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PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA

Prepared by the Economic Commission for Latin America

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In the above title two terms, "women" and "development", each connoting a vast area of real situations, aspirations, and stereotyped ideas, are linked by a third, "participation", equally inclusive and susceptible to differing interpretations, and referred to a region, "Latin America", that notoriously comprises a very wide range of national and local patterns. A discussion confronting this conglomeration of abstractions risks becoming another dialogue of the deaf, in which each participant starts from his or her own interpretation of the terms and all conclude in full agreement that whatever they were talking about must have been Very Important. More specifically, given the manner in which the theme has come to the fore on the world stage and the year of multifaceted international crises in which it has done so, one can expect an encounter of at least three over-simplified expectations: (i) an expectation by promoters of equality of the sexes that there is a process of development awaiting the full incorporation of women once the governmental planners of the process are convinced that this must be done; (ii) an expectation by promoters of development that full participation of women is a missing ingredient that can stabilize or dynamize their endangered cause; (iii) an expectation by promoters of population control that full participation of women in development will induce them to have fewer children.

The following pages have the modest purpose of focussing attention on the desirability of using the above terms with clear and mutually-understood meanings referred to specific situations: what kinds of women are to participate, for what reasons, through what channels and tactics, in what kinds of development, in what national circumstances? With this aim, a deliberately simplified and schematic picture restricted to some aspects of the problem will be presented. Ideally, the discussion should take up systematically the different forms of social and economic participation that are relevant; the implications for each form of participation of

women's identification with class, cultural environment, age group, etc.; the potentialities for different forms of participation by different classes and groupings of women within different styles of development (capitalist-market-oriented, socialist-egalitarian, or the various attempts to define viable paths other than those two); and finally the constraints imposed both on participation of women and on styles of development by the differing combinations of traits of the Latin American countries. The discussion should also take up the differences in ideological preconceptions and motivations that lie behind present preoccupations over the "participation of women in development", determining the aspects emphasized and the policy conclusions reached. Even if space permitted, however, lack of empirical information would for the present rule out such a comprehensive treatment; the following pages will deal mainly with certain questions suggested by ongoing ECLA studies of styles of development and social change in Latin America.

How are we to understand the "development" in which women are to "participate"? In the past few years, criticisms of the economic growth processes previously supposed to be central to development, for their failure to contribute incontrovertibly to human welfare and social justice, for their degradation of the human environment, and for their squandering of non-renewable natural resources have become commonplace of international discourse. These processes are not likely to fare any better when assessed in terms of their contribution to the liberation of women. The present world crises are shaking the confidence of the high-income industrialized societies that have held themselves up as models for development and sources of prescriptions on "How to Develop. Various redefinitions of development and proposals for "unified approaches" to development policy have gained international currency, most authoritatively in paragraph 18 of the International Development Strategy approved by the United Nations General Assembly in 1970 and, for the region with which the present paper is concerned, in the Quito Appraisal approved

as resolution 320(XV) by the Economic Commission for Latin America in 1973^{1/}. However, international and national attempts to convert the newer concepts of development into operational realities have been halting. "Practical" proposals designed to patch up the inequities in ongoing processes, on the supposition that these processes respond to inexorable economic laws and realities of political power, continue to co-exist uneasily with utopian-normative formulas that assume the feasibility of immediate transformation of the social and economic order and the emergence of a "new man in a new society"^{2/}.

Any social group aspiring to "participate in development" must participate in what is really happening, however far from the ideal this may be, try to strengthen its bargaining power, and exert organized pressure to change those features of what is happening that conflict most with its perceived immediate interests. A given real style of "development", however, is capable of affording certain forms of participation by specific social groups but not others. Or a given style

1/ "A central preoccupation in the review and appraisal of the International Development Strategy should be the concept of integrated development and the difference existing between the phenomenon of economic growth and actual development. ... The very concept of development must be improved and the fragmentary approach to economic growth and human development discarded. The factors affecting these two problems cannot be determined merely in the light of economic growth: it is necessary to take an integrated view of all the social, economic and political determinants. Moreover, human development is not just a question of expanding sectoral action in education, health, etc., but must include a social system that gives priority to the equality and dignity of man and respects and fosters the cultural expression of the population."

2/ See Chapter I, "Human development and social change", in Latin American Development and the International Economic Conjunction: Second Regional Appraisal of the International Development Strategy (document presented to the sixteenth session of ECLA, May 1975), and Marshall Wolfe, "Development: Images, concepts, criteria, agents, choices", Economic Bulletin for Latin America, XVIII, 1 and 2, 1973.

of development may force the different social groups to participate on its own terms, but as objects undergoing exploitation rather than self-determining human beings. At the same time, all of the larger classes and population categories that have some common interests in confronting a given style of development --wage workers, peasants, youth, women, etc.-- are also complexly divided by other features of their place in the societies and their perception of interests.

In regard to most aspects of participation the self-identification of women as women probably remains subordinated to their self-identification as members of privileged classes or disadvantaged classes; as professionals, intellectuals, consumers, wage earners or peasants; as adherents to religious bodies or political movements. Their efforts to improve the terms of their participation as women, like the efforts of the many groupings in which they participate through other bases of self-identification, can have several outcomes, most of which are simultaneously present in continually changing combinations in any given society: (i) achievement of formal recognition of rights and promises for the future, in constitutions, laws, and preambles to development plans, in terms that do not commit the dominant forces in the societies to more than token immediate action; (ii) enhanced consciousness within the group in question of radical incompatibilities between its broader interests and the style of development, with a shift in emphasis from immediate demands to strategies for transformation of the style; (iii) success by some of the more articulate and organized sub-groups in achieving the satisfaction of immediate demands, accompanied by increasing apathy toward the needs of the remainder of the broad group; (iv) increasing rigidity and tension in the style of development itself as the diversity of groups and sub-groups able to enforce demands and protect special interests grows without correspondingly vigorous growth in the productive capacity of the economies, the ability of the State to obtain sufficient resources to meet its commitments, or the capacity of policy-making and planning mechanisms to

compatibilize these commitments with one another or with a realistic image of the kind of society aimed at.

In most of Latin America up to the present, in spite of the very wide differences between national situations and the increasingly wide differences between national development strategies and power structures, variations on a distinctive style of development have prevailed and have shown considerable ability to continue to function amid contradictions that have repeatedly been diagnosed as insuperable and to recover from successive crises. The traits most relevant for present purposes can be summarized as follows:

Urbanization and modernization of life-styles have been rapid and highly dependent on external stimuli and constraints, cultural and political as well as economic. Sizable and growing minorities of the national populations have entered "modern" productive and service occupations and have adopted "modern" patterns of consumption. The processes of urbanization and modernization impinge on the remainder of the population in many ways: through the penetration of mass communication media and consumption aspirations, through the declining viability of traditional means of livelihood and the emergence of new ones, through the increasingly pervasive action of the State in providing services and regulating behaviour. The importance of "traditional" community structures, relationships to the land, artisanal activities, cultural patterns, etc., in shielding determined social groups from participation in the style of development, while far from negligible, is smaller in most of Latin America than in many other parts of the Third World. "Traditional" has become mainly a euphemism for "poor", "low-productivity", or "marginal".

The urban upper and middle strata that participate most actively in dependent modernization seem to have grown more rapidly than other components of the national populations almost everywhere, with the probable exceptions of one or two countries in which this growth began

early and reached saturation point by the 1960's. Assessment of different dimensions of this expansion by statistical indicators reveals significant inconsistencies that can be attributed to the capacity of the style of development to afford some kinds of participation more easily than others:

(i) School enrolment at all levels has grown markedly during the 1960's and early 1970's, but middle-level and higher enrolment has grown much more rapidly than primary, and the share of public financing received by middle and higher institutions has also grown disproportionately. Primary education in most countries has not yet attained universality, and a good deal of the elementary education offered, particularly in rural areas, is too brief and poor in quality to accomplish the minimum objective of functional literacy. The pre-school institutions and supplementary programmes needed to offset child malnutrition and family settings unfavourable to education remain very limited in scope. In 20 countries between 1960 and 1972 or 1973 primary enrolment increased from 25 millions to 44 millions; middle-level enrolment from 3.7 millions to 12.3 millions; and higher enrolment from five hundred thousand to 2.1 millions. During the early 1970's annual increases in higher enrolment in some countries have climbed above 20 per cent. The huge size of the group now graduating annually from the middle schools, mainly from university-preparatory courses, indicates that the pressure for mass higher education will become even more intense during the remainder of the 1970's.

(ii) The proportion of the economically active population in urban occupations that can be classified as "upper" and "middle" in status (roughly non-manual occupations ranging from employers and professionals to salaried employees and sales personnel) has also increased markedly, but not so phenomenally as middle and higher education. The increases in these occupational categories have practically offset the decreases in percentages of active population employed in lower-stratum positions

in the primary sector (mainly manual labour in agriculture). In the majority of countries, the percentages of population in urban lower-stratum (manual) occupations have grown only slowly or remained constant, although the absolute numbers have increased because of the rapid overall growth of the urban labour force. These trends suggest several important conclusions, although these conclusions can be offered only provisionally in view of the shortcomings in reliability and comparability of the data. First, the data do not bear out predictions of an overwhelming relative growth of an urban sub-proletariat or "marginal population", fed by rural migration to the cities. The urban societies seem to have been capable of offering channels for upward mobility absorbing the greater part of the growth in their labour force. Second, the processes of upward mobility have produced urban occupational structures containing high proportions of persons who contribute only indirectly, if at all, to production, many of whom are employed by the State. These occupational categories undoubtedly include many roles essential to the functioning of a modernizing urban society, but the rates of increase and the internal composition seem to have been determined more by the unbalanced growth of the educational systems than by societal needs that might be deduced from the national styles of development. Third, since middle and higher educational expansion has been more rapid than the expansion of the corresponding occupations, the formal educational requirements for admission to these occupations have continually risen. Around 1960, as various educational studies have pointed out, the holders of middle and upper occupational positions tended to be under-educated for them. Now they tend to be over-educated. While the pressures for further expansion of middle and higher education and for jobs corresponding to the expectations of the products of such education are both bound to increase, it is unlikely that the past rates of expansion in either area can be maintained much longer, except by a few countries with

unusually abundant public-sector revenues. It follows that both of the two main safety-valves relieving pressures for upward mobility within the urbanizing and modernizing societies will lose their capacity to carry out this function at manageable cost.

(iii) Income distribution data suggest a higher degree of concentration of gains from development than do the educational and occupational data. After more than a decade of national policies calling for more equitable distribution of incomes, incomes in Latin America remain more concentrated than in most other parts of the world, and the gap between groups near the top and groups near the bottom of the income ladder has widened. At the same time, in the majority of countries, the relative size of the groups at and near the top that have made disproportionate income gains seems to have increased, while overall national income rises have been large enough so that the groups near the middle of the income ladder have gained something in absolute terms even if their share of total personal income has declined.

The processes of urbanization, modernization and monetarization of consumption affect the meaning of the monetary income gains for income-receivers at all levels. In the upper-middle strata consumption aspirations have undoubtedly risen faster than incomes, in particular through the manifold repercussions of the automobile and television on ways of life. In the lower-middle strata, and to some extent down to the lowest strata, aspirations for modern consumer goods and expenditure needs deriving from the complications of urban life exert pressures on incomes that divert resources from the needs generally assumed to be basic, even the need for an adequate diet. The modest gains in monetary incomes in these strata thus do not necessarily mean higher levels of well-being, either objectively or subjectively. Since 1973, moreover, inflation, previously chronic in only four countries of the region, has almost everywhere been introducing new sources of tension and insecurity

in the struggle for a larger share of income, even for the groups that are able to hold their own or better.

(iv) The exceptionally uneven distribution of incomes and the persistence of mass poverty derive partly from the distribution of power in the societies and partly from the inability of the prevailing style of development to incorporate a large part of a rapidly growing labour force into occupations productive enough or enjoying enough social demand to afford adequate incomes. Attention has centred on the slow rates of growth of employment in modern industry, generally lower than the rate of growth of the urban labour force even where industrial production has expanded at satisfactory rates, on the practically stationary demand for labour in agriculture, and on the differential growth of employment in services. The broad problem of under-utilization of the population of working age comprises a number of facets --open unemployment, retirement from the labour force of persons not expecting to find jobs (mainly women, the aged, the handicapped), under-employment, low-productivity or low-income employment (not necessarily the same thing, although often discussed as if identical), employment in occupations judged superfluous or undesirable in relation to development, etc. The main features of the problem are only slowly becoming clearer in the course of prolonged polemics and investigations. Previous assertions that the prevailing style of development inevitably brings about increases in the relative importance of under-utilization or "marginalization" are not supported by the weight of evidence, but neither has it been demonstrated that the style can lead to significant reduction in under-utilization. It now appears, mainly from a series of national studies carried out by the Programa Regional del Empleo para América Latina y el Caribe (PREALC) that the main shortcomings in most local settings are not open unemployment of male family breadwinners nor underemployment in terms of abnormally short work periods, but full-time employment affording very low or fluctuating incomes, and inability of youths to find jobs matching their expectations.

The participation of women in the different dimensions of social and economic change outlined above differs from that of men, for the most part in ways disadvantageous to women, and our next step will be to examine these differences in the light of the available evidence:

(i) Participation in educational expansion has been more nearly equal between the sexes than has participation in any other measurable aspect of change. At the primary and middle levels, enrolment ratios by sex have been nearly even in most countries of the region in recent decades; at these levels, educational inequities are associated with social class, income level, and urban vs. rural residence rather than sex^{3/}. Some local studies indicate that girls in low-income families have a certain educational advantage over boys; families leave them in school longer because their contribution to agricultural labour or other sources of family livelihood is less needed^{4/}. Women have shared more than proportionately in the explosive growth of higher education; in 13 out of 15 countries for which data are available their share of enrolment rose during the 1960's. At this level, however, they continue to lag behind men, in some countries markedly so. As Table 1 indicates, in only 7 out of 17 countries at the end of the 1960's did women constitute more than 40 per cent of higher enrolment,

^{3/} This is not true, however, of middle-level vocational education and training. In such programmes the participation of girls has usually been restricted by conventional expectations concerning job opportunities to activities such as dress-making and hair-dressing.

^{4/} This educational advantage appears clearly in the findings of a recent study of rural youth in Panamá. The study also demonstrates that it is offset by restricted employment opportunities and early assumption of the burden of child-bearing. (Proyecto CEPAL-FAO, "Participación de la juventud en el proceso de desarrollo latinoamericano: Un estudio de caso en Panamá" (Borrador, Santiago, julio de 1974).

Table 1
THIRD LEVEL: DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE STUDENTS BY FIELD OF STUDY

Country	Round total		Humanities	Education	Fine Arts	Law	Social Sciences	Natural Sciences	Engineering	Medical Sciences	Agriculture
	1960	1970									
Argentina	32.1	42.7	83.8 ^{a/}	...	44.7	... ^{b/}	32.6	51.4	4.2	39.9	13.2
Bolivia	26.2 ^{c/}	28.3	56.1	68.2	25.5	21.5	4.5	1.6	27.8	10.1	11.4
Brazil	28.1	37.7	72.3	76.9	60.6	24.5	31.2	37.4	3.8	31.4	9.2
Colombia	18.8	22.3	21.4	49.3	26.1	19.3	26.6	20.2	3.4	43.7	2.3
Costa Rica	46.1	41.8	35.4	68.4	59.8	11.7	19.6	36.2	0.0	48.7	2.2
Cuba	37.9	40.0	63.0	63.0	44.4	45.2	40.6	44.7	19.1	48.3	26.7
Chile	36.8	38.4	57.0	60.8	45.4	25.2	37.6	31.4	5.7	60.3	13.4
Ecuador	18.6	28.1	48.8	60.1	10.9	11.2	30.1	7.9	4.4	28.5	5.3
El Salvador	15.7										
Guatemala	12.7 ^{d/}	18.6	51.9 ^{a/}	...	13.6	14.6	17.3	66.1	2.6	12.1	3.1
Haiti	11.5	11.3	0.0	8.3	-	7.8	11.3	-	4.0	19.1	7.5
Honduras	14.6										
Mexico	17.5	18.5	49.8	59.2	9.9	13.6	17.5	40.6	3.2	24.0	2.9
Nicaragua	21.9	30.7	48.5 ^{a/} ^{e/}	21.6	20.4	21.4	5.2 ^{e/}	61.3	1.5
Panama	-	46.1	68.7 ^{a/}	...	18.9	14.9	46.6	42.4	5.1	56.4	5.4
Paraguay	31.7	42.1	71.3	82.5	50.2	26.4	21.0	64.1 ^{f/}	6.4	54.2	9.8
Peru	25.5 ^{e/}	34.8	34.3	50.3	20.6	18.8	26.1	19.8	2.4	33.3	5.3
Dominican Republic	24.4	42.5	50.2								
Uruguay	-	40.4	65.7	- ^{g/}	34.5	45.3	36.8	53.1	8.9	45.8	14.9
Venezuela	31.0										

Source: UNESCO. Statistical Yearbook, 1972.

Notes: Humanities: Archaeology, History, Languages, Letters, Library Science, Philosophy, Psychology, Theology and similar subjects.
 Education: Education Pedagogy (including subjects studied in teacher training institutions at the third level) Physical Educ.
 Fine Arts: Architecture, Drawing, Music, Painting, Speech and Dramatic Arts and similar subjects.
 Social Sciences: Banking, Commerce, Diplomacy, Economics, Ethnology, Geography, Home Economics, International Relations, Journalism, Political Science, Public Administration, Social Welfare, Sociology, Statistics and similar subjects.
 Natural Sciences: Astronomy, Bacteriology, Biochemistry, Biology, Botany, Chemistry, Entomology, Geology, Geophysics, Mathematics, Meteorology, Mineralogy Physics, Zoology and similar subjects.
 Engineering: Applied Science, Construction, Geodesy, Metallurgy, Mining Surveying, Technology, Textiles and similar subjects.
 Medical Sciences: Anatomy, Dentistry, Medicine, Midwifery, Nursing, Optometry, Osteopathy, Pharmacy, Physiotherapy, Public Health and similar subjects.
 Agriculture: Agronomy, Dairying, Fisheries, Forestry, Horticulture, Rural Science, Veterinary, Medicine and similar subjects.

a/ Education is included with humanities.

b/ Social Sciences and Law are counted together.

c/ Not including the private university which commenced in 1966.

d/ University of San Carlos only.

e/ Architecture is included with engineering.

f/ Pharmacy is included in Natural Sciences.

g/ Education is not included at the third level.

and in three countries their share was below 20 per cent. It is also significant that they are disproportionately represented in the humanities and education, in most countries constituting majorities in these fields of study, while their representation remains rather low in social sciences, natural sciences, engineering and agriculture, as well as in law, which frequently constitutes an entry into politics.

(ii) The low participation in the labour force of women of working age contrasts sharply with the educational ratios^{5/}. During the 1960's the participation rate rose substantially in four out of the seven countries for which comparative census data are available (Argentina, Brazil, Panamá, and Venezuela), fell in two (Chile and Nicaragua) and remained nearly stable at a particularly low level in Mexico. Even after these gains, however, the rate remains below 20 per cent in the majority of countries, in contrast to rates above 40 per cent in Europe. In a highly urbanized country such as Argentina, in which the burden of child care cannot be a greater impediment to women's employment than in Europe, and in which the problem of measurement of unpaid female labour on family farms cannot be significant, the rate barely reaches 25 per cent.

At the same time, women have participated, in a rather marginal way, in the differential growth of the urban middle and upper occupational strata summarized above. The gains in female employment have been mainly in the categories of salaried professionals and employees, while female participation in industrial labour has declined, and female participation in the residual unclassified group that presumably comprises particularly marginal low-paid activities has remained nearly constant, at around 8 or 9 per cent of the economically active female population. The increase in female labour force participation

5/ For a detailed discussion, see Appendix, "The participation of women in Latin American labour markets".

has been concentrated in the age group 20-24 and among unmarried women. Female participation declines at higher ages while male participation continues to rise. One can conclude that the rapidly rising number of girls receiving middle and higher education, coinciding with the growth of urban bureaucratic and commercial activities, has led to a corresponding increase in the number entering clerical and professional or semi-professional employment, generally prior to marriage and temporary or permanent withdrawal from the labour force. The very expansion of the school systems has by itself created an enormous job market for teachers, with women in the majority. In the sluggishly expanding industrial labour market women have lost ground relative to men, and an important proportion of the women who must seek work because of inadequate earnings of the husband or because the family lacks a male breadwinner continue to be restricted to domestic service, street vending, and other marginal low-income occupations^{6/}.

^{6/} Recent field inquiries in Santiago and Guayaquil, carried out in zones selected for the presumably "marginal" status of their populations, distinguished four broad occupational groupings, the last of which, labelled "infra" services, comprised the most incontrovertibly marginal occupations. In Guayaquil, 14 per cent of the families had female heads, in Santiago 20 per cent. In Guayaquil, 39 per cent of the male family heads and 53 per cent of the female depended on "infra" occupations; in Santiago the equivalent percentages were 23 and 41. In Guayaquil 17 per cent of the male family heads and 37.5 per cent of the female fell into the lowest income bracket; in Santiago 10 per cent and 29 per cent, respectively. (Junta Nacional de Planificación y Coordinación Económica, El estrato popular urbano: Informe de investigación sobre Guayaquil (Quito 1973); and CEPAL, El estrato popular urbano: Informe de investigación sobre Santiago (Chile), (Borrador, Santiago, julio de 1973).)

One consequence of the lagging of occupational opportunities behind education is that the minority of women entering the labour force are better educated than the male participants. In all of the six countries for which 1970 census data are available, the percentages of active women having three years or less of schooling, or no schooling, are much lower than the equivalent percentages for active men. The percentages of active women having 10 years or more of schooling are in all cases very much higher than the percentages of the men. The 1960 census data for 13 countries confirm that this is a generalized phenomenon of long standing. (Tables 3 and 4 in Appendix.) A different calculation relating occupational strata to educational level and sex in five countries shows that in four of these women employed in upper and middle urban occupations had a significant educational advantage over men, although their employment is mainly in the lower reaches of these strata. (Table 5, Appendix.)

Sample surveys of households conducted around 1970 in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Panamá, and Venezuela show, as one might expect, that much higher proportions of employed women than of men fall into the lower income strata and that few attain high incomes. (Table 2.) The disadvantages in incomes have several aspects, the relative importance of which is unknown : (i) a higher proportion of women than of men are employed in low-paid dead-end occupations, with incomes affected by negligible organized bargaining power; (ii) women are paid less than men in roughly similar occupations; this kind of discrimination appears at all levels, but seems to be less pronounced in the posts requiring university education than in lower-stratum occupations; (iii) women participate in the labour force mainly in their youth and for briefer periods than men, so that their chances of income advancement through seniority and promotions are diminished.

If inability to make use of a large part of the population of working age (at all levels of education and skills) on satisfactory terms is really a central shortcoming of the prevailing style of development, what are the prospects for equal participation by women within the limits of the style? Continuing urbanization and bureaucratization of the societies, with the expansion of public services of many kinds, should continue to generate differential increases in the supply of non-manual jobs already dominated by or reserved to women --primary school teachers, secretaries, sales personnel, etc.-- and in the professions to which women have gained access through university education. The expansion and diversification of modern light industries --some of which, such as electronics, are both technologically advanced and labour-intensive-- will mean important new job openings for women, but it is doubtful whether overall increases in employment of women in modern industries will do more than compensate for the dwindling opportunities in vending and artisanal activities. If domestic service continues to retain its importance as a source of livelihood for women, which is doubtful, this will be mainly a reflection of the inability of the style of development to offer them more satisfactory lines of participation in the labour market. In agricultural labour the real participation of women is hard to measure, but its importance can be expected to decline with modernization, mechanization and substitution of wage labour for the more traditional relationships between landlords and peasant families. This decline, however, may be offset by rising employment of women in industries processing foods and other agricultural products. Under prevailing conditions of labour surplus, as various studies have pointed out, legislative attempts to protect women workers or guarantee them equal opportunities have ambiguous consequences.

The costs of protective measures such as paid maternity leave can be offset by still lower wages for the protected group, or if this is impracticable can motivate employers to exclude women altogether. Since they are most enforceable in the larger-scale modern enterprises, they may accentuate the restriction of women to the more marginal occupations, including home piecework and self-employment.

A summary of prospects for participation such as the above leaves out of account the fact that women participate in the prevailing style of development through an enormous amount of unpaid labour, not reflected in conventional calculations of the labour force or the national product, but making it possible for the societies to continue to function and reproduce themselves. In this context, exhortations to fuller participation in the labour force, whether addressed to the women or to the national policy makers, have ironic overtones. As is now obvious in societies in which female labour force participation rates are very much higher than in Latin America, if women are expected to match male participation rates in addition to what they are doing outside the conventionally defined labour force, it is a double imposition. In most Latin American urban settings women of the better-educated middle and upper strata are able to resolve the problem in part through the availability of cheap domestic service, sometimes making only a small net monetary gain by exchanging housework for clerical work. Women of the poorer strata, to the extent that they must seek jobs to supplement inadequate family incomes, must do so in addition to domestic tasks and child-rearing; industrial social services such as crèches alleviate these burdens for only a few^{7/}. Female family breadwinners are in the most disadvantageous position of all. While the possibilities for women to improve their relative position in the labour market within the prevailing style of development --through interest-group organization, through taking better advantage of their

^{7/} For a presentation of the concrete problems of women industrial workers with families, see Lucía Ribeiro and Teresita de Barbieri, "La mujer obrera chilena", Cuadernos de la Realidad Nacional, Santiago, abril de 1973.

educational gains, through enactment and enforcement of legal guarantees, etc.-- need not be discounted, these gains are likely to continue to be very unevenly distributed (according to class and educational level of the women) and unsatisfying. A transformation of their hidden and unpaid participation placing them on really equal terms with men in the labour market would amount to a cultural revolution and a very different style of development.

The ways in which women internalize values and roles consonant with the prevailing style of development and the forms of participation it is capable of offering them, or rebel against these values and roles, have been major concerns of literature as well as political polemics and social science research in the "advanced" industrialized countries for more than a century. Latin American women are now re-enacting similar dramas of socialization in settings of economic and cultural change, differing in each social class and age group, and rendered particularly transitional and ambiguous by the contradictions in the style of development and its dependence on shifting external stimuli --including the societal images and felt needs inculcated through the mass communication media and the "liberating" or "conscientizing" ideologies focussed on women and youth. The previous relatively rigid barriers of predominantly rural societies with few roles for women outside the home have crumbled, education and urbanization apparently widen and diversify opportunities, participation in the labour market becomes increasingly a necessity for maintenance of a "modern" urban life style, but the socialization of both sexes and the patterns of family life combined with the slack demand of the labour market continue to place psychological as well as material obstacles in the way of women competing with men for the same jobs or rejecting sole responsibility for household work and child rearing. In this respect as in many others, Latin America exhibits a juxtaposition of the most "modern" patterns of sexual equality with

a wide range of other patterns of family relationships (and family disorganization).

Two other aspects of the participation of women in development in Latin America, closely related to the point just made, must be considered, although the lack of research focussed on these questions in Latin American settings makes it impossible to do more than offer a few conjectures:

(i) Women, as consumers and managers of the family budget, are preferred targets of the consumption appeals that bombard the urban population, and increasingly the rural population, through the mass communication media. Within the typical patterns of industrialization, particularly in the more populous and more urbanized countries, the domestic market for a continually diversifying and innovating output of durable consumer goods has become an indispensable source of dynamism to the style of development. Urban growth itself has been transformed by the dominance of the automobile, the shift of population to low-density suburbs, the multiplication of supermarkets and shopping centres. The capacity to respond to consumption appeals, of course, is restricted to a much smaller part of the population than in the model "consumer societies", a high degree of income concentration seems to be essential to insure a market for the more expensive durable goods, and urban sprawl is accompanied by increasingly pronounced spatial segregation of population by income. The mass media dependent on advertising for the consumer society can be expected, through appeals geared to different educational and income levels, to give particular attention to maintaining the allegiance of women to this society and making them fearful of any change threatening the advantages they enjoy or hope to enjoy.

Up to the present, the consumer movements reacting against certain traits of the consumer societies, which have gained strength in the high-income industrialized countries and in which women have been particularly

militant participants, have been weak and imitative in Latin America, in spite of abundant reasons for dissatisfaction with the prices and quality of domestically produced consumer goods. The stratification of the market would tend to divide a consumer movement into several groups preoccupied with different goods --the supply of automobiles at one extreme, the supply of food at the other.

(ii) The prevailing style of development, in spite of its identification with market forces and private enterprise, has thrown very heavy responsibilities on the State, to mobilize and channel investments (particularly in the infrastructure required by the patterns of production and urbanization); to provide social services and subsidies meeting the demands of the articulate urban middle strata while at the same time palliating the urban manifestations of extreme poverty; to provide employment for many of the products of middle and higher education; to act as final arbiter in the struggles of different classes and groups for a larger share in the fruits of development; and to limit or combat the multifaceted external dependency associated with the style. Reliance on the State to "solve problems" is probably more widely diffused through the population than in most other parts of the Third World, and is paradoxically accompanied by chronic distrust or apathy toward the real State for its inability to accomplish what is expected of the ideal State. When the gap between the capacities of the State and the demands made on it become too wide to be bridged through the "normal" processes of political bargaining, groups acting in the name of the State recurrently claim an autonomous role, assuming the right and duty to determine a development strategy and exclude demands incompatible with this strategy.

The overall pattern of State paternalism alternating with insecurity, of efforts by groups controlling the State to cope with unmanageable demands and to mobilize forces shoring up stability, has

conditioned the expectations of women concerning the State and the expectations of the State concerning women. Women have had the vote throughout Latin America for at least the past two decades, and all political movements have courted their support. In the countries with open political processes they have assumed political positions as varied as those of the men; a few individual women have emerged as particularly vigorous and charismatic challengers of the prevailing style of development. The weight of their political influence, however, expressed through the vote and sometimes through mass protests against government policies, has been conformist or conservative, and this has influenced the promises made to them by candidates and the receptivity of the national power structures and power contenders toward their participation. The hypothesis seems plausible that their relatively marginal and unorganized position in the labour force^{8/} combined with their role in maintenance of the home, their anxieties over housing, education and other social services for their children, and stable food prices, have made them less accessible than men to political currents radically challenging the prevailing style of development, more disposed to react politically in defense of the status quo. Correspondingly, efforts by the State, now increasingly numerous, to organize women in their capacity as housewives or mothers and to train women leaders commonly reveal a hope that women will act as a stabilizing influence and a source of localized services that the State itself cannot manage.

^{8/} Women are even more weakly represented in the trade unions than in the labour force. A higher proportion of women than of men are in occupations that are rarely unionized, and where they do participate in occupations having unions of some importance (textiles, food processing industries, public employees) the scanty available evidence suggests that women rarely attain leadership positions.

This paper deliberately refrains from offering specific prescriptions for achievement of equality of the sexes. The relevant tactics and instruments have been discussed in many other papers, and it would be presumptuous to discuss their individual relevance to Latin American national settings without more searching prior investigations than the present text has been able to draw on. As was stated above, this text aims simply to emphasize the importance of relating such tactics and instruments to specific styles of development, within which they may turn out to have consequences very different from those intended, and to categories of women whose self-identification is complexly divided according to social class, participation in the labour force, preoccupation with consumption, political ideology, etc.

Fundação Cuidar o Futuro

APPENDIX

THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN LATIN AMERICAN LABOUR MARKETS

1. Levels and Determinants of Female Economic Activity

An understanding of the levels, trends and circumstances of female economic activity is fundamental to any investigation of the problem of women's participation in the styles of development prevailing in Latin America. As with so many other development problems concerning the region, however, the evaluation of female economic activity is a complex undertaking since the participation of women in the labour force responds not only to those variables which act upon male participation such as age structure, the demand for labour, the extent of education, and social security legislation, but also to such factors as marital status, number and age of children, husband's income level, and various social constraints which also stem from the traditionally dependent position both within the family and in society.

The problem also shares with other issues the common lack of adequate data. Data are still not available with which to measure the effect on activity rates of age and number of children^{1/}, and the latter variable has been tabulated for only the 1960 censuses of a limited number of countries. For specific problems and certain countries even the most elementary information is lacking^{2/}. In part, this shortcoming may be traced to women's work role (primarily child-rearing and household work)

1/ Tabulations are available for a limited number of countries from the OMUECE (Operación Muestreo de Censos) Census Tabulation Programme of the Latin American Demographic Center's (CELADE) Data Bank.

2/ In general, information for the 1950's and 1960's is very incomplete. As a result of the latest censuses only a few countries in the region have data which may be considered a significant improvement over what was available in the past while in some cases the 1970 census round proved a disappointment.

which may obscure the measurement of even conventionally defined economic activity especially in the instance of unpaid labour in rural areas^{3/}.

For most of Latin America the proportion of women and girls over 10 years of age who are active in the labour force still hovers at around 20 per cent, a low level which has remained fairly constant for over twenty years. In some countries for which comparative census data are available, such as Argentina, Brazil, Panama and Venezuela, female participation rates have risen significantly during the 1960's reaching 25 per cent in Panama and almost that in Argentina (Table 1). In the cases of Chile and Nicaragua the trend has been reversed as a slight reduction in overall female economic activity has been experienced.

Nevertheless, even the highest levels reported for any Latin American country are far below those of other world regions. Age specific participation rates from the 1960 and 1970 census rounds show that the highest degree of economic activity to be concentrated in the 20-24 year-age groups, and that between the ages of 15 and 65, the average woman in Latin America worked only between 10-13 years. In the United States and Western Europe, she worked between 14.8 and 21.8 years. For Japan the average was 26 years and the figures for the socialist countries of eastern Europe are even higher: 28 years for Hungary, 32 for Czechoslovakia and 34 for Romania^{4/}.

3/ A study of human resources in Ecuador adjusted the rural female participation rates reported in that country's 1962 census upward by somewhat over 50 per cent in order to overcome the tremendous enumeration errors present. See: Ecuador, Junta Nacional de Planificación y Coordinación. Plan Ecuatoriano para el desarrollo de los recursos humanos. (Quito, 1970), Volumen I, p. 89. In the case of the 1970 Mexican census, the fact that 32.2 per cent of the female labour force are registered in the residual unclassified group of occupations leaves room for doubt about the usefulness of the data for analysis of female economic activity.

4/ Juan C. Elizaga "The Participation of Women in the Labour Force of Latin America: Fertility and other Factors". International Labour Review 109; 5-6 (May-June, 1974), p. 519.

Table 1

FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES IN SELECTED LATIN AMERICAN
COUNTRIES, 1960 AND 1970
(percentages)

Country	Participation rate ^{a/}	
	around 1960	around 1970
Argentina	21.2	24.5
Brasil	16.5	18.5
Chile	19.3	18.2
Mexico	16.1	16.4
Nicaragua	18.7	17.0
Panama	20.1	25.7
Venezuela ^{b/}	20.2	22.6

^{a/} 10 years of age and over.

^{b/} 15 years of age and over.

Source: Samples from censuses for whole country.

The positive correlation which exists between the evolution of urbanization-industrialization and female participation in the labour force explains to a certain degree the higher activity rates for women in the more developed countries. Not only are opportunities for employment in the urban areas more plentiful, but the higher levels of education and the lower fertility rates which are often sustained as correlates of industrial expansion and urban growth enhance the supply of female labour. It is curious, however, that for the larger, more dynamic societies of Latin America, those which have been urbanized longest or in which the secondary sector has developed a broader base, that the participation of women remains so notably below the levels to be found in other cultures. This is true even for those countries such as Argentina and Uruguay which have already completed demographic transition to moderate rates of population increase with low fertility and mobility. In spite of the fact that the burden of child care is no greater than in most industrialized countries as an impediment to female economic activity, women's participation is significantly lower.

Although fertility is certainly a determinant of female economic activity, it would seem not to explain fully the differences in participation rates just noted. It is, of course, a commonplace that a negative correlation exists between female economic activity and the number and age of children. In this regard, Costa Rica affords a particularly illustrative example. Until 1963, the participation of women was less than 16 per cent. But as the decade advanced, fertility declined sharply and towards the end of the 1960's the global female rate had risen to 21 per cent. On the other hand in Chile the participation rate of women over 24 years of age with only one child

hardly differs from that of childless women. Number of children appear as a significant variable from the second child and is particularly strong for women under 30 years of age with three children or more^{5/}.

Undoubtedly, if the age of the children were also employed in the analysis, it would be found to have a strong influence over economic participation as well. But the central question remains as to how great an increase in the female labour force may be expected as a consequence of expanded family planning. In Latin America about half of all women in child bearing age (15-44 years of age) are married or living in consensual union. That portion is reduced considerably if the number of married women without children or with one or two children are not included. As a result of this deduction of women who would hardly be affected by family planning, only about 25 per cent of the women between the ages of 15 and 44 years of age remain for whom the decision to have more children or enter the labour force might exist if the two were considered incompatible^{6/}. Thus, it would appear that a decline in fertility could not be expected to lead to any great increase in overall female activity. This conclusion is supported by recent trends in Chile where a reduction of approximately 25 per cent in fertility between 1960 and 1970 was accompanied by a decline in female participation.

The other relevant variables must be turned to as those factors which most condition the entrance of women into the labour market.

5/ Elizaga, *ibid*, pp. 535-36 and Victoria Ostrovich: Característica y evolución de la población económicamente activa de Chile, 1940-1960 (Santiago, Universidad de Chile, Centro de Estudios socio-económicos, 1970), pp. 30-31.

6/ Elizaga, *ibid*, pp. 525-26.

Illustrative of this is the case of Mexico for which it has been shown that demographic variables account but for a slight increase in female activity since 1950^{7/}. To a great extent the economic activity of women in Latin America is a function of the degree of their dependence on men or, expressed in another manner, of their traditional role in the family. In this regard it is significant that throughout the region the participation of single women is several times higher than that of married women, reaching a ratio of 5:1 in the age group 20-24. In the instance of married women and those living in consensual union, family income level, the husband's condition of employment, the attitude of society with respect to working wives and mothers, and that of employers to hiring married women and incurring consequent liabilities to higher labour costs under labour regulations governing maternal leave greatly influence female economic participation. Education, discrimination against female labour in certain jobs and the degree of modernization of the economic structure are also primary determinants of the availability of job opportunities for women regardless of marital status. Although a large and growing body of literature exists which deals with the importance of these variables in delineating levels of female economic activity, it is important to note that their operation shapes the pattern and conditions of female employment as well and affects the degree of utilization of those women who are already in the labour market^{8/}.

7/ El Colegio de Mexico, Dinámica de la población de México, pp. 155, 164-68.

8/ The importance of these variables as determinants of female economic activity is dealt with in a large and growing body of literature of which the following references are representative: Chapter V, "La actividad económica de la mujer y la fecundidad" in Comisión Económica para América Latina; Población y desarrollo (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1974); Elizaga, op.cit.; Angel Fucaraccio: El trabajo femenino en Bolivia, and El trabajo de la mujer en Chile en 1970 (Santiago, CELADE, 1974 mimeo); Aída Rodríguez and Susana Schkolnik, Chile y Guatemala: Factores que afectan la participación femenina en la actividad económica (Santiago: CELADE, 1974); Chapter IX "Demographic Aspects of Manpower" in United Nations, The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends (New York, 1973, Sales No. E.71.XIII.5).

2. Employment and the Underutilization of Female Labour.

Finding a job, the type of work, working hours and wage levels for women depend as much on the conventions which define women's role in society as on the overall demand-supply situation of labour. But just as important is recognition that the differentiated pattern of employment which derives from this condition is not only a matter of sex but one of class as well. Women from all socio-economic backgrounds may be at a disadvantage with respect to men at the same levels of education and experience but the conditions of this discrimination and the behaviour of women who are in the job market or already employed tend to vary according to class and income level.

Without consideration to their social background, women who are not heads of households have been found to respond differently to changing labour market conditions from male family breadwinners. Symptomatic of their dependent condition this behaviour has led them to be grouped together with youth and males who are not household heads in the category of "secondary labour force"^{2/}. Two phenomena are indicated in this category: entry into the labour market and the incidence of unemployment. Under circumstances of expanded demand for labour and low rates of unemployment the secondary labour market increases more as job opportunities become available and the "additional worker" is attracted into the labour force. On the other hand, labour participation for women falls considerably during periods of slack labour demand as the "discouraged" worker effect takes hold and women who are often employed in those positions which are elastic to overall labour market conditions, or who view themselves as "last hired and first fired" retreat from the job market.

^{2/} Programa Regional del Empleo para América Latina y el Caribe, La política de empleo en América Latina, (Santiago, 1974).

Recent data for certain countries in which open unemployment is a serious problem indicate that women in the labour force are much more affected by unemployment than men. Unemployment among women in Latin America may be found to reach rates which are 2-3 times that to be found among men in the same age group. In Panama (1970), the unemployment rate for women was 16.8 per cent while men averaged only 7.4 per cent. The same situation was true for Santo Domingo (1973) where the rates for women aged 25-54 was 20 per cent and for men in the same age group it varied between 6 and 9 per cent depending on whether or not they were heads of households. Similar situations were uncovered for El Salvador (1971) with rates of 46 per cent for women and 9,5 per cent for men and through experimental surveys conducted since 1972 for Asunción and the marginal districts of Managua^{10/}.

It should be noted, however, that the above cases reflect the situation of women under conditions of moderate to high overall unemployment with rates ranging from 7 to over 10 per cent or for specific groups with chronic employment problems e.g. residents of marginal areas in Managua. Unemployment rates for women in countries where global open unemployment is not a serious problem register a mixed pattern with female unemployment higher than male in Mexico (1970) but lower in Argentina (1970) and Brazil (1970). It is plausible that factors such as the economic structure, degree of modernization or short term economic cycles may explain such differences. If sufficient data were available for women according to socio-economic groups, however, country differences would probably be less significant than those deriving from class background. In low income groups where the head of the household is often without regular employment

^{10/} Census returns for Panama and El Salvador and Programa Regional del Empleo para América Latina y el Caribe, La subutilización de la mano de obra urbana en países subdesarrollados (August, 1974).

or receives an excessively fluctuating remuneration from his occupation, women are under intense pressure to seek work in order to supplement or stabilize the family income. On the other hand, in middle and upper class families where the breadwinner holds a position which is generally stable in providing an adequate income women can better afford "the luxury" of waiting for more favorable economic conditions in which at relative leisure they may look for a job suitable to their generally better preparation.

Suggestive of this situation is the higher number of persons in the labour force per household for low income groups versus higher groups in Lima and Santo Domingo as well as changes in the participation rates for women in Bogota during the period 1963 to 1966 ^{11/}. The latter data indicated that total participation rates for both sexes between the ages 15 to 54 fell as unemployment rose. The association was such that a 1 per cent increase in the unemployment rate was accompanied by a 2.6 per cent decrease in the participation rate. For women in the 15-19 year old age group and older women aged 45-49, however, a positive relation existed so that an increase of about 1 per cent in the rate of unemployment was correlated to an increase of 2 to 2.6 per cent in their participation rate.

Discrimination against women in the labour market also has significant implications for the underemployment of female labour. In terms of income, women are paid at lower wage rates than men. As may be seen in Table 2 women are more highly represented at the lowest income levels than men for the five countries surveyed. In such countries as Brazil, Chile, Panama and Venezuela the proportion of women in low paying jobs is several times or more that of men. On the other hand, the situation is reversed at the level of the highest paying occupations where the participation of women is only a fraction of that of men. Although in part this situation arises from the traditional role assigned to women and the great demands on their

^{11/} See Robert Lewis, Employment Income and the Growth of the Barriadas in Lima, Perú, (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1973); PREALC, La subutilización; op.cit. and Miguel Urrutia "El desempleo disfrazado en Colombia" in Empleo y desempleo en Colombia (Bogotá, Centro de Estudios sobre Desarrollo Económico, 1968), pp. 39-52.

Table 2
DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME BY SEX OF INCOME RECEIVERS FOR SEVEN
LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES
(Percentages)

Country, year and level of income	Total	Men	Women
BRAZIL, 1970, Wage earners			
Low incomes	5.6	3.1	13.2
Middle incomes	91.6	93.5	86.1
High incomes	2.8	3.4	0.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0
COLOMBIA, 1970, employed persons			
Low incomes	40.4	38.0	47.0
Middle incomes	58.8	61.0	52.8
High incomes	0.8	1.0	0.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0
CHILE, 1968, non-agricultural workers			
Low incomes	14.0	7.4	27.4
Middle incomes	83.0	88.4	72.0
High incomes	2.9	4.2	0.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0
CHILE, 1968, non agricultural employees and entrepreneurs			
Low incomes	21.9	14.6	38.1
Middle incomes	70.7	75.5	60.1
High incomes	7.4	9.9	1.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0
PANAMA, 1972, non-agricultural wage-earners			
Low incomes	16.6	5.7	34.4
Middle incomes	77.1	85.4	63.4
High incomes	6.3	8.9	2.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0
VENEZUELA, 1971, non-agricultural entrepreneurs			
Low incomes	35.6	26.6	32.0
Middle incomes	57.6	65.4	67.1
High incomes	6.8	8.0	0.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0
VENEZUELA, 1971, non-agricultural wage-earners			
Low incomes	5.0	1.9	13.0
Middle incomes	87.1	88.4	84.0
High incomes	7.9	9.7	3.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0

1/ The dividing lines in the national tabulations do not correspond consistently to comparable income categories. The following criterion was therefore adopted for present purposes: the low income category corresponds to the lowest income stratum in each national tabulation; the high income category correspond to the two highest income strata; and the middle income category comprises all the remaining strata.

Source: Tabulations from national household surveys made by ECLA-IBRD Project on Measurement and Analysis of Income Distribution in Latin American Countries.

time and energy made by household labour which causes them to seek only part-time work away from the home, the data in Table 2 also reflect the condition in which women are employed in the same job category as men but at lower salaries. Further illustrative of this is the case of Chilean women working in factories who receive less for their labour than their male counterparts. The mean salary for women employed in non-agricultural activities in Brazil is only 60 per cent of that paid to men, and in Santo Domingo women with a fixed wage are paid considerably less in the private business sector than men who had the same degree of education. This is true for all educational levels even for women with university training for whom the differences in remuneration with men were several times less^{12/}.

In comparison with men, the minority of women in Latin America who enter the labour force have received a better education (Tables 3 and 4). Census data for thirteen countries in 1960 and for six countries in 1970 show a lower percentage of the female than the male labour force with no education or only three years of schooling. Not very much difference between the sexes exists for those with an elementary background. But in terms of years of attendance, the educational advantage of those women who are economically active is particularly apparent at the secondary and higher levels where the percentages of active women with ten years or more of schooling are in all cases much higher than those of men. University enrolments, however, indicate a disproportionately high percentage of women in the humanities and education while they are under represented in the social sciences, natural sciences, engineering, law and in medical schools.

^{12/} Lucía Ribeiro and M. Teresita de Barbieri, "La mujer obrera chilena" in Cuadernos de la realidad nacional (April, 1973) p. 190; PREALC La subutilización, op.cit. Table IV-12; and Instituto Brasileiro de Geografía y Estadística, Pesquisa nacional por amostra de domicilios, 1st. quarter 1970.

Table 3

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS BY SEX FOR ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION FOR SOME LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES
1970

Country	Sex	Years of study completed							
		Total	None	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13 and more	Not stated
ARGENTINA	Men	100.0	0.0	16.8	21.6	37.0	10.4	5.7	8.5
	Women	100.0	0.0	12.8	16.5	35.6	20.9	6.4	7.8
	Total	100.0	0.0	15.8	20.3	36.7	13.1	5.9	8.3
CHILE	Men	100.0	9.1	16.6	32.2	12.9	12.0	3.6	13.5
	Women	100.0	5.3	11.5	29.5	13.3	18.4	5.4	16.7
	Total	100.0	8.2	15.5	31.6	13.0	13.5	4.0	14.3
NICARAGUA	Men	100.0	51.9	18.0	17.7	3.8	2.5	2.3	3.8
	Women	100.0	33.4	20.3	27.4	6.8	6.7	2.0	3.3
	Total	100.0	47.9	18.5	19.8	4.5	3.4	2.3	3.7
MEXICO	Men	100.0	27.5	32.0	28.1	6.0	2.9	3.5	0.0
	Women	100.0	25.4	23.4	35.7	1.8	6.9	2.7	0.0
	Total	100.0	27.1	30.5	29.7	5.9	3.7	3.3	0.0
PANAMA	Men	100.0	20.1	18.5	39.0	10.2	8.0	4.2	0.1
	Women	100.0	8.7	9.8	40.1	14.4	18.9	8.1	0.1
	Total	100.0	17.2	16.3	39.3	11.3	10.8	5.2	0.1
PARAGUAY	Men	100.0	10.2	37.4	36.5	7.6	4.4	2.2	1.7
	Women	100.0	10.7	26.8	38.7	8.3	9.2	4.2	2.3
	Total	100.0	10.3	35.1	37.0	7.8	5.4	2.6	1.9

Source: ECLA - UNICEF: Census Analysis Program (OMUECE) for 1970 national census returns.

Table 4

EDUCATIONAL LEVELS BY SEX FOR ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION FOR SOME LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES
1960

Country	Sex	Years of study completed							
		Total	None	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13 and more	Not stated
ARGENTINA	Men	100.0	7.3	25.8	46.0	4.8	7.7	4.3	4.2
	Women	100.0	5.3	19.5	45.3	4.4	16.4	4.6	4.5
	Total	100.0	6.9	24.4	45.8	4.7	9.6	4.4	4.2
CHILE	Men	100.0	15.0	21.8	35.2	12.2	9.2	2.3	4.3
	Women	100.0	11.0	19.6	35.1	12.6	12.9	2.3	6.5
	Total	100.0	14.1	21.3	35.2	12.3	10.0	2.3	4.5
BRASIL	Men	100.0	41.6	31.9	18.7	1.8	2.6	2.8	0.5
	Women	100.0	41.6	24.5	21.4	1.8	4.9	5.3	0.5
	Total	100.0	41.6	30.6	19.2	1.8	3.0	3.2	0.5
COSTA RICA	Men	100.0	17.5	36.5	35.2	4.8	3.5	2.3	0.2
	Women	100.0	7.9	26.7	40.8	9.3	6.4	8.8	0.3
	Total	100.0	15.8	34.8	36.2	5.6	4.0	3.4	0.2
ECUADOR	Men	100.0	29.7	30.7	30.6	4.0	2.9	1.4	0.6
	Women	100.0	33.5	23.0	27.4	4.8	7.4	1.2	2.7
	Total	100.0	30.4	29.3	30.0	4.1	3.7	1.4	1.0
EL SALVADOR	Men	100.0	37.0	23.8	19.4	2.9	1.7	0.6	1.0
	Women	100.0	43.3	25.6	18.4	6.7	5.3	0.1	0.5
	Total	100.0	54.6	24.2	14.2	3.2	2.3	0.5	0.9
GUATEMALA	Men	100.0	3.5	21.4	10.4	1.9	1.2	0.9	60.7
	Women	100.0	1.9	18.2	18.5	5.1	5.9	1.0	49.3
	Total	100.0	3.3	21.0	11.4	2.3	1.8	0.9	59.3
HONDURAS	Men	100.0	55.7	27.3	11.0	1.2	1.6	0.7	2.6
	Women	100.0	39.2	23.8	20.5	4.6	8.8	0.5	2.7
	Total	100.0	53.5	26.9	12.3	1.7	2.6	0.6	2.6
MEXICO	Men	100.0	36.2	33.4	23.6	3.7	1.6	1.5	0.0
	Women	100.0	30.7	24.1	28.4	10.0	5.2	1.8	0.0
	Total	100.0	35.4	32.2	24.3	4.6	2.1	1.6	0.0
PANAMA	Men	100.0	24.8	21.9	35.5	8.2	6.7	2.7	0.3
	Women	100.0	8.6	10.7	42.1	13.8	19.6	4.9	0.3
	Total	100.0	21.3	19.5	36.9	9.4	9.5	3.2	0.3
PARAGUAY	Men	100.0	14.4	44.6	28.9	3.1	3.2	4.5	1.3
	Women	100.0	18.2	34.3	32.5	2.9	4.0	6.7	1.4
	Total	100.0	15.3	42.3	29.7	3.1	3.4	5.0	1.4
REP. DOMINICANA	Men	100.0	34.2	38.5	17.8	6.5	2.0	1.0	0.0
	Women	100.0	26.2	32.1	19.2	12.9	7.9	1.8	0.0
	Total	100.0	33.3	37.8	18.0	7.2	2.6	1.1	0.0
URUGUAY	Men	100.0	9.8	25.3	44.3	11.6	5.5	3.0	0.6
	Women	100.0	7.8	17.9	44.7	14.3	6.5	3.3	2.6
	Total	100.0	9.3	23.5	44.4	12.2	6.5	3.0	1.1

Source: ECLA - UNICEF: Census Analysis Program (OMUECE) for 1960 national census returns.

Commonly women with higher educational backgrounds are unable to find jobs which fully utilize their advanced preparation. This problem is reflected in data from the 1970 censuses of Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Panama and Paraguay. For all of these countries (with the exception of Mexico), the educational level of women who occupy middle and upper strata positions in industry and services is significantly higher than that of men who occupy the same job level (Table 5). This indicates the greater demand which the labour market imposes upon women and questions the extent to which the talents of highly trained women are fully utilized.

The different behaviour evidenced in Mexico is interesting to note taking into consideration the overall low participation of women noted earlier in Table 1 and the better educational background of women especially at the secondary level and the very low percentage of Mexican women in industrial employment (see Table 5), it may be inferred that an exceptionally high degree of discrimination against women in the labour force exists with a consequently large underutilization of human resources. In a country which has expanded its economic base considerably over the last two decades and undergone rapid urbanization the situation of Mexican women appears to be dependent on high fertility rates which have only recently begun to decline and cultural patterns which restrict female activities.

For those who seek work the cultural bias which more qualified women still must confront in their search for jobs compatible with their preparation was manifest in Chile. Studies based upon interviews with industrial supervisory personnel in different cities of that country have shown the overwhelming reluctance of these men to accept women who had

Table 5

OCCUPATIONAL STRATA ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY SEX, 1970.
(percentages)

	Argentina		Chile		Mexico		Panama		Paraguay	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Middle and upper strata (other than primary occupations)										
0-9 ^{a/}	62.0	46.2	53.0	48.3	74.7	74.4	50.7	38.9	58.9	49.3
10 and more	38.0	53.8	47.0	51.7	25.3	25.5	49.3	61.1	41.1	50.7
<u>Total</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>
Lower strata in secondary sector										
0-9	92.6	92.8	92.1	91.0	97.7	98.2	89.7	93.7	95.6	98.2
10 and more	7.4	7.2	7.9	9.0	2.3	1.8	10.3	6.3	4.4	1.8
<u>Total</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>
Lower strata in tertiary sector										
0-9	92.3	97.0	88.8	97.5	96.2	98.9	90.5	97.7	88.2	99.2
10 and more	7.7	3.0	11.2	2.5	3.8	1.1	9.5	2.3	11.8	0.8
<u>Total</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>
Middle and upper strata in primary sector										
0-9	87.0	86.2	69.7	62.5	96.4	100.0	91.6	100.0	88.8	71.4
10 and more	13.0	13.8	30.3	37.5	3.6	0.0	8.4	0.0	11.2	28.6
<u>Total</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>
Lower strata in primary sector										
0-9	98.3	98.8	98.3	97.4	99.4	98.2	99.4	99.5	99.5	99.8
10 and more	1.7	1.2	1.7	2.6	0.6	1.8	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.2
<u>Total</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>
Other										
0-9	84.1	80.5	84.8	80.9	95.7	97.1	78.3	83.6	91.6	88.8
10 and more	15.9	19.5	15.2	19.1	4.3	2.9	21.7	16.4	8.4	11.2
<u>Total</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>

^{a/} Includes those for which data were not available.

Source: Samples from censuses for whole country.

graduated from technical secondary schools in either a technical or lower supervisory capacity consistent with their qualifications. These are but illustrations of the significant loss of highly qualified human resources to Latin American economies which persist as a result of social prejudices and family behavioural patterns^{13/}.

3. Occupational stratification: recent trends and the relative position of women.

Modernization, sustained economic growth and the rapid expansion of formal education including greater access to university careers formerly closed to them have contributed to an improved position for women in occupational stratification. For the moment, comparable and reliable census data with which to gauge changes in the hierarchy of positions which women have entered during the 1960's are only available for four countries (Table 6). These data indicate a considerable entry of women into occupations in the middle and upper categories with percentage increases far superior to those for men. The meaning of this shift for the status of women in each country, however, varies somewhat from the perspective of the internal composition of the general categories.

A more detailed examination of the data reveals that significant increases in the highest levels of the middle and upper strata were registered only for Argentina with an expansion in the number of women in managerial positions and in Chile where the gains were registered for female professionals and semi-professionals dependent on salaries. The category of self-employed with own commercial establishment also showed

^{13/} Oficina Central de Coordinación y Planificación, La Planificación y la Situación Actual de los Recursos Humanos en Venezuela (julio, 1972), p. 16; Alicja Ivansko, "Final Report from the Mission: Pilot Project on the Access of Women to Technological Careers" (UNESCO, Reg./CH/LSOC/1.), June 1970; M. Teresita de Barbieri, Acceso de la Mujer a las Carreras y Ocupaciones Tecnológicas de Nivel Medio (ELAS/UNESCO, enero, 1972).

Table 6
PERCENTAGE CHANGES IN OCCUPATIONAL STRATA FOR WOMEN AND MEN, 1960 TO 1970

	Argentina		Chile		Panamá		Paraguay	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
I. <u>Middle and upper strata (other than primary occupations)</u>	<u>-0.9</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>4.4</u>	<u>9.3</u>	<u>3.8</u>	<u>6.7</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>5.9</u>
a) Employers	-4.4	-1.9	1.4	1.4	-0.4	-0.1	-0.1	0.7
b) Managerial personnel	3.0	3.6	-0.4	0.0	0.9	0.3	0.1	0.2
c) Independent professionals and semi-professionals	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
d) Dependent professionals	0.5	-0.2	0.9	3.3	0.8	0.5	0.3	1.5
e) Self-employed with own commercial establishment	1.8	2.6	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.8	0.2	1.2
f) Employees, sales personnel, auxiliaries	-2.3	-0.3	7.8	4.2	2.1	5.4	0.4	2.2
II. <u>Lower strata in secondary sector</u>	<u>6.3</u>	<u>-3.9</u>	<u>1.6</u>	<u>-2.3</u>	<u>9.1</u>	<u>2.7</u>	<u>4.6</u>	<u>-5.9</u>
a) Wage workers	3.0	-2.7	0.4	-1.9	7.4	3.3	2.6	-1.2
b) Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	3.3	-1.2	1.2	-0.4	1.7	0.6	2.0	-4.7
III. <u>Lower strata in tertiary sector</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>1.1</u>	<u>-0.6</u>	<u>-9.4</u>	<u>1.2</u>	<u>-1.0</u>	<u>-1.8</u>	<u>7.5</u>
a) Wage workers in services	-0.2	0.6	-0.5	-9.0	0.5	-0.8	-1.8	5.5
b) Own-account workers and unpaid family workers in services	0.2	0.5	-0.1	-0.4	0.7	-0.2	0.0	2.0
IV. <u>Middle and upper strata in primary sector</u>	<u>-2.6</u>	<u>-0.1</u>	<u>0.4</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>-0.4</u>	<u>-0.1</u>	<u>-0.8</u>	<u>-0.2</u>
a) Employers in agriculture and extractive enterprises	-2.6	-0.1	0.4	0.0	-0.4	-0.1	-0.8	-0.2
V. <u>Lower strata in primary sector</u>	<u>-1.4</u>	<u>-0.9</u>	<u>-8.1</u>	<u>-1.7</u>	<u>-6.7</u>	<u>0.7</u>	<u>-1.1</u>	<u>-7.6</u>
a) Rural wage workers	-1.6	-0.5	-7.7	-0.9	1.1	-0.2	-1.8	-1.4
b) Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	0.2	-0.4	-0.3	-0.8	-7.8	0.9	0.7	-6.1
VI. <u>Other</u>	<u>-1.3</u>	<u>-0.4</u>	<u>2.3</u>	<u>4.2</u>	<u>-7.0</u>	<u>-9.2</u>	<u>-1.9</u>	<u>0.2</u>

Source: 1960 and 1970 samples from censuses for whole country.

important gains in Argentina but it is difficult to interpret in terms of increased female participation in high income-high status occupations a category which ranges from the owners of sophisticated boutiques of Buenos Aires to the operators of petty general stores. The category of white-collar employees, sales personnel, etc. showed an important absorption of women relative to men particularly in Panama. Such an increase associated with a high proportion of women employees and sales personnel in the urban female labour force (22.9 per cent in 1970; see Table 7) presumably indicates a great deal of low productivity employment in commerce and public administration.

Female participation in industrial employment declined except in the case of Panama where, in any event, the gains were meager compared with those reported for men. In Chile there was also a marked drop in lower level tertiary employment, which was almost entirely accounted for by the sharp relative decline in domestic servants. This category fell from a third of the female labour force in 1960 to about a quarter in 1970. On the other hand, it increased significantly in Paraguay. Together with the very high participation rate of 58 per cent registered for women aged 15-64 in Asunción, this probably reflects the frequency with which Paraguayan women are found to be heads of households^{14/}.

^{14/} Family patterns resulting in a high incidence of women working away from home has also been reported for Caracas. See PREAIC La situación y perspectivas del empleo en Paraguay 1973 (Santiago, 1973, mimeo) and CEPAL, "La actividad económica femenina y fecundidad" en Población y desarrollo, op.cit.

Table 7

OCCUPATIONAL STRATA BY SEX, 1970
(percentages)

	Argentina		Chile		Mexico		Nicaragua		Panamá		Paraguay	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
I. <u>Middle and upper strata (other than primary occupations)</u>	<u>28.3</u>	<u>43.4</u>	<u>21.4</u>	<u>38.1</u>	<u>19.9</u>	<u>32.2</u>	<u>11.3</u>	<u>31.2</u>	<u>15.8</u>	<u>39.2</u>	<u>11.0</u>	<u>23.9</u>
a) Employers	5.2	1.6	2.4	1.9	4.4	4.8	1.0	1.1	1.1	0.8	1.4	1.3
b) Managerial personnel	4.2	4.0	1.2	0.9	1.5	1.2	0.9	0.4	2.8	1.1	0.4	0.2
c) Independent professionals and semi-professionals	1.1	1.5	0.6	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.8
d) Dependent professionals	2.5	14.1	3.5	13.7	2.8	6.6	1.9	8.6	3.0	12.2	1.3	9.7
e) Self-employed with own commercial establishment	4.5	4.0	3.3	4.8	2.7	3.7	2.4	10.1	1.1	2.0	2.6	4.9
f) Employees, sales personnel, auxiliaries	10.8	18.1	10.3	15.9	7.6	15.3	4.5	10.4	7.4	22.9	4.8	7.0
II. <u>Lower strata in secondary sector</u>	<u>40.0</u>	<u>16.5</u>	<u>35.9</u>	<u>18.2</u>	<u>24.4</u>	<u>10.9</u>	<u>21.8</u>	<u>16.0</u>	<u>27.5</u>	<u>12.7</u>	<u>20.9</u>	<u>32.8</u>
a) Wage workers	32.8	11.8	29.1	10.7	19.9	7.8	16.5	6.3	22.0	8.0	14.5	7.8
b) Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	7.2	4.8	6.8	7.5	4.6	3.1	5.2	9.7	5.5	4.7	6.4	25.0
III. <u>Lower strata in tertiary sector</u>	<u>4.1</u>	<u>27.2</u>	<u>3.9</u>	<u>33.3</u>	<u>3.0</u>	<u>18.6</u>	<u>3.1</u>	<u>37.5</u>	<u>5.6</u>	<u>33.4</u>	<u>2.3</u>	<u>27.7</u>
a) Wage workers in services	3.6	25.0	3.5	30.2	2.5	14.7	2.5	33.8	4.6	28.3	1.9	24.7
b) Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	0.4	2.2	0.3	3.0	0.5	3.9	0.6	3.7	1.0	5.1	0.4	3.0
IV. <u>Middle and upper strata in primary sector</u>	<u>1.7</u>	<u>0.2</u>	<u>0.9</u>	<u>0.2</u>	<u>1.0</u>	<u>0.2</u>	<u>2.0</u>	<u>0.1</u>	<u>0.3</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>0.8</u>	<u>0.1</u>
a) Employers in agriculture and extractive enterprises	1.7	0.3	0.9	0.2	1.0	0.2	2.0	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.8	0.1
V. <u>Lower strata in primary sector</u>	<u>16.5</u>	<u>3.2</u>	<u>27.8</u>	<u>2.4</u>	<u>42.1</u>	<u>5.9</u>	<u>54.2</u>	<u>5.9</u>	<u>47.3</u>	<u>6.4</u>	<u>58.8</u>	<u>12.8</u>
a) Rural wage workers	10.0	1.3	18.6	1.2	21.6	3.3	25.2	3.3	9.0	0.4	11.5	1.5
b) Own-account workers and unpaid family workers	6.5	1.9	9.3	1.2	20.5	2.6	29.0	2.6	38.4	6.0	47.3	11.4
VI. <u>Other</u>	<u>9.5</u>	<u>9.4</u>	<u>10.1</u>	<u>7.9</u>	<u>9.6</u>	<u>32.2</u>	<u>7.7</u>	<u>9.3</u>	<u>3.5</u>	<u>8.2</u>	<u>6.2</u>	<u>2.6</u>
<u>Total</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>	<u>100.0</u>

Source: Samples from censuses for whole country.

In summary, the upward shift in female employment represents an improvement in their position relative to men. But this is by no means an unqualified advance. The fact that, with the exception of the increment in female managerial personnel in Argentina, most of the change was to be found in such categories as dependent professionals, small entrepreneurs in commerce, employees and sales personnel questions the significance of gains in the equality of women in the labour force. Rather it is suggestive of the continuing expansion of those types of intermediary activities for which men do not compete, of the overall growth of make-work jobs in public administration, of the disadvantage of women in those professions offering the possibility of independent practice which traditionally have been the domain of men such as medicine, architecture, and engineering; and the continued predisposition of women to enter those areas of study which serve more ornamental than professional purposes for them.

The continuing marginal position of women in the labour force is apparent from a cross-sectional analysis of their position in 1970. In the six countries for which data are available although women are more represented than men in the middle and upper strata, the bulk of their participation is in the categories of employees, sales personnel and dependent professionals (Table 7). From one fifth to one third of the female labour force is to be found in the lower strata of the tertiary sector. As may be seen in Table 8, this high percentage of women reached overwhelming proportions in some countries in 1960. They have commonly been over-represented in this category, which includes much low productivity-low income employment, and with the exception of Chile the situation has not improved much even worsening in several instances. On the other hand their participation in industrial occupations is often only half the percentage for men.

Table 8

ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION IN LOWER STRATA OF TERTIARY
SECTOR BY SEX, 1960 AND 1970

Country	around 1960		around 1970	
	% women	% men	% women	% men
Argentina	26.1	4.1	27.2	4.1
Bolivia	-	-		
Brazil	23.9	3.2		
Colombia	-	-		
Costa Rica	41.5	3.1		
Cuba	-	-		
Chile	42.7	4.5	33.3	3.9
Ecuador	26.1	2.6		
El Salvador	37.7	1.7		
Guatemala	38.4	1.5		
Haiti	-	-		
Honduras	44.8	2.5		
Mexico ^{a/}	29.5	3.7	18.6	3.0
Nicaragua	-	-	37.5	3.1
Panama	34.3	4.4	33.4	5.6
Paraguay	20.2	4.1	27.7	2.3
Perú	-	-		
Rep. Dominicana	43.4	1.9		
Uruguay	33.4	6.2		
Venezuela	-	-		

^{a/} The decline shown between 1960 and 1970 is questionable in view of the high percentage of women placed in residual unclassified group: 32.2 per cent in 1970 versus 12.2 per cent in 1960.

Source: 1960 and 1970 samples from censuses for whole country.

The data presented earlier on participation rates, education, unemployment and occupational stratification lead to some further conclusions regarding trends in female participation in the labour force. On the one hand urbanization, sustained economic growth, the modernization of urban economies, large scale migration of young women to metropolitan centers and the rapid expansion of secondary and university education for girls in urban areas has led to a marked increase in office work, commercial occupations, and dependent professional employment in teaching, health and welfare^{15/}. According to the age specific and marital status participation rates, it may be concluded that women enter these jobs before marriage and generally withdraw after the second child perhaps to reenter once the children have grown. This is not the case for women of very low income urban families who are often under intense pressure to find work to supplement the family income regardless of the number of children they may have^{16/}.

^{15/} Although comparable data on female economic activity for Mexico City indicate the coexistence of two economic systems, the trend from 1950 on points to the growing prevalence of modern techniques of distribution, services and administration especially favourable to the employment of the better educated younger generation of women. See: CEPAL "La actividad económica femenina" op.cit.

^{16/} In Santiago, Chile, although participation rates for this group are low, nonetheless a positive rather than inverse association exists between economic participation and number of children for women with less than six years of education who work as "empleadas" many of whom due to a legal peculiarity in the Chilean classification system of occupations are really low level factory workers. See: Fucaraccio, El trabajo de la mujer, op.cit. Part I. Poignant interviews with these factory women who work to sustain the family income are reproduced in Ribeiro and Barbieri, "La mujer obrera chilena" op.cit.

In a labour market unable to absorb the male labour force productively and an inadequate expansion of jobs in the secondary sector, women have fallen further behind men in finding employment in industry. Although day-care centers for children are more numerous they are available only to those who can afford them and generally not within the reach of the lower income female strata who must work either because of the precarious employment situation of the husband or because as a result of marital instability they themselves are heads of families and thus in the most desperate situation of all. In those cases where child care facilities are provided by the firm this is usually paid for in terms of exceptionally low wages^{17/}. Contradictions of this kind are also true in instances of modernization of the economic structure. New areas of industrialization may provide more job opportunities for women but if absorbed they are hired only at lower skill and wage levels^{18/}. For lower strata married women employment outside the home does not result in equalizing woman's role in the family. On the contrary it merely adds an additional burden with the consequent double responsibility of home and job often resulting in nervous disorders and extreme psychological stress^{19/}. Even legislation governing female labour such as that barring physical exertion, overtime or night work offers a dubious protection to women and usually adversely influences the type of work and wage rates offered women.

17/ See: Ribeiro and Barbieri, op.cit.

18/ Ibid.; Ivansko, Final Report, op.cit.; Barbieri, Acceso, op.cit. and Neuma "The Impact of Industrialization on Women's Work Role in the Northeast of Brazil", paper presented to the Conference on Feminine Perspectives on Social Science Research in Latin America (Buenos Aires, March, 1974, mimeo).

19/ Ribeiro and Barbieri, op.cit.