

# The entrepreneurship of Spanish rural women: analysis of the wage gap. A difficult reality to solve\*

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## *Abstract*

In rural areas, Spanish women sometimes develop a work not recognized by society. Lack of awareness of their empowerment lead them to work in jobs which not correspond to their training (temporary contracts, part-time jobs); which makes its economy be at disadvantage compared to men. In this article was analyzed the wage gap through field work. In addition, with a logit model, was studied probability that a woman depending on their socioeconomic characteristics can become an entrepreneur in rural areas. Intending to know their entrepreneurial capacity that will make them occupationally equal, could reduce the wage gap and will prevent future poverty.

*Key words:* Wage gap, entrepreneurship, labor market, Spain, gender.

## *Resumen*

*El emprendimiento de la mujer rural española: análisis de la brecha salarial. Una realidad difícil de solucionar*

La mujer española en el mundo rural, desarrolla un trabajo a veces no reconocido por la sociedad, la falta de concienciación de su empoderamiento le lleva a realizar trabajos no acordes con su formación académica, contratos temporales, jornadas a tiempo parcial, hacen que su situación económica este en desventaja respecto a los hombres. A través de un trabajo de campo se ha analizado la brecha salarial y con un modelo logit la probabilidad de que una mujer sea empresaria en el mundo rural, en función de sus características socioeconómicas, con el objetivo de conocer su capacidad de emprendimiento que le hará más igualitaria laboralmente, reducirá la brecha salarial y evitará su empobrecimiento futuro.

*Palabras clave:* Brecha salarial, emprendimiento, mercado trabajo, España, género.

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## INTRODUCTION

**R**ural areas in Spain have been undergoing profound transformation since the mid-twentieth century. A phenomenon that has been highlighted by the unrelenting economic crisis, whose impact on traditional agricultural economy and society has led to the restructuring of the labour market. From the very beginning, the crisis has been characterised by a massive exodus of labour from the countryside to the city, and the depopulation of many inland Spanish towns and villages. The lack of job opportunities and career prospects has caused many Spaniards to emigrate to countries such as Germany and Switzerland where their possibilities of obtaining economic employment are more feasible.

This “de-agriculturalisation” process<sup>1</sup> has paved the way for other activities associated with agriculture that could generate employment, including rural tourism. This possibility is echoed in the UNWTO Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (1999), which states that “tourism often represents a rare opportunity for development in the face of the decline of traditional economic activities.” However, the question arises as to whether all rural municipalities and their inhabitants face the same problems, especially in relation to the labour market. The answer to this difficult question would have to be a categorical no, given that the transformation that has transpired in rural Spain in recent decades has given rise to a wide-range of responses from different rural territories. As a result, it is impossible to refer to the existence of one single rural environment (Rico and García, 2009), given that while some rural areas<sup>2</sup> have been transformed and maintain a high level of economic vitality, others have stagnated and face serious setbacks (Fundación Encuentro, 2007). As regards the individuals who live in rural areas, not all will be faced with the same problems. Issues will depend on gender, age, academic background, economic situation, etc. and will be influenced in a specific way by the conditions or limitations of the area where they live. Rural territories affected by the de-agriculturalisation process has led to individuals emigrating, especially women as their si-

<sup>1</sup> A process by which employment in the agricultural sector is reduced in favour of other, more dynamic activities, and labour is replaced by mechanised agriculture.

<sup>2</sup> Law 45/2007 of 13<sup>th</sup> December for the Sustainable Development of the Rural Environment defines a rural area as that which consists of a group of municipalities with a population of less than 30,000 inhabitants. In turn, a rural municipality consists of a population of less than 5,000 inhabitants. Rural territory in Spain covers 90% of the country and is where 20% of the population resides.

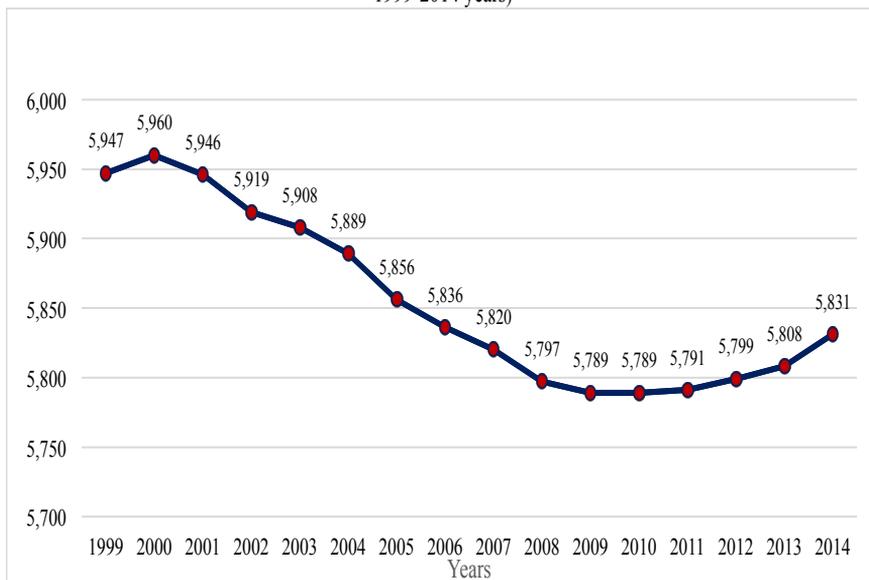
tuation is more precarious than that of men, especially in times of crisis in rural Spain's current situation. Women are increasingly participating in the labour market and, in theory, if they have a good level of education and work experience, then this should lead to a significant restructuring of their salaries and their preferences regarding the type of work in which they are employed or are offered. However, in reality in a large part of the labour market this is not the case. Studies performed in the field (Roman and Sollova, 2012; Ashenfelter and Oxaca, 1987; Blau and Kahn, 1996) reveal that in the twenty-first century wage discrimination and occupational segregation still exist, especially in the agricultural sector.

The gradual loss of employment in the agricultural sector in recent years has led various international and national organisations to seek solutions in an effort to avoid the disappearance of small municipalities due to the lack of employment opportunities for their inhabitants. In 1999, there were 5,947 municipalities in Spain with less than 5,000 inhabitants; 10 years later in the middle of the economic crisis, 158 municipalities had disappeared bringing the total to 5,789. Since 2011, there has been a slow recovery as a consequence of the preventative measures adopted and the search for alternative markets to agriculture, such as tourism, to generate employment in the areas. Laws have also been drafted to prevent masculinisation<sup>3</sup> in the workplace, which according to the Economically Active Population Survey (EPA) was very pronounced in rural areas in 2014 (INE, 2015). In the agricultural sector, 75.2% of workers were men compared to 23.8% of women. Women also have greater difficulty accessing services, new technologies, and positions of responsibility and decision-making. This situation generates serious problems that threaten with the disappearance of small rural municipalities due to the lack of opportunities and access to employment for women on an equal footing with men. Young women, especially those with a high level of education, leave their environment in search of better opportunities; a phenomenon known as "human capital flight" or "brain drain", which has, over the years, caused the average age in rural areas to rise (Figure 1).

"New rurality" (Kay, 2009), understood as a way of taking a new approach to rural development, is aimed at reducing poverty, environmental sustainability, achieving gender equity, and creating a more just and sustainable society.

<sup>3</sup> The masculinisation index in rural areas is 104.3%, six points above the national index of 98.01%.

Figure 1: Evolution of the number of municipalities with less than five thousand inhabitants (1999-2014 years)



Source: own elaboration with data from Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE).

Under this new approach, rural areas themselves should seek solutions to their socioeconomic problems via local participation (Buendía-Martínez and Carrasco, 2013), although public support measures that favour decision-making also need to be in place.

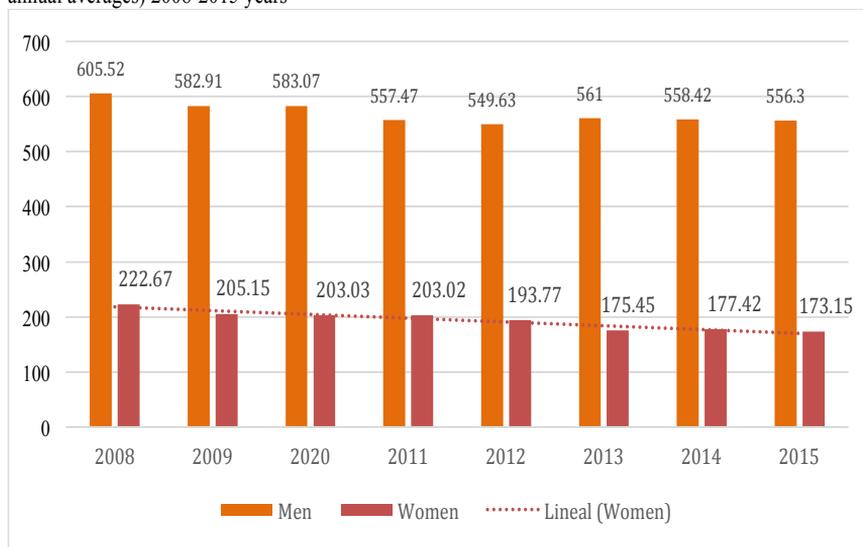
In rural areas, and within the traditional agricultural family, a generational split has been detected that encourages the dynamic and reformative role of women in the transformation of the agricultural sector, and their participation in the emergent and innovative products surrounding rural development, one of which is tourism (Flores et al., 2015). However, there is also a bone of contention with this situation; women suffer wage discrimination in both traditional agricultural activities and rural tourism. In consequence, this study focuses on both the gender pay gap and female entrepreneurship in the rural sector.

## WOMEN IN RURAL SPAIN

Rural territories in Spain represent 37.4% of the population (INE, 2015) and women in these areas play a key role in development. Women constitute 48.02% (2014) of the rural population and perform functions of vi-

tal importance to rural society, including the responsibilities of educator, carer, and administrator of household resources; roles that primarily fall to women given the entrenched traditional distribution of gendered tasks. However, women only constitute 23.73% (173,150) of workers in the sector (yearly average for 2015), a fall of 3 percentage points compared to 2008 (26.88%). Despite the fact that the agricultural sector in Spain is becoming progressively less important to the economy, 17.8 million workers were registered in the second quarter of 2015, of which only 0.72 million (729,000) were actually employed in agriculture, in other words, only 4.1% of workers, and only a small part of that figure corresponds to women. Figure 2 shows the evolution of the number of workers in the agricultural sector, as well as the gradual loss of jobs in the sector, especially for women (downward trend line).

Figure 2: Evolution of employed persons in the Spanish agricultural sector by sex (thousands of people, annual averages) 2008-2015 years

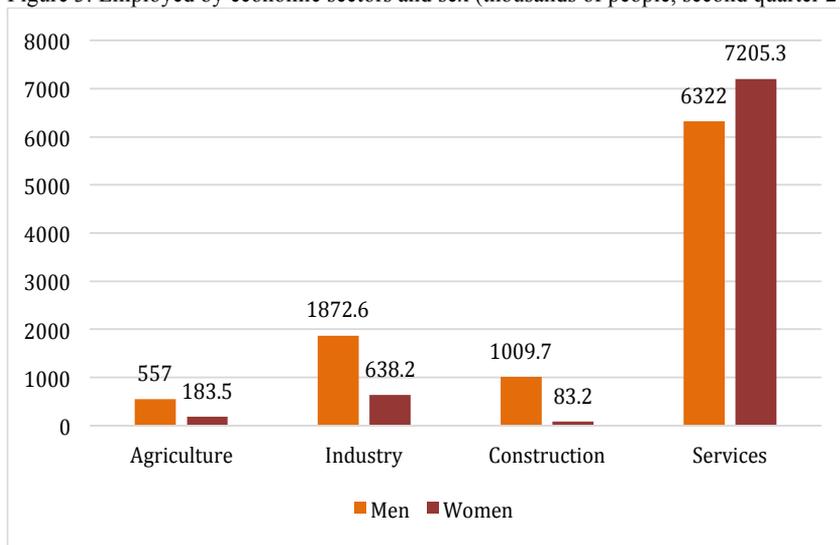


Source: own elaboration with data from Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE), based on Encuesta de Población Activa (EPA) that organism makes.

Of the four economic sectors which represent the entire Spanish workforce (Figure 3), in the second quarter of 2015 the service sector accounted for 75.7% of jobs in Spain (13.5 million workers), followed by the industrial sector with 14.02% (2.5 million workers), construction 6.11% (with 1.1 million workers) and finally the agricultural sector with 4.14% (740,400 workers). The participation of women in the construction sector

is practically zero and although somewhat higher in the agricultural sector it is still very low.<sup>4</sup>

Figure 3: Employed by economic sectors and sex (thousands of people, second quarter 2015)



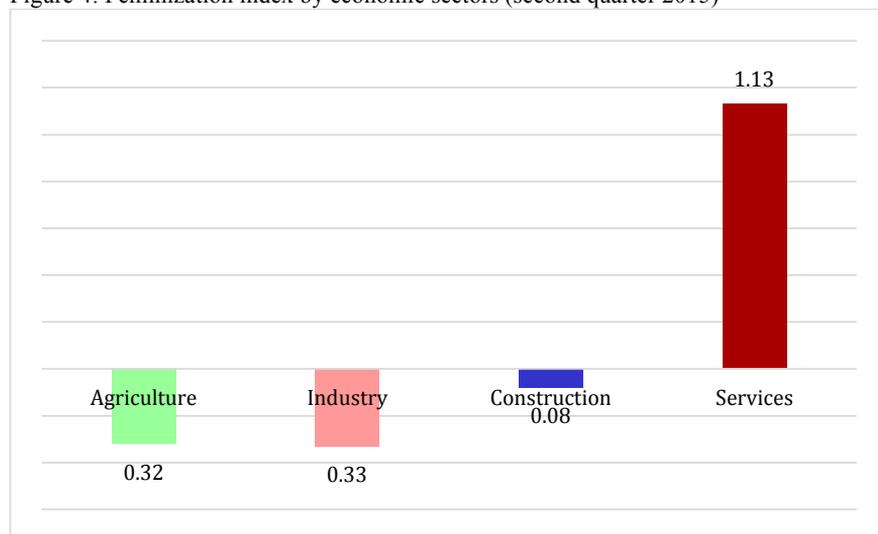
Source: own elaboration with data from Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE).

As a result, Figure 4 shows that there is only one sector, the service sector, where the feminisation in the workplace index is positive (that is, the number of women workers is higher than that of men), which includes teaching and healthcare, activities primarily performed by women.

It is interesting to note that the service sector has traditionally been the largest generator of female employment. Within this category, the healthcare sector is the branch of activity which, in recent years, has experienced an important feminisation process (3.42). This has also been linked to a qualitative change, in which women have been gaining access to more qualified positions (Millán et al., 2015) and, as a result, breaking the glass ceiling that prevented them from being promoted, a process that has not occurred in other sectors.

<sup>4</sup> Although the participation of women in the agricultural sector is very low, in reality these figures should be taken with caution because they represent workers who are registered in the social security system, either as general or agricultural workers. In rural Spain, women often work in the agricultural sector but are not registered, so they are not included in the official figures and form part of the submerg economy.

Figure 4: Feminization index by economic sectors (second quarter 2015)



Source: own elaboration with data from Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE).

According to the INE (2015) the employed population, by branch of activity, presents a very different structure depending on gender (Table 1). Women outnumber men by more than 33 percentage points in the education sector 66.94% women (793,200) compared to 33.05% men (391,700); by more than 79 points in domestic employment 89.67% women (550,800) versus 10.32% men (63,400); and by more than 57 percentage points in the healthcare sector, 77.37% of women work in healthcare-related jobs (1,090,400) compared to 22.62% of men (318,800). In contrast, other sectors employ a majority of men, such as the construction sector (overall 8.7% of men are employed in the construction sector versus 1% of women, giving rise to sector figures of 92.38% men versus 7.62% women), and the manufacturing industry (18.7% of all workers are men versus 7.1% women). This indicates that certain sectors are earmarked for women, and that there still exists deep-seated occupational segregation (Recio, 2012).

In relation to the agricultural sector and entrepreneurship, 28.63% of agricultural entrepreneurs are men (212,000) compared to 10.38% of women (77,000). These figures corroborate studies on the participation of women in agriculture in Spain (Langreo and Benito, 2005; Gómez-Limón *et al.*, 2007), which, although almost over a decade old, can be extrapolated to the present day owing to the slow changes in numbers of women in the agricultural sector.

Table 1: Employed by Branch of Economic Activity and Sex (thousands of people, second quarter 2015)

Activity branch	Total	Men (H)	Women (M)	Men %	Women %	Feminization index*
A Agriculture, forestry and fishing	740.4	557	183.5	75.22	24.78	0.32
I Extractive industries	31.5	28.3	3.2	89.84	10.16	0.11
I Manufacturing industry	2 239.6	1 662.1	577.5	74.21	25.79	0.33
I Supply of electricity, gas	100.6	72.4	28.1	71.96	28.04	0.38
I Water Supply, sanitation activities, waste management and decontamination	134.2	109.8	24.4	81.81	18.19	0.22
C Construction	1 092.9	1 009.70	83.2	92.38	7.62	0.08
S Wholesale and retail	2 909.3	1 433.80	1 475.6	49.28	50.72	1.03
S Transportaion and storage	873.0	709.6	163.4	81.28	18.72	0.23
S Hostel	1 517.1	731.4	785.7	48.21	51.79	1.07
S Information and communications	510.3	359	151.4	70.35	29.65	0.42
S Financial and insurance activities	462.4	243.4	219.0	52.63	47.36	0.89
S Real state activities	107.1	42.8	64.2	39.96	60.04	1.50
S Professional, scientific, and technical activities	881.7	458.4	423.2	51.99	48.01	0.92
S Administrative activities	917.8	424.8	493.1	46.28	53.72	1.16
S Public administration and defense	1 338.2	789.8	548.5	59.01	40.99	0.69
S Education	1 185.0	391.7	793.2	33.05	66.94	2.02
S Health activities and social services	1 409.2	318.8	1 090.4	22.62	77.37	3.42
S Artistic, recreational and entertainment activities	371.7	207.8	163.8	55.90	44.09	0.78
S Other services	427.6	145.7	281.9	34.07	65.92	1.93
S Household employees	614.2	63.4	550.8	10.32	89.68	8.68
S Activities of extraterritorial organizations	2.7	1.5	1.3	55.55	44.45	0.80
Total	17 866.5	9761.4	8105.2			

\* Feminization index (IF) is the representation of women in relation to men in the category of a variable, it is calculated by dividing the column represented as (M) between the column represented as (H), if the feminization index is Equal to 1 would indicate equity, values below 1: underrepresentation of women and values of the IF for above 1: feminization.

Source: own elaboration with data from Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE).

Other international studies by authors such as Díaz-Geada (2015), Yisí and Villagrán (2015), Awan (2015), and Scholtus and Domato (2015) argue that the contribution of women in the sector has traditionally been underestimated due to the fact that the work they perform on farms, generally regarded as “family” work, consists of marginal and seasonal tasks performed in parallel with housework. This has led to a lack of recognition, and exclusion from traditional statistics; women’s employment status being clearly regarded as inferior to that of men because they occupy less positions of responsibility. They are also offered higher numbers of precarious employment contracts due to high rates of seasonality (Table 2).

Table 2: Employed by type of contract depending on sex, in thousands of people (second quarter 2015)

	Fixed Contract Men CFH	Fixed Contract Women CFM	Difference CFH-CFM	Temporary Contract Men CTH	Temporary Contract Women CTM	Difference CTH-CTM
Agriculture	142.9 41.437%	27.5 25.82%	115.4 15.61%	202 58.56%	79 74.17%	123.0 - 16.01%

The percentage by type of contract of each of the sexes by sector of activity (for example, in the agricultural sector, the fixed contracts of the workers represent 25.82 percent compared to 74.17 percent of the temporary ones in the same sector, being the sum of the sector 100 percent).

Source: own elaboration with data from Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE).

The percentage of fixed-term contracts among women is higher than among men in more than 16 percentage points, which implies that women do not have stable remuneration for their work, and that their employment situation is more precarious. Conversely, in times of crisis, women's participation in the labour market has increased. However, this phenomenon is not specific to Spain but can also be found in countries like Chile where, according to Rodríguez and Muñoz (2015), new patterns of welfare and consumption, established in rural areas within the context of limited family income, require the participation of a greater number of recipients. As a result, the family unit must make use of reserve labour, constituted mainly of women who are better prepared for and have a better attitudinal profile towards work. When the head of household is a woman, and therefore the sole provider, economic necessity is activated with even greater intensity.

Although the role of women in the agricultural sector is fundamental, it is not recognised by society. Women in rural areas are the embodiment of the eternally forgotten and most marginalised worker, which gives rise to the need to articulate guidelines and public manifestos to try to avoid or alleviate this problem. The Rio Declaration (1997) reflects the importance of the role of women, stating that "women play a vital role in environmental management and development." In consequence, it is paramount to engage women's full participation in achieving sustainable development. Simultaneously, gender equality between men and women must be attained at all costs. As such, the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) established two strategies to achieve this goal: gender mainstreaming, and empowerment (understood as the self-assertion of women's capacity to participate, on equal terms, in all decision-making processes, and their access to power. It includes both changes implemented by individual women and those implemented by collective action, and entails the transformation of processes and structures that cause women's subordination across the board). The aim of empowerment is for women to be aware of their potential and to

employ it in all areas of daily life. The European Union (EU) in the Charter of Fundamental Rights (Articles 21 and 23) establishes that “Equality between men and women must be ensured in all areas, including employment, work and pay”. In addition, the EU Regulation on support for rural development, via the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD), highlights the need to promote gender equality and sustainable development, stating that in the context of its actions in favour of rural development, the EU aims to eliminate inequalities, as well as promote equality and non-discrimination between men and women by incorporating a gender approach to each one of its Horizon (2014-2020) funding programmes (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Synergies-Territory and Gender



Source: own elaboration.

In Spain, the 2007 Law for the Sustainable Development of the Rural Environment was drafted with the aim of improving the socio-economic situation of the rural population, as well as access to adequate and quality public services through multi-sectoral actions and measures. This Act positively discriminates women and young people, on whom, to a large extent, the future of the rural milieu depends. Within the framework of its Strategic Plan (2014-2016), the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Environment (MAGRAMA) implemented various lines of action relating to gender equality in rural areas in collaboration with other national and regional ministerial departments and public administrations. In total, 51 actions were implemented to promote women in rural areas, included in the following objectives:

- Help to make women's role in rural areas visible and disseminate its importance in society.
- Promote favourable conditions to overcome gaps in employment and entrepreneurship in rural areas.
- Promote favourable conditions to facilitate the reconciliation of personal, work, and family life, and co-responsibility in rural areas.
- Establish specific models of intervention in rural areas that lead to changes towards greater equality between men and women, and serve as a general reference for the actions of public administrations linked with women in rural areas.
- Integrate specific guidelines aimed at equal opportunities for women in rural areas in the design of rural development policies.
- Improve and update knowledge about the situation of women in rural areas.

Although there are activities that could favour the employment of women in rural areas, given that they are highly feminised, the problem relating to the gender pay gap has not been eradicated: employment has been created that favours women in rural areas, but not on equal terms with men.

## **CAUSES OF THE GENDER PAY GAP IN RURAL SPAIN**

The gender pay gap can be defined as the difference in average earnings between men and women for performing the same job, which cannot be justified on grounds other than the gender of the worker. In Spain, the gender pay gap ranges from 17 to 30% depending on the sector, the Autonomous Region, etc. The "1<sup>st</sup> Diagnosis of Gender Equality in the Rural En-

vironment” (Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Environment, 2011) found, on average, a difference of 23.4 percentage points in favour of men.

These figures are not exclusive to Spain. The gender pay gap is a European-wide problem. On average, women in the EU earn 16% less per hour than men, despite representing 60% of all EU university graduates. The figures range from more than 20% in countries such as Hungary, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Germany, Austria, Estonia, and Spain to the extreme opposite in countries such as Slovenia, Malta, Poland, Italy, Luxembourg, and Romania with less than 10% (European Commission, 2014).

These figures are influenced by factors such as working hours, career aspirations, family responsibilities, women’s family situation, maternity<sup>5</sup>, salary differential between men and women with identical family responsibilities, the use of time<sup>6</sup>, etc. In short, it is a combination of personal, employment, legal, and more, factors. Earning less income on an ongoing basis throughout life means an increased risk of poverty in old age. The European Commission states that: “The gender pay gap is a complex issue caused by a number of interrelated factors. It still exists today due to wider gender inequalities across the economy and in society.”

In addition to these fundamental elements, there are many other causes of the gender pay gap.

Personal characteristics of female workers:

- Age: the older the worker, the greater the pay gap. Academic training: surprisingly, the pay gap increases the more academic training the worker has. Family situation: caring for children or dependent family members, and marital status all have a negative impact on salary. Place of residence: level of urbanisation. Nationality: country of birth has a greater negative impact in women than in men.

Employment factors, excluding direct discrimination:

- Undervaluation of women’s work. Part-time work, which is usually paid less, is more common among women. The salary structure: salary supplements and extraordinary payments. Job profile: greater experience should mean higher salaries. Career interruptions are more frequent in women. Seniority. Availability to travel or to extend the working day. Other characteristics of employment: stress levels, phy-

<sup>5</sup> According to the EU, the pay gap increases when women have children and/or work part-time.

<sup>6</sup> “While men work longer hours than women in the workplace, if women’s paid and unpaid working hours are combined they are significantly longer than men’s.” (<http://ec.europa.eu/equalpay>)

sicality, risk factors i.e. danger, and the acceptance of organisational and supervision responsibilities.

Business factors:

- Legal structure of the company. Collective bargaining agreements: although women are generally more informed on this matter, there is still a great deal of secrecy surrounding agreements and whether the salaries of colleagues are in line with or exceed agreements. The size of the company: the larger the company, the larger the pay gap. Responsibility and position held in the company: the greater the responsibility, the greater the pay gap. The type of contract. The recruitment policy. Subjective components of remuneration: incentives, variable remuneration, payments in kind, etc. Business culture, a particularly important factor which will be explored in greater depth in the section on socio-cultural causes below.

Occupation segregation:

- Horizontal segregation: feminised and masculinised jobs. Vertical segregation: when men and women are concentrated at certain levels and degrees of responsibility. Women generally occupy inferior positions to men, even though their level of academic training might be superior.

Institutional factors:

- Education system and formal training. Trade unions and representative bodies, in which women are, interestingly, underrepresented, especially in positions of responsibility, and in particular in agricultural cooperatives and associations. Measures to reconcile working and family life are very often inadequately focused i.e. targeted only at women, not at the promotion of co-responsibility. Care services for dependents, again targeted mainly at women, and very scarce in rural areas.

Socio-cultural factors:

- This category harbours the causes of the gender pay gap that are the most complex to eradicate, owing to the fact that they are deeply entrenched in society. The gender-specific division of labour and the allocation of family responsibilities to women constitute the axis on which most of the previously mentioned factors pivot. However, this has generated a series of beliefs and stereotypes that have a direct im-

pact on women's employment and its undervalued status; in the choice of studies and professions, and in the undervaluing of sectors and occupations populated primarily by women. The beliefs and stereotypes that derive from this division of labour constitute an employment and entrepreneurial culture that penalises the participation of women and is reflected financially in the gender pay gap.

The beliefs that strongly underlie the factors of inequality are, primarily, the following:

- Beliefs linked to the idea that family responsibilities belong exclusively to women. Degree in which this belief is assumed by men, company management, and women themselves. This strongly held belief influences the prevalence of the concept of work-life balance over that of co-responsibility, which encompasses a more equal understanding of the distribution of responsibilities.
- Belief that biological differences justify different skills and competences, choice of studies and occupations. And, more specifically, the belief that women lack the capacity for learning and development in technical and technological fields. In rural areas these beliefs are mainly related to physical strength.
- Beliefs that associate men with leadership skills and base leadership and managerial models on management and communicative styles traditionally developed by men. This belief also produces a lack of recognition of women's authority, especially in masculinised contexts.

In addition to these beliefs there are also other factors that are learned such as:

- Different patterns when choosing a career. Men tend to demand more technical careers, with higher salaries, while women opt for studies of a more social nature.
- The average age of women joining the labour market is higher than men because women tend to prolong their studies.

Added to this is the inclusion of inadequate criteria aimed at guaranteeing equal opportunities for women and men in collective bargaining agreements and corporate social responsibility policies. It is envisaged that by implementing adequate criteria in labour relations and business policies, the gender pay gap can be reduced.

## METHODOLOGY

Two techniques were employed in this study with the objective of analysing the gender pay gap and entrepreneurship, with the aim of determining the probability of women becoming business owners (agricultural holding, commerce, catering, etc.), in the agricultural sector.

Quantitative: based on a random sampling using the questionnaire quantitative technique targeted at employees and self-employed workers who perform their work in rural areas. Spain has 17 Autonomous Regions, which can be classified in 3 blocks from an agricultural perspective, both by size and by the number of workers in the agricultural sector. Andalusia was chosen because it has the largest agricultural area in the country with the largest number of agricultural workers. The second region chosen was Castilla y León because it is a medium sized region in terms of agricultural area. And finally, the region of Navarre was chosen as it is the smallest in terms of agricultural area and number of workers in the sector. As indicated previously, there are many different rural realities, and the objective was to study the gender pay gap taking into account the greatest number of influencing factors depending on the individual and the territory. The questionnaire was conducted between February and June 2015 on 473 people in work of which 203 were employees and 270 self-employed in the agricultural sector in the three Autonomous Regions selected (Figure 6).

The Autonomous Regions selected for the study are in a darker colour and marked with an arrow.

As an analytical tool, the questionnaire design consisted of 31 items (a selection of yes/no, likert scale, and open questions), delimited in four sections:

- Socioeconomic profile: this section attempted to collect data about the agricultural worker (gender, age, level of education, family situation, monthly income, family responsibilities, etc.).
- Job data: professional category of worker, years of seniority, type of contract (full or part time), trade union membership, working hours, etc.
- Employment-remuneration satisfaction: the questions in this section were aimed at discovering opinions based on evaluating workers' perceptions of whether they regarded themselves more positively or more negatively valued with respect to the opposite gender; whether they regard themselves better or worse paid with respect to the opposite gender; whether they receive pay supplements; their motivation to work

in the sector; their knowledge of the existence of collective bargaining agreements; the promotion possibilities in the company, and the reasons for promotion, etc.

- Data about the company: location, company activity, number of workers, etc.

Qualitative: based on a SWOT analysis, through which the strengths and weaknesses of the gender pay gap together with the threats and external opportunities in the agricultural sector in Spain were evaluated. This analysis was obtained based on interviews with entrepreneurs and representatives of public entities and associations from rural areas, in order to analyse the sector. The ultimate aim is to take advantage of the data provided by this analysis to propose actions that help mitigate the gender pay gap in rural areas. This would improve the situation of women in rural Spain by heightening individual awareness about empowerment and the public policies that make Article 14 of the Spanish Constitution effective in the workplace. Article 14 guarantees real equality between men and women, and is the foundation of Spanish equality law.

## RESULTS

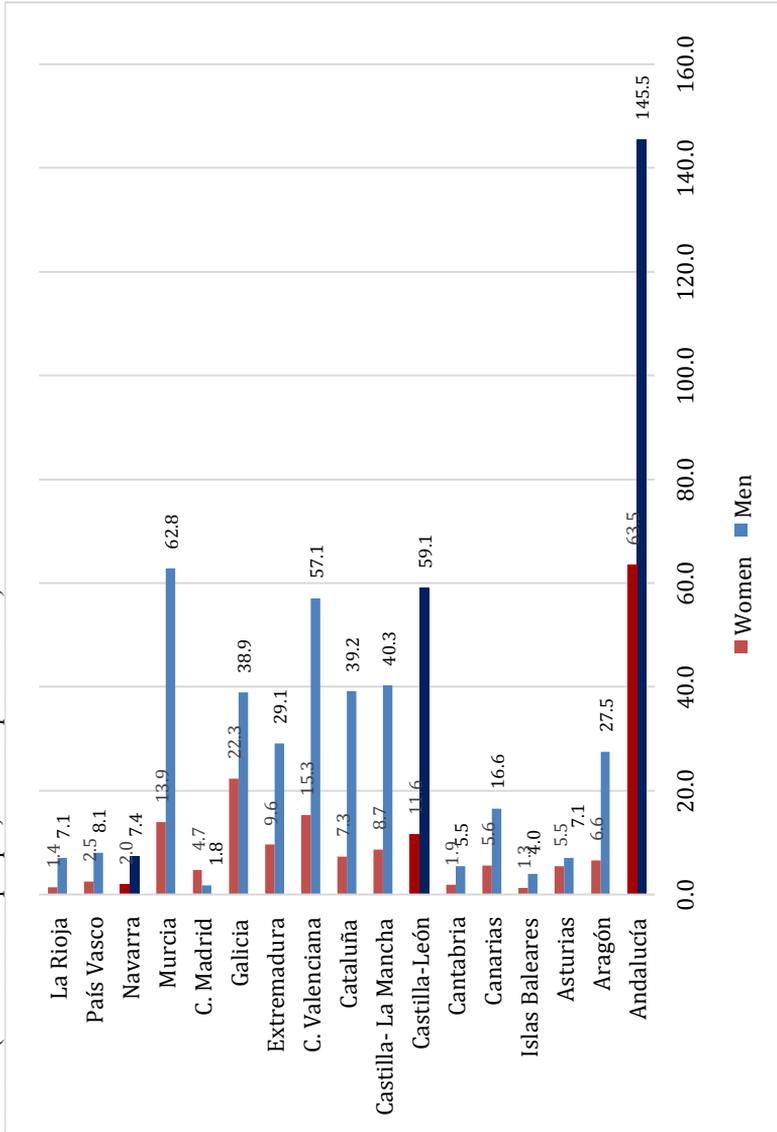
The results obtained have been divided into two parts: qualitative results using the SWOT analysis, and quantitative results using an univariate analysis and a logit model.

### **Qualitative results: SWOT analysis of gender pay gap – strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats for rural businesses**

Further to the study of the definition and causes of the gender pay gap in the agricultural sector and after performing fieldwork in the territories analysed (Andalusia, Castilla y León, and Navarre), where 250 companies from the sector were visited, data was gathered for the SWOT matrix (Figure 7). Based on the direct data provided by business men and women the analysis yielded the following conclusions on the gender pay gap in companies in the agricultural sector:

Faced with this analysis, which is based exclusively on the qualitative analysis of data, it is important here to highlight a few aspects.

Figure 6: Employed in the agricultural sector by Autonomous Communities and sex (thousands of people, second quarter 2015)



Source: own elaboration with data from Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE).

Figure 7: DAFO Matrix- Agricultural sector wage gap in Spain

WEAKNESSES	STRENGTHS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Horizontal segregation: in this particular case a tendency to undervalue the work performed by women, which, in addition, is associated with traditionally domestic values and tasks.</li> <li>✓ Vertical segregation: given that there are a large number of microenterprises in the agricultural sector, more men than women are in positions of responsibility; men tend to have a lower level of education.</li> <li>✓ Underutilization of skills acquired by women. Women's level of education tends to be higher than that of men. However, in the categories that are associated with lower pay, the relative percentage of women is higher than that of men, while in the categories that require higher levels of education and are paid more, the percentage of women is lower than that of men.</li> <li>✓ Seniority in the company is significantly higher in the case of men (career interruptions, etc.).</li> <li>✓ Women's pay is dictated by collective bargaining agreements in greater proportion than men's. Collective bargaining agreements set down and define worker's minimum rights, as such individual agreements can either match or surpass pay recommendations. This means that individual increases are greater in the case of men. Individual agreements and pay confidentiality are factors that are detrimental to women.</li> <li>✓ Women's contracts run a higher risk of precariousness given that many are seasonal.</li> <li>✓ Ignorance of labour regulations on equal opportunities.</li> <li>✓ Women are not aware of the wage discrimination they suffer, given that their level of satisfaction with their salary is the same as that of men.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ There is no discrimination in the perception of wage supplements.</li> <li>✓ Women have greater knowledge about the working conditions covered by the collective bargaining agreement.</li> <li>✓ Women have a higher level of education than men.</li> <li>✓ As most companies are micro-enterprises, there is a close proximity between management and staff, which facilitates the sector's rapid adaptation.</li> <li>✓ Contrary to what happens in most sectors, there are no discriminatory factors linked to family responsibilities, nor is night work masculinised.</li> </ul>
THREATS	OPPORTUNITIES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Shortage of childcare centres and care for dependent family members in rural areas.</li> <li>✓ Atomization of the business structure.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ Promotion and Development Plans for the Agricultural Sector incorporate gender mainstreaming.</li> <li>✓ Local administrations provide centres that support women's social and employment needs, offering both training and advice.</li> </ul>

Source: own elaboration.

For example, in reference to the statement that there are no discriminatory factors linked to family responsibilities. Although men did not state that family responsibilities are an added burden, on more than one occasion women did comment on how difficult it is for them to reconcile parenthood with the long hours of work in the sector, and the importance of flexible working hours. In addition, the survey does not explicitly ask the number of weekly hours devoted to childcare or care of the elderly (which several studies show is significantly higher in women). In this regard, it cannot be assumed that mere parenthood implies dedication in hours. As discussed earlier, lower availability of personal time for women implies much less dedication and participation in public life (and, therefore, less influence on the processes of good governance).

Added to this is the fact that the vast majority of these companies are family-run businesses, which operate very differently to companies that are not. The character of the family-run business implies that many of the contractual relationships that should exist are simple not given. “Behind the scenes” work increases as does the number of people who work without a contract, social security contributions, or the right to benefits. This characteristic feature of the sector represents a significant handicap in the event of major economic inequalities (excluding salary, given that many of the women who work - or, as they usually say, “lend a hand” - in these companies do not have stable salaries).

And lastly, one of the sector’s most important weaknesses is that women are not aware of the wage discrimination they suffer. This problem is deeply rooted in another more important lack of awareness: women in rural Spain are not conscious of the work they perform. Surveys reveal that many women consider that the vast number of hours they dedicate to agricultural work is not really a “job”. The fact that many companies are family-run plays an important role in this perception.

In consequence, the first step towards implementing co-responsibility measures and overcoming the gender pay gap has always been the empowerment of women.

The survey also includes other aspects which affect pay, such as academic training, salary range, family responsibilities, etc. This facilitates a better understanding of the situation of people working in the sector and a deeper analysis of the specific situation of women.

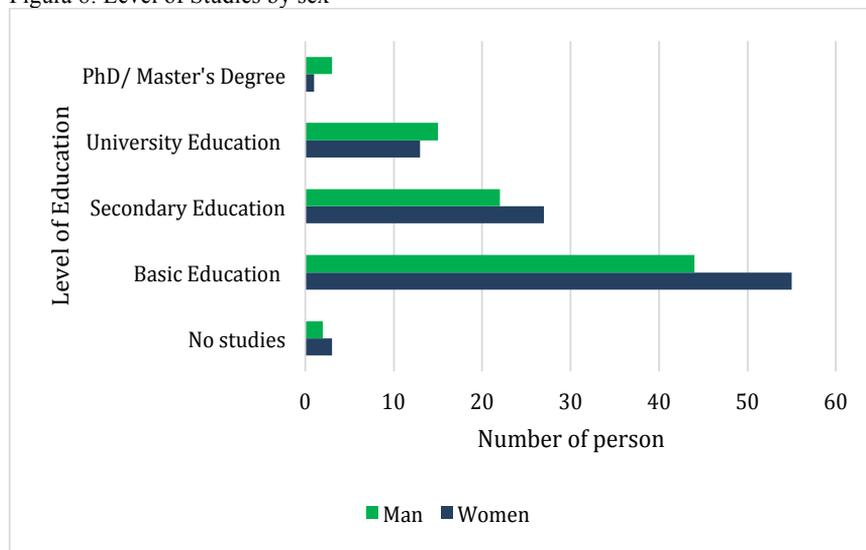
Like all surveys, it also has limitations that derive precisely from the specific characteristics of the sector. The atomization of the production

sector means that many companies are run by self-employed owners with, where appropriate, family support.

### Quantitative results: univariate analysis and logit model

The sample was composed of 48.3% men and 51.7% women of a similar average age, 46 for men and 42 for women. As regards level of education, women have a slightly higher level than men. As a result, at the lowest level of education (no formal education) there are three times as many men as women. Figure 8 shows that as the level of education increases, the proportion of women also increases with regard to men. At the highest level of doctoral studies, the ratio of men to women for this category are 40.0% versus 60.0% respectively.

Figura 8: Level of Studies by sex



Source: own elaboration.

A total of 68% of the respondents have dependent family members, without presenting significant differences by gender. On average, just as many men as women are responsible for two children. The number of workers who care for elderly family members is minimal.

Respondents were asked about whether they could see themselves in the same job in the future, which is indicative of the level of satisfaction with their current job. Around 90% of both men and women said that they could see themselves in the same position in years to come.

Seasonality is significantly higher for women (13.7%), almost twice as much as for men (7.3%). These figures might indicate the greater precariousness of female employment; however, when considering the proportion of workers without contracts, the figure for men (5.2%) is higher than that for women (3.9%).

The average seniority in the company is significantly higher for men (12.68) than for women (9.76).

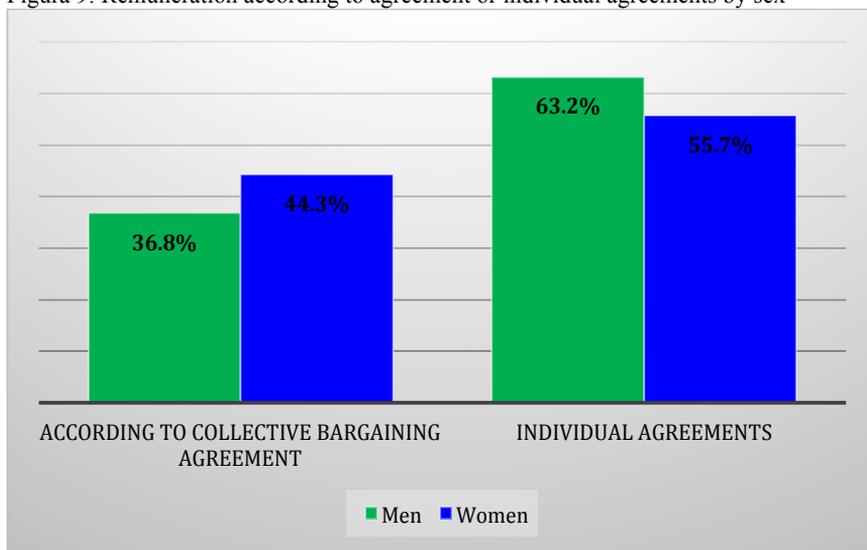
The joint distribution is obtained by taking into account the professional category and gender of the workers surveyed. In the categories associated with lower pay, the relative percentage of women is greater than that of men. However, in the categories that supposedly have a higher demand for academic training and are paid more, the percentage of women is lower than that of men. As a result, it is feasible to conclude that men have access to management positions despite having less academic training than women. Whereas almost 20% of men have secondary or lower education, this figure is barely 15% for women.

Only 10% of the respondents say that in the company in which they work there is an “Equality Plan”. However, given the size of the companies surveyed and the non-enforceability by law, it seems unlikely that this figure is accurate.

As regards a “Social Responsibility Plan”, 23 of the 201 workers surveyed stated that such a plan exists in their company. Again, the same reflection as made above could also be applicable here regarding the fidelity of the figure.

With reference to the remuneration models used by the companies where the respondents work, it can be observed that important differences exist, in percentage terms, between men and women. Whereas 36.8% of men answered that remuneration is in line with collective bargaining agreement or salary ranges, in the case of women the percentage is 44.3%, which is almost eight percentage points of difference. The same difference exists, but in the opposite direction, for workers who answered that the remuneration model is agreed individually, 63.2% for men and 55.7% for women. In view of the figures, it can be concluded that there are more companies in which the conditions are agreed individually than those that pay in line with a collective bargaining agreement or salary range. It was also evidenced that women are more frequently paid in line with collective bargaining agreements than men and, therefore, possibly paid less than men (Figure 9).

Figura 9: Remuneration according to agreement or individual agreements by sex



Source: own elaboration.

Regarding monthly net salary, there are significant differences between the average salary received by men and women. For men, the average monthly salary is €1,218 (the most common amount being around €1,105), while for women, it only amounts to €994 (the most frequent amount being €856), which means that men earn almost 23% more than women, even though levels of education, as shown above, are similar in both groups, and, if anything, higher in women.

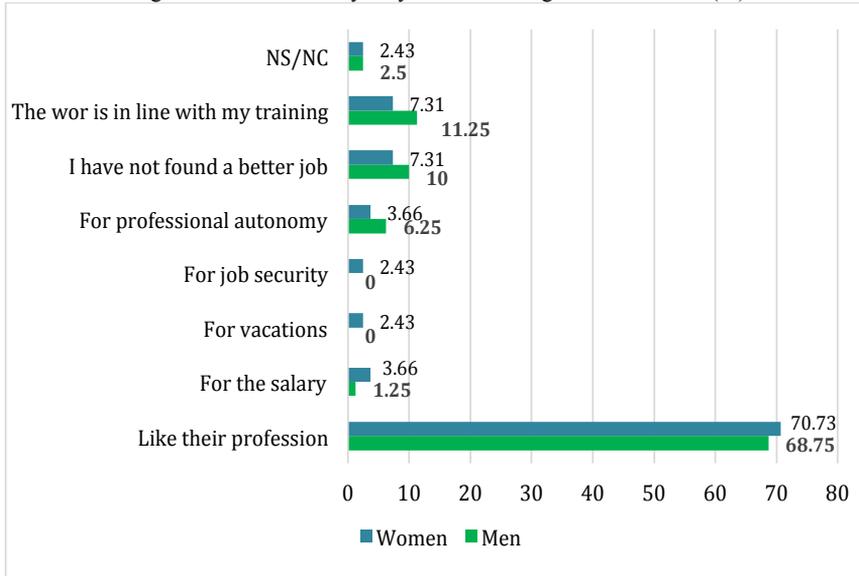
This data quantifies the pay gap in 22.54% (with a significance of  $p = 0.001$ ). Any extra income has also been considered, whether of the same or different amounts. However, there are no significant differences in the amounts. Moreover, the number of workers who responded that they receive extra income of different amounts is insignificant (one woman and two men).

Very few respondents, 12.4%, perceive salary supplements of which 41% are men and 59% are women. Union membership is not very high (7.2%), but higher in men (10.5%) than in women (4.0%).

Regarding men and women's perception on whether they feel valued in relation to the perceived salary; those surveyed gave very similar scores, close to 3, which means that both gender groups feel as valued as each other.

Regarding the reasons why the respondents work in the sector, classified by gender, Figure 10 highlights that more than 65% of men and women like their profession.

Figure 10: Reasons why they work in the agricultural sector (%)



Source: own elaboration.

Awareness about the collective bargaining agreement which the company adheres to is 43.2% for men and 46.5% for women, meaning that there are no significant differences between the genders.

Neither are there significant differences between the genders with respect to the question of whether they consider their salary to be in line with their work: 50.0% for men and 52.5% for women.

However, the results are somewhat different when asked whether they think the salary perceived corresponds to their level of education. The level of agreement is 50.5% for men and 48.0% for women. This seems logical considering that the level of education in women is somewhat higher than that of men while their level of responsibility is lower.

A total of 22.0% of men and 15.1% of women answered that there was an automatic promotion policy in their company. They were also asked if workers were aware of the promotion criteria and whether the criteria had been published, in other words, made available to workers; only 13.2% of men and 8.1% of women answered “Yes”.

Criteria weighting: availability to work extra hours, results, education, and seniority. In order to qualify for promotion in the company where the respondents work, the vast majority manifested that they were unaware of the weighting given to each criterion mentioned above. Those who did express an opinion assigned a prevalent role to results.

These results corroborate the causes that generate the gender pay gap; factors that exist and are exacerbated in the agricultural sector and that have already been reported in other studies. In these spaces, women tend to be concentrated in the salary range of less than or equal to €1,000 and occupy lower positions in the labour hierarchy. In addition, according to the “1<sup>st</sup> Gender Diagnosis in the Rural Environment”, 32.68% of working women are classified as unqualified personnel, compared to 18.53% of men. Women represent 86.5% of part-time employees in rural areas. In many cases, this type of contract is voluntarily assumed by women in order to be able to have greater labour flexibility and in order to manage family responsibilities that generally fall to them. This issue has given rise to much controversy. Whatever the case may be, it is a discriminatory factor which has serious consequences for the financial remuneration of those affected. Furthermore, women’s work is often concentrated in tasks associated with domestic work.

The analysis also reveals that more than a quarter of the rural population is defined as “inactive”, which leads to the conclusion that the labour market in the areas studied does not have the capacity to absorb the whole population of working age. The employment rate is lower in women than in men (49% versus 72.3%, compared to 61% of total employment). This is compounded by the fact that there is a high percentage of women performing unpaid work (29.8% versus 0.5% of men).

The study indicates that, when women in rural Spain enter the labour market, they do so in accordance with specific guidelines:

- Concentration in the service sector (78.5%).
- Greater proportion of employees than of self-employed workers (72.5% versus 20%).
- High level of education: 2 out of every 10 employed women have university studies (twice as many as men).
- High level of mobility to find work (almost 50% move to another municipality to work).
- 33% of women work in low-skilled jobs: cleaning, personal services, labouring, etc., with a strong bias towards fixed-term, zero-hours, and part-time contracts, or, indeed, without a contract altogether.

Moreover, facilitating the incorporation of women into the labour market means socially and legally recognising work that already exist but is “invisible” in the countryside, in the home, and in family-run businesses.

### *Logit model results*

With the variables selected, a logit model was developed that reveals the probability of owning (Owner) a company (either an agricultural, commerce, or other business in the rural environment), with the aim of determining what factors influence women’s entrepreneurship in rural Spain according to a specific socioeconomic profile (dichotomous variable that takes the value 1 for owner and 0 for non-owner).

Of all the predetermined variables, the only significant variables when explaining the probability of women owning an agricultural business are:

- Marital status. This was divided into several artificial binary choice variables highlighting the main categories: marital status single (mss), marital status married (msm) and marital status divorced/separated (msd), other statuses are used as the reference variable.
- Age (age)
- Family dependents (fd), where yes = 1 if the respondent has family responsibilities, children under 18 or elderly relatives, no = 0 if they do not.
- Family income (fi)
- Activity of the company where the respondent works: divided into 4 artificial variables, agricultural business (ab), hospitality and catering (hc), commerce (co), cleaning (cl), other activities, the latter is used as the reference variable.
- Level of education: divided into four variables, with emphasis on the main categories: higher education (undergraduate and postgraduate studies) (ehe), secondary education (baccalaurate and vocational training) (ese), basic education (ebe) and no formal education, the latter being the reference variable.
- Number of workers in the company (nwor)

$$Pro = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-u}} + \varepsilon = \Pr(Owner) + \varepsilon$$

which gives rise to the following  $u$  function in the logit model:

$$u = (\beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{ mss} + \beta_2 \text{ msm} + \beta_3 \text{ msd} + \beta_4 \text{ ch} + \beta_5 \text{ age} + \beta_6 \text{ fd} + \beta_7 \text{ fi} + \beta_8 \text{ ab} + \beta_9 \text{ hc} + \beta_{10} \text{ co} + \beta_{11} \text{ cl} + \beta_{12} \text{ ehe} + \beta_{13} \text{ ese} + \beta_{14} \text{ ebe} + \beta_{15} \text{ nwor})$$

The following results are obtained from the above estimation:

1. Almost all the selected variables have a positive impact on the probability of women becoming owners of a business in a rural area, in other words, of becoming entrepreneurs. The variables that are most significant are: level of education (4.58), and whether the company belongs to the cleaning sector (6.645), which has a high rate of feminisation. However, the situation is not favourable if women aim to become owners and managers of farms.
2. Family responsibilities (the elderly and children in particular) continues to be a variable that has a negative impact on entrepreneurship with a coefficient of -0.8974. Having children makes it difficult for women in rural Spain to have their own business as time to perform business activities is limited due to childcare. A marital status of married does not mean that women do not work, but as a rule farms and business tend to be family-run which means that the owner is usually the head of the household, i.e. a man. It is the man who holds the title and manages the business while the work performed by the woman is regarded as “helping out”, and is not counted in official statistics.
3. Branch of activity where women are most likely to be entrepreneurs: cleaning, hospitality, and commerce (6.46, 3.48 and 2.49 respectively).
4. As household income increases, women in rural Spain are less likely to become entrepreneurs, given that their income has always been regarded as supplementary to the household income, and women have not traditionally been regarded as the main providers. According to Castro et al. (2011), having a male partner who generates income, women often go back home to fulfil other family responsibilities as their income is seen as supplementary.
5. In larger companies with a greater number of workers, the probability of women becoming entrepreneurs is even lower. This means that women in rural Spain become entrepreneurs in businesses with no or very few workers or in micro-enterprises.
6. As a result, Alonso and Trillo (2014) highlight that women in rural areas are subjected to double discrimination due to their status as women and by living in rural areas. Until women become aware of their own empowerment and start to create their own businesses, their em-

ployment situation will always be inferior to men's, in other words, it will be more precarious and the pay gap will continue to widening.

## CONCLUSIONS

Women have less possibilities of becoming entrepreneurs in rural Spain than men, given that their careers are conditioned by family responsibilities. However, it has been observed that as women tend to have a higher level of education they are more proactive in setting up their own businesses, as they seem to be more aware of their precarious work situation.

Rural areas suffer from horizontal segregation: feminisation in hospitality, commerce, and cleaning, and masculinisation in farming, given that the work performed by women tends to be undervalued.

The skills acquired by women are underutilized. Women's level of education is higher than men's. However, in categories associated the lower pay, the relative percentage of women is higher than that of men, whereas in the categories that, in theory, require a higher level of education and are paid more, the percentage of women is lower than that of men. This means that women's skills do not correspond to their job, and are, therefore, underutilized.

Women's pay is dictated by collective bargaining agreements in greater proportion than men's. Collective bargaining agreements set down and define worker's minimum rights, as such individual agreements can either match or surpass pay recommendations. This means that individual increases usually are greater in the case of men. This coincides with the general tone studied by the doctrine, which shows that individual agreements and confidentiality about pay are detrimental to women.

In terms of equality, direct discrimination: some women earn less than men for performing the same work. Although the law explicitly prohibits this practice, this type of inequality usually arises from applying supplements and bonuses to men's pay.

With regard to empowerment, work performed by women is undervalued. The fact that men and women are paid differently for doing the same job stems from the way in which women's skills are valued in comparison to men's. Jobs that require similar skills, qualifications or experience tend to be less socially and economically valued if they are performed primarily by women. In rural areas, women are mainly assigned work associated with the land, hospitality, commerce, and cleaning, while men are more present on farms and in factories which process agricultural products.

Segregation in the labour market: the late incorporation of women into different sectors and levels of employment; their predominant presence in some traditionally less paid sectors and occupations; less presence in management and positions of responsibility, etc. All of which is largely attributable to the greater family responsibilities that fall to women, a factor that is strongly promoted in the agricultural sector, where, in addition, gender stereotypes that have long been ousted from other sectors of society remain deeply entrenched. From the perspective of family responsibility, the tendency to allocate family responsibilities to women almost exclusively or to a large extent is a fundamental aspect of the pay gap. This greatly hinders the balance between work, personal, and family life. This situation leads women to abandon the labour market and/or take a career break owing to the need to establish a work-life balance. This, in turn, has a negative impact on their working conditions, the development of their professional careers, and their promotional opportunities. It is interesting to note that legislation in favour of equality many times does not distinguish between personal and family life (and reference is made exclusively to family life and work life balance). This presupposes that personal life and family life should be the same for women and that time given to personal ambitions, hobbies, participation in public life, collective activities, training, etc. should be kept to a minimum.

Women in rural Spain need to become more aware of their empowerment and the pay discrimination they suffer. They need to start up their own businesses and value the work they perform and not see it as an extension of the work they do at home. They also need to understand that their pay is not a supplement to the household income but a part of it. Unless this happens, the pay gap and labour discrimination will be a difficult reality to solve, despite legislative powers enacting laws to that effect.

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