

Human Development in Chile 2010

Gender: the challenges of equality

SYNOPSIS

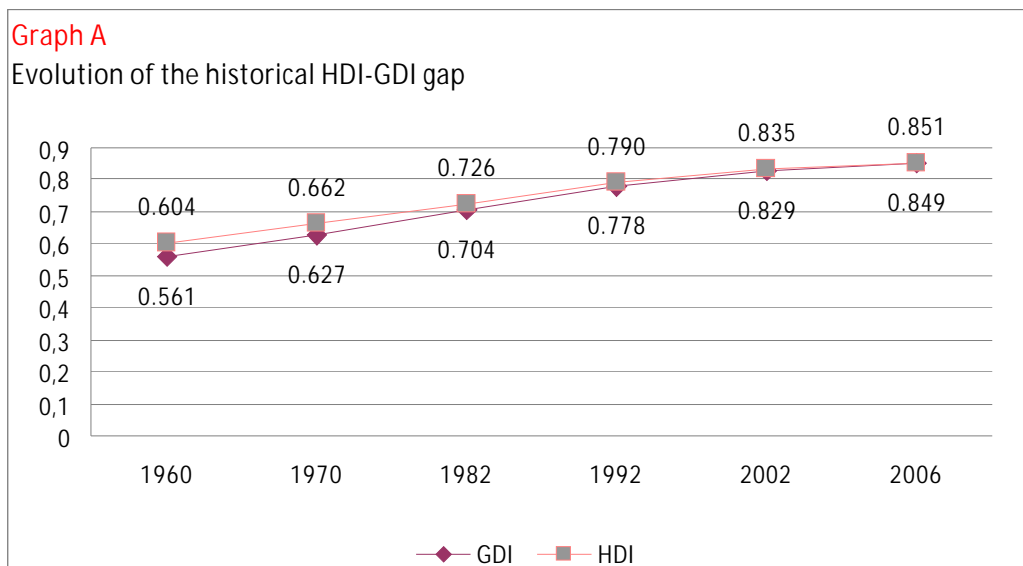
This report aims to contribute to the assessment of the situation today and to the changes that have occurred regarding the issue of gender equality. Chile has made considerable progress in this area in recent decades. This is reflected by the increased equality of men and women's skills and opportunities, by the existence of a new framework of laws and policies that promote such equality, and also by the increased legitimacy that gender equality has attained in society.

Nevertheless, there is still a long way to go before we can speak about true equality between men and women. Achieving this depends upon society's ability to persevere on the issue and understand the complexity of the challenges the country faces. The general aim of the report is to identify the obstacles that still remain, and recognise the factors that have allowed such progress to be made on gender equality.

In effect, this report is an attempt to make an x-ray of the changes in recent years, in areas as diverse as culture, the economy, institutions, public policy and in the highest echelons in different spheres. At the same time, in each of these areas, this investigation identifies the obstacles or entrenched resistances that impede progress towards equality.

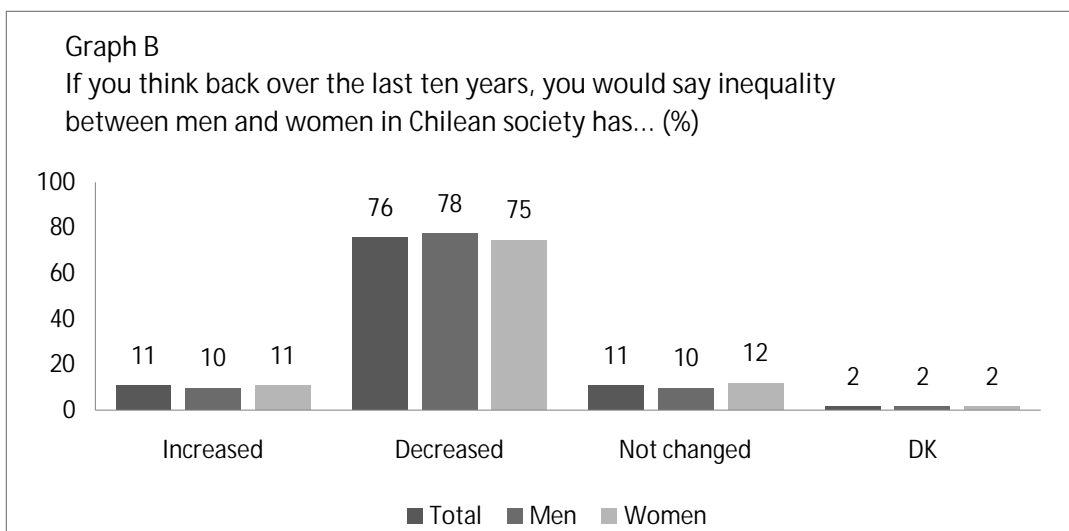
Gender equality in Chile: the opportunity and challenge of the current time

A long-term overview shows an important tendency towards the equality of men and women's basic skills. The Gender-related Development Index (GDI), which measures the disparity in the level of human development between the sexes, increased from 0.561 in 1960 to 0.849 in 2006 (see Graph A). The difference between the GDI and the traditional Human Development Index (HDI) of Chile had reduced by 95%. (In conditions of complete gender equality this difference must be nil).

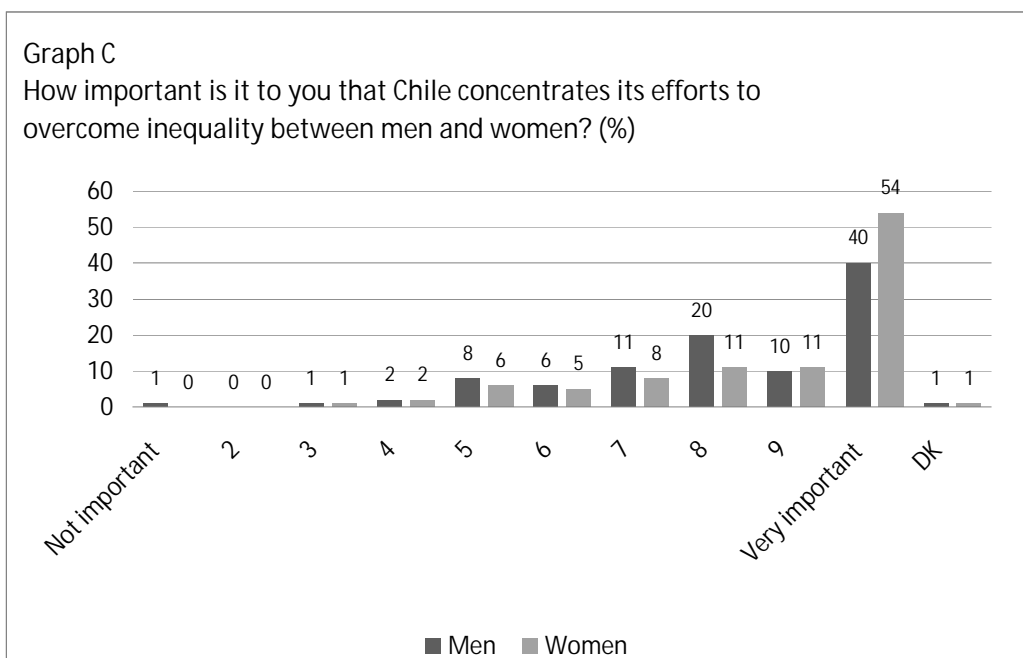


Source: Prepared in-house. See detail of components in statistical index.

According to the 2009 Human Development Survey, these changes are perceived by the vast majority of the population. Some 76% of Chileans believe that inequalities between men and women have reduced over the last ten years (Graph B). Furthermore, the issue has gained legitimacy as a goal of public policy and is strongly supported as an objective that the country should strive towards in the years to come. Although there are interesting differences between the opinions of the sexes, the vast majority of those surveyed believe that overcoming gender inequalities is very important (Graphic C). Almost 70% of men and over 76% of women are located at the end of the scale with the highest values (values between 8 and 10).



Source: Human Development Survey, UNDP 2009 .

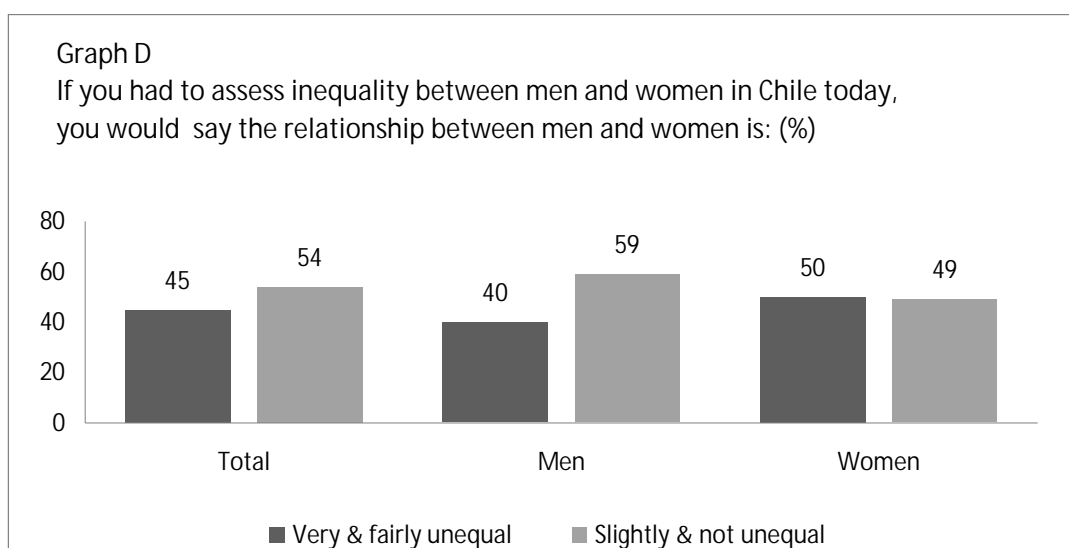


Source: Human Development Survey, UNDP 2009.

This positive and overwhelming public assessment represents an opportunity and a resource for society. Nevertheless, it can not be viewed as the expression of a goal that has already been achieved. In fact, when asked directly about the current state of relations between men and women (Graph D), public opinion appears to be divided. Some 45% think that despite the progress, the current relationship between men and women is 'very' and 'fairly' unequal, while 54% believe it is 'slightly' unequal or not unequal at all. The same graph shows that women have a more negative opinion regarding the issue.

People's opinions show that there continues to be a large difference between the equality which is valued or desired, and that which is actually experienced.

However, we should not underestimate the fact that a high percentage of Chileans (71%) are confident that progress will continue to be made. The future of gender inequality, and with it Chile's Human Development, will depend, to a large extent, on the ability of policymakers to synchronize with this assessment and contribute the political will needed to take advantage of the progress and changes that have already occurred.



Source: Human Development Survey, UNDP 2009.

The focus of this report

The concept of gender used in this report assumes the fact that the prevailing identities of man and woman are created by societies and do not correspond to a permanent and fixed condition.

The UNDP defines gender as "the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as the relations between women and those between men. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through socialization processes. They are context/time-specific and changeable. Gender determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman or a man in a given context." (UNDP 2001b).

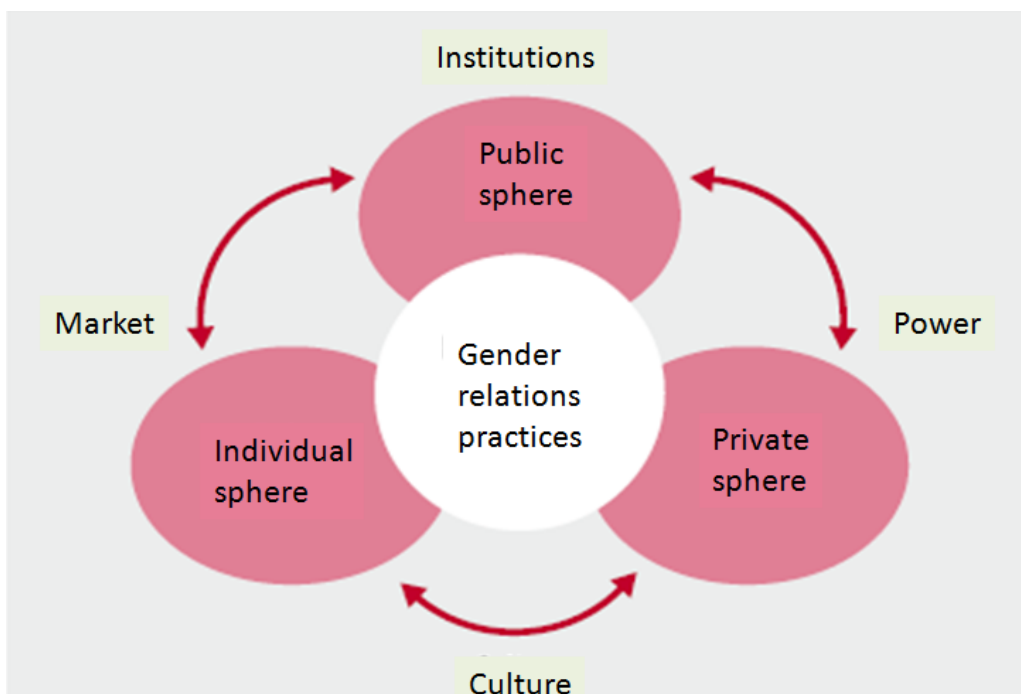
The focus of this report is equality. In a broad sense, this means that a person is defined primarily as being subject for his/her own life, for the freedom to decide how to live and for his/her capacity as a citizen before society. In that sense, everyone is equal and there is no natural or fabricated difference that imposes limits on the individual.

This report explores four areas in which gender relationships present a significant challenge in terms of the idea of equality: a) the rules and resources defined by the social institutions, such as the Constitution and the laws, public policy and political rules; b) the meanings, symbols and justifications made by the culture, including the meanings of the differences regarding sexuality, partnerships and violence; c) the market forces and those of economic exchange which define facts such as the value of men and women's work; d) the power relationships in society, the ability of men and women to exercise power, and the lobbying power of women's groups, or the resistance of other groups. These four forces do not act independently, but interact, reinforcing or weakening and shaping particular contexts for gender relationships.

Within the context defined by the four forces determining the practices of gender relations, there are three areas in which they unfold: **the public sphere** – the world of paid work and the market, education, the State, politics and membership; **the private sphere** – the domestic space, primary socialization, such as friendship and relationships; and **the individual sphere** – personal subjectivity, and the individual's biographical construct. Even when observed separately, these three areas will determine and influence each other (Figure 1).

Figure 1

Areas of gender relations



Source: UNDP-Chile

The changes and continuity in cultural representations

Cultural representations, meaning the images, values and attitudes of the Chilean population concerning men and women, have changed in many ways. Nevertheless, among large sections of the population, traditional definitions still hold an important weight, especially, but not exclusively, among the male population. Underpinning the majority of representations is the image of the man as the main provider of economic resources via employment and as the protector of order via participation in power, while the woman is in charge of domestic tasks, such as raising children and performing labour involved with caring for others. This division of labour is, in many cases, associated with a difference of hierarchy, power, and prestige, in which women occupy an inferior position. That situation is often criticised, reviewed and modified in the most extreme cases, but in many areas it still exists as a principle which organizes the representations and justifications of the relations between men and women. Traditionalism and sexism still exert a significant influence in Chilean society.

However, this does not negate the very visible tendencies for change, especially among younger people. There is a very positive image of the ability of women to perform in any sphere of society, at work or in politics. Similarly, the public discourse on gender equality and the rejection of discrimination towards women has expanded widely. Chilean society has become more sensitive to gender inequality. It is women who, through the critical development of their own representations, have driven these changes. They have increasingly displaced the centre of their identity from family roles towards personal projects, and from domestic ties towards a more open socialization. In turn, these changes begin to modify the representation of men and their roles. On the one hand, there has been broad extension of the rejection of more visible expressions of traditional masculinity, such as violence and lack of domestic participation. On the other hand, there has begun a quiet formulation and acceptance of alternative roles for men, such as participation in the raising of children.

These changes are not linear, but form paths that go in different directions and at different speeds. Sometimes this creates paradoxical situations and obstacles to further progress. For example, many can lead to greater equality via the presence of women in public, but at the same time do not promote the transformation of relations in the private sphere that would make changes in women's roles more fluid. Alternatively, discrimination against women may be strongly criticised, while the equality of men and women's individual rights may be overlooked. The same occurs with the images of gender transmitted by the media. While some of them lead the way to create egalitarian identities that tolerate differences, others reaffirm and perpetuate the use of women as erotic objects or to promote consumption.

The result is that the cultural representations of gender in Chile today outline a map of important internal inconsistencies and strong diversities. This report analyses this diversity via the Human Development Survey, recognising five ways of viewing relations between men and women (see Graph E).

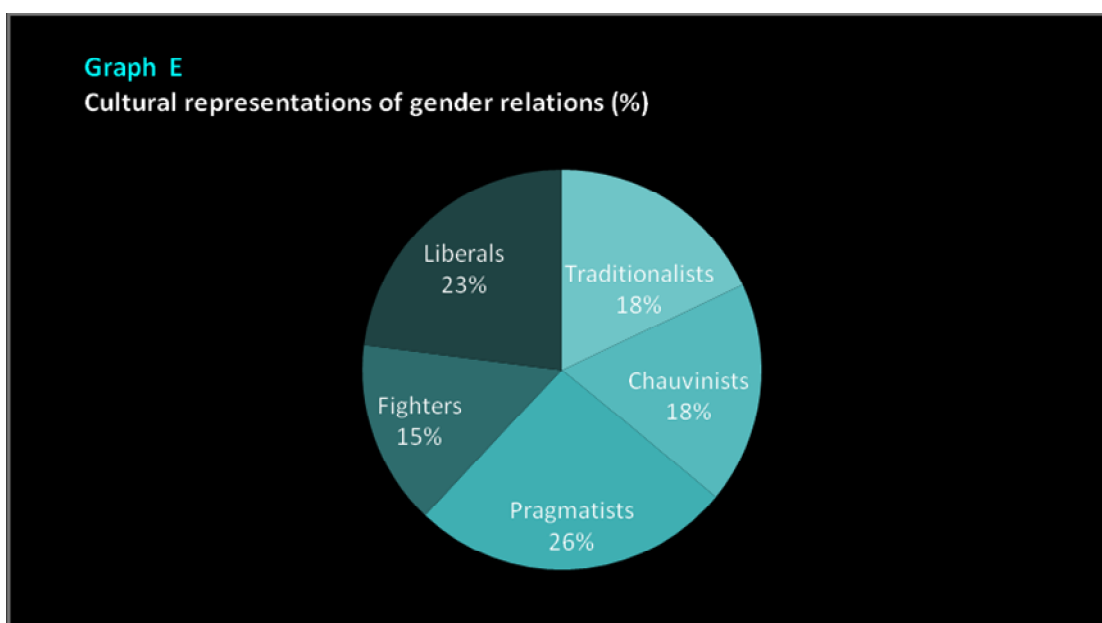
Traditionalists (18%). A world in order: the relationship between men and women in their traditional roles is to love and support one another. This group is characterised by adults over 50 years of age, from lower-middle class socio-economic strata, and with strong participation in religious groups. It is made up of 50% women and 50% men.

Male chauvinists (18%). The world is governed by the hierarchical law of the father: men rule and provide. Women obey. They are wives and mothers. Some 80% are men, from low income socio-economic groups, with a greater presence in the south of the country.

Pragmatists (26 %). Not shaken but stirred: able to adapt the roles according to needs but maintain the differences and traditional moral s. No difference between men and women, found in middle -aged and mid socio -economic groups.

Fighters (15%). Society is unfair: women give everything, but men have all the advantages. Some 80% are women, from middle -class groups. It is the group with the g reatest number of separated women.

Liberals (23%). There are no real differences. Everyone is equal and independent . It is the group containing the largest number of young people and the greatest number from ABC1 and C2 soci o-economic groups.



Source: Based on the Human Development Survey, UNDP 2009.

An important empirical finding is that the cultural representations regarding gender relations affect people's behaviour. They are not mere moral idealizations or discursive formulations, disconnected from the organization of those relations. For each person there is an important link between the images they carry regarding the identities and roles of men and women, and the way their relationships unfold with them. The chauvinists do not want to do domestic tasks. When they participate in community groups they mainly do it in sports clubs, and most of them only have male friends. The fighters , mainly women, do the domestic tasks without the support of any partner. They involve themselves in women's rights activities and mainly socialise with women. Younger groups, like the liberals, share more the domestic tasks, have higher sociability in cultural activities and have the greatest proportion of both male and female friends.

One factor associated with the change in cultural representations has been the process of individualization that usually accompanies the modernization of society. This means that people perceive themselves and design their life projects in accordance with their own choices, and less and less in line with institutional mandates and their position in society. Although women in Chile have a lower level of individualization than men, their progress has been faster, as shown in the Human Development Reports addressing this subject. Levels of individualization are closely correlated with the type of gender representations people have. Therefore, women with 'fighter'

representations have a higher level of individualization and are more willing to go against their partners.

In a context of change, in Chile gender relations have become problematic for many women and men. One of the most visible symptoms is the irritation shown in the reciprocal images and attitudes of both sexes. There is a certain ill at ease between women and men. But they do not have the same feelings, or the same reasons. A significant number of women are very annoyed with men because they feel they have had to make the changes on their own, and even endure male opposition, without the men having to change themselves. This has led them to develop a very pronounced independence, putting into question the meaning of the links with men.

Furthermore, significant groups of men, although not the majority, believe that changes in the identities and practices of women have left them without the concrete and symbolic support which they received in their traditional roles. This leads men to question their own identity and place in the world and often to reinforce male chauvinism and the use of violence to re-establish the traditional identity of women. In this context, it is worrying that there is a noticeable absence of a perspective to promote the incorporation of men in the changes relating to gender relations. Male identities and what they have experienced with their identities in recent times has not been debated publicly or developed in public policy.

Gender relations and their impact on the labour market

Insertion into the world of work represents an area of special importance in terms of observing the current situation and the transformation of gender relations and women's identities.

Over the last twenty years, the participation of women in the labour market has changed. Although compared to similar countries there was a long-standing delay in this process in Chile, over recent years important progress has been made. Nevertheless, there is still significant ground to make up. Table A shows a rise in the number of women with partners and children who have increased their participation in the labour market. However, at the same time the Table A clearly shows that there is still a lot of progress to be made in this respect. While men participate in the labour market equally, irrespective of their marital status and position of responsibility, women adjust their participation to their family circumstances.

Table A

Level of labour participation according to domestic situation, for population between 25 and 40 years of age (%)

	Without partner, without children	Without partner, with children	With partner, without children	With partner, with children
Women				
1990	77	69	53	29
1996	76	76	65	35
2000	76	75	71	41
2006	75	77	76	49
Men				
1990	87	--	97	98
1996	86	--	99	99
2000	84	--	97	99
2006	87	--	97	99

Source: Based on data from CASEN Surveys, respective years.

The transformation from systems of production towards service sectors, the flexibility of the working day, faster labour mobility, the weakening of single working identities, the removal of legal barriers and discrimination laws, initiatives that promote conciliation and the labour demand produced by economic growth –which both increases employment and improves salaries– among other factors, have allowed women to incorporate themselves more easily into paid work outside the home.

This process has been accompanied by greater cultural legitimacy. The results of Table B show that between 2002 and 2009 the valuation of women's access to the labour market has increased significantly among all social groups.

Table B

Attitude towards women's paid work (% in favour*)

	Women		Men	
	CEP 2002	HDI 2009	CEP 2002	HDI 2009
Age				
18-24	35	49	28	36
25-40	25	39	22	45
40-60	22	40	21	35
61 & over	17	32	19	22
Education				
Primary	16	31	7	25
Secondary	24	39	19	33
Higher	39	51	43	49
Location				
Urban	26	37	25	41
Rural	14	34	11	32

*Approve of women working full -time irrespective of domestic situation (with or without children and regardless of their age).

Source: HDI 2009 and CEP 2002 surveys

The incorporation of women at work has a positive impact in a number of areas, including obtaining one's own income, the training of human capital, subjective feelings of empowerment and the ability to create one's own life projects. The data outlined in Table C shows that personal independence, self-confidence or personal fulfilment are not neutral due to gender differences. Furthermore, these factors in women are affected by whether or not they participate in the labour market.

Table C

Capacities and opportunities according to sex and type of activity (% with attribute)

	Women with paid employment (1)	Women doing domestic work	Men with paid employment	Adjusted gap* (1)-(2)
Feels fulfilled by what they do	68	47	67	16**
Sets goals in life	73	50	72	12**
Satisfied with life	64	58	68	-0.5
Level of control over their life	55	46	61	-1.1

* Corresponds to the difference between (1) and (2), adjusted by age, schooling, socio-economic level and location.

** The difference is statistically other than zero .

Source: Human Development Survey, UNDP 2009.

Nevertheless, the insertion of women into the labour market can not be described using exclusive categories, such as being or not being in the world of work. For almost half of all women the link with employment is not definitive. For these women the relationship with work follows different paths, with entrances and exits, temporary or permanent periods of not working, promotions and relegations in terms of responsibilities and income, sometimes with one cycle of insertion and exit during their lives, or with many such cycles. Furthermore, they have work schedules of various intensities .

Among the cohort born between 1960 and 1962, around 80% of women participate in the labour market at some point in their lives.

These patterns depend primarily upon the need to care for others in the household. This may be related with raising children, the labour opportunities of spouses or caring for relatives. It also depends upon the gender prejudices of the male environment in which the women live. Therefore, women's involvement in the labour market depends significantly upon gender relations and negotiations established in the household and in the place of work.

Whilst not the only factors, the needs of conciliating employment, raising children and domestic care are at the heart of the problem of women's insertion into the labour market. As Table D shows, domestic tasks are still mainly, not to say only, carried out by women in households where both partners work, irrespective of age.

Table D

Household responsibilities index, people who are married or living together

Age	Occupied in the labour market		Not occupied in the labour market	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
18-24	5.4	1.3	5.1	2.0
25-40	4.6	2.0	5.5	2.5
41-60	5.1	1.8	5.8	2.4
61 & over	4.3	1.5	5.5	2.2
Total	4.9	1.9	5.6	2.3

Level: From 0 (least number of household responsibilities) to 7 (highest number of household responsibilities).

Source: Human Development Survey, UNDP 2009

For this reason, women's employment paths are one of the focal points for the complex set of factors which define the predominant gender system in a society. In this situation, women with least resources, education and social capital are the most disadvantaged. The employment to which they aspire is usually unstable and its continuity is less certain. They have greater care demands due to a larger number of children and less resources for the conciliation of employment/child-raising. The salaries they can expect are low, and they face more adverse cultural norms towards insertion into the labour market and less practical cooperation with domestic tasks from their partners.

In the context of gender relations, perhaps the issue of performing domestic tasks is the area where there is most reluctance to progress towards equality. As President Bachelet acknowledges, the task of changing this reality is a difficult one but it is clearly central and unavoidable if a real change in gender relations is to be achieved.

“You can create changes in society, but to get them into the household and the way men and women relate to each other takes infinitely more time.”

(President Bachelet, La Tercera, November 15th, 2009)

The State and public institutions

The State has been a key player in promoting the transformation of gender relations, and it has undergone significant changes in its own sphere. First and foremost has been the development over the last twenty years of specific policies to promote equality between men and women. Among other factors, this has been due to women's rights organizations which, toward the end of the military regime, promoted the idea that real democracy was impossible without attaining gender equality.

Over the last decade, other actors and political forces have accompanied this objective, giving gender equality a political legitimacy at a national level, which it previously did not have. This is reflected in a large increase in the legislative initiatives aimed, directly or indirectly, at gender equality. There has been a particular increase in these over the last four years (Graph F).



Source: Elaborated by UNDP-Chile.

The political will of both the executive and legislative branches has been a key factor in this process. They validated the political legitimacy of the demand for gender equality and carried out negotiations that allowed some changes to take place. They created laws which have meant progress toward's greater equality. This political will is also reflected in the instruments to promote and defend women's rights and above all in the policies to mainstream gender perspectives. The role of the State has allowed the formal institutional order to be modified, the symbolic legitimacy of equality to be influenced and the gender balance of the distribution of resources to be improved.

This progress has also revealed some of the limits of the legislative reforms. It was easy to remove legal archaisms in the family sphere (like the difference between rights of children born in and out of civil marriage), but much more difficult to do it in the area of individual rights that give independence to women (like those relating to sexual health). This is because the formulation of laws does not take place in a vacuum but is the expression of the ideologies, interests and power correlations of those capable of influencing institutional changes. They have exerted their influence formally, in Congress, and informally, within corporate and religious groups, or in the media, and this has allowed them to obstruct institutional changes.

In this context, processing the legal initiatives affecting gender inequality seems to have been more difficult on moral, ideological and political issues, especially when they involved aspects of "private matters", involving different perspectives on rights and independence. The argument for strengthening the traditional family has predominated in the justification of legislative initiatives due to the need to obtain majority support. On technical and economic issues, progress has been helped by technical language and shared goals of efficiency and equality. The latter is understood, in one sense, as providing equal opportunities and removing formal discrimination. This creates a relative consensus but does not deal with the deeper causes of inequality or make progress on structural changes. As Table E shows, the level of success of the legal initiatives depends on the argumentation framework upon which they are based.

Table E

Bills presented and approved according to origin and framework of argument, 1990 – 2009*

Type of argumentation framework of the projects	Number of bills according to argumentation framework	Bills approved against total presented in each argumentation framework		
		Approved	Not approved	Total
Institutional	23	26%	74%	100%
Regulatory	179	11%	89%	100%
Technical	134	40%	60%	100%
Total	336	24%	76%	100%

* The list includes those bills that have been filed, despite some of them having been included in a later legal initiative, especially regarding marriage (for example, Gazette 1345-07 or 1307-18) and violence (for example, Gazette 2661-18; 2087-18).

Source: Prepared in-house. Database available at www.desarollohumano.cl

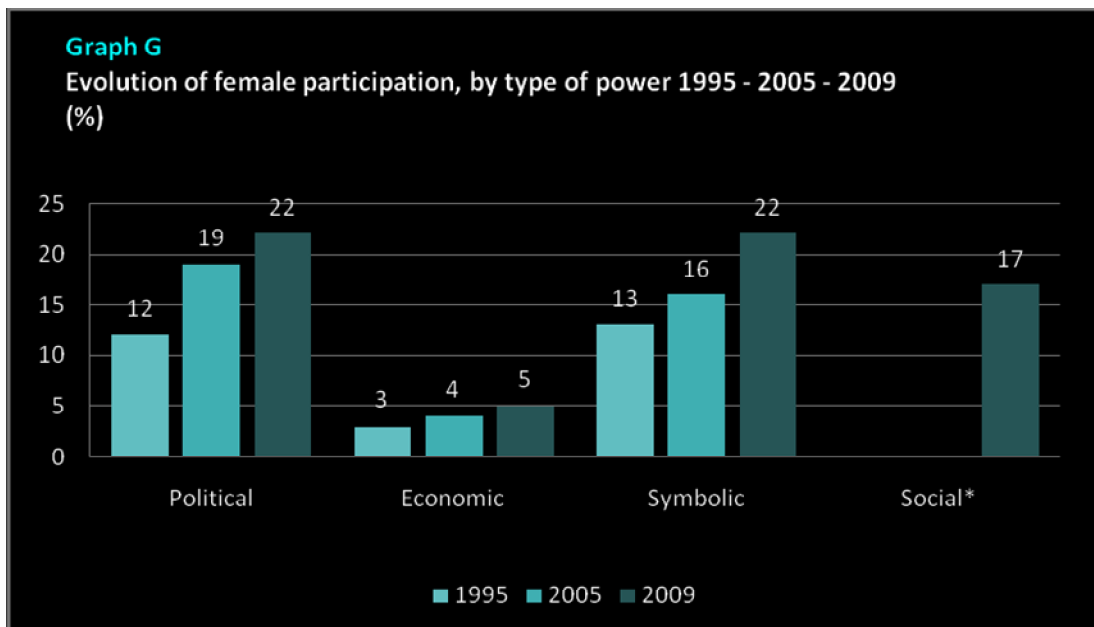
Legislative change has been driven, in part, by the international agreements signed by Chile concerning women’s rights and promotion policies. These agreements have had a dual effect. On the one hand, they have widened the range of specific women’s rights and contributed to create an internal debate, giving legitimacy to positions in favour of equality. On the other hand, the nature of the State’s commitment in some agreements has served as an instrument of pressure, on occasion allowing power relationships to be altered. However, the international consensus is not always enough to break internal resistances. This is reflected in the failure to approve the facultative protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which makes the Convention enforceable.

Despite these resistances, the Executive branch has made progress on the creation of gender equality in its own sphere. The government has implemented a policy of gender equality via social programs directed at groups of vulnerable women and initiatives that seek to “mainstream” the gender perspective in public policy. Obstacles to this task have stemmed from the inertia surrounding the management of public affairs. The challenge to change “the way of doing things” is not resolved by the formal decision to incorporate gender equality as a goal of public policy. To make this happen it is vital to align incentives and enforcement mechanisms that encourage greater equality between men and women. Internal leadership, which reinforces staff motivation and allow the creation of coordination, thereby producing genuinely transforming actions, is also essential.

The corridors of power and of the elites

A key feature of the prevailing gender relations in a society is the extent to which women participate in formal and informal decision-making. It is not a question of whether women have a different or better way of exercising power, but of whether they have the opportunity themselves to represent their own visions and interests in those spheres.

As Graph G shows, there is an increase in the percentage of women who occupy positions of power in the different decision-making spheres. However progress has been slow and is still far from the 40-60 parity ruled suggested by the UN.



*For social power data only exists for 2009

Source: Prepared by UNDP -Chile.

The incorporation of women in the last fifteen years has been slow and segmented. Whilst in the political or symbolic areas there has been progress, in the field of economic management this progress is less noticeable.

In fact, economic power has been the most resistant to female participation. The invisibility of formal and symbolic discrimination mechanisms constitutes a large obstacle to equality. It is here where women are most absent and where fewer changes have occurred in recent years. Furthermore, the visibility of this discrimination is unequal in different spheres of power. In the field of politics and the State this situation is very clear in the eyes of society, to a large extent because the State has been one of the promoters of this vision. In the economic arena however, the situation is less transparent.

In all power spheres women are not fully incorporated into exercising power in traditional formal organizations. The “way things are done” is highly inertial and biased towards the status quo. Languages, topics, schedules, social interaction and the use of spaces, strategic alliances, the management of conflicts and the styles of leadership, all imperceptibly reproduce male dominance.

The data in this report shows that the history of women’s access to positions of power can not be described in black and white terms. It is not that women are completely excluded from the exercise of power, or that those who gain access do so fully and definitively. In the access to decision-making women experience a long, difficult and steep path. That which has been called the “glass roof”, the invisible but real limit to ascending to power, seems more like a labyrinth. It is perfectly visible and conscious for women members of the elite. The labyrinth has comings and goings, detours, grey areas, darkness and silence, all hidden behind politically correct declarations. Women must permanently circumvent all types of obstacles in both their public lives and their domestic, family and emotional spheres to access and remain in positions of economic and political power.

The political parties are among the most significant obstacles. Their internal culture, their organic working practices or the system of incentives to remain in them play a role in resisting the consolidation of progress on gender equality in political representation.

The demand for parity and the impact of President Bachelet

Beyond the objective changes, in the country today it is clear there is a growing legitimacy and demand for women to be as present in positions of power as men. This aspiration received a decisive boost with the arrival of a woman to the presidency of the republic.

In the 2009 Human Development Survey, and in interviews made with representatives from different areas of society and the ideological spectrum, the cultural effect of this event is shown. The most notable aspect is Chilean women's sense of empowerment. As Table F shows, most people agree that women feel they have more power since President Bachelet came to power.

Table F

To what extent do you agree with the following statement: "Since Michelle Bachelet became President, in general women feel they have more power."? (%)

	Men	Women	Total
Strongly and quite agree	80	76	78
Slightly or don't agree	19	22	21
Does not know or Does not answer	1	2	1
Total	100	100	100

Source: Human Development Survey, UNDP 2009.

As an extension of this fact, the principle of parity was installed in the collective consciousness without having been formalised as a legal rule. The 2009 Human Development Survey shows that for 65% of people, the fact that Chile had a female president for the first time and there were more female ministers marks a profound and permanent change (Table G).

Table G

In your opinion, the fact that Chile has its first female President and there are more female ministers... (%)

	Men	Women	Total
Is an exception which will not bring great changes in terms of women's access to power	31	27	29
Is a big change which means that from now on there will be more women in power	62	67	65
Does not know or Does not answer	7	6	6
Total	100	100	100

Source: Human Development Survey .

Bachelet's *de facto* parity rule was strongly resisted by the elites at the beginning, but ended up being valued by many political actors in both coalitions at the end of her period. However, today there is no agreement to promote affirmative action policies. Many members of the elite, both men and women, are opposed to legislating binding parity rules. One point of resistance stems from the argument that this would compromise the principle of access based on merit.

Political will and leadership were fundamental in upholding the rule of parity over time and in supporting women who, in the performance of their duties, sometimes had to confront the discrimination of their male counterparts. The image of the President served as a model and a trigger for a symbolic change in the way of understanding leadership and the exercise of power. This is valued by all political sectors.

“One of the biggest contributions of President Bachelet’s government, in terms of women, has been [Bachelet] herself, as a role model. Because, in the end, she is showing that women can get there. And women, who are also a kind of political outsider, can finish a government with a 76% approval rating. Do you see? So, I think that more than any policy, in the end what is most important, what is most enduring, and what has struck me, is her example.”

(Political leader of the right wing coalition)

Bachelet's *de facto* parity rule was able to change the normal procedures for accessing political posts. It opened up a crack in the power labyrinth and allowed women with the abilities and will to lead to be acknowledged and nominated for high public office. However, simply gaining access to the corridors of power does not remove the many obstacles and challenges that leaders must face during their political careers. The complexities of reconciling the public and private sphere, and the resistance of the parties to significantly change their practices, continue to be obstacles that must be confronted in order to progress toward greater gender equality in the field of politics.

How to continue to make progress?

Gender relations are a complex and multi-dimensional amalgam of objective and subjective, institutional and informal, and political, economic and cultural forces that act upon the body, the language and the psyche. All these dimensions are dynamic and are permanently changing, adapting and reconstructing themselves. However, they do so at different rates, some quite abruptly and others almost imperceptibly. Furthermore, each one of them is the cause and effect of the others.

It is important to emphasize that fact, not only to describe the phenomenon adequately, but because of the consequences for the policies that promote equality between sexes. One of the difficulties of overcoming the hard areas of gender inequality stems precisely from the complex nature of that reality.

Furthermore, it cannot be forgotten that gender relations finally rest with people's behaviour. Through resistance or innovation people's behaviour reinforces the status quo or promotes change. This means that the transformation of gender relations requires effort on different levels: institutional reforms, culture and everyday action. It also implies that producing significant changes in the constellation of gender relations requires multi-dimensional and transversal actions over very long periods.

As is maintained throughout the report, Chile has made significant progress towards gender equality, but that progress has led the country to discover hard areas which resist change in gender

relations. In order to progress towards greater equality between men and women these hard areas must be confronted. These areas will not disappear by themselves due to the inertia of some factor. Nor will they disappear due to an unintentional effect driven by outside phenomena, such as demographic change or economic growth.

The change needed today demands political will, social thought, innovation of political instruments and changes in behaviour. Just as the concept of gender is inseparable from the policy goal of equality, its practical realization is inseparable from democratic policy. This report pretends to be a stimulus and a basis for that work which involves the whole of society.