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WOMEN AS PARTICIPANTS: REFLECTIONS ON THEIR ROLE  
IN THE FAMILY AND IN SOCIETY



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## INTRODUCTION

Concern for the living conditions of Latin American women has been closely linked to the concept of integrated development enshrined in the Second International Development Strategy (IDS), which stresses the priority of those aspects that relate to human development. During the fifteenth session of ECLA (Quito, 1973), the governments of the region recommended that the ECLA Secretariat should prepare studies on the measures to be taken to secure the participation of women in the development of the region, and on that occasion adopted resolution 321 (XV), which marks the official initiation of work in this connection. Given the diversity of life styles of Latin American women, priorities were subsequently established which accorded paramount importance to the problems of women in the poorer population strata, both urban and rural, and attention was primarily focused on their family units (the La Paz Appraisal, resolution 388 (XVIII)). The first world conference on the subject (Mexico, 1975), the plan of action adopted on that occasion, the declaration of a United Nations Decade for Women and the constitution of a special fund for the activities proposed have given rise to an uninterrupted and systematic effort in this field. In Latin America a permanent regional conference on the integration of women into development has been set up, whose manifold functions include appraisal of regional progress in this respect. Despite the difficulties which are implicit in periodic appraisals of social phenomena, and to which attention has been drawn from the very outset of the process concerned (Meeting of Committee of High-Level Government Experts, Quito, 1979), there can be no doubt of the need for some kind of review of the progress made. Notwithstanding the hindrances stemming from methodology and from the need for more adequate information, an advance has been achieved in understanding of the subject, both in its theoretical and conceptual aspects and through approximations reached by way of countless examples emerging from research. This has revealed the existence of a universe much more complex and more disperse than was expected, yet at the same time richer in possibilities relating not only to the question of women, but also to other social problems to which little attention has been paid from this point of view.

Within this framework, the purpose of the present study is to provide a synoptic view of the central ideas pursued in the context of the situation of Latin American women, and to consider what has been done in relation to acquisition of knowledge of the subject and to possible future steps in a longer-term perspective.

The considerations and proposals put forward in the document are structured around two main axes, which in turn constitute two inseparable levels of analysis: in the first place, the close linkage between the situations of women and the broader processes that affect their countries and the region, and secondly, the cultural definition of the role assigned to women, which makes the family unit their principal concern, with mainly subordinate forms of social participation outside the home.

In the first connection, it must be borne in mind that the region has been characterized by a long period of growth and modernization, which has resolved some development problems and created others, in a system with considerable dynamism but with a marked lack of policies to guide the processes in question. This phenomenon, differing in intensity from one Latin American country to another, has brought about major changes in the patterns of women's social participation, thus affecting, in varying degrees, family situations in the region. While there

/has been

has been some improvement in levels of living for part of the population, an apparent saturation point would seem to have been reached, which would necessitate the application of policies especially directed towards promoting the welfare of the more disadvantaged population groups. Women are a key sector in such reformulation of the model, especially in connection with the satisfaction of basic needs and with urban reorganization, aspects of the problem which must represent important elements in the new alternatives. In these changes the role that could be incumbent on the younger population groups, especially young women, becomes a key factor, given the contradictions they face between the upbringing they have received and their future expectations. Furthermore, the subject of the family is considered to be an element essential for an understanding of the forms that women's participation takes, since it is chiefly the family that defines and determines the nature of their activities in other areas of social performance. In this connection a close linkage is apparent between women and their stem families and biological families. From this angle, too, the social participation of women in paid or unpaid work, in education and in organizations is described. Two other important elements are planning and legislation, as global mechanisms intended to promote the effective self-fulfilment of families in the region. The subject of young women comes well to the fore, inasmuch as, being a group with new characteristics and with expectations based on their potentialities, they will tend to bring up the reformulation of many established social relations.

In broad outline, the study places emphasis on the heterogeneity of the region and the existing intra-country differences as major factors in the fulfilment of family functions which decisively determine the life styles of women. In this connection importance attaches to the countries' degree of development, modernization and cultural definition of the role of women in society, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, to the insertion of women and their families in the urban or rural environment and in the various existing socioeconomic strata.

The study, which was framed in the context of integrated development, postulates the need to put forward new future alternatives compatible with the attainment of individual well-being and the improvement of the quality of life, as regards both the satisfaction of basic needs and the effective participation of the population in the economic, social, cultural and human development process. In the framework referred to, new social options call not only for a higher rate of economic growth within the prevailing structure, but also, and primarily, for the consolidation of a democratic system which allows of changes in the quality of life, and under which a process of progressive acquisition takes place on the basis of participative experience itself. This process, which in practice finds expression in new income distribution patterns, rising employment figures based on an increase in production, and expansion of social and community services, gives a glimpse of development models which may be adopted as future targets.

Lastly, it should be added, from the operational standpoint, that some Secretariat contributions have been incorporated in the present study, in connection either with its specific subject or with broader problems, which have gained relevance of late. In this context are included, in addition to theoretical contributions relating to the overall framework -and linked to the subject of women-, new developments in the field of education, participative planning and work. For the sake of brevity and easy reading the transcription of quotations and other references has been avoided. At the beginning of each chapter, a note has been included stating the documents on which it is based, and which are listed in a bibliography at the end of the report. A brief statistical appendix is also attached, which sheds light on key aspects of the situation of Latin American women.

## I. LATIN AMERICAN FAMILIES AND THE ROLE OF WOMEN

### 1. General questions

The object of the present study is to fit the subject of women into the analysis of the family as one of the richest and most effective ways of understanding and appraising their living conditions. In the first place, it is hoped to deal in depth with some questions that seem of outstanding importance and at the same time to deduce generalizations which ratify such an approach inasmuch as they sketch out a frame of reference for future studies along these lines. Thus the chapter is constructed on the basis of a general framework formed by the conception of integrated development and of family functions compatible with that viewpoint, which will subsequently be compared with family situations in Latin America in order to assess their diversity and the contradictions between them and the framework proposed. In conclusion, some tentative reflections are put forward with the aim of establishing minimum future criteria for discussion of the subject.

The central assumption from which the present study starts, and which up to a point orients the entire document, is that the most important element in the social environment of women is their situation and participation in the structure and dynamics of the family. It is thence that a woman reaches out into other social environments (education, work, participation in organizations), always conditioned by her twofold family relation: at first by her stem family and then by her biological family. The problem of the relationship between women and the family is of crucial importance for a full understanding of the complex series of interconnections which make it possible to describe and explain their situations as the point of departure for drawing up strategies of change appropriately designed to step up their participation in development.

The overall framework for the proposal to locate the subject of women in the family environment is a development process whose ultimate goal is the welfare of human beings, and which includes concern for their affective needs and personal self-fulfilment. This process is based mainly on the following criteria: 1) Satisfaction of basic needs, which comprises the production of essential goods and services and their distribution and consumption throughout the population; 2) Work, considered in its two facets: a) employment or paid work, envisaged not only as a means of earning income but also as the performance of social functions valued by society, which makes possible a broader relationship with the social order and facilitates the establishment of ties and links, meets psychological, personal and creational needs and confers the title of family prop; and b) unpaid domestic work, assigned primarily to women, which, in addition to tasks connected with the running and physical maintenance of the house, the preparation of food and kindred activities, comprises aspects relating to the affective and emotional areas, especially the socialization of the younger generations. In this category should also be included, in view of its social valuation, volunteer work connected with community development questions or with welfare services; 3) Participation. This signifies the possibility of intervening in the decision-making processes which take place at the various levels of society. Participation inculcates self-reliance in individuals and societies by demonstrating the potential of their capacities in the course of the exercise of responsibilities assumed through shared enterprise. From this point of view it is postulated that human development, the development of people as individuals and as social beings, can only grow up out of the human group itself, its natural environment and its own culture. The creativeness of

the men and women of the group autonomously defines their development and life styles and makes them active rather than passive figures in social history.

2. The family and its functions in the framework of integrated development

In this context, the family can be envisaged as a place where activities are carried out that are essential for the development of human beings, as the first stage in their linkage with the world and the dominant influence in all their relations, as a social bridge between the personal development of individuals and the development of society as a whole. Despite the manifold forms it assumes and has assumed throughout the past, there are unquestionably two central pivots around which its unity is maintained and consolidated through time, in despite of cultural differences. One of these is the sexual and affective complementarity of men and women necessarily implicit in the constitution of the human couple, and the other is the long formative period which is required by human beings from their birth, during their childhood and throughout their youth, and which covers, inter alia, their affective and emotional needs.

The family unit, thus defined, and in the context of a development process such as that indicated above, must assume a number of functions directed primarily towards fulfilment of the various aspects of the development in question.

a) In relation to the satisfaction of basic needs, of paramount importance for its subsistence in physical terms, the family will have to devise a series of strategies aimed in the first place at getting a job that will imply income for the family unit, housing, education, health and access to a whole series of services which are linked to ways of life normal for the social group to which the family belongs, and which might comprise infrastructure, transport, recreation, etc. These strategies necessarily involve a distribution of roles among the various members of the family group and it might be said, from a purely analytical and general viewpoint, that the distribution of functions within the family has tended on the whole to assign predominantly to men the main responsibility for earning income, and to women the tasks associated with the obtaining of services, preparation of food, and care and socialization of children. Nevertheless, and particularly as regards the satisfaction of basic needs, this function is strongly influenced by the size of the income earned and by the type and quality of the services to which the social group as a whole has access, these being factors that condition its possibilities of participating in the various aspects of development.

b) Work, understood as an element in development, not only as a source of income but also in terms of the rewarding sense of personal satisfaction that it must produce, as well as of its social valuation, logically transcends the economic dimension and appears under many and various guises in the corresponding family functions. In this setting, the kinds of work traditionally undertaken by the men of the family have been done outside the home, and social recognition has been established only through labour conquests and others of a public, non-family type. In contrast, where the women of the family are concerned, their social valuation and the distribution of functions have been especially associated with domestic work, including tasks of an affective nature. While they have been progressively tending to contribute monetary income to the upkeep of the family, and have often been the only breadwinners, social recognition and valuation of these efforts have been the exception rather than the rule.

/Another type



Another type of work which is commonly regarded as a function proper to women, and on which society sets a value, is that connected with education, at either the pre-school or the school level. Activities in this area, as likewise in that of care of the sick or infirm, which is in a way an extension of traditional family roles, have been the most socially acceptable, being undertaken sometimes for pay and at other times through voluntary organizations.

c) The family function linked to participation is more complex and its different levels might be systematized on the basis of its component elements.

i) In the first place, the family must fulfil the function of promoting the personal development of its members. This aspect is closely related to the rationalization of conduct and responsible freedom of choice.

The behaviour patterns transmitted by families emerge as part of the essential cultural manifestations of societies, and relate to the plurality options which these offer in global terms, and from which will derive personal decisions respecting the choice of different types of work, whether paid or unpaid, including domestic activities, as well as options with regard to the development of the society. Social participation proper is analysed in individual terms in another chapter; but it should be stressed here that it is within the family that such participation is made possible or hindered, both in the case of the couple and in that of the other members of the group, especially the children. In the last analysis it is the family that internalizes the socially appropriate or accepted behaviour patterns and distributes among its members the functions and responsibilities that will permit not only the physical survival of the group but the attainment of targets that it has set up for itself.

ii) The socialization of children and young people is another family function closely linked to the one just described, and is one of the permanent axes on which, in its various forms, the family unit pivots through time. The family trains the child from birth for its permanent and consistent participation in the group to which it belongs, both with reference to the present and by equipping it with tools for its future performance. Socialization comprises emotive and intellectual components that are not always separable. In practice the initial learning of the language, early childhood stimulation and all giving of information, especially in early childhood, embrace closely interrelated affective, intellectual and informational aspects.

Although emotive necessities are apparent all through life, in early childhood they are definitively inescapable and want of them irreversibly prevents the adequate personal development of the human individual. Although recognition of the needs of childhood and youth, and still more the emergence of concern for those age groups as such, are relatively new, they lay upon the family tasks in which it can hardly be replaced by any other social institution. Moreover, the family provides standards of behaviour, values and rules which make it possible to cope with the school, work and societal environment. Although requirements in respect of specialized pre-school education outside the family today enjoy widespread recognition, endorsed by practical experience and a cumulative body of theory, it is the family that gives training in terms of affective and emotional attitudes and maturity prior to pre-school education, alongside which it remains as a complementary factor. During school life and throughout the whole of the formative process undergone by young people, the family assumes manifold functions. In the first place, it continues to provide the affective and emotive sustenance essential for the harmonious growth of the individual, but it also furnishes information on the society concerned, encourages education as a form of social

/participation, proffers

participation, proffers tentative vocational guidance and points the way to training opportunities. It also supplies models of sexual behaviour, assigning from the outset roles associated with the different sexes, either by example or through the type of information it offers. In a wider sphere, the family unit provides and processes a system of information on the possibilities of social change, on participation in organizations, on attitudes vis-à-vis the broader social structures, and on other channels of information that may be available. The socialization of children and youth, recognized as a group with specific needs, is one of the objects of social concern which at the level of the family is an essential pivot of its existence and establishes a whole gamut of functions to be fulfilled.

iii) Linked to the preceding function, reproduction not only comprises the biological process but also constitutes an option in which manifold social dimensions converge, interacting with broader questions, such as relations between the couple and their decision-making possibilities in relation to the prevailing systems of values, which will define, in the last analysis, the attitude adopted towards reproduction.

iv) The family functions described require and imply a reformulation of the roles of the couple. If the relation between husband and wife is built up in an atmosphere of participation, with socially equivalent options in terms of work, and with more comprehensive requirements respecting the care of children, accompanied by a reproduction option compatible with such care, they can give their relationship a different dimension, infusing into it new elements of complementarity and depth, and obviously also of conflict. Lastly, the quest for free consent in relations between the sexes also necessitates their ratification of legal precepts of equity.

### 3. Families in the Latin American environment: possibilities and constraints regarding the fulfilment of their functions

The functions that should be fulfilled by the family in the framework of integrated development, deliberately outlined at an exclusively analytical level, look quite different in face of the social realities of Latin America. The approach proposed in the present study does not aim at replacing the analysis of overall social situations by the study of families in isolation, but, on the contrary, seeks to complement the analysis in question by showing how broader social processes have repercussions and are interrelated at the level of the family, which in the upshot more clearly reflects the problems and the structural contradictions of societies. It is therefore relevant to point out certain general features which prove important and enlightening in this connection.

A first aspect of the situation essential for understanding Latin American development in relation to the present subject has to do with the urbanization and tertiarization of the countries of the region. In the regional spectrum there are differences between countries whose urbanization process began early in a framework of development and modernization, and those in which urbanization was late in beginning or is only just starting. The different periods in which these processes have taken place and the varying stages reached by urbanization at present are of fundamental importance for the analysis and understanding of family patterns, especially in the middle and lower population strata of the various countries. For example, societies with a higher degree of urbanization will tend to attain higher

rates of participation of women in the labour market, besides a probable expansion of their educational systems. In them the rural patterns of widely extended families will tend to be superseded by nuclear units consisting mainly of the couple and their children. There will be greater dissemination of information on options as to reproduction and on the rights of women and children, and alongside this a weakening of a system of support based on family relationships. In the more disadvantaged population groups this phenomenon makes family care of children more difficult unless social child care services are provided.

The difficulties of family consolidation occurring where the level of women's education is higher lead to a clearer perception of the relation between family conditions and social structure, which generally finds expression in demands for participation in order to arrive at solutions for family self-fulfilment, these being often worked out and put into effect by women. Furthermore, implicit in this process of widespread urbanization and tertiarization are rates of social change which make for the emergence of a new type of family whose internal characteristics are apparently more democratic and participative.

Countries where urbanization started late, on the contrary, tend to keep up more traditional relations of kinship in which extended families predominate and there is a more strictly hierarchical allocation of roles to the members of the family, which usually limits their self-expression as individual persons by relating them primarily with what they have to do as men, young women, etc.

A second aspect which influences and determines the way in which family functions find expression in the region and which reinforces the existing heterogeneity relates to the various types of indigenous and negro cultures, which, although they are often linked to traditional rural patterns, transcend that distinctive form. The main indigenous groups have tried to retain a linguistic and cultural identity -irrespective of the impoverishment of such dimensions in consequence of their extreme deprivation- in which the family is the institution responsible for conservation and reproduction. Among them the position of women is strongly conditioned by this function -a circumstance which gives rise to a higher degree of indigenous monolingualism and a lack of women's education. Similarly, the type of insertion in the national society has segmentary characteristics which obstruct the participation of women in the positive dimensions of modernity.

The biggest problem is not the cultural difference per se, but the material and cultural poverty of the family groups in question and the discrimination of which they are the object. To improve their situation -especially as urbanization advances- these groups find themselves compelled to seek incorporation in the most disadvantageous material conditions and at the cost of renouncing their cultural identity.

Most of the indigenous groups whose family socialization has taken place in the mother tongue have to cope with its negation in the culture of the school, which in most cases does not accept it even as a language to provide cultural support for the transition to education in the country's predominant official tongue.

In addition to the intra-regional differences deriving from early or belated urbanization processes and those emanating from the diverse cultural patterns, it is relevant to draw attention to a third important aspect, namely the consequences of inter-country heterogeneity in degrees of development and intra-country heterogeneity in income distribution.

In the countries where the level of development is lowest and the concentration of income most intensive, both in the rural and in the marginal urban population incomplete family patterns survive in which men do not assume responsibility for fatherhood. Thus families where the head of the household is a woman are formed in conditions of extreme poverty. They are incapable of meeting their basic needs, or of dealing with the problems of socialization, so that a vicious circle of reproduction of poverty and social marginality is established. Another type of incomplete family found in such countries has its origin in rural poverty, in the peasants' lack of land and of economic resources and in the modes of production of the large rural enterprises; in this connection it should be pointed out that the availability of labour creates a circuit of temporary migrations to help with harvesting in which lodging conditions are too bad and wages too low for workers to move with their families. To these agrarian migratory movements are added seasonal migrations to urban centres, which mean that women have to do all the work, including the tasks of production, without proper training and at the price, inter alia, of relegating the care of their children to a secondary place.

In the majority of the countries at medium stages of development there are other types of differentiation produced by the structure of income distribution among the groups forming the society concerned, ratified or strengthened by specific political models and associated with particular degrees of overall economic growth.

These differences can be noted in respect of income distribution and the quantum of income received on an average by each social stratum. Thus, a distinction could be drawn between two main patterns of income concentration. In the first, of an élitist type, the increment in national income tends to be concentrated in the highest group, at the expense of the rest of the population; in the second, commonly termed mesocratic, increases in income chiefly benefit the group immediately below the summit, at the expense of the highest stratum and of the lower middle and lowest groups.

The two types of concentration determine the strata in which families are inserted in well-differentiated ways, clearly revealing the heterogeneity existing both in the region as a whole and within the countries. (In this connection, see the statistical appendix, table 1.) These characteristics of the structure of income distribution shed light on the political models, the distribution of power and in the last analysis most of the development styles prevailing in the region. The characteristics in question are the inevitable framework for the situation of families as regards the satisfaction of basic needs, the availability of education and social services and the conditions governing social and political participation.

From what has just been said it can be seen not only that families living in conditions of poverty and extreme poverty are unable to fulfil the functions that are theoretically desirable and necessary for all families, but also that neither is it possible for women to enjoy human rights and their self-fulfilment as individual persons. Although problems exist that are common to all women in Latin American societies, the social polarization resulting from the development style in vogue obviously means that a change in the position of the women most debarred from human rights is inseparable from a change in the prevailing development style.

The conquest of poverty and the establishment of a more equitable society necessitate changes in the power relations between social groups, directed towards a process of democratic participation.

Furthermore, the association between income distribution, political participation and specific degrees of development will influence the possibilities of organization open to the various sectors of the population and will determine many

of the forms they will assume within families. In these circumstances, even with all the reservations that may be made as regards the problems of identification and definition of the various population sectors, it is relevant to consider the levels resulting from income distribution as providing sustenance for a more comprehensive analysis of the situation of Latin American families and their self-fulfilment.

The groupings proposed in the present study for the purposes of describing some characteristics of Latin American families are conventional approximations, and aim only at establishing certain parameters whereby the study of the features in question can be systematized and certain basic criteria for subsequent comparability can be determined. In accordance with income distribution patterns such as those described, the main strata in both types of concentration styles would be the upper and upper middle groups, which would receive the top 20% of income; the middle or lower middle groups, obtaining approximately the next 40% and constituting a somewhat vaguer category; and, lastly, the 40% below that would be the share of the popular sectors, the lowest 20% of which comprises the poorest strata.

While the living conditions of Latin American families do not in general allow them to fulfil completely the functions described above, the greater or lesser potential for doing so and the different priorities accorded to the various elements are more clearly reflected in the strata proposed.

Families in the upper or upper middle groups have resolved the problem of satisfaction of their basic needs, in respect both of goods and of services. Situated at the summit of the income distribution structure, or immediately below it, they can count on plenty of resources and on participation in power as a social group. In this sense, their position vis-à-vis work takes the form of a group or personal option, associated, especially in the case of women, with group ratification and acceptance. The insertion of women in the labour market is related especially to the sphere of artistic expression and to tasks that contribute to the image of the group, especially social activities. In this stratum women do not undertake domestic work directly, but through supervision or household management. There is a close interdependence between the patterns of participation of these families and their system of values and cultural factors. They accord high priority to the personal development of the members of the family, attaching importance to higher education and to socialization with a view to forming a spirit of enterprise, not necessarily linked to instrumental factors. This stratum has access to the most comprehensive information system, which, however, is subordinated to the sanction of the group and of its values. Thus, for example, the rate of reproduction on these groups may be high as a result of their having opted in favour of the traditional concept of a numerous family. The complex structure of social services and functions in which these families lead their lives influences their affective relations, children being often brought up by people especially trained for the purpose.

The children's socialization through education is often effected in unofficial educational milieux. In the case of sons, this training increasingly tends to culminate in those professional qualifications which in each society are considered best fitted to leadership, whereas for daughters cultural education still plays an important role.

The diversity of models of family organization is very great and is consistent with the high degree of openness of these groups with regard to ideological options for social life and to the availability of material means, as well as to values in the light of which to renovate and even periodically to supersede models that are adopted as an option and not as a form of determinism or by way of imitation.

The fulfilment of family functions is different in the middle strata and much more influenced by the instrumental aspects of education. In these groups the problem of the satisfaction of basic needs is resolved in the most essential respects; nevertheless, there are differences between the types of goods and services to which they have access, and the social prestige associated with them is of some importance. Work, necessary in the first place as a source of income, often has to be undertaken by both members of the couple. Its social valuation and personal rewardingness largely depends upon the country's degree of development and the professional or technical training that people have acquired. Domestic work is assigned primarily to women, who do it with or without regular or temporary help. In this stratum is grouped the highest relative percentage of housewives, engaged exclusively in domestic work and the care of children. This category, which consists of a variety of groups differentiated in respect of material conditions and of cultural models, generally associates the socialization of children with success values, because the idea of competence is linked to the security of the group's insertion in the class system. Future goals are generally envisaged in the light of a high degree of education not always compatible with real possibilities, but which is the only hope for upward mobility or preservation of status in predominantly wage-earning sectors. These groups have access to a wide range of information which makes them more permeable to change, with the result that they more easily adopt modern urban behaviour patterns. The role of women in these families is sometimes ambivalent and contradictory. Under the pressure of necessity, they enter the world of work, keeping the home as the pivot of their personal performance. In this context, the image they have to project in each of the two worlds is different, a fact which hampers their sense of personal identity. The transmission of values to the new generations likewise varies a great deal and largely depends upon degrees of education and linkage with work.

With regard to the Latin American popular sectors, two points should be made clear beforehand: in the first place they constitute an even more heterogeneous conglomerate than the middle stratum, since they comprise, inter alia, the marginal urban population, the peasantry, the indigenous groups, organized labour, and the lower middle strata; and, secondly, families in this category are poorly prepared to fulfil the traditional functions, still less the new functions implicit in modern urban life. The maximum and in the majority of cases the only priority of these families is the satisfaction of basic needs. Since income is hard to lay hands on, it often happens that several members of the group are engaged in earning it, and economic insecurity prevents the organization and regular maintenance of the other family functions. The socialization of children takes place in unsatisfactory conditions, generally without sanitary or educational support or information on early childhood stimulation; the relation between adults and children is limited by lack of time and by the existence of men's traditional patterns of non-intervention in the upbringing of children. The allocation of roles to girls is reflected in the adoption, especially by elder daughters, of supposedly maternal roles, and in socialization preparatory for the performance of labour roles in domestic service. The dissimilarities in the functions of these families seem associated more with their rural or urban origin and their membership of differentiated culture groups than with the quality of life or with levels of welfare.

These groups preserve, in unequal degrees, traditional values that in some cases are at variance with real-life conditions and in others are inconsistent with the educational levels attained by women and their participation in the labour market.

In marital relations hierarchical structures are maintained, based on masculine authoritarianism. The information reaching these groups is scanty and selective, the largest-scale medium of diffusion being basic education in countries in which this has been generalized. A feature that deserves more attention in analysis of the functions of families in the lower strata is the importance in their case of the role of women, who assume functions essential to the survival of the family in a large number of fields, despite the traditional cultural connotation of the central position of men. Their more or less organized pressure to obtain housing, health services, infrastructure and education for their children, is of essential significance, and their participation in the labour market, whether as heads of households or as contributors of secondary income, involves them in all sorts of tasks. This role becomes even more important when there is a rise in rates of unemployment which displaces men from the labour market and more jobs in the informal sector are taken on by "secondary" members of the family. In the rural environment, women's participation is of substantive value for the household unit, and, contradictory as it may seem, the cultural passivity explicit in their norms and values has no counterpart in the real life they have in fact to lead.

#### 4. Some propositions

The conception of integrated development centering on the welfare of the population as its ultimate goal has been accompanied by methodological and instrumental quests on the part of various specialities for social diagnoses which will reflect this basic concern for the human being and his destiny. With respect to the family unit there is a consensus of opinion which recognizes, from the standpoint in question, its key importance in the life of individual persons and of society as a whole. In this direction are oriented the propositions put forward below.

The many forms taken by family functions in the majority of the countries of the region warrant the contention that while their primary conditioning factor is their structural situation, this latter operates directly or indirectly through a set of values, beliefs, concepts and meanings which reinforce the action of socioeconomic determinants through a network of cultural phenomena by which everyday behaviour is guided. Among such phenomena special importance attaches to those which define the roles of the various members of the family, and which may consist in social and cultural practices, norms and manifestations relating to reproduction, the choice of a partner, forms of cohabitation, roles in upbringing, participation of women in the labour market, all this reflecting a definite internalized culture that structures the relationships of individual persons.

The generalization is admissible, even today, that the pivot of women's functions in families in any stratum is still to all intents and purposes their role in the family unit, encompassing, in addition to biological reproduction, responsibility for the care and upbringing of children, for domestic activities and often for the performance of a job that brings in income. On the other hand, despite the fact that the family unit continues in practice to discharge the functions of an economic unit, in which the generation of monetary income is the special concern of the adult males and a multiplicity of roles is assigned to women, both in the family and in the community, the prestige attaching to women's domestic work is low, both from the social and from the personal point of view.

Again, it is in the home that decisions are adopted with respect to the allocation of jobs, distribution of resources and adscription of roles, indispensable for the satisfaction of basic needs. To this end, households devise specific /strategies, which

strategies, which differ according to the socioeconomic strata in which the families are inserted, and which are made up of such components as unpaid work, activities outside the home, collective services and monetary income, in combinations that accord different priority to each element in the whole.

Notwithstanding the significant persistence of traditional patterns in the region, in practice signs of future change are by now perceptible among the rising generations which make it a matter of urgency to prepare society for its reception. The change in the educational profile, the cultural homogenization of the new generations, especially in the case of women, when unaccompanied by a parallel change in social conditions, bring about situations of increasing tension and conflict in relation to the existing structure. The polarization of the labour market between the traditional sector and the modern tertiary sector; the urbanization process which will probably be completed before the end of the century, and which means that the younger generations will be predominantly urban; and the fall in the birth rate due to more education and freer access to information; all these are factors that will contribute to the confrontation of the Latin American societies with short-term changes which must necessarily be met with new options.

Concurrently, the structural changes that have taken place in the course of this century have crystallized in the present decade in new and more deeply-considered attitudes to childhood and its needs, reassessing conceptions of affectivity, leisure, creativity as sanctioned human needs, and attempting to re-establish through the quest of them a new harmony in the family unit, in which what might be termed the come-back of men is becoming increasingly visible. In the new attitudes there is a closer reapprochement with the male figure, whether as father or as husband, and a striking fade-out of the authoritarian conception which set him at a distance. Possibly the widespread education of women is not altogether unconnected with this change, in which the home appears as a meeting-place of equals and does not enforce a permanent state of tension between subordinate and head. In this connection, it should be pointed out that in a democratizing process the more pluralist and more participative integration of autochthonous cultures, whether indigenous or black, must be a motive of concern in the formulation of policies.

If what Latin American societies want is the preservation of the family, as a central unit of society, a dispenser of affective relationships and an essential scenario for the learning of emotive behaviour, a response will have to be made to the objective needs determined by the social and human development already achieved and to the requirements originating in the deeper cultural background of the rising generations. This means that the objective of social policies must be based on an ethical position linked to an integrated development which will ensure equitable conditions for all the members of a society, whether men or women, or whatever the different subcultures or social strata to which they belong. This inevitably includes a search for more participative and democratic forms of society, in which there is real respect of the rights of individuals to develop as such and as members of family groups.



## II. SOCIAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE REGION

### 1. General aspects

In the preceding chapter the idea was put forward that the social performance of women is powerfully conditioned by family dynamics, both in the stem family where socialization mainly takes place, and in the biological family. Taking these elements as a frame of reference, the aim of the present chapter is to analyse the social performance in question as influenced by family functions, in the light of three essential components: work, education and participation in organizations. These are the actual scenarios in which individuals lead their lives and test their capacities and potentialities as active members of society and not mere recipients of its impacts. The point at issue is not to measure the scale of these activities, which is dealt with in the supporting documents, but rather to take a look at their forms and contents. It is not to show how much women work and whether they do so or not, but to inquire into where, why and how they work. It is not to calculate how many women study, but to determine the priority which this activity is accorded in their lives, its content and its projections. The basic assumption must be that in practice men and women share the social tasks of their time defined in accordance with social and cultural patterns. Rather than discussing the magnitude or volume of women's contribution, which is the object of other studies, an attempt will be made here to assess the forms assumed by this contribution in relation to that of men, their complementarity, part of their content and the values that are set upon them in Latin American societies.

The assumptions which provide general guidelines for the following pages are two in number. The first postulates that most aspects of the social participation of women are related to their self-identification as members of a socioeconomic stratum. The second considers sexual differentiation and its social implications as fundamental factors in the conditioning of women's participation.

In the present study the concept of social participation implies the concept of human development as a process related not merely with sectoral growth, or the expansion of education or of employment, but with a global social system. In this integrated development approach, participation constitutes an inseparable component of the entire process, as an essential part of the development of the individual persons that it involves.

In the Latin American setting this process varies in accordance with the degrees of modernization of societies, the types of income concentration occurring in them, the prevailing political models and the predominant cultural patterns. For instance, there will be countries in which participation will be encouraged and others in which it is discouraged or even repudiated. Where the participation of women is concerned it is important to pause to consider the predominant values existing in society with regard to their role, in addition to the other elements mentioned. There may be cases in which levels of participation in education or in employment are high, without this necessarily ensuring a high level of participation in organizations, owing to obstructions originating in the prevailing political model or in the internalized system of values. At the other extreme, a high degree of women's participation in specific organizations may exist concurrently with a low rate of education and of participation in society as a whole. Lastly, between these two extremes other combinations may be found.

/With regard

With regard to the subjects discussed below, a new slant is given to the guiding principles around which the analysis is structured. The question of work is approached first from the standpoint of the significance and recognition which society awards to the work of men and women, and secondly from that of the results in terms of human resources or contributions to economic growth. In analysing the subject of education stress has been laid on its contribution to the cultural formation of individual persons and to training for participation, without detriment to the formal and instrumental aspects. In approaching the topic of participation emphasis has been placed on the relation between society and the State and the representation of the national society in the State within the framework of a prospect of increasing democratization.

## 2. Women's participation in work 1/

Women's social participation in work is dealt with in the following pages on the basis of two prior conceptions. The first of these takes it for granted that one of the axes of the distribution of tasks effected in a society is sexual differentiation. The second idea relates to the influence which the family unit exerts on the social tasks undertaken by its members, in assigning them their roles, the exercise of which is conditioned by the family's relative position in the society concerned, and the latter's characteristics. In this frame of reference the concept of work may be analysed from two standpoints: its contribution to production, or its contribution in terms of welfare. In line with the first perspective, the analysis is concerned with the concept of human resources, the use of these and the nature of the labour market. From the second standpoint, an attempt is made to consider the relation existing between work, its material and symbolic rewards, and its results in terms of family well-being and personal achievements. Looked at from this last angle, work comprises the whole set of activities carried on by individuals in a society with a view to satisfaction of their needs. These needs are reflected in survival strategies and in lines of action directed towards obtaining social recognition, towards creation and towards self-esteem. In such a context work becomes not a means but an end, since in this dimension it can represent a satisfaction in itself, with a significance and relevance conferred by the environment.

From this point of view a distinction can be drawn between work oriented towards earning income and work whose aim is to satisfy other functions, both those within the family unit that are linked to the upkeep of the home and the care of individuals, and those outside the family that are directed towards the welfare of the community. Traditionally and historically the social division of labour between the sexes has primarily associated housekeeping and the care of persons with women, and breadwinning with men. This situation, undoubtedly linked with motherhood, but also culturally endorsed, has meant that the behaviour of women in relation to paid work is different from that of men. In practice, the work behaviour of men is homogeneous, whereas that of women varies enormously both from one country to another and within each individual country; in normal conditions, men enter the world of paid work and do not leave it until their retirement age, whereas many women enter and withdraw from the labour market several times over, their paid activity being discontinuous on account of changes in their life cycle. Furthermore, women's work outside the home is often part-time, temporary or brought to a standstill altogether, because of the need to reconcile it with domestic tasks. In very broad outline it might be

/maintained that

maintained that the work done by women in the course of their lives falls into three basic categories: bearing children and assuming the main responsibility for their care, running their households and providing food for them, and doing some kind of paid job. (In this connection, see the statistical appendix, tables 2 and 3.)

The relative position held by paid labour in women's lives and its significant relation to unpaid domestic work have important implications when an attempt is made to quantify its contribution to society. It must be borne in mind that the traditional way of measuring work consists in assessing it in terms of its economic contribution, and in particular its quantitative aspects relating to production, the amount of investment required, distribution by sectors of production, etc. This leaves out of account a whole sizeable contingent of women whose work is unpaid, as well as most of the activities undertaken in family production units and the various forms of volunteer work. Recent advances, both analytic and conceptual, make it possible to suggest some methodological measures which might improve existing information on the work done by women, and which will be sketched out at the end of the chapter. But, although the distribution of women among the various tasks assigned to them in a society is not exactly known, what can be identified and analysed are the conditions in which these tasks are performed and the trend observable in the region in this respect.

It is important to point out that the extra-family performance of women in paid work is conditioned in all sorts of ways. The most comprehensive determinants of their behaviour are the recent or belated modernization and urbanization of their respective countries, the greater or lesser degree of development of these, and the predominant cultural factors bearing on the position of women. These general conditioning factors affect women unequally in the various social groups, but in any event a point which requires stressing is that the behaviour of women vis-à-vis work is determined by a highly complex dynamics in which cultural factors of a general character combine with the pressures that affect changing societies and with family demands and their adaptation to external changes.

As was pointed out earlier, in a large number of countries the work behaviour of Latin American women belonging to families in the upper or upper middle strata is as a rule especially associated with the cultural values of their groups, in terms of personal reward. In this context, the greater or lesser extent to which they are incorporated in the labour market will largely depend on the degree of modernization of the society concerned in relation to the sort of opportunities which it can offer. Obviously, a modern urban society will hold out a wider range of possibilities than one of a traditional rural type. The sanction of the group will allow these women to do work connected in some way with the arts, or again, more recently, with certain liberal professions considered compatible with their role. The educational levels of women in these groups are high, and they are increasingly undertaking a range of non-manual occupations of superior status that have special links with the more modern sector of society. As regards unpaid work, while women supervise and are responsible for the running of their households, they seldom directly perform the corresponding tasks. They also occasionally undertake volunteer work connected with social welfare.

/The middle

The middle stratum of most Latin American societies is more heterogeneous and comprises a sizeable group of women whose only function is to do the work of the home, with or without partial help. In Latin America the incorporation of women from the middle strata into paid work has a special connotation, since it is associated with the very development of these groups. In this stratum the labour option, although it involves elements of personal decision, is correlated on the one hand with collective perceptions of the consumption and services compatible with middle-class status, and, on the other, with the said groups' image of women in respect of culture, work performance and autonomy. This last may be interpreted as a guarantee for women that a symmetrical marital relationship can be established.

As regards the work done, there is a very pronounced concentration of the employment of women in business, in management and particularly in social and community services. Education is the leading branch of activity, and next, in proportions four or five times smaller, come health and social welfare. In the urban middle strata, women often attain high levels of schooling, and in some countries seem better educated than men in the young age group. As in addition their insertion in the economically active population largely takes place in services -both traditional and modern- and to a lesser extent in industrial production, the concentration of women's employment in modern tertiary activities normally means that the average educational levels of women are higher than those of men.

The situation of women in the middle strata with respect to paid work might be synthesized in the following trends: first, the expansion of employment of women appears to be definitively linked to the modernization of society, since women's fields of action are to be found mainly in the social, community and professional services sector. It must be pointed out that the incorporation of women in employment in the modern social services sector has come about because these jobs are poorly paid and therefore cannot be held by those who have to contribute the bulk of the income of a family of middle-class status, as defined by the education of its members. A case in point is precisely the feminization of the educational cadres of many countries of the region. Secondly, women's insertion in the labour market has to do with the expansion of the middle sectors and is indissolubly linked to the strategies established by these sectors to safeguard their position in the middle zone of the social stratification and their possibilities of climbing to higher levels. Thirdly, the insertion of women of this stratum in the labour market is directly related to their level of education. Lastly, in their case the option of paid employment is closely linked with the availability and cost of partial or total help with domestic work.

In the majority of the countries women in the popular sector enter the labour market from an early age and on a significant scale, as part of their families' subsistence strategies. Their motivations are tied up with the earning of money, which is usually regarded as part of family, not personal income. The way in which they enter employment is basically related to the degree of urbanization and modernization of the society concerned. A large number of persons in this stratum are grouped in traditional tertiary sector occupations, especially domestic service, and as many again go in for farm work. Domestic service primarily absorbs girls and young women, between 10 and 24 years of age, normally with very low levels of education. Another services sector that provides employment for a good many women is petty commerce, which in some countries comprises peddling and hawking, and in the English-speaking countries of the

/Caribbean includes

Caribbean includes inter-country itinerant trade. Another commercial activity carried on preeminently by women is the sale of their wares in the market, in countries with a predominantly indigenous population.

While variable in numerical terms, the group comprising women operatives it also of some significance in the labour market. In this instance their insertion depends upon urbanization and tertiarization in a twofold sense. In the first place, it depends upon the degree and level of technology with which the country's industrial development process is being carried out, and secondly it is a function of the historical juncture through which industry is passing. Certain activities, such as the textile industry and the assembly of electronic products, absorb a large volume of feminine labour, but generally speaking, increasing technological progress tends to reduce the participation of women in the economically active population or calls for levels of specialized training which only men receive as a regular rule.

Whether they are or are not in full- or part-time employment outside the home, women in the popular sectors carry out, in addition or exclusively, unpaid domestic work. This, in the case of women in rural areas, implies some of the work of subsistence farming and the home processing of food.

The propositions put forward below are focused especially on two aspects: in the first place, the methodological problems posed by the study of this subject in greater breadth and depth and basic suggestions for an approach to them; and secondly, some reflections on the future relationships between unpaid domestic work and paid employment.

Attention has been drawn on the methodological plane to the tension existing between the necessity of obtaining information that can be generalized both for analytical purposes and for the formulation of policies, and the need for detailed, particularized and in-depth information on the many and various existing situations. A start has recently been made on studies in which the aim is to establish closer contacts between statistical instruments and anthropological studies in depth, in an effort to ensure that the instruments of a general character really reflect the findings of such research. Furthermore, minimum methodological bridges should be established between household surveys and censuses so as to fill the gaps in existing information on women's work. Albeit these suggestions in themselves do not resolve the problem connected with unpaid domestic work, a more exhaustive study of the functions and tasks which women perform in the family unit will undoubtedly make it possible to enlarge the stock of information on the subject. It will also allow new veins to be explored in the study of this topic and of other general cultural factors associated therewith, since notwithstanding that the general definition of domestic work includes elements which seem similar, the many and varied forms taken by Latin American families are obviously reflected in work in the home. It must also be borne in mind that the cultural connotation assigned to this activity is so high that it constitutes an occupational category in which social recognition depends upon the characteristics of the individual person's situation rather than upon the work to be done.

As regards the future, it would seem up to now that for a large majority of women employment in a paid job does not imply exemption from domestic work or from home responsibilities. This function, which often figures as inseparable from motherhood, means that for women incorporation in the labour market is defined as an option or an economic necessity, but seldom as yet as something natural and obligatory, as it is seen to be in the case of men. Accordingly,

/it is

it is not enough now to make a comparison between the two rates of participation without noting in addition that they have a different significance in both social and personal terms, or without studying their implications. Another interesting feature of the occupational profile of women in a large number of countries is its polarization. At one extreme are grouped women from the middle or upper strata, highly educated, and frequently engaged in non-manual activities; at the other, are the women of the popular sectors, with low levels of education, employed mainly in the traditional tertiary sector of the economy, in farm work and a certain number of them in industry. This situation reflects conditions of income concentration and inequitable distribution in society. (In this connection, see the statistical appendix, table 4.) It would seem that in general, in whichever strata women are found, they seem to set an increasingly high value on paid work in terms of social significance and self-esteem. This situation, combined with the modernization of society and the expansion of women's education, will necessarily bring about future changes in the perception of their role in the family, and a reformulation -gradual, to be sure- of family relationships.

### 3. Participation of women in education 2/

In the last three decades education in Latin America has expanded at an appreciable rate and its quantitative achievements constitute perhaps the most positive indicator of an improvement in social conditions in the region.

Over the period in question, illiteracy, which used to be predominant among adults, has tended to become residual in a number of countries, although very high figures are still recorded in societies with the largest populations in the region and in countries where there is a considerable proportion of rural and, in particular, indigenous population. Today the primary school is accessible to virtually all children, but it has not yet been possible to ensure a complete cycle of basic schooling for the whole of the population. Secondary education, which was formerly the prerogative of a minority, has become the normal formative background of vast urban sectors, and lastly, higher education, to which only an élite had access, shows enrolment figures similar to those of European countries, which means that in the future the region's cultural and human resources potential will be highly estimable.

Despite these strides forward, the countries of the region have not yet succeeded in including the whole of their population in a minimum cycle of basic education, with the result that Latin America displays a paradoxical situation: in primary education its quantitative levels are comparable with those of European countries in the earliest decades of the present century, while the coverage of its university level is comparable with that of the same countries ten years ago. This carries implications in respect of inequity, failure to generate a shared socialization, reproduction of an unfair social stratification, inadequate training of mass human resources and concentration of collective resources in the financing of higher studies to the detriment of basic schooling.

The situation of education in the region may be broken down by differentiated groups of countries. The first such group corresponds to those countries where the modernization of education took place earlier and which have achieved almost totalized primary schooling and a consonant development of the secondary and higher levels of education. The second is formed by those countries which in a few years effected a sort of 'mutation' of their educational levels, since they left one sector of the population with little or no access

to primary education while concurrently they expanded the higher levels, thus becoming the countries with the biggest university coverage in the region. The third group is characterized by very unequal levels of educational development, depending upon whether rural or urban populations are concerned, or those of the different regions with the country itself, where educational expansion has followed regional economic development or the lines of income concentration. Yet a fourth is characterized by integrated planning of the educational process, with strong emphasis on pre-school and basic education and on literacy programmes for the deprived sectors, as well as by a policy for the equalization of society through education. This has subsequently become the mechanism for the selection of human resources, strictly articulated with the economic system and its estimated manpower requirements.

In the region as a whole, and particularly in the policies enounced, the most recent appraisals of education reinstate its cultural function as the basis of learning through work (in service training); stress the importance of scientific training from basic schooling to university education; and postulate the positive role of education in respect of cultural formation, participation in democratic life and indispensable preparation for membership of a modern society.

From the standpoint of society, it should be stressed that education is a privileged sector as regards both collective demand and, in most countries, the channeling of such demand by the power system. The population sets a very high value on education because it is regarded as the route to integration into the national society and the best way of achieving upward social mobility. An extremely positive feature in terms of social democracy is the fact that even the marginal social groups feel they can gain access to the highest levels of education. But this implies an unremitting demand for education with the consequent material problems. As demands for education stem from groups with unequal degrees of power and unequal perceptions of what education means, the results of a system which expands in accordance with demand are as disparate as the groups which generate it. Thus, it is the rural and marginal urban sectors that motivate the expansion of primary education, while the relative supply of secondary and higher education available to the middle and upper strata is greater in quantity and better in quality.

As the expansion of education has far exceeded the increase in the number of jobs at the middle and upper occupational levels, two interrelated phenomena have occurred. In the first place, education as a whole has been 'devaluated' in the sense that more years of education are required to qualify for the same post at different points in time. This is a universal phenomenon, but in Latin America the devaluation has essentially affected the levels of education recently attained by the broad masses of the population, and not the education of the higher social groups. Secondly, these latter, in face of the vigorous democratizing pressure on education, attempt to reconstruct the former élitist role of education through the establishment of systems separate from that under which the majority of the population are educated. These systems extend from pre-school to university education, and through them the members of the highest-income families receive an education qualitatively better than that of the other groups, so that on completion of their studies they are objectively superior.

/Two crucial

Two crucial problems will follow on the heels of the quantitative development of education in the future. The first is that of establishing a common basic education for the whole of the population by virtue of which it can be culturally homogenized and which contains the bases for intellectual and human development irrespective of the differences resulting from people's place of residence or their membership of stratified social groups. The second concerns a qualitative change in education. Its expansion has been accompanied by a striking decline in its quality, and in the reference period the various reforms have been focused on the quantitative aspects without tackling the major problem of all educational systems today, i.e., the incorporation of science in the whole cycle of schooling. This represents a serious challenge to the region at a time when the changes taking place in the developed countries imply a progressive penetration of science into production and into social life.

Where the popular sectors are concerned, the problem is not reduced to a mere matter of supplying services. The cultural model of educational systems and in particular of the primary school presupposes a homogeneous population sharing the cultural values and the standards of the middle and upper groups, which are those transmitted in the formal education system. This image has implied, on the one hand, a denial of the cultural diversity of the region and, on the other hand, the inculcation in educands of the behaviour patterns which it is assumed they will acquire by the end of the educational process. In the past, in countries with indigenous populations, a blind eye was turned to the fact that pupils have a mother tongue different from the official one and in all countries recognition was denied to the cultural and linguistic patterns of the popular sectors on the grounds that they were bearers of a non-culture. Concurrently, no attempt was made to develop pedagogies appropriate to the education of children from illiterate or culturally deficient homes, with the result that even though the population with that background has access to education, it is unable to learn and fails in the attempt.

With respect to education the situation of women is very similar to that of men, with one major qualitative difference, which consists in the fact that during the reference period equality of educational opportunities for the two sexes has been secured at the primary and secondary levels, and at the tertiary level the participation of women has risen from a very low proportion to about 40% of enrolment in higher education. In this sense, there has been a democratization of opportunities for the female sex of immense significance for the future. What is more, it may be asserted that the change in the cultural patterns governing the relations between the sexes will certainly derive from the educational changes recorded, which in the next generation will have important effects on family relationships and on the socialization of the new generations.

In some countries the education of girls at the primary and secondary levels is beginning to outstrip that of boys. Girls from the lower population strata, because of their closer linkage with their mothers, do better in learning than boys; and to this is added an anticipatory socialization of girls in rural areas who study harder because they know that migration to the cities will be on a larger scale in their case than in that of boys. Similarly, the development of women's employment in the modern tertiary sector, especially in educational and community services, has had a positive effect on the increase in the education of girls, who by this means prepare themselves for their incorporation in the labour market. Where university education is concerned,

/barriers between



barriers between the sexes still subsist. Women are channelled towards careers with a lower social status and generally a slighter scientific and technical component. This is due to the internalization of constraints imposed by society on their entry into professions from which it recruits its directoral cadres, while at the same time they look for occupations which are compatible with their future family roles. They are oriented towards training for wage-earning activities with limited hours of work, such as, for example, teaching.

The problem of educational content is still of outstanding importance for the full participation of women. The images transmitted are partly élitist -history is presented as the domain of heroes and no mention is made of popular figures and of society as a whole- and partly male-oriented. It is a notable fact that in school textbooks the image of women is projected exclusively in the roles of wife and mother, and they are allotted the affective dimensions alone, while those of achievement and technique are presented as the heritage of the male sex. It is equally striking that under the educational system girls are progressively conditioned to accept the performance of their traditional role as women. Lastly, educators, who are not dissociated from the existing cultural patterns, encourage a spirit of enterprise in boys while in girls they reward discipline.

#### 4. Participation of women in organizations 3/

While there are many definitions of participation, deriving from various theoretical bodies, for purposes of this chapter the subject of participation is considered on the basis of the specific linkage established between civil society and the State. One of the problems frequently affecting this relationship is the weakness of civil society which needs to raise its levels of participation in essential decision-making processes, jointly with other social groups. This relationship should go beyond decisions related to local topics and open up channels for the incorporation of groups, thereby facilitating the socialization of power with a view to a more intensive democracy.

This chapter is based on the following assumptions concerning the participation of women:

a) Women do not exist as a group with actual and continuing social interaction, but under certain conditions they may constitute groups defined by their female status.

b) Consideration should be given to the role which has historically and traditionally been assigned to women in the household, and has isolated them from forms of participation outside that setting. Two lines of analysis are based on this: i) that women were traditionally discouraged from participating, whether by legal restrictions, the internationalization of a limited role or other cultural, religious and educational factors, so that any change involves acting on those variables; and ii) that in the family environment human values of solidarity, personal rights and priority attention to the satisfaction of basic and affective needs were maintained and developed, but through female participation they are now incorporated in macropolitics, thus introducing the basic values on which an equitable human society may be constructed.

/In this

In this part of the chapter the aim is merely to illustrate some examples of participation in women's organizations in the region, which seem to be of special significance in the low- and middle-income sectors.

In spite of the limited information available, there is no doubt that women are participating and have participated in social organizations frequently as part of survival strategies of their groups and at other times in ways which may appear as an extension of their traditional roles. An analysis of the participation of women should aim at including, as exhaustively as possible, the degrees of modernization of society involving organization of the various groups, prevailing types of income concentration, existing political models defining an attitude towards such participation, the predominant cultural concept of the role of women and the stratum to which they belong.

Particularly important in this respect is the participation of the group of women in the sector receiving the lowest 40% of the community's income, which actually determines their participation in organizations as a key instrument for achieving the satisfaction of basic needs. In the lower strata the household setting appears as the exclusive area of female activities, the role of economic provider and supreme family authority being reserved to the man. This means that all activities connected with the dwelling, water supply and other normal services, education, etc., are areas of female activity. In addition to this broad spectrum, in situations of partial or total unemployment it is the women who obtain income from informal activities (domestic service, street selling, etc.), so that in spite of the hierarchy traditionally assigned to the man, women eventually carry out activities necessary for the family's survival and welfare, which involve their participation in various social areas. It should be noted, in this respect, that situations differ in communities with a strong indigenous culture.

According to the conclusions of some studies, the participation of women of the lower sectors tends to occur in the form of organizations, especially of a spontaneous type, in particular when the following conditions arise: i) when many women with the same immediate interests meet together in their place of work or dwelling; ii) when some conjunctural development occurs which aggravates the problem and causes it to be perceived collectively; iii) when some local organization exists as a framework for them; and iv) when some external motivating factor occurs.

The isolation of women, however, especially those primarily devoted to the household or those having to perform the dual role of labour and household activities, prevents them from taking greater or more regular action outside such activities, normally separating them from social or political organizations with institutional continuity.

Economic activities are not in themselves a motivating factor for these women. Their linkage with the labour market is unfavourable, even compared with the men of their own group, often on the grounds of maternity, considered as an individual problem which makes them more vulnerable to dismissal. In addition, their professional and technical training is usually inferior to that of the men and their situation is worsened by the fact that heads of households in these strata are frequently women. This combination of factors makes them more accessible to wage reduction pressures and more reluctant to strike or assume other attitudes which may jeopardize their precarious economic situation.

/Limited as

Limited as they are by the foregoing factors, when women workers actually participate in labour organizations it is usually as a result of claims by the worker category rather than of specific claims in connection with their female status. Mobilization to obtain supporting services such as crèches occurs among women workers where political socialization and links with national political organizations exist.

Participation in organizations of housewives in the low-income sectors is and has been considerable in many countries of the region. It is they who normally fight to obtain infrastructure services, housing, health services, education or land settlements to erect their precarious dwellings. In these situations they show considerable collective decision, which also frequently occurs when acting in support of their husbands' or sons' trade union movements. They then establish solidarity committees, are responsible for food, prepare parades, go on hunger strikes, or, in cases of repression, form protection barriers by their very presence and that of their families.

Just as in special situations they are easily mobilized, they discontinue their participation with equal ease. The definition of and self-identification with the role assigned to them linked with day-to-day difficulties tend to make them return to the household. According to some studies, women should have access to certain services and basic goods that would free them from domestic activities, assistance in the care of their children, training together with men, minimum community programmes, etc., so that a less conjunctural participation of women belonging to the lower strata may be established.

In the foregoing analysis it is assumed that the times of participation are related to conflictive situations on the one hand and regular channels of participation on the other. Both forms of participation -which constitute different models- are expressed respectively in antagonistic societies and progressively more democratic societies.

Women in the middle-income sectors tend to have quite a different form of participation. The life of the group comprising housewives normally develops under conditions of isolation and they have practically no possibility of any active participation. The broad group of teachers, the majority female, is perhaps the group with the greatest participation in this stratum, which is traditionally active in claims involving education and the specific conditions of this professional category.

For the participation of professional women the degree of modernization of the society to which they belong and the cultural values related to their role in society are highly important since it is through work channels that the basic possibility of their participation is provided. Another important factor, especially for those with high educational levels, is the political openness of the prevailing model, since they tend to have a relative participation in political parties. The growing number of intermediate and senior heads of organizations and progressively of political leaders, particularly in parties basically supported by the middle classes, is recruited in the university professional sector.

In these groups there is also a more conjunctural type of organized participation in the face of changing events which alter their group situations, or on occasions where they are confronted by global situations for affective personal reasons. This sector plays an enormously important part in the leadership of the female cause, because it possesses the ability to analyse

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at the global level the problem of female discrimination, the organization to act in the face of the power system and the intellectual capacity to propose the structure of an egalitarian society in so far as differentiation by sex is concerned.

Participation of women in the upper strata does not normally find expression in organizations; it is essentially different from that of the low-income groups in which the sense of participation emerges in collective terms; and it is mainly expressed in increased working activity associated with the artistic, information and cultural levels. A more active participation of women in these groups, motivated by more comprehensive social situations, emotional reasons or ideological training, tends to occur in the form of a break with the original group to assume ideologies contrary to the established order.

In short, it may be affirmed that the participation of women depends in the first place on the living conditions of the groups to which they belong, thus establishing different motivations. Accordingly, the participation of women in the lower strata is motivated by the achievement of improvements for their family group, and necessarily finds collective expression. Women in the middle-income groups may be mobilized rather in personal terms by factors related to politics, work or actual female claims. Women in the upper groups scarcely participate at all and tend rather to modernize their traditional roles, with the exception of small groups which enter into conflict with the dominant values in their social medium. The generic participation of women in organizations, however, seems to depend also, and perhaps as a more essential factor, on their basic attitude, the cultural values defining their role and their knowledge of participation. In fact, it would seem that this last factor in particular is a highly important one for women. Their normal knowledge of participation is extremely scanty throughout their lives, so that joining organizations creates new perceptions of their own potentialities, which seems to carry a great deal of weight in their future activities.

In order to achieve more far-reaching changes, women should at least be socialized in terms of the idea that no contradiction exists between their role as mothers and their working role, nor in the development of their female identity in relation to their potentiality for participating in decisions. The fact that historically their capacity and fitness for participating in organizations has been discouraged tends to make their possibilities of participating on an equal footing with men in decision-making powers more remote. In this respect, changes are needed which, in addition to establishing objective conditions to facilitate their social performance, will achieve the cultural socialization of men and women, reformulating their social roles on a shared and more democratic basis.

### III. THE STATE AND CENTRAL CHANNELS OF PROMOTION OF THE STATUS OF WOMEN: PARTICIPATIVE PLANNING AND LEGISLATION 4/

#### 1. General aspects

Although the type of reflections running through this study are related much more to changes in the social structure and in culture -in the anthropological sense- there are some social areas in which the changes may be accelerated by means of policies aimed at promoting the actual incorporation of women in development, i.e., planning and legislation. Although they relate to dimensions operating differently in the social system and do not necessarily have the same objectives, they have both been a source of concern in relation to women and they both offer possible channels for their incorporation.

Planning is considered within the participative and decentralizing perspective, oriented towards integrated development within the framework of essentially democratic societies. As regards legislation, even without considering the fact that its mere existence may ipso facto alter the historically crystallized social relationships, its action is periodically expressed in new laws or in reference values governing new behaviours. In this respect, the consistency between international legislation and its observance within the States' legal systems will be analysed. This chapter presents the latest and most important ideas on these subjects and their future possibilities, within the context of the inevitable heterogeneity prevailing in the region and within the countries themselves.

#### 2. Planning and women

The idea of planning has been institutionally consolidated in Latin America in recent years and practically all the countries have specialized bodies as an inherent part of the State apparatus. Nevertheless, although the social and political significance of planning is increasingly recognized, the place it occupies in the definition of the orientation of development styles, and consequently in the determining effect of their plans, differs considerably according to the specific political-economic models adopted by each country. Up to now, moreover, a number of difficulties have prevented the subject of women from being included in the context of global, regional or national development strategies and programmes. These obstacles have stemmed from the role actually played by planning in societies organized according to market rules in the face of pressures from the various social sectors; from the actual structure of planning bodies, policy formulation mechanisms and the place they occupy in the State's administrative apparatus; and from the scarcity of human and financial resources. Other difficulties have their origin in the type of criteria used, which tend to establish a separation between the economic and social areas with a view to maximizing economic growth and fail to consider social planning as a more comprehensive process which is at once economic, societal and cultural.

Planning with participation constitutes in this respect an advance along the lines of orienting the development process towards social well-being. It emerges as a result of recognition of the shortcomings of the planning models in force, which are largely attributable to the fact that they are scarcely representative. The answer it provides is to promote a mechanism offering greater possibilities

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and capacities in organization, participation and decision-making to currently marginal social groups, at the same time seeking to decentralize in a geographical sense the decisions of central State organs.

Participative planning may be of two kinds: the first is of a compensatory type aimed at the social modification of the status of certain groups by means of specific programmes. This form is based on the assumption that in the initial stages the disadvantages of those social groups in terms of resources and power are such that they are unable on their own to create important levels of organization and therefore require an additional external effort in order to improve their levels of well-being and stimulate the capacity for expressing their aspirations. The second form adopted by the linkage between planning and participation relates to the distribution or transfer of power to geographical communities, either at the level of comunas or regions. The problems involved in the centralization typical of the majority of the countries being duly recognized, the process of regional planning is postulated in terms of the region, not as a statistical aggregate or administrative district but rather as a group or sector of society acting as a subject capable of establishing a development project. Thus, negotiation between the region and the central government is facilitated since it is established from a position safeguarded by images of the future and its own action.

The propositions defining the bases of this approach are based on the assumption that participation is an essential requisite for ensuring higher levels of representativeness in the process. Given the various national situations, it is foreseeable that the essential conflict in this form of planning may centre on distribution problems, since underlying the regional phenomenon there exists an unequal level of economic development and uneven distribution in terms of social stratification.

It should be borne in mind that in addition to its technical, administrative and methodological stages the planning process reflects a political and social dimension linked with definite periods of time and varying in scope, arising in a first stage from a global national project or an accepted objective image. In this respect the idea is that a more democratic order requires that the relationship between the State and civil society shall occur in terms of a real socialization of power. Since one of the problems of that relationship derives from the weakness of civil society, the strengthening of a process of broadening the participation of all social groups will be more easily achieved when it incorporates, among other factors, the strengthening of civil society vis-à-vis the State and a flexible linkage of the social classes, accompanied by the practice of collective action in the areas of economic production and social distribution. In other words, the process calls for a genuine democracy open to the people's participation which is conceived as a means of bringing about social changes for the benefit of society, in connection with which the participative practice continues, is intensified and formulates new means of expanding the process.

Within a context such as that proposed above, the planning process is open to the whole of society, linking it organically with State activities and necessarily incorporating as relevant subjects a broad spectrum of problems in the social, environmental, ecological, spatial, territorial, social welfare and quality of life areas. It is by definition a social subject, and practically no area of that system can be unrelated to it. This on the one hand means an increase

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in the areas of concern, which are widely diversified, and on the other hand involves a greater degree of specificity since the proposal includes concern for the physical medium in which the processes develop, their measures being implemented in existing local communities.

In this frame of reference the incorporation of the subject related to the status and living conditions of Latin American women in the planning process seems perfectly consistent, since it is one of the essential topics to be regarded as part of the problems and proposals considered in the process.

In addition to the fact that women constitute a subject naturally inherent in the process at the conceptual and theoretical level, the operational forms and various methods advocated in this position are important in the analysis and promotion of their living conditions. In fact, representativeness is the crux of the problem and it may be affirmed that proposals formulated locally in terms of the community's immediate and visible needs are actually more likely to reach the women, who to a great extent are isolated by the traditional definitions of their role. Basically, however, it should be noted that a decentralized concept would enable the heterogeneity and concrete specificities of each social area to be considered, which would provide the power to invoke the participation of women with a view to improving all the conditions determining the quality of life of human settlements.

Another fact giving still further legitimacy to the consideration of women within the context of a participative planning process is that the subject loses its isolation and becomes interrelated and linked with other social topics, which increases the possibilities of progress and gives it some meaning.

It is important to stress that although undoubtedly participative planning tends to increase the representativeness of women as part of a strategy of the groups to which they belong, and also stimulates their participative capacity concerning interests shared by the group, an analysis of their specified situation in relation to other members of their group in terms of the definition of their social role cannot be excluded. A global democratizing and participative conception should influence some changes in relation to the cultural perception of the role of women. This does not, however, necessarily coincide with more extensive changes, even in more participative social situations; there may be forms of female subordination to those of the men of their groups, which may in fact constitute an extension of their traditional role. This aspect calls for specific attention in the formulation of planning measures. Finally, consideration should be given to the possible repercussions of a substantial modification of the role of women in all other areas of the social system.

A final reflection may be formulated concerning the change this path means for regional planners. On the basis of a theoretical coherent or at least compatible position, the planner must face a far more complex reality than that traditionally perceived, which will moreover require a knowledge of the physical and quantitative characteristics of the places he has in mind, sensitivity in detecting and channelling needs, ability to compatibilize the various interests at stake and being accustomed to the fact that decisions are controlled by those towards whom their effects are directed. Moreover, the diversity of situations encountered along the way and their local specificity prevent the formulation and putting into practice of proven traditional prescriptions. What will be required in turn are a great many answers, and in the face of one problem there will probably be various possible answers according to a group of factors. The

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planner thus conceived should have a little of the researcher and a great deal of the politician in him.

Admittedly, the proposed model needs to be developed operationally in each specific case and must ultimately be "proven" in the actual situation within a reasonable space of time. However, the validity of its approach in terms of the perspective of integrated development which considers participation as a key factor of the process places it in an advance position in relation to its possibilities of promoting the status of Latin American women, especially those belonging to the more underprivileged groups.

### 3. Legislation

Legislation provides a legal framework for the incorporation of women in society and their forms of participation. All the laws in force in a society, however, do not necessarily express the real progress made in the incorporation of women in social life. One of the most frequent reasons for this fact is that the legislation has often been prepared by jurists who acted in advance of their time, and the object of the laws is to modify a social situation which is resistant to change. This type of situation is manifest, for example, in the express equality assigned to women in constitutions and legal codes in relation to their political participation and the scarce representation they have and have had in political and governing bodies.

Furthermore, there are still laws in the legislation in force which are no longer in keeping either with the real situation in which women's activities are developing or with a socially acceptable image of the situations concerned. This is especially evident in the differences observed in the status of women in the various laws. In many countries their rights are limited with respect to the family (for example, jurisdiction over the children), while their rights as individuals are equal to those of men. Thus, for example, the limitations of women as citizens are practically non-existent; officially they may elect persons and be elected for the same positions as men. As regards labour, some laws, under a declaration of protection, in actual fact attribute responsibility for maternity exclusively to women and limit their real working possibilities. In general, labour limitations for women, expressly linked with maternity and personal security, restrict their working possibilities, not so much because they are objective limitations but because they entail higher recruitment costs (crèches, nurseries, etc.). That is why the claims of women workers, especially in the region, seldom include maternity aspects, since they are justifiably afraid of losing their employment. It is perhaps because of this fact that most of the international resolutions involving the ratification of national legislations refer to the labour situation of women.

Generally speaking, legislation covering women as individuals, stimulating their participation as workers and citizens and guaranteeing them civil rights similar to those of men, has made great strides as far as equality is concerned. The crux of the problem, however, seems to lie in the legislation covering the family, which has changed more gradually so that the legislation in force in many cases conflicts with the recognition of the rights of women as individuals.

It has already been said that the participation of women in the region is necessarily based on their incorporation within the family, the stage which actually influences their incorporation in society. It is in this stage that the adult performance of women is questioned and, in fact, whatever her life cycle

/may be,



may be, her basic daughter-father relationship tends to repeat itself. The incapacity attributed in most legislation to married women, as regards jurisdiction over their children, purchase and sale of goods and the existing discrimination in the case of adultery continues to suggest that a married woman is similar to a minor. The number of households headed by women and consensual relationships indicate that these laws are regarded as antagonistic to the status of independent women both in work and in civil life, which is particularly clear among the female sectors of the lower population strata.

This type of legislation, however, whose modification will unquestionably not change the social perception of the role of women nor immediately influence their different performance, is important since the legal consideration of their full capacity is in any case a forerunner of that possibility and, moreover, if not placed under the protection of others, will necessarily compel them to assume their own responsibilities.

The legislation which places women under the protection of men within the family deprives them not only of the rights proper to all human beings in societies seeking equality but also of the fulfilment of their obligations, the only real path towards a more egalitarian society.

Legislation does not necessarily reflect the real situation. It is nevertheless a necessary support so that the situation may gradually adapt to the changes affecting the whole of society. Other legislative aspects have deliberately not been stressed in this study; the aim has been only to emphasize the four basic areas: legislation in terms of a set of laws not necessarily reflecting the real situation; legislation governing persons; the family legislation; need to compatibilize legislation concerning persons with that governing the family groups composing society.

#### IV. YOUNG WOMEN

##### 1. General aspects

The group comprising young women as a separate topic within the context of the problem related to the situation of Latin American women and their integration in development is a relatively new concern in secretariat studies. In the present study it is proposed to begin by considering the significant and complex status of young women as one of the most important aspects in both theoretical and practical terms in the immediate future.

A study and full understanding of this topic is enormously important for future projections of the real social situation. Future societies will be managed by the youth of today, and although in the past this future was visualized fairly clearly as the natural continuation of the present time, accelerated technological progress, scientific development, and economic and equality problems cause future models to be full of uncertainty. This situation is aggravated in Latin America, whose development models have not crystallized and, because of their dependent characteristics, cannot always autonomously project its societal future. The subject is also important in relation to the need of modern societies to prepare a coherent role for its young people, compatible with the future objective image, which will incorporate them in the performance of social roles, especially those facilitating a knowledge of participative forms of democracy. It might be affirmed that in so far as the young people are socialized in an active and full participation in the society of their countries, they will advance towards their own personal development as individuals, with a view to subsequently playing the roles expected of them in processes of social change and the search for more equitable development styles.

In short, the young people constitute a highly important age group in Latin America and demographic trends seem to confirm that the situation will be maintained along the same lines at least in the present century. This group of young people is characterized in the region by considerable heterogeneity, determined in particular by the socioeconomic stratum to which they belong -which objectively defines their possibilities of integration in the social structure- and the educational and cultural component. Although educational progress is one of the most important achievements in the last few decades, access to services and linkage with culture at the school level has been unequal, thus producing a new socio-cultural gap. This situation is evident from the fact that, for example in countries with recent educational development, of the age group from 20 to 24 years, one out of every five has had university training, another is virtually illiterate and the remaining three are distributed over the intermediate educational levels. This means on the one hand a considerable rise in cultural levels formerly reserved to the élite, but on the other hand an internal polarization of the young generation which is extremely serious in terms of human resources, equality and the establishment of shared cultural codes which are indispensable for building the nation and democracy.

These gaps are particularly marked when the situation of the rural youth is compared with its equals in large urban centres. The former's lack of education incapacitates them for incorporation in the modern sector of society constituting the expanding labour and social area, as reflected in the inferior social fate to which the rural youth that necessarily emigrates in a high proportion to the cities is condemned.

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Although young women share many of the problems and characteristics common to the youth group, especially in their same stratum, they also confront a number of different factors stemming from their position in society, largely deriving from the social definition of their role. In this respect, it might be maintained that the changes affecting young women in the present stage are greater than those affecting young men, since in addition to quantitative social and educational changes they have to face serious contradictions without apparent solution in their social role. In the past thirty years the educational levels of women have risen more rapidly than those of men, and the employment market, particularly in the urban area, has registered more changes for the former than for the latter.

It must be borne in mind in this respect that although the family continues to be the dominant influence in their lives, the entry of many women from the working and middle strata of the population into modern systems of education increases the gap between their parents' generation and their own, making them permeable to other broader forms of socialization. Family socialization is being carried out by mothers with a very low educational level compared with their daughters, which causes tensions between it and that resulting from the educational process or from socialization among couples of the same age. This moreover is aggravated by diffusion of a different national culture and new patterns of consumption, behaviour and recreation, all of which tends to change the traditionally accepted behavioural pattern.

## 2. Young women, present situation and prospects

The situation of young women in the region is not always exactly the same, some special differences being due to the greater or lesser urbanization of the various countries, modernization of their employment structures, levels of development, cultural differences and relative position of groups and families in which these women live out their lives.

The differences between the countries also have a different effect on each of the strata to which the young women belong. Thus, in general, most of the options of young women from the upper middle and upper strata seem to be based on the values of their particular group. Highly educated, they will no doubt seek employment on a wider scale when they come from more modern families and will probably obtain an increasingly sophisticated education, although in terms of academic degrees not necessarily superior to that of the men of their group. The main changes between the women in this group compared with previous generations are concerned with the type of socialization they receive and the options this permits in terms of the independence or central nature of the domestic role. It may be assumed that access to mass education media, extensive information systems with new value contents and greater interrelationships with members of other groups will offer many types of innovative behaviour which will act as reference models for young women of other groups.

Women in the middle strata, with increasingly higher levels of education, will tend to seek employment in personal terms, as a freer option, conceived moreover within the same professional scale as men and with conflicts deriving from its more restricted growth in many of the Latin American countries. The expansion of employment for women of this stratum has been in close relation to the development of social and community services and public employment. Coverage of the former cannot continue to increase at previous rates and it would seem that the latter will be severely limited, concurrently with the reduction being imposed on public expenditure in most countries of the region.

The new female generations in the middle urban strata are being trained for that employment market and there will probably be considerable frustration among the new strata of educated young women. At the same time, the young women of these groups are receiving, like their male counterparts, the impact of academic education, social communication media, and student, religious, political and other organizations. Despite the persistence of some traditional values connected with their role, young women in future middle urban groups will present an educational profile similar or superior to that of the men in their group, and if there is no reason for this in itself to be a determining factor in the adoption of options it may at least be expected that a proportion of them will exert increasing pressure to obtain employment and a definition of their status as equal to that of men. It may be assumed that their return to the household when they marry will occur in terms of greater conflict than in the case of previous generations, which will be sharpened by a socialization placing them, in terms of the central nature of their role, within the domestic unit and subjected to a social structure in which the whole basic responsibility for the care of children centres on the mother. Added to these factors of conflict in the reformulation of the social rôle of young women, mention should be made of the diffusion of contraceptive methods, which to a large extent will bring about marked changes in their sexual and reproductive behaviour, since maternity will frequently be assumed as an option rather than as a normal situation or one of social compulsion. In this respect, the tension produced in this stratum between the family as an affective unit and work and participation in terms of personal achievement may reach extremes.

The situation of young women in the lower sectors has its own characteristics. In the first place, since household functions are subordinated to strategies for survival and satisfaction of basic needs, the options are not considered in terms of personal freedom. Secondly, the women in these groups bear a heavier responsibility in the family life, either when they are the heads of households or because of their contribution to the group's survival strategies, which notably conditions the lives of young women. Although it may be maintained that in absolute terms this group has been least affected by the changes, especially in the rural area, the conflictive situations which the young women in this stratum are likely to experience will be greater than those faced by the previous generation. This is due to the fact that, although their education is still limited, it is far superior to that formerly received by women of their same social status, and this education so painfully achieved has lost some of its value owing to the high educational levels of other social groups, so that their employment possibilities are not so much greater than those of the preceding generation. The cultural homogenization and generalization of cultural elements, without counterpart in the social conditions, will be the cause of severe tensions among the women of these groups. Traditional socialization in terms of the values received by young women of the lower strata is in permanent conflict with their objective living conditions. For example, from a very early age they must obtain employment, whether partial or seasonal, and this situation normally persists throughout their lives. The emphasis of their socialization, however, is on the exclusive importance of their role in the domestic household. This obviously generates feelings of failure to comply with essential tasks and personal devaluation of their activities; and when they only have to perform domestic tasks they cannot do so in accordance with the theoretical parameter they learned through education because of the poverty of their material media. The roles in families of this type tend to be subjected

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to strong male authority, often not exempt from violence. In household tasks the eldest daughter is a figure usually alternating with her mother, both in domestic tasks and in caring for the children. The role of the eldest daughters in the poorer strata has been the subject of recent study and results show how marginality situations are reproduced in family cycles.

In general, it might be maintained that at present the youth of the poorer strata enter the adult world at an early age and, objectively speaking, have no possibilities of expressing themselves as such.

To sum up, the situation of young women reproduces in a more acute form the gaps between the strata which were indicated above for all their members. It is a noteworthy fact that the young people's level of economic activity is highest in the female labour force and that the most significant future increase will be obtained by young women. Thus, in the age group between 20 and 24 years the increase in economic activity derives almost exclusively from the increase in the women's rates of participation (see table 2 in the appendix).

Another important factor of different significance and content according to the strata concerned is the increasing tendency of young women to enter the paid labour markets. In the lower strata, whether rural or urban, this is due to a minimum family survival strategy, while the search for paid employment by educated young women of the middle strata will be a freer option in personal terms, differing in age according to a more extensive educational situation.

On the whole, however, it would seem that women are increasingly regarding employment in positive terms, even in the lower strata. Some studies in depth on the family behaviour of poor urban groups indicate that although young women do not question their natural domestic roles, they have incorporated paid labour as a necessary part of their lives, their access to it being limited for family reasons, especially the care of small children.

In terms of a more extensive participation, the key restrictive factor in young women's group will no doubt continue to be the burden of the type of socialization received in the families of origin.

In the near future, young people will have to face substantially different societies than those existing at present, in which rigorous training processes will have to be introduced. They will also constitute a majority age group in the region, which will be heterogeneous in its socioeconomic, cultural and structural aspects. In addition, however, this group will present new characteristics of differentiation which may be important in the future definition of social relationships: it will be a mixed group in which the difference in educational aspects will be based mainly on social stratification rather than on any distinction by sex. It is already a fact that in the middle strata young women are achieving higher educational levels than men, and although there can be no generalization in this respect for the lower strata, the situation may become more significant in terms of the earlier incorporation of males in the labour market.

Employment, education and cultural changes, among which self-perception of their role is an essential part, constitute important factors in dealing with problems concerning the real incorporation of young people in social life. Nevertheless, new creative solutions based on fundamental values of democracy and solidarity are urgently needed with a view to effectively mobilize young people towards processes of change among which the achievement of equality should be the central goal.

## V. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

1. Changes in the situation of Latin American women and their families have been incorporated in the last few decades within a framework of extensive changes characterized in particular by the urbanization process, the development of skilled employment in the services sector and a radical modification of the profile of the population with the expansion of the educational system.
2. This situation has not hitherto been accompanied in most countries by important changes in the structure of the distribution of income or power, nor by substantial variations in the value system. On the other hand, this transition stage of varying intensity in the countries of the region and drastically different between their urban and rural areas was characterized by considerable dynamism despite the large gaps in terms of policies for orienting the processes. One of the most important adjustment variables which no doubt existed in this period was education, conceived at once as a factor of national cultural integration and participation of the population, and as an effective social mobilization mechanism.
3. During this period the urbanization and modernization processes have undoubtedly produced fundamental changes in the situation of Latin American women and their families. Their central role, however, has remained anchored to cultural factors restricting their possibilities of social participation and mainly assigning them tasks connected with the care of their families. In fact, in the whole process there was no intention of revaluing the role of women in social terms and although their basic achievement was education, this acted more as a factor of adaptation between the rural and the urban sector and in terms of occupational training, without its content in relation to the socialization of sexual roles being substantially altered.
4. It should also be noted that the changes occurring in the region have not affected all women in exactly the same way, although they all contained elements of social mobility expressed in the form of greater access to services, education, etc. In terms of well-being and improved living levels, however, the changes were closely associated with the countries' levels of development, income distribution, the urban or rural location of families and the socioeconomic stratum to which the women belong. In this respect, it is essential that priority attention be assigned to the problems facing women and families of the underprivileged groups.
5. It would seem that this model is reaching a critical phase aggravated by international economic problems and that it would need to be specifically designed to prevent exhaustion. This basically involves the political will to bring about the necessary changes expressed in terms of international social and economic policies to guide the countries' development towards a clear future image. It should also be taken into account that the urbanization process tends to be completed within a short time in the region and that the central factors underlying the dynamics of society in the past few decades will soon prove insufficient. It may be postulated that future claims will take the line rather of a modification of income distribution to narrow the gap between groups, changes in the power structure which has been scarcely affected in this transition period, and a reformulation of the cultural roles assigned to men and women.
6. The new problems facing the region as a whole call for effective measures to preserve the underprivileged groups. The present recession may be converted at this level, as in other periods in history, into a platform in support of the creation of new innovative options and solutions. It should be noted that as part of

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the process of change in the region, new social groups different from the traditional ones are emerging and may project images of a fundamentally innovative society.

In this context women, young men and young women take on a central role as social agents of change, which in addition to social and economic factors is accompanied by important contributions to cultural change as an inherent part of the processes.

7. Just as the transition period introduced factors stimulating the participation of women as a whole, although differing in scope, the barriers currently facing the model could mean a halt or even a loss of ground in women's participation in society, especially in the four following respects: a) the progressive decrease in modern tertiary employment which will necessarily leave a large number of women unemployed; b) the elimination in a large number of countries of subsidies for basic needs which will worsen the situation of families in the lower sectors in terms of their strategies governing the satisfaction of basic needs; c) increasing male unemployment with, as its counterpart, the growth of female employment in the informal sector, a situation which from the economic, social and cultural standpoint prevents any minimum family advancement; and d) the situation of young women who are better educated than the preceding generations, which on the one hand will increase unemployment or on the other hand the more traditional forms in the services sector.

8. The models which would make it possible to deal with current problems and future challenges in the region should not only contain the elements of change in quantitative terms, but should essentially be very explicit with respect to the forms necessary for achieving these changes.

In a context of development such as that proposed this means the formulation of new positions based on democracy and participation. In fact, participation should be understood as a factor inherent in the development process which essentially requires the co-operation and integration of the marginal urban or rural sectors and the women belonging to them, since in the majority of cases they have been absent from this process. All this means raising the levels of participation of civil society in essential decision-making processes within a relationship with the State which goes beyond decisions on local matters, opens channels for the incorporation of groups and thus facilitates the socialization of power and therefore the intensification of democracy.

9. In this context the family for its fulfilment requires support both in the satisfaction of its basic needs and the improvement of its living levels and in educational and cultural training aimed at its participative role in society, which should include a reformulation of the roles assigned to its members. The family may also actually constitute the basic group orienting global policies, since it reflects the structural problems of society and may participate in the formulation of proposed solutions.

10. The necessary action to strengthen the social participation of women should take into consideration their newly acquired participation and organization potentialities. By way of example, some measures which may be considered of priority importance are indicated:

a) The spread of infrastructure to meet the basic needs of women and families in the low-income sectors, with special emphasis on care of pre-school-age children. This would not only free women for their work options, but would help towards a more egalitarian and complete training for children from different socioeconomic strata.

/b) Similar

b) Similar priority should be given to planning aimed at rationalizing domestic work under adequate conditions (supporting services such as accessible or communal laundries, and workers' and school dining-rooms), with short distances between the home, school and work and supply centres. In this way domestic tasks would be considerably simplified and would acquire a real cost more compatible with the general social conditions. Some of these measures require additional economic costs, but they are feasible according to the economic capacity of most of the countries, especially if public expenditure is redistributed between social aims on the one hand and economic and military objectives on the other, and if priorities within the social aims are shifted in favour of the lowest-income sectors, considering the family as the goal of the policies concerned.

c) Recognition of maternity as a right and a social need. In addition to the basic supporting services for child care, this should be expressed in the form of post-maternity leave, conceived as the child's need to have his mother, father or both close to him for as long a period as possible. The costs of aid in early infancy are higher if it is provided by institutions than when available in the household.

d) The actual equality guaranteed by law between men and women in all the countries and the obligation to inform and educate the population concerning the meaning of the laws in social practice. Although this in itself does not indicate a real increase in equality, it does suggest future ways of eliminating situations of discrimination which have no reason to exist.

All these policies would naturally require adjustments in terms of social values and individual training which should begin to be included in the educational processes for men and women. Account should be taken of the longer life of persons as a result of the improvement in preventive and curative medicine. This means that although women may define the rearing of children as their only activity, this would only occupy a portion of their life cycle equivalent to a maximum of one-third of their lives. Thus, women would be incorporated late in an employment market for which there should be recyclage training for them in the various specialties, or else partial training should be maintained even during the period in which they are rearing their children.

All this also means a change in the mentality of women, who should begin to consider their working life as a natural phenomenon rather than an accessory optional factor. The more serious the attitude of women to their paid labour the greater will be the complementarity between domestic tasks and the couple itself. Although these proposals may seem somewhat distant, there is no doubt that this is the safest course for the new generations of young women and men. In this context, neither does it seem unrealistic to consider work days adapted to the persons' pace of living rather than only in terms of the continuous production effort.

11. Undoubtedly, in order to face proposals such as that put forward here by way of illustration, an effort is required in terms of both reflection and implementation of new methodologies oriented towards the reconsideration of social aspects hitherto regarded as unchanging. Nevertheless, periods of crisis necessitate the formulation of new long-term views which will enable the problems to be dealt with more effectively. To preserve the more underprivileged groups of society and ensure the development of a future society in which more comprehensive processes of action and participation will be implemented on the basis of equality cannot be absent from its objectives.



Notes

1/ This section was prepared mainly on the basis of two studies: ECLA, Medición del empleo y de los ingresos rurales, Estudios e Informes de la CEPAL, 16, E/CEPAL/G.1226, Santiago, Chile, December 1982; and Catalina H. Wainerman and Zulma Zecchini de Lattes, El trabajo femenino en el banquillo de los acusados, Mexico, Terra Nova, Population Council, 1981. (Based on ECLA, Data from Censuses and Household Surveys for the Analysis of Female Labour in Latin America and the Caribbean: Appraisal of Deficiencies and Recommendations for dealing with them, E/CEPAL/L.206, by the same authors.)

2/ The following were the documents mainly taken into consideration in the preparation of the present section: UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, La educación y los problemas del empleo (Education and employment problems), Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, Final Reports 3, October 1981; UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP, Desarrollo y educación en América Latina. Síntesis general (Development and education in Latin America. General synthesis), Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, Final Reports 4, November 1981.

3/ The following studies, in particular, were considered in this chapter: ECLA, People's participation in development in Latin America, E/CEPAL/L.264, Santiago, Chile, 15 April 1982; and Participación de la mujer en actividades comunitarias: estudio de casos, E/CEPAL/R.322/Rev.1, Santiago, Chile, 11 August 1982.

4/ This section was prepared with special consideration for the following studies: ECLA, Informe del Seminario Interinstitucional sobre la Integración de la Mujer en el Proceso de Planificación Social en América Latina, Santiago, Chile, 7-8 September 1981, E/CEPAL/R.286, 16 October 1981. Angel Flisfisch, Rolando Franco and Eduardo Palma, "Planificación con participación, dimensiones, viabilidad y problemas", Boletín de Planificación, No. 14, ECLA-ILPES, Santiago, Chile, March 1982; Angel Flisfisch, Rolando Franco and Eduardo Palma, "Dimensiones de una planificación participativa", E/CEPAL/ILPES/R.18, Santiago, Chile, November 1980; Rolando Franco, "Las grandes controversias de la política social", E/CEPAL/ILPES/SEM.1/R.S, E/ICEF/SIMSOC/R.5, document presented at the International Symposium on Social Development Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1980s, Santiago, Chile, 12-16 April 1982, ECLA/ILPES/UNICEF, 31 March 1982.

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STATISTICAL APPENDIX



Table 1  
LATIN AMERICA: DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME AND SITUATIONS OF POVERTY IN SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1970

	Argen- tina	Uruguay a/	Chile	Costa Rica	Vene- zuela	Panamá	México	Colom- bia	Perú	Hondur- as	Brasil
YEAR	1970	1967	1966	1971	1971	1970	1967	1972	1972	1967	1972
<u>Per capita GDP(US\$ at 1970 prices)</u>	1 208	926b/	823	684	1 163	868	800	575	555	275	539
<u>Percentage share of total household income</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
40% poorest households	14.1	13.3	12.0	12.0	9.8	7.0	8.4	6.5	5.7	6.6	5.6
20% poorest households	4.4	4.0	3.7	3.3	2.8	1.7	2.6	2.0	1.5	2.0	1.6
Next 40%	35.6	35.4	33.5	33.2	35.3	31.7	26.1	27.4	29.6	23.7	21.3
10% below the top 10%	15.1	15.6	16.2	15.3	18.6	17.8	16.2	16.0	18.5	17.5	14.4
Top 10%	35.2	35.7	38.3	39.5	36.3	43.5	49.3	50.1	46.2	52.2	58.7
<u>Gini concentration coefficient</u>	0.44	0.45	0.48	0.49	0.50	0.57	0.59	0.61	0.60	0.63	0.66
<u>Relation between average household income of top 10% and poorest 40%</u>	10.0	10.7	12.8	13.2	14.8	24.9	23.5	30.8	32.4	31.6	41.9
<u>Relation between average household income of top 10% and poorest 20%</u>	16.0	17.9	20.7	23.9	25.9	51.2	37.9	50.1	61.6	52.2	73.4
<u>Poverty and indigence(1970 food basket),Percentage of households below the poverty line:c/</u>											
National	8		17	24	25		34	45	50	65	49
Urban	5	10	12	15	20		20	38	28	40	35
Rural	19		25	30	36		49	54	68	75	73
<u>Percentage of households below the indigence line:d/</u>											
National	1		6	6	10		12	18	25	45	25
Urban	1	4	3	5	6		6	14	8	15	15
Rural	1		11	7	19		18	23	39	57	42

Source: CEPAL, *América Latina en el umbral de los años 80*, (E/CEPAL/G.1106), chapter II.

O. Altimir, "Poverty in Latin America", CEPAL Review, N° 13. April 1981. p. 63

a/ Data for Uruguay relate to urban areas.

b/ Non-agricultural GDP per person not engaged in agricultural activities.

c/ The poverty line was calculated by estimating the cost of a basic food basket covering minimum nutritional needs.

d/ Poor households are those whose income is less than double the cost of the basic food basket. Indigent households are those whose income is insufficient to purchase the food basket.

Table 2

LATIN AMERICA (20 COUNTRIES): SOME CHARACTERISTICS  
OF THE FEMALE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION

	<u>Percentage of women</u>		<u>Growth rates 1970 - 1980</u>			
	Total EAP a/	Age-group 10-24	Total EAP Both sexes	Total fem. EAP	EAP 10-24 Both sexes	EAP 10-24 yrs. fem.
ARGENTINA	26	34	1.5	2.0	1.0	1.5
BOLIVIA	23	29	2.4	3.0	2.2	2.8
BRASIL	22	28	3.0	3.9	2.7	3.5
CHILE	24	28	2.8	3.7	2.7	3.2
COLOMBIA	25	29	3.3	3.9	3.0	3.6
COSTA RICA	21	25	3.3	5.1	3.7	4.9
CUBA	20	25	2.0	3.0	2.1	2.9
ECUADOR	18	22	3.1	4.1	3.1	4.2
EL SALVADOR	23	27	3.1	4.1	3.3	4.1
GUATEMALA	15	16	3.4	4.5	3.1	4.1
HAITI	46	48	2.0	1.9	2.5	2.2
HONDURAS	17	18	3.4	5.3	3.6	7.3
MEXICO	20	26	3.6	4.4	3.6	4.2
NICARAGUA	23	24	3.5	4.4	3.3	4.3
PANAMA	27	33	3.2	4.1	2.9	3.7
PARAGUAY	23	26	4.0	4.8	3.9	4.3
PERU	29	34	3.0	3.2	3.2	4.0
DOMINICAN REP.	25	27	3.4	3.7	3.5	3.6
URUGUAY	29	31	0.3	0.9	0.6	1.1
VENEZUELA	24	28	4.4	5.7	4.8	5.4

Source: ECLA estimates.

a/ Economically active population

Table 3

LATIN AMERICA: RATES OF PARTICIPATION OF THE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION  
BY SEX, AGE AND AREA OF RESIDENCE

	<u>BOTH SEXES</u>				<u>WOMEN</u>				<u>MEN</u>			
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>10-14</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>10-14</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>10-14</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>
<u>ARGENTINA</u>	<u>48.9</u>	<u>8.0</u>	<u>48.9</u>	<u>66.7</u>	<u>25.7</u>	<u>5.6</u>	<u>35.7</u>	<u>45.2</u>	<u>72.3</u>	<u>10.3</u>	<u>48.9</u>	<u>66.7</u>
U	49.1	7.2	48.2	67.8	27.9	5.4	38.1	49.7	71.4	9.1	58.6	86.3
R	48.0	10.5	50.1	62.6	14.0	6.5	26.3	24.0	76.3	14.0	71.2	91.3
<u>BOLIVIA</u>	<u>46.0</u>	<u>9.2</u>	<u>38.1</u>	<u>54.3</u>	<u>20.5</u>	<u>7.5</u>	<u>21.8</u>	<u>26.7</u>	<u>72.7</u>	<u>12.3</u>	<u>54.7</u>	<u>82.8</u>
U	45.7	6.1	31.8	52.7	25.6	6.1	24.3	31.9	67.5	6.2	39.8	74.8
R	46.2	12.6	44.2	56.4	15.8	8.4	19.3	19.5	77.2	16.7	68.3	93.0
<u>BRASIL</u>	<u>45.2</u>	<u>10.9</u>	<u>39.8</u>	<u>60.2</u>	<u>20.1</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>25.5</u>	<u>32.3</u>	<u>70.1</u>	<u>16.8</u>	<u>53.8</u>	<u>87.7</u>
U	44.2	2.7	31.9	62.9	24.1	3.1	25.8	40.7	65.4	2.3	38.3	86.0
R	47.1	23.1	53.3	55.3	12.0	7.3	25.0	15.7	78.2	38.3	78.3	90.5
<u>CHILE</u>	<u>43.7</u>	<u>2.1</u>	<u>29.6</u>	<u>58.5</u>	<u>20.3</u>	<u>1.3</u>	<u>16.8</u>	<u>33.8</u>	<u>67.8</u>	<u>2.9</u>	<u>42.0</u>	<u>82.8</u>
U	43.5	1.6	26.7	58.2	23.0	1.3	18.3	37.5	65.9	2.0	35.5	80.0
R	44.5	3.6	40.7	57.8	8.3	1.2	10.0	14.6	74.4	3.7	64.3	83.0
<u>COLOMBIA</u>	<u>46.3</u>	<u>10.3</u>	<u>40.9</u>	<u>59.9</u>	<u>22.7</u>	<u>4.4</u>	<u>23.6</u>	<u>37.1</u>	<u>69.9</u>	<u>16.0</u>	<u>57.3</u>	<u>82.5</u>
U	46.1	6.9	37.9	61.8	27.6	4.8	27.9	45.1	66.4	9.0	48.7	80.0
R	46.3	17.0	47.9	55.5	10.6	3.7	11.3	14.9	76.5	28.7	75.7	87.5
<u>COSTA RICA</u>	<u>46.5</u>	<u>7.6</u>	<u>42.6</u>	<u>60.1</u>	<u>19.3</u>	<u>2.7</u>	<u>21.5</u>	<u>31.3</u>	<u>73.4</u>	<u>12.4</u>	<u>63.1</u>	<u>88.3</u>
U	47.2	4.5	36.6	62.0	28.5	3.0	28.0	44.3	68.3	5.9	46.1	81.8
R	45.8	10.0	48.2	58.4	9.7	2.4	14.7	17.2	77.5	17.0	76.7	93.7

/Table 3 (cont.)

Table 3. (cont.)

	BOTH SEXES				WOMEN				MEN			
	TOTAL	10-14	15-19	20-24	TOTAL	10-14	15-19	20-24	TOTAL	10-14	15-19	20-24
1. <u>CUBA</u>	<u>40.6</u>	<u>0.6</u>	<u>32.8</u>	<u>56.7</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>0.3</u>	<u>16.8</u>	<u>27.9</u>	<u>63.6</u>	<u>0.9</u>	<u>48.0</u>	<u>84.7</u>
U	41.2	0.3	30.6	58.3	20.2	0.2	18.3	34.1	62.9	0.3	43.0	83.0
R	39.4	1.2	36.5	54.3	8.4	0.5	14.3	15.3	65.0	1.8	56.2	87.6
2. <u>ECUADOR</u>	<u>43.8</u>	<u>8.5</u>	<u>37.9</u>	<u>16.8</u>	<u>15.4</u>	<u>3.8</u>	<u>16.6</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>72.3</u>	<u>13.1</u>	<u>59.1</u>	<u>84.6</u>
U	43.0	5.3	30.7	53.8	22.6	4.7	21.9	34.1	65.3	5.8	40.5	74.9
R	44.5	11.1	44.9	10.2	8.7	3.0	11.0	1.1	77.9	18.6	75.4	92.9
3. <u>EL SALVADOR</u>	<u>49.8</u>	<u>16.2</u>	<u>46.5</u>	<u>64.9</u>	<u>22.8</u>	<u>4.8</u>	<u>26.9</u>	<u>38.9</u>	<u>76.9</u>	<u>27.4</u>	<u>65.7</u>	<u>90.2</u>
U	50.8	7.5	41.5	68.6	33.3	4.7	33.1	52.3	70.3	10.2	50.6	86.0
R	49.0	22.8	51.3	61.3	12.5	4.8	20.3	24.8	82.1	39.7	78.7	93.8
4. <u>GUATEMALA</u>	<u>45.0</u>	<u>14.5</u>	<u>42.6</u>	<u>54.9</u>	<u>13.3</u>	<u>3.9</u>	<u>14.6</u>	<u>19.1</u>	<u>76.0</u>	<u>24.6</u>	<u>69.7</u>	<u>89.4</u>
U	46.8	7.3	38.7	60.5	25.8	5.3	27.4	38.7	69.5	9.3	50.5	83.3
R	43.9	18.3	45.1	51.2	4.8	3.1	6.2	5.2	79.7	32.5	80.8	93.2
5. <u>HAITI</u>	<u>70.4</u>	<u>34.9</u>	<u>60.0</u>	<u>80.4</u>	<u>63.5</u>	<u>35.3</u>	<u>58.7</u>	<u>73.7</u>	<u>77.7</u>	<u>34.5</u>	<u>61.4</u>	<u>87.1</u>
U	58.9	19.8	42.5	73.3	55.1	25.3	48.3	71.0	64.1	12.9	34.6	76.3
R	74.1	40.1	67.0	83.1	66.7	39.3	63.7	75.0	81.3	40.8	70.0	90.5
6. <u>HONDURAS</u>	<u>45.0</u>	<u>13.1</u>	<u>44.2</u>	<u>57.1</u>	<u>15.0</u>	<u>2.7</u>	<u>16.9</u>	<u>24.3</u>	<u>74.9</u>	<u>23.3</u>	<u>71.1</u>	<u>89.4</u>
U	44.8	5.4	36.6	60.4	25.8	3.1	25.5	40.2	65.8	7.8	48.9	82.9
R	45.2	18.0	49.9	54.6	7.7	2.5	9.8	11.2	80.1	33.0	86.1	93.8
7. <u>MEXICO</u>	<u>40.9</u>	<u>6.2</u>	<u>37.2</u>	<u>52.7</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>3.9</u>	<u>21.8</u>	<u>25.2</u>	<u>65.2</u>	<u>8.5</u>	<u>52.1</u>	<u>79.5</u>
U	40.9	4.1	33.9	53.3	18.5	3.2	23.0	27.5	64.3	4.9	44.8	79.3
R	40.9	10.3	44.0	51.5	12.8	5.3	19.3	20.0	66.9	14.8	66.2	80.0

/Table 3(Cont)

Table 3 (cont.)

	<u>BOTH SEXES</u>				<u>WOMEN</u>				<u>MEN</u>			
	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>10-14</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>10-14</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>10-14</u>	<u>15-19</u>	<u>20-24</u>
14. <u>NICARAGUA</u>	<u>43.5</u>	<u>10.9</u>	<u>36.4</u>	<u>56.2</u>	<u>19.7</u>	<u>3.9</u>	<u>18.2</u>	<u>28.7</u>	<u>68.1</u>	<u>17.9</u>	<u>54.3</u>	<u>83.6</u>
U	43.0	4.1	29.9	58.7	27.6	3.5	23.3	40.7	61.0	4.6	37.1	78.9
R	44.1	19.0	44.8	53.1	8.7	4.3	10.7	11.5	75.9	32.5	74.2	88.8
15. <u>PANAMA</u>	<u>51.0</u>	<u>7.7</u>	<u>44.4</u>	<u>69.2</u>	<u>28.4</u>	<u>5.1</u>	<u>31.2</u>	<u>44.3</u>	<u>72.6</u>	<u>10.2</u>	<u>56.9</u>	<u>92.9</u>
U	52.9	4.1	39.6	74.6	37.9	4.7	36.7	58.0	69.0	3.6	43.0	91.3
R	48.3	11.7	51.4	61.6	13.6	5.7	21.3	20.0	76.9	16.9	74.1	95.1
16. <u>PARAGUAY</u>	<u>48.9</u>	<u>9.9</u>	<u>50.6</u>	<u>62.4</u>	<u>22.1</u>	<u>5.0</u>	<u>24.6</u>	<u>33.0</u>	<u>75.8</u>	<u>14.7</u>	<u>76.5</u>	<u>91.7</u>
U	51.8	7.9	49.2	65.2	33.0	6.4	35.1	48.2	73.4	9.4	64.5	84.6
R	46.5	10.8	51.5	60.3	13.8	4.3	18.0	20.6	77.2	17.1	82.9	96.3
17. <u>PERU</u>	<u>46.2</u>	<u>3.8</u>	<u>29.5</u>	<u>57.2</u>	<u>26.3</u>	<u>3.4</u>	<u>21.5</u>	<u>35.5</u>	<u>66.1</u>	<u>4.1</u>	<u>37.4</u>	<u>78.6</u>
U	44.7	3.0	26.2	56.1	26.1	3.0	21.4	37.8	63.6	3.0	31.1	74.0
R	48.8	5.1	36.6	59.5	26.6	4.2	21.8	30.5	70.7	6.0	50.7	89.0
18. <u>REPUBLICA DOMINICANA</u>	<u>49.1</u>	<u>19.2</u>	<u>39.9</u>	<u>58.9</u>	<u>25.0</u>	<u>12.4</u>	<u>22.4</u>	<u>29.7</u>	<u>72.7</u>	<u>25.8</u>	<u>57.1</u>	<u>87.4</u>
U	46.5	12.4	33.0	56.8	27.4	10.0	22.7	34.0	67.8	14.9	44.8	82.2
R	51.4	24.9	46.8	61.2	22.4	14.7	22.0	24.5	76.8	34.2	67.5	92.2
19. <u>URUGUAY</u>	<u>48.6</u>	<u>5.2</u>	<u>44.1</u>	<u>67.3</u>	<u>27.7</u>	<u>2.8</u>	<u>27.4</u>	<u>44.4</u>	<u>70.4</u>	<u>7.6</u>	<u>60.3</u>	<u>89.3</u>
U	47.9	4.3	41.9	68.0	29.2	2.7	28.1	47.5	68.6	5.8	55.8	89.4
R	52.5	9.9	54.6	64.4	17.2	3.6	23.6	26.5	78.0	15.3	78.8	91.7

Table 3 (concl.)

Table 3 (concluded).

	TOTAL	BOTH SEXES			TOTAL	WOMEN			TOTAL	MEN		
		10-14	15-19	20-24		10-14	15-19	20-24		10-14	15-19	20-24
<u>20. VENEZUELA</u>	<u>43.1</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>19.4</u>	<u>28.3</u>	<u>20.6</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>19.3</u>	<u>32.0</u>	<u>65.7</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>47.0</u>	<u>80.9</u>
U	21.6	0.0	22.0	33.0	24.3	0.0	21.7	36.7	64.5	0.0	40.1	78.7
R	6.6	0.0	42.4	53.3	16.6	0.0	9.7	10.0	69.5	0.0	69.0	89.5
<u>LATIN AMERICA</u>	<u>45.2</u>	<u>8.9</u>	<u>39.2</u>	<u>58.8</u>	<u>21.0</u>	<u>4.7</u>	<u>24.1</u>	<u>32.4</u>	<u>69.3</u>	<u>12.9</u>	<u>53.9</u>	<u>84.6</u>
U	44.5	4.0	33.9	60.1	24.2	3.5	25.6	38.7	66.0	4.4	42.6	82.5
R	46.4	16.6	48.6	56.3	14.4	6.7	21.2	19.2	75.1	25.8	72.6	88.8

Source: ECLA estimates



Table 4

LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES a/): EMPLOYMENT STRATA BY SEX, 1970  
 (Percentages weighted by the economically active population  
 of each country)

Employment strata	Men	Women
Total	100.0	100.0
1. <u>Middle and upper employment strata in secondary and tertiary occupations</u>	18.2	31.8
a. Employers in commerce, industry and services	2.3	1.6
b. Executive personnel in commerce, industry and services	1.7	1.5
c. Free-lance professionals and semi-professionals	0.6	0.8
d. Dependent professionals	2.4	11.1
e. Own-account commercial activities	3.4	3.2
f. Employers, salesmen and subsidiary personnel in industry, commerce and services	7.8	13.7
2. <u>Lower employment strata in secondary activities</u>	25.5	15.2
a. Wage-earners	19.8	8.2
b. Own-account and unpaid family workers	5.7	7.1
3. <u>Lower employment strata in tertiary activities</u>	3.9	27.4
a. Paid workers in services	3.4	25.5
b. Own-account and unpaid family workers in services	0.5	1.8
4. <u>Middle and upper employment strata in primary activities</u>	1.1	0.2
a. Employers in agricultural and extractive activities	1.1	0.2
5. <u>Lower employment strata in primary and extractive activities</u>	41.8	11.5
a. Rural wage-earners	15.6	2.8
b. Non-employing own-account workers and unpaid family workers	26.1	8.7
6. <u>Others</u>	9.5	14.0

Source: Prepared on the basis of data from ECLA/UNICEF Project on Social Stratification and mobility in Latin America, 1960-1970, Santiago, Chile 1975-1979, table 9 weighted by the economically active population of each country in La educación y los problemas del empleo, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, Final report No 3.

a/ Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, Venezuela.

Table 5  
 LATIN AMERICA (16 COUNTRIES <sup>a/</sup>): EDUCATIONAL LEVELS ACCORDING TO EMPLOYMENT STRATA, BY SEX, 1970 <sup>b/</sup>  
 (Percentages)

Employment strata	No education			1 to 3 years			4 to 6 years			7 to 9 years		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
1. <u>Middle and upper strata in secondary and tertiary employment</u>	<u>10.13</u>	<u>11.15</u>	<u>9.67</u>	<u>8.66</u>	<u>10.12</u>	<u>7.64</u>	<u>24.74</u>	<u>26.31</u>	<u>24.47</u>	<u>15.88</u>	<u>15.03</u>	<u>17.11</u>
a. Employers in commerce, industry and services	11.28	11.02	12.47	10.89	10.91	11.23	29.26	29.71	24.68	15.09	14.83	16.19
b. Executive personnel in commerce, industry and services	10.29	9.52	12.18	6.59	6.49	6.16	21.58	21.61	21.48	15.79	16.99	14.99
c. Free-lance professionals and semi-professionals	7.52	6.45	9.81	6.35	6.76	3.93	14.12	12.91	17.31	8.02	6.73	12.40
d. Dependent professionals	6.05	6.58	5.30	2.81	3.60	1.50	11.93	12.31	11.34	10.27	9.45	11.40
e. Own-account commercial activities	17.40	16.02	21.11	20.33	20.27	19.44	34.43	34.90	33.17	12.84	13.20	12.40
f. Employees, salesmen and subordinate personnel in industry, commerce and services	8.90	8.75	9.23	6.59	8.06	3.59	27.42	27.93	25.76	20.51	20.08	21.37
2. <u>Lower strata in secondary activities</u>	<u>17.19</u>	<u>16.13</u>	<u>21.93</u>	<u>21.90</u>	<u>20.84</u>	<u>18.04</u>	<u>39.59</u>	<u>37.79</u>	<u>37.58</u>	<u>12.06</u>	<u>10.90</u>	<u>13.34</u>
a. Wage-earners	15.51	15.60	12.44	21.68	22.18	16.30	41.22	40.63	45.85	12.50	11.97	15.08
b. Own-account and unpaid family workers	22.81	17.92	32.36	21.93	22.84	18.93	35.32	38.23	28.86	11.89	11.59	11.43
3. <u>Middle and upper strata in primary activities</u>	<u>22.24</u>	<u>17.00</u>	<u>24.33</u>	<u>24.96</u>	<u>20.86</u>	<u>26.93</u>	<u>34.62</u>	<u>36.40</u>	<u>33.55</u>	<u>9.16</u>	<u>13.23</u>	<u>7.69</u>
a. Paid workers in services	21.01	16.92	23.68	25.08	20.39	27.32	35.07	36.53	34.17	9.87	13.40	7.43
b. Own-account and unpaid family workers in services	21.02	17.22	21.43	23.08	24.25	19.51	33.61	36.20	32.58	11.67	11.87	13.91
4. <u>Middle and upper strata in primary activities</u>	<u>27.21</u>	<u>27.03</u>	<u>37.10</u>	<u>26.04</u>	<u>26.48</u>	<u>18.96</u>	<u>26.20</u>	<u>25.61</u>	<u>22.51</u>	<u>7.48</u>	<u>8.17</u>	<u>7.06</u>
5. <u>Lower strata in primary and extractive activities</u>	<u>43.43</u>	<u>43.39</u>	<u>48.77</u>	<u>29.89</u>	<u>30.18</u>	<u>24.67</u>	<u>18.94</u>	<u>18.95</u>	<u>17.20</u>	<u>3.28</u>	<u>3.17</u>	<u>2.96</u>
a. Rural wage-earners	43.91	43.76	49.58	29.33	29.58	24.43	18.90	18.99	17.40	2.90	2.91	3.10
b. Non-employed own-account workers and unpaid family workers	42.83	42.58	49.99	29.90	30.32	24.11	19.00	19.17	16.52	3.88	3.80	2.95
6. <u>Others (residual)</u>	<u>23.05</u>	<u>22.07</u>	<u>23.97</u>	<u>18.76</u>	<u>19.35</u>	<u>16.60</u>	<u>29.15</u>	<u>29.78</u>	<u>28.35</u>	<u>11.80</u>	<u>12.03</u>	<u>11.53</u>

a/ Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic and Venezuela.

b/ 100% of the universe of each stratum under "both sexes", "male" and "female" is established by adding the respective percentages at each educational level horizontally.

Table 5 (concluded)

Employment strata	10 to 12 years			13 years and over			Undeclared		
	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female
1. <u>Middle and upper strata in secondary and tertiary employment</u>	<u>15.32</u>	<u>13.13</u>	<u>15.28</u>	<u>12.44</u>	<u>13.55</u>	<u>8.33</u>	<u>12.83</u>	<u>10.74</u>	<u>17.50</u>
a. Employers in commerce, industry and services	10.53	10.33	11.27	10.41	11.00	7.77	12.54	12.20	16.34
b. Executive personnel in commerce, industry and services	15.80	15.59	16.98	17.08	18.22	12.41	12.97	11.58	15.80
c. Free-lance professionals and semi-professionals	9.42	7.62	15.91	45.93	53.62	25.06	8.64	5.91	15.56
d. Dependent professionals	23.20	16.77	29.83	27.98	41.88	19.18	17.76	9.41	22.35
e. Own-account commercial activities	5.08	5.58	3.86	1.98	2.20	1.31	7.94	7.83	8.71
f. Employees, salesmen and subordinate personnel in industry, commerce and services	17.75	16.08	21.32	6.39	7.24	4.78	12.44	11.83	13.95
2. <u>Lower strata in secondary activities</u>	<u>2.40</u>	<u>6.58</u>	<u>2.42</u>	<u>0.46</u>	<u>1.93</u>	<u>0.21</u>	<u>6.40</u>	<u>5.83</u>	<u>6.48</u>
a. Wage-earners	2.68	2.58	2.61	0.45	0.46	0.29	5.96	6.58	7.43
b. Own-account and unpaid family workers	2.96	2.89	2.63	0.63	0.59	0.31	4.46	5.94	5.58
3. <u>Lower strata in tertiary activities</u>	<u>1.94</u>	<u>3.67</u>	<u>1.08</u>	<u>0.48</u>	<u>1.07</u>	<u>0.16</u>	<u>6.60</u>	<u>7.77</u>	<u>6.26</u>
a. Paid workers in services	1.87	3.77	0.96	0.46	1.06	0.14	6.64	7.93	6.30
b. Own-account and unpaid family workers in services	3.00	3.08	3.46	0.60	1.08	0.26	7.11	6.30	8.85
4. <u>Middle and upper strata in primary activities</u>	<u>3.88</u>	<u>3.81</u>	<u>7.48</u>	<u>2.74</u>	<u>2.49</u>	<u>0.78</u>	<u>6.45</u>	<u>6.41</u>	<u>6.11</u>
5. <u>Lower strata in primary and extractive activities</u>	<u>0.48</u>	<u>0.41</u>	<u>0.59</u>	<u>0.21</u>	<u>0.15</u>	<u>0.14</u>	<u>3.77</u>	<u>3.75</u>	<u>5.67</u>
a. Rural wage-earners	0.43	0.39	0.81	0.12	0.17	0.22	1.35	4.25	4.76
b. Non-employed own-account workers and unpaid family workers	0.52	0.53	0.51	0.14	0.15	0.09	3.69	3.45	5.83
6. <u>Others (residual)</u>	<u>5.41</u>	<u>5.17</u>	<u>6.34</u>	<u>2.72</u>	<u>2.77</u>	<u>2.63</u>	<u>9.11</u>	<u>8.83</u>	<u>10.58</u>

Source: La educación y los problemas del empleo, UNESCO/ECLA/UNDP Project on Development and Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, Final report NQ2

