

Discrimination and labor exclusion in the LGBT community: a case study in the locality of Chapinero, Bogota, Colombia

Jorge Jiménez-Castaño, Marleny Cardona-Acevedo y María del Pilar Sánchez-Muñoz

Universidad de La Salle, Colombia, Universidad de Manizales, Colombia, Universidad de La Salle, Colombia

Resumen

Discriminación y exclusión laboral en la comunidad LGBT: un estudio de caso en la localidad de chapinero, Bogotá Colombia

Los mercados de trabajo han estado acompañados de mecanismos que discriminan y segregan a ciertos grupos de la sociedad por su orientación sexual, sin importar las capacidades y potencialidades de los individuos. Este artículo presenta la caracterización de los perfiles empresariales y ocupacionales de un grupo de la comunidad LGBT en la localidad de Chapinero en Bogotá-Colombia. La metodología empleada se basó en la implementación de entrevistas semiestructuradas, partiendo de un análisis descriptivo. Se encontró, en primer lugar, que la discriminación y segregación ocupacional varía para hombres homosexuales, mujeres lesbianas, personas bisexuales y transgeneristas, es decir, está en función de la identidad, construcción y manifestación corporal de la sexualidad; y en segundo lugar, las condiciones laborales de las personas entrevistadas afectan negativamente su calidad de vida.

Palabras clave: Discriminación Laboral, segregación ocupacional, mercado laboral, Comunidad LGBT.

Abstract

The labor markets has been partnered with discrimination and segregation mechanisms to specific groups of the society due to their sexual orientation, regardless the potential and characteristics of the human been. This article shows the business and occupational profiles characteristics for the LGBT community in Chapinero in Bogota-Colombia. The methodology used in this research is based on the implementation of semi-structured interviews starting from a descriptive analysis. It was found that in a first place, the discrimination and occupational segregation varies for homosexual men, lesbians, bisexual and transgender people. This means that, the segregation and discrimination are in function of the identity construction and body demonstration of the sexuality. In a second place, the working conditions of the surveyed people has a negative impact in their life quality.

Key words: Employment discrimination, occupational segregation, labor market, LGBT Community.

INTRODUCCIÓN

Labor markets have been accompanied by mechanism that discriminate and segregate certain groups of society, regardless of the individuals' capabilities and potentialities. These phenomena define the occupations and labor profiles by their differences and other characteristics.

Inside the labor markets some occupational profiles evince labor discrimination, which occurs when a demographic group, which differs from other people because of origin, ethnicity, sex, disability, race, sexual orientation, presents higher unemployment rates or is limited to have low-category poorly-paid jobs, therefore, it is difficult for them to reach certain hierarchical levels in the formal sector, in spite of being trained and logically their wages are low. For its part, occupational segregation is the tendency that individuals become employed in different occupations on the basis of belonging to a specific group (women, indigenous or black people, etc.), separated from one another in the occupational structure, which means the exclusion of these people because of social constructions (Baquero et al., 2000).

In time, struggles against religion differences, racism, slavery and the early XX-century feminist movements have attained a diminution in the inequality these groups before society. However, discrimination and labor segregation are still latent, especially in developing countries, where some demographic groups are in vulnerable conditions because their rights are not recognized, thus affecting their labor and quality of life, as it is the case of LGBT community.¹

Discrimination and labor exclusion motivated by sexual orientation varies for homosexual men and lesbian women, bisexual and transgender people, this is to say, it is in function of identity, con-

¹ According to Colombia Diversa Foundation, LGBT "explains some definitions regarding sexual diversity and orientation, and gender expression" [...]. It refers to "Lesbians (homosexual women, this is to say, erotically and affectively oriented to people of the same sex); Gays (homosexual men); Bisexual (people erotically and affectively oriented to people of either sex); Transgender (people who transcend or break the conventional schemas for men and women, not only in their physical appearance, but also with their attitudes, mannerisms and gestures. Gender refers to the way an individual perceives themselves in relation to the sociocultural conceptions of masculinity and femininity. Transgender people may or not effect changes to their bodies); Transsexuals (people who have undergone a surgical procedure to change their external sexual organs); Transvestites (part of the transgender group, how feel and dress at all times following the models established for the opposite gender Transformistas and intersexual); Transformistas (occasional transvestites, for presentations or shows)" (cited by Duque, 2008: 181).

struction and body manifestation of sexuality. In the labor sphere, this situation appears as a contemporary social problem, born of the lack of acceptance of sexual diversity and it opposes the patriarchal and homophobic cultural patterns.

This way, the discrimination processes against LGBT people make that such community's social relationships take place within inequality parameters, even in the labor markets, affecting the quality of life of these people, which leads to the non-recognition of their rights as subjects of labor and different from the general population.

Previous economic studies and analyses have verified the existence of segregation and labor discrimination by sex (man-woman), however, these works do not focus on the specific case of the LGBT community or on gender diversity. This way, the present research intends to answer: which are the occupational profiles of the LGBT community of Chapinero considering the current labor markets and vulnerability in quality of life?

To address the research question a descriptive analysis of the LGBT labor market was made using a methodology based on the implementation of semi-structured interviews, obtaining direct and detailed information by means of a series of open-ended and closed-ended questions, which offer an approximation to reality.

Given the lack of data, the limitations and difficulty in the fieldwork to hold the interviews, the development of characterization and description of the LGBT entrepreneurial and occupational profiles are presented as a case study² for six establishments (labor demand) and 24 workers that belong to such community (labor offer).

At first, the present document starts from some theoretical considerations to understand the dynamic of labor market in the face of sexual diversity, referring to the taste for discrimination model as an explanation for the sex-based labor discrimination, presenting theories of labor segmentation, quality of life, quality of labor, reflections

² Case study as a research method in social sciences uses the experience for the transmission of the knowledge of reality from the articulation of the theory and fieldwork. With case studies, it is intended to contribute to scientific knowledge and make inferences by means of the thorough study of occurrences developed in the context of social life. This way, Yin (1994) defines case study as "an empirical research that studies a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the limits of this phenomenon and its context are not clearly evident [...]. A case study research successfully deals with a technically distinctive situation in which there are many more interest variables than observational data and as a result, it is based on multiple sources of evidence, with data that must converge in a style of triangulation, and also as a result, it benefits from the previous development of theoretical positions that guide the collection and analysis of data" (Cited by Yacuzzi, 2005: 3).

on socioeconomic injustice for some sectors of society. The second part presents a brief description of normative guidelines at district and local level in favor of the protection and guarantee of the rights of the LGBT population.

The third section shows the geographical, political-administrative description of the locality of Chapinero, and the LGBT economic and entrepreneurial profile in this zone. The fourth presents the case study of the community labor market, represented by analysis of the labor offer and demand of the population. The fifth section describes the conditions, demands and labor quality of the respondents in order to find out their wellbeing and quality of life. In the sixth and final section, the conclusions and some recommendations are presented.

THEORETICAL APPROXIMATION TO UNDERSTAND THE LABOR MARKET IN THE CONTEXT OF SEXUAL DIVERSITY

Taste for discrimination model as an explanation for sex-based labor discrimination

The literature for the analysis of sex-based labor discrimination recognizes the influence and behavior of labor markets in the face of sexual diversity. Following Larrañaga (2000: 11), from the neoclassic standpoint, Becker (1985) proposed the “taste for discrimination model”, which is understood as a preference the entrepreneur is willing to take, in this case with the LGBT population. This is to say, the entrepreneurs’ taste for discrimination is explained by the disposition of the employer to relinquish economic efficiency, production maximization and benefits in order to exercise their prejudice against a specific group of society.

Since the male entrepreneur does not hold any prejudice to hire men, the cost of hiring one is wage (W_h). Albeit, for the entrepreneurs who exercise discrimination, the cost of hiring a woman is wage (W_m) plus the monetary value of the psychic cost, which is determined by a discrimination coefficient (d), this is to say, ($W_m + d$). Thereby, the entrepreneur responds to the conditions of labor market regulated by wage, in which women will be hired if their wage is lower to that of men.

This refers to the practice of discrimination by the employers, but also taste for discrimination indicates that this not only comes from

this group but, also from other groups inside the labor markets and the enterprises themselves.

This way, following Higua (2012), taste for discrimination also comes from the employees and consumers. Discrimination from employees refers to the presence of majority groups, who also have prejudices against a minority group, it is because of this reason that they do not want to work with them. This sort of discrimination causes the displacement of the minority group toward trades where the presence of the majority group is inexistent and its effect is the reproduction of labor segregation.

Theories of segmentation and of internal labor markets

The labor situation faced by LGBT population might be supported and understood from the theory of labor market segmentation and of internal labor markets. From these theories and their articulation with the results of the fieldwork, the concentration of the community under study in the formal and informal sectors of the labor markets of Chapinero and ascertain the labor discrimination they face.

In the first place, Piore (1969) focuses on the hypothesis of the dual labor market, starting from the theory of segmentation of the labor market, which is divided into two sectors, the primary and the secondary. The former, also called formal sector, offers job posts with high wages, good labor conditions, possibilities of promotions and job stability. Inside the primary sector, it is necessary to distinguish a specific upper sector of highly-trained professional jobs and a lower segment, characteristic of mid-trained jobs. On the other side, posts in the secondary sector tend to offer low wages, have worse labor conditions, job instability and seasonal contracts (cited by Larrañaga, 2000: 16).

Secondly, Doeringer and Piore (1970) explained the dynamic of the primary sector in the labor market mentioned above. To do so, they started from the theory of internal labor markets:

It is supported on the idea that there may be regulations and habits in the enterprises that determine their work, organization, models to recruit personnel or remuneration structures. [...] In general, in an internal labor market, employment and wage are not decided by the free action of market forces, but by administrative regulations and proceedings (cited by Carrasco *et al.*, 2011: 97).

Decorous employment and quality of life: capabilities approach

Reaching an economic distribution effective for society, based on social and gender justice, in the recognition of rights, population wellbeing and the full functioning of the potentialities and liberties of each individual, is a task with priority. This way, understanding the dynamic of social discrimination against LGBT community and their effects on labor spaces, implies recognizing and including, in the economic study, cultural, moral and political particularities.

At present, poverty and inequality are phenomena that overwhelm certain demographic groups, especially in developing countries, where a large number of people do not have the opportunity to meet their basic needs and life becomes a struggle for survival in an environment of social injustice.

It is common that the interest in measuring human wellbeing is considered a combination of objective elements such as per capita GDP, income and its individual assessment. However, a number of authors who refer to quality of life, not only as a measure composed of these elements, but also by subjective factors such as emotional wellbeing, health, labor and other forms of productive activity, social relationships and security, which define the construction of economic development from a cultural and humane perspective (Ardila, 2003).

Within this group of thinkers noticeable are Sen (1996) and Nussbaum (2002) and (2005), whose goal is to measure the quality of life from the standpoint of capabilities. In Sen's (1996: 55-56) words, capabilities "represent parts of the state of a person: in particular, the things accomplished as one is or lives", which every person should have in order to humanly develop in the same conditions as the others.

In this sense, Sen (1996) indicates that the development of a society mainly depends on the effective possibility of full realization, but not in the way of increasing economic incomes or development in function of profit, since these variables, in the first place, make the phenomenon of inequality in economic distribution invisible, and secondly, they are unfit for they do not take into account the heterogeneity of development.

Furthermore, the capabilities "constitute a par excellence criterion to recognize the people's rights" (Sen cited in Nussbaum, 2005:

8), they also offer the easiest and most satisfactory way, in ethical terms, to approach equality as a political objective, not as an equality to profit or wellbeing.³ In like manner, capabilities include a number of qualifications distinguished by the human rights movement, as not only do they intervene in the generation of political and civil liberties, but also in the recognition and protection of economic and social rights (Sen cited in Nussbaum, 2005).

Under a community stance, Nussbaum proposes a list of 10 basic human capabilities, which supply the reasons to demand re moral, political or juridical recognition of a right. This approach of capabilities appropriates the conception of dignity of man and life, appropriating pluralist considerations, with a vision toward cultural difference.

With the objectives to measure and compare the indexes of quality of life between societies and the formulation of basic political principles with an important role in the fundamental constitutional guarantees, Nussbaum (2007) proposes the following fundamental human basic capabilities: “life, physical health, physical integrity, senses, imagination and thinking, emotions, practical reason, Affiliation, Other sorts, Play, Control over the proper environment” (Nussbaum, 2007: 88-89).

Nussbaum defines that “a society that does not guarantee such capabilities for all its citizens in an adequate threshold is not a fully fair society, regardless of its opulence level” (2005: 31).

A sociological and philosophical reason for discrimination against LGBT population

Fraser (1997) indicates that the LGBT community experiences a problem based on the non-recognition as social subjects, marked by an environment of fundamental injustice and conflict that implies a struggle for the recognition of such population. This way, Fraser proposes two broad conceptions of the injustice experienced by this community, socioeconomic injustice and cultural or symbolic injustice. In works by the author, the former

[...] is rooted in the political-economic structure of society. Instances of this sort of injustice include exploitation [...]; economic marginalization [...]; de-

³ From Sen’s standpoint, equality is conceived as the central objective for the societies that have as a goal the promotion of social justice.

privation of indispensable material goods to lead a decorous life (Fraser, 1997: 21).

On cultural or symbolic injustice, Fraser states that “[...] It is rooted in the social patterns of representation, interpretation and communication. The examples of this sort of injustice include cultural domination [...]; non-recognition [...]; and disrespect” (Fraser, 1997: 22).

In like manner, Bourdieu (2000; cited by Duque, 2008) refers to the sort of injustice against LGBT sector as a phenomenon that includes cultural domination, as this community must keep to the androcentric, heterosexist and homophobic⁴ patterns of society, further strengthening the marginalization of such population, its segmentation and segregation in the labor markets (Pérez et al., 2013). This is why this author conceptualizes symbolic domination based upon negation, social exclusion and the invisibility of the LGBT sector as:

The special form of symbolic domination that homosexuals experience, afflicted by a stigma that, unlike skin color or femininity, may be hidden (or displayed), is imposed by means of the collective actions of categorization that produce significant differences, negatively marked, and from some groups, some social categories stigmatized (Bourdieu, 2000; cited by Duque, 2008: 183).

REGULATORY CONTEXT

At district (Bogota) and local level (Chapinero) in favor of the full protection and guarantee of rights of the LGBT community, a guideline of public policies oriented to sexual diversity has been developed in order to ensure the free exercise of capabilities, promote the recognition, wellbeing and improve the quality of life of this population.

In the first place, over Luis Eduardo Garzón's administration (2004-2008),⁵ the Decree 608 on December 28th, 2007, whose objective is to generate capabilities and institutional developments for an

⁴ Androcentrism “is the institutionalized pattern of cultural value that privileges the features associated to men and the masculine, at once it devaluates that related to women and the feminine”; heterosexism “is the authoritarian construction of cultural norms that favor and promote heterosexuality”; while, homophobia “is the cultural devaluation of homosexuality that leads to despise LGBT people” (Duque, 2008: 192).

⁵ As of his administration, guidelines for public policies to evince the necessity of protection, promotion, guarantee and restitution of the LGBT community rights in Bogota.

effective representation of the interests of the LGBT population in the decision spaces of the city and foster a citizen culture based on the right to life free from violence and discrimination from gender identity or sexual orientation (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2008c: 8, 58-59).

In the second place, during Samuel Moreno Rojas' administration (2008-2012), the program "Bogotá respects diversity" was set into motion; it commits to boost actions to denaturalize discrimination, empower the capabilities of vulnerable groups, recognize the particularities from sexual orientation and broaden the exercise of human capabilities (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2008c: 22).

Finally, over the administration of Gustavo Petro, by means of Decree 062 of 2014, the strategy "Inclusive labor environments" is launched, which was developed by means of the design and application of instruments that allow identifying forms of discrimination from and toward public servants, the development of processes proceedings and manuals to ensure the rights of LGBT population (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2014: 5).

At local level, actions to recognize the LGBT community in Chapinero come from the district developmental plans. Therefore, the locality of Chapinero also starts to restructure its policies after the publication of the aforementioned Decree 608 of 2007, understood as a move by Luis Eduardo Garzón's administration to generalize the LGBT public policies. It is because of this that the local town council of Chapinero has had to articulate the developmental plans and public policies to offer a suitable urban space for the development of tendencies of sexual diversity and the recognition of the human rights of the LGBT population.

From the standpoint of the construction of a "City of Rights", the master plan for local development by Blanca Inés Durán Hernández (2009-2012),⁶ administrated the project "Bogotá respects diversity" framed in "Bogotá diversa", which established as a goal assisting LGBT people in community centers by means of setting up actions included in public policy for such community (Junta Administradora Local de Chapinero, 2008: 24).

Later on, Mauricio Jaramillo Cabrera's (2013-2016) administration put forward a number of programs, among which one finds:

⁶ Well-known industrial engineer from Universidad de Los Andes and LGBT activist, member of Polo de Rosa and whom on assuming office openly recognized her homosexuality (Rodríguez, 2012: 60).

i) sensitizing four thousand people in the education community in order to prevent discrimination; ii) performing cultural activities to visualize and recognize LGBT rights; and, iii) linking 3200 people to prevent violence against women and LGBT community (Junta Administradora Local de Chapinero, 2012).

The actions above have led to a noticeable increase in the participation of LGBT citizenry in Chapinero. Following Rodríguez (2012), some of the LGBT community initiatives, to be involved in the decisions and public policies of the locality, have been conceived in Council of Local Planning (CPL), in the Local Committee on Women and Gender (CLMyG), in the Local Council on Youth (CLJ), in the Zonal Board on Security (JZS).

The initiatives and participation of LGBT population has strengthened the visualization process of this group by means of the territorialization of the locality and has made that the image of Chapinero as a LGBT neighborhood is not determined only by bars, discotheques, restaurants and saunas, but also by the presence of institutions and nongovernmental organizations that work protecting such population.

As an instance of this, the creation of the Colombia LGBT Chamber of Commerce (CCLGBTCO) in September 2012⁷ can be mentioned, which has as a goal to promote the professional recognition and stimulate the creation of businesses for this population.

LOCALITY OF CHAPINERO: GEOGRAPHICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND POLITICAL-ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION

The locality of Chapinero is located in the central-eastern region of Bogotá, it has a total extension of 3 898.96 hectares (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2004). It comprises five Zonal Planning Units (UPZ)⁸: UPZ 88 El Refugio, UPZ 89 San Isidro-Patios, UPZ 90 Pardo Rubio, UPZ 97 Chicó Lago and UPZ 99 Chapinero.

⁷ Colombia is the third country in the American continent to have a LGBT chamber of commerce after the U.S. with the National Gay & Lesbian Chamber of Commerce (NGLCC) and Argentina with the LGBT Argentine Chamber of Commerce, founded by Gustavo Noguera and Pablo De Lucca (EL UNIVERSAL, 2012).

⁸ UPZ work as a "planning instrument at zonal and community level, which conditions the general policies of Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial (POT) as regards the specific conditions of a set of neighborhoods". This is to say, "territories that comprise several neighborhoods that keep morphological or functional unity and located in urban land zones and expansion land" (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2004: 15).

In recent years, UPZ 99 Chapinero has become an LGBT territory. The appropriation of the space by this community comes from the need to satisfy its demands, coexist and develop freely, look for recognition of sexual diversity and its rights before other groups of society, which has made that this population develops life styles, economic, leisure and entertainment activities. This articulates with the design and application of political regulations from the Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá and Alcaldía Local de Chapinero in view of visualizing, recognizing and improving the population's quality of life.

The new lifestyles, different behaviors and cultural manifestations, the promotion of equality and recognition of sexual diversity devised from the design of public policies fostered the configuration of UPZ 99 Chapinero as a LGBT district, which has an extension of 161.26 ha., which account for 13.06 percent of the total area of the locality (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2008c).

Economic activities of the LGBT community in UPZ 99 Chapinero

The settling of the LGBT community in UPZ 99 Chapinero has accomplished a dramatic change in the perception of the city and the use of urban land. The desire to meet the community needs is noticed in the presence of various economies and spaces in which there is neither discrimination nor labor prejudices from sexual orientation.

The productive units proper to the LGBT community are largely characterized by being commercial in nature, represented by sex shops, bars, discotheques, cafés, videos, gay internet booths, saunas and motels and residences. These establishments are characterized by contributing to the free development of both the personality and the sexuality of the community. This sector has “39 bars and discotheques, five saunas, 22 videos, 7 clothing and accessories shops and seven hotels and motels” (Luna, 2011: 8).

CASE STUDY OF THE LABOR MARKET OF THE LGBT POPULATION

Analysis of the labor demand of the LGBT sector

In the present section a case study of the characterization of the demand of the LGBT sector in Chapinero from the information supplied by the owners and/or managers of six establishments by means of the interview “Characterization study of employers of LGBT la-

bor force in Chapinero”, identifying the main economic activities and employment characteristics for the community under study.

Bars, discotheques and cafés represent 67 percent of the visited establishments (table 1). These productive units are characterized by being small enterprises that, in addition to serve as retailers of alcoholic drinks, leisure and entertainment, offer various services in the same place such as food, karaoke and games.

Table 1: Economic activity of the interviewed LGBT establishments

Economic activity	Productive units	Percentage
Bars, discotheques and cafés	4	67
Gay internet video booths	1	17
Gay spa - sauna	1	17
General total	6	100

Source: own elaboration from the interview “Caracterización de contratantes de mano de obra LGBT en Chapinero”.

The establishments that work as bars, discotheques, cafés and restaurants represent the icon for the LGBT recognition in this locality. However, there are other economic activities proper to the community that are aside the knowledge and visibility of society; this is the case of the productive units that work as videos, gay internet booths, spas and saunas. These establishments, hidden and that go unnoticed in the urban landscape, are preferred by homosexual men and especially are meeting points for the free development of the personality and sexuality of the people who visit them.

The dynamic of the LGBT population is represented, mostly, by small and mid-sized establishments, which have at least 10-15 workers. For this research, the visited establishments hire a total of 39 employees (table 2).

Furthermore, considering the composition of the LGBT labor market, a greater participation of men is noticed (87 percent), of which 62 percent are homosexual, six percent bisexual and 32 percent heterosexual men who work in these establishments. This indicates a certain margin of discrimination by sex and sexual orientation in the group of respondents, since women participate less in these activities and there is presence of heterosexual personnel in these places.

Table 2: Staff linked to GLBT establishments according to educational level, sex and occupational area

Education level	Sort of link	Number of employees by sex			Number of employees by working space		
		Men	Women	Total	Administrative	Operative	Total
Elementary or no schooling	Permanent	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Temporary	0	0	0	0	0	0
Secondary	Permanent	17	3	20	4	16	20
	Temporary	12	1	13	0	13	13
Technician	Permanent	1	0	1	0	1	1
	Temporary	0	0	0	0	0	0
Technologist	Permanent	1	0	1	1	0	1
	Temporary	0	0	0	0	0	0
Professional	Permanent	3	1	4	3	0	3
	Temporary	0	0	0	0	1	1
General total		34	5	39	8	31	39

Source: Own elaboration on the basis of "Caracterización de contratantes de mano de obra LGBT en Chapinero".

In the fieldwork it became evident that the above is maybe because the frequent clients of the establishments are men who prefer to be served by male personnel, since the sale of products or services revolves around a good relationship between customer and employee. For the owner and employees this is a method to attract more clients and increase sales.

Another reason that can explain the minimal labor participation of women in LGBT establishments is that most of these places works during the night, risk and danger exposition are high, it is frequent to witness fights, brawls and theft, situations that are easier to dealt with for the employers with masculine personnel. However, it is common to find women working as DJs and even holding security posts, who were tough and exhibit masculine body behaviors, as noticed in the fieldwork.

Likewise, it was found that 79 percent of the job posts are operational and 21 percent represents administrative posts. Bearing in mind that these establishments represent small enterprises, it is important to mention that the owners and/or managers, in addition to be in charge of the administration, are a support for operational activities; it is common to find the owners working as waiters, barman and serving clients. Moreover, 67 percent represents the favorability of permanent posts, which is not supported on any labor contract, but the permanence in their posts in these establishments is because of the trust and identification of the workers with the employer.

Well now, the tasks and occupations in these establishments do not require highly trained personnel, this way, high school is the academic level that prevails among workers in the LGBT sector; in addition, employers favor university students when linking someone with their establishment. For the case of the visited production units, 85 percent of the people who have fully completed high school, of which most are undergraduate, ten percent claims they hold a degree and five percent a technical degree.

Under these conditions, the selection process in these establishments is simple, it is carried out through direct channels with interviews, though frequently this process is omitted, as the most of the workers are referred by friends or acquaintances and are hired on this basis, without further steps, without an interview or applying for the post or practice period. Albeit, the owners and managers indicated they had some criteria to select personnel, of which values such

as attitude toward work, competences and abilities are the priority (table 3).

Table 3: of each criterion to hire personnel according to owners (percentage)

Criteria	Importance level		
	Low	Mid	High
Schooling	50	33	17
Competences	0	17	83
Abilities	0	17	83
Values	0	0	100
Experience	17	67	17
Proximity	33	67	0
Attitude	0	0	100
Socioeconomic stratum	83	17	0

Source: own elaboration from the interview "Caracterización de contratantes de mano de obra LGBT en Chapinero".

In like manner, good personal appearance and the right body and verbal expression are the most important requirements for the owners and managers when analyzing who to hire. Employers indicate that body language, good manners and charisma are vital factors to attract clients and make the business grow.

In this sense, it is noticed there is labor discrimination from prejudice and stereotypes in LGBT establishments. These discrimination mechanisms from the employers can be represented by the assignation of certain roles according to the sexual identity, body language and masculinity degree and or femininity of the worker, which boosts and strengthens labor segmentation by gender and sexual orientation, thus defining the occupational profiles of the labor form in the LGBT labor market.

Analysis of the labor offer in the LGBT sector

On the basis of information from the labor offer interview "Estudio de perfiles ocupacionales de la comunidad LGBT en Chapinero", the analysis and a case study of 24 people from the LGBT sector who work in Chapinero are developed in view of exposing the sociodemographic conditions, the profile and labor trajectory of the population under study.

In the demographic structure of the labor market of the LGBT population men prevail (92 percent). As previously indicated, em-

ployers prefer to hire men owing to the risks of the occupations and relationships with clients. As regards sexual orientation, homosexual men prevail, who account for 68 percent of the total male personnel, 14 and 18 are bisexual and trans, respectively. By contrast, the scarce presence of women among the respondents is 8 percent.

As for age ranges, in most of the establishments there is concentration of young employees between 18 and 25 years of age. The respondents state these posts are a source of alternative incomes for those studying as they mean daily, weekly or monthly support (depending on the payment periodicity), representing transport, food, books and academic photocopies, which is an economic support in their households. This may be the reason why young men are the representatives of most of the labor offer in the LGBT sector.

As regards the conditions of life determined by place of residence, it is established that no worker is in poverty situation, the upper-middle class is represented by 88 percent of the respondents and four percent lives in zones of stratum 5 and 6; conversely, eight percent of the respondents indicated they lived in neighborhoods whose stratification is 1 and 2. Well now, the concentration of employees in Chapinero is 29 percent, which indicates there is a high relation between residence place and work place. This locality is characterized by being one of the zone with numerous educational infrastructure, as a localization strategy students look for job close to their homes and education centers so as to reduce transport and food expenses.

In addition to be a commercial sector, in which most of the LGBT establishments are located, UPZ 99 Chapinero is characterized by having residential sectors and the use of this sector for housing is also representative of the population under study. For this research, 54 percent of the interviewed labor force (13 individuals) live on their own or with friends paying rent, in particular represented by homosexual and transgender men. Furthermore, 46 percent of the workers (11 individuals) indicated that their home is defined by a family bond, they have a house of their own or are paying for it; this is the case of lesbian women, homosexual and some bisexual men.

The reason and of the style and condition of housing may be explained by the cultural factors, as there are contradictions between the formation or homophobic tradition and/or heterosexist of some family nucleuses and the acceptance of the non-heterosexual condition of some member in the same household. Owing to this, rejection

by sexual orientation might cause, for some cases of the respondents, to become independent, or else, they are forced to leave their homes, as in the case of some homosexual and transgender men interviewed for this research. However, some people who live their relatives, expressed their desire to leave, albeit they cannot afford it.

This way, people who live on their own indicated that working in an LGBT establishment, especially at weekends, in addition to be an income to cover their economic needs, is also a space where they are not pursued by their sexual orientation.

Regarding the labor profiles by training, schooling levels and occupational areas, it was found that educational levels are not high, as workers in the LGBT sector, mostly, are young people. The intermediate schooling cycles such as secondary and technical schools account for about 80 percent, mostly represented by homosexual and bisexual men; in contrast, of the total of respondents, 17 percent holds a graduate degree. It is important to indicate that most of the people with full secondary are pursuing a university degree, 38 percent of the respondents is undergraduate (table 4).

Table 4: education level by the sexual orientation of the respondents (percentage)

	Lesbian	Gay	Bisexual	Trans	Total
Full secondary	0	13	4	13	29
Incomplete technical	0	4	0	0	4
Full technical	0	8	0	0	8
Full technologist	0	4	0	4	8
Undergraduate	4	29	4	0	38
Graduate	4	4	4	0	13
Total	8	63	13	17	100

Source: own elaboration from the interview "Caracterización de perfiles ocupacionales de la comunidad LGBT en Chapinero".

This way, of the total of the interviewed labor force, 92 percent works (table 5), the remaining eight percent represents two transgender men, who were not hired by the time the interview took place, as these individuals engage in styling, dancing and hosts in LGBT shows, which are characterized by being precarious and intermittent occupations.

In like manner, 50 percent of the respondents (12 workers) are studying, mostly homosexual and bisexual men (table 5); during the week they engage in academic duties, while at weekends they work

in LGBT establishments. On the contrary, the transgender men interviewed have little participation in academic training programs, as they indicated that the occupations they have provide them with meager incomes, which is not enough to invest in human capital, not disregarding that their construction and gender identity may be a determinant that drives them away from the possibility of accomplishing a high educational level, unlike the other community sectors.

Table 5: Labor and academic status by the sexual orientation of the respondents

	Working						Studying					
	Yes		No		Total		Yes		No		Total	
Lesbian	2	8%	0	0%	2	8%	1	4%	1	4%	2	8%
Gay	15	63%	0	0%	15	63%	9	38%	6	25%	15	63%
Bisexual	3	13%	0	0%	3	13%	2	8%	1	4%	3	13%
Trans	2	8%	2	8%	4	17%	0	0%	4	17%	4	17%
Total	22	92%	2	8%	24	100%	12	50%	12	50%	24	100%

Source: own elaboration from "Caracterización de perfiles ocupacionales de la comunidad LGBT en Chapinero".

Well now, when approaching the training areas certain difference in the learning processes of the workers is evinced; lesbian women and homosexual men have a preference for academic programs dealing with Arts and Sciences of the Habitat (21 percent), of which distinguishable are: Architecture, Audiovisual media, Cinema and Television, Plastic Arts and Graphic Design; Social Sciences, Administrative and Accountancy Sciences represent 17 percent each, being notable Economics, Social Work and Communication, Public Accountancy, Business Administration and Tourism and Hotel Administration. Finally, engineering has scarce participation, represent 8 percent, Cadastral Engineering and Geodesy and Environmental Engineering are noticeable in the interviewed group.

Bearing in mind the training areas certain degree of occupational segregation can be evinced; in this case, it is determined by cultural factors, this is to say, by the identification of the LGBT individual has with the community and their self-recognition and self-acceptance. Out of the respondents, students of careers linked to Arts and Sciences of the Habitat, Social Work, Social Communication and Tourism and Hotel Administration indicate that they recognize themselves as LGBT, they identify with the community and have no problem in telling their construction of gender before the rest of the groups of society.

Conversely, students of Economics, Public Accountancy, Business Administration and Engineering indicated that they prefer to hide and mimic their sexual identity, as they suppose society has the collective imaginary that this population lacks “seriousness” to hold a post in these areas, on the basis of collective prejudice, discriminating the capabilities and competences of each individual. This way, occupational segregation can also be determined by self-discrimination and self-exclusion mechanisms. These students are those who substantiate work in LGBT establishments, not only as a source of incomes, but as a way to be free from inhibitions and behave as they want.

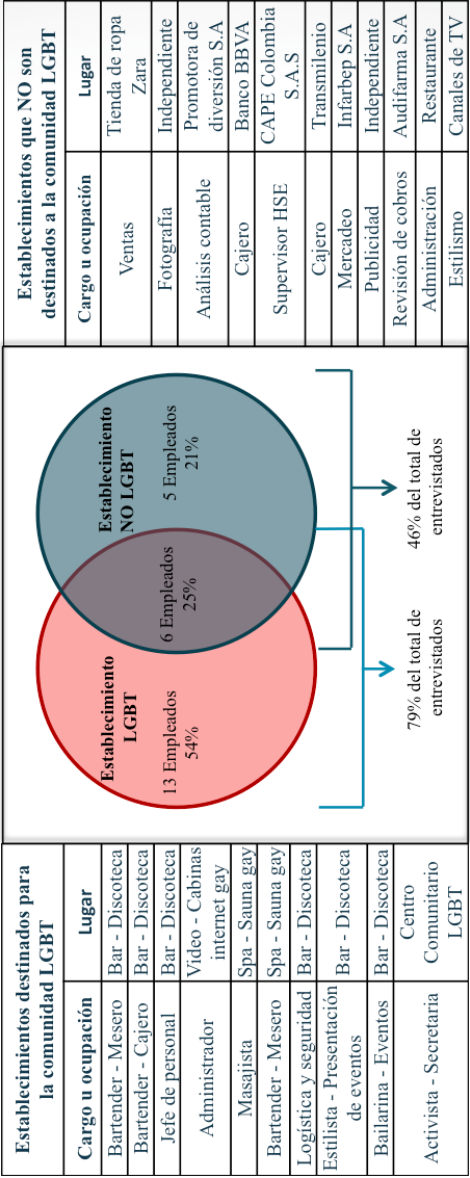
In like manner, the organization and structure of labor force can be determined by self-discrimination mechanisms. Out of the total of respondents, 25 percent has two jobs (six people) (figure 1), those who work in productive units not destined for offering services to the LGBT community (Monday to Friday), they indicated they prefer their sexual orientation to avoid being victims of possible discrimination from coworkers and bosses; at night they attend the education centers and at weekends they serve in LGBT establishments.

On the other hand, 54 percent only works in LGBT establishments and the rest 21 percent in establishments alien to the community economic activities (figure 1).

These workers, mostly homosexual and bisexual men linked to formal labor market, who engage in trades or occupations in sales, accountancy, marketing in private enterprises and some as independent professionals manifest that they prefer not to disclose their sexual orientation in these labor spaces, as they imagine that the rest of population will behave discriminatorily. This possibly explains that some people of the community appropriate alleged feelings of self-stigmatization that end up in self-exclusion behaviors.

Among the main trades exercised by the respondents distinguishable are specific roles by sector of the LGBT community. Operational posts prevail, especially homosexual men and lesbian women work as waiters, cashiers and bartenders, mainly in discotheques, bars, cafés and restaurants. The occupational profile of these women can be determined by their body language, as it was observed that if a lesbian woman has masculine features and traits, her post will be in logistics and security.

Figure 1: Main occupational areas by LGBT and non-LGBT establishments of the respondents



Source: own elaboration based on the interview "Caracterización de perfiles ocupacionales de la comunidad LGBT en la UPZ 99 Chapinero".

The labor participation in the LGBT sector is led by men, who also work in videos, gay internet booths, spas and saunas, either as managers, massagers, or bartenders. For the case of transgender men and *transformistas*, occupational segregation can be more evident, as they engage in styling, dancing, and hosts and indicated they did not have other labor option and must work in the informal sector due to lack of training and schooling, with the exception of a transgender men, activist functionary in a LGBT community center who states having a decorous post and earning high wages.

This way, from the labor profiles above, income levels of the interviewed LGBT population can be identified. Most of them earns between two and three Current Legal Minimum Monthly Wages; homosexual men, in addition to be the majority in the group of people who live alone or with friends, pay rent and have two remunerated jobs, are those who earn the highest wages, which they must spend in housing, food, education and support.

Approaching the case of trans men, it was found that the income level of this LGBT population sector is heterogeneous. For the case of the *transformista* man, who earns between 800 thousand and one million COP, lives with his family and does not have considerable expenses, indicates that his incomes are enough. As regards, the three transgender men that offered information for this research, two of them live alone, paying rent and express their incomes are precarious, since they need to invest a sizable part of their wages on beauty and aesthetic products and also on clothing in order to accomplish stability in their jobs as stylists, dancers and hosts before meeting their needs for housing or food; while the transgender men that claims to be hired and earn more than three million COP is in a favorable situation as there is a labor contract with no conclusion in the programs of the town council for the LGBT community center.

For this case study, lesbian women receive a lower remuneration than homosexual men, but they do not have the same expenses, as their households are composed of a family nucleus and the heads are those who afford their needs; this way, these women's wages are destined for expenses or personal and academic support.

Bearing in mind the previous characterization of the 24 workers of the LGBT sector, it is perceived that the labor force marginalization in the establishments of this locality can be a consequence of self-discrimination and self-exclusion processes. In like manner, this

phenomenon aggravates the problem of occupational segregation by the presence of possible collective imaginaries to assign occupations for each sector of the LGBT population of stereotyped social roles, which leads to think that the labor market for such population is a framework of inequality and influences in each individual's quality of labor.

LABOR QUALITY OF LGBT WORKERS

We now present the description of the labor quality for 24 people, on the basis of the semi-structured interview on "Quality of labor of LGBT people in Chapinero", ascertaining the conditions, demands, exposition and labor load factors that constitute each worker's well-being, from the concepts offered by the theoretical references on labor formality and informality by Piore (1969) and quality of life from the standpoint of Nussbaum (2007).

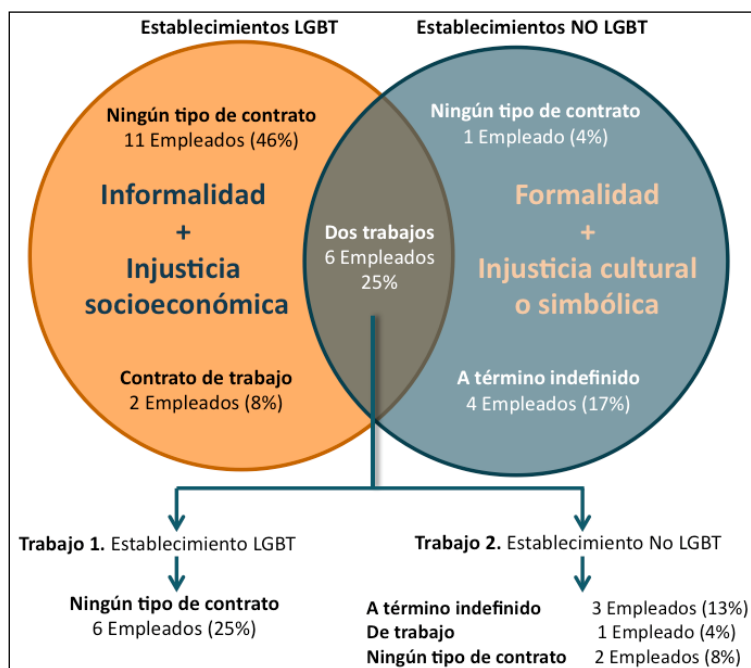
Labor segmentation and social security

In order to ascertain the contractual situation of each worker depending on the sort of contract they have, it is necessary to bear in mind that some workers have to jobs, they work both in LGBT establishments and in establishments not proper to the community.

According to figure 2, only two workers in the LGBT establishments have a labor contract (bisexual man, massager at a gay Spa-Sauna and transgender man, activist and functionary in the LGBT community center), the rest of employees (71 percent) is characterized by working in informal spaces (bars, discotheques and cafés, videos and gay internet booths), where poorly-paid posts, precarious conditions and labor instability prevail, this is to say, the occupations that are in the secondary sector indicated by Piore (1969).

As regards the employees who do not work in LGBT establishments, it was found that they are in the primary sector of the labor markets, as 29 percent of the workers (seven employees) have open contracts, four percent has a contract (one employee), where there are better labor conditions. Conversely, 13 percent of these employees does not have a contract as they also work as independent professionals in photography, publicity and styling.

Figure 2: Type of workers contract according to establishment and sexual orientation



Source: Own elaboration on the basis of “Calidad del trabajo de la comunidad LGBT en Chapinero”.

Bearing in mind the previous characterization of the contracts of the respondents, it is noticed that employment in the visited LGBT establishments the socioeconomic injustice determined by wage marginalization that produces poorly-paid and unsteady jobs prevails. By contrast, the employees with two jobs and those who work in non-LGBT establishments are in a favorable situation, since they have contracts that grant them some stability and security in the formal sector; however, this group of workers can be immersed in the cultural or symbolic injustice as Fraser (1997) calls it, as they do not enjoy recognition and do not make their sexual identity visible owing to representative practices of that very culture and self-discrimination mechanisms.

In the same way, the affiliation to a social protection system means security, stability and wellbeing for the workers. Health care and pension systems must be guaranteed by the exercise of a decorous and formal job, in which the integrity of each worker is protected. In

this sense, 83 percent of the respondents expressed being enrolled to a health care system that secures capabilities to live, health and physical integrity, while 46 percent claimed being covered by a pensions system that secures each worker's wellbeing in the future (table 6).

Table 6: social protection of interviewed LGBT workers

			Lesbian	Gay	Bisexual	Trans	Total
Health care	Yes	N	1	12	3	4	20
		%	4%	50%	13%	17%	83%
	No	N	1	3	0	0	4
		%	4%	13%	0%	0%	17%
	Total	N	2	15	3	4	24
		%	8%	63%	13%	17%	100%
Pension	Yes	N	0	8	2	1	11
		%	0%	33%	8%	4%	46%
	No	N	2	7	1	3	13
		%	8%	29%	4%	13%	54%
	Total	N	2	15	3	4	24
		%	8%	63%	13%	17%	100%

Source: own elaboration from the interview on "Calidad del trabajo de la comunidad LGBT en Chapinero".

At this point, the reader may be wondering: Why do most of the workers is covered by a health care system is 71 percent of the jobs are informal?

This is because the respondents' incomes to pay for health care system do not come from them or their own work, but their relatives or the institutions where they study (student health care). Being aware that most of the population under study is between 18 and 25 years of age, their parents afford the expense on health care. Conversely, the eleven people who work in non-LGBT establishments with a contract are covered by a health care system and generate a pension, including independent workers, of which distinguishable is the case of a homosexual men, aged 24, who works as an independent publicist and is covered by health care and pension systems from his military father, who died years ago.

Incomes

Labor quality is determined as well by the sort of remunerations each worker earns, as they contribute to the labor conditions, working hours, demands, physical integrity and labor force intensification.

Of the total of respondents, 25 percent expressed that their incomes are fixed, they are homosexual men who work in the formal sector. On the other hand, a lesbian woman, seven homosexual and bisexual men state that their remunerations comprise a fixed part and another variable; while 33 percent of the respondents, among them a lesbian woman, two gays, one bisexual, three transgender and a transmist claim that their total incomes are variable.

Variability in incomes for lesbian women, homosexual and bisexual men depends on staff rotation and working hours in bars, discotheques and cafés, spas, saunas and gay internet booths. For the case of transgender men, the variability and their remunerations depend on the number of events and dance shows they host.

Working days and shifts

The extension of working days and shifts are important factors to assess the labor quality of the people, as these directly affect the physical integrity, and produce mental exhaustion and increase the risks for the workers. 29 percent of the workers work the full hours, 13 percent part-time and 58 percent claims to have no upper limit. The first and second sort of working days in particular corresponds to formal jobs, whereas unrestricted working hours corresponds to informal jobs in LGBT productive units, where working hours vary depending on the closing time of the establishing according to the clients' demands.

As regards working hours in LGBT establishments, 75 percent of the employees work the night shift, especially in discotheques, bars, cafés; the schedule for the other 25 percent is variable and diurnal, corresponding to posts in gay spa-sauna, videos and gay internet booths, where personnel rotation is the main factor that determines the working hours of the workers.

The information obtained shows that LGBT workers are exposed and vulnerable to situations that put their mental and physical health at risk, mainly because most of them works at night. Likewise, the extension and distribution of the working days and shifts for these employees mean exposition to danger, especially in bars and discotheques in Chapinero, sector in which leisure, entertainment and alcohol drinking go hand in hand with the presence of drugs, vandalism, violence, theft.

Labor demands in LGBT establishments

Working in a hurry, not having enough time to fulfill their obligations, working under pressure, intensification of the capabilities to perform the duties and complete the tasks at work are factors that determine each worker's pace and quality of labor life. For the case of the LGBT respondents, it is determined that 92 percent requires a high concentration level and constant attention in the places where they work (22 employees), 75 percent of them expressed they work at a fast pace (18 employees) and 79 percent, working under heavy pressure (19 employees).

It was noticed that the high concentration and attention levels, working at a fast pace and under heavy pressure are characteristics of jobs in LGBT productive units. The surveyed workers expressed that their work is stressful and exhausting. In spite of the stress and physical exhaustion, only 29 percent of the workers (seven employees) indicate that their work is monotonous, boring and repetitive, while 88 percent (22 employees) state being content with their work and indicate it is attractive and interesting, regardless of the dissatisfaction expressed for incomes, 50 percent of the employees is not satisfied with their wage.

Control over the process and labor environment

The potential and performance of a productive unit, to a certain extent, is determined by autonomy, responsibility, creativity, volition and control each employee has on their labor environment. This way, a decorous job must be characterized by giving the employee the capability to efficaciously participate in decisions regarding the job, liberty to choose the practical relation in their process and labor sphere.

Eighty-three percent of the respondents claim that their occupations require creativity and initiative to introduce new strategies into sales and customer service in order to increase the LGBT establishments' productivity. On the other hand, 88 percent of the workers indicate that they have to solve unforeseen problems, 75 percent must make difficult decisions quickly, related to problems with the public and clients, and only 38 percent has the liberty to decide when to have a break at work.

Physical environment, health and wellbeing

Labor quality is associated to the perception of the physical environment, hygiene and security of workers, 50 percent of the population under study indicates that luminosity, temperature and noise level are suitable in the places where they work and 71 percent state that the conditions of hygiene and security are good. As regards health and wellbeing, 88 percent indicates that their health is good.

Despite the workers are young people who express having good health, they do not realize that these factors negatively affect their quality of life. Tranquility and wellbeing have been negatively affected by worries about the fear of losing their jobs and labor instability, which make people feel stressed and exhausted, affecting their mood, physical and mental health. Table 7 shows the number of workers, by sexual orientation, who have displayed pathologies that represent metal wear, most of the workers presents muscle aches and headaches owing to exhaustion from the night shifts, they have had problems to sleep and there are moody.

Table 7: conditions that negatively affect the physical health of the workers by sexual orientation

	N				
	Lesbian	Gay	Bisexual	Trans	Total
Has had concerns about losing their job	2	10	2	4	18
has felt tired and exhausted	2	13	3	3	21
Has been irritable	2	11	2	4	19
Has slept badly	2	12	2	3	19
Has had headache and muscle tension	1	11	2	2	16

Source: own elaboration from the interview on "Calidad del trabajo de la comunidad LGBT en Chapinero".

Work and free time

The border between labor and daily life are an important factor to assess quality of life, representing in this case, by the time available to each worker to exercise their occupation and the time available to enjoy recreational, leisure and entertainment activities, time with their families and moments to rest and recover.

Bearing in mind that the workers of the LGBT sector are young students and that some have two jobs, 67 percent of the respondents (16 employees) does not have sufficient time to spend with friend

and entertainment; 58 percent (14 employees) does not have the opportunity to enjoy sports activities; 63 percent (15 employees) indicates that working days and shifts prevent them from spending time with their; 75 percent (18 employees) do not have the chance to go away at weekends or time for vacation.

To sum up, the respondents' jobs in LGBT establishments, seemingly do not secure the liberties, capabilities and conditions that make a job a promoting factor of good quality of life to humanly realize. The practical reason capabilities and affiliation perhaps are limited by mechanisms of self-discrimination in formal spaces, wage marginalization and exclusion processes.

Health and physical integrity are capabilities violated by insecurity, risk factors and the physical environment of LGBT jobs in Chapinero, labor pressure caused by the long hours and night shifts of informal jobs limits the full functioning of potentialities, owing to physical and mental exhaustion, also provoked by the limitation of autonomy and control over the proper environment.

Finally, for the workers there are neither borders nor borders between labor, study and life, academic and labor responsibilities do not given them opportunity to spend time on leisure and entertainment, for sports activities, holidays, not even to spend time with their families.

No capacity is fully guaranteed for LGBT workers, not even the one that refers to the senses, imagination and thinking, for despite that most of the youths are pursuing a degree, for some of these people it is impossible to become part of including curricula due to the construction and visibility of gender, this is the case of trans men.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study underscores the interdisciplinarity to understand the causes and effects of the discrimination and segregation mechanisms for the LGBT population in labor spaces. The descriptive analysis of the labor market by means of this case study provides an approximation to the knowledge of social reality, in this case the vulnerability of each groups of people who are part of the population with sexual diversity.

The entrepreneurial profile of the LGBT community is characterized by establishments in the service sector, represented by discotheques, bars, cafés, saunas, spa, and gay internet booths. In these

productive units, LGBT labor force mainly comprises young people, university students, who are mostly hired as waiters, bartenders, and cashiers.

With the analysis of labor demand in the LGBT sector, it was determined that these establishments offer informal jobs and are characterized by being poorly competitive, as they respond to their own internal labor dynamics. The explanation for this is that posts and wages are not determined by the market forces, but by their own regulations, organization and administrative procedures, which is supported on Doeringer and Piore's (1970) theory. This way, the patterns for recruitment and the structures of remunerations of the establishments under study are dominated by the existence of a closer identification between the worker and the establishment and community.

However, it was found that there are scenarios of discrimination and exclusion in LGBT establishments against the respondents from entrepreneurs or owners and the clients. This is noticed in the assignment of roles and duties in these places, depending on the masculinity and femininity levels, the visibility of sexual identity in terms of the employees' behavior and body expressions.

This way, it is determined that the interviewed lesbian women have lower participation in the LGBT sector, save those women whose masculinity level is visible (short hair, no make-up, tough behavior, etc.), which places them in security and logistics posts in discotheques, bars and cafés. Furthermore, the owners and managers hire homosexual and bisexual men subject to stereotypes and body representations for each occupation in the establishments. Finally, for trans people in the present study, who experience discrimination in the construction of human capital, the society and labor market do not give them labor scenarios other than styling, being hosts of events at night in discotheques and bars.

Therefore, it is determined that in the visited LGBT establishments there is occupational segregation, depending on the sexual construction and body visibility of gender, with which it is established that the economic and labor dynamic of the LGBT population may be ruled by the body-labor market relation.

In like manner, it is concluded that not only is there segregation in interviewed LGBT establishments, but also there is presence of this phenomenon by professional training and occupational areas in for-

mal labor spaces, determined by the recognition and self-acceptance and identification of the individual with the community. It was identified that people who make their sexual orientation visible study careers related to Arts, Sciences of the Habitat, Social Communication and Social Work, while those who mimic their gender identity study careers focused on Social Sciences, Accountancy, Administration and Engineering, who for fear of being victims of social pressure end up exercising self-discrimination and self-exclusion.

To sum up, the processes of self-discrimination categorize jobs and occupations in the formal and informal sectors. The results determine that people not identified with the LGBT community are those who prefer to hide their sexual orientation in formal labor spaces in order to prevent themselves from becoming victims of possible defamatory language. While those people who recognized themselves as LGBT are exposed to remain in informal posts and be at the labor periphery.

The phenomenon of labor segregation from labor discrimination against the LGBT community is a consequence of their no-recognition as social subjects, represented in the socioeconomic injustice and cultural or symbolic injustice, as indicated by Fraser (2004). Wage marginalization, deprivation of the necessary goods to lead a decorous life and cultural domination possibly depend on the recognition the subject with themselves, the masculinity or femininity level of the individual and whether they openly disclose their sexual identity.

As regards the analysis of the conditions and job quality, it was found that the LGBT labor market is not characterized by offering decorous jobs that contribute to the quality of life of the respondents and their full realization from the perspective of social justice and equality starting from the approach of capabilities, which ratifies that these people represent part of a population that is still in vulnerability conditions (Annex 1 and Annex 2).

The vulnerability of the population in the territory shows that the local administrative processes intend to protect and guarantee the rights of the LGBT community are neither effective nor sufficient. The participation and social integration of such population is limited and does not have the sufficient strength to make the political objectives of promoting a decorous life efficient. Therefore, the regulatory guidelines, projects and actions considered by the different

LGBT development plans and public policies at district and local level acquire higher symbolical and political representation, as they lack applicability and support to eliminate social injustice against the community.

In like manner, the notion of the locality of Chapinero as an LGBT district justifies and legitimizes the marginalization of such community, gender diversity must be territorialized without defining borders to determine that it is only possible to be lesbian, gay, bisexual or trans in Chapinero. It is necessary that diverse economies have a space at district level and the potentiality of this groups is recognized by the rest of the society and give it the opportunity to produce a social change with no prejudice or collective imaginaries. Moreover, the territory does not generate suitable labor spaces for the individual humanly develops within a threshold of social justice.

Indeed, the phenomenon of labor segregation from sexual orientation has a cultural background, owing to which, it is recommended institutionalizing diversity in the education centers of the district, structure the education of new generations toward the recognition of the difference, suppressing discrimination patterns, exclusion and cultural imaginaries that attack the wellbeing of certain groups of society, which indicates that education in diversity has to be directed as well toward older generations so that they understand the social and cultural changes that demand the elimination of heteronormative, heterosexist and homophobic behaviors.

Lastly, educational restructuring must grant the LGBT population the capacity of empowerment and participation in various ways of social interaction that promote affiliation and association of such community.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2004, Recorriendo Chapinero. Diagnóstico físico y socioeconómico de las localidades de Bogotá, Secretaría Distrital de Hacienda. Recuperado el 31/07/2014 en http://impuestos.shd.gov.co/portal/page/portal/portal_internet_sdh/publicaciones/Est_fis_pub/localidades_est_pub/RECORRIENDO_CHAPINERO.pdf

Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2008a, Cartillas Pedagógicas del POT. Acuerdos para construir ciudad, UPZ 99 Chapinero. Bogotá.

Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2008b, “Bogotá Positiva: Para vivir mejor”, en Plan de Desarrollo Económico, Social, Ambiental y de Obras Públicas para Bogotá

D.C., 2008-2012. Secretaría Distrital de planeación. Recuperado el 6/08/2014, disponible en http://www.sdp.gov.co/portal/page/portal/PortalSDP/ciudadania/PlanesDesarrollo/BogotaPositiva/2008_2012_BogotaPositiva_a_Plan_Acuerdo308_2008_aux.pdf

Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2008c, Por una ciudad de derechos. Lineamientos generales de la política pública para la garantía plena de los derechos de las personas lesbianas, gays, bisexuales y transgeneristas – LGBT – y sobre identidades de género y orientaciones sexuales en el distrito capital. Secretaría Distrital de Planeación Bogotá, Colombia.

Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá, 2014, Política Pública para la garantía plena de los derechos de las personas lesbianas, gay, bisexuales, transgeneristas e intersexuales- LGBTI - y sobre identidades de género y orientaciones sexuales en el Distrito Capital, y se dictan otras disposiciones, Decreto número 062, Secretaría Distrital de planeación. Recuperado el 9/08/2014, disponible en http://www.sdp.gov.co/portal/page/portal/PortalSDP/SeguimientoPolíticas/políticasLGBT/QueEs/Decreto_062_2014.pdf

Ardila, R., 2003, “Calidad de vida: una definición integradora”, en *Revista Latinoamericana de Psicología*, 35(2), 161-164.

Baquero, J., Sarmiento, L. y Guataquí, J., 2000, Un marco analítico de la discriminación laboral. Teorías, Modalidades y Estudios para Colombia. Recuperado el 2/07/2014, Universidad del Rosario: disponible en http://www.urosario.edu.co/urosario_files/b9/b95818eb-c9d8-42a9-b1d33b398cdd9e65.pdf

Carrasco, I., Castaño, M. y Pardo, I., 2011, “Diferentes desarrollos del mercado de trabajo”, en *Tendencias y nuevos desarrollos de la teoría económica* (858), 98.

Duque, C., 2008, Aproximación teórica al debate por el reconocimiento político, jurídico y social del sector LGTBIQ. Recuperado el 1/08/2014, de Universidad ICESI: disponible en https://www.icesi.edu.co/revistas/index.php/revista_cs/article/view/417

El Universal, 2012, Colombia, tercer país de américa en tener cámara de comercio LGBT. 15 de Septiembre, Recuperado el 19/08/2014, disponible en <http://www.eluniversal.com.co/cartagena/economica/colombia-tercer-pais-de-america-en- tener-camara-de-comercio-lgbt-90942>

Fraser, N., 1997, *Iustitia interrumpida: reflexiones críticas desde la posición “Postsocialista”*, Universidad de los Andes. Bogotá, Colombia.

Higua, N., 2012, *Análisis del diferencial de la educación superior por género en el mercado laboral de Bogotá durante el periodo 2001-2009*. Bogotá, Colombia. Recuperado el 15/07/2014, de Repositorio institucional UniSalle: disponible en <http://repository.lasalle.edu.co/bitstream/10185/18297/1/T10.12%20H634a.pdf>

Junta Administradora Local de Chapinero, 2008, “Bogotá Positiva: Para Vivir Mejor-Chapinero Diversidad Positiva”, en Plan de Desarrollo Económico, Social y de Obras Públicas de la Localidad de Chapinero, 2009-2012, Sistema de Documentación e Información Municipal. Recuperado el 12/08/2014, de disponible en <http://cdim.esap.edu.co/BancoMedios/Documentos%20PDF/chapinero%20>

%20bogotá%20-%20pd1%20-%202009%20-%202011%20(pág%2034%20%20257%20kb).pdf

Junta Administradora Local de Chapinero, 2012, “Chapinero Humana para Todos y Todas”, en Plan de Desarrollo Económico y Social y de Obras Públicas para la Localidad de Chapinero 2013-2016, recuperado el 16/08/2014, de disponible en <http://www.alcaldiabogota.gov.co/sisjur/normas/Norma1.jsp?i=49803>

Larrañaga, M., 2000, Análisis teóricos de la desigualdad. Universidad Complutense de Madrid Recuperado el 15/07/2014, disponible en <http://pendientedemigracion.ucm.es/info/ec/jec7/pdf/com3-6.pdf>

Luna, E., 2011, “Geografía de la diversidad: Chapinero (UPZ99) como distrito LGBT de Bogotá”, en Revista Geográfica de América Centra , 2(47), pp. 1-16.

Nussbaum, M., 2002, Las mujeres y el desarrollo humano. El enfoque de las capacidades. Barcelona, España.

Nussbaum, M., 2005, Capacidades como titulaciones fundamentales: Sen y la justicia social, Universidad Externado de Colombia. Bogotá, Colombia.

Nussbaum, M., 2007, Las fronteras de la justicia. consideraciones sobre la exclusión, Ediciones Paidós Ibérica, Barcelona, España.

Pérez A., Correa, G. y Castañeda, W., 2013, Raros y oficios. Diversidad sexual y mundo laboral: discriminación y exclusión, Escuela Nacional Sindical y Corporación Caribe afirmativo. Medellín Colombia.

Rodríguez, J., 2012, Participación ciudadana de la población LGBT en la localidad de Chapinero del 2007 al 2009, Repositorio Universidad Javeriana. Recuperado el 15/08/2014, disponible en <http://repository.javeriana.edu.co/bitstream/10554/1389/1/RodriguezGarciaJohnMarlon2011.pdf>

Sen, A., 1996, Capacidades y bienestar, en Nussbaum, M. y Sen, A., La calidad de vida, Fondo de Cultura Económica, México, pp. 54-83.

Yacuzzi, E., 2005, Estudio de caso como metodología de investigación: Metodología, mecanismos causales y validación. Recuperado el 10/09/2014, de Serie documentos de trabajo. Universidad del CEMA: <http://www.ucema.edu.ar/publicaciones/download/documentos/296.pdf>

CURRICULAR INFORMATION OF THE AUTHORS

Jorge Luis Jiménez Castaño

Professional in Economics, from Universidad De La Salle, Bogota, Colombia. After concluding university he was a credit analyst in Banco Finandina in Bogotá, 2015 - 2016. At present he is performing a stay to improve his English language in New Zelanda. As a first research work and to opt for the degree in Economics, he performed a study entitled *Perfiles Ocupacionales de la Comunidad LGBTI en Chapinero Bogotá Colombia*. Email address: Jorge.92.jimenez.ec@gmail.com

Marleny Cardona Acevedo

Post-doctor in Childhood and Youth Problems in Latin America, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales. Doctor in Social Sciences. Childhood and Youth, Universidad de Manizales. Doctor in Social Sciences, Colegio de La Frontera Norte, Mexico. Specialist in Urban and Regional Plannig, Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Economist, Universidad de Antioquia, Colombia.

Email address: marca3.marleny@gmail.com

María del Pilar Sánchez Muñoz

Candidate to Doctor in Sustainable Development, Universidad de Manizales. Master in Economics, Universidad Nacional de Colombia. Economist, Universidad Católica de Colombia. Researcher-professor in the Faculty of Economic and Social Sciences of Universidad de La Salle, Bogota, Colombia. Researcher of the research Group Economics and Human Development. Bogotá, Colombia.

Email address: mdsanchez@unisalle.edu.co

Annex 1: Basic human capabilities based on the occupational profiles, quality and working conditions of LGBT workers interviewed (Nussbaum, 2007)

Capabilities	Variables	Description	Results
Heath	Health and wellbeing	Keep a good health and affiliation to a health care system	83% of the respondents are affiliated to a health care system. Incomes for affiliation to this regime come from relatives, it is not guaranteed by labor they perform in LGBT establishments.
Physical integrity	Security	Working days and shifts, labor demands and conditions, physical environment: luminosity and temperatures, hygiene and security.	75% of the employees works the night shift; 58% works with no time restriction, depending on the closing time, which is subject to clientele. LGBT workers are in places where drugs are sold, there is vandalism, violence and theft. Over fieldwork it was observed that the physical environment and the security of the establishments are not suitable; lighting, temperature and noise in discotheques and bars affect the mental and physical integrity of people in the long term. However, the respondents state they work in a suitable physical environment.
	Risk factors		
Senses, imagination and thinking	Schooling level	Suitable schooling, education.	50% of the respondents are pursuing a degree.
Practical reason	Free development of their sexuality and freedom o conscience	Self-recognition and self-respect and identification with the LGBT community, no humiliation, no discrimination and no exclusion. Foster significant relationships of mutual recognition with other workers and bosses	80% of the employees have a good relationship with one another, have the support and collaboration of the bosses and colleagues at work; 88% of the workers have the impression of being recognized in their work and be part of a group given their sexual identity. However, 46% that works in formal labor spaces do not recognize themselves as LGBT subjects maybe exercising self-discrimination mechanisms.
Affiliation	Labor relations with bosses, colleagues and people		
	Decent treatment		

Source: own elaboration based on the capabilities approach of Martha Nussbaum.

Annex 2: Basic human capabilities based on the occupational profiles, quality and working conditions of LGBT workers interviewed

Capabilities	Variables	Description	Results
Control over the proper environment	Stratum	Socioeconomic stratum	No worker is in poverty situation, the upper-middle class is represented by 88% of the employees.
	Contract	Sort of labor contract	75% of the employees that works in LGBT establishments do not have any sort of contract.
	Income	Income level	Most of the people earn between two and three SMLMV, bearing in mind that 25% of the respondents have two jobs.
	Housing conditions and tenancy	Own house or renting, live alone or accompanied.	54 % of the labor force lives on their own or with friends paying rent; the household of 46% of the workers is defined by a family bond, it is an own house or are paying for it.
	Decorous job	Right to a job in conditions of equality with the rest, being able to work as a human being, being recognized because of their capabilities, abilities and attitudes.	Entrepreneurs hire and define the roles for each person of the LGBT sector according to sexual identity, physical appearance and the degree of masculinity and/or femininity of the worker, they disregard the educational level and personal training.
Control over the proper environment	Autonomy, responsibility and creativity	Efficaciously participate in decisions regarding to labor, freedom to exercise the practical relation in their process and working sphere.	92% of the workers requires high levels of constant concentration and attention; 75% expressed working at a fast pace or in a hurriedly; and, 79% working under heavy pressure. 88% of the workers express they must deal with unforeseen problems on their own; 75%, must made difficult decisions quickly as regards problems with customers; and, only 38% has the liberty to decide when to take a break at work.
Leisure	Leisure and free time	Leisure and entertainment, free time for sports and recreational activities, free time with family, holidays and days out.	67% of the workers does not have sufficient time to spend time with friends and entertainment; 58% does not have the opportunity to enjoy sports activities; 63% indicates that shifts and working hours do not allow them to have time for family; 75% does not have the opportunity to go away at weekends or time for vacation.

Source: own elaboration based on the capabilities approach of Martha Nussbaum.