (2016)	Two levels	National level: 6,200 Jamaican dollars, except for security guards at industrial level, whose minimum wage is 8,854 Jamaican dollars per month.	
Mexico (2018)	National	88,36 Mexican pesos per day worked. The National Minimum Wage Committee (CONASAMI) establishes the monthly minimum wage in relation to the average days monthly (365/12) – INEGI.	Levels by occupational category are also considered. In January 2019, a higher level for border areas (maquiladoras) with the USA was established
Panama (2017)	Multiple minimum wages (91) according to occupation, productive sector and region (Region 1 and Region 2)	Two geographic regions are established (western region and eastern region, which includes the metropolitan area of Panama City). The wage is established by economic sector, per day and per region. The lowest level is in agriculture (1.53 balboas per day in both zones), and the highest is for airline pilots and airline mechanics (in both zones in both cases, 4.45 balboas per day).	Domestic work has a specific minimum wage of 275 balboas per month in Region 1 and 250 balboas per month in Region 2. The Panamanian balboa is fixed to the USD

(continues...)

Country (year)	Type of minimum wage	Levels used	Notes
Peru (2017)	National	850 Peruvian soles per month	
Paraguay (2018)	National	2,112,562 guaranis per month	
El Salvador (2017)	Multiple minimum wages (9)	The minimum wage is defined by type of sector: for agriculture, it is distinguished among basic agriculture, coffee, cotton and sugarcane production; for the rest of the economy, it is classified as textile sector, other industries and the trade and service sectors. The minimum wage in basic agriculture is USD 200 per month; in the textile industry it is USD 295 per month; in the other non-agricultural sectors, it is USD 300 per month.	The databases do not specify by type of agriculture, for which reason the base level (USD 200 per month) was used to define the level of all agricultural workers.
Trinidad and Tobago (2016)	National	15 Trinidad and Tobago dollars per hour	
Uruguay (2018)	National	13,430 Uruguayan pesos per month	
Venezuela, Bol. Rep. of (2017)	National	177,507 bolivars per month	

Source: ILO.

Note: The table shows the legal minimum wage. In the estimates and when the country does not establish a specific hourly minimum wage, it is assumed that it corresponds to 40 hours worked (fulltime) during 52/12 weeks per month. ISIC = International Standard Industrial Classification.

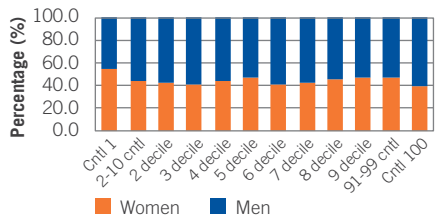
TABLE A.8. Latin America and the Caribbean (20 Countries): Datasources and Dates for the Minimum Wage Analysis

Country	Year	Survey Name/Data
Argentina	2018	Encuesta Permanente de Hogares (EPH)
Bolivia, P. S. of	2017	Encuesta de Hogares (EH)
Brazil	2018	Encuesta Nacional de Hogares Continua (PNADC)
Chile	2017	Encuesta de Caracterización Socio Económica Nacional (CASEN)
Colombia	2018	Gran Encuesta Integradora de Hogares (GEIH)
Costa Rica	2018	Encuesta Continua de Empleo (ECE)
Dominican Republic	2017	Encuesta Nacional Continua de Fuerza de Trabajo (ENCFT)
Ecuador	2018	Encuesta Nacional de Empleo, Desempleo y Sub-empleo (ENEMDU)
Guatemala	2018	Encuesta Nacional de Empleo e Ingresos (ENEI)
Guayana	2017	Labour Force Survey (LFS)
Honduras	2017	Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples (EPHPM)
Jamaica	2016	Labour Force Survey (LFS)
Mexico	2018	Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo (ENOE)
Panama	2017	Encuesta de Mercado Laboral (EML)
Peru	2017	Encuesta Nacional de Hogares (ENAHOG)
Paraguay	2018	Encuesta Permanente de Hogares Continua (EPHC)
El Salvador	2017	Encuesta de Hogares Permanente Múltiple (EHPM)
Trinidad and Tobago	2016	Integrated Household Survey (CSSP)
Uruguay	2018	Encuesta Continua de Hogares (ECH)
Venezuela, B. R. of	2017	Encuesta de Hogares de Propósitos Múltiples (EHM)

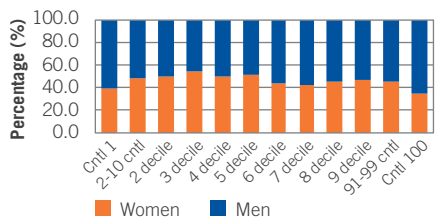
Source: ILO, based on household and employment surveys available in Latin American and Caribbean countries.

FIGURE A.1. Latin America and the Caribbean (circa 2017): Percentage of Women and Men by Higher and Lower Percentages and Intervention of Deciles in the Hourly Wage Distribution, by Country

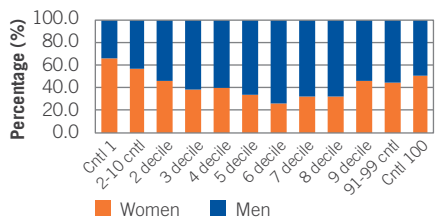
Argentina



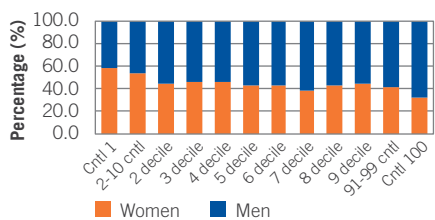
Brazil



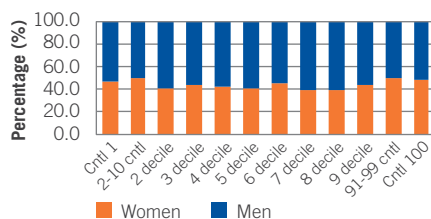
Bolivia, Pluri. State of



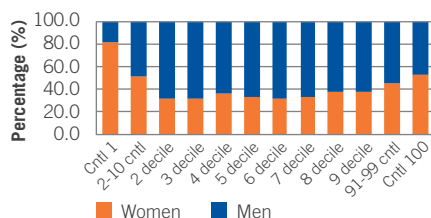
Chile



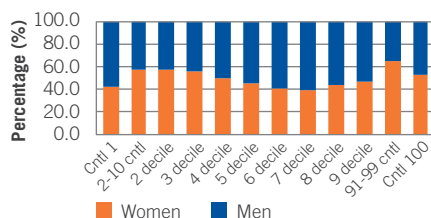
Colombia



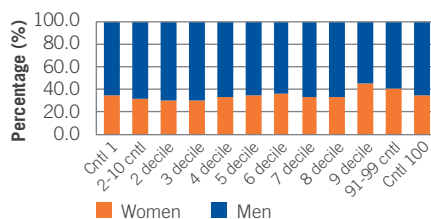
Costa Rica



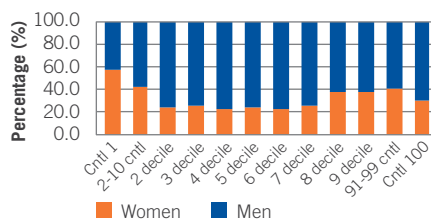
Dominican Republic



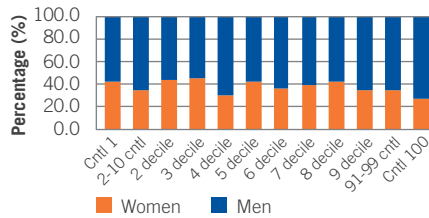
Ecuador



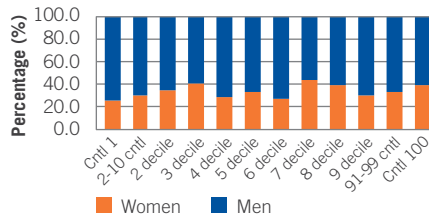
Guatemala



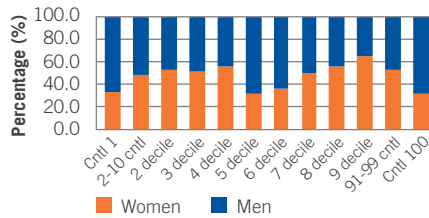
Guyana



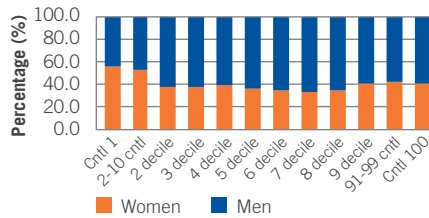
Honduras



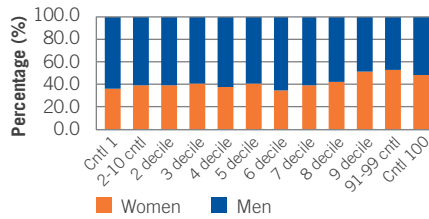
Jamaica



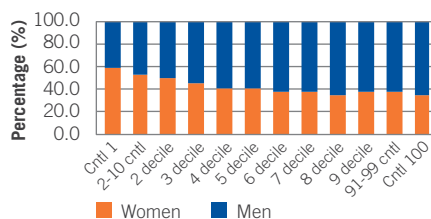
Mexico



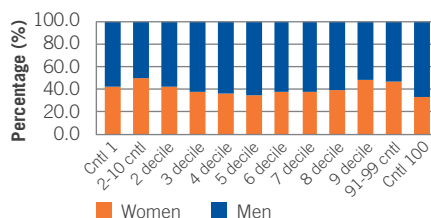
Panama



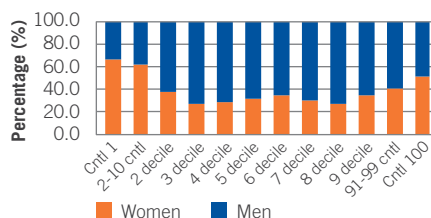
Peru



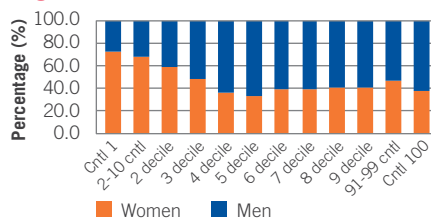
Paraguay



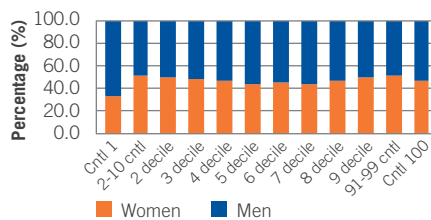
El Salvador



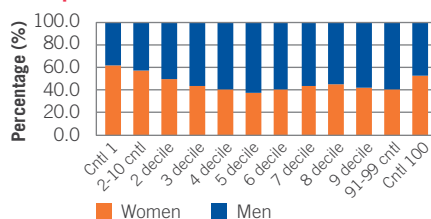
Trinidad and Tobago



Uruguay



| Venezuela, Boliv. Rep. of



Source: ILO, based on available household and employment surveys for Latin American and Caribbean countries (See Table A.7).

TABLE A.9. Latin America and the Caribbean (20 countries): Minimum Wage Non-compliance, by Sex (circa 2017)

Countries	Men	Women
Argentina	25.2 %	24.0 %
Bolivia, Pluri. State of	33.0 %	41.7 %
Brazil	21.6 %	22.5 %
Chile	27.6 %	32.7 %
Colombia	56.0 %	55.9 %
Costa Rica	52.0 %	51.9 %
Dominican Republic	28.8 %	38.3 %
Ecuador	46.6 %	40.9 %
Guatemala	73.0 %	61.9 %
Guayana	36.1 %	42.2 %
Honduras	73.7 %	74.5 %
Jamaica	3.4 %	2.7 %
Mexico	16.9 %	23.2 %
Panama	27.6 %	21.6 %
Peru	34.4 %	44.7 %
Paraguay	66.2 %	62.5 %
El Salvador	59.0 %	65.8 %
Trinidad and Tobago	3.6 %	11.7 %
Uruguay	9.1 %	9.9 %
Venezuela, Boliv. Rep. of	27.3 %	34.5 %

Source: ILO, based on household and minimum wage surveys of Latin American and Caribbean countries (See Table A.6 and Table A.7).

Annex 3. Selected articles of ILO Convention No. 100 and Recommendation No. 90

Article 1

For the purpose of this Convention:

- (a) the term remuneration includes the ordinary, basic or minimum wage or salary and any additional emoluments whatsoever payable directly or indirectly, whether in cash or in kind, by the employer to the worker and arising out of the worker's employment;
- (b) the term equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value refers to rates of remuneration established without discrimination based on sex.

Article 2

1. Each Member shall, by means appropriate to the methods in operation for determining rates of remuneration, promote and, in so far as is consistent with such methods, ensure the application to all workers of the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value.

2. This principle may be applied by means of:

- (a) national laws or regulations;
- (b) legally established or recognized machinery for wage determination;
- (c) collective agreements between employers and workers; or
- (d) a combination of these various means.

Article 3

1. Where such action will assist in giving effect to the provisions of this Convention measures shall be taken to promote objective appraisal of jobs on the basis of the work to be performed.

2. The methods to be followed in this appraisal may be decided upon by the authorities responsible for the determination of rates of remuneration, or, where such rates are determined by collective agreements, by the parties thereto.

3. Differential rates between workers which correspond, without regard to sex, to differences, as determined by such objective appraisal, in the work to be performed shall not be considered as being contrary to the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value.

Article 4

Each Member shall co-operate as appropriate with the employers' and workers' organisations concerned for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of this Convention.

Articles 5 to 14 are procedural. The Recommendation accompanying this Convention appears below.

Recommendation 90, Equal Remuneration Recommendation

Whereas the Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951, lays down certain general principles concerning equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value;

Whereas the Convention provides that the application of the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value shall be promoted or ensured by means appropriate to the methods in operation for determining rates of remuneration in the countries concerned;

Whereas it is desirable to indicate certain procedures for the progressive application of the principles laid down in the Convention;

Whereas it is at the same time desirable that all Members should, in applying these principles, have regard to methods of application which have been found satisfactory in certain countries;

The Conference recommends that each Member should, subject to the provisions of Article 2 of the Convention, apply the following provisions and report to the International Labour Office as requested by the Governing Body concerning the measures taken to give effect thereto:

1. Appropriate action should be taken, after consultation with the workers' organizations concerned or, where such organizations do not exist, with the workers concerned:

- (a) to ensure the application of the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value to all employees of central Government departments or agencies; and
- (b) to encourage the application of the principle to employees of State, provincial or local Government departments or agencies, where these have jurisdiction over rates of remuneration.

2. Appropriate action should be taken, after consultation with the employers' and workers' organizations concerned, to ensure, as rapidly as practicable, the application of the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value in all occupations, other than

those mentioned in Paragraph 1, in which rates of remuneration are subject to statutory regulation or public control, particularly as regards:

- (a) the establishment of minimum or other wage rates in industries and services where such rates are determined under public authority;
- (b) industries and undertakings operated under public ownership or control; and
- (c) where appropriate, work executed under the terms of public contracts.

3. (1) Where appropriate in the light of the methods in operation for the determination of rates of remuneration, provision should be made by legal enactment for the general application of the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value.

(2) The competent public authority should take all necessary and appropriate measures to ensure that employers and workers are fully informed as to such legal requirements and, where appropriate, advised on their application.

4. When, after consultation with the organizations of workers and employers concerned, where such exist, it is not deemed feasible to implement immediately the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value, in respect of employment covered by Paragraph 1, 2 or 3, appropriate provision should be made or caused to be made, as soon as possible, for its progressive application, by such measures as:

- (a) decreasing the differentials between rates of remuneration for men and rates of remuneration for women for work of equal value;
- (b) where a system of increments is in force, providing equal increments for men and women workers performing work of equal value.

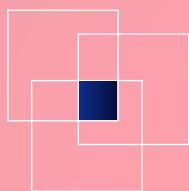
5. Where appropriate for the purpose of facilitating the determination of rates or remuneration in accordance with the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value, each Member should, in agreement with the employers' and workers' organisations concerned, establish or encourage the establishment of methods for objective appraisal of the work to be performed, whether by job analysis or by other procedures, with a view to providing a classification of jobs without regard to sex; such methods should be applied in accordance with the provisions of Article 2 of the Convention.

6. In order to facilitate the application of the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value, appropriate action should be taken, where necessary, to raise the productive efficiency of women workers by such measures as:

- (a) ensuring that workers of both sexes have equal or equivalent facilities for vocational guidance or employment counselling, for vocational training and for placement;
- (b) taking appropriate measures to encourage women to use facilities for vocational guidance or employment counselling, for vocational training and for placement;
- (c) providing welfare and social services which meet the needs of women workers, particularly those with family responsibilities, and financing such services from general public funds or from social security or industrial welfare funds financed by payments made in respect of workers without regard to sex; and
- (d) promoting equality of men and women workers as regards access to occupations and posts without prejudice to the provisions of international regulations and of national laws and regulations concerning the protection of the health and welfare of women.

7. Every effort should be made to promote public understanding of the grounds on which it is considered that the principle of equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value should be implemented.

8. Such investigations as may be desirable to promote the application of the principle should be undertaken.



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