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**INTEGRATION OF THE FEMININE
INTO LATIN AMERICAN
CULTURE: IN SEARCH OF A NEW
SOCIAL PARADIGM**

**SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT DIVISION
WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT UNIT**



ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

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INTRODUCTION

Reflections on feminine-masculine relations in Western society in general and Latin American society in particular have become more frequent in recent years. In addition, comments are emerging to the effect that "the predominance of masculine values and the silencing and belittling of feminine values are creating a serious imbalance in our civilization's development" (Subirats, 1990).

This essay represents an attempt to understand the social mores underlying this imbalance and the factors which are essential to the integration of the feminine into a culture with a patriarchal tradition, such as that of Latin America. This does not entail an exhaustive analysis of the origins of the prevailing social paradigm, though such an analysis is in fact being carried out, in piecemeal fashion, through cooperation among various fields of research in the social sciences —cultural anthropology, sociology, psychology— and in literary criticism. Rather, this essay seeks to examine, however incompletely, some features of Latin American culture and of feminine and masculine roles with a view to supporting the region's Governments and national institutions in formulating their social agendas. The value of the qualities of both sexes can no longer be denied either by men or by women themselves, since, over and above their human and cultural importance, especially in developing countries, they are among the requirements of modernization in terms of participation, equality and equity. From whatever viewpoint, be it that of the consolidation of democracy, of human resources training or even of the harmonious development of human beings and of the family, progress in any society depends on the latter's capacity to offer all of its members, as individuals and as social groups, adequate means of realizing their potential to the fullest extent possible.

With this in mind, the study seeks, first, to outline some basic factors which will help to place its fundamental concern —recognition of the value of the feminine— in the cultural context of the region. To this end, it reviews how a history of conquest and racial convergence has shaped Latin American culture.

It then considers the patriarchal discourse of the Western tradition, whose apogee of masculine rationalism dates back to Greek philosophy and which later became more or less universal with the modern agenda set forth by the Enlightenment.¹ Since this discourse was transmitted to the American continent by the European conquest and subsequent colonization, an attempt will also be made to understand the effects of its confrontation with indigenous traditions, whose cosmogonies assigned roles to the feminine and the pluralistic that were very different from those recognized in the Western world view. Also emphasized will be changes in the current situation of indigenous women and their culture owing to the social structure's permeability to the influence of the "outer world".

On the subject of indigenous women, no attempt is made to settle the current debate on the authenticity of indigenous cultures which have survived the modernization process in Latin America. While it is true that questions on the meaning of respect for ethnicity are entirely valid, it is preferable, within the limited scope of this study, to ask only: To what extent did female dignity, traditionally manifested by indigenous women,

affect Latin American culture? or, When both indigenous status and gender status are at issue, which gives rise to greater discrimination?

The attempt to define the feminine in Latin American culture also requires that the relationship between traditional history and the memory of women, of whatever ethnic origin, be questioned. Obviously, the integration of the feminine into a society which primarily values men requires women to become aware of their own importance, which means, in part, that they must try to rewrite history from a feminine point of view by salvaging all available fragments from the past. This does not entail a denial of the well-known masculine view of human history, but rather a search for a more integrated vision of it. Without the legacy of historical facts —i.e., without the confirmation of existence itself— an essential basis for the development of identity and the recognition of worth is missing.

The search for the feminine in history and culture also necessitates a study of the conditions required for the legitimization of the traditional feminine sphere —the domestic and private world— which must be publicly recognized for the purpose of building an equitable society in terms of gender, in which men and women participate in a balanced manner in the domestic, employment, social, political and educational fields. The dichotomy of public versus private life, the value of household work and its possible economic measurement, and modern society's devaluation of the so-called "no one's land"² —the affective and caretaking roles— will therefore be analysed.

Lastly, some prospects for action will be presented with a view to progressing towards a new social paradigm in which the feminine and the masculine share the spaces in which they coexist, both private and public, in a more balanced manner.

I. TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE: FROM CONQUEST TO CONVERGENCE

It is common today to speak of Latin America's great heterogeneity. This diversity is above all a consequence of the territory itself, which "covers more than 20 million square kilometres, with a topography marked by mountains, deserts, rivers and forests" (Godoy Urzúa, 1989), and of its original inhabitants, "divided into some 400 different ethno-linguistic groups" (D'Emilio, 1989). Moreover, the conquest and colonization of the region by European peoples complicated the situation to the point of creating a society marked by contradiction and divided by ethnic, social, cultural and socio-economic differences. Thus, for example, while the urban world "has largely assimilated the culture and technology of the West, the rural world is generally closer to native cultures" (Godoy Urzúa, 1989). Likewise, different sectors of Latin America's population live in different historical eras, where "existing alongside modernity are elements of a socio-cultural situation peculiar to large cities which has been described as 'postmodern'. But at the same time, premodern conditions are found only a few hundred kilometres from urban centres" (Pizarro, 1989). However, it should be noted that the growing ubiquity of modern communications media, i.e., radio in most cases and television in others, is gradually changing the face of Latin America in this regard.

Given the continent's cultural heterogeneity, many studies have tried to define the elements of Latin American culture, although they have so far arrived at no more than a general understanding of various trends in the region's cultural history, which indicate that this history "consists of a vast dialectic of rupture and continuity" (Pizarro, 1985).³

Some of them, in an attempt to be more specific, have opted to circumscribe the problem through identification of the "cultural outputs" peculiar to Latin America. Such an approach to the issue has evident validity. However, none of those outputs—either magical realism, music, muralists, theories on the relation between the centre and the periphery and on dependence, populism or liberation theology (De Imas, 1989)—, though genuine expressions of the Latin American reality, suffice to define it in its entirety.

It is also important to understand that this difficulty, though very marked in the region, is not specific to the Latin American situation, but rather a feature of the modern world and its infinite possibilities for exchange between formerly closed societies.⁴ It would therefore be unrealistic to claim to offer, especially in the context of this study, a definition of Latin American culture that goes beyond "the hybrid and the nascent" (Valdés, 1990).⁵

In this context, attention to the features of the feminine in Latin American culture is particularly enriching to the thinking on both topics. The fact that the modern history of the continent began with a "cross between the Spanish father and the indigenous mother" made racial convergence in the New World a principal characteristic of both biological and cultural reproduction, "as a hybridization of memories and an amalgamation of traditions" (Richard, 1989).⁶ Thus, from the outset, at least at a metaphorical level, the territory and the female body were both subjected to the domination of the patriarchal

conqueror, in a violation which produced racially mixed offspring in search of an elusive identity.⁷

In addition, the distance of the new colony from the European continent created a split between the dominant social discourse and reality.⁸ On the surface, the elite representatives of patriarchal power maintained control over popular society "through laws, regulations, proclamations, documents, propaganda and ideologization designed to sustain and justify it" (Rama, 1984). In reality, the difficulty experienced by the absent father —i.e., the metropolitan authorities or the European man— in ensuring respect for his will engendered an "anarchic" social condition in which laws were "observed but not fulfilled" (Rama, 1984). Moreover, it will be seen how, in the context of gender relations, the absence of the father placed the patriarchal discourse in contradiction to the daily life of the woman alone with her child.

Throughout Latin American history, the problem of (maternal) language has been the primary setting for this struggle between (paternal) authority and popular society. The battle between "public, official" language, which reflected the European standard and whose influence only "reached as far as written records", and the spoken, "popular, everyday" language clearly reveals the class struggle at the root of the conflict: "In fact, official speech was always opposed to the clamour, informality, inelegance and incessant invention of popular speech, whose freedom it equated with corruption, ignorance and barbarism" (Rama, 1984). With regard to gender factors, it is interesting to note the similarity of this antagonism between official canon and popular expression to the traditional opposition between masculine (public) and feminine (private). It will also be recalled that, in the history of patriarchal society, the feminine has been associated with "the subversive"⁹ and the realm of oral culture.¹⁰

With respect to the importance of words in Latin American culture, a feature of dependent societies according to Alain Touraine,¹¹ most observers of social realities in the region have chosen literature or religious life as "the primary means of expression of [their] cultural identity". In fact, owing to their representative function, both of these systems of symbols have provided fertile ground since the conquest for the development of the process of synthesis both between the metropolitan culture and indigenous cultures and "between the baroque Catholicism brought by the Spanish conqueror and by missionary orders and the broad spectrum of Amerindian and black religions" (Morandé, 1984). Thus, it is not surprising that the most fruitful clues for understanding Latin American culture and its components have been provided by literary studies,¹² viewing religion as a "text".

Given the complexity of Latin American culture, it would be presumptuous to claim to explain it solely in terms of the concepts of racial mingling and syncretism, which also characterize other regions of the world affected by European colonization. Nevertheless, both these features and a persistent dichotomy between social discourse and popular reality stand out in the continent's image. It is within this admittedly limited framework that the following section will attempt to interpret feminine-masculine relations in Latin American society.

II. STATUS OF THE FEMININE IN LATIN AMERICAN CULTURE

A. Traditional patriarchal discourse and modern society

In the wake of the writings of Simone de Beauvoir and the anthropological studies of Margaret Mead on the effects of culture on the way of life of both sexes, any inquiry into the meaning of the feminine and the masculine must first consider the "difference between the biological, or natural, factors and the cultural, or learned, factors which determine the division of humanity into men and women" (Taulis, 1990). This inquiry has spawned a number of scientific studies on the subject, which have also demonstrated the inadequacy of biological factors to explain those features which are considered "typically" masculine and feminine in Western civilization. On the contrary, such research has concluded that "learning is a basic factor in the development of most gender-related differences in behaviour" (Martin and Voorhies, 1975).¹³

With regard to the cultural burden borne by men and women in relation to their identity, "gender studies carried out in the field of symbolic anthropology have helped to show that the meaning of masculine and feminine is neither obvious in itself nor identical in all parts of the world" (Shapiro, 1986). It is therefore important to review the components of feminine and masculine archetypes in any given society. In Latin America, this means looking at both the traditional discourse of patriarchal society and the consequences of the encounter between that discourse and the various indigenous cultures.

In the history of patriarchal society, the separation between feminine and masculine goes back to Greek myth. Already in Homer's *Odyssey*, "the feminine with its accompanying sensitivity, sensuality and *joie de vivre* is either repressed, dominated or subjected to reason, or else ends up destroying and corrupting the essentially rational and powerful constitution of the male, making him a passive being with no power of decision or struggle" (Pérez Estévez, 1986). To the Greeks, the "war against the feminine" was essential to the preservation of the social order (Pérez Estévez, 1986), which was based on the power and domination of reason. This concept was to characterize Western thought throughout the succeeding centuries.

Considering the feminine and the masculine at the archetypal level reveals differences among humanity's accumulated pronouncements with respect to the issue of gender and to individual human beings of each sex. Regardless of the hierarchy instituted by patriarchal society between feminine and masculine, various cultures —be they Western, Eastern or indigenous— have separated the universe into two parts: the receptive, passive, emotional and personal on the one hand, and the aggressive, active, analytic and objective on the other. In this essay, the point is not to reject these factors but to understand that both sets of features can belong to both sexes, meaning that each of these characteristics may be variably distributed between men and women and that none is of higher value than the others. For example, the redemption of the feminine in societies where the masculine predominates would require that the emotional be placed on an equal footing with the analytic and that the contribution of the private —i.e., the

world of reproduction, the emotions and domestic life— to a functional social life be recognized in the same way as that of the productive and the public.

It is important to bear in mind that the current status of knowledge concerning gender issues cannot yield a categorical definition of femininity or masculinity. What can be asserted, however, is that every human being has the right to develop freely, without being predestined by belonging to one sex or the other. Thus, the definition of femininity has changed much in recent decades, yet without producing a consensus among the various groups of women on the true meaning of "being a woman". Moreover, such an inquiry into the proper place for traditionally feminine elements in daily life is made today by every woman, divided between her rejection of the rigidity of the old order and her desire to protect her essential values without thereby becoming a victim of discrimination in society.

As compared to patriarchal discourse, the indigenous Latin American cultures have a more balanced view of the relation between feminine and masculine. In contrast to Western thought, which places values in a hierarchy, the Andean cosmogony, for example, "is marked by a preference for abstract thought without the need to 'compartmentalize', or isolate, different aspects of reality" (Condori, 1986), which allows it to conceive of the feminine/masculine duality in a harmonious way.¹⁴ Thus, in daily life, at least up to the European conquest and the missionary movement which followed, this attitude translated into a sharing of power and responsibilities between men and women. Today, indigenous cultures have lost this equilibrium—as will be seen in the section on the specific situation of indigenous women—but continue to influence Latin American culture as a whole.

For the aforementioned reasons, i.e., the distance of the fatherland and the phenomenon of racial mingling, the Latin American patriarchy suffers from the absence of the father. Therefore, despite a social discourse which confers authority on the masculine—with all of the consequences of such a distribution of power on the functioning of society—,¹⁵ in "'real' and 'concrete' terms" women have had to assume "a maternal identity characterized by self-sufficiency, protection of their racially mixed children, solitude, family authority" (Montecino, 1988). Later, this disparity between patriarchal discourse and reality was reinforced by the syncretism between Catholicism, African religious traditions in the case of Brazil and the Caribbean, and the Mayan, Wayuun, Quechua or Mapuche "symbolic universes", which have influenced popular religion in the countries of the region.¹⁶ For instance, at the societal level, the image of the Virgin Mary reinforced the reality of the solitary mother and the absent father because of the abstract nature of the "God the Father" of the Catholic religion. At the symbolic level, the impact of this image of the Mother of God alone with her child had the effect of upsetting the balance between feminine and masculine which had characterized pairs of divinities in indigenous religions and of endorsing the predominance of the female, already evident in concrete life.¹⁷

The foregoing observations are only a few of the possible ways of looking at the status of the feminine in Latin American culture.¹⁸ Conceptually, however, they suffice to show the complexity of the features of the feminine in that culture and the existence of an imbalance between feminine and masculine in contemporary society.

B. The indigenous universe

Given that about 30 million indigenous men and women live in Latin America, it is indispensable to consider the indigenous universe in any definition, however tentative, of

the feminine and masculine spheres in Latin American culture. Moreover, the complexity of their situation and the diversity of tradition among their 400 ethnic groups calls attention once again to the need to study culture and integration of the feminine in society as a relative process: "a force field in which are found, competing among themselves, various views of the collective imagination, various repertoires of images from which human beings form their idea of themselves and of their groupings" (Valdés, 1990).

In this context, it should be understood that "the problems of indigenous women cannot be dissociated from the whole range of difficulties experienced by their respective peoples" (D'Emilio, 1989).¹⁹ In all Amerindian cultures, identity and culture are closely related to land ownership, which was denied them after the European conquest and which is still the object of a legal battle between indigenous communities and national authorities. As these communities are traditionally categorized as pre-farming self-sufficient ethnic groups (in tropical forests) and farming ethnic groups (in Andean and meso-American areas), it is clear that the loss of territories "occupied by them for centuries" (D'Emilio, 1989) greatly affected their living conditions.

The resulting poverty experienced by the indigenous population²⁰ prompted many of them to seek gainful employment in rural or urban areas. In general, their integration has been marginal, to a greater extent in the case of women, who find work as household employees, itinerant tradespeople or workers in unstable jobs. They are all the more vulnerable because they emigrate at an earlier age than men, when they are still unmarried, and because their illiteracy rate is higher than that of men (about 3.9% on average).²¹

Illiteracy is among the most serious problems of indigenous women. On the one hand, it is the primary cause of their isolation, which separates them from mainstream culture and keeps them in a situation of extreme poverty. On the other, their low degree of integration into Latin American society and their absence from the educational system have allowed them to preserve their traditions, at least in part. "Invariably, it is the indigenous woman who speaks the aboriginal language, preserves the costume, usages, customs, oral history, myths and legends and incessantly transmits and reproduces Amerindian culture. The man quickly incorporates himself into other cultures in search of opportunities, while the woman preserves that which can be preserved and is solely responsible for the early socialization of children without intermediaries or specialized agents, along with her basic duties in the areas of sanitation and production" (OREALC, 1988). The indigenous woman's dilemma is compounded by indigenous traditions themselves, in which the protection of culture is assigned to female power and responsibility—which could explain men's resistance, especially in patrilineal families, to women's participation "in the public sphere, in relations with mainstream society and, ultimately, in sending their children to school" (D'Emilio, 1989).

The complexity and ambiguity of the situation with which indigenous women must try to cope can be understood only through careful consideration of the issue of the sexual division of labour in Amerindian traditions. It has already been indicated that these traditions do not assume the domination of one sex over the other or an unequal distribution of authority, though the channels of female power are more informal from a Western viewpoint (D'Emilio, 1989). Outside the indigenous universe, such a vision of relations between the sexes seems idealistic in various ways, especially in view of the conditions in which women of indigenous communities live; nevertheless, their real situation cannot be understood without an awareness that for them, "in the Andean world, the division of labour shows respect for both men and women. Competence lies in reciprocity, i.e., the achievement of greater harmony and well-being for the social group, be it the family

[or] the community" (Condori, 1986). This does not mean that gender discrimination is not practiced in indigenous societies (Rivera Cusicanqui, 1987; Dradi, 1989; Poeschel, 1989) simply because they do not show "the same forms of female marginality present in the mainstream culture" (D'Emilio, 1989), but it does highlight the importance of considering the extent to which contact with the outside world has translated into a deterioration of the status of indigenous women in their own society.

In sum, the dichotomy produced by the modernization process between indigenous culture and the "outside world" prejudices the status of indigenous women in various ways, at the level of both mainstream culture and their own culture. Thus, in pre-farming ethnic groups, the traditional rituals and spheres of power in which women had a complementary relation to men were affected by modernization. In farming ethnic groups, integration into the market economy led to a "disadvantageous" redefinition of the role of women,²² who had previously participated in production "jointly" with reproduction (the domestic sphere) and sometimes in political decisions. This deterioration of female status was exacerbated by the social and psychological deprivation suffered by indigenous women trying to survive in an urban setting; illiteracy and cultural isolation; and the poverty of the rural environment, which "obliges women to play a central role in satisfying basic needs" (D'Emilio, 1989).

This does not mean that the conditions of indigence experienced by indigenous women living in agricultural regions are different from those borne by all Latin American small farmers, regardless of their ethnic origin. Analysis of the situation is further complicated by the fact that statistical data often do not differentiate between indigenous and non-indigenous farmers. However, since empirical studies on poverty have demonstrated its relation to education, fertility and the participation of women in the labour market,²³ it can be asserted that the linguistic and social isolation of indigenous women places them at a disadvantage in their fight against poverty, for themselves and for their families. Thus, for instance, a research project carried out in Bolivia on women and fertility concludes that "Women with low fertility speak only Spanish, live mainly in more urbanized areas and belong to the upper middle class. Those with moderate fertility are bilingual (Spanish and a native language), usually live in urban areas and belong to upper middle and lower class non-agricultural groups. Those with high fertility speak only a native language, live in rural areas and belong to agricultural groups in valley and highland regions" (Morales Anaya, 1984). Research in countries where most of the population is of European origin corroborates these conclusions (D'Emilio, 1989; Matos Mar, 1991).²⁴

There are a number of forums which promote responses to the challenge of the educational and cultural development of indigenous women, in which such women themselves have begun to participate actively. Today, a consensus exists on the need to find a development model that differs from the one desirable for women in industrialized societies and to respect the traditional organizational models of indigenous societies, though without giving way to nostalgia or to the myth of the "noble savage". "The point is for mainstream society to recognize the right of the indigenous man and woman to take their history and their own development, both socio-economic and cultural, into their own hands" (D'Emilio, 1989). It is therefore necessary to develop a capacity in Latin American society for accepting differences and for self-criticism, a challenge which can be likened to that of integrating the feminine into patriarchal society. The anthropologist Sonia Montecino (1985), in the introduction to her *Historias de Vida de Mujeres Mapuches*, explains that "(...) the indigenous universe has been seen as something alien, as a set of folk traditions, as a thing of the past. The discourses which we propose, however, belie this idea, highlighting instead the interrelations, the continuous and ongoing nexus of the

Mapuche and the Chilean in an interplay composed of confrontation, resistance and renewal".

C. History and gender

Defining a concept demands that its history also be determined. It is thus impossible to obtain a complete view of the feminine without some familiarity with its historical background. However, until the 1960s, when the participation of women as visible actors in society and the emergence of the feminist movement first became subjects for research in the social sciences, few studies took up the subject. Women, "with the exception of a few 'notable' women", were not recognized as protagonists in human history (Morant, 1984).

Indeed, human history was written predominantly from a masculine point of view, just as Latin American history was written above all from a European perspective. The consequences of such ideological options cannot be taken lightly, since, in both cases, historical memory and its content set up the principal paradigms for the formation of individual identity and lay the foundations of culture. In the words of Octavio Paz, "awakening to history means developing an awareness of our uniqueness, in a moment of reflective repose before turning to action" (Paz, 1984). Likewise, the search for this memory, and its transmission through education,²⁶ are essential if women are to truly belong to society, just as Latin America's integration into the global community must reflect its own world view.

One of the main problems facing the concept of a non-"androcentric" (Moreno, 1986) historical discourse is the "lack of a specific theory on the subject" (Vitale, 1987).²⁶ However, an obstacle even more formidable than methodology is the continued predominance of masculine activities over feminine activities, which "were considered insignificant and even unworthy of belonging to history". Thus, "as long as historians devoted most of their efforts to researching the transmission and exercise of power, women continued to be fundamentally ignored" (Hahner, 1986). The concern for integrating the feminine into history manifests "the desire for a more comprehensive history, capable of integrating both public and private aspects of life and of salvaging the history of marginalized groups, dissidents and all others whose voices have been stifled by repression or forgotten by prevailing ideologies" (Morant, 1984).

Such a history of daily life already exists, in incomplete form, as literature. In all cultures of the world, the stuff of narrative has always been the characters and vicissitudes that constitute private life. In Latin America particularly, with the literary output of the twentieth century, the genre of the novel has been concerned with reflecting reality and exploring the world view developing among the middle class in the new continent, as well as "the private lives of its constituents, recognizing them in their opacity and their limitations" (Rama, 1982). It is here that written traces of the feminine are found. It is here that the history of women, among other histories, has been written. This capacity of the novel to give new life to voices silenced by history also explains the fact that, alongside the unfolding of the feminist movement, women of all continents have made use of writing to express their reality. Not all such writings necessarily contribute to the process of female consciousness-raising; many still portray the patriarchal universe as women have known it and participated in it. Nevertheless, they too recount women's history, giving weight and truth to the works of those who build "the culture of resistance" (Ortega, 1988).

Reconstituting memory from a few written facts, i.e., writing a "possible history" based on traditional history (Pizarro, 1989), is a challenge in itself. But what is still more necessary and more difficult in the context of patriarchal society is the recognition of women's contribution to human history, which goes beyond the mere act of recalling the extraordinary actions of women who were outstanding in the manner approved by classic historiography. From this viewpoint, writing the history of women means recognizing the value of women who embodied traditional femininity and participated in the growth of their society through that medium. Another important consequence of taking into account the role of the feminine in history would be a shift in the social weight of the masculine, prompting a re-examination of the conceptual bases of historical studies. "Broad historical issues, such as property, power and social structure, will take on new dimensions, while the theories under which history has been divided into periods will be revised" (Hahner, 1986).

For women, as well as for the social sciences, history and literature, such "inquisitions of the past" in search of unwritten history also entail a vindication of the validity of rumour and oral history. It must therefore be understood that "oral history is not a marginal, primitive or mythical artefact, but a process which takes place within memory, within a collective imagination that is self-generative and generative in the culture" (Montecino, 1990).²⁷ According to another researcher in the field, "this way of making history is inspired, rather, by an old Andean tradition that is patently feminine: it conceives of history as a fabric, meaning that the point is to recognize the weave, the texture, the kinds of relationships; knowing both the right side and the wrong side, as well as the value and significance of the workmanship, etc." (Rivera Cusicanqui, 1987). It is also important to realize that the value of oral tradition is all the more vital in a region like Latin America, which "spoke long before it wrote" (Montecino, 1990), though the whole is valid for any attempt to approach the history of female memory in any part of the world.

The viewpoint from which history is seen always reflects a subjective and political choice. It is equally true that a history of women could never claim to achieve historical objectivity, since that goal is all the more impossible in that a part of female memory cannot be recovered: as stated earlier, it is very probable that the feminine spheres of imagination and poetry must be utilized to fill the gaps of history. Yet the act of recognizing the place of over half of humanity in history is a gesture of opening and of seeking a certain kind of objectivity, which also constitutes a subversion of the traditionally masculine sphere of rationality and truth. Moreover, the integration of the feminine into culture will not be feasible without a concrete effort by society —meaning scientific and teaching institutions as well as educational authorities— to allow its proceeding from oral and occult tradition to written and legitimate transmission. Angel Rama, in his reflection on the power of writing in Latin American culture, says that "any attempt to rebuild, defy or overcome the imposition of writing must necessarily be made through the medium itself" (Rama, 1984).

III. THE FEMININE SPHERE, THE DEMOCRATIC SPHERE

The preceding section presented an attempt to see how traditional patriarchal discourse has both determined and limited the place of the feminine in Latin American society, despite the irreplaceable role women have played in daily life and in their families' survival. It was concluded that the social marginalization of women stems above all from Western society's devaluation of the qualities traditionally considered as feminine: the receptive, the emotional, the intuitive and the personal.

It can also be said that true integration of the feminine into the conceptual framework and concrete functioning of society cannot be achieved without upsetting the "authoritarian matrix" of the patriarchy, understood as a "form of social relations that links the idea of leadership and authority with the male sex" (Arditi, 1986).

Such a breach in the patriarchal system can only be made through a slow, patient process. However, since all authoritarianism is an obstacle "to the establishment of a democratic way of life" (Arditi, 1986), achieving a more balanced interaction between feminine and masculine would provide a new scope for freedom that could benefit all social actors, men and women, at all levels of social activity: economic, work-related, cultural, educational and domestic.

A. The public-versus-private dichotomy

At the social level, a major step towards the creation of such new scope would be "the reformulation or rupture of the public-private dichotomy", which entails "the introduction of daily life into politics and its potential as a democratizing force" (Jelin, 1984).²⁸ In fact, the difficulty experienced by the (private) world of reproduction in gaining legitimacy in the (public) sphere of production is probably one of the most formidable barriers between the feminine world and the masculine world, apart from the fact that in countries still in the process of modernization, such as those of Latin America, the temptation to place exclusive value on production in itself is very great.

The subject of reproduction comprises three levels of meaning: biological, daily and social (Jelin, 1991). Thus, the activities of the domestic world have various impacts on social life: the demographic situation of the country, the day-to-day survival of the population owing to the care provided at home and support for the national economy through family consumption, in addition to the socialization of new generations so that they can adapt themselves to the prevailing social system.²⁹ In this context, the "public and political dimension of the domestic role", and of women themselves, becomes very obvious.

In Latin America, women have demonstrated for a number of years how, for them, "the organization and defence of living conditions constitutes a real and potential sphere of participation" (Jelin, 1987). Through their struggle in women's groups such as family consumer protection organizations, mothers' centres, community soup kitchens and food collectives (*ollas comunes*) and production workshops, as well as in protest movements against human rights abuses —such as *Madres de la Plaza de Mayo* and *Mujeres de*

Chile— thousands of women have invaded the public sphere to combat the deterioration of their world. In particular, in situations of authoritarian rule such as those experienced in Argentina and Chile, for example, "the sole agents who filled the void left in social life by the ban imposed on traditional political forums were women organized in defence of their relatives who were victims of repression" (Arteaga, 1988).

It may be that the socio-cultural context of Latin America, where in many cases the father exists "as an absent force" (Montecino, 1988) and the mother raises her child alone,³⁰ provides an especially favourable setting for the infiltration of the private into the public. However, the strong presence of women's groups and the "symbolic prestige" of maternity (Valdés, 1991) in a society still marked by patriarchy recall the discrepancy between reality and social discourse which has characterized the region since the conquest. The feminine and the domestic sphere of the family must acquire greater socio-political and institutional legitimacy, which would imply a real change in social functioning, if changes are to take place in "mentalities, particularly the idea which individuals have of themselves and their role in the everyday life of society" (Ariès, 1990).³¹

B. Value of household work

One way of synthesizing the foregoing considerations would be to look at how the relation between public and private reflects the sexual division of labour. Anthropological research has shown that, despite some variations in the manner of dividing up work between the sexes in the various forms of social organization which have characterized human societies, there is an almost universal tendency to divide social life into a public (masculine) sphere "linked to politics and war", and a private (feminine and domestic) sphere "linked to reproduction and child care" (Durham, 1991). Moreover, the fact that the modernization process allows increasing numbers of women to integrate themselves into the public sphere through participation in the labour market does not in itself affect that division of labour.

For example, in Latin American society, female participation takes place within the mechanisms of (masculine) competition established by the capitalist economy, so that the relation between public and private remains intact. On the one hand, the economic system can function without distinguishing the output of men from that of women;³² on the other, in the private sphere, the traditional forms of sexual division of labour continue to exist, thereby generating a serious problem regarding the distribution of household work within the family unit.³³

However, despite its evident importance for the equitable development of the family, the issue with which this study is concerned is not the division of labour in the home, but rather the need, to achieve an eventual transformation of the patriarchy, to assign value to household work as such. In the absence of this valuation process, it is impossible to rectify the situation where domestic matters fall solely to women.

The subject of household work directly touches upon the issue of discrimination against the feminine in Western society, and particularly in Latin American society.³⁴ Not only is the world of emotions and nurturing not respected in the patriarchal set-up of the major social spheres, but few people—either men or women—understand that household work is vital to society because it involves the reproduction of life itself in its daily functioning (Mohammed, 1989).

In an attempt to remedy this situation, women's movements and social science researchers studying the subject have for a number of years sought social recognition for unremunerated work by women. In 1985, the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the

Advancement of Women (United Nations, 1985) echoed this demand in paragraph 120, and recommended that Governments should take account of the unremunerated contribution of women to agriculture, food production, reproduction and household activities in national accounts and in the gross national product.³⁶ In fact, in a vicious circle, a major reason for the low social standing assigned to household work is its absence from the market and from national accounts (ECLAC, 1990).

Luisella Goldschmidt-Clermont (1990), one of the researchers who for years have sought to solve the problem of the economic measurement of household work, explains how such measurement, in addition to its importance for enhancing the status of the domestic and the feminine, is vital for monitoring the real growth of the economy and for elaborating appropriate policies in the economic, labour, social, fiscal, population and legal sectors and in the distribution of income. Before this process can be carried out, however, a number of pending issues must be resolved, including serious methodological problems. Nevertheless, since research has made great progress in this area, it can be said that overcoming the most serious obstacles depends on the willingness of national authorities and on agreement by the various sectors of society to include household work in official statistics—which would indicate that the transformation of the relation between public and private has already begun.

C. "No one's land"

In addition to the depreciation of the private sphere, the continued devaluation of the personal and emotional (Rodríguez Villami, 1988) on the part of both men and women is creating a "no one's land" in society whose social cost is "enormous": "failure to take precautions against diseases, absence of adequate and timely developmental stimulation and lack of affection are all reflected later in the need for onerous and difficult treatment and rehabilitation, or directly in marginalization and delinquency" (Valdés, 1991).

In this context, a better integration of the feminine into society takes on a vital character that goes far beyond the mere, though legitimate, restoration of women's autonomy and equality. Not only personal development, but also the whole of society suffer from the overabundance of masculine values in social or intimate relations. Without the emergence of a new "reverence" for nurturing, mothering and creating a more cooperative social structure (Ellis, 1991), the "no one's land" will continue to expand. Likewise, imbalances in the evolution of culture will persist and institutions will continue to have difficulty meeting the demands of the most vulnerable sectors of society in an equitable manner.

PROSPECTS

The "alternative vision" (León and Deere, 1986) of social organization described previously assumes that democracy —meaning the sharing of power, initiative and responsibility— begins in the basic social unit: the family.³⁶ This presupposes a shared concern among men and women for the welfare of the human community, a responsibility which has always fallen within the feminine role. It also requires that both men and women engage in a "wide-ranging and profound reflection on specific problems, both social and individual: from work to sexuality and relations between spouses" (Rodríguez Villami, 1988). Moreover, such reflection would be an "invitation to accept a concept of the human person which is less fragmented and divided, conscious of the subject of gender, capable of entering the territory of feelings, capable of accepting and recognizing the 'feminine' in men and the 'masculine' in women, as well as the difference in types of productivity between the two" (Valdés, 1991).

A change leading to a more complete and more conscious integration of the feminine into Latin American society would be tantamount to the emergence of new social relations. Clearly, any change of such magnitude can only be made very slowly. However, since any form of social reality is born of the dreams of human beings, the search must begin now for personal and institutional ways of incorporating into the daily life of men, women, boys and girls the social manifestations of a balanced, democratic relationship between masculine and feminine.

An initial way of bringing about a true integration of the feminine into society is through education. It is particularly essential to support and strengthen the concern for non-sexist education that already exists in some Latin American countries in the form of guidelines for education authorities on the content of programmes of study and teaching materials. The socialization process, which draws women away from society's production activities, is completed through the family/school/work continuum. Within this logic, the school is a key factor. The early socialization of young children and the attitude of teachers, who constitute "one of the guarantees of the continuum's endurance" because they "do not question sexist early socialization or offer opportunities for 'arming' women who succeed in breaking the exclusion barrier" (Birgin, 1989), are very important means of social reproduction. Breaking such a continuum is a difficult task which "can only be the result of many years of slowly converging social practices" (Birgin, 1989). But the capacity of the educational sphere to encompass social conflicts and tensions (Maglie, 1988) and its unique position as a public forum within the continuum give it a strategic role in weakening the latter's assumptions (Birgin, 1989).

Along the same lines, particular attention must be given to the situation of indigenous women. For them, as well, the education process is decisive for their integration into society. In addition, account must be taken of the need, for women themselves as well as for indigenous peoples and the preservation of Latin American culture as a whole, to ensure the transmission of indigenous traditions, history and language through education. Moreover, since the situation of indigenous women in Latin America is closely linked to that of their native peoples, mainstream societies will have to consider how they can constitutionally grant indigenous peoples a more clearly defined citizenship status.

For the foregoing reasons, the educational system will also be the primary means of redressing, in terms of gender, the historical perspective in which future generations will view their culture. However, the integration of the feminine into history will require, in addition to the adaptation of the material taught, the participation of academic institutions and of researchers in the social sciences. Since traditional analytical methods are ill-suited to the introduction of a new historiography capable of adequately reflecting the feminine, progress towards achieving this goal will not be made without serious methodological efforts and long hours of research.

In view of the poverty in which a significant percentage of Latin American women live, be they indigenous, rural, in poor urban sectors, single mothers or heads of household—all categories which overlap fluidly—the integration of the feminine also involves, as a matter of urgency, improving the living conditions of the family. This entails the formulation of "programmes aimed at redressing gender-based inequalities" and government policies to generate income and jobs for all poor women (Buvinic, 1991). For women who suffer discrimination and isolation for economic or cultural reasons, integration into the labour market—either formal or informal—is the first step towards improving their future and that of their families.

Another basic step for the recognition of the value of the feminine in society is, as indicated previously, the recognition of the value of household work. Despite the unresolved methodological difficulties, it is urgent for Governments to collect data on unremunerated household activities. This effort will also necessitate the reformulation of census questionnaires to gather and complete information concerning gender-specific activities related to the private sphere and missing from official statistics. Given the importance of censuses and national accounts in arriving at all types of decisions in terms of programmes, policies and government initiatives, it is clear that the integration of gender-specific data into information so basic to the organization of society would represent a major step towards recognizing the place of the feminine within it.

Lastly, it is vital for government institutions to encourage and support systematic research on existing cultural models in Latin America. On the one hand, the integration of cultural data is essential, in today's world, for the truly democratic functioning of society; moreover, given the region's complexity and the changes brought about by the modernization process, the meaning of Latin American culture cannot be understood clearly without serious efforts to define it. On the other hand, such studies are indispensable for understanding the real consequences of the emergence of women on the public scene and supporting them with appropriate policies.

Notes

¹ It should be recalled that light, emblem of the Enlightenment, was considered in Greek mythology as the ultimate symbol of the masculine principle.

² The expression "no one's land" ("*espacio de nadie*") was first used by Gloria Andaya at the meeting "Women in the 1990s: cultural aspects of their participation", held at ECLAC in November 1989 (Valdés, 1990).

³ The bibliography annexed to this essay includes some recent studies on the topic of Latin American culture.

⁴ With regard to the need to define culture and cultural identity in relative terms in today's world, see Clifford (1988): "Intervening in an interconnected world, one is always, to varying degrees, 'inauthentic': caught between cultures, implicated in others. Because discourse in global power systems is elaborated *vis-à-vis*, a sense of difference

or distinctness can never be located solely in the continuity of a culture or tradition. Identity is conjunctural, not essential."

⁵ See the report on the conclusions of the meeting "Women in the 1990s: cultural aspects of their participation", prepared by Adriana Valdés (1990). She herself explained at that meeting, "We live at a time when cultural virginity is unthinkable and impossible. Culture, here and now, has been transmuted into the realm of the hybrid and the nascent. (...) The question is how to adapt, how to extract from a tradition the elements that will yield an advantage in a global context which can never again be ignored" (p. 32).

⁶ See the observation by Nelly Richard (1989) on the relation of the feminine and the Latin American to the "fracture" of paradigms: "Both categories —the feminine and the Latin American— are imbued with a difference forcibly introduced into an identity system: that of a culture which has set up its masculinity and its Western character as a dual and mutually-reinforcing guarantee of universality. But just as the feminine cannot be so neatly considered as a mere differential variant of the masculine, though it be to claim women's right to self-expression, neither can the peripheral —and its Latin American incarnation— be consigned to the status of being exotically celebrated as an interesting manifestation of cultural *diversity*" (p. 67).

⁷ See Richard (1989): "Since the initial scission effected by the conquest, which split the territory's conscience and divided its discourse between signifier (the indigenous corporeal) and signified (the Spanish linguistic), its Latin American subjects have inhabited a universe of representations stigmatized by the trauma of an identity fractured by the conflict between the European paradigm of a universalizing culture and the substratum of experiences declared irreducible to this imposed logic of historical rationalization and cultural symbolism" (p. 72).

⁸ For a more complete analysis of the inconsistency of the rigid official discourse of the ruling class, backed by metropolitan Europe, with the indomitable brute force of the "real" city throughout the history of Latin America, see Angel Rama (1984), *La Ciudad Letrada*.

⁹ The archetypal features of the feminine in the Western world will be examined in more detail in the following section of this essay.

¹⁰ At the end of her analysis of women's experiences with "the art of letters" in Latin America, Adriana Valdés (1991) concludes that "This notion of disharmony, or lack of fit, places the expressions of Latin American women within the framework of the interest in the cultural codes found in 'a low-key and indirect' relationship with the culture 'of the text': it situates them alongside popular, Amerindian or Afro-American cultural expressions whose access to the written word has been problematic, and consequently also makes them reserves of potentially creative cultural differences" (p. 13).

¹¹ See Alain Touraine (1976), *Les sociétés dépendantes*, Ed. J. Duculot, Paris: "Dependent societies are societies of words, in which the intellectual has the biggest of the roles" (quoted by Enzo Faletto (1986) in "Youth as a social movement in Latin America" in *CEPAL Review* No. 29, Santiago, Chile). However, it should be noted that intellectuals have not maintained their level of participation in the modernization process in Latin America and that, to a great extent, market mechanisms are replacing them.

¹² In the special issue of *Cultures* (UNESCO, 1986) on cultural identity in Latin America, Fernando Ainsa explains, "It is no exaggeration to say that the cultural identity of Latin America has largely been defined by its novels. What is more, in the realm of contemporary fiction Latin America has truly made a contribution to the universal which can stand on an equal footing with that of any other world region. There is no real contradiction here: nothing explains reality so well as fiction. The real and the imagined

have always gone hand in hand in Latin America and it is evident that together they make up a specific cultural identity, a blend of 'unity and diversity'" (p. 52).

¹³ Quoted by Taulis (1990).

¹⁴ With respect to the definition of identity, either gender or cultural, through dualism, see Adriana Valdés (1990): "Identities are created in terms of opposites, and the degree of social power of the person making the definition in his own discourse enters into this act of creation. Thus, in the colonies, the conqueror defined the identity of the Amerindian in a relation of opposition to his own. This consideration also applies to the definition of women's identity. Men have defined the identity of women in terms of opposition: the rational versus the emotional, the strong versus the weak, the clear versus the obscure, etc. In this process, all discourses pronounced from a dominant position are curiously similar, whether they concern class, ethnicity or gender" (p. 33).

¹⁵ "Patriarchy is more than a manifestation of the order of dominance in the family: it is an institution for controlling the renewal of life and of the labour force; it consolidates the supremacy and power of one gender over the other, influencing the sexual and social behaviour of women" (Vitale, 1987, p. 243).

¹⁶ Regarding the propensity of Latin American culture towards syncretism as early as the religious reforms in Aztec civilization, Octavio Paz (1984) observes, "Just as an Aztec pyramid sometimes covers an older building, religious unification affected only the surface of consciousness, leaving the primitive beliefs intact. This situation prefigured that which would later be introduced by Catholicism, which is also a religion superimposed on an original and still vital religious foundation" (p. 84).

¹⁷ Following her study on the female identity and Marian worship in Chile, Sonia Montecino (1988) comments, "Thus, even the symbolic configuration of the mestizo ethos expresses its inner 'drama': man, for his part, will constantly strive to transform himself into this absent father (the image of European man), whose signifier he will have to adopt as his own. This situation will preclude him from becoming, in concrete terms, a father who forms emotional, fraternal, loving relations with his descendants and his family. He will find 'meaning' only in the public, in 'discourse', in the sphere in which the masculine symbolically dwells, in the area of 'important things' (politics, finance, work, etc.). (...) On the other hand, though woman will have a specific area in which to express her identity—having always known that she is a mother— she will suffer the tragedy of being unable to establish relations with men except as sons. This deprives her of sexuality and of a symmetrical relationship with her masculine counterparts" (pp. 510-511).

¹⁸ In particular, see the work of Sonia Montecino (1988) and Adriana Valdés (1991) in more detail.

¹⁹ Most of the figures and information in this section on indigenous women were taken from the final report published by the UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (OREALC) (1988) and from the compilation, by Anna Lucia D'Emilio (1989), of the results of the regional technical seminar organized by UNESCO and the Inter-American Indian Institute, held in Antigua, Guatemala from 15 to 19 June 1987.

²⁰ For example, in Quechua areas, infant mortality rates can be as high as 289.5 per 1,000 (D'Emilio, 1989).

²¹ In countries such as Bolivia and Guatemala, where the indigenous population represents nearly 60% of the national population, the illiteracy rate among indigenous women is 48.6% and 61.5% respectively.

²² It should be stressed, however, that among women of farming ethnic groups, "some have sought and created new organizational modes and new channels for the exercise of power that go beyond the informal, as shown by a number of examples: the

women's committee of the mine workers of Bolivia, the formation of women's commissions in indigenous organizations in Ecuador [and] the convening of the first national assembly of farm women in Peru, organized by the Farming Confederation of Peru —CCP— in April 1987" (D'Emilio, 1989).

²³ See, *inter alia*, the study by Fernando Galofré (1981) compiled for ECLAC/UNICEF, in which he explains, "The differential factors related to the fertility levels of families tend to foster larger households in proportion to more extreme poverty. At higher levels of education of parents or heads of household, poverty was less extreme in such households in all of the country cases analysed. Levels of education, in turn, are inversely proportional to fertility and to desired family size. Similarly, the participation of women in the labour force decreases fertility levels; however, it is the poorest households which show the lowest rates of women's participation" (pp. 64-65).

²⁴ In his study on "The Indian Peoples of America", José Matos Mar (1991) says that "In overall terms, the Indian peoples occupy the lowest level of the social structure in America. They continue to be downtrodden and discriminated against culturally, socially, politically and racially; they are drained by poverty and malnutrition, racked by illness, subjected to the depredation of their environment by private agents and even by governments themselves and, often, beset by attempts, either covert or overt, at extermination or forced assimilation and integration. In sum, the Indian peoples, rural and urban, constitute the social stratum which suffers most brutally and directly from critical poverty in the continent" (p. 184).

²⁵ For a good example of a textbook of women's history that can be used at the secondary-school level and for "some introductory courses at the university level", see María del Carmen Feijóo (1988).

²⁶ The author explains, "In the absence of a theory of the history of women, it is very difficult to devise appropriate research techniques and methods to process the scant information available. In practice, whenever there is only a minimal theoretical background for orienting the search for information and, subsequently, its interpretation, method is developed along the way and is refined during the research process itself, thereby enriching theory through successive approximations to the truth" (Vitale, 1987, p. 10).

²⁷ In this regard, the author explains, "Oral transmission —verbal communication (which is also gestural and corporal)— is older than writing in our mestizo territory, in the form of prayers, myths, poetry, legends, stories: learned narratives, repeated again and again, modulated on the lips of the old, imitated by the young, lisped by children; an oral culture re-created many times over, in a profusion of syntax whose struggle is to understand events, to express origins, to define good and evil, to speak to the gods, to teach" (Montecino, 1990, p. 8).

²⁸ Quoted by Silvia Rodríguez Villami (1988) in regard to the essential dimensions of the collective action of women's movements: "1. The reformulation or rupture of the public-private dichotomy. 2. The search for a collective identity and the recovery of historical memory. 3. The introduction of daily life into politics and its potential as a democratizing force" (p. 20).

²⁹ On the subject of the family, Elizabeth Jelin (1991) concludes, "The family is constituted and its functions are set in its interrelation with other social institutions; it never was, nor will be, detached or isolated from wider social determinations. In this sense, the family and daily domestic relationships do not constitute a 'private' world, but rather, the private world of each social agent is built on the social relations and controls within which everyday life unfolds" (p. 37).

³⁰ In this regard, Mayra Buvinic (1991) explains, based on her research on single mothers in various countries of Latin America and of the third world in general, that "the

concept of a household headed by a woman is useful in identifying a growing number of 'manless' households or households with no permanent or temporary male resident contributing to household income". Thus, for example, between 1973 and 1981, the number of single mothers as a percentage of the unmarried female population over the age of 15 rose in Guatemala from 27.5% to 45.2%, while between 1970 and 1982, the range of figures for other Latin American countries included 36.8% (Belize), 52.1% (Colombia), 40.8% (Chile), 35.4% (Guyana), 83.8% (Jamaica), 65.9% (Peru) and 33.1% (Trinidad and Tobago).

³¹ In the introduction to the fifth volume of his *History of Private Life*, Philippe Ariès considers which events brought about the transformation of the relation between public and private between the Middle Ages and the eighteenth century. He asserts that the factors responsible for the change in this period were the State's new obligation to society, the development of literacy and the dissemination of reading and the more personal ways of experiencing religion—all of which highlight the importance of active participation by institutions, as well as individuals, in generating change.

³² The situation of women in the labour market is too complex a subject to be explored in the context of this essay. However, it is worth noting that the discrimination which women encounter today is attributable not so much to the structure of employment as to men's resistance to their integration. On this subject, see, *inter alia*, the study by Cynthia Cockburn (1985) on women working in the world of technology. The author concludes, "When women move into men's occupations, perhaps drawn into them by the preference of the employers, enabled by 'equal opportunity' laws or by women's own determination, men are often able to step sideways into somewhat differently specified jobs, with the effect of re-establishing horizontal space between the sexes. (...) It may be that keeping a distance between men and women is even more important in principle for masculinity than keeping jobs" (pp. 232-233).

³³ With respect to the double workday with which most women must cope, Eunice R. Durham (1991) explains, "Given the dissociation between the public and the domestic, equality at work creates the phenomenon of the double workday, and therefore produces a new inequality (or increases the previous inequality); this in turn promotes a challenge of the sexual division of labour maintained within the domestic sphere. Furthermore, the tendency towards a reformulation of the sexual division of labour in the domestic sphere, in so far as it is influenced by the model of equalitarian individualism generated in the public sphere, can appear as a threat to the family itself, and with it, to the only structured and permanent primary group that seems able to halt the dissolution of interpersonal relations in the anonymous individualism of mass society" (pp. 59-60).

³⁴ In relation to the devaluation of household work, it is important to note the discrimination against female domestic employees, who make up 20% of Latin America's economically active female population. According to studies by Elsa Chaney and Mary García Castro (1989), Latin American society places domestic service at the lowest level of the social scale, just above prostitution and begging. Explains Mary García Castro, "Domestic labor and domestic service are concrete expressions of the sexual division of labor, of a particular cultural logic—the sex/gender culture—which decrees that women's work is not a socially important contribution to the reproduction of the species and does not guarantee its welfare" (p. 105).

³⁵ "The remunerated and, in particular, the unremunerated contributions of women to all aspects and sectors of development should be recognized, and appropriate efforts should be made to measure and reflect these contributions in national accounts and economic statistics and in the gross national product. Concrete steps should be taken to quantify the unremunerated contribution of women to agriculture,

food production, reproduction and household activities" (United Nations, 1985, para. 120).

³⁶ In Chile, in the early 1980s, the feminist movement originated the slogan "Democracy in the nation and in the home" in its consciousness-raising groups to indicate the complementarity between the fight for political participation and the fight for the sharing of household tasks (Arteaga, 1989).

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