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Simposio 11: Mercados y mundos del trabajo en América

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*Shifting Labour Relations in Latin America during the 20th century: Women's
Participation and Demographic Changes*

(Preliminary draft)

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The aim of this research is to study the evolution of labour relations in Latin America and the structure of population by sex according to their labour relations. Our period of study is from the end of the 19th century and the end of the 20th. In this time frame a modern labour market gradually became consolidated in the region, although it was very heterogeneous among the different countries.

This study is based on the database of global Collaboratory on the History of Labour Relations, 1500-2000. The classification used in this database makes it possible to analyse the interaction between labour and demographic relations, taking into account not only the active population but the whole population. Regrettably we have only a few countries at present but we propose to incorporate new cases. Uruguay is included in the database.

We have previously worked with the relation between demographic changes and the participation rate by sex in the formal market, but one of the advantages of this database is that it incorporates another kind of labour relation namely *non commodified* labour and household producers, which is especially important for a gender perspective.

The relation between fertility and the women's labour supply is a common subject in social sciences studies. It is explained by social, economic, and technical forces that affect fertility and the women's labour supply. These factors include an increase in the value of women's time due to rising women's education levels, a reduction in the number of children, an increase in women's employment opportunities, technical progress, and changes in social norms towards support for women working outside the home.

In a recent study we explored the relation between education, the female participation rate and economic growth for a group of Latin American countries during the 20th century. But although the explanation of the female participation rate in relation to improvements in education works well, part of the variation remains unexplained. Our conclusion was that it is necessary to bring other variables into the picture. In this research we connect labour relations with the reduction in fertility and the urbanization process, which changed labour relations during the 20th century.

Methodology

Our analysis of the evolution of the labour relations in Latin America is based on the classification criteria of the database of the global Collaboratory on the History of Labour Relations, 1500-2000.

The time frame we want to explore is the 20th century. For Latin America this was a period of progressive labour market consolidation, the end of slavery and an increased proportion of wage earners in the workforce. At the same time some of the observed countries were beginning their demographic transition.

The countries in our sample are limited to those for which information is available on the database, namely Argentina, Brazil and Bolivia, plus the case of Uruguay, which we calculated for this paper. We have also improved the data for Brazil by adding the classification by gender for the 1900 and 2000 benchmarks.

We think the next step must be to extend the database. Census data for several other countries including Chile and Mexico are available for this period.

The sample we have is interesting and it enables us to capture some of the diversity of Latin America. By including Argentina and Uruguay we cover countries with a high proportion of European immigrants, and with Brazil and Bolivia we incorporate countries with a high proportion of people of African descent and indigenous groups in their populations. Another difference between the countries in the sample is the varying distribution urban and rural populations, a variable very closely linked to people's ethnic origins. Predominantly rural populations in Latin America are associated with a high proportion of indigenous people, which means there are specific cultural and family patterns, forms of social control in the communities and types of labour relations.

The data

We work with census data from around the end of the 19th century to the end of the 20th.

The censuses from the start of the period (1900) have many limitations. Almost all Latin American countries lacked a permanent census organization, and once the census was completed the organization was dissolved. In addition, in most of the countries financial resources were scarce or completely lacking.

Another problem was the delimitation of the territory to be covered and the lack of reliable maps of all the regions. This is because, at that time, some parts of these countries were still unknown or unexplored. Furthermore, in many cases, we do not know what procedures were used to conduct the census. Most countries already used enumeration methods based on the individual in question, but other countries collected the information from answers given by the head of household, which probably led to errors in the data gathered.

Considering the characteristics of these censuses in Latin America, we focus on some important shortcomings that may affect the results.

First, the number of people occupied is probably overestimated. The censuses record an individual's profession or job position without regard to whether or not they were

employed at the time. The present day concept of “unemployed” doesn’t seem to be linearly applicable to this earlier stage in which wage labour was the exception rather than the rule. However, this was a period of rapid economic growth with increasing demand for labour and very low unemployment.

Second, female participation in the labour market is difficult to reconstruct because sources are scarce, and it was underestimated due to the registration techniques used and to prejudice.

In general, women workers have not been well documented. The censuses carried out in the first decades of the twentieth century contain incoherencies such as differences in the criteria for registering women’s participation in the primary sector. This makes the total population of workers in this sector change atypically because this work tended to be less formalized, and women often had to combine their home care and reproductive roles with a productive occupation.

The first Argentine census in which it is possible to separate data by sex is that of 1895. It was one of the so-called ‘Old’ Censuses. Berger (2011) reports that the criteria was to define women doing housework as ‘without occupation’ unless they expressly demonstrated that they had one, ‘in spite of the fact that these tasks contribute to men’s well-being’.¹

Lastly, the information has a lot of inaccuracies because it is based on occupation definitions like the one below, which is from the Uruguayan census of 1908:

"The smallness of the corresponding figures for state services is attributable to the following: many employees did not specify whether they were public or private; not a few, besides public employment, exercised a secondary profession and often declared only the latter in the census; and other employees are listed as professionals (education, justice, etc.)."²

The disrupting formation of a modern labour market

¹ Census of the Population of Argentina, 1895. Volume II.

² Census of the Population of Uruguay, 1908, p. XXXIII

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th the Latin American countries were undergoing big changes stemming from their insertion in the international economy. The export sector, supported by the modernization of transport, was driving the economic boom. In addition to this expansion of the economy, new regions were being settled and there was mass migration. This made for a big population increase in the continent as a whole. Between 1870 and 1930 the population climbed from 2.9 to 4.2 percent of the world total (Bértola and Ocampo 2012). According to these authors, this population increase was not homogeneous in all the Latin American countries. Among those studied in this paper, Bolivia is in the traditional group with a strong colonial heritage and a more or less unaltered economic structure based on large estates (haciendas), peasants and mining, and its population increased slowly. Brazil belongs to the group with a middle level of population increase because of its history of slavery and then waves of migrations at the end of the 19th century. But the biggest migratory flows as a proportion of the local population were in Argentina and Uruguay, both of which underwent large population increases.

These migration flows were totally different in nature to the influx of slaves. Most of the immigrants who came to these shores were from less developed regions in Western Europe, and emigration to the Americas was part of a great transformation that affected the whole of European society in the 18th and 19th centuries (Hatton and Williamson 1994).

The people who settled in Argentina and Uruguay had diverse regional and social origins and the cultural traditions they brought with them responded to different models of society. The drastic rupture caused by migration to the New World must have wrought far-reaching changes in their lives. Migration does not only mean breaking away from a place of origin and an effort to adapt to a new society, it also involves the selection of the people who emigrate. These would have tended to be individuals who were more determined to solve their economic or other problems than the people who remained behind, and also individuals who were more disposed to make and accept changes.

Many researchers have pointed out that at that time Latin America was a region with labour scarcity (Bulmer Thomas 2003), but it would be more precise to say that mobile wage earners were scarce. As a consequence, forced labour was still used in many regions, especially those with a large indigenous population like Bolivia. But also “free

labour” was restricted due to a long list of pre-existing social relations like debt bondage and the company store trap.

Moreover, in the more modern countries like Argentina and Uruguay the labour market and wage earning were still not generalized at the end of the 19th century. Sábato and Romero distinguish different forms of work that was not “free” in Buenos Aires, like convicts being used as forced labour, apprentices and servants, and most of all children and women who were brought from the countryside and not allowed to leave the house or workshop where they worked. There were also vagabonds, who were mostly from rural areas and did not have a fixed occupation or home, and were captured and conscripted into the army. (Sábato and Romero 1992). These types of labour relations were also present in Montevideo (Camou and Pellegrino 1992). However, over time these systems were gradually eliminated in the River Plate region.

Recent research confirms that a very unequal society emerged. Bértola (2000) estimated the evolution of the Gini index for Uruguay in the period 1870-2000 and found that inequality in the country worsened between 1870 and 1910. This was a period in which land prices increased considerably and land ownership was heavily concentrated. Inequality among workers also worsened because the unskilled workforce, which included many immigrants, expanded, and skilled labour was scarce. The insertion of immigrants in this period was conditioned by the fact that almost no workable land was available and housing in urban areas was expensive.

The fact that there were groups of immigrants in these countries adds another dimension to the study of social structure and labour relations. The subject of groups that maintained their own national or ethnic identity is connected to their positioning in the different socio-economic strata, but there are weighty factors that act as limiting barriers in this inter-relation, such as native groups’ resistance to incorporating “foreigners” and ethnic or national groups’ defensive struggles to maintain their identity.

Changing labour relations

Changing labour relations

In the period from 1900 to 2000 the labour relations in Latin America underwent a great transformation. Bolivia was the country that changed most. In 1900 by far the largest

group was the rural population, mostly small farmers and peasants devoted to subsistence production. In the first decade of the 20th century the taxes paid by this sector amounted to 36% of State revenues. This peasant system meant that a large part of the population was prevented from participating in the market economy (Bértola and Gerchunoff 2011). Therefore, at that time, wage earners had very little weight in Bolivia's employment structure and a massive proportion of the people were small household producers.

Argentina and Uruguay were the most advanced countries in the region and had the highest share of market wage earners in their employment structures. The presence of large numbers of immigrants in these countries also impacted on the population pyramid because the immigrants were more concentrated at the active age, had a higher ratio of men, and participated more in the labour market than the settled Uruguayan population (Camou and Pellegrino 1992, Sábato and Romero 1992).

Table 1

¡Error! Marcador no definido.Labour force participation rate				
MONTEVIDEO				
	Men	Women		
	urug.	foreign	urug.	foreign
1858-59	55	87	17	21
1889	68	89	23	33
1908	81	98	16	22

Sources: Padrón de Montevideo 1858-59, Censo de Población del departamento de Montevideo y Censo Nacional de 1908. The data do not allow to cut out the population by age, therefore the rate was calculated over the total population in each group.

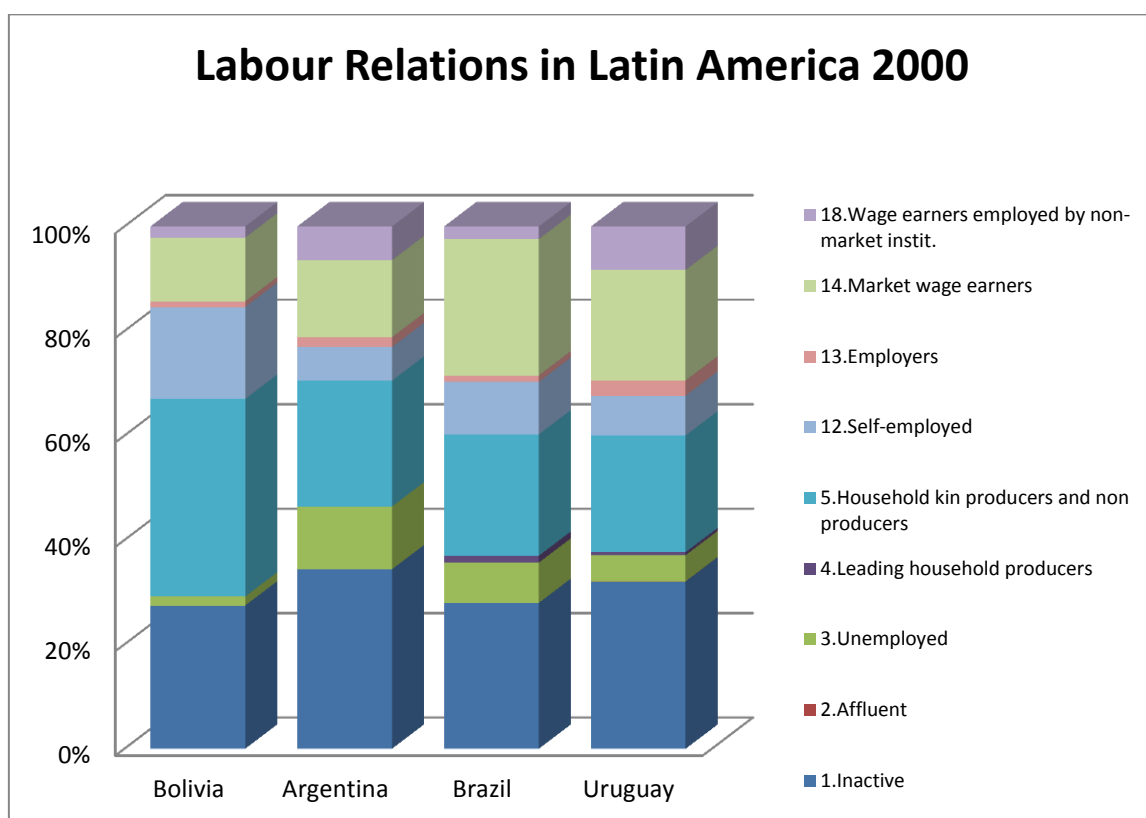
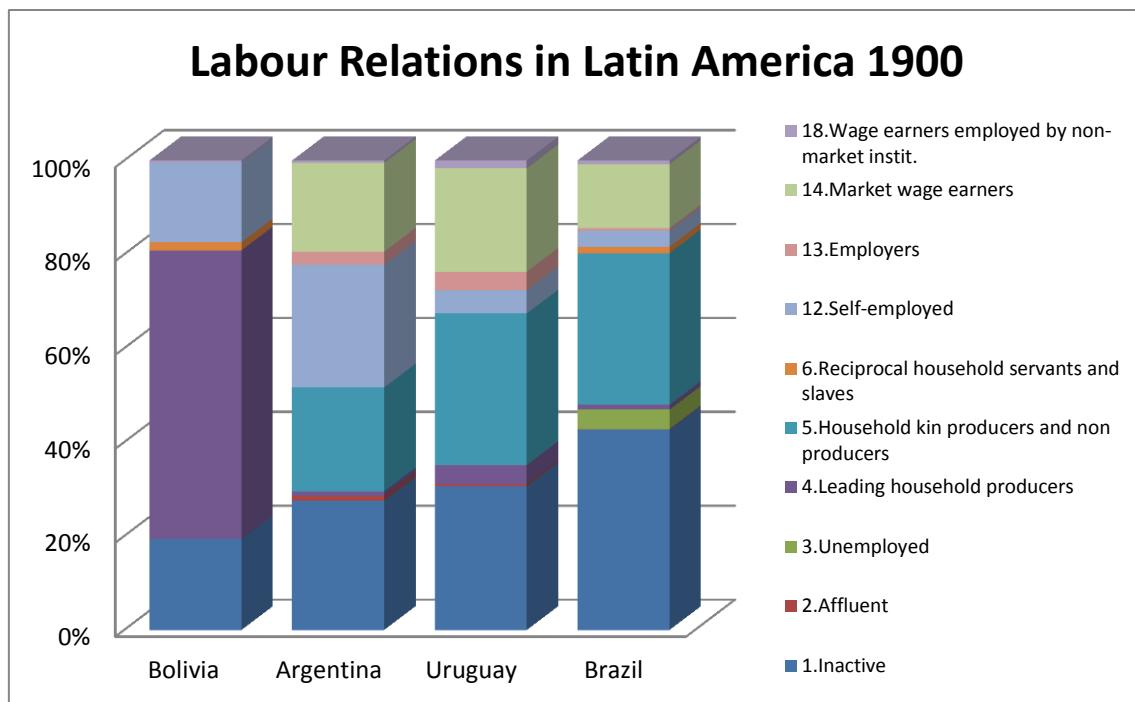
Living aside the differences in the demographic profile of each population group, the participation rate of Uruguayan men in the labour market was very low. We think this behaviour can be attributed to the fact that "modern" work habits had not become consolidated. Apart from some upper class professions such as "owner", "dealer" and "military", we found few occupations among the Uruguayans. This pattern appears to match the world Barrán (2001) describes, in which entertainment, gambling, war, politics and big business were the inhabitants' main activities. There must have been an

unstable and informal labour force that could not be registered by the formal institutions.

Another feature of both countries is that a large part of the population were economically dependent and were classified as ‘household kin producers and non-producers’.

In the category of ‘non-working population’ there are some differences between the countries. It is very difficult to interpret the data because this category was built with different criteria in different countries and we do not have the original data to be able to adjust the categories in a homogenous way. In Bolivia it comprised students, schoolchildren and infants between 0 and 6 years old; in Argentina it included old people, students, schoolchildren and very young infants, and in Uruguay we estimated the elderly and children up to 10 years old, due to data restrictions. In Brazil the criteria employed are not clear. Besides that, for demographic reasons we assume there were contradictory trends impacting on these figures. In Uruguay and Argentina quality of life was improving in that period, the mortality rate was falling and the birth rate was beginning to slow down, so there may have been proportionally fewer children than in Brazil and Bolivia but more old people (Pellegrino, 2013; Bértola, Camou et al. 2010). Besides that, Brazil and probably Bolivia too had explosive birth rates, which must have had a strong impact on this category. In all these countries the State was in a consolidation process at that time, and the category of ‘employer’ was still quite small.

Figure 1



A century later, in 2000, it is clear that the structure of labour relations in the Latin American countries had converged. The biggest change was that the market wage earner sector had grown considerably. Bolivia was still different to the other countries and the share of dependent population was greater. The leading producers almost disappeared, but they are probably interspersed in the group of self-employed.

The selected benchmark, 2000, was a crucial year in the region. The Argentine data are from 2001, when the economic crisis was at its peak and unemployment was very high. But at that time the percentage of the population who were active increased throughout the region because women had entered the labour force in massive numbers and many of them were unemployed or in informal labour (Bértola and Ocampo 2012).

In this study we decided to reallocate the population without occupation and living in a household (but not as the head of the household) to category 5 ‘household kin producers and non-producers’ instead of to the group of ‘cannot work or cannot be expected to work’. This was the criteria used in the 1900 classification but not in that of 2000, and we opted to homogenize the data. The proportion of the population that was classified as ‘household kin producers or non-producers’ is still very large. In 2000 the inactive group in the Bolivian population was closer to the proportion in other countries in the region.

In 2000 the State had a more important role as an employer than in 1900, especially in Argentina and Uruguay. The increase in education levels in all the countries (Bértola, Camou et al. 2010) made for an increase in the proportion of self-employed people. In 1900 this category probably mainly comprised small businesses and artisans, and it grew slightly over the century because the number of independent professionals increased.

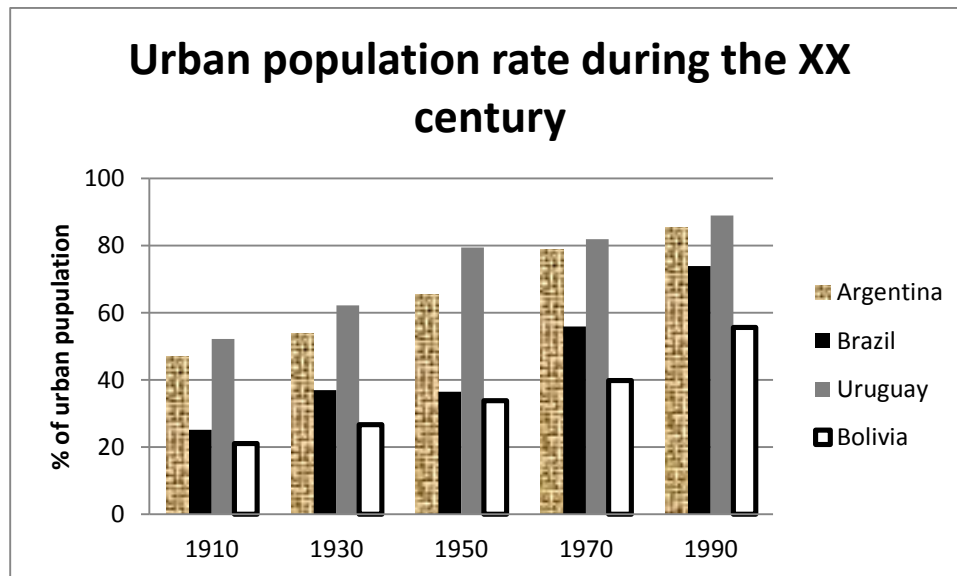
Demographic changes and the gender perspective

During the period the Latin American countries underwent two big population changes, the urbanization process and the demographic transition, and these had a direct effect on labour force supply.

According to United Nations estimates, at the beginning of the 21st century Latin America and the Caribbean was the most urbanized region in the developing world. Between 1930 and 1980 industrialization contributed the creation of job opportunities in the cities, and modernization and the concentration of agricultural production created an excess rural population. The urbanization process was very different in the different countries. At the beginning of the period Argentina and Uruguay were the most urbanized, followed at a long distance by Brazil and Bolivia, but at the end of the period

the share of urbanization in Brazil had increased and was approaching the levels of the first two but Bolivia still lagged far behind.

Figure 2



Sources: Clio 1900-1940 <https://www.clio-infra.eu/datasets/transfer/zip9800451> and

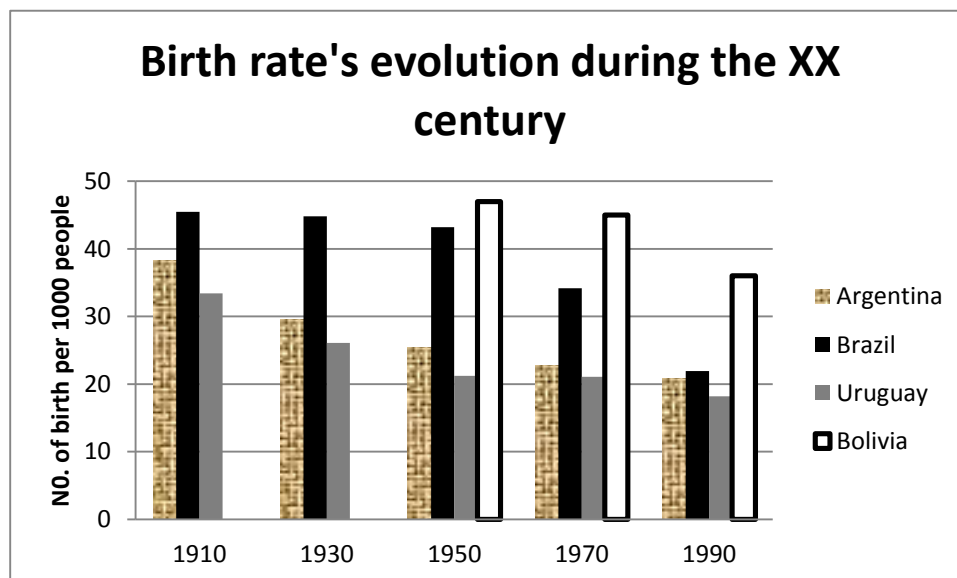
In addition, the demographic transition had an impact on the composition of the labour supply in that there were fewer children and the population pyramid changed in the middle and long term. The timing of the transition varied greatly among the Latin American countries. The evolution of the birth rate in our group of countries shows differences that are similar to the other indicators analysed. Argentina and Uruguay led the demographic transition and Brazil caught up to some extent in the closing decades of the 20th century. We do not have data for Bolivia for the whole period but in 2000 it still had a high birth rate.

Uruguay and Argentina, and especially Buenos Aires, were 30 years ahead of the other Latin American countries in the demographic transition process (Pellegrino 2013). The reasons for this early demographic transition are discussed in the historiography, and the most important factors were rapid economic growth, integration into the international economy, a relatively greater coverage of women's education, and a higher proportion of European immigrants in the population. In research based on census information about family structure in Montevideo in 1858-59, we compared the settled population to the immigrant population and found that the nuclear family was predominant among

immigrants whereas the extended family predominated among the settled Uruguayans. However, we do not have birth rate statistics by nationality, and this subject will have to be explored in greater depth before more definitive conclusions can be drawn.

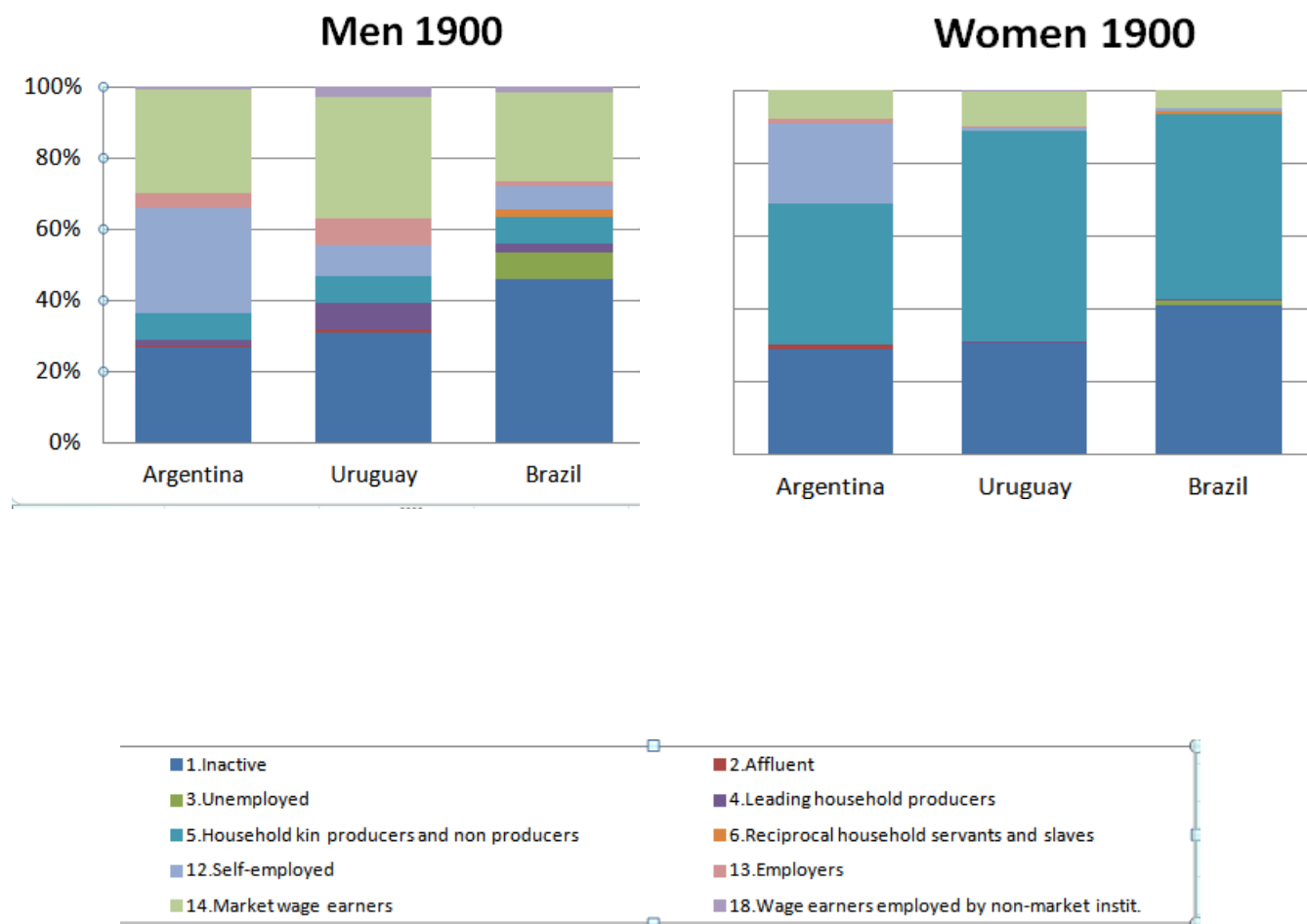
It is difficult to generalise about the relation between the presence of young children in the household and women's participation in the labour market, but it is clear there were big differences between countries. Our data indicate that the countries with a higher birth rate were also those with lower female participation as wage earners. Gómez Galvariato and Madrigal Correa (2011) demonstrate for the case of Mexico that there is a positive relation between birth rate decline and increased schooling. Therefore, because years of schooling is positively correlated with participation in the labour market, lower fecundity rates impact on an increase in women's activity rates, albeit in an indirect way.

Figure 4



Sources: own elaboration based on IBGE (Brazil), Indec (Argentina), INE (Bolivia and Argentina).

Figure 5. Labour relations by gender



The picture we obtain of labour relations in 1900 by gender is very different to the profile of the population as a whole. The share of economically dependent women (category 5) is very large. When we look at the distribution between women and men in this respect we find that in the three countries studied about 80 percent are women were in this situation. In Uruguay and Brazil this group was proportionally bigger than in Argentina.

Argentina is particular case as the female participation rate was higher at that time (Berger 2011). According to the 1895 census it was 42 percent, but this very high rate decreased to 30 percent in the census of 1914. It is very difficult to evaluate these figures. The registration criteria were probably changed, and there may have been mistakes in the counting system.

Nevertheless in different approaches, it will be discuss the dynamic of the female labour participation along the developing process (Boserup 1970, Eastin and Prakash 2009). Opportunities for women to progress do not necessarily increase or decrease in a linear way as economies develop.

Boserup (1970) reported that patriarchal institutional structures (macro and micro) can promote economic growth but they erode the situation of women and restrict their employment opportunities. However, as markets continue to expand and the demand for workers increases, traditional gender structures begin to weaken. Access to employment provides women with a flow of income, facilitates the accumulation of their human capital and strengthens their negotiating position in the home. Following this line of research, Claudia Goldin (1994, Goldin 2006) studied the evolution of female participation in the labour market for the United States. She found a "U" relation between female employment rates and economic growth, due mainly to the positive correlation between education and economic development. At low levels of development, education increases more for men than for women. As income increases, women's participation decreases. But when income increases further, educational resources expand and women receive more education, which promotes their participation in the labour market. With more education and the expansion of non-industrial employment, women's participation continues to increase and thus forms the "U" (Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos 1989, Schultz 1990).

In the context of the Latin American countries, Weller argues that social and gender-based division of labour is less in lower-income societies, where wage ratios are in their early stages (Weller 1998). For the case of Argentina, Berger relates the 1895 participation rate to the blooming economy during export-led growth and to the considerable weight of immigrants in the population. Female participation in rural areas was even higher than in Buenos Aires (43.3 percent versus 31.9 percent in the capital city) but it subsequently dropped sharply. Berger (2011) argues that the fall in demand for female workers was due to the replacement of handicraft production by manufacturing industries, and to demographic factors. In the modernization process many traditional activities like spinning and weaving disappeared, which meant a main source of employment for women outside the home was reduced. She asserts that the changes that the mechanization of production brought into agriculture in the Pampas region caused a sharp reduction in the size of the female labour force.

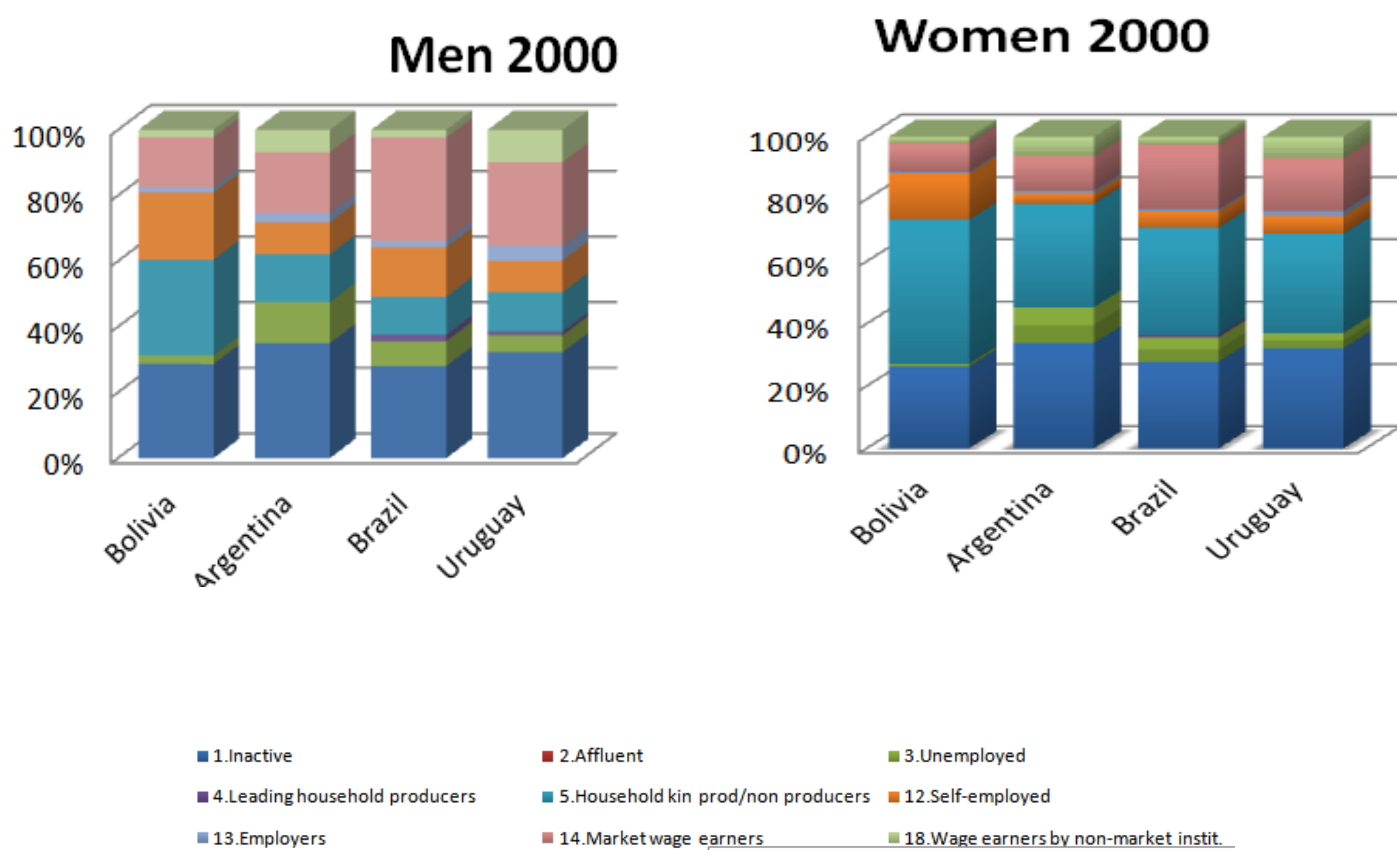
In Uruguay there is some evidence that female participation was greater in 1889 than in 1908, and that more immigrant women participated in the labour force (See table 1).

There is no processed data for Brazil before 1920. In a previous study of other Latin American countries we found some evidence of a decrease in women's participation in the labour market during the closing years of the 19th century and early years of the 20th (Camou and Maubrigades 2013).

By 2000 women's participation in the labour market had risen very considerably in all the countries studied, although there were differences. In Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay more than 30 percent of the female population was in the labour force, but in contrast in Bolivia only 27 percent of women were in this group, and almost half the women were in the 'household kin producers or non-producers' category.

To sum up, we find that in 1900 the proportion of women in the labour market differed considerably between the countries. Argentina had the highest percentage of women in the labour market, followed by Uruguay, while in Brazil the participation rate was only 6 percent. One hundred years later Brazil had caught up with Argentina and Uruguay. For Bolivia we only have data separated by gender for 2000, and they show that the country's labour relation structure was lagging behind the other Latin American countries. A greater proportion of women were in an economically dependent situation, a significant proportion of women were self-employed, many in the informal sector, and a smaller proportion of women were wage earners.

Figure 6



Final remarks

This paper is a first draft of a study of the evolution of labour relations and demographic characteristics in a group of Latin American countries from the 19th century to the present. The research focus on the two main demographic transformations that took place during this period and may have favoured or driven the changes in labour relations, namely the urbanization process and the reduction in birth rates.

In this first step our aim is to compare the main changes between countries and during the period. We produced the data for Uruguay in 1900 and 2000, and disaggregated the data for Brazil by sex for 1900 and 2000. We had to homogenize the different databases in some of the variables, which shows that at some points the criteria must be clarified.

Because we are comparing the evolution in different Latin American countries we had to discard data that was only available for single countries. Within this universe we can test the correspondence between the two set of variables: those for labour relations and

those for demography and family, and arrive to some conclusions about their connections, but we can say nothing definitive about the causality involved. We hope that with these first results as a starting point, this research may advance to a study of particular cases and an examination of how demographic changes affect labour relations.

Our data show that the countries that underwent their demographic transition earlier and were more heavily urbanized at the beginning of the period were also those in which the proportion of wage labour was greater and more women participated in the labour market. These countries were Uruguay and Argentina.

The evolution in Brazil was different. In 1900 it had a pre-modern demographic profile with a high birth rate, a low urbanization rate, and a smaller proportion of wage earners and of women in the labour market. But there were big changes during the 20th century and at the end of the period Brazil had the same demographic characteristics as Argentina and Uruguay and was catching with them.

We have less data from Bolivia to make comparisons but even at the end of the period that country's demographic variables were close to those of the other countries in 1900. The labour relations structure was also very different, with a huge proportion of the population in the subsistence economy, a much lower percentage of wage earners and a great proportion of women still excluded from the paid work.

Another aspect to highlight in this analysis is the ethnic composition of the populations in question. Argentina and Uruguay were the most ethnically homogeneous countries with large numbers of European immigrants, while Brazil and Bolivia were more heterogeneous with a high proportion of indigenous populations or people of African descent and a small elite of *criollos* (people of mainly European descent). There has been little research into this subject from an historical perspective, so in a future study we will examine the evolution of the historical patterns of family formation and the demographic characteristics of the various ethnic groups.

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Statistical Appendix

Labour relations 1900				
	Bolivia	Argentina	Uruguay	Brazil
1. Inactive	19,3	27,6	30,7	42,7
2. Affluent		0,9	0,4	0,1
3. Unemployed				4,1
4. Leading household producers	61,5	1,0	4,1	1,0
5. Household kin producers and non producers	0,0	22,1	32,3	32,3
6. Reciprocal household servants and slaves	1,7	0,0	0,0	1,4
12. Self-employed	16,9	26,2	4,9	3,4
13. Employers		2,8	3,9	0,6
14. Market wage earners		18,9	22,0	13,7
18. Wage earners employed by non-market instit.	0,5	0,5	1,7	0,8
	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Labour relations 2000	<i>Bolivia</i>	<i>Argentina</i>	<i>Brazil</i>	<i>Uruguay</i>
1. Inactive	27,5	34,4	28,0	32,0
2. Affluent	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
3. Unemployed	1,7	12,0	7,7	5,0
4. Leading household producers	0,0	0,0	1,3	0,6
5. Household kin producers and non producers	37,8	24,1	23,2	22,3
12. Self-employed	17,6	6,4	10,0	7,6
13. Employers	1,1	1,9	1,2	2,9
14. Market wage earners	12,2	14,7	26,1	21,1
18. Wage earners employed by non-market instit.	2,1	6,5	2,4	8,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	99,8

Sources: Collaboratory on the History of Labour Relations, 1500-2000 (database).

	Women 1900			Men 1900		
	<i>Argentina</i>	<i>Uruguay</i>	<i>Brazil</i>	<i>Argentina</i>	<i>Uruguay</i>	<i>Brazil</i>
1. Inactive	29	30	41	27	31	46
2. Affluent	1	0	0	1	1	0
3. Unemployed	0	0	1	0	0	8
4. Leading household producers	0	1	0	2	8	2
5. Household kin producers and non producers	39	58	51	8	8	7
6. Reciprocal household servants and slaves	0	0	0	0	0	2
12. Self-employed	22	1	1	30	9	7
13. Employers	1	1	0	4	7	1
14. Market wage earners	8	9	5	29	34	25
18. Wage earners employed by non-market instit.	0	1	0	1	3	2
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Sources: Collaboratory on the History of Labour Relations, 1500-2000 (database).

	Labour Relations Latin America 2000							
	Women				Men			
	Bolivia	Argentina	Brazil	Uruguay	Bolivia	Argentina	Brazil	Uruguay
1.Inactive	26,3	33,8	27,8	32,2	28,7	35,0	28,1	32,3
2.Affluent	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
3.Unemployed	0,9	11,5	7,9	4,8	2,6	12,6	7,6	5,1
4.Leading household producers	0,0	0,0	0,8	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,9	1,2
5.Household kin prod/non producers	46,3	33,2	34,4	31,9	29,2	14,5	11,6	12,0
12.Self-employed	14,7	3,3	5,2	5,7	20,5	9,7	15,0	9,6
13.Employers	0,7	0,9	0,6	1,6	1,5	2,9	1,9	4,5
14.Market wage earners	9,1	11,1	20,8	16,9	15,3	18,6	31,6	25,6
18.Wage earners by non-market instit.	2,1	6,2	2,5	6,9	2,2	6,7	2,3	9,9
	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,1

Sources: Collaboratory on the History of Labour Relations, 1500-2000 (database).

Note: The group 1 and 5 were recalculated. Group 1 include only children, student and old people. Group 5 include inactive people.

	Birth rate			
	Argentina	Brazil	Bolivia	Uruguay
1910	38	46		33
1930	30	45		26
1950	26	43	47	21
1970	23	34	45	21
1990	21	22	36	18

Sources: own elaboration based on IBGE (Brazil), Indec (Argentina), INE (Bolivia and Argentina).

	Urban population rate			
	Argentina	Brazil	Uruguay	Bolivia
1910	46,9	25,2	52,2	21,1
1930	53,8	36,9	62,2	26,7
1950	65,3	36,5	79,5	33,8
1970	79,0	55,9	82,0	39,8
1990	85,6	73,9	89,0	55,6

Sources: Clio 1900-1940 <https://www.clio-infra.eu/datasets/transfer/zip9800451> and