

Gender inequality and productive heterogeneity in Argentina. Thirty years of gender gaps in the labour market

María Celeste Gómez (*) and Maria Enrica Virgillito ()**

In recent decades, Argentina has made significant progress in gender and diversity matters. Yet, the gender pay gap (GPG) due to pre-existing inequalities is one of several pending issues to address multiple inequalities in this area. This article contributes to the literature in two ways. First, we developed a decomposition exercise over a long-term gender pay gap series in Argentina. Second, we conduct a sectoral analysis at the first level of disaggregation of the economy, allowing us to identify patterns of inequality between and within productive sectors. With data from the Permanent Household Survey between 1995 and 2024, we adopt the Oaxaca-Blinder and RIF decomposition methodologies to identify the drivers and the patterns behind the GPG for the last three decades. Our findings suggest that, while composition effect has evolved alongside the macroeconomic and labour cycles, the structure effect has remained fairly stable over the period. In distributive terms, this study does not confirm any evidence about the glass ceiling effect, although it reports a partial sticky floor effect to consider. At the industry level, in 13 out of 15 sectors a GPG gap is reported against females, even in two of the sectors with the most feminised labour composition.

Keywords: gender discrimination; economic structure; Argentina; Oaxaca-Blinder.
JEL CODES: J16; J21; J24; J31

(*) María Celeste Gómez, Postdoctoral Fellow, National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET) and Research Centre in Economic Sciences (National University of Córdoba, CONICET). E-mail: mariacelestegomez@unc.edu.ar. Corresponding author.

(**) Maria Enrica Virgillito, Associate Professor of Economics, Institute of Economics, Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna. E-mail: mariaenrica.virgillito@santannapisa.it

This research was developed as a part of the postdoctoral plan for the National Scientific and Technical Research Council (CONICET).

1. Introduction

Over the last 30 years in Argentina, female labour force participation has continuously increased, as have most of the nations in the last few decades. However, although the country can exhibit great progress in the gender agenda, both regionally and internationally, the influence of the economic structure on pre-existing inequalities in the labour market is significant and represents a difficult challenge to overcome.

One dimension of labour inequality is the gender pay gap (GPG), which is a synthetic measure of other multiple gender inequalities: the unequal labour market participation, sectoral, occupational, and hierarchical segregation, unequal division of paid and 1. unpaid work, gender norms, among other sources.

Structural heterogeneity, a predominant feature of developing economies, is characterised by marked differences in productive and technological capacities among economic agents. Labour inequalities—including gender inequalities—can be better understood when these analytical frameworks are integrated.

Hence, we integrate the theoretical framework of gender division of labour and discrimination in the labour market with structural inequalities in that shape Latin American countries to ask two research questions: What are the main dimensions contributing to gender pay gaps in Argentina, and what role do productive structures and industry segregation play in these gaps?

In this paper we use data from the Permanent Household Survey (EPH -INDEC) between 1995 and 2024, which represents 70% of the urban population in Argentina. We develop a macroeconomic and structural analysis of the main gender gaps in the labour market over the last three decades. In addition, we adopt a decomposition of the GPG to identify the extent of the unexplained component, which can be associated with labour discrimination. This decomposition is carried out on the average GPG (Oaxaca, 1973; Blinder, 1973) and extended to distributional measures (Firpo, Fortin & Lemieux, 2018).

Our findings suggest that, while the explained component of the GPG has evolved according with macroeconomic and labour cycles, the unexplained part of it remained fairly stable over the period, describing a permanent source of gender inequality that cannot be explained neither by the socioeconomic or demographic characteristics nor by any particular job insertion. Also, this study does not confirm any evidence about the glass ceiling effect, although it arises some partial sticky floor effect that merits further research. As for the sectoral estimations, in 13 out of 15 sectors a GPG gap is reported against females, even in two of the sectors with the most feminised labour composition.

To our knowledge, this paper is the first to decompose the GPG in the long run for Argentina, addressing gender inequality over a period of three decades, and focusing on the production structure to identify patterns of inequality between and within Argentina's productive sectors.

The structure of this paper is as follows. Below is a brief theoretical framework on the origins of gender inequality in the labour market and on the productive and technological asymmetries of developing countries. The third section describes the data used and the empirical strategy. In the fourth section we discuss the results. Section 5 concludes with final remarks.

2. Theoretical background

Studies on gender inequality are based on the idea that, to fully develop their personal, intellectual, and social capacities on equal terms, individuals from all could be able to achieve a degree of autonomy in their decisions. Gender norms or power relations should not condition autonomy for its complete realisation. In this context, female autonomy should be understood as women's ability to generate resources independently, access workplaces and be recognised on an equal footing with men (Díaz Langou et al., 2019).

The underlying theoretical perspective indicates that female labour market access should be framed within a broader conception of work, which includes unpaid work, such as tasks that are performed in the domestic sphere without pay. Given the allocation of time between adult men and women in the family, their availability to work in a given occupation will be restricted by the gender division of labour (Espino, 2012). Several studies have shown that inequalities between women and men persist, although these are not only due to differences in education or experience but also to how society organises work and family responsibilities (CEPAL & OIT, 2019). As a result of the differential labour market position of men and women, the gender gap is expressed as a synthetic representation of other multiple gender inequalities.

One of the measures of gender inequality that has received the most attention in the literature is the gender pay gap (GPG). Much research has focused on identifying the most relevant factors contributing to this gap. The dimension of human capital has been one of the most studied (Blau & Khan, 2017; Evans, Ackmal & Jakiela, 2021; Van Bavel, Schwartz & Esteve, 2018). Other authors have examined the role of occupations, sectoral composition and segregation phenomena (Goldin, 1992, 2014; Goldin, Katz & Lutzienko, 2006; Harris, 2022). In turn, the intra-firm context has been addressed using linked employer-employee data (Heinze & Wolf, 2010; Forth & Theodoropoulos, 2023; Masso, Meriküll, & Vahter, 2022), as well as institutional factors and bargaining power effects (Biasi & Sarson, 2021). Other approaches include intersectionalities, such as the gender-race perspective (Blinder, 1973; Oaxaca, 1973).

Beyond thematic approaches, access to new methodologies that use microdata has enabled progress in the field of study. Based on the seminal methodological papers that developed the decomposition of the gap into explained and unexplained effects (Blinder, 1973; Oaxaca, 1973), empirical extensions that consider decomposition consist of a bias-free wage structure (Jann, 2008; Oaxaca & Ransom, 1994) and non-linear models (Yun, 2005), among others.

A methodological extension of particular interest is RIF decomposition, a method that extends the decomposition to distributional measures (Firpo, Fortin, Lemieux, 2018; Rios-Ávila, 2009). These studies allow us to address the GPG beyond the mean (Pal, 2019), enabling us to examine whether there are explained differences between the incomes of women and men at different levels of the income distribution. These empirical strategies open the door to studying the effects of the glass ceiling and sticky floor (Arulampan, Booth & Brian, 2007; Babcock et al., 2003; Chzhen & Mumford, 2009; Ciminelli, Schwellnus & Stadle, 2021).

Finally, an approach of particular interest to our study is one that combines gender inequality with structural analysis of the economy. Under this axis, Baron and Scuro (2023) incorporate

regional thematic axes such as informality and productive structure for an analysis of Latin American countries. Lastly, Trombetta and Cabezón Cruz (2020) break down the gap using Oaxaca-Blinder methodologies for a three-year period, which allows them a level of disaggregation by branch of 2 and 3 digits.

3. Methodology

3.1. Data

We use data from the Permanent Household Survey (EPH as its acronym in Spanish) for the years 1995 to 2024. The EPH is the regular household survey conducted by the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INDEC in Spanish) of Argentina, with a focus on labour conditions and incomes. It represents the urban population of Argentina and circa 63% of the total population in the country. Since its first edition, the EPH experienced changes in geographical coverage and frequency. From 1995 until 2003, the survey was conducted twice a year and covered 28 main cities. Since 2003, has become a rotating panel survey conducted quarterly, extending its coverage to 31 cities¹. Although some modifications could have generated some biases in long-term estimates, given that the objective of this paper is to outline general tendencies and understand the evolution of gender inequality in labour incomes, we decided to privilege coverage by including all the surveyed cities.

For this research we use data from the second and fourth quarters of every year between 1995 and 2024 to avoid bias in estimates for supplementary annual income at the beginning and middle of each year. The objective of this research is to investigate gender differences among active workers in the Argentine labour market. Thus, the analysis is focused on salaried and self-employed people aged 20 to 65.

Also, to analyse gender gaps on a structural basis (by evaluating heterogeneity among productive sectors), we use labour productivity data from an official source, the Centre for Production Studies (CEPXXI as its acronym in Spanish).

Finally, in this article we discuss gender inequality from a binary perspective, as official statistics in general, and this database in particular, have not yet implemented a proposal for identification necessary to address working conditions for other existing gender identities. Despite the results presented here, it is important to note that this approach limits the complexity associated with the concept of gender.

3.2. Empirical Strategy

¹ Other changes in methodology that deserve some mentions are related to population weightings and imputation of missing income data. Graña and Lavopa (2008) present a detailed discussion of these aspects.

This section addresses the empirical methodology used for analysing labour market trends and gender pay gaps for the last 30 years in Argentina.

First, we carry out a descriptive analysis of the working conditions considering socio-demographic variables to better understand the Argentine labour market under the gender dimension. Second, we propose different decomposition exercises of the gender pay gap. One is the Oaxaca-Blinder two-fold decomposition of the mean (Blinder, 1973; Oaxaca, 1973) and the other is the Oaxaca-RIF decomposition, an extension of this approach to decompose distributional statistics (Rios-Avila, 2020). The latter is based on the concept of recentered influence functions (RIF) (Firpo, Fortin, Lemieux, 2009).

The Oaxaca-Blinder method allows decomposing the differences in the mean of a dependent variable between two groups (in this case men and women) into two components.

The equation to be estimated in the case of the pay gap² is:

$$\Delta_v = [\overline{X_m} - \overline{X_f}]' \beta^* + \overline{X_f}' (\beta_m - \beta^*) + \overline{X_m}' (\beta^* - \beta_f) \quad (1)$$

Where X_m and X_f are the vectors that contain the explanatory variables of the model while β_m and β_f are the vectors that contain the parameters of each group. The first term in equation 1 represents the part of the gap explained by the differences in the observable variables of each group, also called the *endowments/composition effect*. The second and third terms account for the unexplained component, each representing the advantage of men (2nd component) and the disadvantage of women (3rd term). This component cannot be explained by the differences in characteristics. It rather reflects the differences in payments or returns to these characteristics and other effects not observed in the model (the *coefficients/structure effect*). Also, it is of special interest for this study, as it might be attributed to bias or discrimination in the labour market (Blinder, 1973; Oaxaca, 1973).

This research uses a variant proposed by Jann (2008), which assumes the existence of discrimination-free β^* coefficients (estimated for both groups). Thus, the difference between the estimated coefficients for the predictor variables of both groups and this vector of discrimination-free coefficients is measured.

As for the Oaxaca-RIF decomposition approach, it is based on the concept of the RIF regression, a simple regression framework to explore factors behind changes across the unconditional distributions (quantiles). This strategy can be described from the assumption that there is a cumulative distribution function that describes all the relationships between the response variable, the exogenous characteristics X , and the categorical grouping variable T ($f(Y, X, T)$) (Ríos-Avila, 2020):

$$F_{Y|T=k} = \int F_{Y|X,T=k} dF_{X|T=k} \quad (2)$$

² The specifications with selection control were alternatively estimated; however, they did not yield significant estimators to justify their inclusion (Heckman, 1979).

To analyse the differences between the groups 0 and 1 (males and females in our case), we can calculate the gap in the distributional statistic v by using the cumulative conditional distribution of Y at different values of T :

$$\Delta_v = v_1 - v_0 = v(F_{Y|X,T=0}) - v(F_{Y|X,T=1})$$

$$\Delta_v = v\left(\int F_{Y|X,T=0} dF_{X|T=0}\right) - v\left(\int F_{Y|X,T=1} dF_{X|T=1}\right) \quad (3)$$

To identify differences in the characteristics (composition effect) and differences in coefficients as components of the overall gap in the distributional statistic v , we define a counterfactual statistic v^c :

$$v_c = v(F_Y^c) = v\left(\int F_{Y|X,T=1} dF_{X|T=0}\right)$$

$$\Delta_v = (v_1 - v_c) + (v_c - v_0) = \Delta_{vS} + \Delta_{vX} \quad (4)$$

Therefore, Δ_{vX} can be associated with the composition effect (differences in characteristics) and Δ_{vS} reflect the structure effect. Separate RIF regressions can be estimated for each group and, consequently, v_c can be obtained as the counterfactual statistic.

For the empirical application for this research, we consider the response variable as the monthly income for active workers (in logs). Following Paz (2019), we adopt this measure to avoid the assumption of a unitary elasticity hours-salary and to reflect that payments in Argentina are set monthly.

As for the covariates, include the usual human capital variables (education (in logs), age as a proxy of experience and its square), a skilled (professional or technical) job condition, variables that measure labour conditions (working hours and the condition of self-employed), and household nexus variables (HH chief and single marital status). To control for occupational and structural heterogeneity, we include 4 binary variables associated with general tasks and 15 associated with industries at 1-digit code. Controls are also carried out by quarter and region.

Considering this specification for the decomposition of gender pay gaps, our strategy consists of: a) an Oaxaca-Blinder (O-B) mean decomposition for a pool of data between 1995 and 2024; b) yearly O-B yearly decompositions to address the long-term evolution of the endowments and coefficients effects; c) O-B RIF decompositions over distributional measures of the GPG (quantiles 5, 10, 25, 50, 75, 90, and 95; interquartile range between quantiles 75 and 25; Gini coefficient); d) O-B mean decompositions over each of the industries identified in the sample, to identify structural patterns of gender inequality.

In the next section, we present the results and discussion, starting with a brief descriptive analysis of the labour conditions of women and men in Argentina.

4. Results

4.1. Labour conditions in Argentina. A brief description

To understand the conditions of labour market participation by gender in Argentina is to compare it with neighbours and regional and global indicators. Figure 1 shows labour force participation rates (LFPR) and employment rates by gender for Argentina and other selected countries and regions in 1995 and 2024.

In Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Chile, as well as in Latin America and the world, there is a gender gap in both rates to the detriment of women, but at the same time, an increase in the female rates and a decrease in the male rates. The increase in the female LFPR is more pronounced in Mexico and Chile, partly due to significantly low levels of participation at the end of the last century. In México, the gender gap in LFPR has narrowed by more than 30 p.p., and almost 20 p.p. in Chile over the last 30 years. As for Argentina, with higher female participation rates than the rest of the selected countries, higher than the regional average, and similar to the global one, the indicator shows a reasonably smaller increase. This change translates into a reduction in the gender gap in participation of about 12 p.p. over the period.

Although employment rates confirm gender inequality to the detriment of women, the gaps are smaller in all countries and in the regional and global averages with respect to LFPR. On the one hand, Argentina and especially Brazil show relatively high employment rates in 1995, boosting the regional average and placing them above Chile and Mexico. Towards the end of the period, employment rates for women level off at around 48% of the female population, while male rates show greater heterogeneity, with Chile showing a rate of 75% and the rest of the countries around 66%.

Finally, the increase in the male employment rates in Argentina (contrary to the rest of the countries and regions) deserves some attention. One explanation of this phenomenon is linked to the country's macroeconomic conditions. In 1995 a severe recession took hold, with historic job losses, mainly for men. In 2024, although Argentina has suffered permanent macroeconomic crises with expectable impacts on the labour market (for the last 10 years), their nature has changed. Since 2015, Argentina has not experienced massive job losses. Despite this, Argentinean workers have suffered a significant drop in their labour incomes. New atypical forms of employment, such as platform work, act as a buffer to sustain a combination of high employment rates, extremely high labour precarity, and minimum pay for both genders.

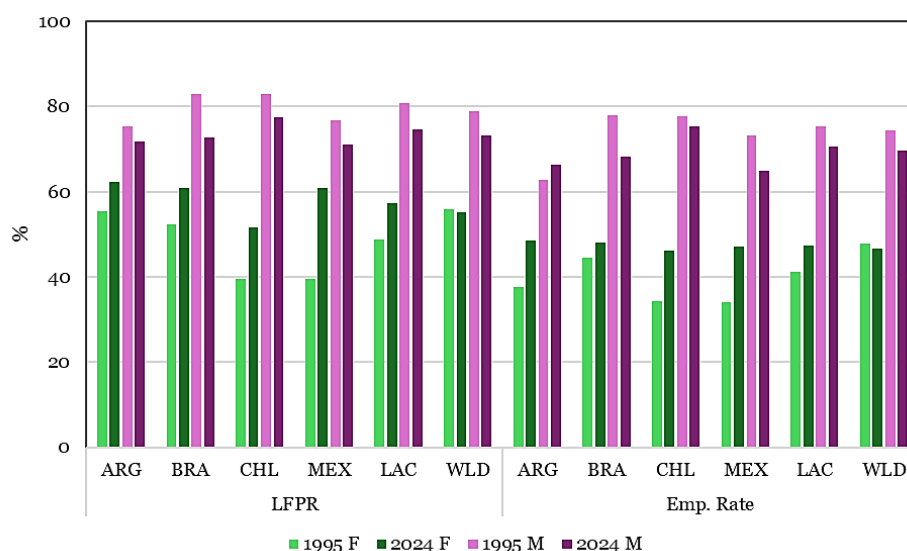


Figure 1. Labour force participation and employment rates by gender. Selected Latin American countries 1995 and 2024. Notes: LFPR=% of female (F)/ male (M) population ages 15-64 (modelled ILO); Emp. Rate= Employment to (F/M) population ratio, ages 15-24 (modelled ILO). Source: own elaboration with data from WDI (WB).

The following figure (no. 2) shows the evolution of basic labour market indicators by gender in Argentina over the last 30 years. Regarding the LFPR and excluding the COVID-19 pandemic period, the upper left panel clearly shows a growth in the female rate in contrast to the stability and slight decline at the end of the period in the male rate. In the first case, the rate grew strongly in the second half of the 1990s, partly as a result of strategies within households to rebuild income in the face of the adverse conditions of high unemployment at the time (Paz, 2007). In the following decade, there was a slowdown in the growth of the female LFPR. This change in trend occurred not only at the national level but also at the regional level. Gasparini and Marchionni (2017) suggest that the economic recovery of many Southern Cone economies in the 2000s decade went hand in hand with growth in LFPR and employment, mostly among men. In terms of skills, jobs with operative skills—mainly male—were particularly boosted (Gómez, 2020). Since 2015—except for the lockdown period—the female participation rate has resumed its growth, resulting in a smaller gender gap in participation, as mentioned above.

The employment rate has grown for both men and women in the long term, given its close relationship with the country's activity cycles (see upper right panel). In the long term, growth has been higher among women, resulting in a smaller gap in this indicator. At the sub-period level, in line with the evolution of the LFPR in the last five years of the previous century, the employment rate increased among women and fell among men. The following two decades describe a slight growth in female employment and stagnation in male employment.

Finally, unemployment rates and the incidence of undeclared work (lower panels) show a countercyclical trend for both genders compared to the level of activity, growing strongly between 2001 and 2003 (firstly, with significant jumps in the unemployment rate) and returning to normal levels for Argentina until 2013. From then on, the labour market became

strained as a result of the slowdown in gross domestic product, causing a slight increase in the rate of informal wage labour and a greater jump in unemployment. In terms of gaps, both rates are higher among women than among men, confirming that precarious employment affects women more than men (Micha & Pereyra, 2019).



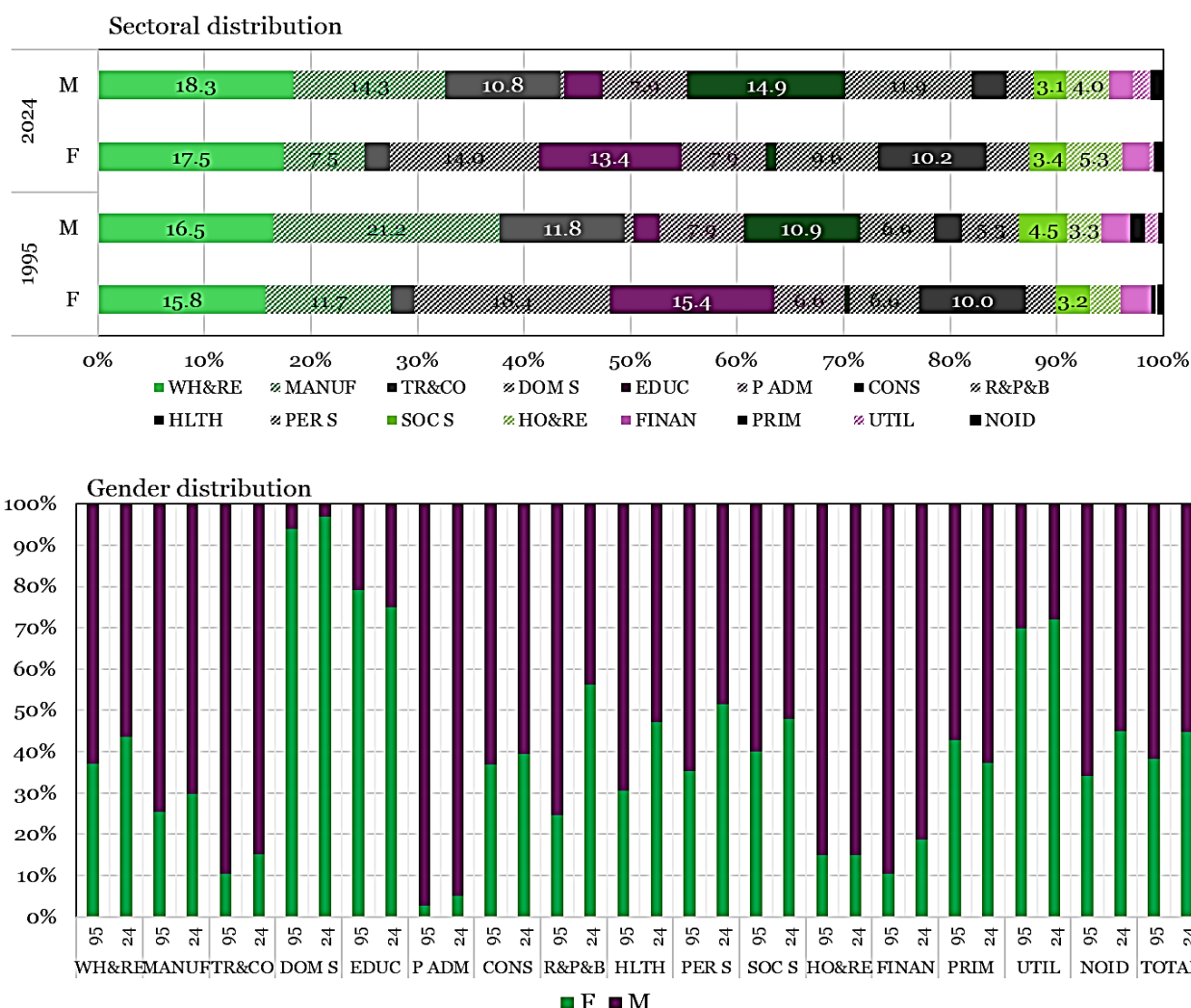
Figure 2. Basic labour market indicators by gender. Argentina 1995-2024
Source: own elaboration with data from EPH - INDEC.

4.2. Gender inequality and sectoral heterogeneity

Sectoral analysis allows us to identify the importance of economic structure in the dynamics of employment and income for working women and men. According to figure 3, wholesale and retail is the sector that absorbs the most employment for both genders, growing up to 18% of the total employment at the end of the period. Another industry that intensively absorbs employment—although to a greater extent for men—is manufacturing. In comparative terms, the sector's weight in the economy is significantly lower in 2024, considering its share among both females and males. This phenomenon, known as deindustrialisation, goes hand in hand with financial valuation processes. Argentina has extensive records of it in its history (Schteingart & Tavoynaska, 2022; Gómez et al., 2025).

Besides, health, education and domestic services are revealed as important industries for female employment and, to a much lesser extent, for male employment. In contrast, the transport and communications sector, along with construction, exhibits a significantly higher proportion of male employment.

To better understand the structure of employment in Argentina, it is useful to complement the above discussion with the relative feminisation or masculinisation within sectors. From Figure 3b, we can identify three groups of sectors. The first one consists of sectors that have become increasingly feminised over the years, education and domestic service, which show feminisation rates of over 60% in both periods. The second group consists of heavily masculinised sectors, among which we can highlight construction, manufacturing, and finance. A final group includes a series of sectors that in the first year surveyed (1995) were identified as masculinised but have increased their feminisation rate to show a relatively equal gender distribution at the end of the period. These include wholesale and retail, personal, and social services, among others. Along these lines, Actis Di Pascuale and Savino (2019) identify sectors that over time deepen their degree of segregation towards more feminised or masculinised positions. They also recognise sectors with gender-differentiated growth that define more equitable or egalitarian gender distribution.

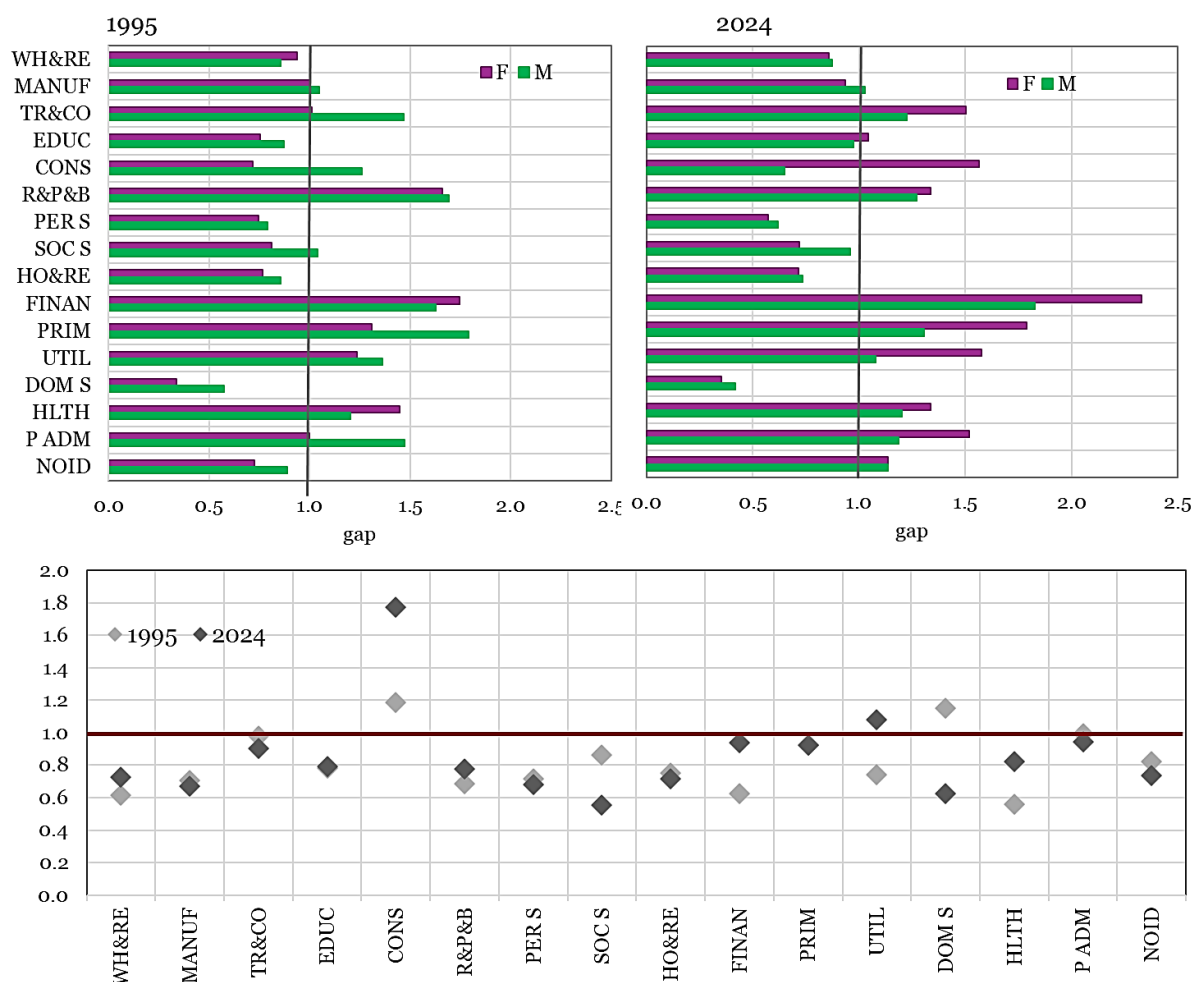


Figures 3a & 3b. Employment structure. Sectoral distribution within gender (3a) and gender distribution within sectors (3b). Argentina. Years 1995 and 2024. Notes: WH&RE=wholesale and retail; MANUF=manufacturing; TR&CO=transport and communication; DOM S=domestic services; EDUC=education; P ADM=public administration; CONS=construction; R&P&B=R.Estate, professional and businesses; HLTH=health services; PER S=personal services; SOC S=social services; HO&RE=hotels and restaurants; FINAN=financial services; PRIM=primary activities; UTIL=utilities; NOID=not identifiable workers. Source: own elaboration with data from EPH - INDEC.

Alongside the employment structure, an analysis of the income structure enables us to identify the leading sectors based on remunerations and those with the lowest pay in the economy. When combined with gender distribution, these structures can significantly influence income gaps across the economy.

According to Figures 4a and 4b, among the sectors that offer the best pay on average—both at the beginning and end of the period—are the financial sector, utilities, transport and communications, health services, and real estate, professional and business services. In contrast, domestic services, hotels and restaurants, personal services, and commerce are among the lowest-paying sectors in the economy. These conditions apply to both women and men. Meanwhile, manufacturing maintains wage levels like the economy-wide average.

Finally, the sectoral gross gender pay gaps in 1995 and 2024 are shown in Figure 4.c. From this figure, we observe that the largest gender gaps are in the social services, health, and wholesale and retail sectors³. In contrast, transport and communications and public administration appear as the sectors with the greatest gender income parity. The comparison between years serves to identify whether there were changes in the gaps between the beginning and end of the period. According to this measure, sectoral gender gaps significantly widened in domestic and social services, while the financial sector, utilities, and health care moved closer to parity by 2024.



Figures 4a, 4b, & 4c. Pay Gaps in Argentina. Sectoral gaps by gender for years 1995 (4a) and 2024 (4b). Gender gaps by sector (4c). Note: (1) Sectoral gaps calculated as the ratio between average pay for each sector and gender and the average pay in the economy. The line with value equal 1 represents the overall pay for each year; (2) Gender gap calculated as the ratio between average pay for females and males, for each sector and year. Source: own elaboration with data from EPH - INDEC.

³ It is worth mentioning that the gross gender gap is ratio between female and male incomes, without considering other variables that control for heterogeneity. In this sense, they differ from the predicted GPG that results from the decomposition methods.

To conclude this section, we identify the variables used in the decompositions and estimate their descriptive statistics in the data pool for the selected sample. As in the previous figures, there is a gross monthly income gap to the detriment of women. The average age is 40 years old and is similar for women and men. On the other hand, women have more years of education and work fewer hours in paid jobs, both results in line with previous studies on Argentina (Ascencio, Sacco, & Strada, 2019; Paz, 2019). It is worth noting that the less hours worked by women is associated with demanding underemployment, given that the proportion of female workers in involuntary part-time jobs is higher than that of men.

Although women have more years of education, the participation of men in skilled jobs (with professional or technical qualifications) is higher. In relation to the family, the role of main breadwinner is mostly male.

	Mean		St. Dev.		
Variable	Females	Males	Females	Males	
(Ln) Income	5.686	6.060	0.901	0.800	
Human Capital & Hours W					
Age	39.542	38.899	13.003	12.930	
(Ln) Education years	2.319	2.285	0.440	0.430	
(Ln) Hours worked	4.811	5.160	0.622	0.460	
Frequency					
Variable	Females	Males	Females	Males	
L conditions		Tasks			
Skilled Job	0.159	0.200	Admin. & Account.	0.124	0.136
Involuntary part-time	0.148	0.078	Transport & Services	0.265	0.249
Sef-employed	0.090	0.187	Sales	0.078	0.102
HH chief	0.248	0.613	Production	0.035	0.273
Single	0.279	0.319			
Industries					
Primary	0.002	0.020	R. Estate/Proff./Busin	0.031	0.055
Manufacturing	0.039	0.116	Public Admin.	0.062	0.102
Utilities	0.002	0.113	Education	0.086	0.029
Construction	0.003	0.135	Health	0.049	0.024
Wholesale & Retail	0.089	0.150	Social Serv.	0.021	0.029
Hotels & Restaurants	0.019	0.023	Personal Serv.	0.015	0.028
Transports & Comm.	0.009	0.077	Domestic Serv.	0.095	0.004
Financial Serv.	0.009	0.013			
N Female workers	1,248,100		N Male workers	726,772	
Years (both)	30				

Table 1. Descriptive statistics by gender. Argentina 1995-2024
Source: own elaboration with data from EPH - INDEC.

In the next section, we discuss the results of the Oaxaca-Blinder decomposition of monthly income.

4.3. Gender Pay Gap Decomposition

O-B Decomposition

The main result of this decomposition exercise is the confirmation of a significant gender pay gap (GPG) to the detriment of women workers in Argentina (see table 2). When decomposing this gap, we observe that almost half of the gender GPG in monthly incomes in Argentina is unexplained by the variables proposed in our model.

The total gap and the unexplained component are slightly higher than the estimates by Pal (2019) for the decomposition of average income, although this author uses a partial sample from 2018. This result is relevant in that, since it is not explained by all the variables included in the model, it should be associated with biases due to unobserved heterogeneity or with clear discrimination in the labour market.

Years of education show that the distribution of characteristics counteracts the gap, as working women are, on average, more educated. The return to education acts in the opposite direction, with higher education payments marginally benefiting men. Regarding job qualifications, the composition effect acts in the same way as years of education, although the structure effect follows the same sign as the former, both benefiting women.

In terms of working conditions, hours worked appear—reasonably—as the variable with the greatest weight in the gap and are statistically significant, both for their endowment effects and coefficient effects. In the first case, men work longer hours on average, while in the second case—returns to the hours worked—women fare better. Self-employment counteracts the explained gap and contributes to the unexplained gap, although in very low economic terms. In contrast, involuntary underemployment acts in the opposite direction, with a higher rate of women who would like to work more hours.

In relation to families, the status of householder reflects the fact that this is a reality associated mainly with men, with payment for this status adding to the structural effect. For its part, the explained component associated with marital status indicates that a higher ratio of men than women are identified as single, although the payment for this status favours women. The latter has implications for the discriminatory component against those who are part of a couple and, eventually, a family.

Jobs report mixed results for the composition effect, although a positive structure effect is confirmed for all the categories, revealing possible discrimination against women. Industries reveal mixed results for both components, which merits a deeper study at sectoral level.

Finally, the reported constant is statistically significant, but with low economic value. Given this coefficient measures the variability not captured by the variables proposed, its moderated value expresses somehow that the proposed specification is a good representation of the GPG.

O-B two-fold decomposition. Argentina, 1995-2024.

Dep. variable: Monthly labour income		Prediction	Explained	Unexplained
	Male	6.057*** (0.001)		
	Female	5.681*** (0.001)		
	Difference	0.375*** (0.002)	0.194*** (0.001)	0.181*** (0.001)
Human Capital				
	Age		-0.009*** (0.001)	0.101*** (0.028)
	(sq) Age		0.002*** (0.001)	-0.045*** (0.014)
	(ln) Education years		-0.045*** (0.000)	0.130*** (0.009)
Job skills				
	Skilled job		-0.017*** (0.000)	-0.016*** (0.001)
Labour conditions				
	(Ln) Hours worked		0.205*** (0.001)	-0.613*** (0.017)
	Self-employed		-0.017*** (0.000)	0.008*** (0.001)
	Involuntary Part-time		0.013*** (0.000)	-0.011*** (0.001)
HH nexus				
	HH chief		0.028*** (0.000)	0.057*** (0.001)
	Single		0.005*** (0.000)	-0.012*** (0.001)
Jobs				
	Administ./Account.		-0.007*** (0.000)	0.015*** (0.002)
	Transport/Services		0.013*** (0.001)	0.057*** (0.004)
	Salesperson		0.001*** (0.000)	0.025*** (0.001)
	Operative/production		-0.007*** (0.001)	0.032*** (0.002)

O-B two-fold decomposition. Argentina, 1995-2024 (cont')			
Dep. variable: Monthly labour income	Prediction	Explained	Unexplained
Industries			
Primary		0.000 (0.000)	0.000** (0.000)
Manufacturing		-0.006*** (0.001)	0.013*** (0.002)
Utilities		0.002*** (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
Construction		-0.025*** (0.002)	-0.003** (0.001)
Wholes. & Retail		-0.004*** (0.000)	0.010*** (0.003)
Hotels & Restaurants		0.001*** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.001)
Transports & Comm.		-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
Financial		-0.000** (0.000)	-0.000 (0.000)
R.Estate/Prof./Business		-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.003** (0.001)
Public Administration		0.001*** (0.000)	-0.006** (0.003)
Education		-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.004 (0.003)
Health Serv.		-0.001 (0.001)	0.003** (0.002)
Social Serv.		0.000*** (0.000)	0.003*** (0.001)
Personal Serv.		-0.001*** (0.000)	-0.002** (0.001)
Domestic Serv.		0.063*** (0.002)	0.001 (0.003)
Constant			0.441*** (0.033)
Prob>F	0.0000		
R2 (pool model)	0.5638		
N	1,146,932		

Table 2. Oaxaca-Blinder (two-fold) decomposition of the gender pay gap. Argentina. Pool model 1995-2024. Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1). Source: own elaboration with data from EPH - INDEC.

A long-term evolution of the GPG

We carry out a decomposition of the GPG for each year and illustrate the evolution of the total gap and its components over the last three decades in Argentina in Figures 5a and 5b. Three stages can be identified for both the total and the explained gap, since the latter determines the pattern of the former. From 1998 to 2002 there was a decline in the gap, with the total GPG reaching a value of 30%. These were the final years of a regime of peso-dollar convertibility. Over ten years, a process of financial appreciation took place, which destroyed the industrial fabric and the domestic market. At the end of the decade, this regime culminated in a financial, currency, monetary and fiscal crisis, leading to a severe recession, rise in

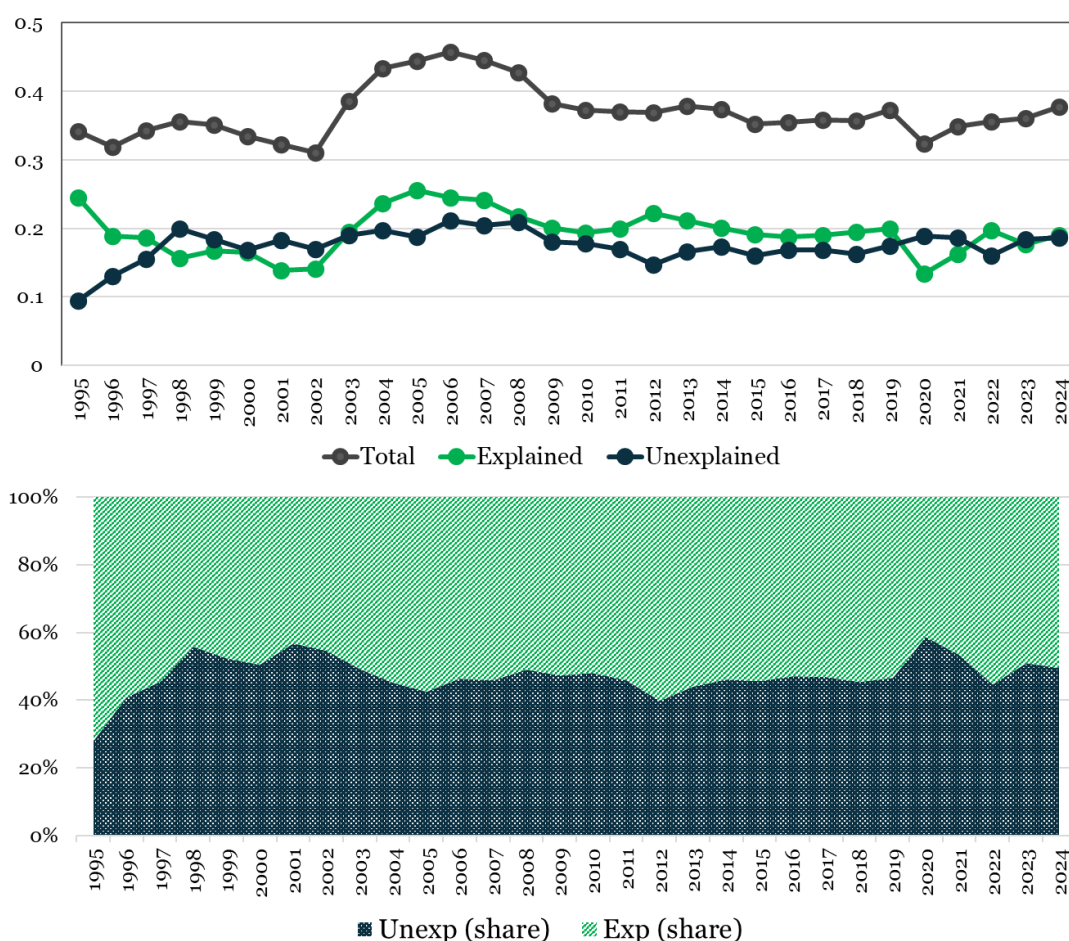
unemployment and deepening poverty and inequality. The macroeconomic disequilibria were such that they forced the abandonment of the exchange rate parity in 2002 and led to an unprecedented social crisis (Galiani, Heyman & Tomassi, 2003). Microeconomically speaking, the consequent rise in unemployment mostly affected men, which led to household strategies that confirmed the additional worker hypothesis in the face of income crises (Paz, 2007). The reduction in the gap can explain this phenomenon from a gender perspective, through a decline in male jobs that was partially offset by the incorporation of women into the labour market.

Accordingly, the unexplained component in this period shows a decline, albeit to a lesser extent than the other two series. One hypothesis for this development is that, faced with the threat of job loss, many men accepted a virtual reduction in pay, thus resulting in a reduction in the structural effect.

The following period, between 2002 and 2010, shows an inverted U-shape in total GPG and its explained component. As discussed previously, the early years of this century saw a massive influx of workers, especially with operational skills, once again skewing the gender composition in favour of male workers. Towards the end of 2009, this momentum began to fade because of a slowdown in economic growth and job creation (which virtually came to a halt at the turn of the decade). The gender gap narrowed again, albeit to a higher floor, almost 10 percentage points higher.

The last period can be described as from 2009 onwards, showing a stable trend in the total GPG and its endowment effect, even if we consider the fall in 2020 and subsequent slight increase due to the post-COVID-19 pandemic. Towards the end of the period, the total gap was at 2009 levels and one step higher than the gap at the end of the last century.

A striking aspect is that, after 2001, the unexplained component remained close to 50% throughout the period (except for the pandemic period) (see figure 5a). In other terms, the structure effect, that might be associated with labour discrimination, described a permanent evolution, reflecting the difficulties in eliminating gender gaps as a policy agenda.



Figures 5a & 5b. Oaxaca-Blinder yearly decomposition of the gender pay gap. Explained and Unexplained yearly GPG (4a) and yearly shares (4b). Argentina. Years 1995-2024. Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses (*** $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$). Source: own elaboration with data from EPH - INDEC.

Gender gap and income distribution

After analysing the GPG on average income and evaluating its long-term evolution, it is pertinent to study how the gap breaks down at different points in the distribution. First, we analyse the value of the total GPG and its components at seven points in the income distribution of women and men. The results in Figure 6 confirm a statistically and economically significant GPG that expresses the disadvantage of women throughout the distribution. This gap decreases with income level, with values in the 5th and 10th percentiles accounting for twice the gap at the upper end (90th and 95th percentiles).

The combination of the explained and unexplained components does not allow us to identify the glass ceiling effect at the upper levels of the distribution, although it does confirm a partial sticky floor effect on lower incomes. From the 50th percentile onwards, we can see that the structure and composition effects report approximately the same weight. While the former

appears to be slightly greater than the latter at p75 and p90, it reaches an exact share of 50% at p95.

If we look at the lower end of the distribution, we can see mixed results. Although at the 10th percentile the coefficient effect accounts for almost two-thirds of the gap, it collapses at the 5th percentile, reaching only a quarter of the total GPG. In the first case, the structure effect doubles in importance the composition effect. This is partial evidence of the sticky floor effect or wage discrimination for low incomes. Meanwhile, the importance of both effects is reversed at the lowest income levels (p5), and the composition effect becomes more important. One possible hypothesis for this result is the high share of female domestic workers, a strongly feminised sector that reports the lowest incomes in the economy.

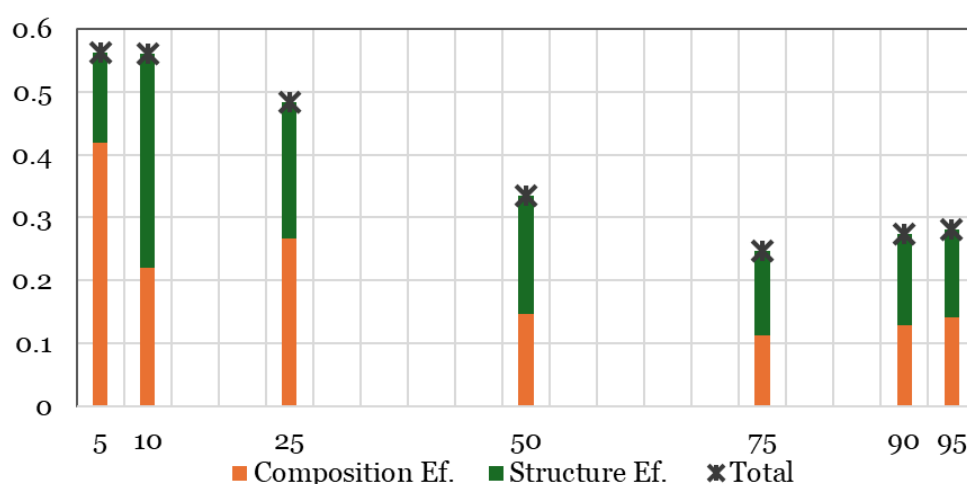


Figure 6. RIF Decomposition of the gender pay gap along the distribution. Argentina. Pool model 1995-2024. Note: All the coefficients statistically significant at 1%. Source: own elaboration with data from EPH - INDEC.

To study the relative importance of each variable, table 3 shows the findings of the RIF decomposition of the income gap on the 10th, 50th, and 90th percentiles, the interquartile range, and the Gini coefficient. To simplify the analysis, we aggregated the variables according to their nature and the dimensions of analysis.

The dimension associated with human capital, which comprises years of education and age, is statistically significant and has a negative impact on the explained gap, as was the case with the mean decomposition. This reflects that women, even at different income levels, are more educated than men; consequently, the composition effects for the interquartile range and the Gini coefficient are positive. In the case of the unexplained gap, the results vary in signs and even in the statistical significance.

High-skilled jobs have a composition effect for all indicators and a structure effect for the median, all favouring women. Working conditions, which include self-employment and

involuntary underemployment, show a composition effect favouring men in the three estimated quantiles, although the structure effects vary in sign and significance.

The variables associated with household structure have positive structure effects for men in all quantiles and composition effects with the same sign for the 50th and 90th quantiles and the two synthetic measures of inequality.

As for jobs, women work in better-paid positions at medium and low-income levels, while men obtain positions with higher pay than women in the 90th income percentile. For their part, job remuneration mainly benefits men, with this structural effect being common to all measures of inequality and income distribution points. About industries, men work in better-paid sectors at the 50th and 90th quantiles, and women only in the lowest estimated percentile. However, no statistically significant compensations are identified across the different estimators, except for the median. This finding prompts us to investigate what happens with gender gaps at the industry level, the econometric results of which are presented in the next section.

Finally, the constant value captures the largest portion of the structure effect, although it declines with income levels. This result is consistent with Pal (2019) and explains how the component associated with pure discrimination (as it is not explained by the proposed specification) is particularly relevant when it comes to the lowest incomes in the distribution.

VARIABLES	Q10			Q50			Q90			Q75-Q25			Gini		
	Prediction	explained	unexplained	Prediction	explained	unexplained	Prediction	explained	unexplained	Prediction	explained	unexplained	Prediction	explained	unexplained
Male	5.078*** (0.002)			6.117*** (0.001)			6.998*** (0.002)			0.929*** (0.001)			0.072*** (0.000)		
Female	4.517*** (0.002)			5.783*** (0.002)			6.724*** (0.002)			1.157*** (0.002)			0.088*** (0.000)		
Difference	0.561*** (0.003)	0.219*** (0.004)	0.342*** (0.004)	0.334*** (0.002)	0.146*** (0.003)	0.188*** (0.003)	0.274*** (0.002)	0.129*** (0.005)	0.144*** (0.005)	-0.227*** (0.002)	-0.138*** (0.005)	-0.089*** (0.005)	-0.016*** (0.000)	-0.009*** (0.000)	-0.006*** (0.000)
Dimensions															
Human K		-0.025*** (0.001)	1.590*** (0.043)		-0.051*** (0.001)	-0.107*** (0.021)		-0.050*** (0.001)	0.262*** (0.029)		0.005*** (0.001)	0.528*** (0.034)		0.001*** (0.000)	-0.004* (0.002)
Job skills		-0.006*** (0.000)	0.012*** (0.002)		-0.020*** (0.000)	-0.028*** (0.001)		-0.032*** (0.001)	-0.003 (0.002)		-0.009*** (0.000)	0.024*** (0.002)		-0.000*** (0.000)	0.001*** (0.000)
Working time		0.327*** (0.002)	1.445*** (0.053)		0.153*** (0.001)	-0.675*** (0.017)		0.075*** (0.001)	0.042* (0.023)		-0.232*** (0.002)	2.211*** (0.027)		-0.019*** (0.000)	0.075*** (0.002)
L conditions		-0.012*** (0.001)	-0.115*** (0.002)		-0.009*** (0.000)	0.029*** (0.001)		-0.001** (0.000)	-0.007*** (0.001)		0.002*** (0.001)	-0.023*** (0.002)		0.001*** (0.000)	0.000*** (0.000)
HH nexus		-0.005*** (0.001)	0.083*** (0.005)		0.013*** (0.001)	0.067*** (0.003)		0.018*** (0.001)	0.056*** (0.004)		0.020*** (0.002)	-0.004 (0.004)		0.001*** (0.000)	-0.002*** (0.000)
Jobs		-0.048*** (0.003)	0.220*** (0.013)		-0.034*** (0.002)	0.068*** (0.009)		0.040*** (0.003)	0.378*** (0.024)		0.093*** (0.003)	0.090*** (0.014)		0.005*** (0.000)	0.006*** (0.001)
Industries		-0.018*** (0.003)	0.077* (0.039)		0.091*** (0.003)	-0.074*** (0.026)		0.074*** (0.005)	0.022 (0.051)		-0.008* (0.004)	0.019 (0.041)		0.003*** (0.000)	-0.003 (0.002)
Constant			-2.903*** (0.081)			0.889*** (0.039)			-0.590*** (0.067)			-2.881*** (0.062)			-0.078*** (0.004)
N			1,146,932			1,146,932			1,146,932			1,146,932			1,146,932
Males			664,278			664,278			664,278			664,278			664,278
Females			482,654			482,654			482,654			482,654			482,654

Table 3. RIF Decomposition of the gender pay gap. Argentina. Pool model 1995-2024. Models 1-3: Decomposition of the GPG for q10, q50, and q90. Model 4: Decomposition at the interquartile range (q75-q25); Model 5: Decmposition for Gini. Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1). Source: own elaboration with data from EPH - INDEC.

Gender gaps and structural heterogeneity

To end with the discussion, using O-B decompositions, we identify patterns in GPG that are associated with the productive and technological heterogeneity of the 15 sectors into which the economy is divided. The results are presented in Table 4 and Figure 7 by taking each sector marginally, ordered according to the rate of feminisation, which allows us to identify sectors as feminised, masculinised or a 'parity-sector' (gender-balanced). In the first case, we consider sectors with more than 60% female workers; in the second case, we refer to those with less than 40%; and in the group defined as 'parity sector', we include those with a feminisation rate between 40% and 60%.

The first finding to note is that all productive sectors, except for construction and domestic service (which show the highest rates of gender segregation), confirm a significant gender gap that disadvantages women. In such cases, the total gap is negative. This result seems more reasonable for domestic service, although for construction the results merit further investigation to understand the logics behind these outcomes. In any case, extremely unequal gender representation occurs in both cases: construction accounts for only 3% of the workforce, while domestic service accounts for almost 96%.

Conversely, when examining the 13 sectors with a positive GPG, manufacturing exhibits the largest gap. If we exclude the primary sector due to its low coverage in this database, the second-highest gap is reported in social services, although manufacturing exceeds its rate in 40%.

The two feminised sectors with positive gaps—health and education—exhibit structural effects that overshadow composition effects. This indicates the presence of labour discrimination or estimation biases contributing to GPGs that unfavourably impact women. In contrast, the findings for masculinised sectors are more ambiguous. Transport and communications, as well as utilities, demonstrate that their gaps are entirely attributed to structural effects. In contrast, the sectors of manufacturing and primary activities do not exhibit a clear predominance of either structural or compositional effects. Meanwhile, real estate, professional, and business services reveal that compositional effects are the primary contributors to the gender pay gap.

Among the gender-balanced or 'parity' sectors, only wholesale and retail, as well as public administration, display a dominant structural effect. In contrast, the gender pay gap in the remaining sectors is primarily attributed to the endowment effect.

Profile	Sector	Total	Explained	Unexplained	Constant	Fem. Rate	N
M	Construction	-0.283***	-0.181***	-0.102***	0.411	3.1	108,719
	Transport & Communications	0.102***	0.003	0.099***	0.975***	12.7	66,101
	Primary activities	0.478***	0.258***	0.220***	-0.629*	15.8	16,144
	Utilities	0.178***	-0.007	0.185***	1.640***	15.8	11,385
	Manufacturing	0.636***	0.317***	0.319***	1.042***	28.6	129,548
	R. Estate & Professional & Business	0.151***	0.048***	0.103***	0.487***	39.8	71,241
P	Wholesale & Retail	0.407***	0.170***	0.237***	1.012***	40.2	196,127
	Public administration	0.128***	0.025***	0.103***	1.212***	42.0	147,989
	Social services	0.453***	0.242***	0.211***	0.609***	44.2	43,408
	Financial services	0.226***	0.135***	0.090***	1.027***	44.7	19,607
	Hotels & Restaurants	0.316***	0.175***	0.141***	0.403***	45.3	33,871
	Personal services	0.418***	0.235***	0.183***	0.486***	46.0	35,126
F	Health	0.317***	0.132***	0.185***	0.514***	69.4	64,512
	Education	0.124***	0.031***	0.093***	0.085	76.4	107,928
	Domestic services	-0.035**	0.058***	-0.093***	-0.457*	95.8	91,465

Table 4. O-B two-fold decomposition of the GPG by sector. Explained and unexplained components. Argentina, 1995-2024. Note: (1) Robust standard errors in parentheses (***) $p < 0.01$, ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.1$); (2) Sector profile according to Fem. Rate, F=Feminised; M=Masculinised; P=Parity. Source: own elaboration with data from EPH - INDEC.

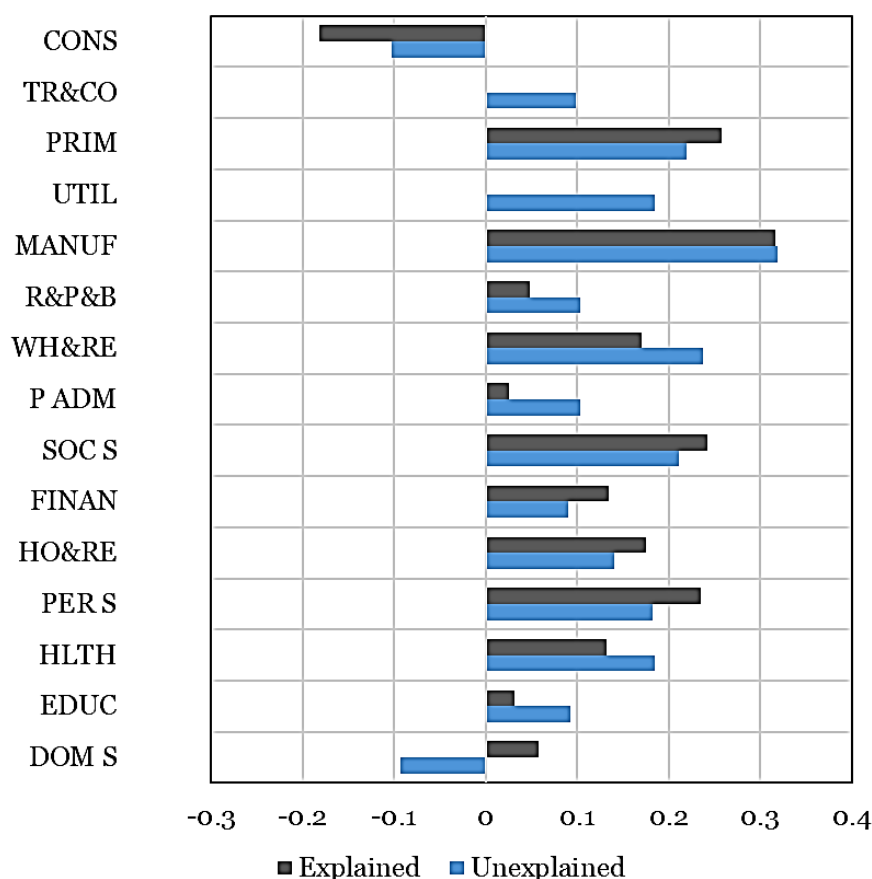


Figure 7. Explained and unexplained GPG by sector. Argentina, 1995-2024. Note: (1) All the bars indicate coefficients significant at 1%; (2) TR&CO and UTIL do not report significant composition effects. Source: own elaboration with data from EPH - INDEC.

5. Final remarks

In recent decades, Argentina has shown numerous advances in gender and diversity matters, both regionally and internationally. At the same time, there are still several tasks in the country pending to address the multiple inequalities that exist in this area. Given this context, based on harmonised data from household surveys in Argentina over the last 30 years, we propose two contributions to the literature. Firstly, we developed a decomposition of a long-term gender pay gap series. To our knowledge, this study is the first to address gender inequality in income over a period of more than a decade. Secondly, a sectoral analysis at the first level of disaggregation of the economy, which allows us to identify patterns of inequality between and within Argentina's productive sectors.

Two research questions guided this article: What are the main dimensions contributing to gender pay gaps in Argentina, and what role do productive structures and industry segregation play in these gaps? Below, we outline some observations.

Our findings confirm a significant gender pay gap (GPG) to the detriment of women workers for the last 30 years in Argentina, both for the pool data model and for the yearly estimations. Almost half of the gender GPG is unexplained and should be considered as a possible source of discrimination in the labour market. Meanwhile, the long-term evolution of the GPG shows how a particular configuration of the labour market and the macroeconomic context affect gender inequality. In this sense, we can outline three phases that can be identified in Argentina between 1995 and 2024 for both the total and the explained gap.

- From 1998 to 2002 we observe a declining gap, coincident with the final years of a regime of peso-dollar convertibility. A long-term combination of severe recession, high unemployment, and deepening poverty and inequality translated into massive job losses and the inclusion of women in the labour force. Rationalised by the additional worker's hypothesis, it could deliver a decrease in the composition effect and, albeit partially, in the structural effect.
- Between 2002 and 2010, the total and the explained GPG draw an inverted U-shape. With the rapid economic growth and a massive influx of workers, we observe once again the skewing of the gender composition in favour of male workers. After 2009, economic growth and job creation slowed down, and the GPG narrowed again but to a higher floor, almost 10 percentage points higher.
- Since 2009 there has been a stable trend in the total GPG and its endowment effect, even after the crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic. By 2024, the total gap was at 2009 levels and one step higher than the gap at the end of the last century. The structure effect remained close to 50%, reflecting the difficulties in eliminating gender gaps as a policy agenda.

After the analysis of the GPG alongside the distribution, we could not identify a glass ceiling effect (expressed by a dominant structure effect at the upper levels of the distribution). Nevertheless, some partial evidence of the sticky floor effect (on lower incomes) was reported.

Regarding the drivers of the GPG, as Argentinean working women are, on average, more educated, education counteracts the explained GPG. Yet, the returns to education act in the opposite direction, with payments marginally benefiting men. The endowment effect is verified in the mean income decomposition as well as in the extension on income distribution. In terms of working conditions, hours worked reveal a significant weight in the gap, both for their endowment effects and coefficient effects. The former is confirmed for O-B and RIF decomposition, expectably indicating that men work longer hours. In contrast, returns to the hours worked report are in favour of women for the mean and the median decomposition. Also, variables associated with household structure – householder condition and single marital status – have, on aggregate, positive composition effects in favour of men. This outcome stands for the decompositions of the mean, the median, the 90th quantile, the interquartile range, and the Gini coefficient.

Concerning jobs, we observe structure effects against women in all categories included in the mean decomposition. However, reports from the RIF decomposition indicate that women work in better-paid positions at medium and low-income levels, while men obtain higher-pay jobs in the 90th income percentile. Returns to jobs mainly benefit men, a shared result for all measures of income. Furthermore, for the industries dimension, the composition effect reports positive for men, revealing that they work in better-paid sectors for the 50th and 90th quantiles and the Gini coefficient, and women only in the lowest estimated percentile. Also, in

all the estimates, as expected, the constant coefficient reports statistically significant. For O-B estimation, the reported value is moderated, confirming that the proposed specification is a proper representation of the GPG. In contrast, for the RIF decompositions, its value is particularly relevant when it comes to the lowest incomes in the distribution, indicating the difficulties in measuring the GPG for the poorest workers. Sectoral decompositions for the domestic service and the construction industries serve as an example.

Our final exercise is related to the sectoral mean decompositions. In 13 out of 15 productive sectors, a significant gender gap that disadvantages women is reported. Among these, manufacturing exhibits the largest one. The second-highest gap in urban sectors is reported in social services, although manufacturing exceeds its rate by 40%. Feminised sectors exhibit structural effects that overshadow composition effects, while masculinised sectors report mixed results. Among the gender-balanced sectors, one-third display a dominant structural effect. In contrast, the gender pay gap in the remaining sectors is primarily attributed to the endowment effect.

In summary, although the total gap and its composition effect vary with labour and macroeconomic cycles, the structure effect associated with discrimination is notably stable. Furthermore, although the average income decomposition model is reported to be a good representation of the GPG, extending the analysis across the income distribution and within productive sectors sheds light on some relevant characteristics of income inequality. In fact, this preliminary evidence of the GPG in the long run, beyond the mean, and at sectoral level opens the possibility to further studies that could evaluate policies related to tackle both gender segregation by branch and gender gaps at the tails of the income distribution.

To conclude, some aspects of this research emerged as drawbacks throughout the process. In the first case, we can mention the difficult task of harmonising microdata series of different natures. An attempt was made to build a database with the greatest possible integration, without losing important dimensions of analysis (an example of this is the adjustment of information by branch). For this reason, the presence of biases in the estimates resulting from these limitations should not be ruled out. Another difficulty is the lack of literature with a quantitative focus on gender gaps in the 1990s, which made it necessary to incorporate them to the literature review. Finally, the sectoral decomposition exercises are presented basically to outline the gender inequalities at different productive structures. In other words, any formalisation of segregation indexes is out of the scope of this article.

Related to the above, some lines of research based on this article arise. From a distributional analysis, to identify differentiated patterns of inequality for workers at the tails of the income distribution, by formalising empirical strategies on the sticky floor and the glass ceiling. From a sectoral analysis, to incorporate segregation indexes by sector into the determination of gaps.

References

- Actis Di Pasquale, E., & Savino, J. V. (2019). Participación y segregación ocupacional de mujeres y varones en Argentina (2003 y 2017): ¿evolución o estancamiento? Available at: <https://nulan.mdp.edu.ar/id/eprint/3213/>
- Arulampalam, W., Booth, A. L., & Bryan, M. L. (2007). Is there a glass ceiling over Europe? Exploring the gender pay gap across the wage distribution. *Ilr Review*, 60(2), 163-186. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/001979390706000201>.
- Ascencio, D. E., Sacco, E. F., & Strada Rodríguez, J. (2019). Desigualdades de género en el mercado de trabajo argentino: salario, empleo e informalidad laboral en las mujeres (2004-2016). DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15517/rcs.voi165.40066>
- Babcock, L., Laschever, S., Gelfand, M., & Small, D. (2003). Nice girls don't ask. *Harvard business review*, 81(10), 14-14. Available at: <https://elibrary.ru/item.asp?id=6431779>
- Barón, C., y Scuro, L., (2023). Los nudos estructurales de la desigualdad de género y los desafíos para la autonomía de las mujeres en el futuro del trabajo. En Huespe (M. (Ed.) Desigualdades, inclusión laboral y futuro del trabajo en América Latina. *Documentos de Proyectos* (LC/TS.2023/63), Santiago, Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL), 2023. <https://repositorio.cepal.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/6f70e3dc-ed90-469c-ad1e-be78a9ce25cd/content>
- Biasi, B., & Sarsons, H. (2022). Flexible wages, bargaining, and the gender gap. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 137(1), 215-266. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjab026>
- Blau, F. D. y Kahn, L. M. (2017). *The Gender Wage Gap: Extent, Trends, and Explanations*. *Journal of Economic Literature* 55 (3), 789–865. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1257/jel.20160995>
- Blinder, A. S. (1973). Wage discrimination: reduced form and structural estimates. *Journal of Human resources*, 436-455. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/144855>.
- CEPAL, & OIT. (2019). *Trabajo decente y la igualdad de género: Políticas para mejorar el acceso y la calidad del empleo de las mujeres en América Latina y el Caribe*. Available at: <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12799/3620>
- Chzhen, Y., & Mumford, K. (2009). *Gender gaps across the earnings distribution in Britain: are women bossy enough?* (No. 4331). IZA Discussion Papers. Available at: <https://docs.iza.org/dp4331.pdf>
- Ciminelli, G., Schwellnus, C., & Stadler, B. (2021). Sticky floors or glass ceilings? The role of human capital, working time flexibility and discrimination in the gender wage gap. *OECD Economic Department Working Papers*, (1668), 0_1-43. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1787/02ef3235-en>
- Contreras, D., & Gallegos, S. (2011). Desigualdad salarial en América Latina: una década de cambios. *Revista de la CEPAL*, 2011(103), 27-45. Available at:

<https://repositorio.cepal.org/bitstreams/71b10c29-3c8e-40f4-8f85-796a3fe928a0/download>

Díaz Langou, G., de León, G., Fiorito, J., Caro Sachetti, F., Biondi Rodríguez, A., Karczmarczyk, M. (2019). El género del trabajo: entre la casa, el sueldo y los derechos". 1ª ed. – Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires: Fundación CIPPEC, OIT, ONU Mujeres, PNUD. 2019. Capítulos 3, 4, 5, 6 y 8. Available at: https://www.cippec.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/el_genero_del_trabajo.pdf

Espino, A. (2012) Perspectivas teóricas sobre género, trabajo y situación del mercado de trabajo latinoamericano. En V. Esquivel (coord.) *La economía feminista desde América Latina: una hoja de ruta sobre los debates actuales en la región*, GEMLAC – ONU Mujeres. Available at: <https://www.gemlac.org/attachments/article/44/Economia-feminista-desde-america-latina.pdf>

Esquivel, V. R. (2007). Género y diferenciales de salarios en Argentina. En M. Novick y H. Palomio (Eds.), *Estructura productiva y empleo: un enfoque transversal* (pp. 363-392). Buenos Aires, Ministerio de Trabajo, Empleo y Seguridad Social.

Evans, D. K., Akmal, M., & Jakiela, P. (2021). *Gender gaps in education: The long view*. IZA Journal of Development and Migration (2021) 12:01. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2478/izajodm-2021-0001>

Forth, J., & Theodoropoulos, N. (2023). Employers and the gender wage gap. *IZA World of Labor*. Available at: <https://wol.iza.org/articles/employers-and-the-gender-wage-gap/long>

Galiani, S., Heymann, D., & Tommasi, M. (2003). Expectativas frustradas: el ciclo de la convertibilidad. *Desarrollo económico*, 3-44. Available at: <https://repositorio.cepal.org/server/api/core/bitstreams/5fb19ba4-d00a-47e3-b22a-bb1278270dbf/content>

Gasparini, L., & Marchionni, M. (2017). Deceleration in female labor force participation in Latin America. *Economía*, 18(1), 197-224. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/90017439>

Goldin, C. (1992). *Understanding the Gender Gap: An Economic History of American Women*. Oxford University Press.

Goldin, C., Katz, L. F., & Kuziemko, I. (2006). The homecoming of American college women: The reversal of the college gender gap. *Journal of Economic perspectives*, 20(4), 133-156. DOI: [10.1257/jep.20.4.133](https://doi.org/10.1257/jep.20.4.133)

Gómez, M. C. (2021). *La desigualdad de ingresos en Argentina: El papel de la innovación tecnológica y las calificaciones de los trabajadores* (Doctoral dissertation, Universidad Nacional de Córdoba (UNC)). Available at: <https://rdu.unc.edu.ar/items/578e8c7c-b287-4f44-be65-115b169d04a0>

Graña, J. M., & Lavopa, A. (2008). *15 años de EPH, una serie: Empalme entre sus versiones Puntual y Continua, 1992-2006* (No. 11). Documentos de Trabajo. Available at: <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/85387/1/589291874.pdf>

Heckman, J. J. (1979). Sample selection bias as a specification error. *Econometrica: Journal of the econometric society*, 153-161. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/1912352>.

Heinze, A., & Wolf, E. (2010). The intra-firm gender wage gap: a new view on wage differentials based on linked employer–employee data. *Journal of population Economics*, 23(3), 851-879. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-008-0229-0>

Jann, B. (2008). The Blinder–Oaxaca decomposition for linear regression models. *The stata journal*, 8(4), 453-479. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1536867X0800800401>

Masso, J., Meriküll, J., & Vahter, P. (2022). The role of firms in the gender wage gap. *Journal of Comparative Economics*, 50(2), 454-473. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jce.2021.10.001>

Micha, A. S., & Pereyra, F. (2019). La inserción laboral de las mujeres de sectores populares en Argentina: sobre características objetivas y vivencias subjetivas. Available at: https://ri.conicet.gov.ar/bitstream/handle/11336/128222/CONICET_Digital_Nro.8ada1cb5-34co-472e-a3c2-0d9fbbd03737_A.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y

Ñopo, R., Atal, J. P. y Winder, N. (2010). *New Century, Old Disparities: Gender and Ethnic Wage Gaps in Latin America*. IZA Discussion Papers 5085, Institute of Labor Economics (IZA). <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/44171/1/643408363.pdf>

Oaxaca, R. (1973). Male-female wage differentials in urban labor markets. *International economic review*, 693-709. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/2525981>.

Oaxaca, R. L., & Ransom, M. R. (1994). On discrimination and the decomposition of wage differentials. *Journal of econometrics*, 61(1), 5-21. DOI: [https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-4076\(94\)90074-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-4076(94)90074-4)

Pal, J. M. (2019). Brechas de género: una exploración más allá de la media. *Documentos de Trabajo del CEDLAS*. Available at: <https://sedici.unlp.edu.ar/handle/10915/87395>.

Paz, J. A. (2007). *Estrategias laborales de hogares nucleares y recomposición de ingresos después de un shock. Argentina, 1995-2003* (No. 360). Serie Documentos de Trabajo. Available at: <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/84400/1/555588440.pdf>

Paz, J. A. (2019). La brecha salarial por género en Argentina: un análisis acerca de la segmentación laboral. *Sociedade e cultura*, 22(1), 157-178. Available at: <https://www.redalyc.org/journal/703/70361437010/70361437010.pdf>

Schteingart, D., & Tavosnanska, A. (2022). El retorno de la desindustrialización. *H-Industria: Revista de historia de la industria y el desarrollo en América Latina*, 16(30), 5. DOI: [10.56503/h-industria/n.30\(16\)pp.101-133](https://doi.org/10.56503/h-industria/n.30(16)pp.101-133)

Trombetta, M., & Cabezón Cruz, J. (2020). Brecha salarial de género en la estructura productiva argentina. *Documentos de Trabajo del CEP XXI N*, 2. Available at: https://www.argentina.gob.ar/sites/default/files/dt_2_-_brecha_salarial_de_genero.pdf

Van Bavel, J., Schwartz, C. R., & Esteve, A. (2018). The reversal of the gender gap in education and its consequences for family life. *Annual review of sociology*, 44(1), 341-360. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-073117-041215>

Vera, J., Salvia, A., Bonfiglio, J. I., & Giannecchini, A. (2025). Ajuste libertario, crisis y estabilización: efectos sobre la dinámica de la pobreza y la desigualdad social. *Ciudadanías. Revista de Políticas Sociales Urbanas*. Available at: <https://www.revistas.untref.edu.ar/index.php/ciudadanias/article/download/2415/2114>

Yun, M. S. (2005). *Normalized equation and decomposition analysis: computation and inference* (No. 1822). IZA Discussion Papers. Available at: <https://hdl.handle.net/10419/33532>

Appendix

	Construction			Transport & Communications			Primary activities			Utilities			Manufacturing		
	Prediction	explained	unexplained	overall	explained	unexplained	overall	explained	unexplained	overall	explained	unexplained	overall	explained	unexplained
Male	5.740*** (0.002)			6.174*** (0.003)			6.271*** (0.009)			6.450*** (0.007)			6.135*** (0.002)		
Female	6.023*** (0.014)			6.072*** (0.008)			5.793*** (0.024)			6.272*** (0.019)			5.500*** (0.006)		
Difference	-0.283*** (0.014)	-0.181*** (0.010)	-0.102*** (0.012)	0.102*** (0.009)	0.003 (0.006)	0.099*** (0.008)	0.478*** (0.026)	0.258*** (0.022)	0.220*** (0.018)	0.178*** (0.020)	-0.007 (0.015)	0.185*** (0.016)	0.636*** (0.006)	0.317*** (0.005)	0.319*** (0.005)
Dimensions															
H capital		-0.099*** (0.003)	-0.669*** (0.158)		-0.053*** (0.002)	-0.405*** (0.123)		-0.045*** (0.008)	0.172 (0.238)		-0.065*** (0.006)	-0.465* (0.241)		-0.042*** (0.001)	0.174*** (0.060)
Skills		-0.058*** (0.003)	0.007 (0.007)		-0.018*** (0.001)	-0.021*** (0.004)		0.015*** (0.005)	-0.003 (0.011)		-0.003 (0.003)	-0.023** (0.009)		0.011*** (0.001)	-0.004** (0.002)
Working time		0.054*** (0.004)	-0.195 (0.200)		0.073*** (0.003)	-0.516*** (0.128)		0.149*** (0.009)	0.194 (0.274)		0.058*** (0.005)	-0.863*** (0.331)		0.193*** (0.003)	-1.028*** (0.066)
L conditions		-0.048*** (0.002)	0.000 (0.007)		-0.014*** (0.001)	-0.009** (0.004)		-0.011*** (0.004)	-0.001 (0.009)		-0.008** (0.004)	0.005 (0.006)		0.104*** (0.002)	0.033*** (0.004)
Household		0.042*** (0.002)	0.026** (0.010)		0.070*** (0.002)	0.035*** (0.008)		0.065*** (0.006)	0.027 (0.018)		0.044*** (0.005)	0.060*** (0.017)		0.042*** (0.002)	0.048*** (0.005)
Tasks		-0.042*** (0.004)	0.292*** (0.084)		-0.030*** (0.002)	0.071 (0.050)		-0.006* (0.003)	0.230* (0.119)		-0.032*** (0.006)	-0.173 (0.237)		-0.005*** (0.001)	0.074** (0.033)
Constant			0.411 (0.279)			0.975*** (0.186)			-0.629* (0.370)			1.640*** (0.458)			1.042*** (0.096)
Feminization rate		3.1			12.7			15.8			15.8			28.6	
N		108,719			66,101			16,144			11,385			129,548	

	R. Estate & Professional & Business			Wholesale & Retail			Pubic administration			Social services			Financial services		
	overall	explained	unexplained	overall	explained	unexplained	overall	explained	unexplained	overall	explained	unexplained	overall	explained	unexplained
Male	6.150***			5.970***			6.305***			5.957***			6.663***		
	(0.004)			(0.002)			(0.002)			(0.005)			(0.006)		
Female	5.999***			5.563***			6.177***			5.503***			6.437***		
	(0.005)			(0.003)			(0.003)			(0.006)			(0.007)		
Difference	0.151***	0.048***	0.103***	0.407***	0.170***	0.237***	0.128***	0.025***	0.103***	0.453***	0.242***	0.211***	0.226***	0.135***	0.090***
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.008)
Dimensions															
H capital		-0.044***	-0.023		-0.034***	0.045		-0.069***	-0.354***		-0.019***	0.249***		0.012***	-0.161
		(0.002)	(0.081)		(0.001)	(0.043)		(0.001)	(0.046)		(0.002)	(0.084)		(0.003)	(0.163)
Skills		0.000	0.034***		0.019***	-0.001		0.001**	-0.019***		0.022***	-0.015***		0.038***	0.015**
		(0.001)	(0.006)		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.002)		(0.001)	(0.005)		(0.002)	(0.007)
Working time		0.107***	-0.479***		0.122***	-0.880***		0.089***	-0.803***		0.172***	-0.650***		0.039***	-0.901***
		(0.003)	(0.072)		(0.002)	(0.051)		(0.001)	(0.056)		(0.004)	(0.073)		(0.003)	(0.227)
L conditions		-0.012***	-0.027***		0.031***	0.018***		0.005***	-0.004***		0.008***	-0.002		0.002	-0.002
		(0.001)	(0.004)		(0.001)	(0.003)		(0.000)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.004)		(0.001)	(0.003)
Household		0.039***	0.039***		0.045***	0.023***		0.038***	0.050***		0.031***	0.015		0.057***	0.083***
		(0.002)	(0.007)		(0.001)	(0.004)		(0.001)	(0.004)		(0.002)	(0.010)		(0.004)	(0.013)
Tasks		-0.020***	0.115***		-0.009***	0.054***		-0.032***	0.035		-0.015***	0.074		0.005***	0.067
		(0.001)	(0.028)		(0.001)	(0.019)		(0.001)	(0.025)		(0.001)	(0.048)		(0.002)	(0.060)
Constant			0.487***			1.012***			1.212***			0.609***			1.027***
			(0.109)			(0.070)			(0.075)			(0.122)			(0.282)
Feminization rate		39.8			40.2			42.0			44.2			44.7	
N		71,241			196,127			147,949			43,408			19,607	

Hotels & Restaurants				Personal services			Health			Education			Domestic services		
	overall	explained	unexplained	overall	explained	unexplained	overall	explained	unexplained	overall	explained	unexplained	overall	explained	unexplained
Male	5.850*** (0.005)			5.668*** (0.006)			6.392*** (0.005)			6.087*** (0.004)			4.916*** (0.016)		
Female	5.533*** (0.006)			5.250*** (0.009)			6.075*** (0.003)			5.963*** (0.002)			4.951*** (0.002)		
Difference	0.316*** (0.008)	0.175*** (0.006)	0.141*** (0.006)	0.418*** (0.010)	0.235*** (0.009)	0.183*** (0.009)	0.317*** (0.006)	0.132*** (0.005)	0.185*** (0.005)	0.124*** (0.005)	0.031*** (0.004)	0.093*** (0.004)	-0.035** (0.016)	0.058*** (0.011)	-0.093*** (0.012)
Dimensions															
H capital		-0.012*** (0.001)	0.081 (0.085)		-0.067*** (0.002)	0.347*** (0.107)		0.032*** (0.002)	0.150* (0.083)		-0.025*** (0.001)	-0.153** (0.069)		-0.016*** (0.001)	0.419*** (0.150)
Skills		0.013*** (0.001)	0.003 (0.003)		0.022*** (0.001)	-0.018*** (0.004)		0.017*** (0.001)	-0.004 (0.008)		-0.028*** (0.001)	-0.027*** (0.007)		0.004*** (0.001)	0.004** (0.002)
Working time		0.127*** (0.004)	-0.379*** (0.098)		0.275*** (0.006)	-0.651*** (0.083)		0.052*** (0.002)	-0.593*** (0.085)		0.074*** (0.002)	0.094** (0.047)		0.035*** (0.009)	0.075 (0.097)
L conditions		0.034*** (0.002)	0.006 (0.005)		0.027*** (0.002)	-0.050*** (0.012)		0.009*** (0.001)	0.006** (0.003)		-0.002 (0.001)	0.014*** (0.002)		0.030*** (0.003)	-0.057*** (0.017)
Household		0.016*** (0.002)	0.025*** (0.009)		0.035*** (0.003)	0.055*** (0.011)		0.025*** (0.002)	0.045*** (0.008)		0.012*** (0.001)	0.028*** (0.007)		-0.002** (0.001)	0.028 (0.023)
Tasks		-0.002** (0.001)	0.007 (0.047)		-0.046*** (0.004)	0.155** (0.065)		0.003*** (0.001)	0.096** (0.038)		0.003*** (0.001)	0.049** (0.025)		0.003 (0.002)	-0.099 (0.164)
Constant			0.403*** (0.138)			0.486*** (0.155)			0.514*** (0.126)			0.085 (0.087)			-0.457* (0.249)
Feminization rate		45.3			46.0			69.4			76.4			95.8	
N		33,871			35,126			64,512			107,928			91,465	

Table A1. O-B two-fol decomposition of the gender pay gap by sector. Argentina, 1995-2024. Note: Robust standard errors in parentheses (*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1). Source: own elaboration with data from EPH - INDEC.

