STUDIES OF THE AMERICAS  
edited by  
Maxine Molyneux  
Institute of the Americas  
University College London  

Titles in this series include cross-disciplinary and comparative research on the United States, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Canada, particularly in the areas of politics, economics, history, anthropology, sociology, development, gender, social policy, and the environment. The series publishes edited collections, which allow exploration of a topic from several different disciplinary angles by eminent scholars, and book-length studies, which provide a deeper focus on a single topic.

Titles in this series published by Palgrave Macmillan:

Cuba’s Military 1990–2005: Revolutionary Soldiers during Counter-Revolutionary Times  
By Hal Klepak

The Judicialization of Politics in Latin America  
Edited by Rachel Sieder, Line Schjolden, and Alan Angell

Latin America: A New Interpretation  
By Laurence Whitehead

Appropriation as Practice: Art and Identity in Argentina  
By Arnd Schneider

America and Enlightenment Constitutionalism  
Edited by Gary L. McDowell and Johnathan O’Neill

Vargas and Brazil: New Perspectives  
Edited by Jens R. Hentschke

When Was Latin America Modern?  
Edited by Nicola Miller and Stephen Hart

Debating Cuban Exceptionalism  
Edited by Bert Hoffman and Laurence Whitehead

Caribbean Land and Development Revisited  
Edited by Jean Besson and Janet Momsen

Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic  
Edited by Nancy Priscilla Naro, Roger Sansi-Roca, and David H. Treece

Democratization, Development, and Legality: Chile, 1831–1973  
By Julio Faundez

The Hispanic World and American Intellectual Life, 1820–1880  
By Iván Jakšić

The Role of Mexico’s Plural in Latin American Literary and Political Culture: From Tlatelolco to the “Philanthropic Ogre”  
By John King

Faith and Impiety in Revolutionary Mexico  
Edited by Matthew Butler
Reinventing Modernity in Latin America: Intellectuals Imagine the Future, 1900–1930
By Nicola Miller

The Republican Party and Immigration Politics: From Proposition 187 to George W. Bush
By Andrew Wroe

The Political Economy of Hemispheric Integration: Responding to Globalization in the Americas
Edited by Diego Sánchez-Ancochea and Kenneth C. Shadlen

Ronald Reagan and the 1980s: Perceptions, Policies, Legacies
Edited by Cheryl Hudson and Gareth Davies

Wellbeing and Development in Peru: Local and Universal Views Confronted
Edited by James Copestake

The Federal Nation: Perspectives on American Federalism
Edited by Iwan W. Morgan and Philip J. Davies

Base Colonies in the Western Hemisphere, 1940–1967
By Steven High

Beyond Neoliberalism in Latin America? Societies and Politics at the Crossroads
Edited by John Burdick, Philip Oxhorn, and Kenneth M. Roberts

Visual Synergies in Fiction and Documentary Film from Latin America
Edited by Miriam Haddu and Joanna Page

Cuban Medical Internationalism: Origins, Evolution, and Goals
By John M. Kirk and H. Michael Erisman

Governance after Neoliberalism in Latin America
Edited by Jean Grugel and Pia Riggiorozzi

Modern Poetics and Hemispheric American Cultural Studies
By Justin Read

Youth Violence in Latin America: Gangs and Juvenile Justice in Perspective
Edited by Gareth A. Jones and Dennis Rodgers

The Origins of Mercosur
By Gian Luca Gardini

Belize’s Independence & Decolonization in Latin America: Guatemala, Britain, and the UN
By Assad Shoman

Post-Colonial Trinidad: An Ethnographic Journal
By Colin Clarke and Gillian Clarke

The Nitrate King: A Biography of “Colonel” John Thomas North
By William Edmundson

Negotiating the Free Trade Area of the Americas
By Zuleika Arashiro

History and Language in the Andes
Edited by Paul Heggarty and Adrian J. Pearce

Cross-Border Migration among Latin Americans: European Perspectives and Beyond
Edited by Cathy McIlwaine
Gender, Globalization, and Health in a Latin American Context

Jasmine Gideon
For Alex and Lily.
## Contents

*List of Tables*  
1 xi

*Foreword*  
Armando Barrientos  
1 xiii

*Acknowledgments*  
1 xvii

Chapter 1  
Latin American Social Policy: Challenging Gender Inequalities?  
1

Chapter 2  
A Gendered Political Economy of Health  
23

Chapter 3  
The Development of Gendered Health Systems  
45

Chapter 4  
Engendering Governance in Health?  
91

Chapter 5  
Gender, the Changing Nature of Work and Health  
137

Chapter 6  
Gender, Migrant Labor, and Health  
167

Chapter 7  
Concluding Comments  
195

*Notes*  
203

*Bibliography*  
211

*Index*  
261
## Tables

2.1 Categories and examples of care work activities

3.1 Women’s reproductive health and rights in Latin America

3.2 Health care coverage in Chile by gender, 2009

3.3 The changing structure of health care provision in Chile, selected years 1990–2009

3.4 Male and female contributors to ISAPRES by age, selected years 2000–2010

3.5 Male and female dependents in ISAPRES by age, selected years 2000–2010

5.1 Permanent and temporary agricultural waged laborers by sex

5.2 Temporary agricultural waged laborers by sex

5.3 The relationship between temporary and permanent labor among the agricultural labor force according to gender

6.1 Social security coverage and labor contract of Peruvian migrant domestic workers
Social policy in Latin America has made significant advances in the new century. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the region has undergone a social policy upgrade, on a level with meaningful upgrades in the operating systems in our computers. It is also remarkable that the role of social policy has moved up the policy agenda and it now figures prominently in public debate and electoral contests. Two main factors have contributed to this renewed interest in social policy. Democratization has forcefully restated governments’ responsibility for addressing poverty and inequality and economic growth has enhanced the fiscal space for governments to discharge these responsibilities. Social expenditure as a proportion of gross domestic product has increased in the majority of countries in the region. To date, the upgrade appears to be working as demonstrated by a sustained reduction in poverty and a more tentative decline in inequality.

The most visible part of the social policy upgrade concerns transfers in cash. In the last century, social protection had developed along Bismarckian lines, with a focus on social insurance funds. Payroll contributions were collected in a fund that provided transfers in cash to affiliated workers to compensate for life course and work related contingencies. Social insurance funds spread to most countries in the region but seldom reached beyond workers in formal employment. By the turn of the century, one-half of Latin American workers worked informally. The social protection system was aptly described as truncated. In the new century, governments embarked on a rapid expansion of social assistance, understood as tax financed programs addressing poverty and vulnerability. This is an important shift in social policy, especially as social assistance had been residual at best. Most countries in the region have strengthened noncontributory pensions providing transfers to older people and established large-scale human development conditional transfer programs, which now
reach a majority of households in poverty and facilitate investment in children’s schooling, health and nutrition.

The other component of social policy, the provision of transfers in kind, especially health and education, has also been part of the upgrade. The growth of social expenditures has led to improvements in health care in the region. Policies to include low-income and informal groups within health insurance schemes and to improve equity and effectiveness in the provision of health care have been implemented in several countries. Mexico’s Seguro Popular de Salud (Popular Health Insurance), intended to reach low-income and informal groups, and Chile’s AUGE (Regime of Explicit Guarantees in Health/Regimen de Garantías Explicitas en Salud), providing universal guarantees on a range of health care interventions, are notable examples of the drive toward universalizing health provision in the region.

The renewal of social policy in Latin America is hugely welcomed, but it is important to remind ourselves that much work remains to be done. Often, the inclusion of low-income families and workers in informal employment has been vertical rather than horizontal. Large differences in access and entitlements remain in place. There are other dimensions of inequality that the social policy upgrade has not fully addressed. Among them, the gender dimension is by far the most significant. Disparities in access and outcomes across men and women remain. Entrenched patterns of disadvantage are particularly evident in health insurance and health care. Social policy in the region is no longer truncated, but remains highly segmented and unequal.

In Gender, Globalization, and Health: Issues and Challenges in a Latin American Context, Jasmine Gideon throws a powerful light upon gender inequality in health in Chile.

Chile is a particularly interesting case in point. Under an authoritarian government with few checks and balances, far-reaching social policy reforms were introduced in 1981. They aimed to reshape social policy along free-market principles. Health insurance policies individually negotiated with private health insurance companies (ISAPRES—Instituciones de Salud Previsional) replaced occupation-based health insurance. The reforms to health insurance proved unsuccessful. Despite strong government support to the ISAPRES, they were only able to attract a minority of workers who enjoyed high earnings needed to secure meaningful health insurance packages. The majority of the population remained with a public health insurer, a de facto insurer of last resort. An outcome of the reform was to deepen the fragmentation in health care. Initially, the restoration of democracy in 1990 led to piecemeal attempts to strengthen public health
care and improve the regulation of private providers. In 2003, AUGE was introduced, aimed at ensuring minimum levels of health care for a range of life threatening interventions through explicit guarantees. AUGE offers an innovative approach to universalizing health care in conditions dominated by segmented health insurance and a mix of public and private providers.

Developing and applying a gender perspective to examine the impact of health reforms in Chile, the book unveils how embedded gendered norms contribute to shape these reforms. It also shows how these embedded gendered norms are in large part responsible for the limitations of the reforms, for example, in the area of reproductive health. Drawing on the history of health policy in Chile, and Latin America more broadly, the book traces the influence of embedded gendered norms on the priorities, practices, and governance in health. It shows, for example, the persistence of maternalism in defining health service priorities. A feature of the discussion in the book is its critical awareness of the way in which gendered norms within households, labor markets, and other institutions intersect with the health sector. The challenges of globalization and migration on the quality of employment, for example, magnify the failings caused by gendered norms in health.

The book demonstrates how, despite successive periods of reform, embedded gendered norms in health remain unchallenged and are reproduced and reinforced over time. In doing so, the book provides an insightful and timely reminder that further work is needed to secure fully inclusive social policies in Chile and Latin America.

Armando Barrientos
Acknowledgments

A large number of people have contributed to my research over the years as well as the writing of this book. While it is not possible to mention everyone by name, I am extremely grateful to you all.

In Chile numerous people have facilitated and supported the different stages of my research and many have offered friendship over the years. I would especially like to thank Pamela Allen, Irma Arriagada, María Eugenia Calvin, Ximena Díaz, Margarita Fernández, Silvia Lamadrid, Marisa Matamala and Thelma Gálvez.

In the United Kingdom, long-term encouragement with the writing of this book has been given to me by Diane Elson and Maxine Molyneux. Special thanks are due to Ruth Pearson who has also offered endless encouragement and support as well as helpful feedback on several chapters. Extra thanks are also due to Barbara Evers who has tirelessly read chapters, answered various questions along the way, and given direction when it was most needed.

Other friends and colleagues have also read chapters, provided new insights, and made helpful comments and criticism: these are Gabriela Alvarez, Jelke Boesten, Jenny Field, Fenella Porter and Silke Staab. Carmen Sepulveda provided useful inputs on questions around the emergency contraception debate while Báltica Cabieses helped with queries around migration. I would also like to thank the anonymous referee for very useful inputs, which enabled me to reshape the manuscript and hopefully make it a better book. Considerable thanks are also due to Sara Doskow and colleagues at Palgrave Macmillan who have promptly answered queries and patiently waited for the manuscript.

Finally I would like to thank my family for giving me the time and space to complete this book.