

Asset Accumulation: The Challenge for Equity

Carmen Diana Deere

Jackeline Contreras Díaz

Translation of:

Acumulación de Activos: Una apuesta por la equidad.

Carmen Diana Deere y Jackeline Contreras Díaz

FLACSO, Ecuador, 2011

72 pp.

The purpose of this publication is to disseminate preliminary research results and it does not form part of the academic series published by FLACSO, Ecuador.

@ Spanish edition: FLACSO, Sede Ecuador

ISBN: 978-9978-67-285-3

La Pradera E7-174 y Diego de Almagro

Quito, Ecuador

Tel: (593-2) 323 8888

Fax: (593-2) 323 7960

www.flacso.org.ec

Translated by Dan Madera, Ph.D.; revised by C. D. Deere

Quito, Ecuador, December 2011

Table of Contents

Section 1. Background

Section 2. Why Assets?

Section 3. Research Methods

The qualitative fieldwork

The Household Asset Survey

Respondents

Section 4. The Incidence of Asset Ownership

Section 5. The Ownership of Assets within Households

The distribution of assets according to the form of ownership

The distribution of asset ownership by gender

The incidence of individual asset ownership

Section 6. The Wealth and Poverty of Households and the Gender Gap

The wealth of households

The value invested in assets: Gender analysis of the wealth of owners

The distribution of wealth: Analysis by quintiles

Section 7. Gender Differences in the Acquisition of Assets

Section 8. Conclusions and Recommendations

References

Tables

Graphs

Appendix

Acknowledgements

This study is part of a larger international research project made possible by the financial support of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its “MDG3 Fund: Investing in Equality.” We are very grateful to the Dutch people who, through their government, have chosen to promote gender equality globally.

The project proposal was written by an international team that included Cheryl Doss, Yale University; Caren Grown, American University (Washington, DC); Abena Oduro, University of Ghana; Hema Swaminathan of the Institute of Management-Bangalore (IIMB), India; and Carmen Diana Deere, University of Florida, all feminist economists. Since early 2009 we have met in Washington DC, Bangalore, Quito, and Accra to develop the conceptual framework of the project and the methodology, and to share our hypotheses and results. The authors wish to acknowledge this collective effort and especially the role of Hema Swaminathan, who assumed the administrative coordination of the project at IIMB-- not an easy task for a project of this magnitude.

In Ecuador the project was developed under an exchange agreement between the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida and the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO), Ecuador. We greatly appreciate the support of its director, Adrián Bonilla, for facilitating it. We owe a special thanks to Ana Maria Goetschel, former coordinator of the Program on Gender and Culture at FLACSO, for her enthusiasm that we carry out this study in Ecuador under the auspices of this program. Dr. Goetschel, and later Susana Wappenstein, the current coordinator of the Program for Gender and Culture, played key roles at all stages of the project, giving valuable advice and facilitating all administrative aspects. In addition, we would like to thank various colleagues at FLACSO for their assistance and support, particularly Gioconda Herrera, Mercedes Prieto, and Bárbara Grunenfelder-Elliker.

Jennifer Twyman, a doctoral candidate in the Department of Food and Resource Economics at the University of Florida, served as the project's principal research assistant, participating in the initial qualitative fieldwork, the preparation and execution of the national household asset survey, data processing, and the analysis of the results. We would like to recognize her important contributions to this project, which will also serve as the basis of her doctoral dissertation. Mayra Aviles also participated in the qualitative fieldwork during fall 2009, and we benefited from the advice of Colombian sociologist, Magdalena León. Several FLACSO graduate assistants contributed to the project at various moments, and we especially want to thank Elba Maldonado and Virginia Villanueva. In addition, we could always count on the support of Mónica Astudillo at FLACSO.

The 2010 Household Assets Survey was carried out by the research firm, Habitus SA. We want to acknowledge the assistance of its director, Carolina Reed, and especially the tremendous support of Eduardo Encalada, head of field operations, in all phases of the survey. It was a pleasure to work with his team of researchers, supervisors, and encoders. A special thanks to Jesus Tapia and Nelson Toscano for their work on the database.

The initial data processing was done by Fabian Muñoz and subsequently completed by Zachary Catanzarite and Brian Readout at the University of Florida. They very competently prepared the estimates presented in this report. Finally, the authors are very grateful to all the institutions, organizations, and individuals who gave us support during the field work, too numerous to mention individually. We owe a special thanks to those who helped organize the focus groups with women and men from the popular sectors. We hope that what we learned from them during the field work is reflected in the quality of the survey questionnaire and in the veracity of the results presented in this publication.

CDD and JCD

Quito, July 11, 2011

Section 1. Background

Since 1975, when the First United Nations Conference on Women was held in Mexico, equality between men and women has become an international aspiration. This imperative has been incorporated into various international conventions, beginning with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), an international treaty ratified in 1981. More recently it has come to constitute Goal Three of the eight Millennium Development Goals adopted by governments in the Declaration of 2000.¹

But how is gender equality and women's empowerment to be understood, since these concepts are complex and multifaceted? How might progress be assessed in order to determine whether countries are moving in the right direction to achieve this goal, whether in the short or long term? For the purpose of setting a concrete and quantifiable objective, the United Nations set 2005 as the year by which gender inequality in primary and secondary enrollments should be reached, with 2015 as the target year for eliminating gender inequality at all educational levels. The UN also adopted the objective of increasing the percentage of women in paid work in the nonagricultural sector and the percentage of women representatives in national legislatures.

The UN Task Force for Objective Three immediately recognized that these targets and indicators were not sufficient to achieve gender equality in all its dimensions, nor were they adequate to measure progress toward this goal (Grown et al., 2005). Consequently, the Task Force called attention to the need for a cross-cutting approach to gender inequality in order to combat poverty, the principal concern of the Millennium Development Goals. Similarly, the Task Force stressed the importance of addressing other issues crucial for attaining women's empowerment, such as ensuring the property and inheritance rights of women and girls.²

CEDAW had recognized that to end discrimination against women, their property rights would have to be strengthened, specifically, women's rights to possess, inherit, and administer property in their own names.³ The importance of women's property rights and access to assets was mentioned repeatedly in the Platform for Action in the Beijing Conference of 1995 (Deere and León, 2001). For example, paragraph 51 of the section on Women and Poverty states that "women's poverty is directly related to the absence of economic opportunities and autonomy, lack of access to economic resources, including credit, land ownership and inheritance, lack of access to education and support services and their minimal participation in the decision-making process" (UN, 1996:19).

¹ Goal Three specifically focuses on attaining gender equality and the empowerment of women. The other goals include: the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger; achieving universal primary school education; reducing infant mortality; improving maternal health; combating HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other illnesses; guaranteeing environmental sustainability; and establishing a world alliance for development. For more details see: <http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/gender.shtml>.

² Among the other seven strategic priorities proposed by the Task Force are: ensuring women's sexual and reproductive rights; investing in infrastructure (especially transport, energy, water and sewage) to reduce women's domestic workload; combating violence against women; eliminating all forms of discrimination against women in employment, including the gender gap in income, occupational segregation, and the concentration of women in the informal sector (Grown et al., 2005: 2).

³ See Part IV, Article 16, paragraph 2(h) (UN, 1995).

Nonetheless, the lack of consistent indicators concerning gender inequalities in asset ownership remains a major problem in measuring progress towards gender equality. Among the specific recommendations of the UN Task Force on Goal Three with respect to the property rights of women, was the recommendation that countries begin collecting information on the distribution of home ownership and agricultural land by gender and by form of property--whether owned individually or jointly by couples (Grown et al., 2005).

In Latin America the Women and Development Unit of the Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) assumed the responsibility for improving the indicators necessary to measure progress towards Goal Three. They were also charged with raising governmental awareness of how gender inequalities constitute an obstacle to achieving all the other Millennium Development Goals. Much has been achieved in improving the statistics and, therefore, the analysis of gender gaps in employment and wages. Advances have also been made in understanding how poverty and the total workload often fall on the shoulders of women, among other issues (ECLAC and UNIFEM, 2007).⁴ Nevertheless, little attention has been paid thus far to the property rights of women and how inequalities in the accumulation of assets are related to poverty as well as other outcomes, such as women's bargaining power within the household and in society as a whole.

Given its commitment to the MDGs, the Government of the Netherlands created the "MDG3 Fund: Investing in Equality to Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women." In 2008 they held an international competition for research or action projects that had, among other objectives, ensuring the property and inheritance rights of women. The present study is part of the international project entitled, "In Her Name: Measuring the Gender Gap in the Ownership of Assets in Ecuador, India and Ghana," which was selected as one of forty-five international projects to be financed by the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the period 2008-2011. The international project is coordinated by the Institute of Management-Bangalore, India. It includes researchers from that institute as well as from American University, University of Florida, University of Ghana and Yale University. The research project, "Assets, Poverty, and Gender Inequality," was carried out in Ecuador through an agreement between the Program on Gender and Culture at the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO) and the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida.

The international research project aims to identify the socio-economic and institutional factors that condition asset ownership among women, and hence economic equality between men and women. The specific objectives of the study are to collect empirical information on i) the gender distribution of asset ownership within households; ii) the importance of asset ownership to the empowerment of women and the wellbeing of households; iii) the factors that facilitate or hinder asset ownership by women; and iv) the relationship between marital and inheritance regimes and access, ownership, and control over assets by women.

⁴ On Ecuador's achievements with respect to gender statistics, see Pérez and Gallardo (2005) and Pérez, Vasconez, and Gallardo (2008). Both of these reports were carried out by the Ecuadorian National Council of Women (CONAMU) and the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses (INEC).

One of the major objectives of the comparative study is to recommend indicators to assess whether women's property rights are honored in practice and whether these change over time in response to changes in public policy and legal reforms intending to favor the accumulation of assets by women. Asset ownership has usually been studied at the household level; this project measures asset ownership at the individual level. We believe this approach offers an innovative perspective into gender inequality.

Section 2. Why Assets?

Traditionally, the wellbeing of households or individuals has been measured through their level of income or consumption. However, the set of opportunities available within households for individuals to generate income or to consume is to a large extent conditioned by the assets to which those individuals have access. These assets may be human, physical, financial, natural and/or social. The advantage of using an asset-based approach to study wellbeing is that while income and expenditures are flow variables, assets constitute an inventory or a stock. Flow variables are measured at one point in time, providing a static snapshot of the level of wellbeing. Stocks, in contrast, accumulate over time and therefore give a longer-term picture. Stocks are also more stable than other measures, such as income or expenditures.

In this study we focus on physical and financial assets, the standard components of how economists have traditionally defined wealth.⁵ The ownership of physical and financial assets is one of the main ways to generate income and, therefore, consumption. This is evident in the case of land ownership and its relationship to agricultural production. Equally important in the case of the urban, informal sector are consumer durables (whether tools, sewing machines, stoves, or refrigerators) where these assets may provide the means for constituting a business and generating income. Other assets, besides being means of production, may generate rents (such as from housing or land), interest (on savings), and profits (land and business assets). In other words, some assets are also components of total income. They can also have use value or provide services such as in the case of housing, which can reduce expenses. The analysis of asset ownership thus helps to deepen our understanding of the processes of income generation.

Physical and financial assets also offer some specific benefits that differentiate them from simple income. Physical assets can serve as collateral for loans and therefore make possible a higher level of income generation, which in turn facilitates further asset accumulation. Assets may serve as an important buffer during emergencies, since they may be pawned or sold. They also provide liquidity and a means to maintain consumption. For all these reasons, ownership of physical assets is an important indicator of the potential vulnerability of households to crises and their likelihood of falling into chronic poverty (Carter and Barrett, 2006; Carter, 2007; Addison, Hulme, and Kanpur, 2008).

⁵ For the interrelationship between physical, financial, human and social capital over the long-term, see the case study by Moser (2009) on a neighborhood in Guayaquil.

The identification of households that remain poor because of their lack of assets and structural constraints has important implications for public policy, especially for social programs aimed at helping the poor. For example, in the U.S. there are more families who are asset poor as compared to those who are income poor (Caner and Wolff, 2004), in that they have accumulated little or no assets that may serve as a safety cushion in case they face unemployment or a health crisis (Grinstein-Weiss et al., 2008). The study of assets also allows identification of the ways that households and poor individuals may escape poverty and, thus, assist in the evaluation of the effectiveness of public policies.

Additionally, the study of asset accumulation gives us another perspective on social inequalities. Asset accumulation represents a way to store wealth that can be passed on to future generations with important implications for the reproduction of social inequality. Assets also generate status, social advantages, and bargaining power in the home as well as in the community and society (Deere and Doss, 2006).

Why should a study that focuses on the ownership of assets be useful for the study of gender inequality? First of all, household wellbeing is not always equivalent to the wellbeing of the individuals that comprise it. Gender analysis has revealed that there can be important differences in the situation of individuals within the household (differences based on sex, age, family status, etc.). For example, one cannot assume that household consumption is fairly distributed among its members, as is assumed by the measure of per capita consumption --even taking physical differences and biological needs into account. Instead, power relations and processes of negotiation can result in different outcomes for different people within the household.

Most studies that focus on asset ownership--such as those resulting from living standard surveys--have assumed that assets belong to the "household". Such studies also assume that all individuals within the household benefit equally from these assets (see, for example, Torche and Spilerman (2008)). Little research has been done on whether this premise is true and on whether wellbeing is connected to which individuals own the assets. Moreover, we know little about whether asset ownership is related to who makes decisions about their use and how this influences who benefits from them. The lack of information about asset ownership at the individual level has been a major constraint limiting our understanding of these issues (Doss, Grown and Deere, 2008).

It must also be taken into account that asset ownership is an important component of an individual's fall-back position, that is, how well off the person would be if the household were to dissolve, either by separation, divorce, or death. Feminist theory posits that a woman's bargaining power within the household is related to her fall-back position and, thus, the assets which she owns and controls (Agarwal, 1994 and 1997; Deere and León, 2001). Consequently, asset ownership is an important element in the economic empowerment of women. Asset ownership may augment women's participation in decision-making within the household and increase their range of options and opportunities.

The focus on asset ownership necessarily centers attention on property rights and specifically, on the property rights of married women or women in consensual unions. It has been posited that the marriage and inheritance regimes of a country influence the degree of gender inequality in

asset ownership (Deere and León, 2001; Deere and Doss, 2006). Marital regimes differ in how they treat property acquired before or during marriage. In broad strokes, there are three main variations: separation of property, partial community property, and absolute community property. Under separation of property each spouse retains individual ownership of the assets they acquired before or after marriage. Absolute community property constitutes the other extreme. Under this regime all property acquired before and during the marriage is considered the joint property of the couple. If the marriage dissolves all assets are divided equally between the two spouses. Partial community property (also known as “participation in profits,” or in Ecuador, as the “conjugal society”) combines aspects of these two regimes. Property acquired before marriage remains the individual property of each spouse. However, all assets purchased during the marriage (including with the income from individual property or the income of either spouse) are considered joint property. These assets are divided equally if the marriage is dissolved. Under the partial community property regime, however, inheritances received during the course of the marriage are treated legally as individual property.

Inheritance regimes generally treat spouses and children differently. In addition, they differ in how they treat male and female children and the degree of testamentary freedom which they allow (Deere and Doss, 2006). In Ecuador, as in all Latin American countries, male and female children inherit equally in the case of intestate inheritance. Also, like other South American countries, testamentary freedom is limited to 25% of the assets of the testator. Where South American countries differ is in the treatment they give to the widows and widowers and whether they are in the first order of succession. In this regard, Ecuador is among the countries where the treatment of the widow or widower is less favorable.⁶

One of the main advantages provided by the broader, comparative study-- covering Ecuador, Ghana and India--is that the three countries are characterized by different marital and inheritance regimes. Ecuador is the only one of the three characterized by the partial community property regime and an inheritance regime in intestate succession that requires all children to be treated equally. The question we would eventually like to answer is whether marital and inheritance regimes make a difference in the likelihood of asset accumulation by women and, hence, for gender equality, women’s wellbeing and empowerment.⁷

This report represents the first step in the analysis of asset ownership by gender. First of all, we offer the first comprehensive individual-level, and thus gender analysis of the ownership of physical and financial assets carried out in Latin America.⁸ Second, we develop several

⁶ In other words, spouses do not inherit the property of their partners if the couple has living children (Ecuador, 2009). In countries like Chile, Peru, Bolivia, and Venezuela widows and widowers are in the first order of succession (Deere and León, 2001). For the more recent legal reforms, see Deere (2007).

⁷ More on the comparative project can be found at <http://genderassetgap.iimb.ernet.in>

⁸ For a summary of the surveys that have been conducted in Latin America that contain some information about asset ownership at the individual level, see Deere, Alvarado and Twyman (2010). The principal residency is the only asset for which there is information from a number of different countries. Unfortunately, the available data are not very comparable and suffer from several shortcomings which we seek to overcome in the present analysis. The only household survey that offers individual-level information for various assets and their valuation is the Nicaragua Living Standards Survey for 2001. That study, however, is limited to physical assets.

measures of the gender gap in asset ownership, demonstrating the differences that occur when one measures gender inequality in terms of the distribution of assets by form of property ownership (individual or jointly owned), according to who are the owners, or by the incidence of individual asset ownership. We also demonstrate that the gender gap varies according to the specific asset, i.e., who owns the primary residence, agricultural lands, businesses, etc. Third we estimate the distribution of wealth among households as well as the gender wealth gap, and show how the gender wealth gap differs by wealth quintile. Finally, we examine gender differences in the acquisition of assets. We conclude by making a few methodological observations as well as drawing out the preliminary implications of our study for public policy. Before we present the results, the following section explains our research methodology.

Section 3. Research Methods

The research project involved three phases: qualitative fieldwork, followed by the execution of the FLACSO-University of Florida 2010 Ecuador Household Asset Survey (EAFF), and then the processing and analysis of the data.

The Qualitative Fieldwork

One of the objectives of the qualitative field work was to finalize the questionnaire for the household survey, which required adapting the instrument designed by the international team to the Ecuadorian context. The qualitative fieldwork also helped us understand the meaning of assets for urban and rural households; how men and women accumulate assets through the life cycle; and allowed us to evaluate their knowledge of property rights as well as asset values. This phase was crucial in developing the appropriate wording of the questions included in the questionnaire, which should, hopefully, produce high-quality results.

The first phase of the research was conducted between August and December, 2009, and began with the development of the hypotheses specific to Ecuador regarding the processes that might promote the accumulation of assets by women. It also involved the selection of the provinces where fieldwork would be conducted.

Asset accumulation depends on two factors: what people can save of their income or acquire through credit, and what they might receive through inheritance or other public or private transfers. The first point required, based on a review of the secondary literature, an analysis of the labor market and the credit market to identify the different ways in which women were inserted. The second point required the selection of provinces in different regions of the country to capture differences in local customs and inheritance practices, as well as in rates of international migration, a process currently very important in Ecuador.

The provinces selected were Pichincha and Azuay in the Sierra, and Manabí on the Coast. In each province field work was carried out in at least three municipalities, always including the provincial capital as well as some purely rural municipalities. The rural municipalities were chosen to be illustrative of the range of income-generating activities that might facilitate the accumulation of assets by rural women. In Pichincha, the municipalities chosen constitute the heart of the cut-flower industry, the main source of stable wage employment for rural women in Ecuador. In Azuay, remittances from international migration along with craft production constitute the main sources of women's income. In Manabí, which has a diverse agricultural base, women are involved in agriculture as well as the fishing industry and tourism. Women's income sources in the urban municipalities are quite diverse, including a broad range of activities in both the formal and informal sectors. In addition, all of the urban research sites had on-going microcredit and housing programs aimed at women.⁹

The main methodology used was the focus group, complemented by interviews with key informants, and the collection of additional secondary data. In total, 40 focus groups were conducted with the logistical support of 23 different organizations. These groups included women's organizations, farmer's cooperatives, and microcredit groups. Most of the focus groups consisted of all-women's groups, although in each province we conducted an all-male group as well. On several occasions we interviewed mixed groups of men and women. Also, in each provincial capital we organized focus groups consisting of women from the middle and upper-middle classes. The focus groups addressed four themes: i) the accumulation of assets over the life cycle; ii) the role of assets in facing shocks and calamities; iii) knowledge about asset markets; and iv) household decision-making processes regarding the acquisition and use of assets.

We carried out a total of 58 interviews with key informants, including lawyers, judges, public notaries, real estate agents, leaders of grassroots movements, and representatives of NGOs, local government, banks, and academics. In addition, to better understand asset prices, we studied a number of markets directly, including livestock markets, appliance stores, pawnbrokers, and second-hand stores, etc. This phase ended with the writing of three provincial case studies and a report on the middle class, all focused on the accumulation of assets over the life cycle.¹⁰

The Household Asset Survey

The second phase of the research, conducted between January and August of 2010, included the preparation and implementation of a national household asset survey. Due to funding limitations, the Galapagos and Amazon regions of the country were excluded from the survey. These regions represent less than 5% of the households in the country.

⁹ Field work was carried out in the following municipalities: in Pichincha, Quito, Cayambe, and Pedro Moncayo; in Azuay, Cuenca, Gualaceo, Paute and Sig Sig; in Manabí, Portoviejo, Manta, Montecristi, 24 de Mayo, and Olmedo.

¹⁰ For the results of the qualitative field work see Contreras (2010), Deere (2010a and 2010b), and Twyman (2010). For the comparative study of the three provinces, see Deere, Contreras and Twyman (2010).

To carry out the survey, the University of Florida and FLACSO-Ecuador hired the survey firm, Habitus Investigación S.A.¹¹ This firm has its own sampling frame derived from the 2001 Population and Housing Census (INEC, 2002), and is duly authorized by the National Institute of Statistics and Censuses of Ecuador (INEC) to utilize it. The stratified random sample was chosen in two stages. The primary sampling units were the census tracts or clusters as defined by INEC, and which were selected with a probability proportional to size. The census clusters were characterized according to socioeconomic status using an index of basic needs satisfied, developed by Habitus SA from the results of the 2001 Census. The population size of each cluster was updated during the field work using a prior listing of existing housing units. This step was necessary in order to determine the expansion factors for the sample.

The secondary sampling units were households which were selected with equal probability in each selected census cluster. Twelve households were selected per tract. If the residents were not located after three attempts, or refused to be interviewed, they were replaced by others in a systematic fashion.¹²

The sample is representative of the Coast and Sierra regions and by urban and rural locale of residence. The sample can be further broken down into the following domains: urban Coastal, rural Coastal, urban Sierra, and rural Sierra. It is representative of the cities of Quito and Guayaquil; the urban Sierra without Quito; and the urban Coast without Guayaquil. Urban residence refers to all the provincial, municipal and parish capitals with a population of 5,000 or more. Rural refers to those areas which do not have a population center of at least 5,000 inhabitants. Since not all domains were equally represented in the sample, it is necessary to utilize the expansion factors to arrive at appropriate estimates.

In addition to the design of the sample and the questionnaire, other preparatory steps included the writing of a training manual, the training and selection of the enumerators, and a pilot survey. Four, four-day training workshops were held in the regional offices of Habitus in Quito, Guayaquil, Portoviejo, and Cuenca. In total, 75 people participated in the training, of which 55 were selected to form 11 teams, including one supervisor per team. The pilot survey of the semi-finalized questionnaire consisted of 165 interviews conducted during March, 2010, in Quito, Guayaquil and in a rural area of Portoviejo, Manabí. The survey itself (known as the *Encuesta de Activos FLACSO-FLORIDA*, or EAFF 2010) was carried out between April and June, 2010.

The intended sample was of 3,000 households; 2,892 interviews were completed following the planned methodology, as shown in Table 1. It was not possible to complete the required interviews among the upper and upper-middle class socio-economic groups in the city of Quito,

¹¹ This section draws on Hábitus Investigación S.A. (2010a and 2010b).

¹² Each person who agreed to be interviewed was asked to sign an informed consent agreement. The form stated that the interviewee understood the purpose of the investigation and was willing to participate in it. It was explained that all information provided would be confidential, that participation in the survey was voluntary, and that they could stop the interview at any time and without adverse consequences.

where the rate of rejection in the randomly selected clusters was 100%.¹³ The difficulties of securing the participation of the upper income groups in surveys, both internationally and in Ecuador, is well known. These socioeconomic segments regularly pose problems for data collection, regardless of the focus of the research, due to either lack of interest or distrust (Davies et al., 2008; Torche and Spilerman, 2008). In the case of Quito the situation may have been exacerbated by the uncertainty created in the months prior to the survey by the introduction of a new requirement that upper income people fill out asset declarations for the internal revenue service (SRI, Servicio de Rentas Internas). Although we did not have the same problem with rejection in cities such as Guayaquil, we cannot rule out the possibility that we also did not reach the high-income sectors in these cities because of the obsolescence of our sampling frame, which was based on the 2001 Census.¹⁴

The survey instrument and the protocol for the interviews had some special features. The instrument had two parts, a household questionnaire and an individual questionnaire. The household questionnaire was to be administered to the two main adults in the household- the principal couple, ideally with both of them present. It is important to note that in this study we do not use the concept of head of household, but rather assume that the household is dual-headed, that is, headed by a principal couple (whether married or in a consensual union). The principal couple was defined as the one that supports the household and is best acquainted with the assets owned by its members.

The reason for interviewing the couple together is that men and women often have different understandings of the household economy and experiences with markets, due to their respective social roles and their different income-generating activities. We believed that we would maximize the quality of the information by interviewing the couples together, allowing them to discuss between themselves the answers to the different questions.

The household questionnaire included a household registry, which listed all the household members and their demographic and economic information. Included as household members were those who were temporarily away, defined as being absent for less than six months. Information was also collected on migrants who contributed financially to the household, defined

¹³ In an effort to meet the required sample size, Habitus suggested that the random sample be complemented by non-probabilistic recruitment of individuals belonging to these socioeconomic groups. Using ‘snowball’ methods, we succeeded in recruiting and completing the interviews with members of 86 upper income households. In analyzing the results regarding the gross wealth of this Quito sub-sample, it was evident that their mean wealth was significantly higher than for the corresponding urban, socio-economic segments (high and medium high) in the rest of the country. Given the large discrepancy in the confidence intervals around the means, and the fact that we had used different sampling techniques, we decided to exclude this Quito sub-sample from the overall sample and, hence, from the results presented herein. Therefore, the final sample of 2,892 households should be considered a truncated sample, one that is not representative of the upper socioeconomic strata. The information collected on this strata should be useful for eventual qualitative analysis.

¹⁴ During the survey we found that in many neighborhoods there had been considerable change over the past ten years. In particular, some neighborhoods that previously had been categorized as middle- or upper class had experienced significant changes and were no longer such.

as those who had been absent for six months or longer. Another module collected information on the characteristics of the household's principal dwelling.

The heart of the household questionnaire was seven modules that asked about the assets owned by household members, including the primary residence, agricultural land, other real estate, animals, farm equipment and installations, businesses (agricultural and nonagricultural), and consumer durables. For each asset we asked who the owners were, the mode of acquisition, and various questions regarding the valuation of the asset, among other questions.¹⁵

If the household did not have a principal couple, we interviewed the adult (18 years of age or older) who contributed the most to supporting the household and/or knew the most about the assets of its members. In this case the household and individual questionnaires were completed by just one person. In those households with a couple, the two completed the household questionnaire together, and then each member was interviewed separately to complete the individual questionnaire.

The individual questionnaire collected information on intra-household decision-making, on the person's financial assets and debts, as well as information pertinent to marital and inheritance regimes. Also, if the spouse had not been present for the household questionnaire, they were asked about the ownership of the assets reported in the household questionnaire. If this person reported themselves to be an owner or co-owner of an asset, they were asked to estimate the value of the asset.¹⁶

The Respondents

Table 2 presents a summary of the 2,892 households surveyed by type of interview. Most households surveyed (68.5%) were composed of a principal couple. We achieved our aim of interviewing both members of the principal couple together, in half of these cases, a group representing 34.4% of the total household sample.¹⁷ In the remaining cases of households with a principal couple the household questionnaire was completed by only one member of the couple, representing 27.5% of the total sample. Only in 6.6% of the total sample were we not able to interview the second person, either because they were temporarily absent from the home or because they refused to be interviewed. In 31.5% of total households there was not a principal couple: in 24.8% the primary adult was an unpartnered woman (traditionally considered a

¹⁵ The household questionnaire concluded with a module on remittances received by household members; another on the economic calamities suffered by the family during the previous five years; and, finally, with a module on the assets that had been sold, lost, or given as a bequeath or donation in the last five years.

¹⁶ All of those who owned agricultural land and/or animals completed additional questions in the individual questionnaire regarding the use of and decisions regarding those assets.

¹⁷ Included here are 15 households where the household questionnaire was completed by the couple together, but where later it proved impossible to complete the individual questionnaire with one of the spouses.

female-headed household), and in 6.7% the primary adult was an unpartnered man.¹⁸ Of the households interviewed, 51.9% were located on the Coast and 48.1% in the Sierra.

Table 2 also breaks down the 4,668 individual interviews by type of household interview and by gender of the respondent: 56.9% of the individual interviews were with women and 43.1% with men. Table 3 presents the marital status of those who completed the individual questionnaire: 52.4% were married, 28.6% in a consensual union, and 19% were single, separated, divorced or widowed. There were important gender differences according to marital status; 90.5% of the men were married or in a consensual union compared to only 73.7% of the women. Accordingly, there are many more women than men who are single, widowed, separated or divorced.

Table 3 also shows that the share of those in consensual unions as well as of those who are separated is much higher on the Coast than in the Sierra, and this holds true for both men and women. In the Sierra, where marriages predominate, the share of divorced people is relatively high, especially among women. It is also worth noting that the Sierra has a higher proportion of single women than single men, a status defined here as having never been married or in a consensual union.

The average age of those interviewed was 44.8 years. The men were slightly older, averaging 46.2 years, while the women averaged 43.7. The vast majority had completed primary school (79.5%). Almost a third had finished high school, while 15.1% had been enrolled in some form of higher education.¹⁹ With respect to ethnicity, 79.4% of the respondents considered themselves to be mestizos, 8.2% white, 4.8% indigenous, 1.9% of African descent, and 5.6% other or did not know. The overwhelming majority declared themselves to be Catholic; only 13% reported Protestant, and 3.9%, other.

The total number of people residing in the surveyed households was 12,062, of whom 7,432 (62%) were 18 years or older. The average household size was 4.17 persons. In the following analysis, the information presented utilizes the sample expansion factors. Therefore, the universe consists of 3,343,833 households (of which 75.6% are urban and 24.4% rural), 8,528,182 people 18 and older, and 13,803,497 people in total.

¹⁸ An advantage of our methodology is that household surveys typically do not distinguish between male headed households which consist of an adult couple and those that are led by a single adult male. Traditionally, on female-headed households have been singled out.

¹⁹ A higher percentage of women interviewed, 6.3%, had no formal education, compared to 4.3% of the men. Also, a higher percentage of male respondents had some higher education, 17.6%, compared with 14.6% for women. Overall, the differences in the level of education attained by men and women were significant at the 99% confidence level.

Section 4. The Incidence of Asset Ownership

The incidence of asset ownership refers to the proportion of households who own assets or property in relation to the total number of households. It is an important indicator of household well-being for all the reasons already outlined above. As Figure 1 shows, nationally, most households own some consumer durables; the majority also own their primary residence. To a lesser extent, they own businesses and animals. A small share of households own agricultural equipment and installations, agricultural lands, and other types of real estate such as apartments, office buildings, stores, and other non-agricultural lands.

Among the differences that stand out by location, a higher proportion of rural households own their residence (71.5%) compared to urban households (56.3%). As expected, the incidence of ownership of agricultural land, agricultural equipment and installations, and animals is also higher among rural households. In contrast, business ownership is much more common among urban (53%) than rural households (40.5%). Regionally, we find that it is more common for households to own their homes on the Coast (63.8%) than in the Sierra (56.2%). But the incidence of ownership of agricultural land is much higher among households in the Sierra (17.8%) than on the Coast (7.2%). The trend is similar in the case of ownership of agricultural equipment and installations. There were no significant difference by locale or region with respect to the incidence of other types of real estate.

While the great majority of households own consumer durables there are important differences by locale, as Figure 2 shows. The proportion of urban households who own appliances such as refrigerators, washing machines, or microwave ovens is much higher than in rural areas. A higher share of urban households also own color televisions, computers, sound systems, DVD players, video cameras, MP3s, IPODs, etc., compared to rural households. The incidence of households with computers in urban areas is double of that in rural areas, 25.3% and 11.8%, respectively.

By contrast, although there are many more cars in urban areas, the incidence of household car ownership is higher in rural areas, 12.8%, than in urban areas, 10.8%. The incidence of motorcycle ownership is only slightly higher in urban areas. The regional differences are more acute: 17.5% of households in the Sierra have a car, but only 5.3% of households on the Coast do so. The incidence of motorcycle ownership is the opposite, being more common among households on the Coast.

Regional differences in the incidence of other consumer durables are relatively minimal, with the exception of fans and air conditioners. These assets are much more common among households on the Coast, which is to be expected given the climatic differences. The other exception is the incidence of computers. More households in the Sierra (29.4%) have computers than do so on the Coast (14.7%).

The EAFF also measured the incidence of ownership of financial assets. In 2010, 53.7% of households had some type of savings account--this being more common in urban (56.9%) than rural areas (44%). The most frequent sort of account (45.6%) was a savings account in a formal financial institution, either a bank account or an account with a savings and loan cooperative.

The incidence of a formal bank account was far more common among urban than rural households. The incidence was also higher in the Sierra as compared to the Coast. There were no differences in the incidence of cooperative accounts by locale of residency, although the incidence was slightly higher among households in the Sierra than on the Coast.

The incidence of households having informal savings was 11.4%, with the majority of these households reporting that they kept their savings in cash, at home. This practice was more common in urban than rural areas, and on the Coast compared to the Sierra. Only 6.8% of households reported having life or burial insurance. The incidence of these assets was most common in urban areas and on the Coast. The other type of financial asset which we measured were the loans made by a member of the household to a third party, a practice reported by 19.5% of households. This practice was slightly more common among urban than rural households, and on the Coast as compared to the Sierra.

For the purposes of this study we consider asset ownership—whether at the household or individual level-- to be what people declare to be the case. We did not ask for documentation or proof of ownership. Only in the case of the primary residence and agricultural parcels did we investigate whether anyone in the household had an ownership document, what type, and whose name(s) was on the document.

Nationally, 69.2% of homeowners had some sort of document proving ownership of their residence. A majority of these had registered deeds. But the differences by area and region are significant. Deeds and titles are much more common among urban (71.9%) than rural households (62.8%). They were also much more common in the Sierra (83.8%) than on the Coast (56.7%). As for agricultural land, 78.2% of households had legalized their land holdings. This practice was much more common in the Sierra (85.2%) than on the Coast (61.4%). Significant differences were not found with respect to locale.

Section 5. The Ownership of Assets within Households

Until recently most studies on assets have focused only on the incidence of household ownership. If they take gender into account it is only to distinguish between households headed by men and those headed by women. This approach implicitly assumes that the head of household is the owner of all the assets. But who really owns the “household’s assets”?

To accurately answer this question it is necessary to have individual-level information within the household. Here we offer three different measures of the ownership of assets, all based on individual-level information: 1) the distribution of assets according to the form of ownership within households; 2) the gender distribution of asset owners; and 3) the incidence of asset ownership among individuals 18 years and older. Each measure gives a different perspective, since the observed subjects are different (the "n"), being, respectively, assets, the owners, and adult individuals within households.

The distribution of assets according to the form of ownership

The first measure, which refers to the distribution of assets by form of ownership, answers the following question: To whom or to which people does each asset in the home belong? This question assumes that each asset may be the individual property of a man or a woman, or be jointly owned by several household members.²⁰ We break down the latter category further, since an asset may be jointly owned by the main couple; it may belong to all the household members; and it may be owned by only two or three household members other than the principal couple (as in the case of siblings, or a mother and her daughter). Joint ownership also includes cases where one or more members of the household owns an asset jointly with a person not residing in the household.

This methodology offers several advantages. First of all, it does not assume that an asset must be owned only by a single person. Second, it takes into account the many different situations that occur in real life, for example, co-ownership with persons not resident in the household, such as international migrants.²¹ It can also capture ambiguous situations, for example, properties that have been given as an “advance” inheritance while the parent is still alive. In these cases, the son or daughter may be considered the owner, although legally the property may still be in the name of the parent. Third, this methodology helps us understand that not all assets are treated equally and that ownership varies according to a wide range of factors, including the construction of gender and the division of labor by sex.

In Table 4A we present information on the distribution of the form of ownership of the primary residence, other real estate, consumer durables, and non-agricultural businesses. In Table 4B we present the information on assets related to agricultural production, including agricultural/livestock businesses, agricultural parcels, animals, and agricultural equipment. In Table 4C we present the distribution of financial assets by form of ownership.

As for the primary residence, in the majority of cases (54%) the dwelling belongs to more than one individual in the household. Most often it belongs to the principal couple (41%). This is not surprising considering that the marital regime requires everything that is acquired during marriage or a consensual union to be jointly owned by the couple. Other forms of co-ownership represent 13% of the total. The most common form in this latter category is co-ownership between a household member and a nonresident, followed by where the residence is considered to be the property of all household members.

²⁰ For the purpose of the survey we defined as household members those individuals who usually resided in the household and who were either present at the time of the interview or temporarily away for reasons related to business, health, study or on holiday, provided that their absence was for a period of less than six consecutive months.

²¹ A migrant was defined as a person who had lived outside the home (and/or community) for six months or more. For the purposes of this study we were only interested in migrants who had contributed financially to the household either through remittances, cash contributions, or gifts in kind over the past ten years. We included in this category family members who contributed financially to the household even though they had not resided there for a long time.

What stands out is that when the primary residence is individually owned, it is almost twice as frequent for these dwellings to be owned by a woman than a man, 30% vs. 16%.²² This apparent imbalance is partly explained by the gender differences in marital status and by the composition of the sample. Recall that households headed by an unpartnered woman represent 25% of the total, while those headed by an unpartnered man make up only 7%. Therefore, it is men who are relatively over-represented among those who own their primary residence individually.

There are significant regional differences, with individual homeownership being relatively more common on the Coast than in the Sierra, particularly individual homeownership by men. Joint ownership is subsequently less common on the Coast. Furthermore, female individual ownership of housing is more common in urban than in rural areas, and joint ownership more common in rural areas (see Appendix, Table A.1.a and b).

In relation to other real estate, including here other houses or apartments that are not the primary residence, plus the ownership of office buildings, stores, and non-agricultural lands or lots, the national trend is different. Individual ownership of property (59%) predominates over property owned by the principal couple (30%) or other forms of joint ownership. However, a similar pattern to that of residences prevails with respect to individually owned property: more of these "other real estate" assets belong to individual women (36%) compared to men (23%). Similarly, the pattern is repeated whereby individual, male property is more important on the Coast than in the Sierra, with joint ownership prevailing in the Sierra and more common in rural than in urban areas.

Ownership of consumer durables follows a different pattern. Most of these assets are reported as the individual property of men (22%) or women (40%), followed by those belonging to all household members (26%). It is less common for these assets to be jointly owned by the principal couple (11%). All forms of co-ownership are less common on the Coast than in the Sierra, and in urban compared to rural areas.

Considering specific consumer durables, there are interesting patterns according to the gender of the individual owners. With respect to domestic appliances, women are the main individual owners of stoves, washing machines, and refrigerators. It is also more common for these assets to be considered the property of all the household members as compared to only those of the principal couple. The same trend applies when considering the category of 'other goods,' which includes a broad range of smaller appliances and other goods.²³ The greatest contrast by gender

²² These figures are quite different from those that can be derived from the 2006 Survey of Living Conditions (ECV) for Ecuador. The only question in the ECV regarding the ownership of assets at the individual level is with regards to the primary residence. However, information was collected only for residences with ownership documents. Consequently, the ECV results are not comparable to ours. In their analysis of the ECV survey, Deere, Alvarez and Twyman (2010) found that 21.4% of the titled residences were in the name of a woman, 37.3% in the name of a man, and 41.3% were jointly owned. However, this survey also obscured full information on the gender of the owners by limiting the answers to the ownership question to the "household head" the "spouse," "the head and another," and "other." Since the gender of the "others" cannot be broken down, information is lost on 9.4% of homeownership households.

²³ Specifically, this category includes blenders, microwave ovens, irons, sewing machines, fans, furniture, tools and bicycles. We have also included in this category some items that are not frequently owned by Ecuadorian

is with respect to vehicle ownership (including cars, trucks, and motorcycles); 46% of these are reported as individual male property, 14% as female property, and 24% as the property of all household members. Only 15% of vehicles are considered to be the joint property of the couple. This tendency is especially marked on the Coast where 63% of the vehicles are individually owned by men.

Among the durables most frequently considered to be jointly owned by all household members are computers (32%) and entertainment goods (31%). The latter category includes color TVs, stereos, DVD or video players, cameras or camcorders, and so on. When entertainment items are individually owned, women are more likely to be the owners. There was no significant difference by gender concerning computer ownership. The asset which was most often owned individually (92%) was the cell phone, and individual ownership slightly favored women.

The vast majority of non-agricultural businesses nationwide also belong to individuals (89%); 52% of these are individually owned by women and only 37% by men. Very few businesses were considered to be the joint property of the couple or were co-owned. Business co-ownership, nonetheless, is more common in the Sierra than on the Coast.

Table 4B shows the distribution by form of ownership for those assets related to agricultural production, i.e., agricultural businesses, agricultural parcels, animals, and equipment and installations. Agricultural businesses have been defined as those farms which employ five or more workers continuously or on a permanent basis. Information on the assets of these businesses was not collected in the sections relating to land, animals, etc., but rather in the section on businesses. Therefore, the disaggregated data on land, equipment, and animals presented in this table refers primarily to the peasant economy, or farms that employ fewer than five workers.

The distribution by form of ownership of agricultural businesses follows the pattern of non-agricultural businesses, i.e., most are reported as individual property. Nationally, more of these are individually owned by men (44%) than women (36%). The gender difference is most acute on the Coast, where 71% are owned by men individually and only 6% by women. In the Sierra this relationship is reversed, with only 22% owned individually by men and 60% by women (see Appendix, Table A.2.a and b).

Although most agricultural parcels are reported as individual property (55%), an important share, 36%, are considered to be the property of the principal couple. In addition, 7% are owned by one or more household members together with a non-resident. The other ownership forms are less common. It is striking that, in contrast to agricultural businesses, the distribution of agricultural parcels which are owned individually favors women (30%) compared to men (25%).²⁴ The regional differences are particularly notable; on the Coast, male individual

households such as dishwashers, clothes dryers, air conditioners, electric generators, water pumps, artwork, book collections, and jewelry.

²⁴ This is the first breakdown of the distribution of land ownership by sex for Ecuador. The Third National Agricultural Census for 2000, as in all Latin American agricultural censuses, only asked about the gender of the principal farmer. In 2000, 74.6% of these were men and 25.4% were women (Ecuador, 2000). For a critique of this concept and comparative data for the region, see Deere (2011).

ownership predominates, while joint ownership of land parcels by the principal couple is infrequent. These results are consistent with the few case studies that have been done in Ecuador, mostly from the 1980s and 1990s, about the distribution of agricultural land by gender.

In their summary of these studies, Deere and León (1999) note that female land ownership was much more common in the Sierra than on the Coast. Also, co-ownership by the main couple predominated in the Sierra.²⁵ They attribute these differences to the more egalitarian inheritance regime in the Sierra and the standard practice in this region to consider lands bought during the marriage to be jointly owned,²⁶ a subject we explore more fully in Section 7 of this report, on the acquisition of assets.

Also noteworthy is the fact that 41% of the reported land parcels have an owner or owners who reside in urban areas (including the urban periphery). In addition, individual female ownership is more common among urban as compared to rural owners. Joint ownership of land parcels by couples is more common among those who reside in rural areas.

Although land may be distributed in a way that is relatively favorable to women, there does seem to be a gender bias against them in the ownership of agricultural equipment and installations.²⁷ Nationally, most of these assets, 48%, are reported as the individual property of men; only 18% are owned individually by women, 16% are jointly owned by couples, and 17% are considered as owned by all household members. The disjuncture between women's ownership of land and of agricultural equipment may have important implications for the productivity of women farmers.²⁸ Again, the gender differences are much more acute on the Coast, where 72% of the equipment and installations belong to men individually.

The distribution of the form of ownership of animals follows a quite different pattern from what we have observed thus far. Nationally, approximately half of the farm animals are under some form of co-ownership, either by the principal couple (28%) or by all members of the household (20%). Of those animals that are considered individual property, women are the predominant owners (40%) while men are less so (10.5%); this difference is less marked on the Coast. Some

²⁵ For a good example of the differences between the Coast and the Sierra, see Jordan (1996).

²⁶ It is also important to note that only one state program, the National Rural Development Program (PRONADER) in the 1990's, promoted land titling to couples, including both those in marriages and in consensual unions. This project was carried out in 12 areas of the country and between 1992 and 1996 granted 12,416 titles. Of these, 69% were given to couples, 13% to women, and 17% to men (Deere and León, 1999: Table 2). However, land titling in the name of couples is poorly institutionalized in Ecuador (see Ortega Burbano, 2005). National level data by sex and marital status has yet to be compiled and published.

²⁷ For purposes of this calculation all the work tools have been considered as one unit, since it was very difficult for people to estimate the total number of tools they owned.

²⁸ Since the 1980's the state's lack of attention to women as agricultural producers has been pointed out, as well as the discrimination they often face when attempting to gain access to agricultural credit or technical assistance (Cuvier, 1992, Jordan, 1996).

40% of the animals are owned by urban residents, and among them, individual ownership predominates.

There are important gender differences in ownership depending on the type of animal. A significantly higher proportion of large animals (cattle and work animals such as oxen, horses, mules, etc.) belong to individual men (48%) than to women (10%). This difference is greater on the Coast than in the Sierra. Conversely, individual female ownership exceeds male ownership with regard to small animals (pigs, sheep, goats, llamas, etc.). This difference is especially pronounced in terms of poultry (chickens, ducks, turkeys) and guinea pigs. It is also more common for small animals and poultry to be considered the property of all of the members of the household as compared to cattle and work animals.

Table 4C shows the distribution of financial assets according to the form of ownership. Total savings include formal and informal accounts as well as life insurance and/or burial insurance. The other component of financial assets that we measure is loans given to third parties by a member of the principal couple or both of them.²⁹ Such loans are more commonly the individual asset of a woman (57%) than a man (42%).³⁰

Regarding savings, the vast majority of accounts (89%) are in the names of individuals. Only 9% belong to the principal couple and other forms of ownership are negligible. Nationally, there are more individual savings accounts that belong to men (45%) than to women (43%). This gender difference is more acute for formal accounts and insurance. In contrast, women predominate as owners of informal accounts, holding 55%, while only 31% are held by men. It is slightly more common for informal accounts to be held jointly by the couple than formal bank accounts (12% vs. 9%, respectively.)

With respect to regional differences, in the distribution of financial assets individual ownership by males was higher on the coast, both in terms of the total number of accounts as well as formal accounts. The practice of having joint accounts by the principal couple is more common in the Sierra than on the Coast, and in rural rather than urban areas (see Appendix, Table A.3.a and b).

The most common type of formal account nationally is the bank account, and it is these that commonly (51%) belong to individual men. The gender difference disappears with respect to the

²⁹ The only component of financial assets that we do not consider for the purposes of this report is pensions, which require a separate analysis. Also, we have not yet processed the information on credit or the indebtedness of individuals. As we will later explain, we estimate gross household and individual wealth excluding pensions.

³⁰ In the case of loans given to third parties, it is possible that we underestimated the number of these made by the principal couple jointly. This is because this question was only asked during the individual interview, and only with respect to the loans made by the person being interviewed. The cases reported as pertaining to the principal couple are those where each reported that they had made a loan to the same individual or client for the same amount. To avoid duplication, we reported these as loans made by the principal couple. Since this question was asked only at the individual level this information also underestimates the total number of loans that might have been made by household members other than the principal couple.

distribution of accounts in savings and loans cooperatives (45% for both men and women). Women are more likely to have accounts with other private institutions such as nonprofit organizations which run microcredit programs (49% versus 39% for individual men).

With respect to the different types of informal savings, more women than men belong to savings groups, where the former hold 79% of accounts. Men and women are about equally likely to deposit their money in the care of a third party (37% and 34% respectively). Women are more likely to keep their cash savings in the home (53% versus 33.5% of men). Overall, keeping cash at home is the most common form of holding informal savings.

In sum, we have demonstrated the importance of taking into account the different forms of asset ownership and how these vary according to the category of asset. Among the most remarkable differences are the regional contrasts. In general, individual ownership of assets is more important on the Coast than in the Sierra. In contrast, joint ownership of assets by the principal couple is more common in the Sierra. It is particularly striking how on the Coast, individual male property is always relatively more common than in the Sierra, whether with respect to the primary residence, other real estate, consumer durables, most of the assets related to agricultural production, or formal savings.

These regional differences are likely related to different marital regimes in the two regions, particularly, the higher incidence of consensual unions on the Coast. Legally, consensual unions have the same property rights as married couples as long as they meet certain requirements.³¹ However, in the qualitative fieldwork we found that women in consensual unions felt much less secure in terms of their property rights compared to married women. For example, among the popular sectors of the Coast there was a tendency to identify the owner of an asset with the person whose income was used to purchase it. This idea was aptly expressed by a woman in one of the focus groups who said, "Everything is in my husband's name since he is the one that works." We consider this a form of patrimonial violence against women (Deere, Contreras and Twyman, 2010).

This misconception is partly related to the official marital status of a person who is in a consensual union; legally they are considered to be single. Consequently, when buying an asset such a person is unlikely to be asked if he/she is in a consensual union; thus the asset is likely to be sold in the name of the person who purchased it. Therefore, it is more likely for it to be registered in the man's name rather than that of the couple, as would be the case with married couples. Also, if the couple separates it is difficult for women to prove that they were in a consensual union, since it is not customary to register these. According to our survey, less than 10% of these unions are registered. If the man declares that he has other women and particularly, children with them, then the relationship is not monogamous and does not meet the requirements for a legal consensual union. These factors lead easily to patrimonial violence. The result is that

³¹ The requirements are set forth in articles 222 and 223 of the Civil Code which state that consensual unions form a "society of assets," similar to the conjugal society. To qualify as a legally recognized consensual union these must be stable, of at least two years duration, monogamous, and neither party can be married to someone else (Ecuador, 2009).

few women claim their property rights when they separate. Instead, it is much more common for women to demand child support payments from the man.

The distribution of asset ownership by gender

To estimate the number of asset owners, we counted each individual owner regardless of the form of ownership (ie., whether the asset was individually or jointly owned). For example, if the primary residence is owned jointly by the couple, both the man and the woman are each considered to be a homeowner.³² In this manner we can arrive at the distribution of asset owners by gender.

As Table 5 shows, by this measure women constitute the majority of the owners of almost all types of assets, with the exception of agricultural equipment and installations. To analyze whether there is a gender bias--that is, if women are over-represented among the asset owners—one must take into account that women represent 51.8% of total household members and 53.5% of those 18 years and older.³³ Since, in general, asset owners under the age of eighteen figure primarily when the asset is owned by all the members of the household, the relevant point of reference is the share of adult women.

According to this indicator women would be over-represented as owners of primary residences,³⁴ other real estate, non-agricultural businesses, and animals. They would be under-represented as agricultural business owners, owners of agricultural equipment and installations, and as holders of savings accounts. They are slightly underrepresented as owners of consumer durables.

A closer examination of consumer durables does reveal some interesting gender differences. Following the trend noted earlier with respect to the distribution of the form of asset ownership, women are over-represented among the owners of stoves, washing machines, and refrigerators and under-represented as owners of vehicles (41%) and computers (50%). Women are also under-represented as owners of assets related to agriculture: equipment and installations, and the larger farm animals (50%).

Women are particularly under-represented in terms of bank accounts, especially savings accounts, where they represent only 44% of the owners. Women only predominate in terms of informal savings where they make up 62% of the total owners.

The incidence of asset ownership by individuals

³² The only owners excluded from our calculation are those non-household residents who jointly own assets with a household member. They are excluded because the sample was designed to be representative of households.

³³ The sex imbalance in the adult population in 2010 probably reflects the higher international migration rates of men over time.

³⁴ This result contrasts with the data forthcoming from the 2006 ECV as reported by Deere, Alvarado and Twyman (2010), which showed that 56.6% of the owners of residences were men and 44.4% were women. One must take into account that the ECV only measured homeowners with documents to their dwellings; moreover, information on the owners is missing in almost 10% of households; see note 22.

Knowing who owns the assets allows us to estimate the incidence of ownership by individuals. This estimate is based on the number of owners eighteen years of age or older as a share of the total number of adult men or women.³⁵ This is the best indicator of the gender asset gap since it is not biased by the sex composition of the population. In a similar fashion to the incidence of asset ownership by households, it is indicative of how frequent the ownership of a particular asset is in a given context, and of the relative wellbeing of individuals. But in addition, the incidence of asset ownership by individuals allows for gender analysis.

Figure 3 shows that gender differences appear less acute when measured by the incidence of adult owners in the population. For primary residences, for example, 36% of adult women are owners compared with 34% of adult men. In these estimates, the high percentage of adults who do not own their homes stands in contrast to the rate of home ownership at the household level, 60%. The incidence of ownership of other real estate besides the primary residence is low, only 7%, and nearly identical for men and women.

The gender gap slightly favors women in terms of the ownership of consumer durables: 93% of adult women own at least one durable, compared with 90% of adult men. When this category is broken down, however, there is considerable variation in the incidence by sex, depending on the asset. At least 60% of adult women own a stove, a refrigerator, and a washing machine, whereas the proportion of men who own one of these ranges from 16% to 44%. The opposite occurs in relation to vehicle ownership, with 13% of adult men owning vehicles versus only 7% of women. The incidence of computer ownership slightly favors men (15% vs. 14%) while the gender difference in the incidence of ownership is more marked in regard to cell phone ownership (51% versus 47% for women).

In the case of non-agricultural businesses, the gender gap favors women, with 26% of adult women owning a business compared with 23% of adult men. Analyzing agricultural assets it is apparent that few adults in Ecuador own these since the majority of the population resides in urban areas. Less than 1% of the adult population owns an agricultural business, and 7% own agricultural parcels, with minimal differences in the incidence for men and women. The gender difference in the incidence of ownership of equipment and installations is greater, with 10% of men and only 8% of women owning this type of asset. Women are more likely to own a farm animal, with the largest gender difference being in poultry ownership (20% of adult women vs. 13% of adult men). The incidence of owning larger farm animals is roughly equal (3%).

Finally in terms of financial assets, the proportion of adult men who have any kind of savings is 30% as compared to 26% of women. This difference is mainly due to the gender gap in the ownership of formal savings accounts, particularly formal bank accounts (17% of men vs. 12% of women). For informal accounts, the trend is reversed, with 6% of women having this type of savings, while only 4% of men do so. Only 13% of adults have made loans to third parties, with the incidence slightly favoring men.

³⁵ Eighteen is the legal age of adulthood in Ecuador, and the age at which people are considered to be able to manage their own financial affairs. Furthermore, most studies of wealth focus on adults and compare per capita wealth per adult (Davies et al., 2008).

In short, whether analyzing the distribution of assets by form of ownership ($n = \text{asset}$), the distribution of asset owners ($n = \text{owners}$), or the incidence of asset ownership among adults ($n = \text{individuals}$), we see a fairly consistent picture, although the last indicator minimizes gender differences. The strongest gender bias against women as asset owners is with respect to financial assets, especially formal bank accounts. Other assets that are more commonly held by men include agricultural equipment and installations. Another tentative conclusion is that the ownership of consumer durables favors women, with the major exception being vehicle ownership. Vehicles, of course, are among the more valuable of consumer durables. Hence the necessity to study the values of specific assets.

Section 6. Gender Gaps in the Wealth and Poverty of Households

In this section we offer a first approximation of household wealth in Ecuador measured in terms of assets, and of the distribution of wealth both among and within households. Before presenting the results, we first provide a few methodological explanations. The estimates of the value of the different assets are based on market values and correspond to the replies to the following question: “For how much do you think you could sell this asset today in its current condition?”³⁶

One of the objectives of the qualitative fieldwork had been to discern the extent to which people knew the value of their assets. We found significant variation in the levels of such knowledge. On the one hand, knowledge of market prices was closely related to whether an individual had recent, direct participation in the purchase or sale of a given asset. However, in the case of real estate, if there had been a recent sale of a dwelling in the neighborhood, the interviewees often had a reference value to estimate the market value of their own home.

On the other hand, we observed that men and women often had knowledge about market prices of very different assets, related to the gender division of labor, gender differences in income generating activities, and whether the same person who earned the income had also purchased the asset. For example, where raising small animals was a woman’s activity, and it was the woman who usually sold the animals in the market, they had a very precise idea of what price their animals could command in the market. Those who owned businesses (whether men or women) also knew fairly precisely how much they had invested in their business and for how much they might be able to sell it. Overall, irrespective of gender, whoever was the asset owner tended to have a much clearer notion of the value of their asset than a non-owner spouse.

This was one of the reasons why we decided to interview couples together for the household questionnaire whenever possible. In the case of activities carried out only by one member of the

³⁶ In the survey we also collected information on the replacement value of the asset (for example, if they had to construct the same house today) and on its potential rental value; the latter will allow calculation of the present value of the dwelling, other real estate and agricultural land. Only the results on market values are presented here in order to offer a measure consistent across all asset categories. In future work we will analyze how mean asset values vary according to these different valuations and whether there is a gender bias.

couple (whether a man or a woman), we could not assume that the other spouse had a very clear perception of the values of the other's assets.³⁷ Moreover, we expected that with both members present we would be able to obtain the best estimates, for the couple could discuss the value among themselves and so arrive at a more accurate valuation.

We also learned during the fieldwork that in some cases a market for certain assets simply did not exist. This was the case in some rural areas where, by custom, people did not sell or rent their houses. In these places the only way to acquire a dwelling is to build it on a lot which had been inherited or purchased. Furthermore, we also realized that in some rural areas there is no land market to speak of, it being very difficult to sell (or buy) a piece of land.

The valuation of consumer durables sometimes presented a similar problem. With the exception of the main cities, the market for second-hand durables is fairly weak. Only in some of the secondary cities did we find pawn shops where an asset could be sold or pawned, with the most tradable durables, besides jewelry, being televisions and sound equipment. In these situations the question of, "For how much could you sell your stove or refrigerator?" was not very realistic. People explained that they used these durables until they "died" of old age.

For this reason in the questionnaire we had to give people the option to report that "there is no market" or simply that they did not know the value. While these options reflect well the situation on the ground, they present a problem in terms of the analysis of household wealth. In many cases we have missing observations for market prices.³⁸ Consequently, our results underestimate the total wealth of households.

Finally, the estimates presented are of the gross value of physical and financial wealth, excluding the value of pensions.³⁹ Having clarified these issues we now present the results. First we analyze total household wealth, followed by that of asset owners according to gender. This

³⁷ When it was impossible to interview the couple together and only one person answered the household questionnaire, in the individual interview with the second person we again asked who was the owner of the assets listed in the household inventory. If the second person was the owner or co-owner of the asset, they they were also asked to estimate the value of the asset by the various measures. This information will facilitate a future analysis of potential gender differences in the valuation of assets.

³⁸ A comparison of the n's for asset owners with that on asset values indicates that we have missing information on values for 2.9% of the owners of primary residences, 4.3% of those of agricultural parcels, and 2.1% of other real estate. The percentage of owners who did not report values is higher in the case of non-agricultural businesses (14.5%). However, this could be because a good number of businesses consist of own-account workers who might not have any assets (e.g., the case of laundry workers or painters). The question of, "for how much could you sell your business?" is inapplicable in this case. As for financial assets, 24% of the people who said they had a savings account also reported that the balance in their account was zero. These zero-balance accounts could reflect the fact that some banks require borrowers to open an account in order to receive a loan, although later on the account holder does not have to keep a positive balance. It could also reflect the practice that employers sometimes require workers to have a bank account in order to deposit paychecks. However, we cannot discount the possibility that respondents did not report the amount in their bank accounts out of distrust.

³⁹ In a future study we will estimate the magnitude of household and individual debt in order to obtain the net value of assets or net worth. About two-thirds of households reported having at least one debt.

section concludes with an analysis by wealth quintiles in order to deepen our understanding of the distribution of wealth between and within households.

The Wealth of Households

Our estimate of the minimum gross household wealth in Ecuador is that it consists of at least US\$ 82.7 billion. We assume this figure to be a minimum estimate⁴⁰ for various reasons: i) the sample is truncated, since we were not able to include the upper socio-economic strata; ii) many owners of assets could not report their value, leading to missing values; and iii) the tendency of people to underestimate their financial assets. Nonetheless, this study offers a first approximation of the total wealth of Ecuadorian households.⁴¹ Table 6 provides a break-down of gross household wealth according to physical and financial wealth, and in terms of the gender distribution of wealth.

The most striking finding is that in Ecuador there is relative gender equality in the distribution of gross household wealth: 52.2% of the wealth belongs to women, a figure roughly comparable to the share of women in the total population (51.8%), but slightly less than the share of women in the adult population (53.5%). The only gender gap in favor of men is with respect to financial assets.⁴² While we know that financial assets have been underestimated, these figures nonetheless suggest that women's greatest disadvantage is with respect to the ability to save. Since the great majority of the total gross wealth consists of physical wealth, the relative egalitarian distribution of physical wealth is what explains the overall tendency towards gender equality.

There are important differences in the distribution of wealth by gender according to region. Firstly, 62.5% of the estimated wealth is concentrated in households in the Sierra with only 37.5% on the Coast. However, the population on the Coast is greater (52.2%), suggesting a significant regional disparity in per capita wealth. Second, in the Sierra the distribution of wealth favors women, 53.6%, as compared to 46.4% for men; but women represent 55% of the adult population in the Sierra. In contrast, on the Coast, where women make up 52% of the adult population, they hold only 49.9% of the wealth, and men own 50.1%. While there is a small gender gap against adult women in both regions, this difference is more marked on the Coast.

⁴⁰ This figure can be compared to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Ecuador, estimated at around US\$ 50.0 billion in 2009 (Acosta, 2010: 50, Figure 7). We would expect gross household wealth to be considerably higher.

⁴¹ To our knowledge, this is the first estimate of wealth in Latin America based on a survey of household assets (Spilerman and Torche, 2008). The existing estimates for some countries have been based on administrative data or on estimates using parameters from other countries or income surveys (Davies et al., 2008).

⁴² Anticipating that financial assets were the most sensitive type of information, we asked about these in the individual questionnaire, gathering the information only for that individual and not for all members of the household. What we might have gained in confidentiality (by not having the spouse or other family members present) we perhaps lost in coverage. This would be especially true if household members other than the principal couple (such as parents or in-laws) had significant savings.

Considering the distribution of wealth by locale of residence, more than three quarters of the wealth is concentrated in urban areas (76.5%) as compared to only 23.5% in rural areas. These figures are similar to the distribution of the population by locale. Surprisingly, the gender gap favors women in rural areas. They represent 54.1% of the adult rural population while possessing 55.7% of the rural wealth. In urban areas, the distribution is less favorable to women. Urban women control 51.2% of the urban wealth, while representing 53.3% of the adult, urban population.

The great majority of gross household wealth corresponds to the wealth invested in the family's primary residence, representing 62% of the total. Housing is followed by the wealth represented by other real estate (10%), consumer durables (9%), non-agricultural businesses (8%), and agricultural lands (7%), with the other components being of lesser importance. There are also significant differences in the composition of wealth of men and women, as may be seen in Figures 4A and 4B.

Figure 4A demonstrates the overwhelming importance for women of the wealth they have invested in their homes, constituting 66% of the total, in comparison to only 57% for men. For women, housing wealth is followed by holdings in other real estate (11%), consumer durables (9%), and agricultural lands (7%). Although the primary residence also represents the principal component of wealth for men, the main difference lies in the wealth invested in non-agricultural businesses: this component represents 10% of the total wealth of men. In contrast, for women non-agricultural businesses constitute only 5% of their gross wealth. The relative share of the wealth invested in other real estate, consumer durables, and agricultural parcels is roughly equal between men and women.

Among the main regional differences in the composition of wealth is the relative share represented by the principal residence. On the Coast housing wealth represents 63% of the total while only 61% in the Sierra. In contrast, the relative value of investments in agricultural lands (5% vs. 8%) and non-agricultural businesses (6% vs. 8%) are lower on the Coast than in the Sierra. In both regions the relative value invested in the primary residence by women always exceeded that of men.

In sum, although there is relative gender parity in the distribution of wealth nationally, the asset portfolios of men and women are quite different, with men's portfolios being much more diverse than those of women.

The value invested in assets: Gender analysis of owner's wealth

Having studied the overall composition of household wealth, we now consider the gross wealth of owners by type of asset. Table 7 presents the mean and median values by asset among those that own them. As expected, the mean value is always higher than the median.⁴³ Another caveat is that the mean and the median do not represent the value of the asset as such. Rather they

⁴³ The mean value is the total amount invested in that asset category divided by the total number of owners. The median is calculated by ordering the data from lowest to highest according to the invested value of each owner and taking the midpoint that divides the owners into two equal halves. The mean is always greater than the median when there is great inequality present.

represent the value of the investment that owners have in that asset. This is because, as noted previously, many assets are jointly owned and may have several owners. Thus, the total value of the asset has to be distributed among the different owners. The following analysis of the primary residence will clarify this point.

The median value of the primary residence is \$10,000, and similar for male and female owners. However, the overall mean was \$16,386, much higher than the median. Mean housing wealth is higher for female than male owners, but the difference is not statistically significant.⁴⁴ This mean is not necessarily equivalent to the mean value of the dwelling, since 53% of households have more than one homeowner. Consequently, the total estimated value of the home must be distributed between these different owners. For this reason we refer to the value invested in the dwelling or housing wealth instead of the mean value of the dwelling, and will do similarly for the other assets.

The median value invested in other real estate (other houses, apartments, stores, non-agricultural lands, etc.) was \$5,000 and the same for men and women. The mean amount invested is much higher, \$14,235 and slightly higher for male as compared to female owners.

The median of the total value invested in consumer durables is higher for women than men, but the total median is very low, only \$181. This figure reflects the fact that many households have few consumer durables and those that they own are of little value. The mean invested in consumer durables is \$686, and is higher for male than for female owners, a statistically significant difference. The most important investment in consumer durables is in vehicles, with the median value invested totaling \$2,735, and higher for men than for women owners. Similarly, the median investment in computers, cell phones, and entertainment goods favors male owners. Those that favored female owners included household appliances and other goods. The mean value in these cases was significantly different for men and women.

The gender wealth gap in non-agricultural businesses is more sharply biased against the women. The median for women is only \$500 in comparison to \$1,000 for men. This trend is reproduced in the mean value invested in such businesses, which is more than twice as great for men, \$4,881, as for women, \$2,175, with the difference being statistically significant. This is a very important result, because—as we saw in the previous section—women are the majority of non-agricultural business owners.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ In Table 7 we report the results of the t-tests comparing the mean value invested in each asset by men and women. We are aware that this may not be the most appropriate test, since many of the observations are not independent since they belong to the same household, a factor further complicated by co-ownership. The t-tests were conducted with the sample estimates, without applying the expansion factors, in order not to distort the level of confidence.

⁴⁵ These results are also consistent with previous studies on the microenterprise sector in Ecuador. Readout (2011: 73, Table No. 4-7), using the survey of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) 2004 on Microenterprise and Microfinance in Ecuador, found that the annual sales volume for microenterprises for men was almost double (\$12,255) the volume of sales for women (\$6,489).

Although the total number of agricultural businesses is small, the gender gap in the value invested in these businesses is also striking. The mean is more than six times greater for male owners (\$54,741) than for female owners (\$8,028). The gender differences diminish in relation to the value invested in agricultural parcels. The median invested in land of \$5,000 is the same for men and women, and the mean value is not statistically different by gender of the landowner, \$10,333 and \$9,503, respectively. The investment in agricultural equipment and installations is more gender biased. The median for men is \$101, but only \$68 for women owners. Concerning the amount invested in animals, although the median for women is slightly higher than for men, the mean for men is slightly higher than for women.

To summarize then, the median gross value of all physical assets is only \$420, as compared to the mean of \$6,987. This gives us an initial view of the degree of inequality in the distribution of wealth. The mean value of the total physical assets of men and women is not statistically different.

Investments in financial assets are much more biased against women than physical assets. As can be seen in Figure 7 the median value of savings accounts overall is \$125, but the male median value is twice as high as the female median. The difference in the mean also favors men, \$839 to \$513, and is statistically significant. These tendencies hold for both formal savings accounts as well as informal savings. In contrast, the mean value invested in life and burial insurance policies is higher for women than men.

The mean value of loans given out to third parties is almost twice as high as the mean value of total savings. This is partly because some of the individuals in the sample are money lenders, with loans to third parties being the most important assets in their portfolios (known as *chulqueros* in Ecuador). The mean value of loans given out to third parties by men was \$1,431, higher than the mean given out by women (\$690), but the difference was not statistically significant.

We have analyzed the value of investments or wealth in physical and financial assets of asset owners in order to explore gender differences. As we have seen, the gender gaps are not consistent, since they sometimes favor women and other times favor men. What stands out in this analysis is that among the components of wealth where there is a statistically significant gender gap in terms of mean values are the assets whose ownership favors men: investments in non-agricultural businesses as well as financial assets. The exception is in terms of home appliances, where there is a statistically significant gender gap favoring women.

The distribution of wealth: Analysis by quintiles

As can be seen in Table 8A the distribution of wealth in Ecuador is highly concentrated: the 20% wealthiest households, quintile V, own 70% of the total household wealth. In contrast, the 40% poorest households in terms of assets (quintiles I and II) own only 3% of the total wealth. Since this is a truncated sample, one that excludes the wealthiest households, it is likely that the concentration of wealth in Ecuador surpasses this estimate. Also noteworthy in this table is the individual-level distribution of wealth, and the fact that wealth is more concentrated among men

than among women. Men in quintile V control 72% of the male wealth, whereas women in the top quintile own 68% of the female wealth.

In Tables 8B and 8C we present the distribution of household wealth by quintiles, region, and gender. These tables show how wealth is much more concentrated in the Sierra than on the Coast. In both regions male wealth is much more concentrated than female wealth.

Existing estimates of the distribution of per capita income among urban households suggest that the distribution of wealth in Ecuador is much more concentrated than is income.⁴⁶ In 2010 the poorest quintile in terms of income per capita claimed 4.2% of total income, whereas the top quintile commanded 54.2% (Ponce, 2011: Table 4).

Our estimate of the Gini coefficient for gross household wealth nationally is 0.68.⁴⁷ The figures are similar by locale, 0.68 for urban and 0.67 for rural households.⁴⁸ By comparison, the official estimate for June 2010 (the month in which our survey ended) was that the income Gini coefficient was 0.52 nationally, 0.50 in urban areas, and 0.47 in rural areas (INEC-DIPES MS, 2010).

Table 9A presents the detailed wealth estimates by quintile. Median total household wealth was \$9,690, and the mean, \$24,732. The differences between the quintiles are statistically significant both with respect to the mean value of household wealth, as well as the mean value of male and female wealth.⁴⁹

Table 9A also shows that women's share of total gross household wealth varies from 60% in quintile I to 51% in quintile V.⁵⁰ In all quintiles the mean value of women's wealth exceeds that of men. The relatively high share of wealth corresponding to women in quintile I is largely explained by the relatively large share of female household heads in this quintile, a topic explored in more depth below.

⁴⁶ These estimates are not strictly comparable because our quintiles are ranked by total household wealth, rather than per capita income. Later on we analyze the differences in the demographic characteristics of our quintiles to reach per capita wealth.

⁴⁷ The Gini coefficient takes a value between 0 and 1, with 1 being equal to the total concentration of wealth.

⁴⁸ To put these results in a comparative perspective, Davies et al (2008: Table 3) estimate that, using indirect methods, the Gini coefficient of the concentration of wealth is 0.74 for Argentina, 0.75 for Mexico and 0.78 for Brazil. Estimates for the most developed countries range from 0.57 for Spain, 0.69 for Canada, to 0.80 for the United States.

⁴⁹ ANOVA test, with a significance of 99%.

⁵⁰ This result suggests the hypothesis that the higher a women's educational level, the greater the degree of gender inequality in wealth holdings, paralleling the finding regarding the relationship between women's educational level and their income in Latin America (ECLAC and UNIFEM, 2007:25)

Table 9B presents similar information by region. First, what stands out is that the median total gross household wealth in the Sierra, \$13,570, is nearly double that of the Coast: \$7,705, with the mean following the same tendency, \$31,337 versus \$18,296, respectively. Second, the share of total wealth that belongs to women is much higher in the Sierra than on the Coast. However, with the exception of quintile I (where women's share is the highest among the quintiles for both regions) the behavior of this indicator shows different tendencies. Perhaps the most striking is the behavior of quintile V on the Coast. In that quintile mean male wealth is significantly higher than that of women, while women's share of wealth is less than in the other quintiles. This fact explains why, overall, women's share of wealth is less on the Coast than in the Sierra. The differences by locale of residence, rural vs. urban in terms of average total household wealth and other indicators are less marked than the regional differences (see Appendix, Table A.4).

Until now we have not taken into account demographic factors, such as the extent to which average household size and the rate of feminization (the proportion of women) varies by quintile. As can be seen in Table 10, nationally, mean household size is 4.13. The average size of quintile I, 3.95, is well below the overall mean. In addition, this quintile is the most feminized of all with 1.13 adult women (18 years and older) per man. These factors partly explain why, in quintiles I and IV, women's share of wealth is relatively higher than in the other quintiles (see Table 9A).

Once one takes into account the rate of feminization among the adult population (who hold 97% of total household wealth) the differences in mean per capita wealth between men and women in each quintile diminish. The exception is quintile V where the difference becomes sharper in favor of the men, as can be seen in Figure 5. The overall result is that for the adult population mean total male wealth is \$9,605 as opposed to mean female wealth of \$9,204.

The same result holds by region. On both the Coast and in the Sierra total per capita adult male wealth is higher than female wealth and regional differences become even sharper by this indicator. Total per capita adult wealth is nearly double in the Sierra compared to the Coast. The differences between urban and rural areas appear minimal in comparison (see Appendix, Tables A.5.a and A.5.b.).

To summarize then, although 52% of the total gross household wealth in Ecuador pertains to women, this does not mean that they are wealthier than men since they are over-represented in the population, especially the adult population. Although there is relative gender equality in the distribution of wealth between men and women, the distribution of household wealth between quintiles is most unequal. Consequently, inequality in the distribution of wealth among households is, as expected, much greater than gender inequality. Nonetheless, at the level of gross per capita wealth there is a gender wealth gap that favors men.

The results for Ecuador can only be compared with the results for one other Latin American country, Nicaragua, a study based on the 2001 LSMS. The available data only allowed an estimate of the gross value of physical assets, and the result was that there was a significant gender gap in the distribution of wealth. Only between 35.8% and 40.5% of the total value of

physical assets pertained to women (Deere, Alvarado and Twyman, 2010).⁵¹ In this comparison of gross physical wealth, Ecuador stands out as the more gender egalitarian country. This may be partly explained by Ecuador's marital regime of partial community property. In Nicaragua, by contrast, the default marital regime is separation of property. The differences in women's share of gross physical wealth suggest that marital regimes (as well as inheritance regimes) make a difference in women's ability to accumulate assets.

Section 7. Gender Differences in the Acquisition of Assets

As noted previously, the accumulation of assets by individuals depends on various factors, among these, their level of income and capacity to save, as well as their ability to obtain credit. It also depends on whether they are in a position to receive an inheritance and, hence, on whether their parents and other relatives have been able to accumulate any assets. State programs are another way in which individuals may acquire assets. Such programs include the redistribution and adjudication of lands (i.e., agrarian reform) and other programs aimed at providing subsidized credit, such as for the purchase of a dwelling or to promote entrepreneurial activities, like small businesses. Some state programs also facilitate the exercise of property rights over assets, such as land and housing titling programs.

The different ways of acquiring assets and whether these are accumulated individually or jointly are also conditioned by the life cycle stage and a person's marital status. They are also conditioned by the legal norms governing property in marriage and consensual unions and whether these in practice are enforced. For example, in Ecuador any asset acquired during marriage or a consensual union, with the exception of inheritances, form part of the "conjugal society" or the joint assets of the couple. Thus, any individual property owned by a married person should represent either what the individual was able to accumulate as a single person or received as an inheritance. In this section we analyze the mode of acquisition of some of the major assets, the principal residence, businesses, and agricultural lands according to the form of property, whether individual or jointly-owned.

As Figure 6 shows regarding the mode of acquisition of the principal residence, the majority were built by their owners (66%), 23% were purchased, while 10% were inherited, and 1% acquired in some other fashion. Note that donations from parents *en vivo* have been grouped together with proper inheritances in the latter category. The modes of acquisition by couples follow the general trend, with the great majority of dwellings have been constructed by them, followed by market purchases and then inheritance.

⁵¹ In the Nicaragua survey the researchers did not ask the market value of the primary residence, but rather, only asked about the amount for which owners could rent their dwellings. Therefore, the value of the dwelling was estimated based on its present value, which varies according to the chosen discount rate. Thus in the text a range is given for physical gross wealth, depending on which interest rate is used. Since housing is the most valuable asset of most households in Nicaragua and Ecuador, the differing methodology makes the comparison of the total gross physical wealth of the two countries not strictly appropriate.

Regarding those that are individual property, the purchase or inheritance of the primary residence is slightly more common among women than among men. Additionally, the analysis by locale indicates that there are significant differences in the ways in which rural and urban women acquire dwellings as individual property. Inheritance represents 21% of those acquired by rural women but only 13% of the total for urban women. Inheritance as a form of acquisition of the principal residence is also more frequent in the Sierra than on the Coast. In particular, inheritance is more common among individual female homeowners in the Sierra than among those on the Coast.

Inheritance is also relatively common as a form of acquisition for homes that were jointly owned by two or more members of the household (like a mother and her daughter, or various siblings living in the household). It was also the main method of acquisition among those that held the property jointly with someone who resided outside the household.⁵² This latter category includes cases where the principal man or woman had been designated as heir to the dwelling and considered the house to be his or hers, although the house was still in the parents' names. This situation arose either because the parents were still living, or because the property title had not yet been changed over to the heir's name. Also included in this category are several cases of international migrants who are not currently residing in the home that they own; co-ownership has been attributed to those who reside there, whether they were children, parents, or other family members.⁵³

Graph 6 shows that men are over-represented among those who were able to obtain a dwelling as individual property in "other ways." These other ways include government relocation programs and land/home invasions.

Among the dwellings that were acquired by construction the great majority belong to the principal couple. (Also over-represented in this category were those that were considered the property of all household members.) Therefore, it is important to consider how people acquired their lots for construction of the dwelling. In 68% of owner-occupied homes, the dwelling and the lot were acquired in different ways and/or at different moments.

In Table 7 it can be seen that the majority of housing lots (59%) were acquired through purchase. However, the importance of inheritance as a way of acquiring a piece of land on which to construct a dwelling is also apparent, representing 32% of the total. A relatively large share of lots, 9%, were acquired in other forms, including land invasions (6%), through a government relocation program (2%), or in other ways.

⁵² Graph 6 does not provide the detail other forms of co-ownership, but these are included in the total. 17% of primary residences that are jointly owned with someone who is not a member of the household were acquired by inheritance.

⁵³ We should also note that in some cases where the home was reported as the sole property of a migrant, we coded the property as co-owned by a family member who resided in the home in order not to lose this observation of an owner-occupied home. We thus may be inflating the category of co-ownership and especially those acquired through inheritance.

As for individual property, inheritance of a housing lot is relatively more common for men (42%) than for women (32%). This gender difference holds in both urban and rural areas. However, the inheritance of a lot is much more frequent in rural areas (representing 47% of the total rural lots acquired). The inheritance of a housing lot is also more frequent in the Sierra than on the Coast. This is especially true for women in the Sierra (where inheritance characterizes 41% of their acquired lots) as compared to the Coast (27%).

It is interesting to note that in the case of couples, 24% report acquiring their housing lot through inheritance, since inheritances should legally constitute individual rather than joint property. During field work we noticed that it was not uncommon for an inherited lot, once the couple built a house upon it, to be considered the joint property of the couple. This “mixing of assets” can cause problems if the couple decides to separate or divorce. This is because it is difficult for the individual who inherited the land to prove that the lot should be considered separately from the dwelling since it was inherited and represents individual property. This is especially the case when there are not documents to prove that the land was inherited. This problem seems to particularly affect women, perhaps because they are more likely to consider that whatever belongs to them belongs to the whole family. Consequently, they do not always fight for their property rights. We consider this to constitute a form of patrimonial violence against women (Deere, Contreras, and Twyman, 2010).

Not only is it more common to receive a housing lot as an inheritance in comparison to a dwelling itself, but it is also more common to acquire a lot through a land invasion (6%) or some sort of government-sponsored program (1%). These last two forms of lot acquisition are relatively more important for women than for men. They are also more common in urban than in rural areas.

In the case that the primary residence was purchased or constructed, we also inquired about how the acquisition were financed. Graph 8 shows that the great majority of these dwellings, 67%, were financed through the personal savings of someone in the household and 8% were financed through the Housing Subsidy Program (Bono de la Vivienda). This latter program has benefitted both men and women in the purchase of a dwelling as individual property; couples have benefitted to a lesser extent. The Housing Subsidy Program has benefitted more rural households in the construction or purchase of their dwellings (10%) than urban ones (7%).

A total of 24% of constructed or purchased residences were financed with loans. The most important sources of housing mortgages were private institutions, followed by the Ecuadorian Institute for Social Security (Instituto Ecuatoriano de Seguridad Social (IESS)). “Other” includes informal sources, loans from employers, direct financing by builders, and remittances (the latter represent less than 1%). Among those who financed their dwellings using credit there was no difference by gender. In general, the use of credit, particularly loans from private institutions, was much more common in the acquisition of homes by couples or those properties considered to be owned by the whole family, than for the purchase or construction of residences by individuals.

Turning to the acquisition of non-agricultural businesses, Graph 9 shows that the great majority of these, 73%, were self-financed. Only 16% were acquired through the use of credit,⁵⁴ and inheritance of a business is infrequent, representing only 2% of the cases. For 9% of the businesses the form of acquisition was not relevant, since these consisted of people who were self-employed and their businesses did not require the acquisition of assets. Women were over-represented in this latter category of businesses. This provides another explanation of why women's businesses are of lower value than those of the men.

Business that are jointly-owned by a married couple were the most likely to have been started with a loan. These appear to really be “family businesses.” Among businesses that are reported as individual property, a slightly higher share of those belonging to women were initiated with a loan compared to those of men. But the share that were started with loans is relatively low for both. To put this result in perspective, the general practice in Ecuador is not to issue loans to start a business; rather, microentrepreneurs are usually required to have had some experience running a business—from six months to two years—before receiving a loan. Thus the great majority of small businesses begin with self-financing (Readout, 2011), just as our results show.

It is also worth noting that a higher proportion of businesses in rural areas (19%) began with loans, as compared to those in urban areas (14%). Among the principle sources of credit, and of relatively equal importance, are private banks and informal sources of credit, such as loans from relatives. These sources are followed by loans from moneylenders.

Agricultural businesses follow a pattern similar to non-agricultural businesses. The great majority are self-financed (71%), although a larger percentage (24%) began with loans. The businesses individually owned by women commenced with a loan more frequently than those owned by men (30% versus 24%, respectively). All the cases in which women used credit in order to start an agricultural businesses occurred in rural areas. The main source of credit was NGOs, followed by private banks.

As for the acquisition of agricultural parcels, it is noteworthy, as shown in Graph 10, that the majority of these (55%) were acquired through inheritance. Only 43% were acquired through purchase, and 2% through other modes. Inheritance is the main way that both men and women acquire individual parcels of land. However, for women inheritance is of much greater importance, characterizing the acquisition of 74% of their agricultural parcels. Only 59% of the parcels belonging to men were acquired in this way. The inheritance of agricultural parcels is of equal importance as a means of acquiring land on the Coast as in the Sierra. However, it is of special importance for women of the Coast, where 84% of their land parcels were acquired through inheritance. The comparable figure for men is only 45%. In the Sierra, inheritance as a means of acquiring a parcel of land is roughly comparable for men (72%) and women (69%).

⁵⁴ Very few businesses, less than 1%, were purchased, either with personal savings or with a loan. Therefore, we include these cases as part of the latter categories (self-financing versus acquired through credit). Also, very few businesses claimed that they began with more than one form of financing.

It is interesting to note that a relatively high share, 44%, of the parcels pertaining to couples as joint property were reported as having been acquired through inheritance. This suggests that it is fairly frequent for what is legally considered to be individual property to be considered ‘family’ property, or that of the couple.

Overall, the majority of land parcels that are jointly owned by the principal couple were acquired through market purchase. Of the agricultural parcels acquired by purchase, 83% were financed with the savings of household members, 14% were purchased with credit, 2% were financed with remittances and 1%, financed through other sources. The main source of loans was private institutions. This source of financing was relatively more common for land parcels purchased by men (7%) than by women (4%).

To summarize then, the analysis of the different modes of acquisition of the principal assets demonstrates the important role played by inheritance, particularly for the acquisition of agricultural parcels and housing lots. Inheritance is particularly important for women’s accumulation of these assets. This suggests that the inheritance regime based all children inheriting equally regardless of sex has been a central factor in facilitating women’s ownership of property in Ecuador. It is also noteworthy that a relatively high percentage of assets that are considered to belong to the principal couple are also reported to have been acquired through inheritance. This suggests that the notion of joint property is widely accepted in Ecuador; that is, that that everything acquired during marriage, regardless of the mode of acquisition, belongs to the couple.

It is undoubtedly the practice of joint property in marriage that favors women’s accumulation of real estate wealth. And as we have seen housing represents the principal component of household wealth. Also, the majority of homes are built by the principal couple, generally on a lot purchased by both of them, or on a lot inherited by one of the spouses.

Finally, although the acquisition of the majority of these assets (dwellings, lots, businesses, and agricultural parcels) have been self-financed, credit has played an important role in the purchase or construction of dwellings, followed by the start up of non-agricultural businesses, and the purchase of land parcels. Moreover, in our analysis we did not detect a marked gender bias in access to credit for the purchase of major assets.

Section 8. Conclusions and Recommendations

One of the most important results of this study is the finding regarding the high degree of concentration of wealth in Ecuador. The Gini coefficient of 0.68 reflects the fact that the wealthiest 20% of households own 70% of the gross value of household physical and financial assets, while the poorest 40% own only 3% of total household gross wealth. Wealth is much more concentrated in the Sierra than on the Coast; moreover, mean and median household gross wealth is higher in the Sierra than on the Coast.

What also stands out is that many Ecuadorian households have few assets or assets of very little value. In other words, an important share is asset-poor and characterized by the insecurity that this implies when confronted with an economic calamity. Our results also suggest that the concentration of wealth in Ecuador is more pronounced than the concentration of income, a situation similar to what is found in more developed countries (Caner and Wolf, 2004; Davies et al., 2008).

The distribution of wealth among men and women appears to be relatively egalitarian, with women owning 52% of gross wealth, a share similar to their representation in the population. But there are important regional differences, with women claiming a higher share of wealth in the Sierra than on the Coast. Once one takes into account the rate of feminization of households, especially among adult women, the gender gap favors men in terms of adult per capita wealth.

There are important gender differences in the composition of wealth. Almost two-thirds of women's wealth is invested in their homes. The dwelling also constitutes the principal component of wealth for men, but their wealth holdings appear more diversified. The latter is a great advantage in the face of an emergency when the potential liquidity of assets is of utmost importance. Among the most significant gender biases in favor of men is with respect to financial assets, which are the most liquid of all assets.

We found considerable heterogeneity by asset in the forms of ownership—individual or jointly-owned—and in the ways in which that different assets are acquired. In general, joint ownership has benefited women, a result of the default marital regime of partial community property. This is evident in the case of homeownership, with the principal dwelling constituting the main component of women's wealth. At the same time, relatively egalitarian patterns of inheritance have allowed some women to enjoy the individual ownership of assets of great importance, such as a lot upon which to construct their home or agricultural parcels to farm.

Among the most striking differences with regard to the forms of ownership are the regional contrasts. Joint ownership by the principal couple is much more frequent in the Sierra, while individual property is more common on the Coast. Particularly noteworthy is how individual male property is always of relatively greater importance on the Coast than in the Sierra, whether with respect to the primary residence, other real estate, consumer durables, the assets associated with agricultural production, or formal savings accounts. This factor is crucial in explaining why the gender wealth gap is larger on the Coast. These regional differences appear to be related to the higher incidence of consensual unions on the Coast and the weaker property rights that women in such unions appear to have in practice; that is to say, women's lower ability to accumulate assets on the Coast could be related to a greater incidence of patrimonial violence.

Besides the gender differences observed in the ownership and value of financial assets the other important gender wealth gap in favor of men has to do with businesses, both agricultural and non-agricultural. The latter is especially worrisome, since women make up the majority of business owners, yet their mean business assets are so much lower than men's. This is rather alarming, given the importance of the informal sector in Ecuador as a source of employment.

The analysis has also revealed how the social construction of gender is reflected in the patterns of asset ownership; i.e., what is considered to be appropriate for men or women to own. Noteworthy was how household appliances—closely identified with women’s domestic work—were generally reported to be the individual property of women. On the other hand, there is a clear bias in favor of men when it comes to the ownership of vehicles.⁵⁵ In addition, although the distribution of land parcels and their worth was relatively egalitarian, women farmers are at a disadvantage when it comes to the ownership of agricultural equipment and installations. This situation could result in their earning lower farm incomes and even impinging upon food sovereignty, among other outcomes.

Also noteworthy was the importance of self-financing as the principal mode of acquiring assets, especially the primary residence and non-agricultural businesses. This suggests that to accumulate assets the majority of people depend upon their wages or income and whatever they can save. As is well known, women are at a disadvantage in the labor market, being concentrated in the informal sector with less stable employment and where they face a considerable gender earnings gap. These limitations mean that women are in a relatively weaker position to save from their earnings. As we have seen, the majority of households have some type of savings account, but at the individual level there is a gender bias that favors men, particularly with respect to formal savings accounts. These gender differences translate into a significant gender gap in financial wealth favoring men.

Access to credit for the acquisition of dwellings or housing lots and non-agricultural businesses has been relatively limited.⁵⁶ Moreover, government programs related to the acquisition of assets have failed to reach a substantial share of the population. Nonetheless, an analysis of the true impact of these programs would require a much more detailed analysis by wealth quintiles.

This report constitutes only a first approximation of the study of wealth in Ecuador, and of the role of gender in asset ownership. In the near future we will be refining our estimates, for example, considering the different ways that assets may be value (via their market price vs. replacement value or present value), and analyzing the information collected from both the household and individual questionnaires. In addition, we recognize that a better measure of household wealth is net wealth, which takes into account debt. Although we have abundant information about people’s use of credit and their levels of indebtedness, we simply have not yet had time to analyze this data.

⁵⁵ Distinct gender patterns in asset ownership-- and men’s monopoly of vehicles--have been found in other parts of the world. Antonopoulos and Flora (2005), for example, in their study of the informal sector in Thailand, found that women’s main assets are jewelry (a very liquid asset in Asian societies) while the men owned vehicles, including motorcycles.

⁵⁶ As of yet, we have not been able to study access to credit for the purchase of consumer durables. During our field work it appeared that such credit was readily available and frequently utilized (Deere, Contreras and Twyman, 2010).

We also have not been able to analyze in any depth the meaning of asset ownership over the life cycle, and specifically, the relationship between asset ownership and the empowerment of women. It will be of great importance to study the relationship between women's asset ownership and the level of control that they exercise over their assets; for example, we look forward to analyzing how women use their property and distribute the benefits of asset ownership, especially in the case of agricultural lands. In future analyses we will also be focusing on the relationship between women's asset ownership and their participation in household decisions. We are especially interested in examining whether women's ownership of their dwelling or of other real estate improves their bargaining position in the household. The available data will also allow a future analysis of whether asset ownership serves as a deterrent to domestic violence, a topic of great importance.

In future studies we also plan to deepen our understanding of the role played by assets during household calamities or when confronting economic shocks. Specifically, we are interested in investigating the extent to which asset ownership serves as a cushion that keeps families from falling into absolute poverty. Another focus for future research is the relationship between income inequality and the inequality in the distribution of wealth.

Although we are not yet in a position to answer all of the questions that motivated this study, we believe we can offer a few preliminary recommendations:

- We hope to have demonstrated the usefulness of gathering information about asset ownership at the individual level and not only at the household level. We recommend that the government begin to gather such information systematically, at least for assets such as dwellings, agricultural parcels, businesses, and access to credit.

- We believe that the gender indicator that would be of most use in measuring the impact of public policies is the incidence of individual property ownership, disaggregated by sex. This indicator has the great benefit of not being biased by the sex composition of the population and thus is relatively easy to interpret.

- There are various on-going state programs that impact upon the accumulation of assets, for example, the agrarian reform, the housing subsidy program of the Ministry of Housing and Urban Development, and the program of credit subsidies for microenterprises. It is imperative that the responsible government agencies compile data on their beneficiaries by sex in order to prevent the introduction of a gender bias in these programs.

- The most alarming situation that we discovered is the gender wealth gap regarding non-agricultural businesses. This gap suggests the importance of developing new and better programs aimed at assisting female microentrepreneurs gain access to credit as well as appropriate training so that they have access to assets of greater value and expand their businesses.

- Despite the fact that property rights in Ecuador are highly favorable to the accumulation of assets by women, many times women are not aware of their rights, particularly women in consensual unions. Furthermore, there is much confusion regarding inheritance laws. We

believe that patrimonial violence—the negation of women’s property rights—is partly related to a low level of legal literacy. It would be most beneficial if the state and/or civil society promoted legal literacy, for it would greatly reduce the conflicts that occur when couples separate, divorce, or one suffers the loss of a spouse -- the moments of greatest vulnerability for women with respect to their property rights.

References

- Acosta, Alberto (ed.) (2010). *Análisis de coyuntura. Una lectura de los principales componentes económicos, políticos y sociales de Ecuador durante el año 2009*. Quito, Ecuador: Fundación Friedrich Ebert Stiftung/ILDIS, FLACSO-Ecuador.
- Addison, Tony, David Hulme, and Ravi Kanbur (2008). "Poverty dynamics: measurement and understanding from an interdisciplinary perspective". Working Paper 19. New York: Brooks World Poverty Institute. <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1246882> . Consulted May 1, 2009.
- Antonopoulos, Rania and Maria S. Floro (2005). "Asset ownership along gender lines: Evidence from Thailand". Working Paper 418. New York: Levy Economics Institute of Bard College.
- Agarwal, Bina (1994). *A field of one's own: Gender and land rights in South Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____ (1997). "Bargaining and gender relations: Within and beyond the household." *Feminist Economics* 3 (1): 1-51.
- Burbano Ortega, Emerita (2005). "Logros y límites en la institucionalización del enfoque de género en el proceso de titulación de tierras del Estado." Ph.D. dissertation, Universidad Central del Ecuador, Quito, Ecuador.
- Caner, Asena and Edward N. Wolff (2004). "Asset poverty in the United States, 1984-99: Evidence from the Panel Study of Income Dynamics." *Review of Income and Wealth* 50 (4): 493-518.
- Carter, Michael R. (2007). "What we can learn from asset-based approaches to poverty". In *Reducing global poverty: The case for asset accumulation*, Caroline Moser (ed.): 51-61. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Carter, Michael R. and Christopher. B. Barrett (2006). "The economics of poverty traps and persistent poverty: An asset-based approach." *Journal of Development Studies* 42 (2): 178-199.
- CEPAL and UNIFEM (2007). *Los desafíos del Milenio ante la igualdad de género*. Santiago, Chile: CEPAL, Unidad Mujer y Desarrollo, UNIFEM.
- Contreras Díaz, Jackeline (2010). "Mujeres, activos y el ciclo de vida: Apuntes sobre la provincia de Azuay." Working Paper. Program in Gender and Culture. Quito: FLACSO, Ecuador. Available at: www.flacsoandes.org/web/cms2.php?c=145

- Cuvi, María (1992). “Políticas agrarias y el papel de la mujer en el desarrollo del Ecuador.” In *Entre los límites y las rupturas. Las mujeres ecuatorianas en la década del 80*, CEPLAES-ACDI (eds.): 143-169. Quito: CEPLAES, ACDI.
- Davies, James B., Susana Sandstrom, Anthony Shorrocks and Edward N. Wolff (2008). “The World Distribution of Household Wealth.” In *Personal Wealth from a Global Perspective*, James B. Davies (ed.): 395-418. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Deere, Carmen Diana (2007). “Married women’s property rights in Mexico: A comparative Latin American perspective and research agenda. In *Decoding Gender. Law and Practice in Contemporary Mexico*, Helga Baitenmann, Victoria Chenaut and Ann Varley (eds.): 213-230. New Brunswick, NY: Rutgers University Press.
- _____ (2010a). “Mujeres, activos y el ciclo de vida: Apuntes sobre tres cantones de la provincia de Pichincha.” Working Paper. Program in Gender and Culture. Quito: FLACSO, Ecuador. Available at: www.flacsoandes.org/web/cms2.php?c=145
- _____ (2010b). “Mujeres, activos y el ciclo de vida: Apuntes sobre los derechos de propiedad y la clase media en Ecuador.” Working Paper. Program in Gender and Culture. Quito: FLACSO, Ecuador. Available at: www.flacsoandes.org/web/cms2.php?c=145
- _____ (2011). “Tierra y la autonomía económica de la mujer rural: Avances y desafíos de la investigación.” In *Tierra de mujeres. Reflexiones sobre el acceso de las mujeres rurales a la tierra en América Latina*, Patricia Costas (ed.): 39-69. La Paz: Fundación Tierra and International Land Coalition.
- Deere, Carmen Diana, Gina Alvarado and Jennifer Twyman (2010). “Poverty, headship and gender inequality in asset ownership in Latin America”. Working Paper 296. Ann Arbor, MI: Gender, Development and Globalization Program, Michigan State University.
- Deere, Carmen Diana, Jacqueline Contreras and Jennifer Twyman (2010). “Property rights and women’s accumulation of assets over the life cycle: Patrimonial violence in Ecuador.” *ALASRU. Nueva época. Análisis latinoamericana del medio rural* No. 5: 135-176. Available at www.flacsoandes.org/web/cms2.php?c=145
- Deere, Carmen Diana and Cheryl R. Doss (2006). “The gender asset gap: What do we know and why does it matter?” *Feminist Economics* 12 (1 & 2): 1-50.
- Deere, Carmen Diana and Magdalena León (1999). “Género y derechos a la tierra en Ecuador”. En *Género y Derechos de las Mujeres a la Tierra en Ecuador*, CONAMU (ed.): 29-68. Quito: CONAMU; UNICEF.
- Deere, Carmen Diana and Magdalena León (2001). *Empowering Women. Land and Property Rights in Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press

_____ (2003). "The Gender Asset Gap: Land in Latin America," *World Development* 31 (6): 925-947.

Ecuador, República de (1995). *Ley contra la violencia a la mujer y la familia*. Available at <http://www.mingobierno.gov.ec/dinage>

_____ (2000). *III Censo Agropecuario Nacional 2000*. Quito: INEC; Ministerio de Agricultura y Ganadería; Proyecto SICA. Available at http://www.agroecuador.com/HTML/Censo/censo272/img272_1.gif

_____ (2002). *VI Censo de Población y V de Vivienda. 2001. Resultados Definitivos*. Quito, Ecuador: INEC.

_____ (2009). *Código Civil. Actualizado a junio de 2009*. Quito, Ecuador: Corporación de Estudios y Publicaciones.

Grinstein-Weiss, Michal, Yeong Hun Yeo, Min Zhan and Pajarita Charles (2008). "Asset holding and net worth among households with children: Differences by household type." *Children and Youth Services Review* 30 (1): 62-78.

Grown, Caren, Geeta Rao Gupta, and Aslihan Kes, UN Millennium Project (2005). *Taking action: achieving gender equality and empowering women*. London & Sterling, VA: Earthscan and UNDP, Millennium Project, Task Force on Education and Gender Equality.

Hábitus Investigación, S.A. (2010a). *Manual de capacitación. Encuesta sobre los activos de los hogares, Universidad de Florida-FLACSO, ejecutado por Hábitus Investigación S.A.* Quito: Hábitus Investigación S.A.; FLACSO- Sede Ecuador and University of Florida, revised June 30.

_____ (2010b). *Memoria Técnica. Encuesta de hogares sobre los activos, pobreza y desigualdad de género, Universidad de Florida-FLACSO*. Quito: Hábitus Investigación S.A., August.

INEC (2006). *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida 2005-2006*. Quito, Ecuador: INEC.

INEC – DIPES MS (2010). "Pobreza por ingresos ENEMDU. Resultados a diciembre 2010." Quito, Ecuador: INEC. www.ecuadorencifras.com. Consulted June 11, 2011.

Jordán, Rosa H. (1996). *Las mujeres productoras de alimentos en Ecuador: diagnóstico y políticas*. San José: IICA.

Moser, Caroline O. N. (2009). *Ordinary families, extraordinary lives: Assets and poverty reduction in Guayaquil, 1978-2004*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute.

- Naciones Unidas (1995). *Convención sobre la eliminación de todas las formas de discriminación contra la mujer y recomendaciones*. Reimpreso. Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales, Instituto de la Mujer.
- _____ (1996). *Informe de la Cuarta Conferencia Mundial sobre la Mujer, Beijing, 4-15 septiembre 1995*. Nueva York: Naciones Unidas, A-Conf.177/20/Rev. 1.
- Pérez, Alba and Claudio Gallardo (2005). *Mujeres y hombres del Ecuador en cifras II*. Serie Información Estratégica. Quito, Ecuador: CONAMU, INEC, UNIFEM.
- Pérez, Alba, Alison Vasconéz and Claudio Gallardo (2008). *El tiempo de ellas y de ellos. Indicadores de la Encuesta Nacional del Uso del Tiempo-2007*. Quito, Ecuador: CONAMU, INEC.
- Ponce, Juan (2011). “Desigualdad del ingreso en Ecuador: un análisis de los años 1990s y 2000s.” Working Paper. Quito, Ecuador: FLACSO-Ecuador.
- Readout, Brian (2011). “Balancing outreach and sustainability: The double bottom line of microfinance in Ecuador.” MA thesis. University of Florida, Gainesville, FL.
- SIISE (2008). *Sistema integrado de indicadores sociales de Ecuador*. CD-Rom. Quito: Ministerio de Coordinación de Desarrollo Social.
- Torche, Florencia and Seymour Spilerman (2008). “Household wealth in Latin America.” In *Personal Wealth from a Global Perspective*, James B. Davies (ed.): 150-176. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Twyman, Jennifer (2010). “Género, activos y ciclo de vida: Una comparación de cinco cantones de la provincia de Manabí, Ecuador.” Working Paper. Program in Gender and Culture. Quito: FLACSO, Ecuador. Available at: www.flacsoandes.org/web/cms2.php?c=145

TABLES

Table 1. National and sample distribution of households

| Region | Number of households (a) | | | Sample (households) | | | Margin of error (+/-) |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|-------|-------|-----------------------|
| | Urbana | Rural | Total | Urbana | Rural | Total | |
| Coast | 1.174.120 | 434.422 | 1.608.542 | 1.093 | 408 | 1.501 | 2,6% |
| Sierra | 933.790 | 585.807 | 1.519.597 | 863 | 528 | 1.391 | 2,5% |
| Country (b) | 2.107.910 | 1.020.229 | 3.228.139 | 1.956 | 936 | 2.892 | 1,8% |
| Margin of error (+/-) | | | | 2,2% | 3,2% | | |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Note: (a) Based on INEC, ECV 2006. (b) The country total includes Galapagos and the Amazon region.

Table 2. Distribution of the sample according to type of interview

| Type of interview | Household Questionnaire | | Individual Questionnaire | | | |
|--|-------------------------|-------|--------------------------|--------|--------|-------|
| | Households | % | Men | Female | Total | % |
| Households with a principal couple | 1.980 | 68,5 | 1.821 | 1.935 | 3.756 | 80,5 |
| Couple interviewed together | 995 | 34,4 | 989 | 986 | 1.975 | 42,3 |
| Couple interviewed separately | 796 | 27,5 | 796 | 796 | 1.592 | 34,1 |
| One member absent | 189 | 6,6 | 36 | 153 | 189 | 4,1 |
| Households without a principal couple | 912 | 31,5 | 193 | 719 | 912 | 19,5 |
| Male head | 193 | 6,7 | 193 | 0 | 193 | 4,1 |
| Female head | 719 | 24,8 | 0 | 719 | 719 | 15,4 |
| Total | 2.892 | 100,0 | 2.014 | 2.654 | 4.668 | 100,0 |
| Distribution by sex | | | 43,1 | 56,9 | 100,00 | |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Table 3. Distribution of the interviewees by region, marital status and sex (%)

| Marital status | Region | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| | Costa | | | Sierra | | | Total | | |
| | Sex | | Total | Sex | | Total | Sex | | Total |
| | Men | Women | | Men | Women | | Men | Women | |
| Married | 42,9 | 36,3 | 39,2 | 76,9 | 59,6 | 66,9 | 58,7 | 47,6 | 52,4 |
| Consensual union | 46,9 | 39,1 | 42,5 | 14,5 | 12,4 | 13,3 | 31,8 | 26,1 | 28,6 |
| Single (never married) | 2,0 | 1,5 | 1,8 | 3,2 | 6,6 | 5,1 | 2,6 | 4,0 | 3,4 |
| Widow | 2,3 | 7,5 | 5,2 | 2,8 | 8,1 | 5,9 | 2,5 | 7,8 | 5,5 |
| Divorced | 0,5 | 1,9 | 1,3 | 0,7 | 4,1 | 2,7 | 0,6 | 3,0 | 1,9 |
| Separated | 5,4 | 13,6 | 10,0 | 1,9 | 9,2 | 6,1 | 3,8 | 11,5 | 8,1 |
| Total | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 |
| n= | 1.081 | 1.371 | 2.452 | 943 | 1.293 | 2.236 | 2.024 | 2.664 | 4.688 |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Table 4A. Distribution of physical assets by type of property, National (%)

| Asset | Individual property | | Joint property | | | | Total % | Total no. of assets |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------|----------------------------|---------|---------------------|
| | Male | Female | Couple | All household members | Other joint | With non-household members | | |
| Principal residence | 15,8 | 30,0 | 40,8 | 4,8 | 2,3 | 6,3 | 100,0 | 2.007.616 |
| Other real estate | 23,3 | 35,6 | 29,7 | 2,3 | 2,2 | 6,9 | 100,0 | 475.973 |
| Non-ag businesses | 37,0 | 51,6 | 8,0 | 1,3 | 0,5 | 1,6 | 100,0 | 2.070.453 |
| Consumer durables | 21,9 | 39,9 | 11,3 | 25,8 | 0,9 | 0,2 | 100,0 | 34.823.183 |
| Stove | 9,6 | 53,3 | 13,2 | 23,4 | 0,3 | 0,2 | 100,0 | 3.261.835 |
| Refrigerator | 11,9 | 44,4 | 14,9 | 28,3 | 0,4 | 0,1 | 100,0 | 2.489.460 |
| Washing machine | 9,0 | 46,2 | 13,0 | 31,0 | 0,6 | 0,2 | 100,0 | 1.011.320 |
| Entertainment goods | 24,8 | 30,9 | 12,2 | 30,9 | 1,0 | 0,2 | 100,0 | 8.618.491 |
| Computer | 26,0 | 27,0 | 8,8 | 32,2 | 5,6 | 0,4 | 100,0 | 809.466 |
| Cell phone | 45,0 | 46,5 | 1,7 | 6,2 | 0,6 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 4.446.543 |
| Vehicles | 46,2 | 14,1 | 15,1 | 24,2 | 0,2 | 0,2 | 100,0 | 528.534 |
| Other consumer goods | 17,2 | 40,7 | 12,5 | 28,5 | 0,9 | 0,2 | 100,0 | 13.567.883 |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Table 4B. Distribution of agricultural assets by type of property, National (%)

| Assets | Individual property | | | Joint property | | | Total % | Total no. of assets |
|---|---------------------|--------|--------|-----------------------|-------------|----------------------------|---------|---------------------|
| | Male | Female | Couple | All household members | Other joint | With non-household members | | |
| Agricultural businesses | 44,2 | 35,8 | 7,5 | 3,8 | 3,2 | 5,5 | 100,0 | 35.973 |
| Land parcels | 25,1 | 29,7 | 36,3 | 0,9 | 1,1 | 6,9 | 100,0 | 498.794 |
| Ag equipment & installations | 47,5 | 18,1 | 16,4 | 17,4 | 0,6 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 724.903 |
| Animals (a) | 10,5 | 39,7 | 28,1 | 19,8 | 1,6 | 0,3 | 100,0 | 12.799.275 |
| Large animals | 48,0 | 10,1 | 27,4 | 12,4 | 2,1 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 925.743 |
| Small animals | 17,7 | 34,2 | 28,1 | 18,5 | 1,4 | 0,1 | 100,0 | 916.531 |
| Poultry | 6,6 | 42,7 | 28,4 | 20,4 | 1,6 | 0,3 | 100,0 | 10.860.266 |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Note: (a) The category of animals, besides those disaggregated below, include fishing ponds and bee hives, each which are registered as one unit. Large animals include beef and dairy cattle, horses, donkeys and mules. Small animals include pigs, sheep, goats, llama, and alpaca.

Table 4C. Distribution of financial assets by type of property, National (%)

| Assets | Individual property | | Joint property | | | | Total % | Total no. of assets |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|--------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------|----------------------------|---------|---------------------|
| | Male | Female | Couple | All household members | Other joint | With non-household members | | |
| Total savings accounts | 45,4 | 43,2 | 9,3 | 0,9 | 0,7 | 0,5 | 100,0 | 2.919.669 |
| Formal accounts | 47,7 | 42,7 | 9,0 | 0,1 | 0,1 | 0,4 | 100,0 | 2.262.680 |
| Bank accounts | 51,4 | 38,6 | 9,5 | 0,1 | 0,0 | 0,4 | 100,0 | 1.184.403 |
| Savings & loan cooperatives | 45,2 | 45,4 | 8,7 | 0,1 | 0,3 | 0,3 | 100,0 | 974.149 |
| Other institutional accounts | 39,2 | 48,6 | 10,8 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 1,4 | 100,0 | 54.439 |
| Other (a) | 17,3 | 81,7 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 1,0 | 100,0 | 49.689 |
| Informal savings | 30,6 | 55,1 | 12,3 | 0,6 | 0,0 | 1,4 | 100,0 | 413.579 |
| Savings groups | 7,2 | 78,5 | 12,5 | 1,8 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 48.381 |
| Deposited with third parties | 36,8 | 34,2 | 3,1 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 25,9 | 100,0 | 22.186 |
| Savings at home | 33,5 | 53,1 | 12,9 | 0,5 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 343.012 |
| Life/burial insurance | 49,6 | 28,0 | 7,1 | 8,2 | 6,7 | 0,4 | 100,0 | 243.410 |
| Loans to third parties | 42,2 | 57,2 | 0,6 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 927.486 |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Note: (a) Others include stocks, bonds, certificates of deposit and other financial instruments.

Table 5. Distribution of owners by type of asset and sex, National (%) (a)

| Asset | Men | Women | Total | Number of owners |
|--------------------------------|------|-------|-------|------------------|
| Principal residence | 45,5 | 54,5 | 100,0 | 3.210.207 |
| Other real estate | 44,6 | 55,4 | 100,0 | 614.096 |
| Consumer durables | 47,4 | 52,6 | 100,0 | 11.312.009 |
| Non-ag businesses | 44,5 | 55,5 | 100,0 | 2.146.278 |
| Agricultural businesses | 49,7 | 50,3 | 100,0 | 42.649 |
| Land parcels | 46,4 | 53,6 | 100,0 | 584,924 |
| Ag equipment and installations | 54,2 | 45,8 | 100,0 | 903.511 |
| Animals | 42,8 | 57,2 | 100,0 | 2.301.195 |
| Savings accounts | 49,2 | 50,8 | 100,0 | 2.427.994 |
| Loans to third parties | 46,7 | 53,3 | 100,0 | 721.053 |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Note: (a) Includes all individual and joint owners who are household residents.

Table 6. Distribution of household gross wealth by asset category and sex, National (US\$)

| Asset | Men | Women | Total |
|-------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Physical assets | 38.263.298.126 | 42.409.654.652 | 80.672.952.779 |
| % | 47,5 | 52,5 | 100,0 |
| Financial assets | 1.238.095.052 | 788.741.159 | 2.026.836.211 |
| % | 61,1 | 38,9 | 100,0 |
| Total | 39.501.393.179 | 43.198.394.811 | 82.699.788.989 |
| % | 47,8 | 52,2 | 100,0 |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Table 7. Mean and median wealth of asset owners by type of asset and sex, National (US\$) (standard deviation)

| | Mean Male owners | n = male owners | Mean Female owners | n = female owners | Mean Total | n = total owners | Median Male owners | Median Female owners | Median Total |
|---|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| Principal residence | 15.907,66 | 140.9462 | 16.783,83 | 1.695.557 | 16.386,2 | 3.105.019 | 10.000 | 10.000 | 10.000 |
| | (22.368,12) | | (20.309,06) | | (21.272,92) | | | | |
| Other real estate | 14.325,15 | 263.646 | 14.164,25 | 333.318 | 14.235,31 | 596.964 | 5.000 | 5.000 | 5.000 |
| | (26.955,96) | | (22.268,18) | | (24.449,69) | | | | |
| Consumer durables | 731,95* | 5.322.398 | 645,33* | 5.929.344 | 686,3 | 11.251.742 | 169 | 190 | 181 |
| | (2.056,1) | | (1.540,82) | | (1.803,53) | | | | |
| Non-ag businesses | 4.881,29*** | 846.600 | 2.175,11*** | 988.692 | 3.423,44 | 1.835.292 | 1.000 | 500 | 700 |
| | (13.977,06) | | (7.008,66) | | (10.881,11) | | | | |
| Agricultural businesses | 54.741,12 | 20.564 | 8.028,22 | 19.641 | 31.920,99 | 40.206 | 500 | 2.000 | 1.650 |
| | (146.307,62) | | (10.705,68) | | (107.469,54) | | | | |
| Land parcels | 10.332,88 | 262.120 | 9.502,88 | 302.051 | 9.888,51 | 564.171 | 5.000 | 5.000 | 5.000 |
| | (20.186,97) | | (16.692,2) | | (18.403,3) | | | | |
| Ag equipment & installations | 101,49 | 489.306 | 68,15 | 413.541 | 86,22 | 902.847 | 11 | 10 | 10 |
| | (526,72) | | (484,14) | | (507,93) | | | | |
| Animals | 155,58 | 983.154 | 149,98 | 1.316.053 | 152,37 | 2.299.207 | 17 | 22 | 20 |
| | (531,87) | | (568,78) | | (553,31) | | | | |
| Total Physical Assets | 6.982,97 | 5.479.518 | 6.990,51 | 6.066.745 | 6.986,93 | 11.546.263 | 393 | 460 | 420 |
| | (23.201,16) | | (18.056,67) | | (20.658,44) | | | | |
| Savings | 838,79** | 908.693 | 513,34** | 918.306 | 675,21 | 1.826.999 | 200 | 100 | 125 |
| | (3.420,74) | | (1.366,79) | | (2.604,88) | | | | |
| Loans to third parties | 1.430,57 | 332.659 | 827,15 | 383.655 | 1.107,38 | 716.315 | 500 | 200 | 300 |
| | (3.380,94) | | (3.132,77) | | (3.264,28) | | | | |
| Total Financial Assets | 1.168,17** | 1.059.861 | 690,27** | 1.142.657 | 920,24 | 2.202.518 | 270 | 120 | 200 |
| | (4.191,89) | | (2.349,91) | | (3.373,06) | | | | |
| Total Wealth | 7.197,4 | 5.488.287 | 7.109,24 | 6.076.375 | 7.151,08 | 11.564.662 | 440 | 500 | 200 |
| | (23.640,15) | | (18.260,8) | | (20.986,37) | | | | |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Note: T-tests significance: *** 99%; ** 95%; *90%.

Table 8A. Distribution of gross household wealth by quintiles and sex, National (%)

| Quintiles | Total | Men | Women |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|
| I y II | 2,9 | 2,8 | 3 |
| III | 7,5 | 7,2 | 7,8 |
| IV | 20 | 18,3 | 21,7 |
| V | 69,5 | 71,7 | 67,5 |
| Total | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Table 8B. Distribution of gross household wealth by quintiles and sex, Coast (%)

| Quintiles | Total | Men | Women |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|
| I y II | 4,5 | 4 | 0,5 |
| III | 12,3 | 10,7 | 13,8 |
| IV | 25,4 | 23,3 | 27,6 |
| V | 57,8 | 62 | 53,6 |
| Total | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Table 8C. Distribution of gross household wealth by quintiles and sex, Sierra (%)

| Quintiles | Total | Men | Women |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|
| I y II | 2,0 | 2,0 | 1,9 |
| III | 4,7 | 5,0 | 4,4 |
| IV | 16,8 | 15,0 | 18,4 |
| V | 76,5 | 77,9 | 75,3 |
| Total | 100,0 | 100,0 | 100,0 |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Table 9A. Mean and median gross household wealth and female share by quintile and sex, National (US\$)

| Wealth Quintiles | | Household | Men | Women | Female share |
|------------------|--------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| I | Mean | 532,82 | 213,24 | 319,59 | 60% |
| | s.d. | 355,88 | 247,34 | 283,47 | |
| | Median | 466 | 129 | 240 | |
| II | Mean | 3.188,78 | 1.497,47 | 1.691,32 | 53% |
| | s.d. | 1.302,71 | 1.317,51 | 1.335,35 | |
| | Median | 2.970 | 1.280 | 1.396 | |
| III | Mean | 9.465,81 | 4.355,45 | 5.110,36 | 54% |
| | s.d. | 2.439,31 | 3.768,02 | 3.673,68 | |
| | Median | 9.323 | 4.300 | 5.075 | |
| IV | Mean | 24.130,09 | 10.496,12 | 13.633,97 | 57% |
| | s.d. | 5.986,47 | 8.779,76 | 9.354,17 | |
| | Median | 23.920 | 10.884 | 13.570 | |
| V | Mean | 84.406,46 | 41.580,37 | 42.826,09 | 51% |
| | s.d. | 66.043,59 | 56.568,55 | 39.125,13 | |
| | Median | 61.782 | 30.115 | 33.000 | |
| Total | Mean | 24.732,04 | 11.813,21 | 12.918,83 | 52% |
| | s.d. | 43.310,67 | 30.167,53 | 24.151,49 | |
| | Median | 9.690 | 1.761 | 3.340 | |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Table 9B. Mean and median gross household wealth and female share by quintile, sex, and region (US\$)

| Wealth Quintiles | | Costa | | | | Sierra | | | |
|------------------|--------|------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| | | Households | Men | Women | Female share | Households | Men | Women | Female share |
| I | Mean | 578,86 | 237,18 | 341,68 | 59% | 477,99 | 184,72 | 293,27 | 61% |
| | s.d. | 360,70 | 256,39 | 301,11 | | 342,07 | 232,93 | 258,45 | |
| | Median | 540 | 167 | 250 | | 402 | 100 | 230 | |
| II | Mean | 3.229,92 | 1.450,66 | 1.779,25 | 55% | 3.134,81 | 1.558,88 | 1.575,93 | 50% |
| | s.d. | 1.329,38 | 1.343,04 | 1.396,96 | | 1.264,85 | 1.280,64 | 1.240,50 | |
| | Median | 3.120 | 1.173 | 1.517 | | 2.770 | 1.350 | 1.264 | |
| III | Mean | 9.486,34 | 4.155,85 | 5.330,49 | 56% | 9.433,79 | 4.666,83 | 4.766,96 | 51% |
| | s.d. | 2.367,29 | 3.790,61 | 3.632,73 | | 2.547,26 | 3.711,13 | 3.710,70 | |
| | Median | 9.448 | 4.113 | 5.211 | | 9.220 | 4.845 | 4.512 | |
| IV | Mean | 23.640,43 | 10.848,56 | 12.791,86 | 54% | 24.590,82 | 10.164,50 | 14.426,31 | 59% |
| | s.d. | 6.274,70 | 9.170,87 | 8.980,52 | | 5.663,46 | 8.381,63 | 9.625,57 | |
| | Median | 22.600 | 10.208 | 12.602 | | 24.640 | 11.640 | 13.698 | |
| V | Mean | 78.645,98 | 42.287,41 | 36.358,57 | 46% | 87.302,42 | 41.224,91 | 46.077,50 | 53% |
| | s.d. | 73.007,88 | 67.121,23 | 32.387,88 | | 62.047,22 | 50.432,52 | 41.730,01 | |
| | Median | 56.103 | 26.240 | 31.092 | | 65.360 | 31.405 | 36.038 | |
| Total | Mean | 18.296,10 | 9.170,02 | 9.126,08 | 50% | 31.337,27 | 14.525,93 | 16.811,34 | 54% |
| | s.d. | 36.841,94 | 28.470,50 | 17.166,53 | | 48.185,05 | 31.586,07 | 29.147,49 | |
| | Median | 7.705 | 1.320 | 2.700 | | 13.570 | 2.588 | 4.625 | |

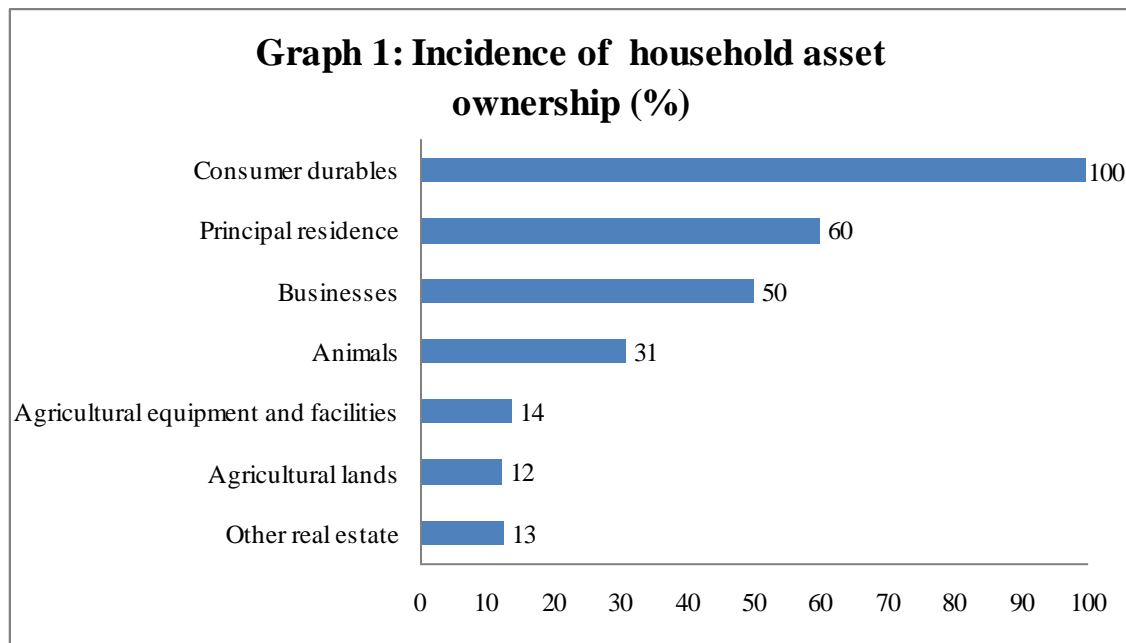
Source: EAFF 2010.

Table 10. Demographic indicators by wealth quintiles, National

| Quintile | Mean household size | Femenization index | Femenization index, adults |
|-----------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| I | 3,95 | 1,13 | 1,32 |
| II | 4,07 | 0,97 | 1,06 |
| III | 4,22 | 1,04 | 1,08 |
| IV | 4,33 | 1,16 | 1,19 |
| V | 4,06 | 1,08 | 1,13 |
| Total | 4,13 | 1,08 | 1,15 |

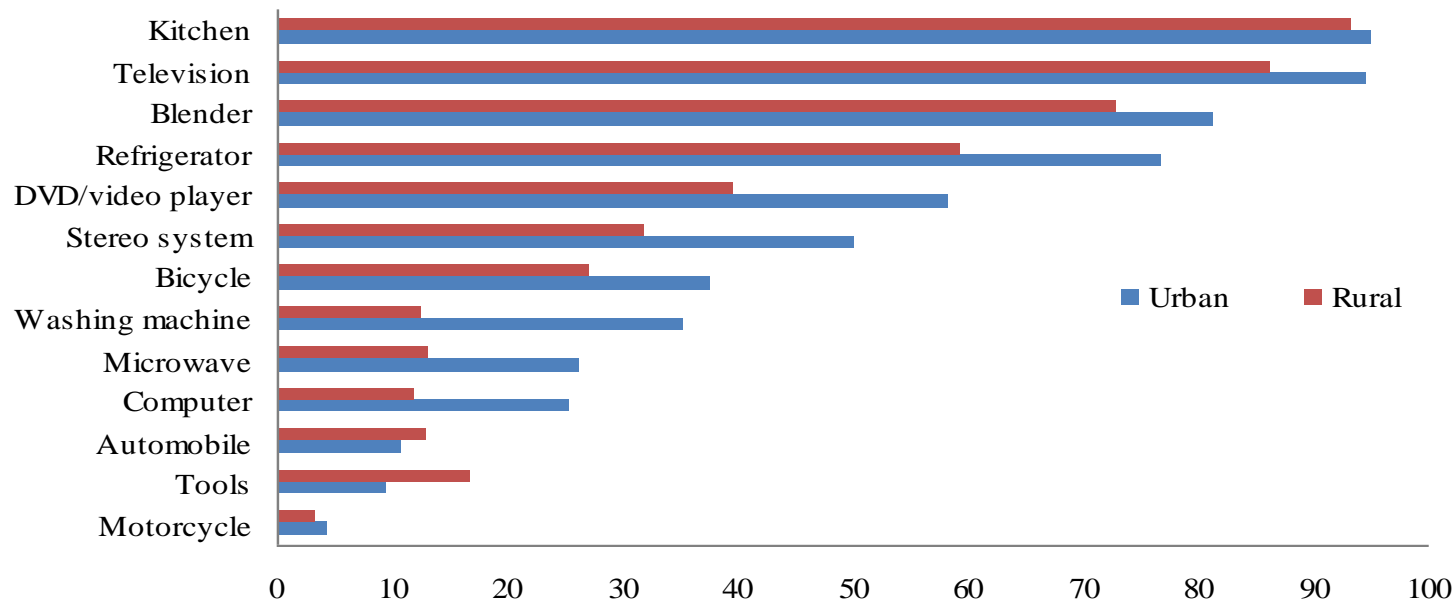
Source: EAFF 2010.

Graphs



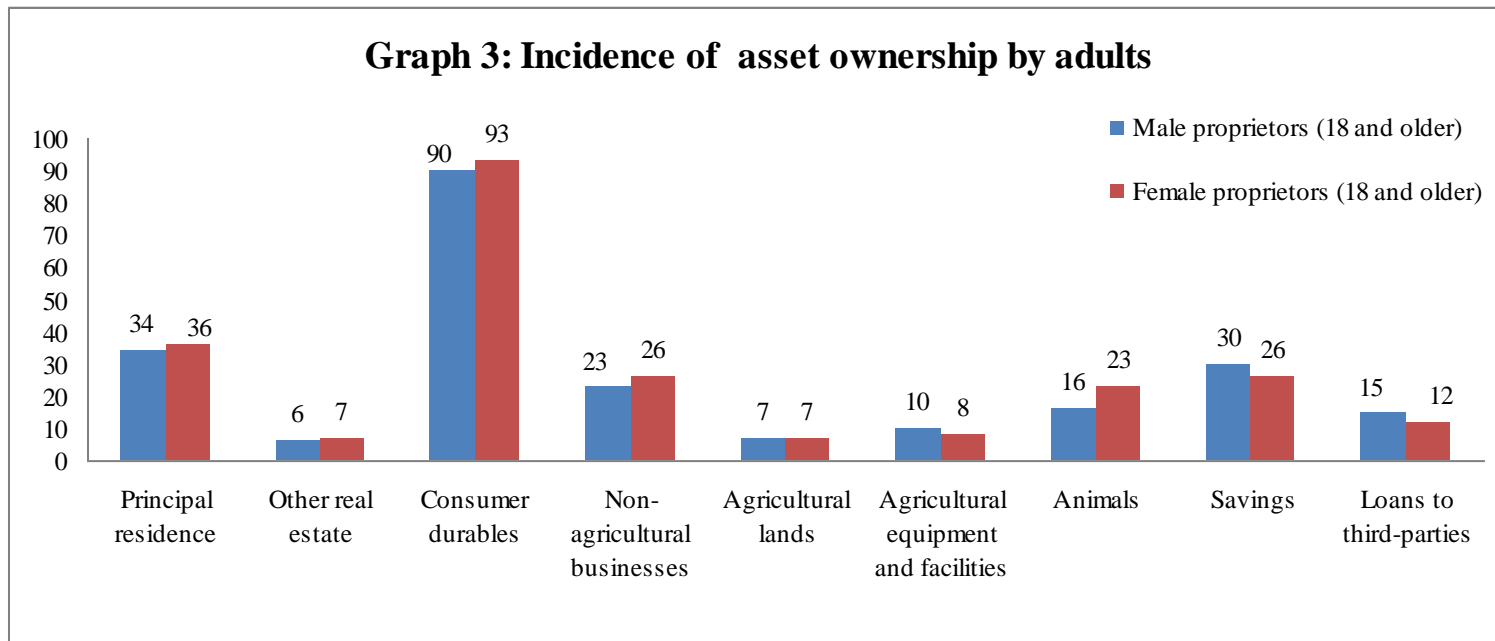
Source: EAFF 2010

Graph 2: Incidence of household ownership of consumer durables by locale (%)



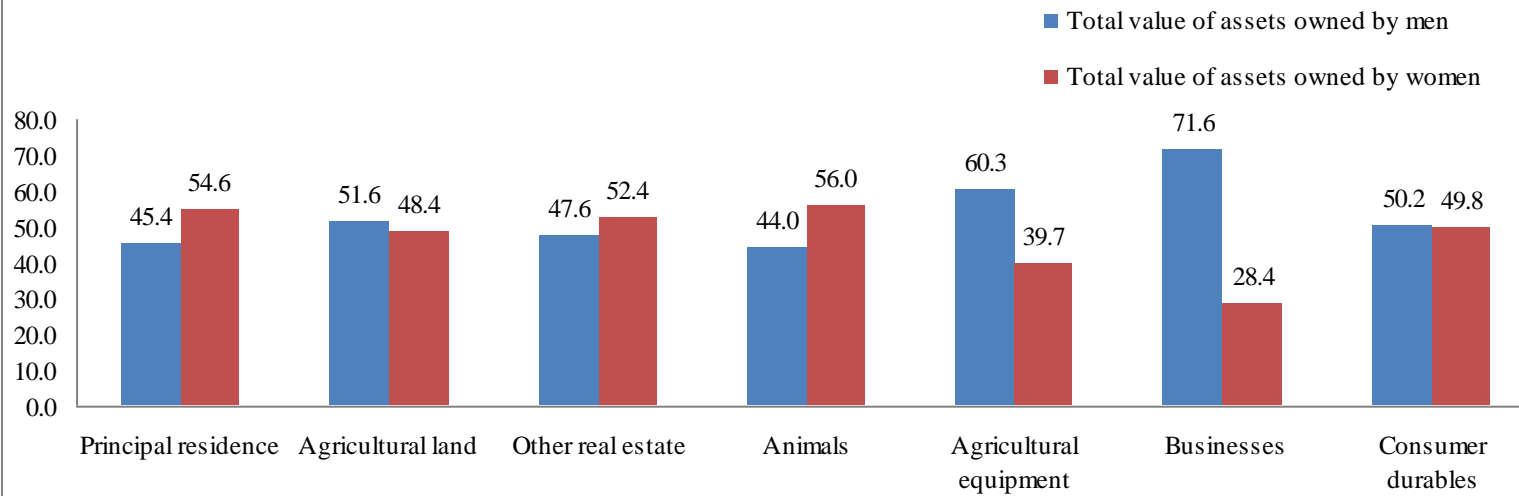
Source: EAFF 2010

Graph 3: Incidence of asset ownership by adults



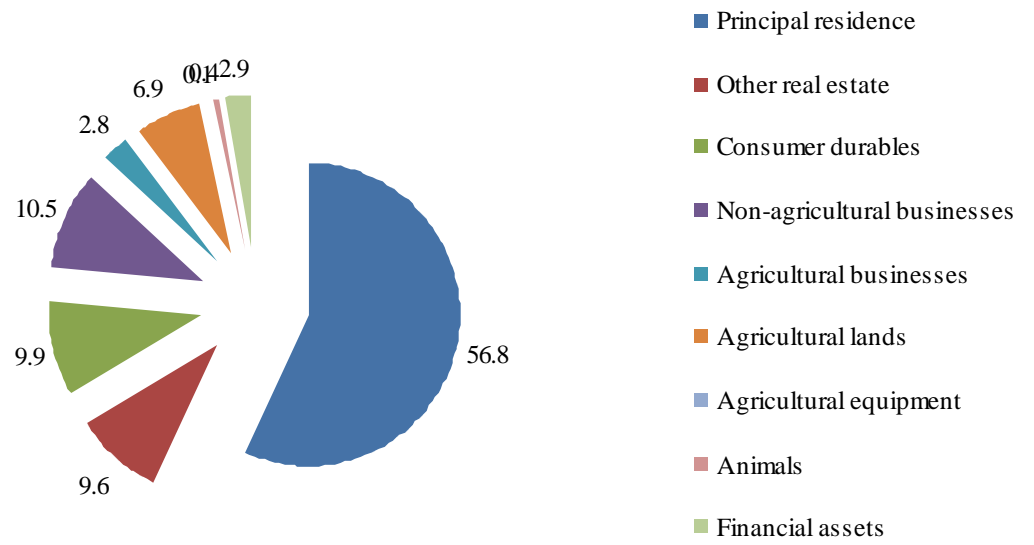
Source:

Graph Distribution of the value of assets by sex of the owners by type of physical asset



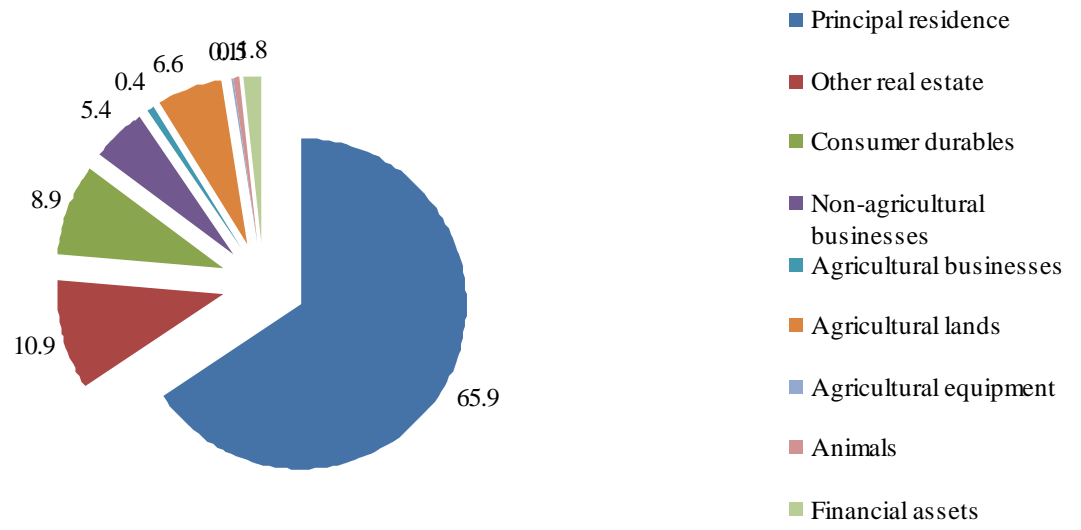
1

Graph 4A : Composition of the gross wealth of men



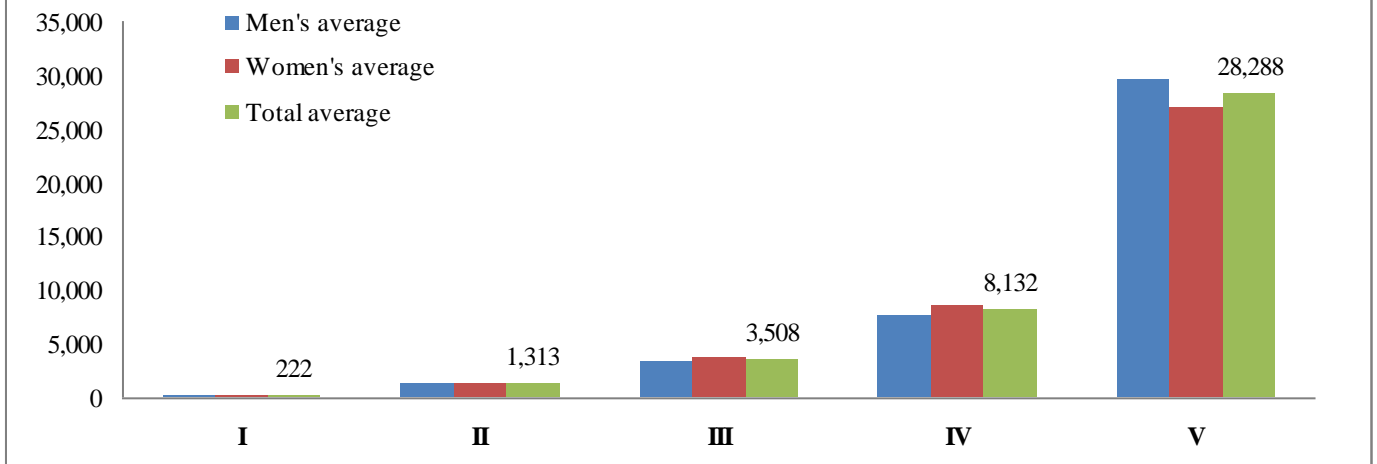
2

Graph 4B: Composition of the gross wealth of women



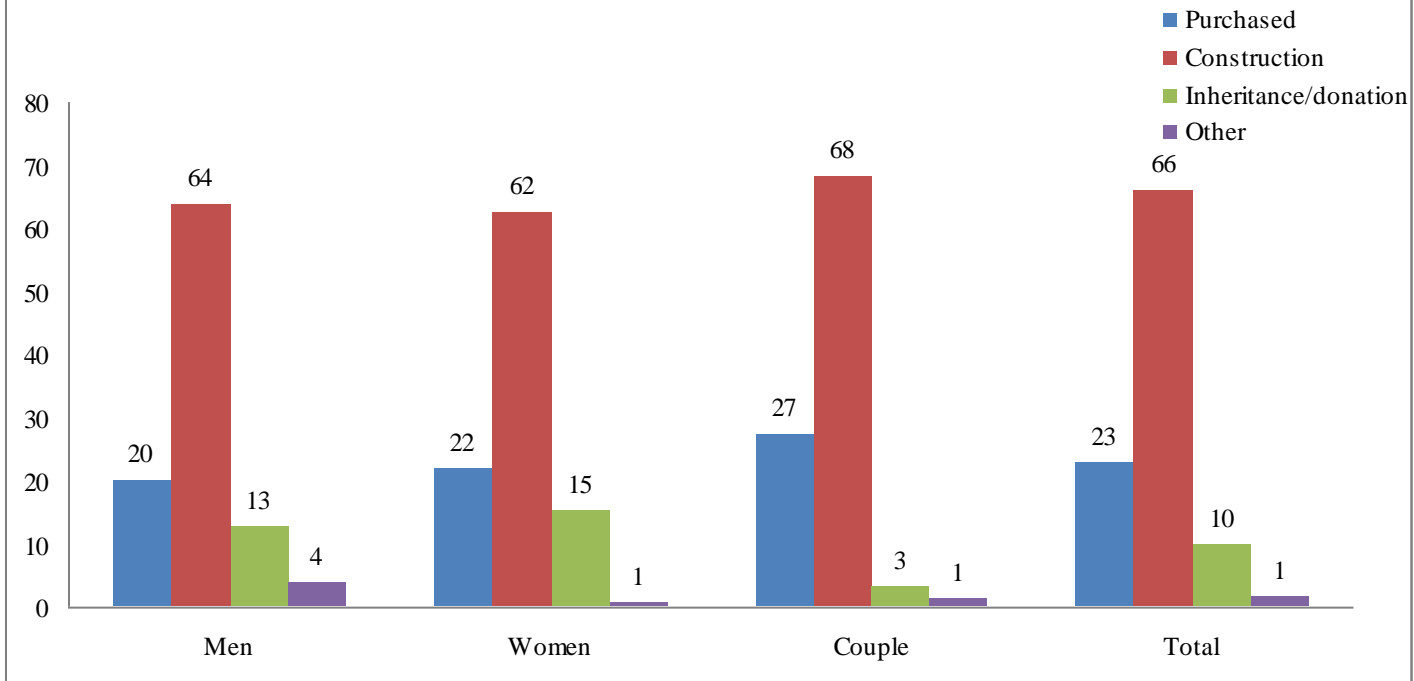
3

**Graph 5: Per capita adult wealth by sex and quintile
(US\$)**



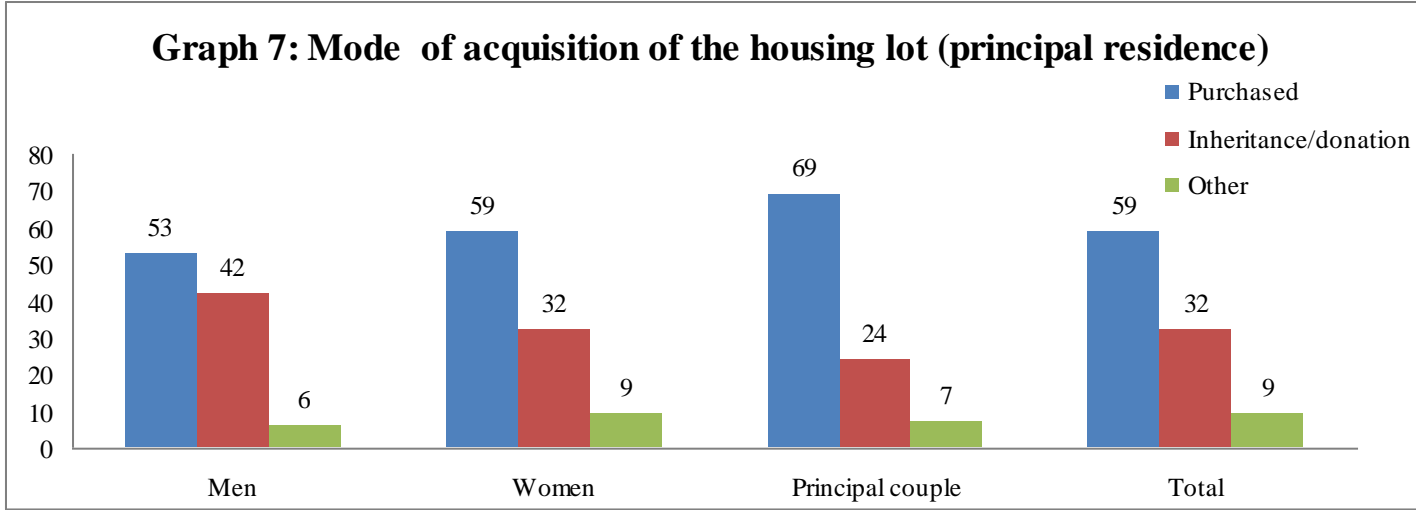
Source: EAFF 2010

Graph 6: Mode of acquisition of the principal residence (%)



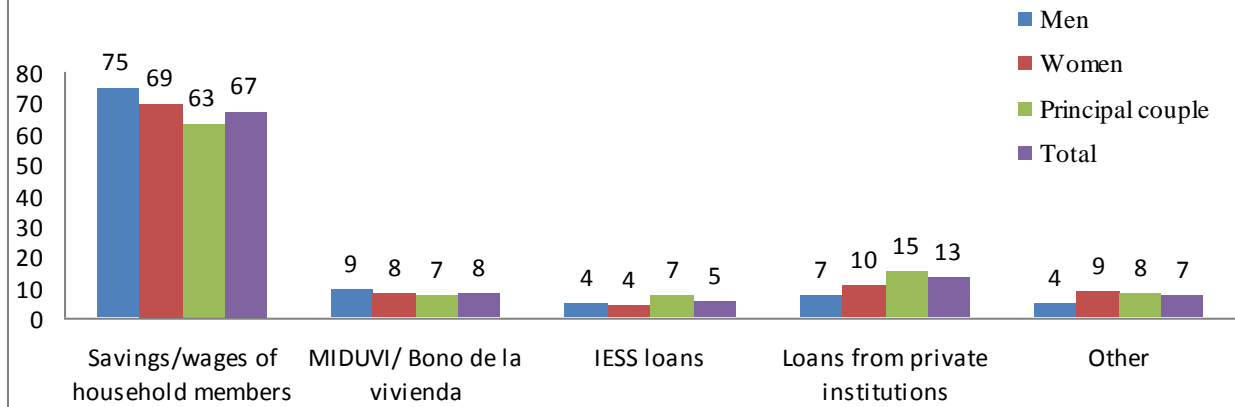
Note: The total also includes other forms of joint property. Other includes government resettlement programs and land invasions.

Source: EAFF 2010



Note: Other includes government resettlement programs and land invasions.
Source: EAFF 2010

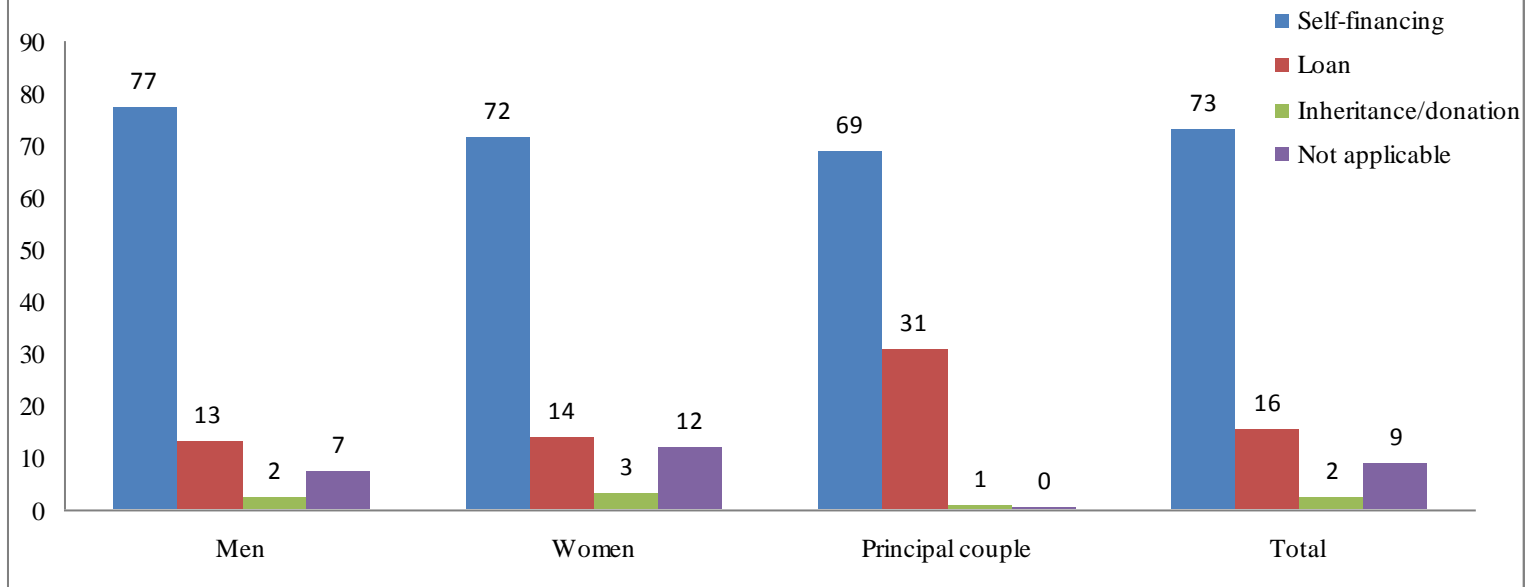
Graph 8: Forms of financing of the principal residence



Note: Other includes loans from informal sources, direct financing by builders, loans from workplace and remittances.

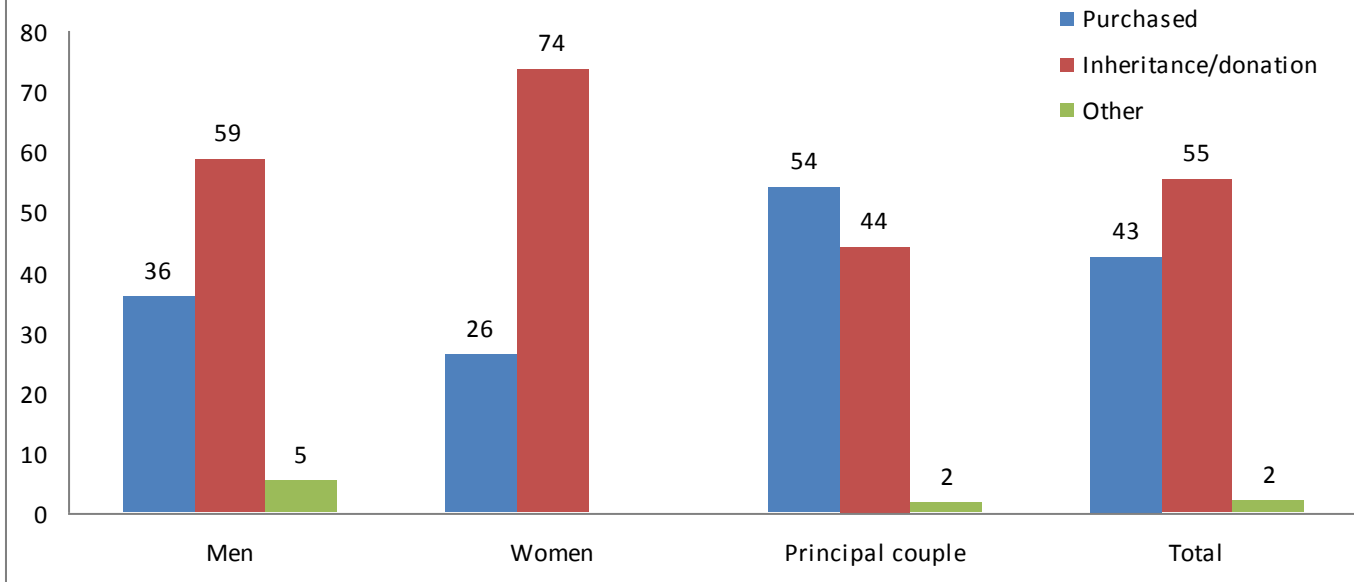
Source: EAFF 2010.

Graph 9: Modes of acquisition of non-agricultural businesses



Source: EAFF 2010.

Graph 10: Modes of acquisition of agricultural parcels



Note: Other includes adjudication by the community, land invasion and other forms.
Source: EAFF 2010.

Appendix

Table A.1.a.: Distribution of physical assets by type of property, Coast (%)

| Asset | Individual property | | Joint property | | | | Total % | Total no. of assets |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|--------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------|----------------------------|---------|---------------------|
| | Male | Female | Couple | All household members | Other joint | With non-household members | | |
| Principal residence | 19,4 | 32,3 | 37,9 | 3,8 | 2,4 | 4,1 | 100,0 | 1.080.798 |
| Other real estate | 29,6 | 40,7 | 22,0 | 1,4 | 2,5 | 3,8 | 100,0 | 248.199 |
| Non-ag businesses | 39,3 | 54,9 | 4,1 | 0,2 | 0,5 | 1,0 | 100,0 | 1.089.033 |
| Consumer durables | 23,1 | 44,2 | 9,5 | 22,3 | 0,8 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 17.275.490 |
| Stove | 10,6 | 59,7 | 9,9 | 19,5 | 0,2 | 0,1 | 100,0 | 1.606.068 |
| Refrigerator | 14,1 | 49,0 | 12,8 | 23,8 | 0,4 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 1.302.704 |
| Washing machine | 11,4 | 56,1 | 10,8 | 21,0 | 0,7 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 550.065 |
| Entertainment goods | 26,3 | 36,3 | 10,4 | 26,1 | 0,8 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 3.934.946 |
| Computer | 28,1 | 31,9 | 9,4 | 25,8 | 4,9 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 274.450 |
| Cell phone | 46,3 | 48,0 | 2,2 | 2,6 | 0,8 | 0,1 | 100,0 | 2.135.642 |
| Vehicles | 63,0 | 10,5 | 11,4 | 14,5 | 0,0 | 0,6 | 100,0 | 206.258 |
| Other consumer goods | 18,6 | 43,7 | 10,3 | 26,6 | 0,9 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 7.265.357 |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Table A.1.b.: Distribution of financial assets by type of property, Sierra (%)

| Asset | Individual property | | Joint property | | | | Total % | Total no. of assets |
|----------------------------|---------------------|--------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------|----------------------------|---------|---------------------|
| | Male | Female | Couple | All household members | Other joint | With non-household members | | |
| Principal residence | 11,5 | 27,4 | 44,1 | 5,9 | 2,2 | 8,9 | 100,0 | 926.818 |
| Other real estate | 16,5 | 30,0 | 38,2 | 3,3 | 1,7 | 10,2 | 100,0 | 227.774 |
| Non-ag businesses | 34,5 | 47,8 | 12,2 | 2,6 | 0,6 | 2,2 | 100,0 | 981.420 |
| Consumer durables | 20,7 | 35,7 | 13,0 | 29,3 | 0,9 | 0,4 | 100,0 | 17.547.693 |
| Stove | 8,5 | 47,2 | 16,4 | 27,2 | 0,4 | 0,3 | 100,0 | 1.655.767 |
| Refrigerator | 9,4 | 39,3 | 17,3 | 33,3 | 0,3 | 0,3 | 100,0 | 1.186.756 |
| Washing machine | 6,1 | 34,4 | 15,6 | 42,9 | 0,4 | 0,5 | 100,0 | 461.255 |
| Entertainment goods | 23,5 | 26,3 | 13,7 | 34,9 | 1,1 | 0,4 | 100,0 | 4.683.545 |
| Computer | 25,0 | 24,5 | 8,5 | 35,5 | 5,9 | 0,6 | 100,0 | 535.016 |
| Cell phone | 43,8 | 45,2 | 1,1 | 9,4 | 0,4 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 2.310.901 |
| Vehicles | 35,4 | 16,4 | 17,4 | 30,5 | 0,4 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 322.276 |
| Other consumer goods | 15,6 | 37,4 | 15,0 | 30,6 | 0,9 | 0,4 | 100,0 | 6.392.177 |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Table A.2.a.: Distribution of agricultural assets by type of property, Coast (%)

| Asset | Individual property | | Joint property | | | | Total % | Total no. of assets |
|---|---------------------|--------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------|----------------------------|---------|---------------------|
| | Male | Female | Couple | All household members | Other joint | With non-household members | | |
| Land parcels | 46,4 | 33,6 | 16,5 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 3,5 | 100,0 | 132,795 |
| Ag equipment & installations | 14,0 | 40,9 | 20,3 | 23,9 | 0,9 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 4.986.267 |
| Animals (a) | 72,2 | 4,5 | 14,0 | 6,4 | 2,8 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 425.724 |
| Large animals | 19,3 | 40,8 | 15,5 | 21,3 | 2,9 | 0,2 | 100,0 | 294.379 |
| Small animals | 7,8 | 44,2 | 21,5 | 26,0 | 0,6 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 4.219.372 |
| Poultry | 71,9 | 7,4 | 6,9 | 13,5 | 0,4 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 274.669 |
| Agricultural businesses | 71,4 | 6,1 | 3,0 | 8,3 | 3,0 | 8,1 | 100,0 | 16.158 |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Table A.2.b.: Distribution of agricultural assets by type of property, Sierra (%)

| Asset | Individual property | | Joint property | | | | Total % | Total no. of assets |
|---|---------------------|--------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------|----------------------------|---------|---------------------|
| | Male | Female | Couple | All household members | Other joint | With non-household members | | |
| Land parcels | 17,3 | 28,4 | 43,5 | 1,3 | 1,4 | 8,2 | 100,0 | 365,999 |
| Ag equipment & installations | 8,3 | 38,9 | 33,1 | 17,3 | 2,0 | 0,4 | 100,0 | 7.813.008 |
| Animals (a) | 27,3 | 15,0 | 38,9 | 17,4 | 1,5 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 500.019 |
| Large animals | 16,9 | 31,2 | 34,0 | 17,1 | 0,7 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 622.152 |
| Small animals | 6,0 | 41,7 | 32,8 | 16,8 | 2,2 | 0,5 | 100,0 | 6.640.894 |
| Poultry | 32,6 | 24,7 | 22,2 | 19,8 | 0,7 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 450.234 |
| Agricultural businesses | 22,1 | 60,1 | 11,1 | 0,0 | 3,3 | 3,3 | 100,0 | 19.815 |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Table A.3.a.: Distribution of financial assets by type of property, Coast (%)

| Asset | Individual property | | Joint property | | | | Total % | Total no. of assets |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|--------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------|----------------------------|---------|---------------------|
| | Male | Female | Couple | All household members | Other joint | With non-household members | | |
| Total savings accounts | 48,8 | 42,3 | 5,7 | 1,1 | 1,3 | 0,8 | 100,0 | 1.174.115 |
| Formal accounts (a) | 55,9 | 39,2 | 3,9 | 0,3 | 0,3 | 0,3 | 100,0 | 768.619 |
| Bank accounts | 59,2 | 36,2 | 3,9 | 0,2 | 0,1 | 0,4 | 100,0 | 502.552 |
| Savings & loan cooperatives | 49,9 | 44,9 | 4,1 | 0,4 | 0,7 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 264.683 |
| Other institutional accounts | 35,7 | 45,9 | 13,5 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 4,9 | 100,0 | 25.928 |
| Informal savings | 30,8 | 57,6 | 9,6 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 2,0 | 100,0 | 281.512 |
| Savings groups | 0,0 | 84,6 | 15,4 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 28.433 |
| Deposited with third parties | 7,2 | 43,8 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 49,0 | 100,0 | 11.722 |
| Savings at home | 35,6 | 55,1 | 9,3 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 241.357 |
| Life/burial insurance | 45,0 | 26,7 | 7,9 | 8,9 | 10,7 | 0,8 | 100,0 | 123.984 |
| Loans to third parties | 41,9 | 56,9 | 1,1 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 454.350 |

Source: EAFF 2010.

(a) Formal accounts includes other sub-categories, not shown here, such as stocks, bonds, certificates of deposit, etc.

Table A.3.b.: Distribution of financial assets by type of property, Sierra (%)

| Asset | Individual property | | Joint property | | | | Total % | Total no. of assets |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|--------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------|----------------------------|---------|---------------------|
| | Male | Female | Couple | All household members | Other joint | With non-household members | | |
| Total savings accounts | 44,0 | 42,6 | 12,1 | 0,7 | 0,2 | 0,3 | 100,0 | 1.644.873 |
| Formal accounts | 44,5 | 43,1 | 12,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,4 | 100,0 | 1.393.377 |
| Bank accounts | 45,6 | 40,4 | 13,7 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,3 | 100,0 | 681.851 |
| Savings & loan cooperatives | 43,5 | 45,6 | 10,5 | 0,0 | 0,1 | 0,4 | 100,0 | 709.466 |
| Other institutional accounts | 41,8 | 50,1 | 8,1 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 29.000 |
| Informal savings | 30,0 | 49,8 | 18,3 | 1,9 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 132.067 |
| Savings groups | 17,3 | 69,9 | 8,3 | 4,5 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 19.947 |
| Deposited with third parties | 69,9 | 23,4 | 6,7 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 10.465 |
| Savings at home | 28,4 | 48,6 | 21,5 | 1,5 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 101.655 |
| Life/burial insurance | 54,4 | 29,3 | 6,2 | 7,4 | 2,7 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 119.429 |
| Loans to third parties | 42,4 | 57,6 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 0,0 | 100,0 | 473.135 |

Source: EAFF 2010.

(a) Formal accounts includes other sub-categories, not shown here, such as stocks, bonds, certificates of deposit, etc.

Table A.4.: Mean and median gross household wealth and female share by quintile, sex, and locale (US\$)

| Wealth Quintiles | | Urban | | | | Rural | | | |
|------------------|--------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| | | Household | Men | Women | Female share | Household | Men | Women | Female share |
| I | Mean | 531,30 | 201,21 | 330,09 | 62% | 537,63 | 251,18 | 286,45 | 53% |
| | s.d. | 358,05 | 242,57 | 292,95 | | 348,92 | 258,21 | 248,29 | |
| | Median | 458,00 | 105,50 | 235,00 | | 487,00 | 180,00 | 248,29 | |
| II | Mean | 3.159,99 | 1.515,43 | 1.644,56 | 52% | 3.278,49 | 1.441,50 | 1.836,98 | 56% |
| | s.d. | 1.308,72 | 1.331,21 | 1.332,78 | | 1.279,66 | 1.272,27 | 1.332,87 | |
| | Median | 2.812,00 | 1.286,67 | 1.312,50 | | 3.155,00 | 1.195,50 | 1.573,43 | |
| III | Mean | 9.602,20 | 4.352,95 | 5.249,25 | 55% | 9.128,45 | 4.361,63 | 4.766,81 | 52% |
| | s.d. | 2.472,44 | 3.822,49 | 3.723,12 | | 2.321,17 | 3.629,78 | 3.525,02 | |
| | Median | 9.660,00 | 4.300,00 | 5.192,50 | | 8.852,00 | 4.339,17 | 4.649,60 | |
| IV | Mean | 24.088,35 | 10.639,20 | 13.449,15 | 56% | 24.259,54 | 10.052,43 | 14.207,12 | 59% |
| | s.d. | 5.974,82 | 9.083,46 | 9.401,87 | | 6.020,63 | 7.745,99 | 9.181,08 | |
| | Median | 23.871,00 | 11.030,00 | 13.690,00 | | 23.920,00 | 10.646,00 | 12.655,00 | |
| V | Mean | 82.285,99 | 41.527,71 | 40.758,28 | 50% | 92.519,78 | 41.781,84 | 50.737,94 | 55% |
| | s.d. | 66.211,99 | 59.513,47 | 36.625,38 | | 64.757,56 | 43.496,74 | 46.651,37 | |
| | Median | 60.842,00 | 29.221,50 | 31.666,67 | | 76.595,00 | 35.550,00 | 36.522,86 | |
| Total | Mean | 25.028,17 | 12.198,95 | 12.829,21 | 51% | 23.815,60 | 10.619,44 | 13.196,16 | 55% |
| | s.d. | 43.633,77 | 31.992,91 | 23.255,63 | | 42.282,00 | 23.601,83 | 26.732,53 | |
| | Median | 10.223,00 | 1.761,00 | 3.290,70 | | 8.620,00 | 1.780,00 | 3.788,00 | |

Source: EAFF 2010.

Carmen Diana Deere is a member of the international research team of the study, “In Her Name: Measuring the Gender Gap in Asset Ownership in Ecuador, India, and Ghana,” and coordinator of the Ecuador study. She is Distinguished Professor of Latin American Studies and Food and Resource Economics at the University of Florida. During the 2009-10 academic year she was a visiting scholar in the Gender and Culture Program at FLACSO-Ecuador. Previously, she was the director of the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Florida. Her Ph.D. is in Agricultural Economics from the University of California, Berkeley. She also has a master’s degree in development from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

Jackeline Contreras Díaz is the co-coordinator of the Ecuador study and a professor-researcher in the Gender and Culture Program at FLACSO-Ecuador. She earned her master’s degree in social science at FLACSO-Ecuador and studied economics at the Catholic University of Ecuador. She is co-author (with Amparo Armas and Alison Vásconez) of *La economía del cuidado. Trabajo remunerado y no remunerado en Ecuador* (2009). Her areas of research, besides gender inequality in asset ownership, include gender and time use, gender budgeting, and gender and the environment.