

Desigualdad y familias.

Una perspectiva interdisciplinaria



Veronique Christine Deli Meadows
Lukasz Czarnecki

(coordinadores)



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KEYNOTES LECTURES

WOMEN IN BUSINESS AND THEIR FAMILIES

Dra. Gina Zabudovsky ¹

Introduction

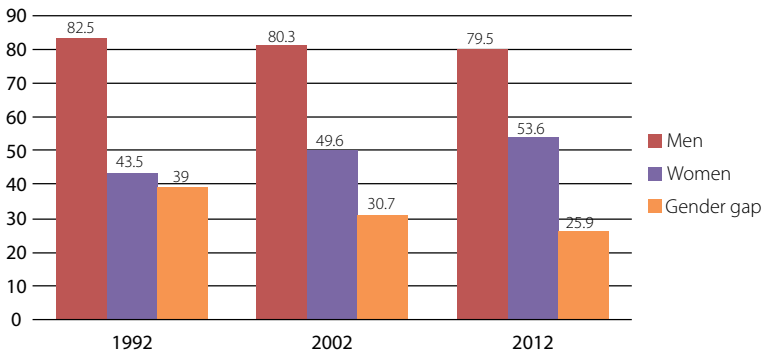
This paper gives an account of the growing participation of women in the workforce especially in executive positions –as managers, officers, members of boards of directors and entrepreneurs. Unfortunately, and despite these great advances, significant inequalities still persist in the business world between men and women, especially in terms of domestic and family responsibilities. In order to develop this thesis, I will expose particular characteristics of the labor force and analyze the particular situation faced by working, managerial and entrepreneurial women in Mexico.

¹ The author appreciates of Alan Grabinsky, Saray Anda and Daniel Mendoza as research assistances.

Labor force characteristics

Despite the worldwide trend towards a more equal work environment and the insertion of women in the work-force, in Latin America the gender gap has decreased by only 13% in the past 20 years.

Figure 1. In 20 years, the gender gap in Latin America has decreased by only 13%



Source: Organización Internacional del Trabajo (OIT), “Indicadores clave del mercado de trabajo”, 2014 [en línea] [http:// www.ilo.org/empelm/what/WCMS_114240/lang--en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/empelm/what/WCMS_114240/lang--en/index.htm) tomado de (Avolio y Di Laura, 2017).

In the case of Mexico, the participation of Mexican women in the labor force increased from 20.6% in 1970 to 37.8% in 2015 (in an economically active population of 50,336,088 in the later year; 16,027,016 women and 31,309,072 men) (INEGI 2015) the aforementioned percentage is even higher in the urban areas of the country, where women comprise 41.2% (2015) of the total economically active population of 23,332,692. As shown in the next table, over the last seventeen years, this percentage has been steadily increasing.

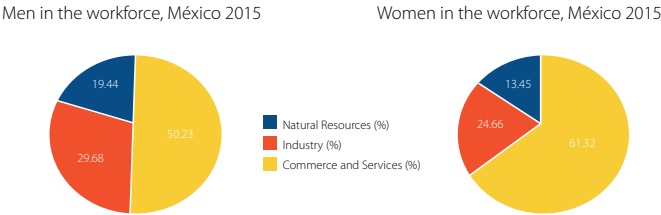
Figure 2. Male and female labor force (urban areas), 1991-2015

Year	Men %	Women %	Total %
1991	65.5	34.5	100
1997	63.4	36.6	100
2003	63.3	36.7	100
2008	59.46	40.5	100
2010	59.20	40.8	100
2015	58.77	41.2	100

Source: Developed by Gina Zabudovsky, data from INEGI, Encuesta Nacional de Empleo (1991-2011) and Encuesta Nacional de Empleo 2015.

The majority of women (61.3 per cent) work in the service sector compared to 50.2 per cent of men. Women have an especially important presence and outnumber men in such areas of business as social services (65%), hotels and restaurants (55%) and other services (54%). They also have a significant presence in commerce (48%). In contrast, females have an extremely low presence in traditionally masculine sectors, such as construction (6%) and agriculture and livestock (14%) as well as in mining (15%) (INEGI, 2015). However, the percentage of females in the latter sectors has increased significantly in recent years (in 2000 women comprised only 6% of mine workers). The same holds true in transportation and related services sector, where, although women now comprise only 13%. This figure is significantly higher than in 2000, when women made up only 8.2% of the labor force in transportation and 12.6% in agriculture and livestock (INEGI, 2000, 2015).

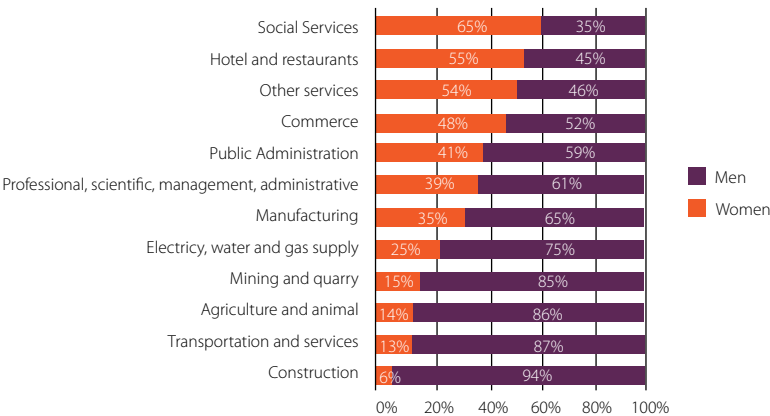
Figure 3



Source: Developed by Gina Zabłudovsky from INEGI (2015). Encuesta Nacional de Empleo y Ocupación.

Despite women’s growing presence in the labor force, it is interesting to note the inequalities that appear when comparing women to men’s earnings. Zabłudovsky, 2004). Figure 5 shows that, regarding the total work force earning less than one minimum wage, the percentage of women reaches 64%, while, in contrast, the proportion of women in the areas of the labor force earning over three minimum salaries drops to 31% (INEGI, 2015).

Figure 4 . Male and female labour force by industry categories, Mexico 2015.



Source: Developed by Gina Zabłudovsky from INEGI (2015). Encuesta Nacional de Empleo y Ocupación.

Figure 5. Male and female labor force in relation to salary, Mexico 2015.

Source: Developed by Gina Zabudovsky from INEGI (2015). Encuesta Nacional de Empleo y Ocupación.

This difference between men's and women's income appears in all the 32 states comprising the Mexican Republic, both in the nation's richest states, located in the north and thus closest to the United States, such as Baja California and Nuevo León, as well as in the poorer southern states, namely Oaxaca, Tlaxcala and Guerrero (the exception is Chiapas, the poorest state in Mexico, where men and women earn the same and their income falls within the lowest wage category).

According to World Bank reports, the wage gap between men and women in Mexico was 80% for 2012 (Mendoza, 2012). In part, this difference could be explained due to unpaid family responsibilities.

Women in Mexico spend up to 30 hours a week on housework, while among men this number is reduced to only ten (INEGI, 2014).

As shown by some studies, the notable increase of women in the workforce has not led to a reassessment of responsibility and duties of the household members (Ariza and de Oliveira, 2006). In fact, a survey

conducted in twenty countries in 2011, showed that 54% of Mexican women live under pressure because of their multiple responsibilities (Nielsen, 2011). In this type of response, Mexico women were only surpassed by India (Nielsen, 2011; Vargas, 2011, Zabludovsky, 2015).

Women are still responsible for carrying out most of the domestic duties: 68% of household payment activities are done by women; also 55% of activities that have to do with household chores and 55% of community work is done by them. On average women spend 30 hours a week on domestic chores, while men only spend 10: women are specially tasked with preparing food and meals (10 hours a week) and housecleaning (14 hours a week). (Based on the Poll on time usage created by INEGI, 2009).

This means that, despite also carrying the load of work-related responsibilities, women must also perform unpaid domestic work; this, in Latin America, a region where, unlike Europe, maternity and paternity leaves do not cover ample periods of time.

Figure 6. Maternity leave in Latin America and the Caribbean (fulltime pay)

Maternity Leave (Weeks)	Country
18	Chile, Cuba, Venezuela
17	Brasil
16	Costa Rica
13	Argentina, Bolivia, Guyana, Perú, Trinidad y Tobago
12	Bahamas, Barbados, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Jamaica, México, Nicaragua, Panamá, República Dominicana y Uruguay
10	Honduras

Created by Gina Zabludovsky based on the study “Work and family: towards new forms of conciliation and social responsibility”, International Labour Organization (Organización Internacional del Trabajo), OIT-PNUD, Santiago, 2009.

Paid paternity leave legislation examples

Developed Economies and EU	
Country	Paternity Leave
Iceland	3 months paid paternity leave
France	11 weeks of paid paternity leave, plus 3 family-related days
Norway	10 weeks of paid paternity leave
Spain	4 weeks of paid paternity leave
Finland	18 paid days
United Kingdom	2 weeks of paid paternity leave
Sweden	10 days of paid paternity leave plus 2 months
Belgium	10 days of paid paternity leave
Netherlands	5 days of paid paternity leave
Asia	
Country	Leave
Philippines	7 days of paid paternity leave for married men
Myanmar	6 days of paid “special occasion” leave parents can use to aid their wives at birth
Indonesia	2 days of paid paternity leave
Africa	
Country	Leave
Rwanda	4 days of paid paternity leave
Uganda	4 days of paid paternity leave immediately after birth
Argelia	3 days of paid paternity leave
Latin America and the Caribbean	
Country	Leave
Venezuela	14 days of paid paternity leave
Colombia	8 days of paid paternity leave
México*, Chile y Brasil	5 days of paid paternity leave

Created by Gina Zabłudovsky based on the study “Work and family: towards new forms of conciliation and social responsibility”, International Labour Organization (Organización Internacional del Trabajo), OIT-PNUD, Santiago, 2009.

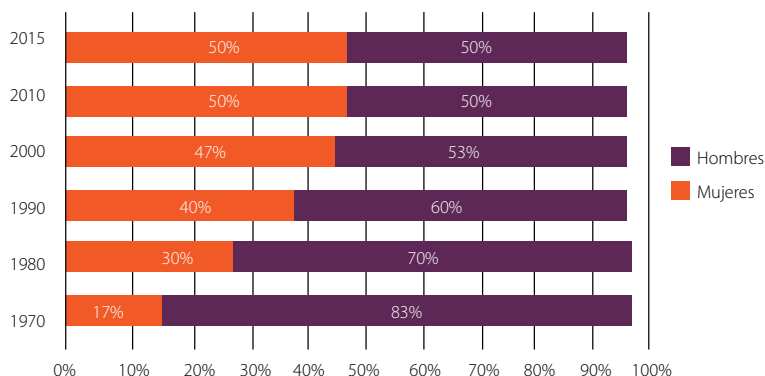
In relation to the Federal Labor Law, in matters of pregnancy, maternity and breast-feeding, the companies cannot oblige women to carry out activities that could endanger their health during pregnancy and require them to grant pregnant females a six-week leave prior to and another six-week leave after childbirth, as well as two extraordinary rest periods during the workday, while they are breast feeding.

Some aspects of the Federal Labor Law were reformed in March 2014, and since then, women are allowed to ask for a maternity leave 14 days leave before the child is born and 70 days after. Also, for the first time, men got a five-days-paid fathers' leave for the birth of their children.

Women pursuing education

In the 1990's, the percentage of women enrolled in higher education in many countries came to exceed that of men (Avelar and Zabłudovsky, 1996). In line with these international trends, the number of women enrolled in higher education in Mexico has grown significantly and at an accelerated pace.

According to national statistics, in 2015, the proportion of males and females among college graduates in major cities was 50% men and 50% women. If we view the percentage distribution in higher education by sex, starting as of 1970 significant changes can be observed, since the student population in that year was 19% female, increasing to 30% in 1980, 40% in 1990, 46% in 1998 and 50% in 2015 (see Figure 5) (ANUIES, 2015).

Figure 7. Men and women enrolled in higher education, Mexico 1970-2015.

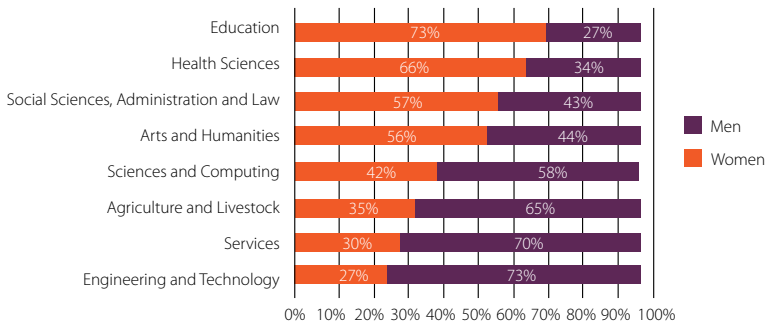
Source: Developed by Gina Zabłudovsky from ANUIES, *Anuarios estadísticos* 1970-2015.

Meanwhile, as shown in figure 6, during the last two decades there has been a significant increase in the participation of women in professions such as business administration and law, with 56% of female students. Their presence is also very important in the fields of marketing, education, communication, dentistry and chemistry where they reach figures above 60%. Women constitute 65% of college students in the health professions. While it is true that in the latter sector a large number of them are dedicated to nursing, in recent years, enrollment in medical career has taken a drastic turn and now the percentage of women students is similar to men. (ANUIES, 2011, Zabłudovsky 2015; 2016).

However, women are far from achieving equality in all fields and occupations. While in professions related to education women constitute 73% of students, in the areas of technology the presence of women is still below 30%. In some particular fields such as automotive, civil, mechanical, and electronic engineering, women made up less than 25% of the total enrollment. In those considered as “female

professions” such as education, nursing, nutrition and psychology, at least three out of four students are women (ANUIES, 2015).

Figure 8. Male and female in higher education, Mexico, 2014-2015.



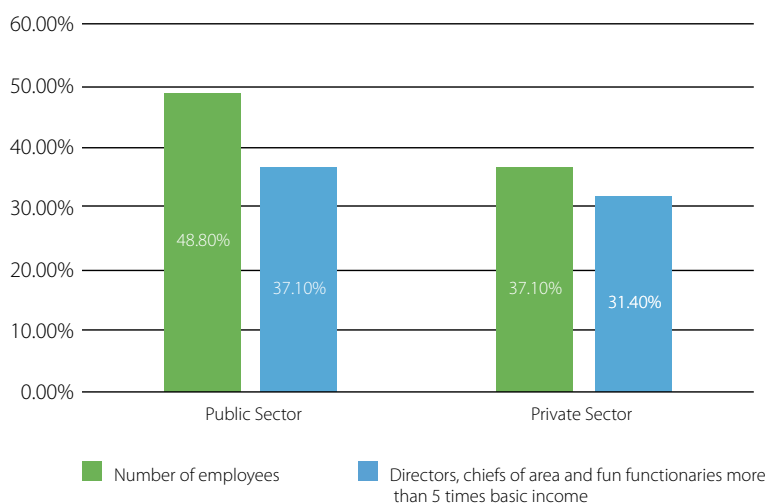
Source: Developed by Gina Zabłudovsky from ANUIES (2014-2015), Anuario estadístico-licenciatura.

Some of the reasons of the low participation of women in mathematics and other sciences have to do with the education paths of teachers and parents from an early age. As several studies have shown, they usually reproduce attitudes and stereotypes that do not promote women’s interest in these areas of knowledge (Gunderson Ramirez and Beilock Levin, 2011).

Women in management

Women in decision-making positions are less prominent in the private sector than in the government.

Figure 9. Women in the public and private sector, according to position and income, in populations above 100 thousand (2013).



Created by Gina Zabłudovsky with data from the National Poll on Occupation and Employment, 1st semester, 2013. INEGI.

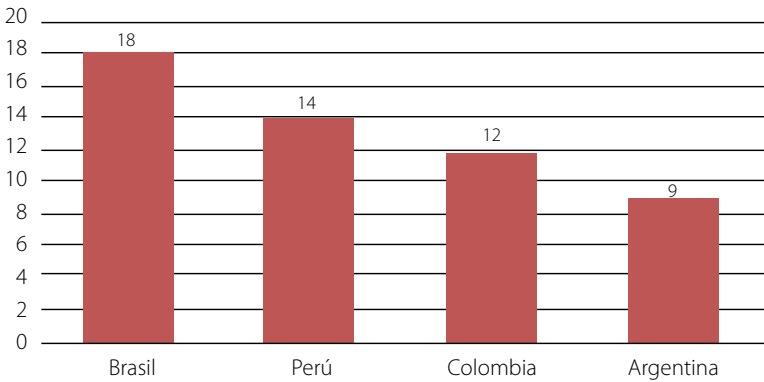
However, if we take into account other sources of information such as business directories and indexes, the amount of women in middle management is barely 23%.² If we consider only the highest executive positions, the ratio of women as general directors in different areas³ is only 13%, and a scarce 5% as CEO's (Expansión, 2012; Conexión Ejecutiva, 2012).

2 Author's calculation based on business directories and indexes of 277 of the largest companies in Mexico (*Expansión Magazine*, *Conexión Ejecutiva* and others, 2012).

3 For this table I am taking into account the top executive positions as general directors of a certain area of the companies.

The previous data coincides with general tendencies in Latin America. As shown in the following graph, in the most important countries of the region, 9 to 18% of high-level executive positions are taken by women.

Figure 10. Selected countries participation of women in executive positions, Latin American American America.



Fuente: Foro Económico Mundial, The Global Gender Gap Report 2014, Ginebra, 2013 tomado de (Avolio y Di Laura, 2017).

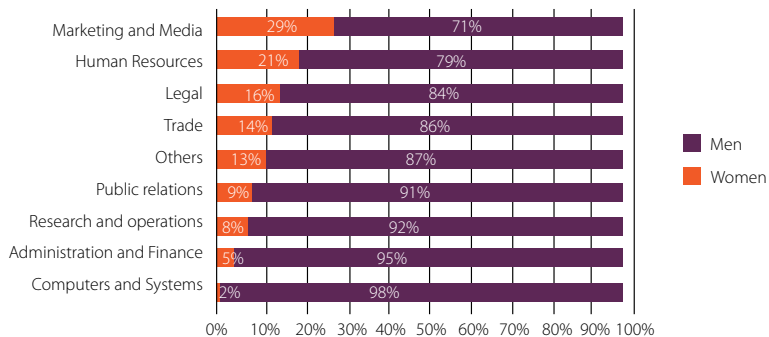
Apart from the vertical segregation, demonstrated by the larger number of women in the lower levels of the hierarchy, there is a high degree of horizontal segregation as well. Women executives are concentrated in a restricted number of fields such as marketing and communication (29 %), human resources (21%), and public relations.⁴

.....
⁴ The presence of women executives is especially important as heads of the newly created General of Public Relations in many companies (Zabludovsky, 2008).

In contrast, the participation of women decreases notably in the areas of operations and research (8%), finances and administration (5%) and computers and systems (2%) (Zabludovksy, 2015)

The exclusion of women executives from certain areas is much more significant from a strategic standpoint than what is shown by mere numbers, since it often means that women are barred from the positions that confer functional responsibilities and offer more opportunities for ascending the administrative hierarchy (Holo and Todaro, 1992; Kanter, 1993).

Figure 11. Male and Female Executives in Top Management Positions, Mexico 2012.



Source: Developed by Gina Zabludovsky with information from 227 of 500 the biggest companies in Mexico (Based on Expansion and Conexión Ejecutiva Magazine).

Mexico is not unique as regards its profile of women directors in fact according to the Latin American Business Chronicle, only 1.8% of Latin American companies were run by a woman. As CEO just 15.4% of the top 500 companies in Latin America have a woman executive in upper management. (Catalyst, 2012; Nambur and Calderon, 2012) The presence of women as directors of the

production area is quite scarce, while, in contrast, their presence increases in the leading administration position at commerce, sales, marketing, human resources, and finance (Maxfield, *et al.*, 2008).

Women's segregation into certain occupations may be partially explained by differentiated socialization in early life, which has a significant influence on the choice and practice of a profession and leads women to be inclined towards certain occupational areas, while rejecting others (Elias y Scottson, 1965; Bauman, 1994; Kanter, 1993; Simmel, 1911/1998; Zabludovsky, 2005). Expectations for academic and non-academic education related to the different patterns of success for men and women in traditional contexts have influenced the fact that certain positions of authority and leadership are considered as prototypical masculine. Consequently, it is not at all far-fetched to assume that women themselves, whether consciously or unconsciously, whether as the product of a rational decision or their own construction of their subjectivity, consider that some positions are not an option for them and therefore pursue given job choices considered "more feminine" and limit their aspirations to holding less strategic positions, which do not include production areas.

However, apart from these general cultural patterns comprising a large portion of the differentiating axes of men's and women's "personalities" in our society, there are also other factors in "corporate culture" where the distinct characteristics of "feminine" and "masculine" are reproduced exponentially (Albrow, 1997; Burell and Hearn, 1989; Mills, 1989; Sheppard, 1989; Zabludovsky, 2003). Organizations tend to replicate aspects of their social context, while considering that their own corporate culture is neutral and objective, although in practice, it in fact corresponds to a masculine organization of power.⁵

5 Because males are the sex that created art, industry, science, commerce, the State and religion, for centuries women have been considered as "foreigners"

As a result of assigning occupations based on gender, bureaucracies in the public and private sectors determine the distinct behaviors for men and women. Organizational life significantly contributes to the construct of what is “feminine” and what is “masculine”, since the descriptions of job profiles for the different positions and ranks are based on presuppositions related to employees’ general characteristics as determined by gender. These formal and informal practices are often not recognized but rather perceived as “natural” and consequently limit women’s opportunities (Williams, 1995, p. 8).

The absence of women in leading companies’ most important directorship positions, and their major presence in a limited number of areas, can thus be explained by an organizational culture that exponentially reproduces the assignment of occupations in relation to social gender roles. This exclusion becomes more acute due to other features of corporate life, among which is the fact that the expected stance of unconditional loyalty to a company often means that officers cannot set a limit to working hours and that, on the contrary, they must be available and totally dedicated around the clock. These values can hardly be accommodated to women’s social responsibilities. In practice, women face enormous obstacles to fulfilling their different roles and striving to carry out their family and professional duties (Zabludovsky, 2007; Serna Pérez, 2001).

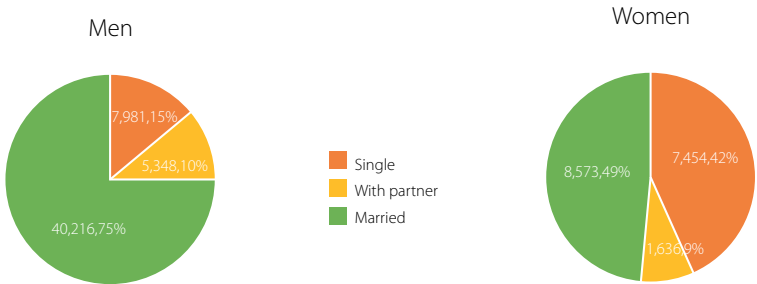
Furthermore, and as shown in the next graph drawn from my own research, a great percentage of those women with decision-making

or outsiders as intruders with no right to belong to the various environments of economic, scientific, political and culture leadership. Concerning the social construct of “foreigners” the following sources may be consulted (Elias y Scottson, 1965); (Bauman, 1994); (Kanter, 1993); (Simmel, 1911/1998) (Zabludovsky, 2005).

roles (as directors, etc.) in big companies are “singles” (which also includes widows and divorced).

If we focus on the highest executives within the 250 biggest companies in Mexico, we find that 75% of the men are married, while married women don’t even make up 50% of executive women (Zabludovsky 2015).

Figure 12. Male and female functionaries , directors and bosses, according to marital status . Private sector. Businesses with more than 250 workers 2013.



Source: Created by Gina Zabludovsky with data from the National Poll on Occupation and Employment, 1st semester, 2013. INEGI. Only workers earning more than 5 times the basic income are considered.

In order to test why this is the case it would be interesting to perform further research and detect if there is still a prevalence of different expectations when the companies hire married men and women that hinder women’s professional growth in corporate settings. As noted by Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1993) in her pioneering study, an executive man actually counts for two, for with him comes a woman that performs the functions of “corporate wife”:

Men could bring two people with them to the organization, and indeed, preferential hiring of married men an occasional attention to

wives' own characteristics frequently ensured that this was so. But career women, especially in the managerial ranks, did not have this advantage. There was not corporate husband" role equivalent to that of the corporate wife... Thus while, men symbolically brought two people to their jobs, women were seen as perhaps bringing less than one full worker (Kanter, 1992).

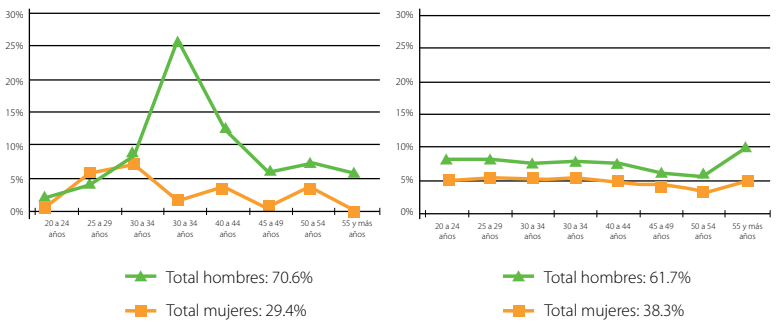
Besides these "invisible duties performed by the "executive's wife" outside of the corporation, there are other divisions, within the offices themselves, that create a gap between men and women; such was the case of secretaries, who often perform the role of "office wives" (Kanter, 1993). The patrimonial and non rational elements (Bendix, 1979; Weber ,1974; Zabłudovsky, 1993, 2017, 2009) of the secretarial role have led to the frequent use of the "marriage metaphor" to describe the relations between secretaries and their bosses (Kanter, 1977).

The following are some characteristics and expectations of the executive secretary as a "Corporate wife": 1) "good appearances"; 2) Working as a couple in the eyes of other 3) non-rationalized relationship with terms set by a personal negotiation; 4) Expectations of personal service including office "housework"; 5) Expectations of personal loyalty; 6) Symbolic and emotional rewards; 7) Emotional division of labor with the woman playing the emotional role and the man the providing role; 8) "Wife's duties" such as sending Christmas cards, preparing refreshments, providing protection form subordinates/children, or making travel arrangements.

The lack of opportunities to conciliate motherhood with professional life generates a particular dynamic: when compared with other social sectors, professional women tend to postpone maternity as much as they possibly can (See below).

According to my own studies, 70% of labouring women are mothers –this number is reduced to 50% among those in executive positions. Actually, the lack of support for mothers within companies is a factor that greatly influences the decision –taken by many executive women in their childbearing years– to leave a particular company (or the workforce).

Figure 13. Due to discrimination against mothers and lack of opportunities to reconcile work and family roles, many women managers who approach the age of 35 leave their jobs and their chances of reaching higher positions.



Fuente: Elaborado por Gina Zabłudovsky con información de la Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo (ENOE) I trimestre del 2013, INEGI.
*Aquellos que ganan más de 5 salarios mínimos mensuales y que pertenecen a empresas con más de 250 empleados.
**Para cada gráfica, la suma de todos los porcentajes (hombres y mujeres de todas las edades) suma 100%, es decir, la base en la primer gráfica es el total de funcionarios, directivos y jefes y en la segunda gráfica la base es el total de Población Económicamente Activa.

This tendency is explained, in part, by the load of domestic and family responsibilities that executive women have to carry, the absence of paternity policies and the prevalence of masculine working-hours.

This is true despite the fact that, In Latin America, many of the women in high executive positions do not do domestic work directly but instead hire other women (domestic workers, nannies, etc.).

However, to the extent that they are responsible for the coordination of work at their home and at the companies where they work, these women bear the burden of a tween task management. They usually are stressed-out and have a guilty feeling for not doing their best at work and home (Tolentino s/f).

Discrimination of executive women in work is especially evident when it comes to motherhood. As shown in different studies, announcing a pregnancy can halt professional growth and the prospect of higher earnings. Motherhood can mean a 5% wage penalty per child (Barrett & Farahany; 2013). Research in the United States (Cornell University) has shown that companies are 79% less likely to hire mothers and they have less probability than single women, to get promoted.

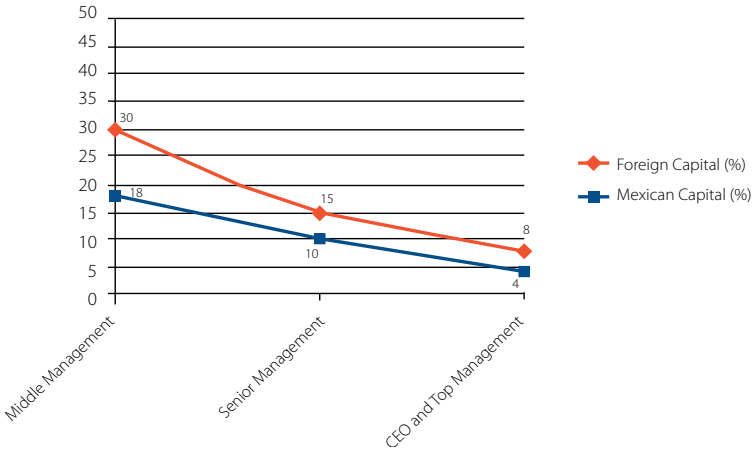
On a similar subject, my own research has shown that in large corporations the participation of women also varies in relation to the origin of the capital of the companies. Generally speaking, foreign companies operating in Mexico have a greater presence of women in executive positions than those of national capital. As shown in the figure 8 the percentage of women in middle management in Mexican companies is barely 18.1% while in other corporations the index grasp to 29.2%. In the higher executive positions the ratio of women directors in Mexican companies is 10.4% as compared to 15.3% of the multinational companies in Mexico that have their main headquarters in another country. In fact, among Mexican companies, only 3.7% have a female president or CEO (in contrast to 7.9% of foreign capital corporations in Mexico). (Zabludovsky, 2015)

This gap may be explained by the policies introduced by foreign corporations in recent years. Many of them have launched special programs to ensure the promotion and retention of female talent in

Mexico and the advancement of women in positions of greater hierarchy (Zabludovsky, 2015).

As far as women on “corporate boards” are concerned, a review of the boards of directors of companies quoted at the Mexican Stock Exchange (Bolsa Mexicana de Valores, 2015) showed that females have a significantly lower presence on boards than in other environments, with women representing only 7% of the total positions on Boards of Directors.

Figure 14. Women in management. Mexico. Top 500 companies, 2012.



Source: Developed by Gina Zabludovsky with information from 227 of 500 the biggest companies in México (Based on Expansion and Conexión Ejecutiva Magazine).

However, the status of women in the boards varies greatly according to the business sectors. In Mexico there is not a single woman at the boards of the energy industries, while, in the health industry the participation of women reaches 20% (Mexican Stock Exchange, 2015).

Figure 15. Men and women in board of directors, Mexico 2015.

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Health	80	20
Consumer products	92	8
Telecommunications	93	7
Manufactures	94	6
Raw materials	95	5
Energy	100	0

Sources: Developed by Gina Zabludovsky based on Directorios de la Bolsa de Valores de Mexico, 2015.

Moreover, only one woman held the position of chairman of the board,⁶ and there are just two women who are vice presidents. Both of them are part of a family firm and their brothers the chairmen of the board.

As matter of fact, several members of the board were found to have the same surname.

The companies with the largest percentage of women sitting on the board are family-owned companies. In this regard, it is interesting to note that, as the author has indicated in previous articles, the importance of women in family business in Mexico is not limited to the companies quoted on the stock exchange but includes all sizes of women-owned businesses (Grabinsky and Zabludovsky, 2001).

⁶ The person in question is Cynthia Grossman of Grupo Continental, one of the largest Coca-Cola bottling companies in the world.

Women entrepreneurs

In addition to participating in the work force as salaried employees, women in Mexico are also entering the ranks of remunerated work as independent owners of small businesses. Women of all ages and economic levels are running companies on their own, with their husbands or other relatives (Grabinsky, 1996; Grabinsky and Zabłudovsky, 2001).

Concerning entrepreneurship, women represent 43% of the independent workers on the country (including own account workers and employers) The figure has increased in recent years, so that, while in 1991 the percentage of Women was 25.3 %, in 1995 it has reached 28.4% and rose to 38.8%.

Figure 16. Men and women, self-employed, Mexico, 2015

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Self-employed. (Total) Employers +Own-account workers.	61	39
Employers.	76	24
Own-account workers.	57	43

Developed by Gina Zabłudovsky based in INEGI (2015), Encuesta Nacional de Empleo y Ocupación Independent workers, urban Areas.

In this sense, it is important to note that most of the self-employed people and working people work in very small informal businesses that operate at a very basic subsistence level. Actually 95% of businesses in Mexico are made up of less than 10 employees.

In this context, usually the motives for founding a micro-enterprise in Mexico are not so much the result of business initiatives but of the lack of employment and the efforts made by the adults of a family to cover their basic economic needs (Ramírez, and Almaráz, 2016).

Due to the major differences between employers and own-account workers, for purposes of the different surveys we have conducted in the country, we considered women entrepreneurs to be comprised solely of those women business owners who are employers, meaning that they hire at least one employee apart from themselves. This definition coincides with that adopted in Mexico's statistical instruments and allows us to make adequate comparisons. Under this classification women now comprise 23.5% of the total number of business owners, a percentage that has gradually increased in recent years, rising from 13.6% in 1991, to 15% in 1997, to 17% in 2000 and to 19.7% in 2008 to 23.5 in 2015.

Women entrepreneurs in Mexico are particularly important as the owners and directors of micro businesses with a small number of employees. In this respect, it is important to stress that this is not due to the fact that companies are highly sophisticated enterprises, where technology has replaced the number of employees. On the contrary, these establishments tend to be very simple. Usually, women owners get a very low return they use for their subsistence level and their families daily allowance.

Concerning the different sectors of activity, the percentage of women entrepreneurs shows sharp variations depending on the type of business. Generally speaking, women do not participate at the construction industries and are highly involved in commerce and services where their percentage raises to 31%.

Figure 17. México. Employers by sector and gender 2005-2015.

		2015 (%)	2010 (%)	2005 (%)
Agriculture and ranching	Men	98	96	94
	Women	2	4	6
	Total	100	100	100
Construcion				
	Men	99	99	99
	Women	1	1	1
	Total	100	100	100
Manufacturing	Men	79	84	83
	Women	21	16	17
	Total	100	100	100
Commerce	Men	69	68	71
	Women	31	32	29
	Total	100	100	100
Services	Men	69	72	77
	Women	31	28	23
	Total	100	100	100

Developed by Gina Zabudovsky based in INEGI (2015), Encuesta Nacional de Empleo y Ocupación Independent workers, urban áreas.

Currently, more women employers are occupied in a wider variety of sectors, including such industrial activities as durable manufacturing, a field where very few women were active up to just a few years ago. Figure 11 shows how during the last decade, the percentages of women entrepreneurs have increased in commerce, services and manufactures.

Women entrepreneurs: the role of family background (I)

As several studies have shown, gender roles are shaped from a very early age: education at home is fundamental in the future professional choices, and here is a high probability of kids becoming entrepreneurs if one of the parents was an entrepreneur (Bandura, 1992).

According to a study realized in the United Kingdom (Storey 1994): 30% to 47% of small business owners were raised in a family with an entrepreneur parent, while that number was just 20% for those with employee parents (Leonie, 1987); another study in Canada (Leonie, 1991) has proved that great number of women entrepreneurs come from entrepreneurial families with a focus on independence and self-employment in which factors such as proactivity and autonomy are valued (Lumpkin and Dess).

Due to the fact that these attributes are usually associated with masculinity in traditional families, these traits are linked more often with the father figure than with the mother's, so the former tends to become a role model or source of inspiration for the kids that want to follow the entrepreneurial path (Bem and Allen, 1974; Chlosta, et al.). This has been shown in German and English studies exploring the influence of family roles in entrepreneurial development.

However, even though many of these studies have found a positive relation between the presence of an entrepreneurial family member and the development of entrepreneurial offspring, they also take into account the importance of the individual personality (psychological attributes linked to individual predisposition towards new experiences and risk taking attitudes).

When it comes to daughters, in patriarchal families, these attitudes and the option of an entrepreneurial career leads to a questioning of the gender roles (Bennet and Dam).

Women in family business

In this section we will analyze the specific roles that women have in family businesses, for this it is considered as those who are owned and managed by two or more members of one or more families. These family members make all kinds of decisions within the business, both operative and directive, always assuming the full responsibilities of their actions (Grabinsky, 1996).

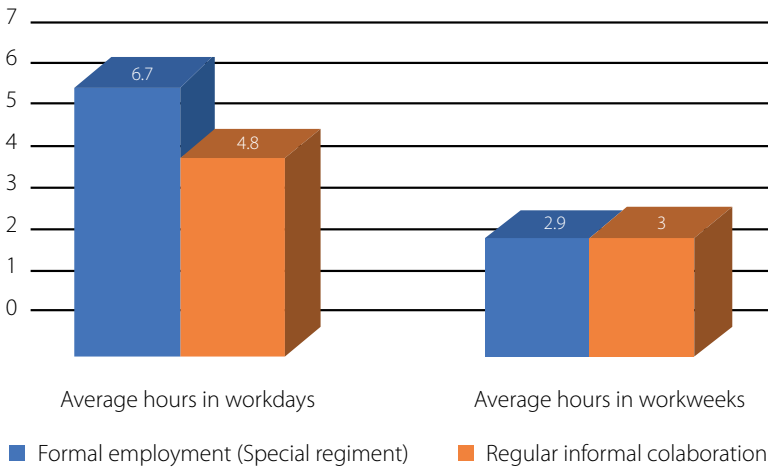
If we take into account the companies that run in the Mexican Stock Exchange, then we will find that those with the highest percentage of women in their boards are family-owned companies. However, due to the patriarchal dynamics of the large family businesses in Mexico, the women who are listed as members on the board of directors of the companies registered on the Stock Exchange do not really make decisions. They are almost never presidents or vice presidents and in most cases, although their name appears listed, they do not play an active role (Zabludovsky, 2017).

With regards to the participation of women in smaller companies, it is true that working within family businesses has more advantages like flexible hours; higher chance of venturing in “male” enterprises (construction, mining and the others) and greater possibilities of taking babies and young children to work. Yet, even in these businesses, women face discriminatory processes. Sometimes they are required to work only “backstage”, or they are devoted to low profile positions, and are required to perform all sorts of unpaid

jobs. A recent study based on interviews applied among 551 women working in family companies in Andalucía showed that 33% of them do informal work, unregistered activities in the companies of his husband (Gálvez Muñoz, Lina, *et al.*, Andalucía, 2013).

The study shows how women who perform informal activities in their family businesses spend up to 5 daily hours (on the weekdays) and 3 (in the weekend days) on them. Among the unrecognized activities performed by these women the most predominant are: consumer relationships, administrative task, accounting, management, and performing domestic labor like cleaning, ordering and, in general, taking care of the office (Galvez y Muñoz: 2013).

Figure 18. Hours working in the family business: formal and informal female workers.



Created by Gina Zabludovsky. Based on 551 cases presented in the Poll on formal and informal employment of women working in Andalucía's family businesses (2011), presented in Gálvez Muñoz, Lina, *et al.* "El trabajo informal de las mujeres en las empresas familiares en Andalucía". (*Informal work of women in the family businesses of Andalucía*), Sevilla: Instituto.

Figure 19. Activities carried out by women workers.



Created by Gina Zabludovsky. Based on 551 cases presented in the Poll on formal and informal employment of women working in Andalucía’s family businesses (2011), presented in Gálvez Muñoz, Lina, *et. al.* “El trabajo informal de las mujeres en las empresas familiares en Andalucía. *“Informal work of women in the family businesses of Andalucía”*), Sevilla: Instituto Andaluz de la Mujer, 2013.

In this sense, it is important to note that, like many studies have shown, it is common for women in family businesses to play a hidden role.

The historical and hierarchical division of public and private spaces has imposed a firm distribution of task according to gender, and considerably volume of women’s work and contributions to family firm still remains invisible to official records and statistics because of the informality that usually characterizes their help, just like in households, since in family firms it functions through cooperative conflicts, on the basic pillars such as “gender of age which determines the bargaining power of their members as well as the capacity to control and decide” (Rodriguez , Galvez y Ajenjo).

This means that women have been involved in the daily managing of family firms without receiving formal recognition in the form of a formal position. If they received a remuneration it is generally lower than of their male colleagues; and they are usually excluded in the process of inheritance (Rodríguez, Galvez, and Ajenjo. Caldera).

There is a considerable amount of “unreported labor carried out mostly by women in family firms”. They have no access to decision-making and to social and family status. This invisibility acts to reinforce and perpetuate gender stereotypes.

These experiences get “internalized” and result in feelings of low self-esteem and self-worth. Here are some examples on how women who work in family businesses experience these devaluation (source: O’ Donovan, Monynihan, 1990; Zabłudovsky, 2001):

1. Women do not make important decisions because they think they do not yet have the knowledge that men have in the company.
2. Due to the process of socialization, those women who make important decisions for the company act as if they had been taken by the men of their family.
3. After working as “vice president” without salary for a long period of time, they accept to be moved to a less important position (secretary or person in charge of “emotional support” for the employees of the company) at the moment in which their children or their sons-in-law are incorporated into the company (to which daughters are rarely invited). (Vid. Zabłudovsky, G.)

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