

PJ-AAx-065

Children

ISN 50054
Women in Development
Agency for International Development
Room 3243, New State
Washington, D.C. 20523
(202) 632-3992

Date of Acquisition _____
Source _____

THE BURDENED WOMEN:
WOMEN'S WORK AND CHILD CARE
IN THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

by Vivian M. Mota

OVERSEAS EDUCATION FUND
of the League of Women Voters
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202/466-3430

September 1979

The project's basic research design includes the following data instruments: household survey, literature search, and interviews with policy makers and program planners in government, domestic and international agencies. Details of the design as it was adapted and implemented in Santo Domingo and Oviedo are found in the methodology section in the appendix of this report.

Vivian M. Mota's study was originally published in April, 1979, as "Las Mujeres Agobiadas: El Trabajo de las Mujeres y el Cuidado de los Niños en la República Dominicana." It was translated and edited by Emily DiCicco. Additional data were included, particularly in the English version of the chapter on health and nutrition.

In this study child care is defined as an integrated system of services for mothers and children 0-6 years of age, including health, nutrition, education, and "custodial" care, which is responsive to the child's social, economic and cultural context. These services are usually provided in the absence of the mother while she is working or otherwise occupied. Work is defined as income generating activities, in the home or outside, that lead to income in cash and/or kind.

We are grateful to the Office of Nutrition, Agency for International Development, for funding the project and for continuous commitment to it.* We appreciate the cooperation extended by Dominican government officials, local and international agency personnel and everyone who in one way or another helped personally and professionally during the course of this study.

We are particularly indebted to Vivian Mota for the analysis and collection of data. Special appreciation is given to the mothers who generously gave of their time and opinions.

It is hoped that the findings of this study and the emerging recommendations will make a significant contribution towards policy and program development to meet the needs identified by the low income mothers.

For the Overseas Education Fund:

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*The view and interpretations in this publication are those of the author and should not be attributed to the AID or any individual on its behalf.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The present study has been possible due to the women interviewed, who so generously gave their time and opinions, and the Overseas Education Fund of the League of Women Voters, which sponsored the study.

A series of persons collaborated in the various stages of what up until today was just a project. From beginning to end I have been able to depend upon friendship and collaboration of Gianna Sangiovanni, who assisted in the interviewing in the rural area and in the coding.

The field work supervision was ably handled by Radhames Pina; the interviewers were Ana Lajara, Cleo de la Cruz and Iris Mejia.

Sheila Kunhardt de Bobadilla and Maria Elena Cordova assisted at all times.

Manolo and Michel were always beside me.

I thank them all for their collaboration, trusting that what began more than a year ago will find in these pages its real beginning for the well-being of the over burdened women and of their children.

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CHAPTER I

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

In the Dominican Republic, the participation of low income women in the development process is seriously limited by a variety of structural factors. These include a low educational and technical level, poor health and nutrition, large family size, and limited participation in the labor force, the community and the political process. An additional limiting factor is women's responsibility to provide support and care for children, most crucially those six years of age and younger.

This study presents information on the current patterns and child care needs of 300 low income women in urban Santo Domingo and 40 low income women in the rural community of Oviedo. The study seeks to determine the effects of current child care forms on the labor force participation of women and on the well-being of children. The third objective of the study is to present women's needs and recommendations of alternatives which meet these needs.

The main problems of women are closely related to the general conditions of underdevelopment of the country. Unemployment and under-employment are the principal limitations to the integration of women in the development process, although these are by no means the only factors. The extensive poverty, malnutrition and poor health, as well as educational deficiencies are co-causes of the situation of women.

Within this framework, nevertheless, it is possible to think of strategies to be taken by women, which would require the collaborative assistance of the government, private entities and the women themselves.

Conclusions

1. Low income mothers of young children are in a moment in their lives in which they have experienced the vicissitudes of poverty, and they have certain expectations about their own futures and those of their children. The women are young and receptive to innovation, and their aspirations are usually positive.
2. The average number of children per interviewed woman was not as high as the national average, because in most cases the families would not be considered completed. The youth of the children (39% of the women in Santo Domingo had 2 children six years of age or younger, likewise for

33% of the women in Oviedo) indicates a burden for the women, who in this culture are responsible for their care and attention.

3. The socio-economic and environmental conditions of the families of the interviewed women offer an explanation for the causes of the difficulty that women encounter in caring for young children, and giving them the opportunity for good health and nutrition and an adequate education.
4. Unemployment characterizes the interviewed women of Santo Domingo. Only 23% of them are working, the majority of them in the "service" sector, receiving less than US\$ 50 monthly.* Of these working women, more than half have jobs outside the home.
5. Although 78% of the interviewed women of the rural zone were working, mostly in agriculture, the work available is seasonal and is done in exploitive conditions. The pay for work is so low that even when combined with the spouse's income, household income is less than US\$ 50 per month.
6. Education and training are viewed by women as mediums to obtain work, or obtain a better job. A considerable percentage of the women see the scarcity of employment opportunities as a consequence of a system which cannot be transformed by individuals.
7. The home and the children are the major responsibilities of women, and to them they dedicate some two-thirds of their time. The social relations network of women consists of older daughters, other female relatives and female friends and neighbors. This network is the greatest help that mothers have in doing household chores, and above all, in caring for young children.
8. The child care system in the Dominican Republic and specifically Santo Domingo, is insufficient, in that it covers less than 1% of population 0-8 years of age. On the other hand, the services currently offered are precarious. The monthly cost is about US\$ 50 per month, the personnel are not adequately trained, the buildings are in poor condition, the registration is greater than capacity, and educational programs are lacking. Four percent of the 4-6 year olds attend preschools, but these are costly and do not necessarily meet needs of low-income working mothers.
9. In spite of the existence of non-institutional patterns of child care, which appear in response to the scarcity and precariousness of the current institutional services, it is evident that the interviewed women desire child care centers and/or other services designed to meet the mothers' and children's needs.

*One Dominican peso equals one US dollar at the official rate; there is a fluctuating parallel market.

10. Malnutrition is a serious problem in the Dominican Republic, where 27% of the preschool children of middle and low income families are 2nd and 3rd degree malnourished. Mothers attempt to provide better conditions for their children by working, but their income is insufficient to make a substantial difference.

□

Recommendations

1. Although the installation of new and appropriate services of child care does not assure that women will be able to find work, such services would be an important contribution to reaching this goal. On the one hand, they permit time to be available for women to look for work, with the confidence that their children are being well cared for physically and mentally. On the other hand, child care services can help reduce the incidence of labor force desertion, which is so great among women, due to children. Finally, these services may contribute to the incorporation of the female worker into the community, unions and the political process.
2. Child care services should be neighborhood-based, community controlled, full-day care, and government funded. Child care services should be part of the employers' obligation. Child care services should be provided for both male and female personnel.
3. Although women in the rural area do not necessarily require the "custodial" aspect of child care to the extent that urban mothers do, they recommend services for the educational development and nutritional status of their children.
4. The creation of employment opportunities is desperately needed by women, and the compensation must be equal to that earned by men. Women must be trained in skills to meet labor force demands.
5. Women's organizations should be encouraged to help women address their needs. Leadership training should be given to promote women as initiators in their communities.
6. In nutrition education recognition should be given to the efficient use of the food budget by low income women, and this efficiency should be encouraged.
7. Agricultural education efforts should be expanded to actively encourage women's participation as a means of improving the earning potential of low income families.
8. Women must be recognized in public policy and programs as contributors to the national development, rather than dependents. Women are a resource too valuable to waste.

CHAPTER 2

THE NATIONAL AND FAMILY CONTEXT

Discovered by Columbus in 1492, the Dominican Republic was the first colony of the New World and preserves the Spanish heritage in language and culture. With an area of 48,442 square kilometers (18,700 square miles), it shares with Haiti the island of Hispaniola, occupying the eastern two-thirds of the second largest of the Greater Antilles in the West Indies.

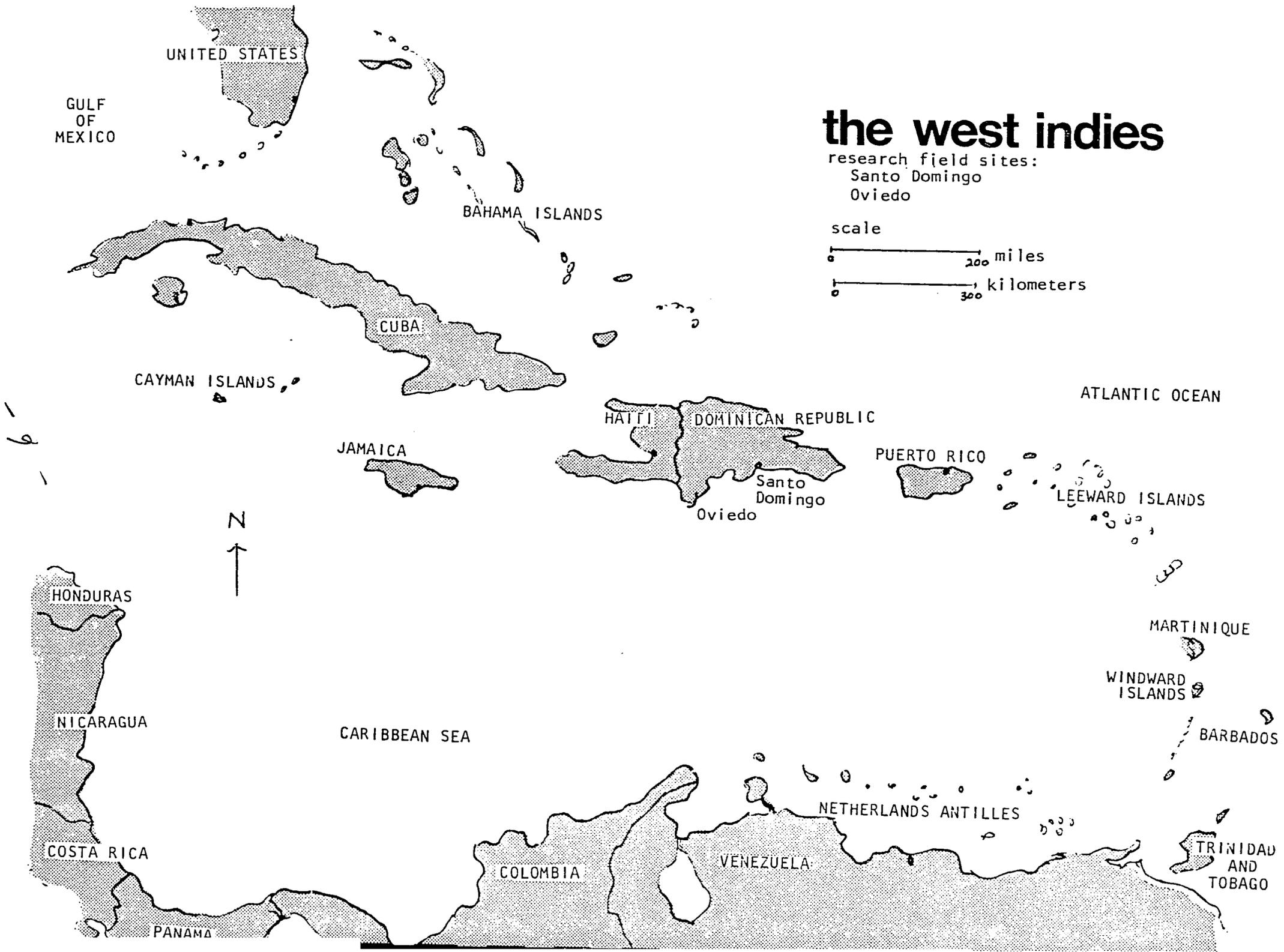
The Dominican Republic is a relatively young country, although with a turbulent history. It acquired its independence from Haiti in 1844; has undergone three invasions--Spain in 1861, United States in 1916 and 1965; and survived the three generation-tyranny from 1930 to 1961. With Trujillo's death the country was opened to a democratic form of government, but the path has been plagued with obstacles.

Development is seriously limited by many structural problems which are reflected in the social inequality, underdevelopment, and dependence which characterize the country.¹ These structural problems include unequal income distribution, land tenure patterns, and a low standard of living of the population.

The national economy is predominantly agrarian, and depends heavily on sugar cane production, which occupies nearly half of the better agricultural land and accounts for about half of the export receipts.

Although in the last few years the country has had a high economic growth, the great majority of the population have not benefitted. A study by the International Labour Office notes that some one-third of the families of Santo Domingo receive monthly incomes of less than 60 pesos (about US\$ 60), which is the current minimum wage. This amount the ILO considers to be the "poverty line," adding that among rural families, approximately half have incomes (including production for self-consumption) that are lower than this poverty line.² This means, in a few words, that the income is concentrated in a very few hands, and this has a great effect on a considerable sector of the population. In order to survive, these persons must go into debt, and/or must reduce their consumption level, and their general standard of living.

The Dominican Republic has a youthful population. The 1978 population was estimated at 5 million, of which half were 0-14 years of age, and 24% were 0-6 years of age.³ Rapid population distribution changes have taken place in recent years, as internal migration from rural to urban areas has proceeded



the west indies

research field sites:
Santo Domingo
Oviedo

scale
0 200 miles
0 300 kilometers

at a high and steady rate. Census figures indicate that between 1960 and 1970 the urban population increased by over 600,000, more than twice the increase of rural areas. Women outnumber men as migrants 1.2 to 1.⁴

The present population is mainly a mixture of white and Negro races. Census figures for 1970 show the population to be 73% mulatto (Afro-European), 16% white (mostly of Spanish origin), and 11% Negro, with a small number of Arab and Chinese descent.

The census lists about 98% of the population as Roman Catholic, with the remaining 2% as Protestant. Large numbers of the population, however, are not active participants in formal religion.

The city of Santo Domingo is the national capital and chief seaport. The population is over 1,000,000. It has many of the original Spanish colonial buildings in the heart of the city, and the periphery is expanding rapidly with low income neighborhoods. The urban sample of 300 mothers was taken in 23 neighborhoods (see methodology in the appendix).

According to the 1970 Census, 51% of the Dominican Republic population is female, and the majority of these live in rural areas (58% vs 42% urban). The rural sample of 40 women was taken in the community of Oviedo, in the province of Pedernales in the southwestern region of the country (1970 population, 12,382; 1979 estimated population, 17,708).

The southwestern region has 13% of the total population of the country, but goods and services do not reach this region in equal proportion. Forty-two percent of the population is illiterate, and infant mortality is 18%--both figures are the highest of any region in the country. It is estimated there are some 95,000 malnourished children in the area. The southwest has the greatest deficiencies in potable water, sewers, housing and medical and paramedical personnel.⁵

The Dominican Family

To be included in the sample surveyed, the low income women had to have at least one child six years of age or younger (see methodology section). The average age of the women was 29 years in Santo Domingo, 27 in Oviedo. Fifty-eight percent were under 30 in Santo Domingo, 70% in Oviedo.

For the objectives of this study, the "de jure" marital status of the women was not important. The "de facto" marital status is shown in Table 2-2. Eighty-four percent of the women had a male companion, although the stability of these unions was not studied. Of these 252 unions, 10 women declared that their spouses did not usually live with them, for the following reasons: works far from home (2), lives in another country (2), does not work and cannot maintain a home (2), has another woman (3), other reason (1).

The actual head of the household was not identified in our study. Belcher found in his study of household composition in the Dominican Republic that 30% of urban households were female-headed, compared to 19% of rural

TABLE 2-1 AGE GROUPS OF WOMEN SURVEYED,
SANTO DOMINGO AND OVIEDO*

Age Group	Santo Domingo		Oviedo	
	Number	%	Number	%
15 - 19	12	4.0	6	15.0
20 - 24	66	22.0	12	30.0
25 - 29	97	32.3	10	25.0
30 - 34	50	16.7	5	12.5
35 - 39	42	14.0	4	10.0
40 - 44	26	8.7	2	5.0
45 or more	6	2.0	1	2.5
Not known	1	0.3	0	0.0
Total	300	100%	40	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

TABLE 2-2 MARITAL STATUS OF WOMEN,
SANTO DOMINGO AND OVIEDO

Marital Status	Santo Domingo		Oviedo	
	Number	%	Number	%
Currently united	252	84.0	40	100.0
Widowed, divorced, separated	41	13.7	0	0.0
Single, never united	7	2.3	0	0.0
Total	300	100%	40	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

households. He also observed a strong patriarchal character in the rural Dominican family.⁶

The average number of (live) children per woman interviewed in Santo Domingo was two, as shown in Table 2-3. In Santo Domingo, 59.6% of the women had 1-3 children; 33.6% had 4-6 children; and 6.7% had 7 children or more. The Oviedo women have more children: 45% have 1-3; 27.5% have 4-6; and 27.5% have 7 or more (N = 18, 11, 11 respectively).

The number of children residing with the women in Santo Domingo is also shown in Table 2-3. Sixty-three percent have 1-3 children; 32% had 4-6 children; and 5% had 7 or more residing with them.

For this study, the most important figure regarding family size is the number of preschool aged children, those six years and younger, as seen in

TABLE 2-3 NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER WOMAN AND NUMBER OF RESIDENT CHILDREN, SANTO DOMINGO

	Number of Children per Woman		Number of Resident Children per Woman	
	Number	%	Number	%
1 child	57	19.0	61	20.3
2 children	81	27.0	83	27.7
3 children	41	13.7	45	15.0
4 children	49	16.3	51	17.0
5 children	34	11.3	29	9.7
6 children	18	6.0	16	5.3
7 children	7	2.3	5	1.7
8 children	7	2.3	7	2.3
9 children	4	1.3	2	0.7
10 children or more	2	0.7	1	0.3
Total number of women	300	100%	300	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

Table 2-4. Although the previous table showed an average of 3 children per household, the following table shows an average of two preschool aged children, a high figure considering the time that young children require of their mothers.

TABLE 2-4 NUMBER OF CHILDREN 6 YEARS AND YOUNGER, PER WOMAN, SANTO DOMINGO AND OVIEDO

	Santo Domingo		Oviedo	
	Number	%	Number	%
1 child	132	44.0	22	55.0
2 children	116	38.7	13	32.5
3 children	39	13.0	5	12.5
4 children	12	4.0		
5 children	1	0.3		
Total number of women	300	100%	40	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

It is common to find children in the family who were not necessarily sons or daughters of either parent. The Santo Domingo women were asked if they were raising adopted children (under six years of age). Eight percent responded affirmatively, and of these, 23 women had 1 adopted child,

and 2 women had 2 adopted children. (The legality of the adoption was not questioned.)

Finally, the household size of the Santo Domingo sample is shown in Table 2-5. Fifty-four percent of the households are composed of six persons or more. The average number of persons per household is 6.2, which is higher than the national average of 5.3 persons, according to the 1970 National Census and the average of 5.1 found for Santo Domingo in the PADCO-Borrell study. However, a study of households in Santo Domingo done by the Central Bank found data very similar to ours.⁷

TABLE 2-5 PERSONS PER HOUSEHOLD,
SANTO DOMINGO

Number of Persons	Number	%
2 persons	2	0.7
3 persons	25	8.3
4 persons	56	18.7
5 persons	54	18.0
6 persons	47	15.7
7 persons	36	12.0
8 persons	27	9.0
9 persons	26	8.7
10 persons or more	27	9.0
Total	300	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

In Oviedo, the number of persons per household is larger. Thirty-five percent of the families have 2-5 persons, 62.5% have 6-9 persons, and 2.5% have 10 persons or more (N = 14, 21, 1, respectively).

The housing conditions of the surveyed low income families are, in general, adequate. They have basic services of water, electricity, refuse disposal, etc., although it was not possible to determine the regularity nor the quality of such services. Sixty-seven percent of the homes have running water inside the home. Ninety-seven percent have electricity, and 76% have refuse collection systems. Sixty-two percent of the homes have vehicular access, and 38% are reached only on foot. Rain makes access very difficult.

With this introduction to the setting of the study, and a description of the family structure encountered in the sample, attention is now focused on the labor force participation of women in the Dominican Republic and the mothers of Santo Domingo and Oviedo in particular.

Notes

¹We do not understand "development" to be the model currently found, which takes into consideration almost exclusively the economic variable, and defines "development" as "economic growth." Development is a process, of which economic growth is a factor, "through which material and social improvements may enrich the life of the great majority." See: Mary P. Burke, "La Mujeres y la Economía Mundial: Algunas Sugerencias para un Papel más Creativo de la Mujer en el Desarrollo Internacional." Ciencia y Sociedad, 11: 2 (July-December 1977), p. 108.

²Presidency of the Republic, Technical Secretariat, National Planning Office, Bases para Formular una Política de Empleo para la República Dominicana, PLANDES 19. Santo Domingo: National Planning Office, 1974, p. XI.

³Presidency of the Republic, Technical Secretariat, National Statistical Office, República Dominicana en Cifras, 1978. Santo Domingo: National Statistical Office, 1978, Table 211-05.

⁴See Miguel A. Heredia and Vivian M. Mota, Recursos Humanos, Política de Empleo y Población en República Dominicana. Serie Documentos, no. 11. Santo Domingo: Asociación Dominicana Pro Bienestar de la Familia, 1975 and PLANDES 19, p. 59.

⁵Presidency of the Republic, Technical Secretariat, National Planning Office. Plan de Desarrollo Regional del Suroeste 1979-1982: Documento de Trabajo. Santo Domingo: National Planning Office. November 1978, pp. 10, 11.

⁶Belcher, John C. "Household Composition in the Dominican Republic." Mimeographed, no date.

⁷Planning and Development Collaborative International (PADCO) and Borrell, Estudio sobre la Situación Urbana de Santo Domingo. Santo Domingo, 1978, III, p. 57. Central Bank, National Statistical Office, and USAID, Estudio sobre Presupuestos Familiares, vol. 1. Santo Domingo: Central Bank, 1971, p. 12.

CHAPTER 3

WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE LABOR FORCE AND THE COMMUNITY

The participation of women in the labor force and in the community is limited by many factors outside the control of the women themselves. This chapter seeks to determine the extent to which women are employed and what their attitudes are toward working. It also discusses their educational preparation which in part determines the jobs they are able to find and their mobility within the labor force.

According to an ILO study, in February 1973, the unemployment figure for Santo Domingo was 20%, but the incidence among various population groups was very unequal: two times greater for women than for men (30% vs 15%).¹

However, in urban areas between 1960-1970, the female labor force increased by 8.5%; the male labor force increased by 5.1%. But in 1975, men represented 88.2% of the labor force (15-64 years of age), women 12.2%. Although industry has employed more women since 1969, especially in the "free zone" areas, women occupy those positions of lowest technological level, and lowest pay. The wages are less than US\$ 60 a month, which is less than the average industrial wage, and is right at the poverty-line.²

In general, the female worker is employed in exploitative conditions for low wages. For example, exploitation of women in domestic service was documented in a 1969 study which found that 50% of the domestics received less than US\$ 15 per month.³ The informality of the agreement between a domestic and the employer makes it difficult for the domestic to demand laborer benefits such as social security. On the other hand, the large labor supply and the absence of unions puts domestics practically at the mercy of the employers.

Of the national female labor force, some 29% are occupied in rural areas-- in agricultural tasks, including fishing, manual labor, handcrafts, and orchards. The rural labor force greatly fluctuates with the season. Women and children are vital members of the labor force during the harvest season. Nevertheless, even in the off-season, women's contributions to the family economy are important.

In both urban and rural areas, and for both men and women, under-employment is a severe problem. "Around 60% of the currently employed workers in Santo Domingo could be considered underemployed to a greater

or lesser degree, due to the nature of their work, the fluctuating quantity of their activities and income, the number of hours that they work per week, or the fact that they earn less than in previous work.⁴

Many women try to help the family income by street-vending--they buy a few fruits one day and try to sell them door to door the next day--earning perhaps US\$ 3-5 per week.⁵

Of the population 15-64⁶ in the Dominican Republic (1975), 12.2% of the women are economically active, compared to 82.2% of the men (see Table 3-1). The age group of women with the greatest percentage of economic activity is 20-24 years, with 13.7% of the women working.

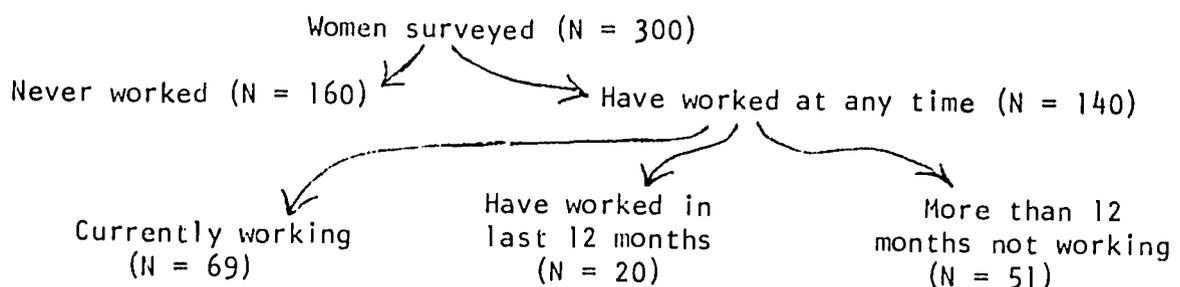
TABLE 3-1 TOTAL AND ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION
BY SEX AND AGE GROUP, MID 1975,
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Age	% of Men Economically Active	% of Women Economically Active	% of Total Population Economically Active
15 - 19	61.6	8.9	35.5
20 - 24	92.2	13.7	53.3
25 - 44	97.9	13.5	55.9
45 - 54	96.9	12.0	53.9
55 - 64	92.5	9.9	50.8
Total	88.2	12.2	50.2

SOURCE: International Labour Office. Yearbook of Labour Statistics 1978. Geneva: ILO 1978. (Original source: Banco Central de la Republica Dominicana, Boletín Mensual.)

Our survey of low income women in Santo Domingo used a liberal definition of work--any activity which produced income or payment in kind. Twenty-three percent of the women interviewed in Santo Domingo are currently working and 78% of the women of Oviedo are working.

To graphically present the case in Santo Domingo:



An important observation of the labor force participation of the women surveyed is the difference in participation according to age groups, as shown in Table 3-1 and Figure 3-2. It can be seen that women in the 45 and older age group have the greatest rate of participation (67%), followed by the 40-44 age group. These findings contradict the observed tendency in Latin America, that the younger women have the greatest labor force participation,⁷ but may be explained in two ways: 1) the opportunities in the occupational structure are concentrated in poorly paid, low status jobs, which are more appealing to older women than to younger women; and 2) family responsibilities, specifically children, are not a limitation to older women, who have additional older family members to assist them in domestic chores.

TABLE 3-2 LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN,
BY AGE GROUP, SANTO DOMINGO

Age Group	Never Have Worked (N = 160)	More Than 12 Months Not Working (N = 51)	Currently Working/ Have Worked in Last 12 Months (N = 39)
15 - 19	58%	17%	25%
20 - 24	65	11	24
25 - 29	53	20	28
30 - 34	48	22	30
35 - 39	55	17	29
40 - 44	42	12	46
45+	17	17	67
No answer	0	100	0

SOURCE: Author's data

Nevertheless, looking only at the women who are currently working or employed in the last 12 months, the 25-29 cohort has the greatest participation, followed by women 20-24 years, and the least is 15-19 years (Table 3-3).

In Oviedo, 78% of the women are economically active. Eighty-six percent of these work in various agricultural tasks, particularly the harvesting of cotton and peanuts. Fourteen percent of the working women are active in small scale commerce or government office work. The female agricultural laborers walk an average of two hours per day to reach the fields and return home. The harvesting period lasts about four months. To harvest five kilograms of cotton, they average nine hours of work per day in the hot tropical sun, six days a week, earning \$1.50 per day. The women who did not work (22%) were the wives of the men of better economic position in the community.

In Santo Domingo the most frequent occupation among the surveyed women was "services," followed by "vendors." Table 3-4 shows that 78.6% of the female labor force surveyed is in the service sector. These workers

FIGURE 3-1 LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN,
BY AGE GROUP, SANTO DOMINGO

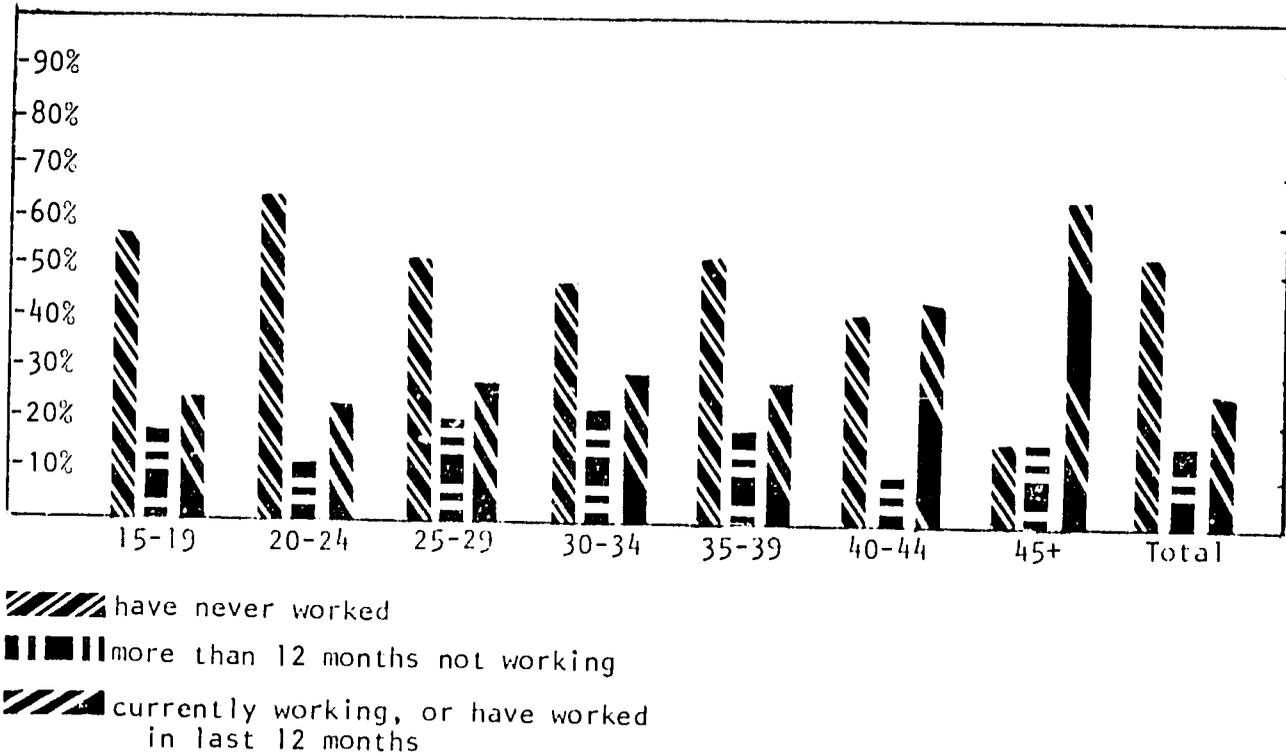


TABLE 3-3 LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN
CURRENTLY WORKING OR WHO HAVE WORKED
IN LAST 12 MONTHS, BY AGE, SANTO DOMINGO

Age Group	Number	%
15 - 19	3	3.4
20 - 24	16	18.0
25 - 29	27	30.3
30 - 34	15	16.9
35 - 39	12	13.5
40 - 44	12	13.5
45+	4	4.5
Total	89	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

included domestics, laundresses, day maids, babysitters, cooks, etc. The vendors are primarily women in small stands and street vendors. The number of clerks in commercial establishments was small.

The third group is composed of women in nontechnical administrative posts, such as receptionists and telephone operators. Of those

TABLE 3-4 OCCUPATIONS OF MEN AND WOMEN, SANTO DOMINGO*

Occupation	Men		Women	
	Number	%	Number	%
Group I - Professionals, technicians	7	2.8	6	4.3
Group II - Directors, public employees	2	0.8	0	0.0
Group III - Administrative personnel	9	3.6	17	12.1
Group IV - Merchants, vendors	43	17.1	20	14.3
Group V - Service workers	18	7.1	73	52.1
Group VI - Agricultural laborers	3	1.2	0	0.0
Group VII - Mining, seamstresses, tailors	6	2.4	16	11.4
Group VIII - Mechanics, shoemakers	36	14.3	1	0.7
Group IX - Painters, factory laborers carpenters	96	38.1	7	5.0
Group X - Army, police	21	8.3	0	0.0
Occupation poorly defined	5	2.0	0	0.0
No answer	6	2.4	0	0.0
Total	252	100%	140	100%

SOURCE: Author's data, categorized by standard international labor classification.

in the seamstress group, the majority work in the home.

The men in Santo Domingo are most commonly employed as factory laborers, or tradesmen, including carpenters, painters, mechanics, cobblers (Groups IX and VIII), followed by vendors (Group IV), who are largely in retail food markets or small home-based stands.

Ninety-five percent of the men in Oviedo are involved in agriculture. Most work on the cotton plantations, and also on a small plot of land for family subsistence (helped by other family members). Five percent of the men are mechanics or truck drivers.

The low salaries and uncertain nature of work of persons surveyed in Santo Domingo is shown in Table 3-5. A great many (38.1%) of the men have variable incomes. Most of the women have very low incomes and earn considerably less than men. Sixty-three percent of the women earn less than \$50 per month or have an irregular income.

In the rural area, 67% of the men earn less than US\$ 50 per month, and the remaining 33% earn \$100-199.⁸ Two men of the latter group had high incomes because they had just sold animals they had hunted.

Of the 89 women of Santo Domingo employed currently or having worked during the last 12 months, more than half (56%) did their work outside the home. Of the 69 who currently work, 50.7% (N = 35) are employed outside the home, 46.4% (N = 32) work inside the home, and 2.9% (N = 2) do not have an exact location.

TABLE 3-5 MONTHLY INCOME, SANTO DOMINGO

Monthly Income	Men		Women	
	Number	%	Number	%
Less than \$50	1	0.4	37	41.6
\$50 - \$99	17	6.7	16	18.0
\$100 - \$199	65	25.8	14	15.7
\$200 - \$299	30	11.9	2	2.2
\$300 - \$399	10	4.0	1	1.1
\$400 - \$499	5	2.0	0	0.0
\$500 or more	1	0.4	0	0.0
Variable income	96	38.1	19	21.3
No answer	27	10.7	0	0.0
Total	252	100%	89	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

The majority of women work at least a half a day to more than a full day, five to seven days a week (Tables 3-6 and 3-7).

TABLE 3-6 DAILY HOURS OF WORK OF WOMEN, SANTO DOMINGO

Hours Worked Daily	Number	%
Less than 1 hour	1	1.1
1 - 4 hours	16	18.0
5 - 8 hours	41	46.1
More than 8 hours	24	27.0
Variable	7	7.9
Total	89	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

In questioning those women not currently employed, nearly all (90.9%) said they would like to be working. Their unemployment is not due to personal disinterest in work, but rather to the nonexistence of job opportunities and/or constraints on their finding work. In the latter case, children and domestic responsibilities are important factors.

When asked who is responsible for domestic tasks (other than child care), the majority of the currently working women responded that they themselves are responsible, as seen in Table 3.8. Very few women are able to hire additional help, in spite of the low salaries earned by domestic service.

TABLE 3-7 WORK WEEK OF WOMEN,
SANTO DOMINGO

Days Worked Weekly	Number	%
1 day	2	2.2
2 days	8	9.0
3 days	4	4.5
4 days	8	9.0
5 days	17	19.1
6 days	22	24.7
7 days	20	22.5
Variable	8	9.0
	89	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

TABLE 3-8 PERSON WHO PERFORMS DOMESTIC TASKS,
SANTO DOMINGO

Person	Number	%
Mother, before or after work	22	30.9
A family member	19	26.8
The children	3	4.2
Domestic service	3	4.2
Mother, woman works in the home	24	33.8
	71	99.9

Although the household time budget was not part of this study, it is doubtful whether the Dominican case differs much from the Mexican. Women without domestic help, as in the case of the Dominican women interviewed, gave 36 hours per week to household tasks if they did not have children; 75 hours with a child under one year; and 77 hours with four children ages six to ten.⁹

The unemployed women were asked why they are not working. The most frequent answer was "cannot find work," followed by "there is no one to take care of the children" (Table 3-9).

It is interesting to note the response given of "husband's disapproval" (10.8%). The women were also asked "What does your husband think of your work outside the home?" Although 39% said "He likes it because we need the money," 30% said the husband "does not like it, but we need the money." In total, 45% of the women declared that for one reason or another, their husbands disapproved.

TABLE 3-9 WOMEN'S REASONS FOR UNEMPLOYMENT, SANTO DOMINGO

Reason	Number	%
Cannot find work	98	42.4
No one to care for children	60	26.0
Husband's disapproval	25	10.8
Poor health	12	5.2
No one for domestic chores	11	4.8
Insufficient education/preparation	11	4.8
No need	10	4.3
Believe women should not work outside the home	4	1.7
Total	231	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

In Table 3-10, the type of work desired by the women is shown. Although the most frequent answer is for services work, none of the women want domestic service. They specified that they want to work in hospitals, businesses or other institutions. These women reject traditional employment in favor of that which offers social security benefits and some stability. The same can be said for the 23.8% who desire work in a factory. Industrial work seems to offer advantageous status, salary, social security and other benefits. Nearly a fifth of the women responded that they are willing to

TABLE 3-10 TYPE OF WORK DESIRED BY WOMEN, SANTO DOMINGO

Occupation	Number	%
Teacher	1	0.5
Private service, janitor	56	26.7
Office worker, secretary	21	10.0
Cashier, sales clerk, seamstress, beautician	20	9.5
Nurse	8	3.8
Factory worker	50	23.8
Anything	39	18.6
No response	15	7.1
Total	210*	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

*This represents women answering "Yes" to the question, "Would you like to work?"

accept "anything." Rather than indicating a lack of awareness about occupational possibilities, this response primarily indicates the need to work at anything in order to augment the family budget.

The women are well aware that their low educational preparation limits opportunities for higher status jobs, and their aspirations are consistent with the reality they face. Desiring work is one thing, and being able to compete for the few jobs available is quite another thing, as the low income women testified. In most cases, they do not have the education required to compete for jobs that are available or worth their time. Thirty-two percent of the population of the Dominican Republic is illiterate, and of these, 34% are women. Rural women have higher rates of illiteracy than urban women. It should be noted that the illiteracy rate dropped from 1960 to 1970.

As can be seen in Table 3-11, the national averages for men and women are fairly close, but there is a great difference between the national averages and the survey samples, i.e. 42.8% vs 15% with no schooling. This may be attributed to the different age group in the national study compared to our study. In the national data, all women 25 years and older were considered, whereas in our study the average age was 29 in Santo Domingo and 27 in Oviedo. Our sample could be expected to have a higher educational level than all women of an older age group.

TABLE 3-11 LEVEL OF INSTRUCTION, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC,
SANTO DOMINGO AND OVIEDO

Educational Level	1970		1978	
	Dominican Republic (a)		Santo Domingo (b)	
	% Total Pop.	% Women	%	% Oviedo (b)
No schooling	40.1	42.8	15.0*	15*
Primary school	45.9	44.8	69.0	83
Secondary school	9.6	8.7	11.3	2
Higher education	1.9	1.3	0.7	0
Still attending primary			2.0	0
Still attending secondary			1.0	0
Still attending university			1.0	0
Total	97.5	97.6	100%	100%

SOURCES: (a) UNESCO. *Statistical Yearbook 1977*. Paris: UNESCO, 1978, p. 55, data for persons 25 years or older.

(b) Author's data

*Includes women who never attended school or who began but did not finish the first year of primary school.

The women of the survey were asked if they had received any additional training. Eighty-one percent had not (N = 242) while 19% had (N = 58). Of the latter, 40% (N = 23) had been trained as secretaries; the others had been trained in sewing (21%), nursing (16%), and commerce (7%), or in more than one area (9%).

Related to women's role in the labor force is their participation in their communities. Eighty-four percent (N = 258) of the women in Santo Domingo declared that they did not participate in community activities. Of the fourteen percent who do (N = 42), twenty said that their children benefitted, particularly in the education and health care the women learn (see Table 3-12).

TABLE 3-12 BENEFITS TO CHILDREN FROM MOTHERS' PARTICIPATION IN THE COMMUNITY, SANTO DOMINGO

Benefits	Number	%
Education and care, because these things are discussed in meetings	8	40.0
Health, because children are cared for and mothers are taught how to care for their health	6	30.0
They teach mothers how to entertain their children	1	5.0
Various	3	15.0
No response	2	10.0
Total	20	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

The non-participation of women in community activities cannot be taken as an indication of apathy. Most community organizations in the Dominican Republic are led by men and address problems that men want resolved. This is particularly true of union activities. The structure of community and union organizations does not encourage women's participation.

As has been seen in this chapter, the workload that women carry is enormous. They must add many hours at home in their domestic routine to their long hours of remunerated activity. These domestic tasks are essential to the survival of the proletariat family. The house must be clean, the clothes washed, the food prepared, and the children cared for. These tasks are all necessary for the reproduction of the labor force, but are not paid labor.¹⁰

It is apparent that lack of opportunity is the major obstacle to women's participation in the labor force, in the community or in political efforts to change their lives. Women lack opportunities to find employment, to learn new skills, to care for their children, and to express their concerns. Were these opportunities to materialize, women's participation would increase dramatically and a valuable resource would not continue to be wasted.

Notes

¹PLANDES 19, p. IX.

²Presidency of the Republic, Technical Secretariat, National Planning Office, Bases para Formular una Política de Empleo para la Republica Dominicana, PLANDES 19 (Santo Domingo: National Planning Office, 1974, p. XI.

³Gregorio Lanz, "Servicio Domestico; Una Nueva Esclavitud?" Estudios Sociales, 11: 4(8), 1969, pp. 197-207.

⁴PLANDES 19, p. 36.

⁵Trigueros Mejía, Rafael, "El Desempleo y el Subempleo en las Areas Rurales en la República Dominicana," Eme-Eme IV:19 (July-August) 1975, p. 114.

⁶The International Labour Office included persons under 15 and over 65 in their calculation of the economically active population. Including these groups lowers the total labor force participation rate to 26.5%; the rate for all men is 46.3% and 6.3% for all females. These groups (under 15, over 65) were omitted from Table 3-1 in our report in order to present data of comparable age cohort to our survey data.

⁷See: Demografía y Economía, vol. 12: 1(34), 1978.

⁸For other studies of income, see the Banco Central, Oficina Nacional de Estadística and USAID, Estudio sobre Presupuestos Familiares, vol. 1, Santo Domingo: Banco Central, 1971, and PADCO-Borrell, Estudio sobre la Situación Urbana de Santo Domingo, 1978.

⁹M. Teresita de Barbieri, "Notas para el Estudio del Trabajo de las Mujeres: El Problema del Trabajo Domestico." Demografía y Economía, vol. XII:1(34), 1978, p. 134.

¹⁰Wally Secombe, "The Housewife and Her Labour under Capitalism." New Left Review, (83), 1973, p. 4.

CHAPTER 4

CHILD CARE

In this study, "child care" is defined as an integrated system of services for mothers and children 0-6 years of age, including health, nutrition, education, and "custodial" care, which is responsive to the family's social, economic and cultural context.

Closely related to child care are the services in preschool education, with the difference that preschools usually take children in the two years prior to entering school, and they usually have half day sessions. Although they may provide many educational benefits to the child, preschools are not necessarily designed to cope with the needs of working women.

Legislation for preschools was enacted in 1966, but the offer of services has been very limited. In 1976, 4% of the 4-5 year old children were attending preschools.¹ Most of the preschools are privately operated and too costly for the majority of the population.

The focus of this chapter is on the broader system of care for children. Since rural women are sporadically employed, depending on the agricultural cycle, children are cared for by the mother herself or family members when very young, or are often taken with the mother to the fields (see Table 4-1). As soon as the child is able to work he/she joins the rural family labor force.

TABLE 4.1 CARE OF CHILDREN 6 YEARS AND YOUNGER,
SANTO DOMINGO AND OVIEDO (HARVEST SEASON)

Caretaker	Santo Domingo		Oviedo
	Number	%	%
Mother only	181	60.3	11%
Mother and older sibling	47	15.7	33%
Mother and other female relative	12	4.0	17%
Grandmother of children	14	4.7	28%
Other relative	21	7.0	
Friend or neighbor	3	1.0	11%
Children left alone	1	0.3	
Father	2	0.7	
Domestic servant	3	1.0	
Older sibling	9	3.0	
Other	7	2.3	
Total	300	100%	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

In Santo Domingo, mothers have the overall responsibility for their children, and in 60% of the cases they are the only person who takes care of them (see Table 4-1). The other 40% rely on auxiliary help in the daily tasks of preparing food, feeding, bathing, dressing and in general, taking care of the young children. Nevertheless, even in this latter group, the participation of mothers is very strong, as in the case of "mother and older children," "mother and other female family members." Thus, directly or indirectly, mothers care for their children in 80% of the cases. In nearly all cases, the family home is the place where this attention is given. Only in a few cases were children cared for in someone else's home, and usually even these were a relative's home. None of the 300 women had children in a child care center. Also observed is the small number of women who count on neighbors or friends to assist them, as well as the few servants who are available.

It can be seen that other members of the immediate family offer the greatest amount of assistance to the women. Grandmothers, older daughters, and other female relatives are counted upon to assist in child care. The three women who responded to having servants, are all employed women.

The degree of responsibility of those who care for children is described in Table 4-2. As observed, among 85%, full care is expected. The remaining 15% of caretakers are divided among those who perform several tasks, to those who do nothing more than "keep an eye out for them."

TABLE 4-2 CARETAKERS' TASKS FOR CHILDREN
UNDER 6 YEARS AND YOUNGER, SANTO DOMINGO

	Number	%
Full care	254	84.7
All tasks except preparing food	17	5.7
"Keep an eye out" only	12	4.0
Feed children and "keep an eye out"	7	2.3
Feed and bathe children	4	1.3
Other	6	2.0
Total	300	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

The help which women receive for the care of the children is generally without cost to the mothers, although 17% (N = 20) of the 119 women pay for these services. This payment figures to be more than US\$ 20 per month for three-fourths of the women (see Table 4-3).

In evaluating these services, 79% of the mothers were satisfied, and 21% were not satisfied. Based on the form of care, the advantage most appreciated was "vigilance and paying attention." The greatest disadvantage

TABLE 4-3 MONTHLY COST OF CHILD CARE SERVICES, SANTO DOMINGO

Cost	Number	%
\$1 - \$4	1	5.0
\$5 - \$9	1	5.0
\$10 - \$14	2	10.0
\$15 - \$19	1	5.0
\$20 or more	15	75.0
Total Mothers	20	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

TABLE 4-4 ADVANTAGES OF CURRENT FORM OF CHILD CARE, SANTO DOMINGO

Advantage	Number	%
Vigilance and watching children	170	56.7
Feed children well	29	9.7
Children are together	1	0.3
Mother has time for herself	4	1.3
Safety, no accidents	6	2.0
All advantages	39	13.0
No advantages	14	4.7
Other	29	9.7
No response	8	2.7
Total	300	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

was that the mother "had no time for herself." (See Tables 4-4 and 4-5). It was noted that all three women employing servants were dissatisfied with the care given to their children.

The women's favorable reaction to the care given their children is to be expected in view of the lack of alternatives. Child care is an important element in the survival strategy of families in low-income areas. Women must respond to the lack of services offered by the government.

For a population of children 0-8 years of age of approximately 175,000 in Santo Domingo, there are five state-supported, child care centers, a ratio of 35,000 children per center. These are supported by the State Secretariat for Public Health and Social Assistance, and are offered free to low-income families. These five centers have a total budget of US\$ 43,585 per month,

TABLE 4-5 DISADVANTAGES OF CURRENT FORM
OF CHILD CARE, SANTO DOMINGO

Disadvantage	Number	%
Do not feed them, do not watch	16	5.3
Mistreat them	1	0.3
Mother has no time for herself	35	11.7
Not safe, there are accidents	1	0.3
All disadvantages	7	2.3
Other	194	64.7
No response	19	6.3
	27	9.0
Total	300	99.9

SOURCE: Author's data

or an average cost of \$50 per child per month, and reach less than 1% of the total population of children 0-8 in Santo Domingo. There are some eight private day care centers, but these are not within the financial reach of low income families.²

When the women were asked if they know of a child care center, 55.3% responded negatively (N = 166; yes: 44%, N = 132; no response: 0.7%, N = 2). Some fifteen percent of the women (N = 46) said there is a child care center in their neighborhood (No: 81.3%, N = 244; no response: 3.3%, N = 10).

When asked why they do not use the services of the child care center in their neighborhood, "lack of need," "I have tried to without success" and "the hours are not convenient" were the most common responses (see Table 4.6).

TABLE 4-6 REASONS FOR NOT USING
CHILD CARE CENTER SERVICES, SANTO DOMINGO

Reason	Number	%
Do not like the center	7	5.3
Have tried to, without success	30	22.7
Hours not convenient	3	2.3
Too expensive	2	1.5
Too distant	8	6.1
Do not need to	63	47.7
Do not qualify	5	3.8
Other	5	3.8
No response	9	6.8
Total	132	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

In effect, the responses, "have tried to without success," "the hours are inconvenient," "too expensive," and "too distant," demonstrate that some 53% of these women understand the limitations of the current child care center system. Among the most common criticisms of the centers are the following:

- Some centers require that mothers work outside the home, which limits the number of families that could benefit.
- Age restrictions for children, maximum age of six or eight years.
- The selection process for enrollment of children is deficient; the criteria for selection are applied with little objectivity.
- With a very reduced budget, the services offered by the centers are deficient. The majority of the centers do not have adequately trained personnel, and do not offer more than one or two primary school courses. There is an almost complete absence of recreation equipment and activities.
- The physical setup of the centers is inadequate; the buildings and grounds are small and obsolete.
- The lack of transportation is one of the most serious obstacles facing low income families, and particularly mothers. To reach the child care center mothers must have money and/or time to transport her children.
- The small number of child care centers is the greatest obstacle faced by low income mothers.

In spite of these limitations, 85.6% of the 132 women who knew of child care centers were favorably impressed with the centers (see Table 4-7). Of course, it is possible that the women gave such positive response assuming that such services were to be offered for their community.

When asked what was necessary in order to take advantage of child care center services, nearly half of the women did not know what was required (Table 4-8). For the majority of the women, the process was complex, requiring time, money and knowing an influential person. There are also costs in time and money for transportation, clothing, and other less obvious requisites.

In spite of the fact that child care is nearly exclusively a family-centered task (see Table 4-1), 63.9% of the women surveyed would rather leave their children in a child care center than with another person or with only the mother herself (see Table 4-9).

The 103 women who do not wish to use child care center services were asked what their reasons were for this choice (Table 4-10). Some 21.4% of the women rejected the center itself, saying it did not provide

TABLE 4-7 MOTHERS' OPINION OF CHILD CARE CENTERS,
SANTO DOMINGO

Opinion	Number	%
They are good	82	62.1
They are good because they offer women the opportunity to work without paying babysitters	22	16.4
They are good for those who need them	7	5.2
They are good if they gave scholarships and kept children overnight	2	1.5
They are not good	7	5.2
They are not good because children are not well cared for, not well fed, and the children become ill	5	3.7
Various	3	2.2
No response	6	4.4
Total	134	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

TABLE 4-8 MOTHERS' OPINION OF WHAT IS NEEDED
IN ORDER TO PLACE CHILDREN IN A CHILD CARE CENTER,
SANTO DOMINGO

Opinion	Number	%
Obtain a scholarship	21	15.9
Difficult and costly bureaucratic process	44	33.3
Have influence, key person	5	3.8
Pay money	2	1.5
I do not need the services	3	2.3
No response	57	43.2
Total	132	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

adequate care, or the distance was too great. However, the majority (76.7%) gave reasons relating to the quality of the personal care provided by those of or close to the family.

In this response the importance of the family can be seen as a major traditional value. Sixty-two percent of the women interviewed (N = 186) said they regularly cared for their own siblings when they were young. Of these, 27% said this had influenced their lives in that they "learned how to take care of children."

TABLE 4-9 MOTHERS' PREFERENCE FOR CHILD CARE,
SANTO DOMINGO

Caretaker	Number	%
With another person	101	33.6
Child care center	191	63.7
Only with the mother herself	2	0.7
No response	6	2.0
Total	300	100%

TABLE 4-10 REASONS FOR PREFERENCE OF CARETAKER,
SANTO DOMINGO

Reason	Number	%
More trust	27	26.2
Children receive better care	35	34.0
Relatives are available	17	16.5
Father does not want strangers to care for his children	2	1.9
In child care centers they do not care for children well	11	10.7
Child care centers too distant	5	4.9
Various	6	5.8
Total	103*	99.0%

SOURCE: Author's data

*The total is 103 because it includes those who answered "with another person" (N = 101), and the two women who responded "only with the mother herself." See Table 4-9.

The women who preferred the services of a child care center were asked to define the kind of services they would want. The overwhelming majority (90%) preferred neighborhood locations for these centers, in order to avoid transportation problems. As for hours, the women preferred a full day schedule to a half day, again due to transportation problems (see Table 4-11).

When asked who should be responsible for providing child care services, over half of the women (52%) responded "the government" and 30% responded "the family." Only 1% said, "the Church," and less than 1% replied "private employers."³

TABLE 4-11 PREFERRED HOURS OF A CHILD CARE CENTER,
SANTO DOMINGO

Hours	Number	%
All day	129	65.5
Half day	54	27.4
Same hours as working hours	10	5.1
All day and some of the evening	2	1.0
No response	2	1.0
Total	197*	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

*See Table 4-8, includes 191 mothers who answered "child care center," and 6 "no response."

As for who should bear the cost of a child care center, "only the government" was the answer of nearly three-fourths of the women, as shown in Table 4-12. Only 11.7% thought "only the user/mother" should pay. The remaining 11.7% thought the family and the state together should assume the expense.

TABLE 4-12 RESPONSIBILITY FOR COST
OF CHILD CARE CENTER,
SANTO DOMINGO

	Number	%
The user/mothers, only	23	11.6
The government, only	144	73.1
The user/mothers, and the government should give a subsidy	23	11.7
No response	7	3.6
Total	197	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

The women were asked in what manner they would be available to assist in the child care center operations (Table 4-13). A variety of responses demonstrate the willingness of the mothers to collaborate in such a community activity.

In the rural area, child care centers were unknown to all but one of the interviewed women. Nevertheless, all mothers enthusiastically supported the concept of providing some kind of service for their children. The major

TABLE 4-13 SUGGESTED PARTICIPATION OF USER/MOTHERS
IN A CHILD CARE CENTER,
SANTO DOMINGO

Mother's Participation	Number	%
Helping in clean-up	13	6.6
Manual labor	32	16.2
Paying what was requested	46	23.4
Attending meetings	7	3.6
Transporting children	18	9.1
Whatever necessary	47	23.8
No response	34	17.3
Total	197	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

areas of need expressed by the women were in health/nutrition and education.

In the Dominican culture, child care and domestic tasks are considered to be a woman's responsibility and usually requiring "feminine" skills. The father's role in the family is seen as a passive one. Children are socialized early in life to differentiate these roles.

Returning to the first table of this chapter (page 25), it can be seen that fathers play a very small role in the ("custodial") care of children when mothers are working or otherwise occupied. Table 4-14 below shows the help that husbands in Santo Domingo normally give wives in household tasks, and the attention they give to their children, and what their husbands' help should be (in both cases, the wives' opinions).

TABLE 4-14 WIVES' OPINIONS OF HUSBANDS' ASSISTANCE
IN HOUSEHOLD TASKS, SANTO DOMINGO

Type of Assistance	Actually Help		Should Help	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Prepare meals	23%	77%	42%	58%
Clean house	33	67	35	65
Wash clothes	6	94	19	81
Play with children	72	28	78	22
Help children with school homework	52	48	71	29
Bathe and feed children	48	62	87	13

SOURCE: Author's data

It can be seen in this table that the husbands help more with tasks related to their children than with domestic tasks (i.e. washing clothes). The wives feel their husbands should help more than they actually do. But it is interesting that more women do not feel husbands should help with various tasks. Clearly the women themselves see the home as their domain, and they do not necessarily want to relinquish control of the sphere they control.

Notes

¹PLANDES 26, p. 478.

²Data obtained in personal interview by the author.

³The fact that few women see child care as an employer's responsibility is not surprising, since most women are not employed in factories or other establishments with guaranteed benefits to laborers. The reader's attention is called to a study which concluded "the establishment of industrial child care centers is viewed favorably by the majority of business owners and mothers who work outside the home." Instituto Dominicano de Estudios Aplicados (IDEA), "Estudio sobre Guarderías Industriales en Santo Domingo," 1975, p. 67.

CHAPTER 5

HEALTH AND NUTRITION

A study by Sebrell and others, "Nutritional Status of Middle and Low Income Groups in the Dominican Republic," concluded that "malnutrition is a major public health problem the impact of which pervades nearly every facet of both individual and national life. . . . The overall picture is one of a group of people living consistently on a level of nourishment considerably better than famine conditions but distinctly below the level at which their physical vigor and general health can be optimum."¹

The Sebrell study found 27% of the preschool children fell into Class II and III malnutrition. For the most part, children were found to be born at normal or nearly normal body weights, using the Stuart-Stevenson standards. At six months, body weight was seen to be still normal. However, between 12-18 months, growth retardation became apparent.²

The malnutrition problem is found to be more acute in the National District, and the Northern and Southwestern Districts (32-34% of the children) than in the Cibao and Eastern Districts (14-17% of the children). There was greater malnutrition among children in the urban area of the National District compared to the rural area of that district, but in the Southwestern District, Grade III malnutrition was more frequent among rural than among urban children.³

The rural diets were found to be considerably higher than urban diets in fluid milk, fresh vegetables, and fruits other than bananas, but urban diets included more dried milk, beef, dried fish, chicken, pork, sausage, other meats, red beans and vegetable oil. In general, the rural diets provide considerably fewer calories and protein than urban diets. But on a national average, 36% of the households consumed less than two-thirds of the recommended protein intake.⁴

In general, children's diet is deficient, as can be seen in Table 5-1, which shows the average of consumption frequency of principal foods in the diet of children 0-4 years of age in Santo Domingo.⁵ The most important foods are rice, milk, beans, meat and plantains, in order of consumption.

Studies by Perez Mera (1978), Machicado (1976), Anderson (1974), and Vásquez and Belcher (1968) showed the principal cause of malnutrition to be the lack of access to the food necessary to maintain good health.⁶ Income levels limit the amount of food the population consumes.

As Machicado wrote, ". . . half of the population (49.9%) was found

TABLE 5-1 CONSUMPTION OF FOOD
IN DIETS OF CHILDREN 0-4 YEARS OF AGE,
NATIONAL DISTRICT

Product	%
Oil/butter	2.8
Rice	13.5
Fowl	1.6
Sugar	2.8
Meat	7.8
Fresh fruit	3.4
Bananas	2.2
Beans	10.9
Eggs	2.9
Milk	12.7
Green vegetables	0.4
Bread	7.8
Plantains (cooking bananas)	4.9
Fish	0.4
Yellow vegetables	0.4
Cassava	0.8

SOURCE: PLANDES 37, p. 149-150

to have a monthly family income of about 35 pesos [US\$ 35] and consumed an average of 1,423 calories daily, and 28.23 grams of protein. And another 25% of the families had a monthly family income of 86 pesos and consumed 2,054 calories daily, and 51.70 grams of protein. That is, 75% of the population of the country consumes less than the average recommended levels for the Dominican Republic, which are 2,318 daily calories and 59.58 grams of protein.⁷

Low income groups were found to be more efficient in the consumption of proteins and calories than middle and high income groups. That is, the amount spent on food provided them with more nutrients per penny than the food budget of higher income groups.⁸

MacCorquodale and Rondon de Nova conducted a case-control study of 82 urban low income Dominican women with a malnourished child and 82 women with a well nourished child of the same age, sex and neighborhood of residence. It revealed that the women of the control group (those with well nourished children) had significantly lower parity and also had fewer living children. It concluded, "higher incomes could well account, at least in part, for the difference in parity as well as for the difference in nutritional status of preschool children."⁹ Thus, additional income results in better nutrition, but as income increases, and the basic biological necessities are satisfied, the efficiency drops.

Infant mortality in the Dominican Republic is 128 per 1000 live births, and mortality among children 1 to 5 is 20 per 1000.¹⁰ Life expectancy at birth is 58 years.¹¹

The national studies of breast-feeding have found 86% to 89% of the women breast-feeding their infants.¹² In our sample in Santo Domingo, 76.7% of the women breast-fed their last child (N = 230). Table 5-2 shows the incidence of breast-feeding, and duration. The greatest number of women breast-fed only to five months. Of the twenty-nine women who were currently breast-feeding, twenty had infants less than a month old, and the other nine had babies one to five months old.

TABLE 5-2 MOTHERS WHO BREAST-FED YOUNGEST CHILD, AND DURATION, SANTO DOMINGO

Duration	Number	%
Less than 1 month	9	3.9
1 - 5 months	94	40.8
6 - 11 months	42	18.3
12 - 23 months	45	19.6
24 months or more	11	4.8
Currently breast-feeding	29	12.6
Total	230	100%

Of the 23.3% who had not breast-fed the youngest child (N = 70), 40% said they did not have milk, 21% said they were ill, 14% said the child did not want breast milk, 9% believed that one should not breast-feed, and the rest (15%) cited a variety of reasons.

Of the women who had weaned their children, the greatest number (38.3%) said "the milk dried." Other reasons given included the mothers becoming tired of breast-feeding, the child tiring of breast-feeding and the mother becoming ill (see Table 5-3).

Twenty-eight percent of the children who were breast-fed received supplementary food during the first month of life, and 43% before completing six months, as shown in Table 5-4.

More than half of the children (57%) received infant formula as a supplementary food. The rest of the children were given other kinds of milk. Powdered milk was preferred by the mothers over cow's milk, probably because the former does not require refrigeration.

In 86% of the Santo Domingo cases, food for the family was prepared by the women themselves. Almost all the children eat all of their meals

TABLE 5-3 MOTHERS' REASONS FOR WEANING,
SANTO DOMINGO

Reason	Number	%
The milk dried	77	38.3
The mother tired of breast-feeding	37	18.4
The child tired of breast-feeding	27	13.4
The mother became ill	25	12.4
Other	35	17.4
Total	201*	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

*Does not include the 70 who did not breast-feed, nor the 29 who were breast-feeding at the time of the survey.

TABLE 5-4 AGE OF INTRODUCTION OF SUPPLEMENTARY
FOOD TO YOUNGEST CHILD, SANTO DOMINGO

Age	Number	%
Since birth	31	13.5
In the first month	35	15.2
Before six months	98	42.6
Before a year	47	20.4
After a year	9	3.9
Has not yet begun	7	3.0
Does not remember	3	1.3
Total	230	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

at home, and two-thirds of the children eat three times per day, as shown in Table 5-5.

Additional questions on health status of children were asked of the Santo Domingo mothers. It was found that half of the children had been ill in the fifteen days prior to the survey. Colds, diarrhea and vomiting were most frequently found (75%), and a variety of other illnesses gave the other 25%, as shown in Table 5-6.

In the cases of colds, the mothers interviewed said they purchase medicine at the pharmacy, and secondarily use home remedies. For diarrhea and vomiting, the mothers claimed to seek a physician's advice immediately.

TABLE 5-5 CHILDREN'S DAILY MEALS, SANTO DOMINGO

Number of Meals	Number	%
One meal	5	1.7
Two meals	14	4.7
Three meals	207	69.0
1 - 2 meals	2	0.7
2 - 3 meals	16	5.3
More than 3 meals	43	14.3
As food available	10	3.3
Various, undetermined	3	1.0
Total	300	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

TABLE 5-6 CHILDREN'S ILLNESSES
IN THE PRECEDING FIFTEEN DAYS, SANTO DOMINGO

Illnesses	Number	%
Colds	83	55.0
Diarrhea	13	8.6
Vomiting	2	1.3
Cold, diarrhea and vomiting	2	1.3
Cold and diarrhea	3	2.0
Cold and vomiting	1	0.7
Diarrhea and vomiting	10	6.6
Other*	37	24.5
Total	151	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

*Includes skin diseases, eye infections, measles, etc.

In order to gauge the mothers' understanding of disease prevention, they were questioned about the vaccination record of their youngest child. When asked if he/she had been vaccinated, four-fifths of the mothers said yes (see Table 5-7).

The mothers seem to feel that their children are well protected. However, upon analyzing the vaccination dose data, this appears not to be the case (see Table 5-8).¹³ Thirty-seven percent of the children had received at least one polio dose, but considering that a mass polio vaccination campaign was in process at the time of the survey, this figure is low. Further, only 45 children had received the second dose.

TABLE 5-7 YOUNGEST CHILD IS VACCINATED,
SANTO DOMINGO

	Number	%
Yes	238	79.3
No	44	14.7
Yes, but does not know for what	8	2.7
No response	10	3.3
Total	300	100%

SOURCE: Author's data

TABLE 5-8 DOSES OF VACCINATION RECEIVED BY YOUNGEST CHILD,
SANTO DOMINGO

Vaccination	Total Doses		1st Dose		2nd Dose		3rd Dose	
	Number		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
DTP (triple)	131		76	58.0	28	21.4	27	20.6
Polio	224		112	50.0	45	20.1	67	29.9
Measles	79							
Tuberculosis	44							

SOURCE: Author's data

It is curious that more children received the third dose of polio than the second dose. Twenty-six percent of the children had received measles vaccination, and only 14.6% had received TB vaccine.

The thirty-five women who currently work outside the home were asked if their working affected their children's health. More than half of the women (N = 22 62.8%) responded affirmatively; the manner in which they were affected was in some cases positive, and in other cases negative. Forty-five percent of the women said the children were better fed and in better health, and 40% said their children were not well cared for and did not eat well, because the mother did not have enough time to look after them or because they were left alone.

The responses of both groups reflect the contradictory situation of women of the Dominican Republic. On one hand, they feel they need to work in order to provide a better life for their families, and on the other, they live in the anguish of not being able to provide adequate care for their children. The high morbidity rates together with the high prevalence of malnutrition cited point to the need to address mother's needs and child care holistically.

Notes

¹Sebrell, William Henry, Jr., and others, "Nutritional Status of Middle and Low Income Groups in the Dominican Republic," Archivos Latinoamericanos de Nutrición, vol. 12 (Special number), July 1972, pp. 11-12.

²Ibid., pp. 36, 32.

³Ibid., p. 38.

⁴Ibid., pp. 79, 74.

⁵PLANDES 37, pp. 149-150.

⁶Perez Mera, Amiro and Julio A. Cross Beras, "Una Metodología para el Estudio de la Nutrición a partir de Consumos según Niveles de Ingreso," Ciencia y Sociedad 3 (2) July - December 1978, pp. 121-139. Machicado, Flavio, "Nutrición, Distribución del Ingreso y Desarrollo Agrícola," in: Foundation for the Advancement of the Social Sciences and the National Council for Demography and the Family, La Desnutrición y sus Implicaciones Sociales en la República Dominicana, Santo Domingo: Editora Taller, 1976. Anderson, Margaret, "Determinantes socio-económicos de los problemas de nutrición en la República Dominicana," in: Diagnóstico del Sector Salud, Santo Domingo: Secretaría de Estado de Salud Pública y Asistencia Social, 1974. Vásquez Calcerrada, Pablo B. and John C. Belcher, "Hábitos en alimentación de la Familia Rural en la República Dominicana," Estudios Sociales 6 (4): 175-184, October - December 1973.

⁷Machicado, op. cit., p. 101.

⁸Perez Mera, op. cit., p. 136.

⁹MacCorquodale, Donald W. and Haydée Rondón de Nova (translated by Vivian Mota), "El Tamaño de la Familia y la Desnutrición in Santo Domingo," Ciencia y Sociedad 111 (1) January - June 1978, pp. 5-17.

¹⁰PLANDES 37, p. 173.

¹¹McHale, Magda Cordell, et al. World's Children Data Sheet, Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, 1979.

¹²PLANDES 37, p. 140.

¹³These data are based solely on mother's recall, not on a review of the child's vaccination records.

APPENDIX

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This study is the result of data collection of two types:

- (a) Primary data, from a survey of mothers;
- (b) Secondary data, including bibliographic information, and interviews with people knowledgeable and/or interested in the themes under study.

Primary Data

The most relevant information was gathered via a questionnaire given to women in the city of Santo Domingo, and in a rural community in the southwestern portion of the country.

The questionnaire was modified and pre-tested several times. (A sample questionnaire follows.) The final version consisted of 115 questions organized in the following blocks:

- (a) profile of basic information about the woman and her household;
- (b) women's participation in the labor force;
- (c) forms of child care;
- (d) health and nutrition of the children;
- (e) housing characteristics of the family.

The large majority of the questions were closed and precoded, in order to economize time in questionnaire application. The average interview was 35 minutes. The 115 questions were then coded into 137 variables, which were grouped for analysis.

Other questionnaires for similar studies were consulted to assist in the design; for example, the National Fertility Study and the Study of Women: Employment and Fertility.

The sample was designed to identify women of low economic status, who had at least one child six years of age or younger. Assuming that child care is a more significant problem for working women in the urban area than in the

rural, the major emphasis was on urban women. All urban interviewing was done in Santo Domingo because it is the largest city in the country.

Six years of age was the maximum acceptable age of children in order for the mother to be included in the sample because a) 0-6 are the most demanding years of a mother's time and attention, and b) children enter the formal school system at age six.

To determine the sample, the framework used was that developed for the "Study of Women: Employment and Fertility (EMEF)" in June-August 1978, for the city of Santo Domingo, a study in which author Vivian Mota also participated.

Of the 67 blocks selected at random for the EMEF sample, the 23 low-income ones were used for the present study. Those homes identified as having a child under age six were noted, and 360 homes were chosen at random, estimating a 20% rate of refusal, for a final desired number of 300 women in Santo Domingo. A total of 319 questionnaires were given, of which 19 were discarded due to errors.

As the sample size was not large, and excellent maps were available, only three interviewers were needed. Experienced interviewers were selected and trained for three days. The final element of the training was a pre-test of 15 questionnaires in two neighborhoods. The results of the pre-test were discussed and incorporated into the final version.

The field work was conducted in September-October 1978.

The neighborhoods studied included:

Los Mina I, II, III, IV, V
 Villa Duarte
 Ensanche Ozama
 Domingo Savio
 Gualay
 Villa Francisca
 Simon Bolivar
 24 de Abril
 Ensanche Espaillat
 27 de Febrero
 Mejoramiento Social
 Villa Consuelo
 Ensanche Capotillo
 Villas Agricolas
 Villa Juana
 Cristo Rey
 Buenos Aires del Sur
 Engombe
 Buenos Aires de Herrera

The questionnaires were reviewed and coded, and coding was reviewed twice, in order to assure the quality of the data. The coded questionnaires

were processed by computer, utilizing the MINI-TAB program, which encompassed consistency verification and simple frequency description.

The rural survey was done in the southwestern region of the country, in the province of Pedernales (population 1970, 12,382; estimated population 1979, 17,708). The southwestern region is the most poverty-stricken in the country, and Pedernales is one of the two poorest provinces of the region. The rural area of Oviedo was chosen because it is surrounded by one of the largest cotton plantations in the country, and a large number of women are employed on the plantation.

Fifty questionnaires were administered in Oviedo, of which 10 were discarded, resulting in 40 for the final count.

Secondary Data

The search for bibliographic information confirmed that there is a great lack of published data on the Dominican Republic, and in particular, studies concerning women and children. What is available is often insufficient in quantity and quality.

Interviews with persons knowledgeable and/or interested in the topics under study were hindered by the change of government due to the elections of May 1978. Those officials of the previous government who had been concerned with programs for women and children were no longer involved in the programs, and the new personnel had yet to familiarize themselves with the plans for their term.

Nevertheless, it was possible to gather information relevant to the theme of the study, and the interviews promoted interest in the study and its findings.

Child Care Study
in the Dominican Republic

Place	R	Type	Questionnaire Number	
1	2	3	4	6

Introduction

Greeting: Hello. We are making a study on the care of children six years of age and younger and we would like to ask you a few questions. Your answers will be completely confidential.

Are there children six years of age or under in this home?

May I speak with their mother?

Province:

City:

Municipality or Municipal District:

Section:

Residence:

Highway, road, or street:

House number:

Description of house:

Results of the Interview:

- 1) Completed
- 2) Not at home
- 3) Postponed
- 4) Refused

- 5) Partially completed
- 6) Not eligible
- 7) Other (specify)

- 6) Their husbands object to them working.
- 7) They don't have or can't find anyone to care for their children.
- 8) Employers don't like to hire married and/or pregnant women.

OTHER _____

Marital Status - Characteristics of Current Spouse

- 15. Are you presently single, living with someone, married, widowed, divorced, or separated?
 - 1) Currently united
 - 2) Widowed, divorced, separated (Go to #20)
 - 3) Single (never has lived with anyone nor been married) (Go to #20)
- 16. Does your husband usually (or customarily) live with you?
 YES (1) (Go to #18) NO (2)
- 17. Why doesn't he usually live with you?
- 18. What is your husband's occupation or principal trade? (If he does odd jobs, find out what he does.)
 Occupation _____
 Description of work _____
- 19. Approximately, what is your husband's pay (salary)? (If he is currently unemployed, find out his income when he works or does odd jobs.)
- 20. Approximately how much money came into the household last month?
 \$ _____
- 21 - 27 (See next page)
- 28. Are there other children living with you who you have adopted or are bringing up?

sex	age
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

Employment of the Woman Being Interviewed

- 29. As you know, in addition to taking care of household duties, many women work at something they get paid for, either in cash or in some other form (food, clothing, various goods). Are you working at present in addition to your household duties?
 YES (1) (Go to #34) NO (2)

41. When working for yourself, what do (did) you get in exchange for your work?
 Cash (1) Other Form of Pay (2) Nothing (9)
 SPECIFY _____
42. How long does (did) it take you to get to work from your home?
 _____ minutes _____ She has no specific place of work (9)
43. How do (did) you usually get there?
 1) Walking
 2) Bus
 3) Public car
 4) Transportation provided by the company
 OTHER _____
44. In your present job (the last job you had during the past 12 months) how many hours a day do (did) you usually work?
 _____ hours/day
45. In your present job (the last job you had during the past 12 months) how many days a week do (did) you work?
 _____ days/week
46. How many months a year do (did) you work, approximately?
 _____ months/year
47. In your present job (the last job you had during the past 12 months) approximately how much do (did) you earn?
 \$ _____ day-week-biweekly-month
(1) I receive goods in addition to cash
(2) I receive goods rather than cash
 SPECIFY: _____
48. Is the work you have now (or had in the past 12 months) the only one you have or is there another? (Did you have more than one job?)
 More than one (1) Only one (2) (Go to #50)
49. Please tell me what other work you do (did) for payment in cash or in some other form.
50. Do (did) you like your work?
 YES (1) NO (2) DOESN'T KNOW/NO ANSWER (9) (Go to #53)
51. What do (did) you like most about your work?
 1) Nothing in particular
 2) The money (salary)
 3) The schedule
 4) The treatment of employees or the working environment
 5) The kind of work
 6) It is (was) close to home
 7) Raises and/or promotions
 OTHER _____ (Go to #53)

52. What do (did) you like least about your work?
- 1) The money (salary)
 - 2) The schedule
 - 3) The treatment of employees or the working environment
 - 4) The kind of work
 - 5) It is (was) close to home
 - 6) There are no raises or promotions

OTHER _____

53. What could you do to get a better job?
- 1) Get special training in _____
 - 2) Improve your level of education
 - 3) Get transportation (easier transportation)
 - 4) Get someone to care for the children
 - 5) Get someone to do household chores
 - 6) Have connections; influential supporters
 - 7) You can't do anything

OTHER _____

54. What could you do to improve your present employment?
- 1) Get special training in _____
 - 2) Improve your level of education
 - 3) Get someone to care for the children
 - 4) Get someone to do household chores
 - 5) Have connections; influential supporters
 - 6) Belong to a union or association
 - 7) You can't do anything

OTHER _____

55. What kind of training would you like to have to get a better job?

56. How do (did) you perform your household tasks along with your outside job?

- 1) When you return home
- 2) An adult relative does them
- 3) The husband does them
- 4) A neighbor does them
- 5) The maid does them

OTHER _____

(If she has a husband, see #16. If not, go to #60.)

57. What does your husband think about you working outside the home?
- 1) He approves because we need the money.
 - 2) He approves because I stay active and independent.
 - 3) He tolerates it, although he doesn't like it very much.
 - 4) He doesn't like it, but we need the money.
 - 5) He doesn't like it because I am very independent.
 - 6) He doesn't like it because I can't care for the children.

OTHER _____

63. What would you like to do? What kind of work would you like?

Child Care:

Interviewer: Mark the appropriate box (see #29)

64. Works outside the home _____ (1) Doesn't work outside the home _____ (2)
65. Who cares for your children under six years of age?
66. What tasks does that person perform?
67. Do you pay that person or institution?
\$ _____ day-week-month
68. What advantages does that way of caring for your children have?
1) They are watched and tended to.
2) They are well fed.
3) Medical attention
4) Education
5) Recreation (educational games, etc.)
6) Safety; there are no accidents
7) It is free
OTHER _____
69. What drawbacks does that form of child care have?
1) They are not watched and tended to.
2) They are not fed.
3) Medical attention is nonexistent or insufficient.
4) They receive no education.
5) There is no recreation.
6) The place is unsafe; there are accidents.
7) They are mistreated.
OTHER _____
70. In general, how do you feel your children are being cared for?
1) Very well
2) Well
3) Adequately
4) Poorly
5) Very poorly
- (IF OLDER SIBLINGS CARE FOR YOUNGER CHILDREN: IF NOT, GO TO #75)
71. Now that your older children take care of the younger ones, do they go to school?
YES _____ (1) NO _____ (2) (Go to #73)

72. How much school do they attend?
73. Among your older children, who takes care of the younger ones, the boys, the girls, or both?
BOYS (1) GIRLS (2) BOTH (3)
74. What do you think about the fact that your older children don't go to school because they must look after the younger ones?
75. When you were growing up, did you regularly take care of your younger brothers and sisters?
YES (1) NO (2) (Go to #78)
76. Did having to take care of your younger brothers and sisters keep you from going to school?
YES (1) NO (2)
77. Did having to take care of your younger brothers and sisters keep you from working?
YES (1) NO (2)
78. Do you think that taking care of your younger brothers and sisters had any effect on your life?
YES (1) NO (2) Doesn't remember/doesn't know (9)
(Go to #80) (Go to #80)
79. How did it affect your life?
80. Is there a child care center in this neighborhood?
YES (1) NO (2) DOESN'T KNOW (Go to #85)
81. Do you know of a child care center?
YES (1) NO (2) DOESN'T KNOW (9)
(Go to #85) (Go to #85)
- a) Which? _____
82. Why don't you use a child care center?
1) She has tried but couldn't.
2) The schedule isn't convenient.
3) They are very expensive.
4) They are very far away.
OTHER _____
83. What do you have to do to place your children in a child care center?
1) Obtain a scholarship
2) Go through a difficult, expensive process
3) Have connections/influential supporters
OTHER _____

84. What do you think of child care centers?
85. Who do you think ought to be responsible for providing child care facilities?
- 1) Only the family
 - 2) The state
 - 3) The community
 - 4) The factory; the employers; the managers, etc.
 - 5) The church
 - 6) Private agencies
- OTHER _____
- 9) Doesn't know/no response
86. Would you prefer to leave your children in someone else's care, or to leave them in a child care center?
- With another person (1) In a child care center (2) (Go to #88)
87. Why would you leave them with another person?
- _____ (Go to #92)
88. Where would you like the child care center to be located?
- 1) In your neighborhood
 - 2) On your street
 - 3) Where you work
 - 4) Near your work
- OTHER _____
- 9) Doesn't know/no response
89. What hours would you like the child care center to keep?
- 1) All day
 - 2) Only half a day
 - 3) Open at all times
 - 9) Doesn't know/no response
- OTHER _____
90. How do you think the cost of the child care center could be paid for? Who should pay for its services?
- 1) Just the people who use it
 - 2) Just the state
 - 3) The people who use it, with a subsidy from the state
 - 4) Just the employers or managers
 - 5) They should be free
- OTHER _____
- 9) Doesn't know/no response
91. How could women with small children take part in the child care center?
92. Is there a school in this neighborhood?
- YES (1) NO (2) Doesn't know (9)

- 5) Pasteurized cow's milk
- 6) Unpasteurized cow's milk

OTHER _____

102. Who prepares your children's food?
- 1) The woman being interviewed (she doesn't work outside the home)
 - 2) She prepares it before she goes to work.
 - 3) She leaves work to prepare it.
 - 4) A relative prepares it.
 - 5) Her husband prepares it.
 - 6) A neighbor or friend prepares it.
 - 7) The older children prepare it.

OTHER _____

103. Where do your children usually get their food? Where do they eat?
- 1) At home
 - 2) Where they are cared for

OTHER _____

104. Generally, how many meals a day do your children receive?

105. Which meals did your children eat yesterday?

Breakfast _____

Lunch _____

Dinner _____

Other _____

106. Have your children been sick during the past two weeks?
 YES (1) NO (2) (Go to #111)

107. What illness did they have?

1) Flu

2) Diarrhea (If none of these go to #111.)

3) Vomiting

OTHERS _____

(If they had the flu, diarrhea, or vomiting, answer the corresponding question, #108, #109, or #110.)

108. What did you do for their flu?

109. What did you do for their diarrhea?

110. What did you do for their vomiting?

111. Has your last child been vaccinated?

YES (1) NO (2) Doesn't know (9)
 (Go to the instructions below #111)

a) Which vaccinations has he/she received?

DPT -- dose: 1 - 2 - 3

polio

measles

TB

OTHERS _____

If the mother works, ask #112. If she doesn't go to #114.

112. Do you think the fact that you work outside the home in any way affects the health or nutrition of your children?

YES (1) NO (2) Doesn't know/no response (9)
(Go to #114) (Go to #114)

113. In what way do you think it affects them?

114. Do you participate in any of the activities of groups in the neighborhood?

YES (1) NO (2) No response (9)
(End the interview here)

115. Do you think your children benefit from your participation in these activities?

YES (1) NO (2) Doesn't know/no response (9)
(End the interview here)

a) How do your children benefit?

Thank you very much. We appreciate your cooperation.

The interviewer must get the following information:

116. Access to home:

By vehicle (1) On foot (2)

117. Type of lighting _____

118. Source of water _____

119. Waste disposal _____

120. General condition of the home:

Miserable (1) Bad (2) Fair (3) Good (4)

FINAL OBSERVATIONS

A) Degree of cooperation:

Poor (1) Fair (2) Good (3) Very good (4)

B) Reliability of responses
Totally reliable (1)
Partly reliable (2)
Not reliable (3)

C) Interviewer's observations: (Specify the numbers of the questions you make observations on)

D) Supervisor's observations:

E) Date of the interview:

F) Interviewer's signature:

G) Supervisor's signature:

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