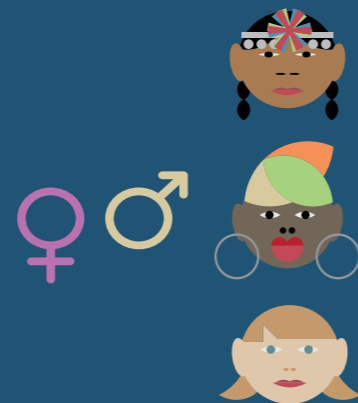
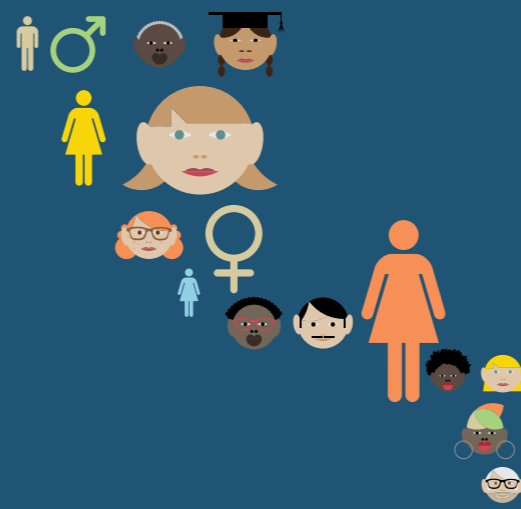
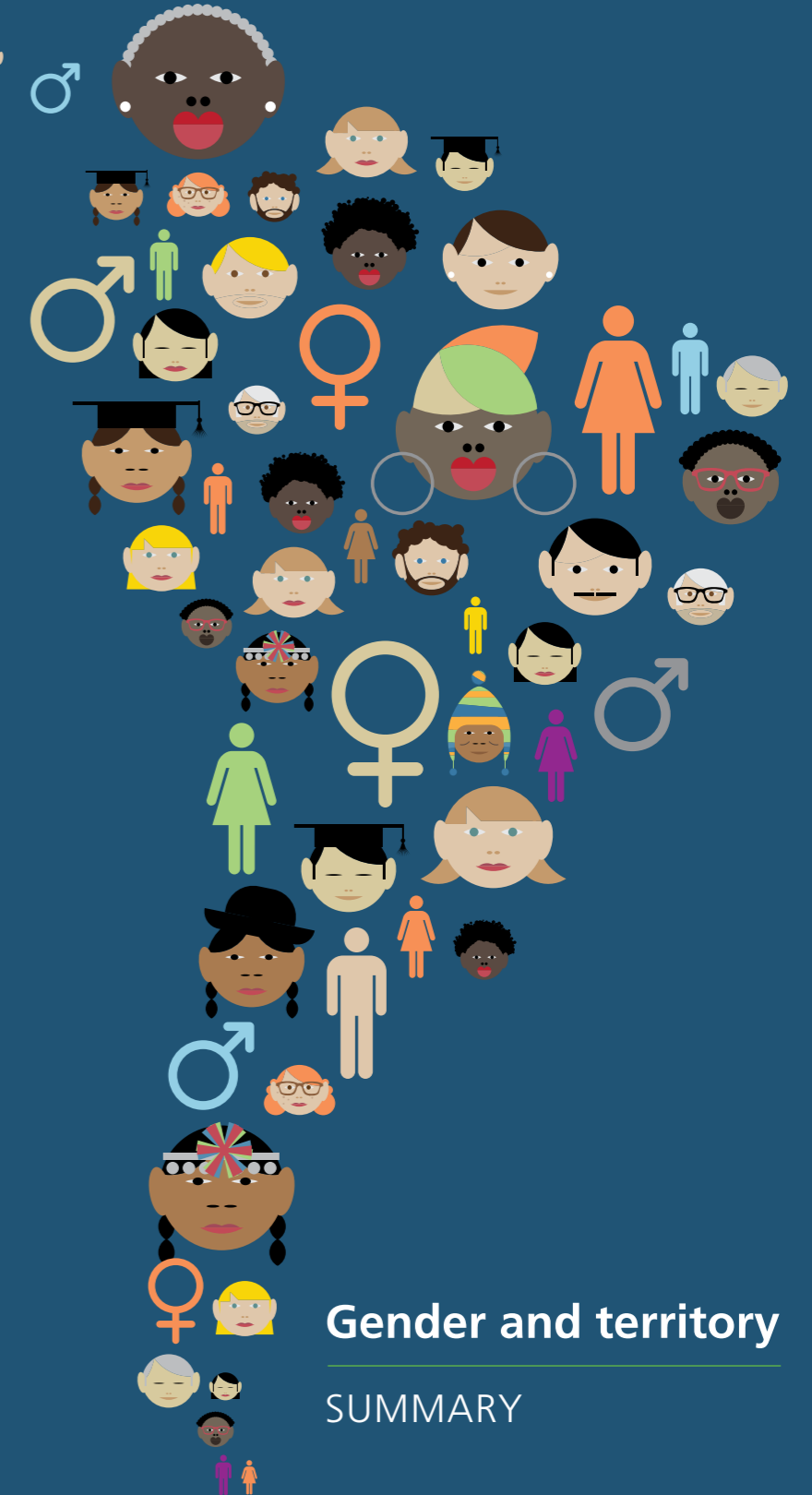
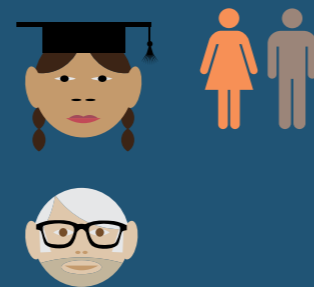


POVERTY AND INEQUALITY LATIN AMERICAN REPORT 2015



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www.informelatinoamericano.org ♀ www.rimisp.org
rimisp@rimisp.org ♂ Phone + (56-2) 2236 4557
Huelén 10, Providencia, Santiago de Chile



Gender and territory

SUMMARY

**POVERTY AND
INEQUALITY**
LATIN AMERICAN REPORT
2015

Gender and territory

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LATIN AMERICAN REPORT 2015 GENDER AND TERRITORY

Summary

Territorial inequality is a significant reality in Latin America, in areas as diverse as poverty, education, health, economic dynamism and employment, income, citizen security and gender equality. This is reflected in the Latin American Report on Poverty and Inequality series, which shows that in all of these dimensions, national averages conceal substantial differences between lagging territories and those that are most advanced in each country, and that these gaps persist over time (Rimisp, 2012a; Rimisp 2014).

This Report's analysis of trends in the indicators shows that average outcomes generally have been improving, but only in some indicators, while this has been accompanied in some countries by decreases in territorial gaps. This is because the territories that have improved their outcomes are not always the ones that lagged furthest behind originally. Only in some cases, the profile of the territories that have advanced most correspond to areas with a low degree of urbanization, small population and a high proportion of indigenous or Afro-descendent population, which is the predominant demographic profile of the territories that lag.

Average progress has been particularly small in gender equality (as well as citizen security), and there has even been some regression. Nevertheless, in some indicators and some countries there is also an incipient trend toward the closure of territorial gaps, particularly the gender gap in participation in the labor force, although in absolute terms this gap remains significant.

What is it about with the gender gap that makes it so difficult to find clear and consistent trends toward closure of territorial

inequality gaps? That is the question that motivates this Report, which focuses on the territorial distribution of gender inequalities. One key factor in progress toward gender equality is economic autonomy, which we understand as the ability of women to generate their own income and resources through access to paid work under conditions equal to those for men (ECLAC, 2014).

This Report argues that the possibilities for ensuring women's economic autonomy are distributed inequitably among the various territories within countries, affecting not only the quality of life of women who live in lagging territories, but also the development processes in the region's countries.

In the 2011 and 2013 editions of the Latin American Report on Poverty and Inequality, we proposed that the concept of gender refers to the attributes, expectations and social, behavioral and cultural norms associated with being a woman or a man. Gender equality refers to the way in which those aspects determine how women and men relate to one another and the consequent differences in power between them.

Promoting gender equality is a strategic challenge, both because of its intrinsic value—living life as one chooses is a human right—and because of instrumental considerations. This report pays particular attention to issues related to income disparities, economic segregation and access to productive assets, among other factors that could be included in an overall concept of economic autonomy.

Economic autonomy has an impact on other dimensions of women's development, because work not only provides individual in-

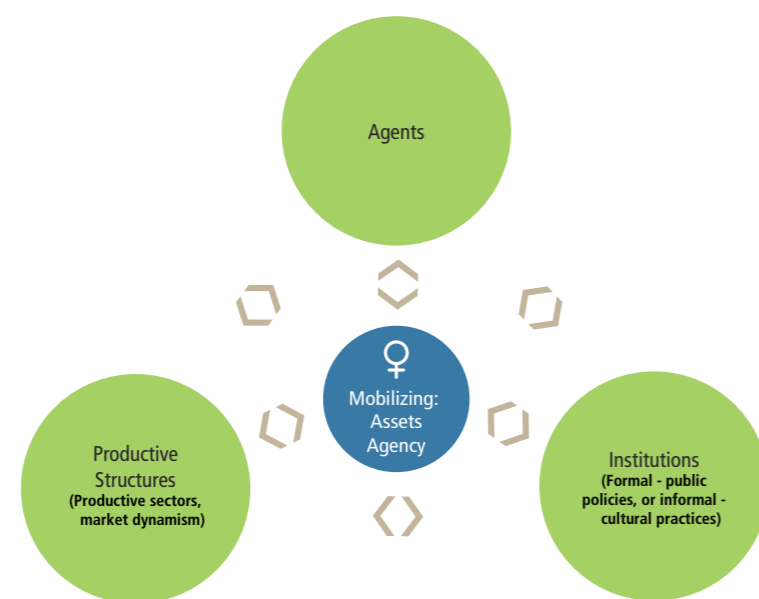
come, but also gives women entry into other spheres of social and political integration, significantly defining relationships among individuals and helping to improve their standard of living (ECLAC, 2012; Rimisp, 2014).

The concept of economic autonomy is complemented by economic empowerment, which includes women's power of action and decision-making in the economic sphere. Some definitions emphasize markets, considering economic empowerment to be the ability of women to compete in, participate in, contribute to and benefit economically from the market and growth processes. Others add to this women's capacity for economic agency, defined as the possibility of acting, choosing and making economic decisions in both the private and public spheres (OECD 2011, World Bank 2006, ICRW 2011, UNDP 2008, Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, 2009, cited in Kabeer 2012).

The Latin American Report on Poverty and Inequality 2015 proposes that gender inequality -in terms of generation of one's own income and resources- is expressed differently in the territories, because **this inequality is related not only to women's assets or resources and their capacity for agency, but also with factors in the territories, such as the productive structure, formal and informal institutions, and agents present in the territory.**

Each of these structures, institutions and agents is marked by gender systems, which may constrain or open up development opportunities both for women and for the territory. As Paulson and Equipo Lund (2011) note, gender systems organize social groups and actors so that they develop and exercise different knowledge, work, practices, assets, responsibilities, abilities, networks and forms

Territorial determinants of gender inequality



of organization in the territory, determining a priori the spheres of action for men and women.

We propose that territories in which more dynamic markets predominate, and have highly productive economic sectors, public policies that tend to facilitate women's economic integration¹ and a better distribution of capacity for agency among diverse social groups, will better contribute to increasing and/or unleashing women's own assets while also improving women's relative situation in those territories. This integrated analysis of territorial factors and women's characteristics is the main challenge for public institutions and their policies and programs.

This Report is organized in three main sections. The first part (Chapters 1 and 2) describes the evolution of territorial development gaps identified in previous editions of the Report and presents the results of a new instrument, the Territorial Equality Index. The second part (Chapters 3 and 4) analyzes in greater depth the territorial gaps related to key indicators of women's economic au-

¹ Programs that encourage productive activities, occupational training, childcare to facilitate access to jobs or income generation, etc.

tonomy and studies the individual and territorial variables that influence women's ability to generate their own income, analyzing the cases of Brazil, Chile and Peru. The third part of the Report (Chapters 5, 6 and 7) explores specific territorial dynamics that occur in various contexts in Latin America; it analyzes territories with different economic-productive structures in three countries -Chile, Colombia and El Salvador- that share the characteristic of showing positive performance in the behavior of a series of indicators that reflect the state of women's economic autonomy.

1. Territorial equality and evolution of development gaps

Evolution of territorial gaps in six key dimensions of development

The first two editions of the Latin American Report on Poverty and Inequality highlighted the existence of severe territorial gaps in a series of dimensions of development that are key for explaining the welfare of households in Latin America, such as health, education, citizen security, income, economic dynamism and gender equality. Gaps are defined as a territory's positive or negative distance from the national average for a given indicator.

This analysis shows that both poverty and access to services or economic activity are distributed unequally among territories, adding, to the already complex social inequality afflicting Latin American societies, a persistent territorial inequality. One of the clearest expressions of this is the relatively worse situation in which the rural poor find themselves, compared to their urban counterparts.

In general, lagging territories tend to have common characteristics: they tend to be smaller in terms of population, more rural, have a larger percentage of individuals from indigenous or Afro-descendent groups, and, to a lesser extent, have a larger percentage of young people under the age of 15. The ex-

ception occurs in citizen security and gender equality dimensions, where the places with the most problems tend to be urban and have a large population.

In light of this evidence, and following the same methodology used in the previous ones, this Report examines in greater depth the evolution of these trends in the countries for which it has been possible to obtain updated information, namely Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador and Peru.

Analysis of the evolution of the indicators shows that average outcomes generally have been improving, but this has translated only into incipient decreases in sub-national territorial gaps. This new update confirms positive trends in indicators in the dimensions of health, education, and economic dynamism and employment. The dimensions of citizen security and gender equality show uneven results between countries and between the different indicators, showing no clear trend in the evolution of the gaps. Regarding closure of gaps, a decrease is seen between the most advanced territories and those that lag most in the dimensions of health, education and economic dynamism, where the territories that have made the greatest progress are those with a low degree of urbanization, small population and large proportion of the population belonging to indigenous or Afro-descendent groups, which, as noted above, is the predominant profile of lagging territories. In the dimensions of citizen security and gender, territorial gaps have been decreasing, but the ones that have improved the most have been predominantly urban places that originally lagged. Finally, in the dimension of income / poverty, indicators continue to improve, but there is no trend toward a decrease of territorial gaps. In some indicators, the territories that have improved the most are precisely those that originally had the best outcomes.

Health. An adequate state of health for the population is crucial, not only for each individual's quality of life, but also for individual and collective social development and productivity of countries. A good state of health not only enables an individual to avoid the health-care costs associated with illness, but also facilitates studies, work and household tasks. The state of health can therefore be understood as a fundamental part of people's human capital, as it enables them to improve their ability to produce goods and services and engage in activities in general, both in the work force and outside of it. At the aggregate level within a country, this translates into greater human capital available to engage in development-oriented activities. The main trends found in analysis of this dimension indicate that:

- There is improvement over past years in all of the indicators considered. Progress has not been uniform, however, and some territories, particularly those that are most advantaged, are beginning to show slight stagnation. Meanwhile, the adolescent pregnancy rate in many countries remains alarmingly high and shows no signs of decreasing.
- Territorial gaps have been shrinking in some health indicators, although they are far from closing. In some countries, the sub-national territories that originally lagged the most are the ones that have made the greatest progress, which implies a certain trend toward reducing territorial gaps.
- In contrast to the outcomes reported in the Latin American Report 2013 -where no characteristics common to the sub-national territories that had made the greatest progress were identified- some common profiles appear in this Report. They indicate that the territories that have improved most have small populations, are predominantly rural and have a large proportion of the population belonging to indigenous or Afro-descendent groups. These characteristics coincide precisely with those identi-

fied since the 2011 Report as the places that have lagged the most; this change therefore could be interpreted as a positive indication of a trend toward the closure of gaps.

Education. There is widespread consensus in Latin America about the need to invest in human capital. This consensus sees education as a powerful tool for driving sustainable human development, increasing countries' productivity and competitiveness, and creating more equal opportunities. Investment in human capital makes economic growth compatible with equitable development. In most countries in the region, increasing the quality and equality of education has been defined consistently as a priority challenge. Progress has been made, especially in coverage, but reality shows that all sectors of the population do not have equal access to quality education. This Report's results in this dimension indicate that:

- Progress in recent years has been significant. In general, all of the indicators analyzed show improvement in comparison to the starting point.
- In some countries, territorial gaps are beginning to close. But in all countries, some sub-national territories are significantly advanced, while others lag significantly behind the national average.
- Although no crosscutting trends appear regarding the characteristics of the territories that have made the greatest progress, in some countries there is a group of territories that have improved, and which are predominantly rural, with a small proportion of the total population, and with a greater proportion of children and adolescents.

Economic Dynamism and Employment. Economic growth, through job creation and increased wages, can be key to overcoming poverty, as it helps families generate their own income. But economic growth alone is



not enough to achieve equitable development; public policies also play an important role, through social programs and by promoting productive activities, along with regulations aimed at creating quality employment, among other aspects. The analysis shows the following trends:

- As already noted in the 2011 and 2013 Reports, indicators in the economic dynamism and employment dimension are particularly sensitive to the moment at which the data are generated, as they respond significantly to economic current events in each country and not just to long-term trends. In general, in the five Latin American countries analyzed in this Report, no significant progress is seen in indicators of participation in the work force and creation of enterprises, unlike the outcomes for employment in non-primary sectors.
- The proportion of jobs in non-primary sectors increased considerably during the study period. In the five countries analyzed, there has been an increase in this type of employment, especially in the places that lagged the most, resulting in a decrease in the territorial gap.
- Analysis of the characteristics of the territories that have improved most in the area of economic dynamism begins to show common characteristics in the territories

that have made the greatest progress, consisting of smaller proportions of the country's total population and a greater proportion of the population that is indigenous or of African descent.

Income/Poverty. Overcoming poverty and achieving more equitable income distribution remain key issues on the agendas of Latin American countries, although some show significant progress in this area. Discussion of public policies for overcoming poverty and improving income distribution usually includes debate over the relative emphasis that should be placed on economic growth and social policies. The evidence shows that both are necessary. A country's ability to generate more income helps improve the population's standard of living, but that alone does not ensure that the fruits of progress reach everyone and are distributed equitably. Social policies play an important role, but they must be efficient and sustainable, addressing both support for satisfaction of the basic needs of the most disadvantaged population and the creation of more job opportunities to increase people's ability to generate their own income. The aim must be to create a virtuous circle. More equitable income distribution helps improve the social environment and is conducive to peaceful coexistence in the country, while decreasing the percentage of people

living under precarious conditions facilitates their integration into productive activities. All of this aids economic growth, which in turn supports job creation and, within the framework of an efficient and equitable tax system, helps finance social policies. In practice, however, this virtuous circle does not always materialize, and as a result some countries lag seriously in the areas of poverty and equality. This lag can also be seen in the interior of each country, where economic growth reaches some territories more than others. Analysis of this dimension finds the following trends:

- In the Latin American countries included in this report, significant progress is seen in the income / poverty dimension. Especially important are poverty reduction, satisfaction of basic needs and income distribution.
- Nevertheless, and in contrast to the findings of Latin American Report 2013, the newly updated data show no clear trend toward the closing of territorial gaps in any of the five countries studied. Some even show trends in the opposite direction, with some of the territories that have shown the greatest improvement being precisely those that had the best outcomes originally.
- Analysis of the characteristics of the territories that show the greatest improvement in the income / poverty dimension does not show crosscutting trends, such as those found in Latin American Report 2013. There are only incipient indications of some profiles, both for the income distribution indicator and for the poverty rate, which tend to show that places with the greatest progress in income distribution are more urban territories with a smaller proportion of children and adolescents, while the greatest progress in poverty reduction is seen in territories where the population is larger than that of territories with less significant progress.

Citizen Security. One way of defining citizen security is people's absence of fear of being

assaulted, and their ability to enjoy the privacy of their home and to walk the streets knowing that their physical safety will be respected; this is a fundamental dimension of people's quality of life. Compared to other equally basic socioeconomic dimensions, however, it is more difficult to evaluate outcomes in this area, as it is closely associated with people's subjective perceptions, and not just with objective outcomes. The main trends highlighted by analysis of this dimension are:

- As in previous reports, there is no clear trend in the evolution of these indicators.
- The sub-national territories that have improved most are those that lagged the most originally, although they are still far from closing the gap.
- As noted in Latin American Reports 2011 and 2013, the public safety dimension is the only one of the six socioeconomic dimensions studied in which the subnational territories that lag most are mainly urban and have large populations. This update shows that the territories that have improved the most in comparison to the average are urban territories, which indicates a certain trend toward reducing the gaps.

Gender. The concept of gender refers to the attributes, expectations and social, behavioral and cultural norms associated with being female or male. Gender equality refers to the way in which these aspects determine the way in which women and men relate to each other and the resulting power differences between them. Progress toward gender equality still faces considerable challenges in both developed and developing countries. It is crucial to address these challenges. First, because gender equality is important in itself, as it is related to the equal rights of all people, whether male or female. Second, because gender equality has instrumental importance, as it contributes to economic efficiency and the achievement of other fundamental development outcomes by keeping societies from failing to take advantage of women's skills and talents for discrim-

inatory reasons. Analysis of this dimension shows the following trends:

- Evolution of gender gaps continues to show uneven outcomes between countries and between the different indicators. Some of these gaps show incipient converging trends, but only in certain countries.
- In some countries, the sub-national territories that lagged the most originally are precisely those that have made the most progress.
- Analysis of the characteristics of the territories that have made the greatest progress shows some crosscutting trends: they are mostly urban areas with a small proportion of the population belonging to indigenous or Afro-descendent groups.

Incipient decreases in territorial gaps

Based on the results found, the first chapter of the Latin American Report on Poverty and Inequality 2015 concludes that:

- The average progress of countries in the indicators analyzed has not necessarily been accompanied by decreases in territorial development gaps in the region. Moreover, in some cases they may coexist with growing gaps.
- Countries have shown greater average progress in some dimensions than others, specifically in health, education and economic dynamism. In these dimensions, territorial gaps have been decreasing in some indicators, although they are still far from closing.
- The profile of the territories that have progressed most in the dimensions mentioned above are places with low levels of urbanization, small populations and a high proportion of the population belonging to indigenous or Afro-descendent groups; as noted above, this is the predominant profile of the territories that have lagged.
- The dimensions of citizen security and gender equality show uneven results be-

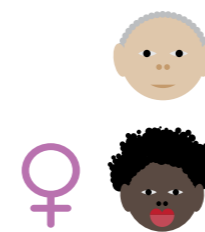
tween countries and between the various indicators. In these dimensions, territorial gaps have been decreasing, but the places that have improved most have been predominantly urban and lagged originally.

- Indicators for the income / poverty dimension continue to improve, but there is no trend toward decreasing territorial gaps, while in some indicators, the territories that had the best outcomes originally are also those that have improved the most.

This analysis of trends gives rise to new challenges and recommendations for developing policies that would allow the gaps to be closed. We urge further investigation of the conditions that trigger a trend toward territorial convergence in development indicators. It is particularly crucial to investigate which factors can be influenced by public policy to achieve that convergence, and especially to influence the speed at which this occurs.

We also recommend strengthening efforts to implement systems for periodic monitoring of territorial gaps in the region's countries, because without relevant, reliable, timely and representative information, these gaps tend to become invisible. It is also crucial for countries to design and implement public policies with explicit objectives for reducing territorial gaps, as the evidence presented in this Report shows that, without such policies, closure of gaps is only incipient and occurs at speeds that are clearly too slow for the people who live in the territories that lag.

Finally, it is important to highlight the role of sub-national governments in decreasing territorial gaps; as analyzed in detail in the Latin American Report on Poverty and Inequality 2011, local governments' real management capacity differs greatly within countries. While some municipalities have sufficient financial resources, infrastructure and technical ability to implement their plans and even innovate in the delivery of complementary goods and services, others are in precarious conditions



and sometimes fail to fulfill even their minimum obligations. These differences have a direct impact on the quality of life of people who live in one territory or another.

Territorial Equality Index

The Territorial Equality Index is a synthetic indicator that measures the gaps between territories in a given country, using a series of key welfare indicators. This index allows for comparison of territorial equality between countries, both in the aggregate, analyzing the set of development dimensions considered, and for each one.

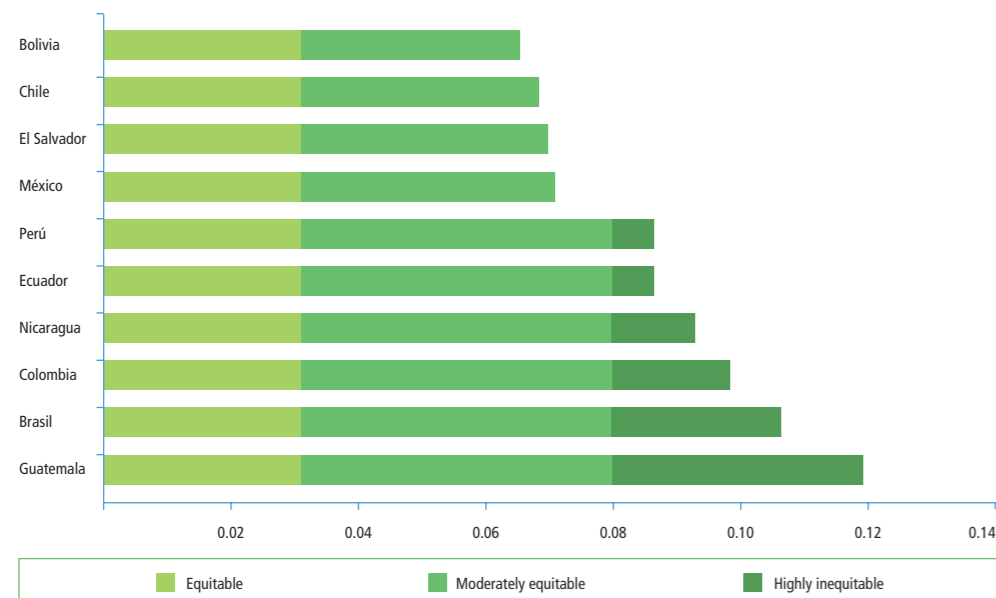
The Territorial Equality Index proposes a measurement complementary to the information traditionally provided by the Latin American Report, as it provides a summary of the situation of territorial equality within a country and allows comparison with other countries in the region; in the future, it will also show changes over time.

The index consists of ten indicators in three dimensions, which show the combined contribution of economic growth and social inclusion policies to development processes. These are:

1. The territory's economic activity and dynamism
2. Investment in human capital: health and education
3. Availability of individual and household income

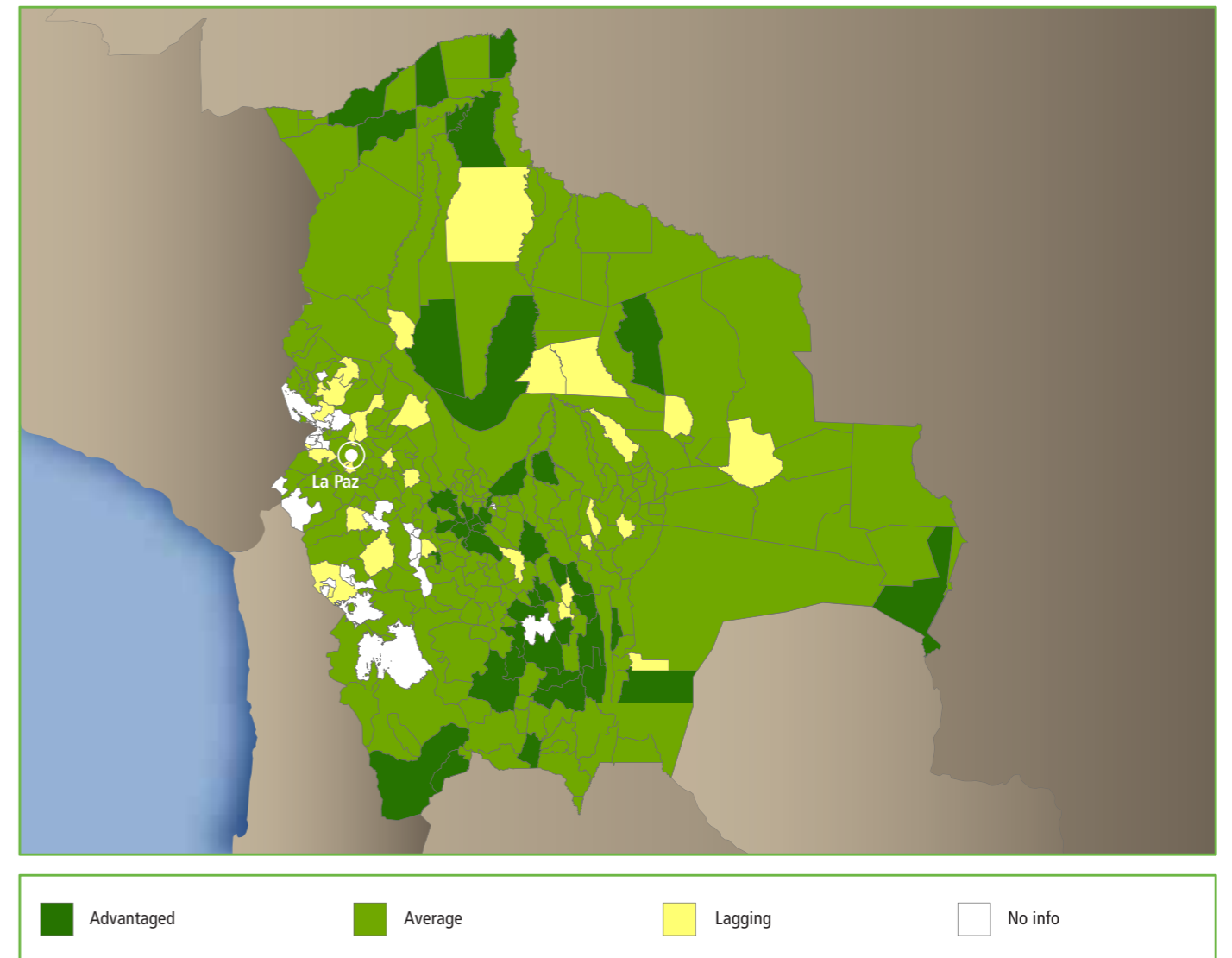
Some territorial gaps have decreased in certain countries

Territorial Equality Index



Source: Compiled by authors

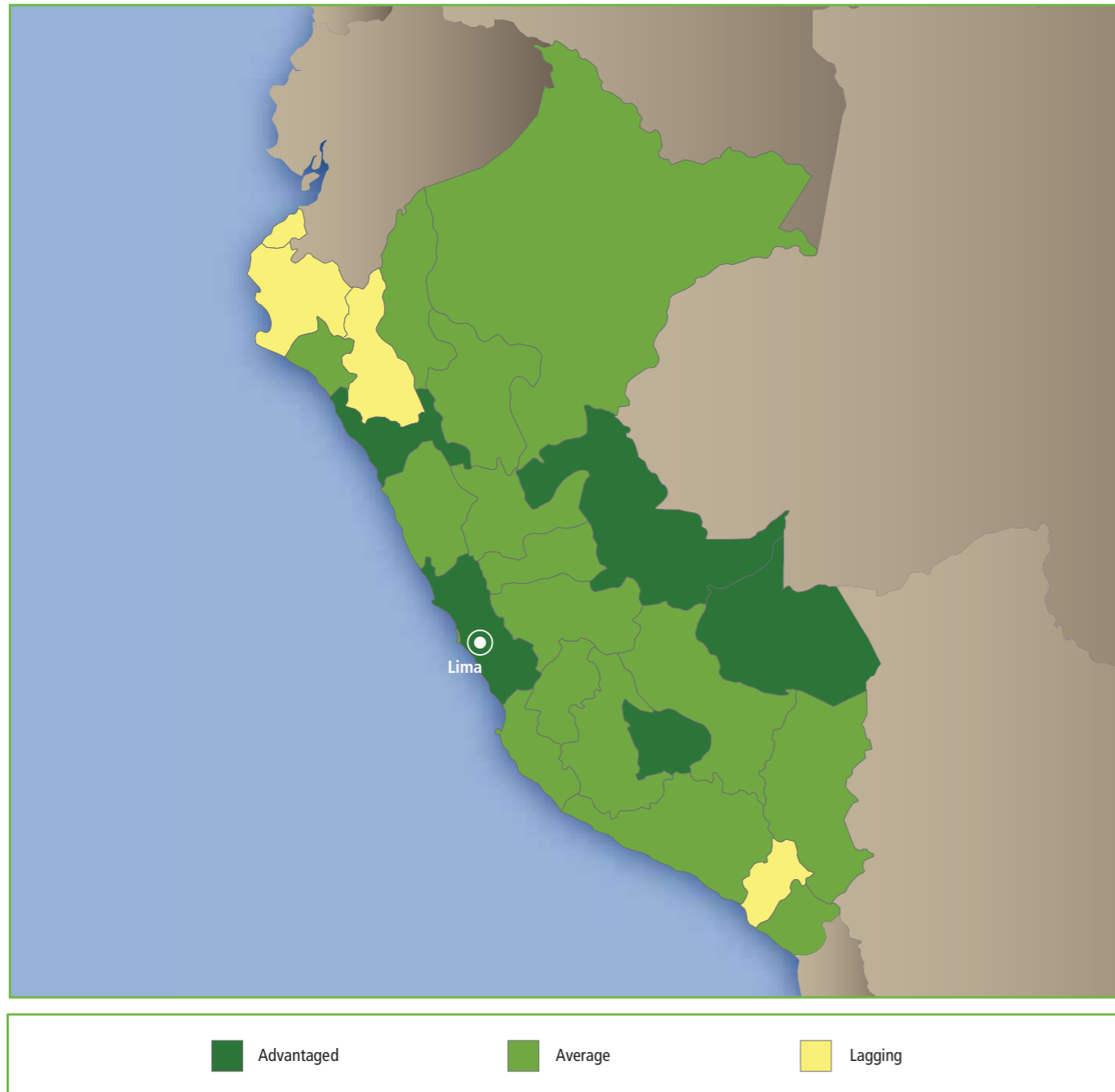
Bolivia: Evolution of the child malnutrition rate, 2001-2011



Source: Compiled by authors, based on the Nation Health Information System (Sistema Nacional de Información en Salud, SNIS), Bolivian Ministry of Health

- (1) Advantaged – Evolution higher than the average evolution by at least one standard deviation.
 (2) Lagging – Evolution lower than the average evolution by at least one standard deviation.

Peru: Gender gap in net participation in the labor force, 2004-2014



Source: Compiled by authors, based on Peru's National Household Survey (ENAHO)

- (1) Evolution higher than the average evolution by at least one standard deviation.
- (2) Evolution lower than the average evolution by at least one standard deviation.

In its first measurement, the Territorial Equality Index shows Bolivia as the country with the greatest territorial equality, which means that the development gaps in its territories are the smallest of the ten Latin American countries analyzed in this Report (Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua and Peru). Bolivia's overall position is explained because the country shows the greatest levels of equality in the dimensions of economic dynamism and income, although it registers lower relative territorial equality in the dimension of investment in human capital.

At the other extreme, the aggregate result for Guatemala shows it to be the most inequitable country in the dimension of economic dynamism, the third most inequitable in the dimension of investment in human capital, and the fifth in the dimension of income. Within the country, the best outcomes generally are concentrated in the department of Guatemala, in contrast with less-urbanized departments, such as Alta Verapaz, where the lowest levels of development tend to be concentrated.

In any event, the ten Latin American countries studied show a moderate or high degree of territorial inequality in both the overall index and each of the three dimensions that compose it; as a result, even the countries that fare relatively better -such as Bolivia, Chile, El Salvador and Peru- show significant challenges in the area of territorial equality.

2. Gender, economic autonomy and territorial inequality

We have seen that the territorial gaps in the dimension of gender are large and persistent. Regardless of the overall outcome for each country, all countries have some sub-national territories that lag significantly in gender-equality indicators.

Territorial gaps in women's economic autonomy

To introduce discussion of the factors that explain why some territories show better performance in their ability to reduce gender gaps, this section will provide a more in-depth descriptive analysis of the gaps, reviewing some additional variables that could affect women's economic autonomy, understood as women's ability to generate their own income and resources through access to paid work under conditions equal to those for men.

Women's economic autonomy depends greatly on their access to paid work, which in turn is influenced by their skills, abilities and resources, as well as the characteristics of the labor market in which they can use them and the support networks that enable them to do so, along with other factors that could have an indirect influence, such as situations of domestic violence.

In the following section, we break down the variables analyzed in the first part of this report by gender, examining a series of indicators that allow us to explore the factors mentioned above, describing the differentiated behavior between men and women.

The analysis is conducted for the ten Latin American countries for which the Latin American Reports on Poverty and Inequality have generated information breakdowns at different points in time, namely Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua and Peru. The main trends are described below:

- Regardless of the national average, all countries have sub-national localities that lag in indicators of women's economic autonomy.
- In a large number of Latin American territories, women have succeeded in closing and even reversing gaps in indicators related to the formation of human capital. In access to the labor market and income,

however, the trend consistently favors men in practically all of the territories studied.

- The sub-national localities that lag tend to share certain common characteristics. In general, they tend to have small populations and a lower degree of urbanization.
- Although the lagging territories in gaps related to education variables tend to have a larger proportion of inhabitants who belong indigenous or Afro-descendent groups, this situation is mixed in the other dimensions.

Which variables can affect income differences between men and women?

Having shown that gender gaps have a marked territorial component, as they are not distributed homogeneously within the territories in the ten countries studied, we now ask how the territory influences the behavior of these gaps.

We will review the ability to generate income from labor, verifying the effects of personal variables traditionally used in the literature to analyze the ability of men and women to generate income. We will add to the analysis a series of variables that reflect the territory's influence on the ability of individuals to generate income, such as the territory's main economic activity, lagged poverty rate and urban/rural zone.

The results of econometric estimations confirm the existence of labor discrimination, whose magnitude changes depending on whether the territory is urban or rural. The territory is also a relevant factor when defining the gender gaps in capacity for autonomous income generation, especially in relation to its productive structure and whether it is urban or rural. Nevertheless, the degree to which territorial variables influence the outcome varies in the three countries studied (Brazil, Chile and Peru), with no uniform pattern. These findings indicate the following:

- In the three countries, there is evidence

Estimated models of determinants of income from labor



of the existence of gender discrimination in the labor market. Although to different degrees, it was consistently found that discrimination -understood as that part of the difference in income that cannot be explained by differences in men's or women's assets- may be greater in urban areas than rural areas.

- Consistent with the findings in the previous chapter, it was found that in certain areas, women may have more assets than men, but their income from employment may still be lower.
- It is systematically seen that it is more difficult for women to enter the labor market, and when they do so, they receive lower wages.
- The territory also has statistically significant and differentiated effects on the ability of men and women to generate income. The territory's productive structure influences the size of the income gap. In Brazil, territories that specialize in mining, manufacturing or services may tend to close gaps. In Chile, it may be territorial specialization in forestry and agricul-



ture, mining and manufacturing that helps close gaps. In Peru, this may be achieved with territorial specialization in the services sector.

- Among the countries analyzed, the influence of the territory and its productive structure on the gender gap varies by country. Each country is different, and interactions among their territories are also different.

3. Territorial dynamics conducive to women's economic autonomy

Besides the structure of production, stakeholders and institutions are also key aspects of territorial dynamics that influence a territory's greater or lesser ability to create conditions conducive to gender equity. To explore the role played by institutions and the capacity for agency in their interaction with the territory's productive structure, the third

part of the Report presents six case studies from three of the region's countries: Chile, Colombia and El Salvador.

These cases show how the interaction between a territory's productive structure, the public policies implemented there, its cultural patterns and idiosyncrasies, the empowerment and capacity for agency of women's organizations, and the influence of other civil society and international organizations can create scenarios conducive to reducing gender gaps and promoting women's economic autonomy and empowerment. Each case shows different routes that a territory can follow to close gender gaps, demonstrating the diversity of ways of promoting a territorial dynamic with gender equality.

Territories that succeed in reducing gender gaps in economic autonomy: selected cases

Country	Territory	Predominant economic sector	Principal factors that help explain the gender situation
1. Chile	Chiloé	Primary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Long history of women working, in both traditionally feminine and masculine jobs. Women maintain the territory's cultural tradition and have given it value as an economic asset. - The arrival of the salmon industry expanded the supply of jobs for women. - Successful linkage between productive programs and programs with a gender approach. - Growth of productive associations among women.
	Concepción	Tertiary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Growth of tertiary sector and connectivity of local districts around a metropolis facilitates women's employment. - Women value work and the autonomy it gives them. - Rural women's ability to become valid interlocutors of public policy. - Growing participation of women in trade unions in the tertiary sector.
2. Colombia	Antioquia - Bajo Cauca	Tertiary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Economy in transition. Because this is a zone of armed conflict, the State has invested in the transformation of production in the territory as a way of consolidating its presence. - Institutional structure for women's gender equality has a long history and is consolidated. - Women have high level of organization and capacity for agency, grouped at the departmental level in the Network of Women of the Bajo Cauca.
	Nariño-Cumbal	Primary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Productive structure offering few possibilities for formal employment has led women to create job opportunities, mainly informal. - Public policies supported by international cooperation have strengthened organizations of indigenous women. - Women value their cultural tradition as an economic asset, as well. - Capacity for agency to create new opportunities for women and change expectations about them.
3. El Salvador	Cuscatlán	Primary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support for women's economic initiatives from civil society organizations and municipal public policies. - Importance of technical and financial support from international cooperation agencies that have worked in the area for more than 20 years. - Capacity for agency of women's organizations at the community, municipal and departmental level, which have promoted a gender approach to planning and management of territorial economic development for more than 10 years and have influenced public policies on gender equity.
	Sonsonate	Tertiary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support for productive organizations of women, first by civil society organizations and later by public policies. - Capacity for agency of various women's organizations and ability of social stakeholders, municipal governments, NGOs and business associations to engage in interconnected efforts. - The ancestral knowledge of indigenous craftswomen is valued.

Local dynamics and economic autonomy in Chile: provinces of Chiloé and Concepción.

Women's economic participation in the paid job market in Chile is among the lowest in the world (45.6 percent in 2013), although it has increased steadily since 1990. The Province of Chiloé and the Province of Concepción stand out for decreasing gaps in indicators of women's economic autonomy and women's capacity for agency in the territory. Analysis of the territories of Chiloé and Concepción leads to the following key ideas about economic and social dynamics related to women's economic empowerment:

- In both cases, recent changes in the territory's production matrix have resulted in greater opportunities for the inclusion of women in the world of work. While Chiloé is in transition from being a traditional agricultural society to an economy strongly marked by salmon farming -and the consequent development of the services sector- Concepción has seen a decline in the industrial activity that characterized it well into the 20th century and has become a center of commercial services. In both cases, the new economic activities are highly intensive in hiring women's labor.
- Public policies have played a key role in making women's labor visible and in women's empowerment. Various government programs and institutions have helped create individual and collective conditions for them to launch small enterprises. Remarkable in Chiloé is the interconnection of public institutions targeting women (Servicio Nacional de la Mujer-SERNAM and the Fundación para la Promoción y Desarrollo de la Mujer-PRODEMU) and those aimed at the formation of human capital or entrepreneurship (Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario-INDAP; Servicio Nacional de Capacitación y Empleo-SENCE; Fondo de Solidaridad e Inversión Social-FOSIS; and Servicio de Cooperación Técnica-SERCOTEC), while in Concepción there is an active effort by the government to support associativity in rural areas. In both cases, these strategies are success-

ful, as they complement the development of women's self-esteem with the technical tools required for the generation of autonomous income and opportunities in the territory.

- The strong presence of the State in the promotion of women's self-employment and associativity is not seen in the case of dependent employment. Although during the current government there has been an emphasis on job placement for women, there is no subsequent link between government institutions and the women placed in the dependent work force, much less with trade unions made up of women.
- Cultural patterns have a varied effect on women's economic autonomy and empowerment. In the case of Chiloé, the "genderization" of the cultural tradition has allowed women to open market niches based in the territory's cultural identity. Today they are the ones who keep the tradition alive and have capitalized on it as a non-traditional asset. In both Concepción and Chiloé, violence against women, or male chauvinism, the domestic labor as the exclusive sphere of women and gender stereotypes have limited possibilities for women's economic empowerment.
- The government has played an important role in strengthening women's capacity for agency. In both territories, and with greater preponderance in rural sectors, women have opened up new market niches, diversifying the territory's economy and increasing their own income. Although these organizations have not yet become agents of change on a large scale, in some cases they have complex organizational structures and/or the ability to serve as interlocutors on public policies at the national level, as is the case with the Asociación Gremial Campesina de Concepción or the Asociación de Agricultores Orgánicos de Chiloé. Most women's productive organizations emerge and continue to exist thanks to the government and its funding, which weakens their relative power.

Organization and associativity in Colombia: the cases of the Bajo Cauca and Nariño

In the past six years, the overall rate of women's participation in Colombia has increased from 49.6 percent in 2009 to 54.7 percent in 2015. This growth of five percentage points contrasts with the 1.7 points by which the overall rate of men's participation increased in the same period, although the overall rate is still significantly higher for men than for women (72.8 percent and 74.5 percent, respectively). As in other Latin American countries, in Colombia there is still concern, because despite these relatively positive trends, the differences between men and women in pay and quality of employment persist. That is the backdrop for the cases of two territories in which territorial and gender dynamics have made some progress possible: Bajo Cauca, where development has historically been based on primary sectors, and predominantly agricultural Nariño, with its extensive tradition of a dairy industry and the farming of bananas, sugar cane and potatoes.

- Both territories have been strongly affected by armed conflict, and although the supply of formal employment is limited and unemployment is a serious problem, transformations in the structure of production in the Bajo Cauca and Nariño have created opportunities for new economic activities and actors, especially women and indigenous people, who have been able to take advantage of the opportunities these changes offer.
- The new challenges posed by the territory's economic transformation have allowed women to enter new spheres, breathe new life into jobs that had been underappreciated and strengthen their ability to organize and form associations.
- In both the Bajo Cauca and Nariño, there are public policies for gender equality that have been strengthened in a context of armed conflict and displacement. Women's organizations have been strengthened through public programs that reinforce associativity. In general, these are public programs that address economic, personal and political dimensions to take advantage of collective spaces that are created. Never-

theless, the programs still have biases about women's economic activities and strategies for promoting them, as they remain relegated to small opportunities for intervention and/or action at a subsistence level. There are therefore cultural barriers in government that limit the growth of women's enterprises.

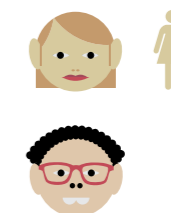
- The presence of consolidated women's organizations at the territorial level facilitates the success of public programs of which organizations take advantage, and from which new initiatives and empowerment emerge.
- The territorial dynamics analyzed also show that women have overcome constraints imposed by the gender-based division of labor, gradually entering into traditionally masculine activities and opening up new economic opportunities for themselves and their territories. In Nariño, women have also given value to their cultural tradition as a non-traditional economic asset.
- The capacity for agency of women organized in networks and involved in local institutions has been key for closing economic autonomy gaps. They have opened up job opportunities in the territory, taking advantage of them with an ability to act as interlocutors and participate in decisions about development.

Economic empowerment in El Salvador: the territories of Cuscatlán and Sonsonate

El Salvador has an unusual gender situation. The existence of national feminist organizations with a presence in territories and the emergence in recent years of a series of laws and policies aimed at improving the situation of women have created opportunities for women's participation in the labor force, which has been low and consistently less than that of men over the past 15 years.

The synergy among these factors is particularly visible both in the territory of Cuscatlán, which has a mainly primary economy, and in Sonsonate, an active commercial and tourism center, where organized groups of women have opened up economic opportunities for women, with support from feminist organizations and in conjunction with public policies.

- The structure of production in both territories, characterized by the wealth and diversity of resources, and the strategic position of their departmental capitals, is conducive to the development of diverse agricultural, tourism and commercial enterprises.
- Public policies have been especially important for creating opportunities for women to participate in the work force, with programs based on leveraging the territory's resources and cultural identity, of which organized women have taken advantage. In addition, the national mandate to create Model Gender Equity Policies (Políticas del Modelo de Equidad de Género, PMEG) and municipal women's units has been especially fruitful in these territories, where women's organizations interconnected at the departmental level are able to serve as interlocutors with authorities.
- Feminist civil society organizations and international cooperation agencies have played a key role in ensuring a gender approach to territorial development, directly influencing the creation of model gender equity policies (PMEG) or developing gender assessments, among other measures. They also have provided financing and technical support for women's enterprises.
- Women's organizations at the community, municipal and departmental levels have demonstrated remarkable capacity for agency, promoted a gender approach to the planning and management of territorial economic development, and influenced public policies on gender equality.
- They also have autonomously created new economic opportunities and have created their own mechanisms for gaining access to productive assets such as credit, through systems based on solidarity, access to land through community purchases, livestock banks, etc.
- In many of these activities, indigenous women have contributed their ancestral knowledge as artisans, giving value to their cultural assets as potential elements of economic enterprise while using their deeply rooted community values to scale up economic initiatives.



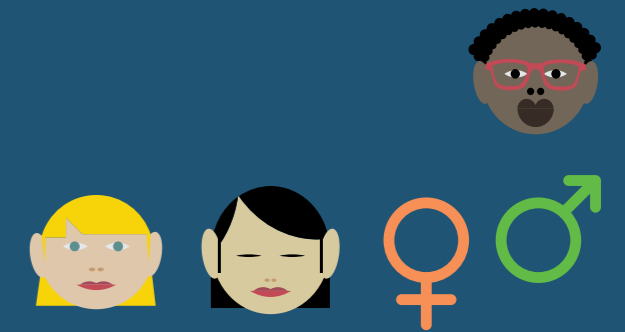
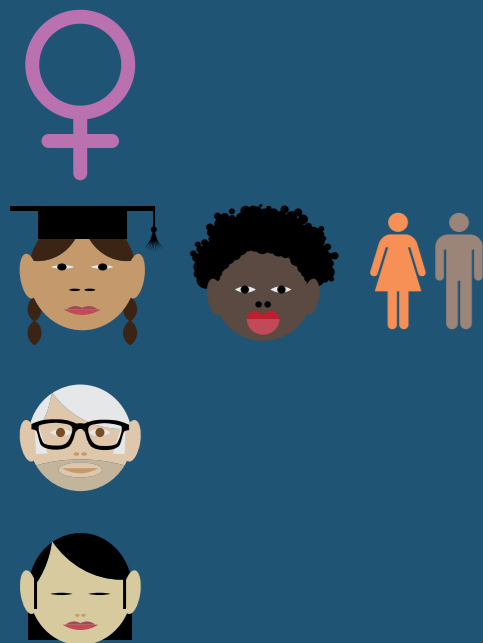
What types of policies can help decrease territorial gender gaps in economic autonomy?

Rimisp-Latin American Center for Rural Development proposes that a territorial approach is more effective for reducing development gaps. In the area of gender, this statement becomes an invitation to reduce inequalities between men and women by taking an integrated view of women's characteristics and territorial dynamics.

The various analyses conducted throughout this Report show that it is not enough to promote policies that tend to increase women's assets, without considering their position with respect to men, particularly the types of opportunities available to them in the territorial context in which they live and work.

To ensure women's economic empowerment, it is necessary to eliminate the structural barriers that limit women's access to paid labor under conditions equal to those for men, and which limit their access to productive assets, but it is also necessary to act on the specific dynamics in the territories that make it difficult for women to participate in the territory's economic development. Specific measures to consider in this direction include:

1. When designing formation and job training programs, consider the productive sectors' characteristics and possibilities for including women.
2. When designing policies that tend to decrease the opportunity cost of employment for women, consider the supply of public goods and services in each territory (availability of care centers for infants, children or older adults, roads, etc.).
3. Leverage policies that support women's associative work, both productive and political.
4. Strengthen and/or help create venues for community organization for the development of women's personal abilities and empowerment through collective strategies for creating and mobilizing assets.
5. Direct actions toward influencing gender systems, rather than aiming them only at women (care, gender violence).
6. Design policies that address crossed inequalities affecting women (woman, indigenous, poor, etc.), with special attention to territories' socio-demographic characteristics.
7. Design specific policies for rural sectors that improve women's access to economic assets, such as land and credit.
8. Create instruments to support women's productive activities that go beyond a mindset of subsistence and the reproduction of traditional gender roles.



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SUMMARY**

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