

mujer y desarrollo

Part-time work in Chile

Is it precarious employment?

Reflections from a gender perspective



NACIONES UNIDAS



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This document was prepared by Sandra Leiva, as part of her professional internship as a sociologist in the Women and Development Unit of ECLAC.

It has not been edited and the views it contains are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Organization.

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Abstract

Economic globalization has had a variety of consequences for employment including changes in labour market structure, making way for new "non-standard" (or "atypical") forms of employment. These are often associated with low-quality employment, to such an extent that the concepts "non-standard forms of employment" and "precarious employment" are used as synonymous expressions. The literature shows that women have been affected the most by these changes.

This study considers a particular example of non-standard employment: part-time work in Chile. The objective is to determine whether this form of labour constitutes precarious employment from a gender perspective. For this purpose, precariousness was measured in terms of three factors: instability, insecurity and insufficiency of income. The study uses data from the Survey of Socio-economic Characteristics (CASEN) of Chile, because of the possibilities it provides for characterizing precarious employment. It should be noted that, for methodological reasons, the 1994 version was chosen rather than the 1996 version because it makes it easier to measure part-time work in hours per week, which makes comparisons between countries more feasible.

The research reveals that national data collection tools are insufficient for proper measurement of part-time work. According to the data obtained, part-time work makes up 10% of total employment and just over half of the cases correspond to employment of women. In general terms, it can be concluded that half of all part-time jobs constitute precarious employment, and that part-time work is equally precarious for both genders, since no significant gender differences were observed in these results.

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Introduction

Economic globalization has had a variety of effects on employment, including changes in labour market structure; as a result, new forms of labour have appeared, generally referred to as "non-standard" forms of employment. These are often associated with low-quality employment. Often, the concepts "non-standard forms of employment" and "precarious employment" are even used as synonymous expressions. The literature shows that women are involved more frequently in such types of employment.

This study considers a particular example of non-standard employment: part-time work in Chile. Although part-time work is nothing new in the industrialized countries, where it has existed for several decades, in Chile it is a relatively recent development and can therefore be included in the category of non-standard employment. It should be noted that part-time time employment has no particular status in Chilean legislation; therefore, for the purposes of this study, any provision of personal services for which the working week is less than 35 hours is considered part-time employment.

Part-time employment is an area on which little research has been conducted in Chile, unlike the industrialized countries, where it has been studied for several decades and much research exists on the subject. There are even fewer instances in which part-time employment has been considered from a gender perspective.

There are also difficulties in measuring part-time employment in Chile, since the national instruments which provide such data —the CASEN survey and the National Employment Survey— are insufficient for the collection of all the necessary data regarding this type of labour. Furthermore, recent modifications have not been conducive to research on part-time work.

This study uses the 1994 CASEN survey because of the possibilities it provides for defining the characteristics of precarious employment. Among other things, it provides data on the existence of written contracts, duration of service and contributions to insurance schemes. For methodological reasons, the 1994 version was chosen in preference to the 1996 version, because it makes it easier to measure part-time employment in hours per week, which makes comparisons between countries more feasible.

The central issue of this study is to what extent part-time work constitutes precarious employment. For this purpose, precariousness was measured according to three factors: instability, insecurity and insufficiency of income. The study also sought to determine whether the precariousness of employment affected men as much as women.

The study was carried out from a gender perspective, emphasizing the similarities and differences between men's and women's employment in order to focus on problems which specifically affect women and which could not be analysed without such an approach.

The first section of this document describes the effects of economic globalization on employment worldwide from a gender perspective. The second section details some of these effects, with particular emphasis on non-standard forms of employment in Latin America. The issue of whether they constitute precarious employment is also considered.

The third section examines a particular type of non-standard employment: part-time work. It presents general information on this type of employment, and defines its characteristics. The precarious nature of part-time work is examined in terms of three factors: instability, insecurity and insufficiency of income.

The fourth section presents the conclusion of the study, and the last section contains proposals relating to part-time work in Chile. These are basically intended to improve the country's data collection tools so that progress can be made in research into this type of employment.

Section I: the effects of globalization on employment, from a gender perspective

The world economy has undergone profound transformation over the past decade, and the pace is increasing as a result of globalization. The present study is specifically concerned with the effects of economic internationalization on employment, particularly as it relates to the female population. These effects vary from one region of the world to another according to whether the national economies involved are industrialized, transitional or developing. Effects on men and women also depend on their social sector, training and work experience, and other variables.

As far as employment in the industrialized countries is concerned, the principal problem is unemployment, and much recent thinking has been devoted to it. Some of this focuses on "jobless growth", while some discusses the disappearance of work as we know it. Countries with transitional economies have to deal with the problems entailed in opening their economies to international trade, the most important of which has been massive unemployment. Lastly, most of the developing countries are principally affected by problems of unemployment and underemployment, as a consequence of their inability to recover from the crises of the 1980s.¹

The International Labour Organization (ILO, 1996) predicts that the impact of intensified international competition will take three

¹ For more background on the effects of economic crisis in the 1980s in developing countries, see ILO, 1996.

forms. First, in reacting to stronger competition, businesses will restructure to minimize costs, which could have negative effects on wages and working conditions. Second, workers' bargaining position will be weaker; and third, in the face of stronger economic competition, the State's regulatory capacity will be weakened.

The present study addresses the first of these effects, i.e., the reaction of businesses to competition insofar as it implies negative consequences (especially declining job quality) in connection with restructuring.

Globalization has different effects on men and women; salient employment issues for the female population include poverty, unemployment, underemployment and poor working conditions. The report of the Fourth World Conference on Women (United Nations, 1996) held in Beijing states that the economic recession in many industrialized and developing countries, as well as the restructuring that is under way in countries with transition economies, have had negative consequences on employment for women.²

The Beijing Platform for Action notes that the economic changes of the past decade have produced an increase in unemployment among women and have made their employment more precarious, which implies in turn that the proportion of women among the poor is on the rise. The difficult job situation has led women to look for new employment alternatives and more and more women are own-account workers or owners of small or medium-sized enterprises. At the same time, the majority of workers employed under special conditions are women, including seasonal workers, those with multiple part-time jobs, contract workers and those working in their own homes.

² The Conference was very important in advancing women's causes, especially due to the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action, which 189 national Governments committed themselves to implementing. The Platform lays out twelve priority objectives for women's development including, most importantly for this study, women's place in the economy and the situation of poor women.

Section II: Changes in employment structure: towards new forms of employment

The past two decades have seen the emergence of types of employment different from traditional ones, including part-time work, seasonal work and own-account work. These vary in one or more ways from "normal" full-time work. According to ILO (1996), they entail certain disadvantages, such as lower levels of social security, labour rights and pay in comparison to traditional employment. Definitive statements to this effect cannot be made, however, since advantages may accrue for certain groups.

In the OECD countries since the early 1970s, at least one of these types of employment has grown considerably. Though seasonal and own-account work has not increased in all these countries, it is indisputable that part-time work has done so, though the amount of increase varies substantially.

Various ideas have emerged in the industrialized countries in the last five years that question the concept of full employment.³ One of these is that the concept of work as we know it is disappearing. Exponents of this point of view say that the dominant type of employment in the industrialized countries, namely, stable wage work with defined tasks, is an endangered species. "What is disappearing today is not just a certain number of jobs ... but the very thing itself: *the job*" (Bridges, 1995, quoted in ILO, 1996: 28).

³ They include the notion of a declining number of jobs, the notion that the concept of work as we know it is obsolescent, that attitudes toward work have changed so that people prefer to work less, and lastly, the idea that unemployment is voluntary because workers freely and rationally decide when to enter and leave the labour market as well as how many hours to work and how continuously. For more detail, see ILO, 1996a.

Emergence of new forms of employment in Latin America

The decision to focus here on the issue of non-standard types of employment is a result of the fact that though the phenomenon is larger-scale and more obvious in the industrialized countries, it has been shown also to affect developing countries.

On the regional level, the seventh session of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean⁴ emphasized that changes in the labour market are not yet reflected in statistical data. Types of work have started to emerge that are different from traditional types of work and involve large numbers of women workers. The main features of these "non-standard" jobs are uncertainty, since work in these cases is no longer perceived as life-long; more flexible contracts, in that some are permanent and some temporary, which means different wages and social security systems; and lastly, longer hours, for purposes of productivity. The existence of non-standard jobs requires both new labour law and new types of social insurance (ECLAC, 1997b).

According to research by Abramo (1997a), increased flexibility in the labour market has led to an upward trend in occasional, temporary, half-time, home-performed and subcontract work, categories in which the proportion of female labour is considerable. This work is often precarious and insecure, with a greater work load, less pay and less worker protection.

Greater flexibility implies an increase in the forms of non-standard work, including short-term or part-time contracts. Valenzuela (1997) and Abramo (1997a), note that the proportion of women in precarious jobs has been increasing, both in the "old" precarious occupations (domestic work, own-account work) and in the "new" types of work such as occasional work performed at home, part-time work and subcontract work.

Also, part-time work, which is more common in industrialized countries, is associated with invisible pauperization, since the pay for hours worked is proportionally less than in full-time work (Valenzuela, 1997). Valenzuela states that while part-time work is associated with underemployment in these countries, underemployment in Latin America takes the form of short-term work with low productivity.

Conceptual approaches to the new forms of employment

The concept of non-standard employment, according to Guerra (1994), is defined in contradistinction to standard employment, with non-standard employment differing from at least one of the following characteristics of standard employment: an indefinite contract, a single employer and workplace, a full-time work schedule, an established organization of work, social insurance, legal protection of certain rights, the possibility of labour unions, the ability to exercise rights as a union member and the right to collective bargaining.

Based on these criteria, Guerra classifies non-standard jobs as: short-term contracts, work that is not continuous, part-time work, work performed at home, subcontract work, and lastly, work with an irregular, variable or fragmented schedule.

The ILO report (1998a) identifies various types of non-standard work, such as fee-based contracts, work performed at home, part-time work and jobs that involve a non-traditional schedule.

The problem is that the new types of work are liable to deterioration in job quality, since while "normal" work is regulated by labour legislation which tends to play a protective role, the new modes generally emerge in a context where labour markets are being made more flexible, where labour regulations are being dismantled or attenuated, and where efforts are being made to

⁴ Held in Santiago, Chile in November 1997.

reduce labour costs. This development is facilitated in Chile by considerable gaps in labour law. In the absence of applicable regulations, non-standard work becomes precarious work.

In addition, non-standard jobs differ from standard work in some particular way, such as the job stability, which is generally crucial, and in the absence of which the job is precarious.

What is meant by precarious employment?

According to the ILO definition (1998b), precarious employment consists of "work relations where employment security, which is considered one of the principal elements of the labour contract, is lacking. This term encompasses temporary and fixed term labour contracts, work at home, and subcontracting". It is interesting to note that this definition of precarious work refers to one dimension: job security, which is considered one of the main elements of the work contract.

One might ask why other dimensions have not been taken into account in this definition, such as insufficiency of income or job instability, which other authors have considered in defining precarious employment.

Indeed, Rodgers (1989) uses four criteria to determine whether employment is precarious. It is precarious, firstly, if it has a limited time horizon or if there is a high probability of the worker's losing the job; secondly, if there is little opportunity for workers to control the working conditions; thirdly, if there are no benefits, or social security is not part of the work package; and lastly, if the low income level occurs in tandem with poverty. All told, the concept of precarious work involves the dimensions of instability, lack of benefits, insecurity, and social and economic disadvantage. Rodgers emphasizes that it is not a single dimension, but a combination of different factors, that makes a job precarious.

According to Guerra (1994), a job is precarious if it is unstable and insecure: "We propose to define a precarious job as unstable and insecure work done by the wage worker, where the type of contract is the principal determining factor" (Guerra, 1994: 56).

Guerra considers unstable employment to be employment where there is no open-ended work contract, in other words, either there is no contract at all, or there is a contract for a set time, for a fee, or on a temporary or occasional basis. He considers employment to be insecure if it is not covered by labour protection legislation such as that on workers' health and benefits. He proposes degrees of precariousness according to these and other factors.

Ameglio (1988), along with other writers, studied precarious employment in Uruguay. He distinguishes between precarious employment and precarious wage employment, i.e., work done in an employer-employee relationship. This excludes certain types of precarious work, such as informal work, which includes own-account work, work organized around the family, and small businesses. It is interesting to note the author's distinction, within the category of precarious work, between formal and informal work. Within the category of precarious wage work, the author distinguishes subcontracting, fixed-term employment, work through a labour contractor, and part-time work.

Todaro recognizes that there is a lack of agreement on how to define precarious work, and attempts "an approach that takes account of lack of stability and insecurity in a job" (Todaro, 1997b: 30). Todaro says that these features are found in non-permanent work relationships, in situations where there is no contract, where access to social benefits is lacking, and in own-account work at very low wages.

Based on these variables, Todaro uses the following seven categories as criteria to determine whether work is precarious: (a) permanent workers without a contract; (b) permanent workers with a contract who do not contribute to the social insurance system; (c) non-permanent workers with or

without a contract; (d) permanent domestic work without contributions to social insurance systems; (e) non-permanent domestic work; (f) non-professional own-account workers who earn less than the minimum wage and (g) unpaid family members.

The present study uses the concept proposed by Guerra (1994). Hence, precarious work will be construed as that which meets criteria of insecurity, instability and insufficiency of income.

Is non-standard employment precarious?

The terms "non-standard" and "precarious" are often used synonymously. It is interesting to look at the definition proposed by ILO (1998b) for non-standard employment, precisely because it offers no definition of the term, but simply equates it to precarious employment. Thus, the definition of "non-standard" states that the term "precarious" should be used to refer to the concept. There is, however, a broad body of literature that goes against this definition, questioning the equivalence of the two terms.⁵

The work of Rodgers (1989) is among this literature, stating that the degree to which non-standard jobs are precarious varies greatly, and that despite some tendencies for non-standard jobs to be precarious, the two terms are not equivalent.

Guerra (1994) stipulates an asymmetrical relationship, stating that while not all non-standard work is precarious, all precarious work is non-standard (because standard work is secure and stable). In subsequent studies, Guerra (1995) asks whether flexibility necessarily implies precariousness, stating that some types of flexibility generate greater precariousness than others, particularly those types of flexibility that lead to deregulation.

Agacino is more inclined to think that flexibility in general causes precariousness, and says that macroeconomic successes may become "so flexible that they could easily disappear by virtue of their own limits" (Agacino, 1995: 148).

Ameglio (1988) regards "precarious" as synonymous with "non-standard," but recognizes that some forms of non-standard work are chosen voluntarily, as may occur with jobs for a set period of time or with part-time work. Ameglio proposes, therefore, that these should be covered by legislation.

Abreu (1995) associates precariousness with occasional work, within what she considers temporary or part-time work. She notes that this concept has recently been extended to include new forms of work, such as work in small firms without stability, or subcontract work. Abreu considers such work non-standard in relation to standards that are institutionalized in the law or in agreements, and says that if precariousness is not regulated it will be disguised by terminology covering new forms of work. Abreu also quotes Appay (1994) and Tilly (1995), who argue that today's precarious work is tomorrow's standard work.

The present study regards "non-standard" and "precarious" as non-equivalent expressions, even if the two attributes generally appear in conjunction. Before assuming a reciprocal relationship between the terms, it should be determined whether non-standard work is in fact precarious. The following section provides indicators of precariousness for this purpose. Further on, they will be used to measure the precariousness of a given non-standard type of work, namely, part-time work.

⁵ See Guerra, 1995.

Section III: Part-time work in Chile from a gender perspective

This section deals with the Chilean economic situation in general over the past decades and then discusses the historical context of part-time work. Following this, part-time work is examined in terms of a number of variables and its precariousness is analysed.

General background on the Chilean economy up to 1998

Chile's almost unique success among Latin American countries in combining a high growth rate with sustained job creation for over a decade has caught the attention of the entire world. Unemployment rates in many Latin American countries have risen in recent years, and there has also been a rise in informal employment. The Chilean case is rather remarkable, since it contradicts contemporary thinking which refers to "growth without jobs" by demonstrating that growth can indeed produce jobs.

It should be pointed out that Chile is an exception to the dominant reality in developing countries, in that the latter have been unable to recover from the crisis of the 1980s, and their economies have deteriorated rather badly. Chile's macroeconomic indicators, by contrast, are quite satisfactory, with exemplary performance in terms of industrial output, real wages, productivity and employment growth.

The economic model which enabled Chile's economy to grow so remarkably began in 1985 with a reaffirmation of the export model and a new adjustment program to correct certain weaknesses. This enabled production levels to recover, unemployment and inflation to fall and savings and investment levels to increase.

The combination of a peaceful political transition and a healthy economy is also important. There has been sustained growth since 1984, and thus has continued despite the political changes of 1990. What has distinguished the period since then from the preceding years is the attention paid to social integration, reducing inequalities and overcoming poverty (ILO, 1998a).

In an environment of international competitiveness, the Chilean Government has given priority to holding onto and gaining foreign markets in order to position the country's exports and contribute to maintaining the economic growth that it has enjoyed for more than a decade. Trade accords such as the cooperation with the Asia-Pacific countries, agreements with the Southern Common Market (Mercosur) and the European Union (EU) and the possible accession of Chile to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) reflect this concern on the part of the Chilean Government (Todaro and Yañez, 1997).

This internationalization of the economy has had effects in various areas, including employment. However, not all people are affected in the same way by these changes; jobs for women have suffered more, both qualitatively and quantitatively.

Although economic growth and productivity have had positive effects, such as improvements in employment and workers' incomes, there has also been an increase in precarious jobs, which are generally taken by women.

It is necessary, therefore, to look at the conditions under which women enter the labour market. They are subject to discrimination in the workplace in terms of pay, quality of jobs and recognition of their rights as workers, among other things.

This study considers employment in Chile in terms of a specific type of labour: part-time employment. This in turn is examined from a gender perspective, since it is the high number of women which swells the figures for bad working conditions, particularly regarding precarious work.

Part-time employment in historical context

Since 1945, ILO has recognized part-time work as a distinct form of employment. Only in the 1990s, however, has this distinction begun to be reflected in the legal systems of various countries.

The most recent research on the subject looks at part-time work as part of a strategy for flexibility in the labour market. The experts associate part-time work with the reorganization of market economies which has produced a growing service sector. This sector, by its very nature, must function flexibly in order to meet demand and address the needs of a growing number of consumers. Part-time work enables businesses to make their labour force flexible, adjusting the number of hours worked to adapt to changing economic conditions.

What is part-time work?

The concept of part-time work, as defined in article 1 of the ILO Convention on part-time work,⁶ refers to those wage earners whose work schedule normally includes less time than that of workers in comparable circumstances who work a standard schedule (ILO, 1994: 3).

This definition proves too broad, since it does not indicate what a standard schedule is, or at what point a worker is considered full-time. Countries that have dealt with part-time work in legislation take account of the social, economic, political and cultural factors that are relevant for

⁶ ILO Convention No. 175 (1994).

them, so that the question of minimum and maximum work schedules becomes a local one (López, 1996).⁷

According to Corvera (1995), the commonly accepted upper limit for part-time work is at least 20% less than full-time. As to lower limits, there are no precise ones. In any case, the upper limit on part-time work in most countries is less than or equal to 35 hours a week.

Since Chilean legislation does not recognize part-time work as an independent category, and since work hours are defined in relation to each country's particular circumstances, part-time work will be taken here to mean personal services provided for less than 35 hours per week. This study does not consider the existence of hierarchical or employer-employee relationships in defining who is a part-time worker, but deals with all workers, whether or not they are paid a wage.

Part-time work in Chile

Part-time work in Chile has been studied very little,⁸ in contrast to the industrialized countries,⁹ where it has been researched for decades and many studies on the subject are available. A gender approach to studying part-time work is even more unusual.¹⁰

Corvera (1995) says that the category of part-time work could be helpful in Chile, since it seems to have more advantages than disadvantages for both employers and workers. This will be true, however, only if there is legislation protecting the rights of part-time workers, who are currently at a disadvantage in comparison to full-time workers since Chilean legislation does not recognize part-time work as a category. This results mainly in legal and economic types of discrimination¹¹ (López, 1996).

According to Corvera (1995), there is an increase in women's employment as compared to men's in Chile, as in the rest of Latin America, plus an increase in the service sector. Corvera thus supposes that part-time work has increased in Chile and will continue doing so.

López (1996) points to indications that part-time work is taking off principally in the service sector. The great number of rulings on part-time work issued by the Labour Office supports this.

Leiva and Orellana's study (1997), which compares part-time work between 1986 and 1995, shows that part-time work declined in both absolute and relative terms.

Methodological note

There are problems in measuring part-time work in Chile, since the national sources of such data —the CASEN survey¹² and the National Employment Survey¹³— do not provide all the information needed on part-time work.¹⁴ Also, changes in the formulation of questions are

⁷ For more details of time constraints on what is considered part-time work in various countries, see ILO (1989).

⁸ See Corvera (1995) and López (1996).

⁹ For more background, see ILO (1963); De Neubergh, C. (1985); ILO (1989).

¹⁰ We know of only one study of part-time work from a gender perspective in Chile. See Leiva and Orellana (1997).

¹¹ According to López (1996), legal discrimination basically relates to the right to unionize, to bargain collectively, and to have social security, while the economic discrimination relates to proportionally lower pay, lack of paid holidays and vacation, no pay for extra hours, etc.

¹² Socio-economic survey carried out biennially by the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation, MIDEPLAN.

¹³ The National Employment Survey (ENE) is carried out every quarter by the National Institute of Statistics.

¹⁴ One major problem in getting a proper view of part-time work is the absence of a question in the CASEN survey to determine underemployment. In fact, neither CASEN 1994 nor CASEN 1996 asked people working less than 35 hours a week whether they want to work more.

constantly being made in order to improve the quality of the information gathered. However, recent changes have been to the detriment of research on part-time work.¹⁵

The present study uses CASEN, since its data offer more opportunity than those of the National Employment Survey in terms of analysing the specific subject of precarious work. CASEN provides information on the existence of a written work contract, on length of service and on contributions to social insurance systems, all of which, along with other data, are used in this study for creating indicators to assess the precariousness of part-time work.

It is the 1994 version of CASEN that is used, since it specifically questioned subjects about the **hours per week** worked, whereas the 1996 version asks about **hours per month**. Since calendar months have differing numbers of weeks, it is impossible to precisely calculate weekly work hours on the basis of monthly data. It is important to use the week as the unit of measurement, since this is how studies of part-time work are usually done, and this format makes international comparisons possible.

Approach to data on part-time work

First of all, general indicators of employment in Chile are given so as to provide an overall context in which to consider findings. There follows a brief comparison of part-time and full-time work schedules in order to place part-time work in the larger context, and lastly general data on part-time work are given.

Before moving on to an analysis of the data, one central aspect of the methodology should be noted, since it must be borne in mind in looking at the results. Because of multiple disaggregations of data, the numbers in the cells are sometimes not sufficient to make methodologically correct generalizations. Cases where the expanded sample is insufficient for valid generalization are indicated both in tables and charts. The numbers appear only for the sake of percentage sums and should not be used as the basis for any kind of analysis.

1. General context

According to the CASEN survey, the economically active population (EAP) for 1994 comprises 5,430,467 individuals, of whom 3,588,209 are men and 1,842,258 are women. In other words, 34% of the sample are women.

Of this population, 5,068,589 are employed, of whom 3,384,445 (67%) are men and 1,684,144 (33%) women. In other words, employed women represent around one third of the employed population.

2. Breakdown of employment figures into part-time and full-time components¹⁶

(a) Number of workers employed part time

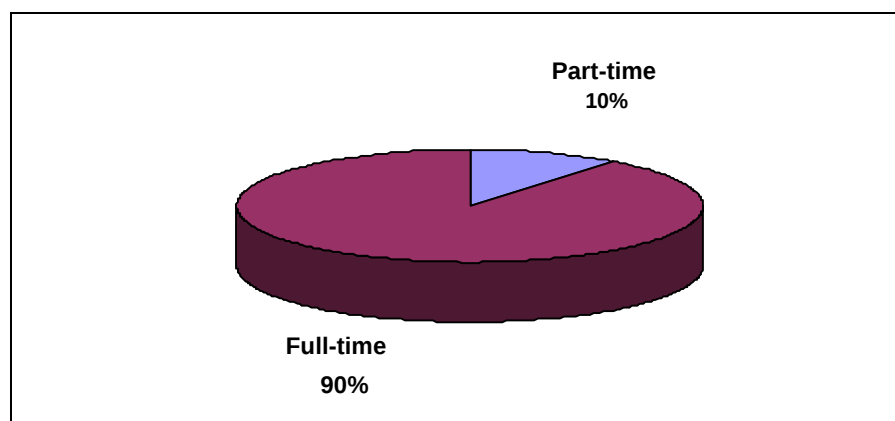
The number of employed individuals in 1994 was 5,068,589, of whom 4,540,034 work full time (90%) and 528,555 part time (10%). The volume of part-time work is hence small in comparison to full-time work (see figure 1).

¹⁵ The National Employment Survey (ENE) 1995 asked people working fewer than 35 hours who wanted to work more the reasons they were not working more. ENE 1996, however, did not question these people about the reasons for their limited work hours. In this sense, the changes in ENE represent a step backward in terms of studying part-time work.

¹⁶ Full-time will be construed in this study as employed people at least 15 years old working 35 or more hours per week.

In the case of part-time work, it is especially important to look at the gender breakdown when examining hours worked. The relevant distributions are provided below.

Figure 1
FULL-TIME AND PART-TIME WORKERS IN CHILE, 1994

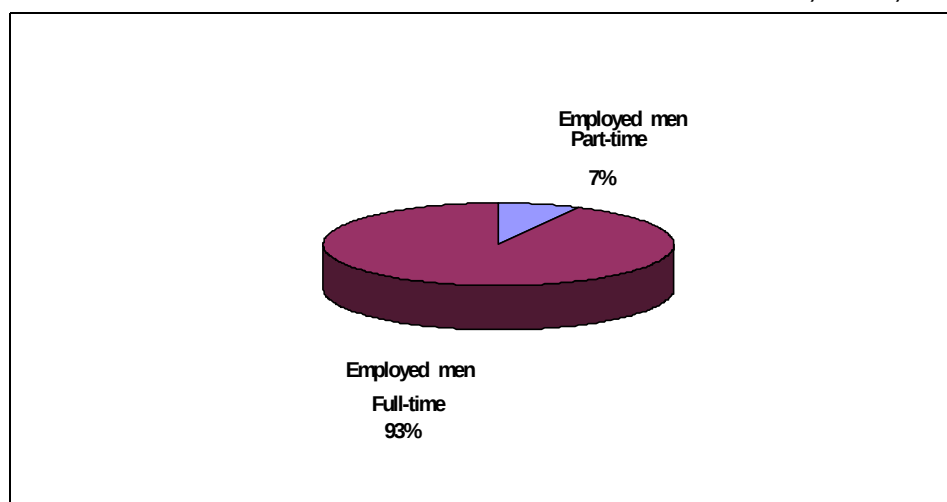


Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from the CASEN survey 1994.

(b) Breakdown of employed men into part- and full-time

Part-time workers represent 7% of all employed men, with 251,081 individuals, while full-time workers account for 93%, with 3,133,364 individuals.

Figure 2
BREAKDOWN OF EMPLOYED MEN INTO PART- AND FULL-TIME, CHILE, 1994



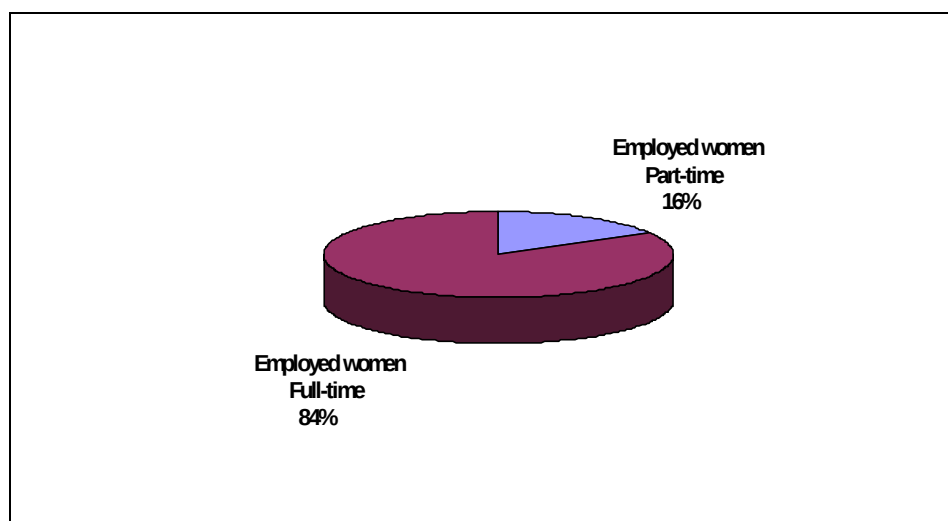
Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from the CASEN Survey 1994.

(c) Breakdown of employed women into part- and full-time

Part-time women workers account for 16% of all employed women, with 277,474 individuals, while full-time workers account for 84%, with 1,406,670 individuals.

Figure 3

BREAKDOWN OF EMPLOYED WOMEN INTO PART- AND FULL-TIME, CHILE, 1994



Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from the CASEN survey 1994.

3. General examination of data on part-time work

In the following sections, part-time work is examined in terms of the following variables: gender; age brackets; occupational category; size of establishment; education; income quintiles; marital status; main job and type of economic activity. The service sector comes under special analysis.

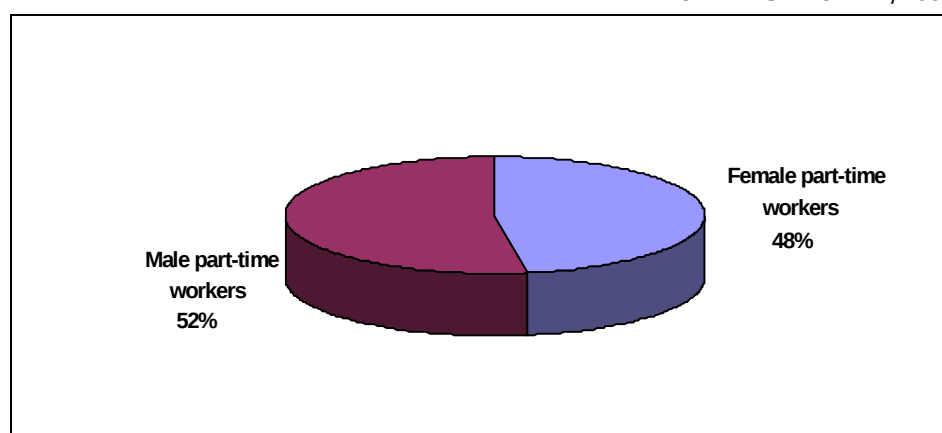
Data on each of these variables is broken down by gender, so as to provide a comparison of part-time work in the male and female populations.

(a) Part-time workers by gender

According to CASEN 1994, there are 528,555 part-time workers, of whom 251,081 are male and 277,474 female, or 48% and 52% respectively.

The variance of data according to what source is used is notable. According to the National Employment Survey for 1995, the number of female workers as a proportion of all workers was 1/3, with 110,839 women and 219,259 men (see ILO 1998a and Leiva and Orellana 1997).

Figure 4
MALE AND FEMALE PART-TIME WORKERS IN CHILE, 1994



Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from the CASEN survey 1994.

(b) Part-time workers by age

As table 1 shows, part-time workers are mostly in the 25-54 age range, and the distribution is fairly even. One quarter are in the 25-34 bracket, one quarter in the 35-44 bracket, and one fifth in the 45-54 bracket.

Looking at the data broken down by gender, a difference can be seen. While the male distribution is more even among the age brackets, the women are more heavily concentrated in the 24-54 range, which is where family responsibilities are greatest, particularly in terms of mothering.

Table 1
AGE BRACKETS OF PART-TIME WORKERS, CHILE, 1994

Age	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
15-24	46 616	18.57	35 797	12.90	82 413	15.59
25-34	60 289	24.01	69 527	25.06	129 816	24.56
35-44	48 101	19.16	72 398	26.09	120 499	22.80
45-54	45 713	18.21	57 182	20.61	102 895	19.47
55-64	29 745	11.85	29 468	10.62	59 213	11.20
65 y más	20 617	8.21	13 102	4.72	33 719	6.38
Total	25 081	100.00	27 474	100.00	528 555	100.00

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from CASEN survey 1994.

(c) Part-time workers by occupational category

Table 2 shows that almost one half of part-time workers are own-account workers (44%), and slightly over one third are employees (38%).

Looking at these categories within each gender group, it can be seen that part-time own-account work accounts for a majority of male part-time workers (53%), and for 36% of women part-time workers.

It is interesting to observe the distribution within the male occupational categories and compare them with the occupational categories for women. In the case of men, the noteworthy categories are own-account workers, with more than one half of employed men, followed by the category of employees, with over one third of employed men. In the case of women workers, the largest categories are also own-account workers and employees, but the two are fairly evenly distributed, with each accounting for slightly over one third of the total.

It should also be added that non-live-in domestic service occupies an important place in part-time women's jobs, accounting for almost one fifth of employed women. It should be noted that the figure for unpaid family members is twice as high in the women's column as in the men's, a phenomenon that will be taken up below.

Table 2
OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF PART-TIME WORKERS, CHILE, 1994

Occupational category	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Employer or owner	6 372	2.54	3 665	1.32	10 037	1.90
Own-account	133 107	53.01	101 127	36.45	234 234	44.32
Employee	97 368	38.78	104 301	37.59	201 669	38.15
Live-in domestic service	X -	X -	5 229	1.88	5 229	0.99
Non-live-in domestic service	X 165	X 0.07	48 867	17.61	49 032	9.28
Temporary	8 173	3.26	X 2 538	X 0.91	10 711	2.03
Armed forces and police	X 746	X 0.30	X 28	X 0.01	X 774	X 0.15
Unpaid family member	5 150	2.05	11 719	4.22	16 869	3.19
Total	251 081	100.00	277 474	100.00	528 555	100.00

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from CASEN survey 1994.

Note: Data marked "X" are not susceptible to analysis, since the unexpanded sample is insufficient for methodologically proper generalizations.

(d) Part-time workers by size of establishment

It is in establishments where only one person works that the greatest concentration of part-time workers is found —almost one half (46%) as can be seen in table 3. One fifth of part-time employed persons work in establishments of 2 to 4 individuals, while a smaller proportion work in establishments of 10 to 49. The remaining data by size of establishment are not significant. Similar tendencies are reflected in the data if disaggregated by gender.

Table 3
SIZE OF BUSINESS IN WHICH PART-TIME WORKERS ARE EMPLOYED, CHILE, 1994

Size of establishment	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
1 person	106 006	42.22	137 385	49.51	243 391	46.05
2 to 4 persons	56 279	22.41	45 584	16.43	101 863	19.27
5 persons	5 244	2.09	3 688	1.33	8 932	1.69
6 to 9 persons	12 849	5.12	11 849	4.27	24 698	4.67
10 to 49 persons	35 659	14.20	49 244	17.75	84 903	16.06
50 to 199 persons	12 036	4.79	12 567	4.53	24 603	4.65
200 persons and more	14 599	5.81	10 034	3.62	24 633	4.66
Unknown	8 409	3.35	7 123	2.57	15 532	2.94
Total	251 081	100.00	277 474	100.00	528 555	100.00

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from CASEN survey 1994.

(e) Part-time workers by educational level

Table 4 shows that almost one half of part-time workers have 7 to 12 years of education (45%). No significant difference is observed in the breakdown by gender.

Table 4
YEARS OF SCHOOLING, PART-TIME WORKERS, CHILE, 1994

Years of schooling	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
0-6	77 462	30.85	74 031	26.68	151 493	28.66
7-12	117 720	46.89	119 245	42.98	236 965	44.83
13 and more	54 291	21.62	8 672	29.43	135 963	25.72
Unknown	X 1 608	X 0.64	X 2 526	X 0.91	X 4 134	X 0.78
Total	251 081	100.00	277 474	100.00	528 555	100.00

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from CASEN survey 1994.

Note: Data marked "X" are not susceptible to analysis, since the unexpanded sample is insufficient for methodologically proper generalizations.

(f) Part-time workers by household income quintiles

As shown in table 5, part-time work is distributed evenly across income quintiles, representing almost one fifth in each. Breakdown by gender shows a considerable difference: for women, part-time work increases with increased income, the first quintile beginning at 14% and the last ending with 25%.

(g) Part-time workers by marital status

Table 6 shows that more than half (53%) of part-time workers are married, while a third are single (29%). The same proportions are true of both men and women.

(h) Part-time workers by occupational group (main occupation)

In terms of main occupation, shown in table 7, almost one third of part-time workers are unskilled (27%), a proportion which is similar in the disaggregations by gender. Almost one fifth are merchants (17%) and 14% are professionals. Comparing men to women, it can be seen that part-time work in both cases is mostly done by unskilled workers.

Table 5
HOUSEHOLD INCOME QUINTILES, PART-TIME WORKERS, CHILE, 1994

Quintile	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
1 st quintile	52 847	21.05	38 281	13.80	91 128	17.24
2 nd quintile	48 859	19.46	50 441	18.18	99 300	18.79
3 rd quintile	43 333	17.26	55 654	20.06	98 987	18.73
4 th quintile	56 295	22.42	63 815	23.00	120 110	22.72
5 th quintile	49 747	19.81	69 283	24.97	119 030	22.52
Total	25 1081	100.00	277 474	100.00	528 555	100

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from CASEN survey 1994.

Table 6
MARITAL STATUS OF PART-TIME WORKERS, CHILE, 1994

Marital status	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Married	138 835	55.29	142 495	51.35	281 330	53.23
Living together	16 823	6.70	17 887	6.45	34 710	6.57
Marriage annulled	X 234	X 0.09	X 1 813	X 0.65	X 2 047	X 0.39
Separated	9 716	3.87	20 577	7.42	30 293	5.73
Widowed	4 332	1.73	20 593	7.42	24 925	4.72
Single	81 141	32.32	74 109	26.71	155 250	29.37
Total	251 081	100.00	277 474	100.00	528 555	100.00

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from CASEN survey 1994.

Note: Data marked "X" are not susceptible to analysis, since the unexpanded sample is insufficient for methodologically proper generalizations.

Table 7
MAIN OCCUPATION OF PART-TIME WORKERS, CHILE, 1994

Main occupational	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Senior officials and management	9 816	3.9	10 931	3.94	20 747	3.93
Professionals	26 253	10.5	48 509	17.48	74 762	14.14
Technicians	14 839	5.9	19 566	7.05	34 405	6.51
Clerks	7 689	3.1	12 741	4.59	20 430	3.87
Merchants	30 883	12.3	60 836	21.92	91 719	17.35
Agricultural workers	21 766	8.7	2 806	1.01	24 572	4.65
Craft and related trade workers	54 846	21.8	33 780	12.17	88 626	16.77
Plant and machine operators	24 907	9.9	2 304	0.83	27 211	5.15
Unskilled workers	58 280	23.2	85 883	30.95	144 163	27.27
Armed forces	X 922	X 0.4	X -	X -	X 922	X 0.17
Unknown	X 880	X 0.4	X 118	X 0.04	X 998	X 0.19
Total	251 081	100.0	277 474	100.00	528 555	100.00

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from CASEN survey 1994.

Note: Data marked "X" are not susceptible to analysis, since the unexpanded sample is insufficient for methodologically proper generalizations.

(i) Part-time workers by economic activity

Looking at part-time work by economic activity, as reflected in table 8, it can be seen that slightly under one half of workers are in the service sector (43%) and almost one fifth in the commerce sector (20%). Within each gender group, however, there are appreciable differences. Fifty-eight percent of women part-time workers work in the service sector, while the corresponding figure for men is 26%.

(j) Part-time workers by specific economic activity within the service sector (personal, social and community services)

Because part-time work is concentrated almost entirely in the personal, social and community service sector, it is important to determine its makeup within this sector. As table 9 shows, one half of part-time workers are in personal and household services (49%), while the other one half are in

social services and other community and related services (41%). There is no significant gender difference here.

Table 8
ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN WHICH PART-TIME WORKERS ARE EMPLOYED,
CHILE, 1994

Economic activity	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Agriculture	40 910	16.3	7 429	2.68	48 339	9.15
Mining and quarrying	X 2 552	X 1.0	X 348	X 0.13	X 2 900	X 0.55
Manufacturing	28 391	11.3	34 086	12.28	62 477	11.82
Electricity, gas and water	X 630	X 0.3	X 42	X 0.02	X 672	X 0.13
Construction	31 851	12.7	1 183	0.43	33 034	6.25
Commerce	42 780	17.0	61 585	22.19	104 365	19.75
Transport	26 633	10.6	3 900	1.41	30 533	5.78
Financial services	10 836	4.3	5 843	2.11	16 679	3.16
Other services	64 389	25.6	160 281	57.76	224 670	42.51
Not clearly specified	X 2 109	X 0.8	X 2 777	X 1.00	X 4 886	X 0.92
Total	251 081	100.0	277 474	100.00	528 555	100.00

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from CASEN survey 1994.

Note: Data marked "X" are not susceptible to analysis, since the unexpanded sample is insufficient for methodologically proper generalizations.

Different results from CASEN survey and National Employment Survey

Previous research on part-time work must be consulted, especially when results vary. Of relevance here are the differences between the research of Leiva and Orellana (1997) and the ILO (1998a) research. It should be borne in mind that data in both cases are from the National Employment Survey conducted by the National Institute of Statistics (INE), unlike the data employed in the present study, which, as mentioned above, come from CASEN. In the INE studies, the figure for part-time work in 1995 is 6.6%, which represents 330,098 employed persons, while the percentage in the 1994 CASEN survey is 10%, or 528,555 individuals. This is a first important difference between the two data collection processes.

Table 9
SERVICES IN WHICH PART-TIME WORKERS ARE EMPLOYED, CHILE, 1994

Services	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Public administration and defence	3 639	6	2 876	2	6 521	3
Sanitation and others	X 867	X 1	X 864	1	X 1 732	X 1
Social services and other community and related services	23 306	36	68 609	43	91 951	41
Entertainment, recreation and cultural services	9 544	15	5 106	3	14 665	7
Personal and household services	27 033	42	82 754	52	109 829	49
International and other organizations	X -	X -	X 72	X 0	X 72	X 0
Total	64 389	100	160 281	100	224 770	100

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from CASEN survey 1994.

Note: Data marked "X" are not susceptible to analysis, since the unexpanded sample is insufficient for methodologically proper generalizations.

Other figures that should be noted are those having to do with the gender ratio in the total employment figures. Looking at male employment according to the 1995 National Employment Survey, the percentage of men working part-time is 3% (110,839), while the 1994 CASEN figures show 7% (251,081). In the case of part-time women workers, the two surveys show similar percentages: in the National Employment Survey for 1995, women part-time workers represent 14% (219,259) of all employed women, while the corresponding CASEN 1994 figure is 16% (277,474).

The two surveys produced very different results in terms of the gender ratio within the part-time category. Of the 528,555 part-time workers in CASEN 1994, 48% are men (251,081) and 52% (277,474) women, while the 1995 National Employment Survey shows 330,098 part-time workers, of whom 66% (219,259) are women and 34% (110,839) men. In CASEN 1994, the ratio of part-time male workers to part-time female workers is 1:1, while the figure in the National Employment Survey is 1:3.

Conclusions on part-time work

According to the 1994 CASEN data, part-time work represents 10% of all employment in Chile. Of this, slightly over one half is women (52%). However, it is more meaningful to look at male employment and female employment separately and consider the proportion of part-time work from that viewpoint. Within male employment, barely 7% is part-time, while the figure for women is more than double that, at 16%.

Bearing in mind that the gender ratio varies considerably between the CASEN data and the National Employment Survey data, results must be put in a relative context, especially in the present study, where the gender comparison is present at all stages of the analysis.

Part-time work as precarious work

This study utilizes the concept of precarious work proposed by Guerra (1994), so that there are three dimensions of, or ways of looking at, precariousness: instability, insecurity, and income insufficiency.

Using some of the indicators proposed by Todaro (1997b), the instability approach considers the existence or non-existence of a contract and at the type of work; the insecurity approach considers contributions to insurance and pension systems; and the income-insufficiency approach considers the "unpaid family member" variable.

1. The instability factor

(a) Absence of a contract

The CASEN survey posed the "existence of a contract" question to workers in the categories "employees", "live-in domestic service" and "non-live-in domestic service". The question does not apply to the other categories, "employer or owner", "own-account worker", "temporary", "armed forces and police", and "unpaid family member", which make up 52% of the cases (see table 10).

Looking at the applicability of this question by gender, it may be seen that in the case of women it is applicable 57% of the time, while for male workers it is applicable in 39% of cases, a difference basically due to domestic service, which is almost exclusively performed by women (see table 10).

Table 10

PART-TIME WORKERS WITH WRITTEN CONTRACTS, CHILE, 1994

	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Not applicable	153 548	61.15	119 032	42.90	272 580	51.57
With contract	56 050	22.32	81 141	29.24	137 191	25.96
Without contract	40 550	16.15	77 251	27.84	117 801	22.29
Unknown	X 933	X 0.37	X 50	X 0.02	X 983	X 0.19
Total	251 081	100.00	277 474	100.00	528 555	100.00

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from CASEN survey 1994.

Note: Data marked "X" are not susceptible to analysis, since the unexpanded sample is insufficient for methodologically proper generalizations.

In terms of the existence of a contract (pursuing the analysis only within the set of applicable cases), it can be seen that 54% of workers have contracts, while 46% do not. By gender, it can be seen that 57% of men have a contract, as compared with 51% of women (see table 11). In other words, there is not a significant gender difference in terms of having or not having a contract.

Table 11

PART-TIME WORKERS WITH CONTRACTS, APPLICABLE CASES, CHILE, 1994

	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
With contract	56 050	57.47	81 141	51	137 191	53.60
Without contract	40 550	41.58	77 251	49	117 801	46.02
Unknown	X 933	X 0.96	X 50	X 0	X 983	X 0.38
Total	97 533	100.00	158 442	100	255 975	100.00

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from CASEN survey 1994.

Note: Data marked "X" are not susceptible to analysis, since the unexpanded sample is insufficient for methodologically proper generalizations.

Overall, more than half of part-time workers, both men and women, have contracts, save for the fact noted above that the question is not applicable in some categories. **It may be concluded, therefore, that from the point of view of instability, which is a function of absence of contract, part-time work constitutes precarious work in slightly less than half of all cases (46%) (see table 11).**

(b) Non-permanent work

Forty-six percent of men employed part-time consider their job to be permanent, while the corresponding figure for women is 55% (see table 12). The other categories, i.e., fixed term, temporary, job or contract work, service work etc., can be included in the concept of non-permanent employment, which for men represents 54% and for women 45% (see table 13). **It may be concluded that from the instability perspective, measured by the permanent-job indicator, part-time work is precarious in half the cases (see table 13), with slightly more variation for women than men, i.e., the work is less permanent for men than for women.**

Table 12
TYPE OF WORK FOR PART-TIME WORKERS, CHILE, 1994

	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Permanent	116 231	46.29	153 366	55.27	269 597	51.01
Fixed term	6 640	2.64	9 393	3.39	16 033	3.03
Seasonal	51 091	20.35	41 247	14.87	92 338	17.47
By job or contract	45 772	18.23	31 163	11.23	76 935	14.56
For services	25 447	10.13	33 807	12.18	59 254	11.21
Other	5 900	2.35	8 498	3.06	14 398	2.72
Total	251 081	100.00	277 474	100.00	528 555	100.00

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from CASEN survey 1994.

Table 13
TYPE OF WORK DONE BY PART-TIME WORKERS, ACCORDING TO PERMANENCE, CHILE, 1994

	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Permanent	116 231	46	153 366	55	269 597	51
Non-permanent	134 850	54	124 108	45	258 958	49
Total	251 081	100	277 474	100	528 555	100

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from CASEN survey 1994.

2. Insecurity factor

Sixty-three percent of part-time workers do not contribute to social insurance schemes, a figure that is similar for both sexes. **It can be said, therefore, that from the viewpoint of the insecurity factor, assessed using the indicator of contributions to insurance and pension systems, part-time work is highly precarious** (see table 14).

Table 14
SOCIAL INSURANCE CONTRIBUTIONS BY PART-TIME WORKERS, CHILE, 1994

	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Does not contribute	163 979	65.31	170 692	61.52	334 671	63.32
Contributes	87 088	34.69	106 782	38.48	193 870	36.68
Unknown	X 14	X 0.01	X 0	X -	X 14	X 0.00
Total	251 081	100.00	277 474	100.00	528 555	100.00

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from CASEN survey 1994.

Note Data marked "X" are not susceptible to analysis, since the unexpanded sample is insufficient for methodologically proper generalizations.

3. Insufficient-income factor

The insufficient-income factor is measured by the unpaid family member indicator, following Todaro (1997b). As can be seen in table 15, unpaid family workers who work less than 35 hours a week total 16,869 individuals, of whom more than two thirds are women (almost 70%). Unpaid

family members represent barely 3% of the total of people employed part time. **It may thus be concluded that according to the unpaid family member indicator, part-time work does not constitute a level of precariousness in terms of the insufficient income factor.**

Table 15
PART-TIME WORKERS' PAY, CHILE, 1994

	Men	%	Women	%	Total	%
Paid work	245 931	97.95	265 755	95.78	511 686	96.81
Unpaid family member	5 150	2.05	11 719	4.22	16 869	3.19
Total	251 081	100	277 474	100	528 555	100

Source: ECLAC, Statistics and Economic Projections Division, special tabulations based on data from CASEN survey 1994.

Conclusions on part-time work as precarious work

Part-time work may be considered precarious according to the variables and indicators used. According to this study, it may be stated in a general way that part-time work in Chile is precarious in 50% of all cases.

The following conclusions emerge, based on the indicators used: according to the instability factor, approximately one half of part-time work is precarious; in terms of the insecurity factor, part-time work is precarious in two thirds of cases and, finally, in terms of insufficiency of income, part-time work is not precarious.

Analysing the data from a gender perspective, it can be seen that part-time work for women shows precariousness indices similar to those for men, depending on the factor considered. First, in relation to the instability factor: if this is measured by absence of contract, part-time work is more precarious for women, whereas if measured by length of service, it is more precarious for men. Second, from the insecurity viewpoint, as measured by social insurance contributions, part-time work is more precarious for men than for women. The third and last dimension of precariousness considered in this study is insufficient income, and here part-time work does not constitute precarious work for either gender.

Section IV: Conclusions

It is clear that existing instruments, namely, the National Employment Survey and CASEN, are inadequate for gathering data on part-time work in Chile. The National Employment Survey fails to explore the reasons why some part-time workers do not want to work more hours, while CASEN fails to investigate underemployment, i.e., the cases of workers who do want to work more hours.

Furthermore, there has been a setback in what ability these instruments do have to reflect the realities of part-time work. The 1996 National Employment Survey dropped a question that had previously been used to ascertain why people working fewer than 35 hours a week, but who want to work more, are not doing so. And in the case of CASEN, the 1996 version asked about monthly hours worked rather than weekly hours.

Data on part-time work differ significantly depending on what instrument is used in gathering the information. The differences have to do with the gender distribution of part-time work. The 1995 National Employment Survey shows the proportion for women as two thirds, while the 1994 CASEN figure is closer to 50%.

This study shows that part-time work made up 10% of all employment in Chile as of 1994, with slightly over half of this (52%) being women. For a more detailed view, this distribution must be looked at separately in terms of the male and female employment data. It then reveals that part-time work represents a mere 7% of male employment, but more than double that (16%) for women.

According to the three indicators used to measure precariousness, half of part-time work is precarious in terms of instability, a high proportion of part-time work is precarious in terms of insecurity, and part-time work does not appear precarious when measured in relation to insufficient income.

Looking at precariousness of part-time work from a gender perspective in relation to each of these proposed indicators, it may be seen that part-time work is equally precarious for both sexes, since there is no significant difference in the two sets of data.

Section V: Proposals

There is little knowledge about part-time work in Chile, due to inadequacies in the instruments used to gather employment data. It would therefore be advisable to improve the instruments, adding some questions and changing others. This would lead to more knowledge on part-time work in Chile.

In particular, the CASEN survey should be improved. It is advised that the question on the number of hours worked be recast, returning to the formulation used in CASEN 1994, which was based on weekly hours.

It is also recommended that an additional question be asked of people working less than 35 hours per week (as INE does in its National Employment Survey), in order to determine whether part-time work constitutes underemployment. A further recommendation is that part-time work as underemployment be investigated, which would require questions on whether or not respondents are content to be working under 35 hours, and why.

For gender-specific observations on part-time work, gender-based methods of analysis would be advisable, using tools such as the indicators developed by Pollack (1997), which are linked to gender-specific labour-market indicators based on factors such as marital status, age, number of children. It is noteworthy that this concern is a worldwide one. The Beijing Platform for Action (United Nations, 1996) calls for developing theory and methodology that draw on gender-based approaches to data. It also calls for gathering data by gender and age on all aspects of economic activity, and developing quantitative and qualitative statistical indicators to evaluate economic performance from a gender perspective.

To ascertain the precariousness of part-time work, it would be advisable to develop more comprehensive and detailed indicators on precarious employment. One of the advantages of this approach would be to produce more data on insufficient income levels, supplementing with other indicators the information based on the "unpaid family member" indicator which was used in the present study. One of the indicators proposed for this purpose is the poverty line, since it would enrich analysis related to insufficient income.

Also, in researching the increase in precarious employment, it would be good to add gender indicators as suggested by Todaro (1997), since there is observable gender discrimination, which generally translates into women being the majority of workers doing precarious work. This inequity is recognized in the Santiago Consensus¹⁷ (ECLAC, 1997c), which recommends implementing reforms to prevent gender discrimination.

Lastly, it is suggested that other factors that could help to gain a fuller and more detailed view of part-time work be studied. This includes the issue of job quality. It should be noted that this is a question of national concern, especially in terms of women's employment. This is recognized in the Equal Opportunity Plan for Women 1994-1999 (SERNAM, 1995), which encourages gender-differentiated study of how job quality and equal opportunities are affected by changes in the organization of work.

Given the lack of a legal framework for regulating part-time work in Chile, comparative studies should be made of such legislation in other countries. As López (1996) has pointed out, it would be appropriate to review Spanish, Argentine and Ecuadorian legislation, given the cultural affinities between Chile and those countries.

¹⁷ The Santiago Consensus was adopted at the seventh session of the Regional Conference on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean, held in November 1997 in Santiago, Chile.

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