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PRODUCTION AND REPRODUCTION IN A PLANNED, INDUSTRIAL CITY: THE WORKING- AND LOWER-CLASS HOUSEHOLDS OF CIUDAD GUAYANA, VENEZUELA

by

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Abstract: This paper examines the relationship between women's roles and capitalist development through a study of 208 lower-class and working-class households in Ciudad Guayana, a planned industrial city founded in 1961. The study concludes that the process of industrialization and selective investment in the construction of urban infrastructure has led to an exaggeration of women's domestic roles and of the occupational segregation that characterizes women's participation in the labor force throughout Venezuela. Specifically, planners assigned women a supportive role as housewives responsible for the reproduction of male labor power. Bolstered by cultural values and a Civil Code that legally established female subordination to men, the planners set up a structure of opportunities and benefits that reinforced female dependence on men. The primacy of women's domestic roles is reflected in the rate of participation in the labor force, occupational segregation, in a greater concentration of women in the informal sector, and in female poverty.

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Background

Two hundred years ago Venezuela was essentially an agricultural society in which the home and the workplace were one for a majority of the population. Although a division of labor by sex and age was firmly entrenched, the work of each member of the household--man, woman, child--was vital to the survival of the family. The only exceptions to this scheme were on the great haciendas and in the mines where slave labor was in force until it was abolished in 1854 (Valecillos 1982:1-2).

The production of petroleum on a large scale, initiated in the 1920s, led to the long-term transformation of the country toward a capitalist economy based on international economic relations and, with it, a transformation of the division of labor by sex. As the capitalist economy expanded through the commercialization of imported goods, the growth of the State bureaucracy, and, more recently, industrial production, profound social changes took place. The proportion of salaried labor increased rapidly and the importance of agricultural activities declined, leading to a massive movement of people into urban centers. But, in its first phase, the expansion of opportunities for employment tended to incorporate primarily males at the expense of female migrants and all women who found their domestic roles (as servants and as wives) increasingly reinforced. Female economic dependence was an important result of these changes (Valecillos 1982:2-3).

Only in a more recent phase of economic development characterized by a significant rise in wages, rapid expansion of employment, a decline in fertility, increasing educational opportunities for women, and a change in attitudes toward women's roles, do we find women moving into salaried employment, mainly in the public sector (Valecillos 1982; Cartaya 1982; Hernandez 1982).

This process of change is reflected in the experience of Ciudad Guayana, the new industrial city founded in 1961 in a sparsely-populated region rich in mineral resources and hydroelectric potential. Ciudad Guayana was created in an area that encompassed two existing towns, Puerto Ordaz on the west bank of the Caroni River, a mining town and port, and San Felix on the east bank, originally a small agricultural community. The two towns were joined by a bridge, permitting the daily transit of the growing working class population of San Felix to the construction sites and basic industry established in the west. As a planned city, Ciudad Guayana was to provide the basic urban infrastructure for the industrial laborers and their families who would migrate to the region in response to the expansion of job opportunities. The process of development was speeded up considerably by the creation of the Corporacion Venezolana de Guayana (CVG), the agency responsible for directing and coordinating all industrial, urban, and social development in the zone. Approximately 10% of the Venezuelan national budget during a twenty-year period was allocated to this development.

Despite the enormous sums of money made available for the Guayana Development Program, the magnitude of the task at hand and the impossibility of financing all aspects of development in the region led to the selective investment in and around Ciudad Guayana, especially in the industrial program. Planners recognized the need for supportive and complementary activities such as transportation, business services, intermediate and small industry (consumer goods and metal mechanics). They also anticipated a demand for urban services to meet the needs of the growing population, particularly commercial and distribution systems for foodstuffs and consumer goods, and for those personal services associated with the maintenance of the male labor force in industry and construction.

But no provisions were made for State investment in these areas, and policies designed to attract private investors had little impact. This presented opportunities for small entrepreneurs with little capital or managerial skills, laborers using less sophisticated tools or technology, and women working in their households which led to the rapid rise of small-scale, labor-intensive activities. As a result, Ciudad Guayana, Venezuela's planned industrial miracle, shows a consistently significant proportion of its labor force in unplanned so-called "informal" activities that are not typically capitalist.[1]

Planning and Women's Roles

As a city whose economic base would be heavy industry, mining, mineral processing, and the construction of urban and industrial infrastructure, Ciudad Guayana was expected to generate a demand for exclusively male labor: professionals; technicians; and skilled labor in particular. The influx of female migrants, which typified the city from its founding and which lagged only slightly behind male migration until the mid-1970s when it briefly surpassed the male rate, was contrary to expectations (Table 1). Much like the also unexpected migration of males engaged in unskilled, "marginal"[2] labor, the migration of women was ignored or interpreted as "family" migration. No data has ever supported this assumption; in fact, a number of studies indicate the heterogeneity of female migration from 1965 through the present (MacDonald 1969; Garcia 1976; Rakowski n.d.).

For the most part, planners in Ciudad Guayana have paid little overt attention to women except as reproducers. Their views have taken what has been described as a "curious 'as if' stance--as if women were like men, as if all women were alike, as if women did not exist at all" outside the household (Papanek 1981:215). Women were deliberately excluded from industrial and construction employment. With few exceptions, the social programs and structure of opportunities designed for this planned, industrial city reflect the middle-class (often religious) values of planners, the widely-accepted consecration of motherhood typical of Venezuela, and the notion that domestic tasks are "women's work." Of primary importance are the Venezuelan Civil Code (which, until its reform in July 1982, considered women legal minors under the tutelage and authority of

their husbands) and the hypothesis that labor productivity of males is in part the product of the psychological well-being associated with a comfortable home environment.

One aspect of planning that has been crucial to the role assigned to women in Ciudad Guayana is the subordination of social development to industrial development and the consequent conceptualization of human beings as, first, agents for or obstacles against the success of the industrial program and only second as potential beneficiaries of the development process. The original development plans, drawn up in 1963, considered "man"[3] as a "condition for the success of development," who needed preparation to improve his "quality" and to encourage the acceptance of an "attitude" appropriate and adequate to a "society of the type desired for Guayana." The development program was considered dependent not only on natural resources and technology but on "able hands and minds eager to work" with a "spirit of sacrifice and constructive attitudes" (CVG 1963:39-47; 1964:29-44; 1968).

Planners expected the nuclear family to be the medium for promoting these "proper attitudes," that is, the re-creation of the Protestant ethic in Ciudad Guayana. A stable family situation was supposed to contribute to a man's greater sense of responsibility for his work and for his family's "social and economic welfare" (CVG-Sidor, 1973:16). Therefore, in direct support of the industrial program, planners deliberately sought to reproduce a social organization associated with capitalist development in other settings: a nuclear family composed of husband-worker-head and mother-housewife and their mutual children.

A number of policies and programs such as these were instituted to reinforce the nuclear family:

a) The industries added social service programs to counsel workers on their home lives, refer workers for social work or psychiatric visits and treatment, and design programs for other family members, especially for wives.

b) Educational and social programs were created for low-income communities which emphasized the "development of women" as homemakers and volunteers in community development.

c) Financial incentives and industrial and citywide campaigns sought to induce legalization of consensual unions and the recognition by fathers of children born outside marriage. These legal measures were intended to strengthen ties of male workers to their dependents and encourage acceptance of financial responsibility for these dependents.

d) Public housing and credit programs for self-help housing, an important incentive for attracting workers and crucial as population growth rapidly outstripped the capacity of public and private construction included rules that favored the acquisition of housing and credit by male workers who

had mates. In part, these rules were modeled after the Civil Code which limited women's possibilities for entering into contracts and, in part, they reflected real patterns of industrial employment which were overwhelmingly masculine.

The steel mill's social service program, founded in 1966, illustrates clearly the role assigned to the family in labor productivity and the specific role allocated to women in the reproduction of male labor power. One of the program's key objectives (which was paralleled by official CVG policy) was to "make available to the wives, mothers, daughters and sisters (of workers) training in new tasks, techniques and arts related to the administration of the household . . . with the goal of achieving a better understanding of the situations affecting the personality of the worker" and achieving greater "efficiency in woman's function as manager of the home. . .," thus offering solutions to the need to "consolidate the social stability of the worker" (CVG-Sidor 1973:18-19).

Development policy in Ciudad Guayana mirrors the evolution of the Venezuelan social formation under capitalism, a process that incorporated and built upon sexual norms and ideology that had emerged in the last century and were consecrated in legislation. Family, as defined by Venezuelan law, supposes a stable bond between a man and a woman. The former is seen as the authority figure upon whom falls the protection, support, and education of the children. The latter is, by law, charged with upholding and assisting the father by caring for the children, caring for the home, and obeying the husband. This family has its origin in Roman Law and the concept of paterfamilias and is the basis of property relations and inheritance (Montero 1983).

In spite of this ideology, social reality in Venezuela indicates that, from 1873 (the data of the first census) to the present, about 53% of all children in Venezuela have been born outside of marriage and, for the majority of children in Venezuela, the only stable figure is the mother. "Father" is often a series of men who cohabit temporarily with the mother (Montero 1983:2-4). Until 1982 when the Civil Code was reformed, the law recognized four types of children: legitimate, illegitimate, recognized, and those born of an adulterous relationship (in which case the parents were forbidden to recognize the child without the consent of the legal spouse). Furthermore, neither concubines nor illegitimate children had any rights of inheritance and the share accorded recognized children was limited by law. Although all children are considered equal as of July 1982, the law is still not clear on the rights of concubines.

This social reality has only been slightly modified in the case of Ciudad Guayana. Although aggressive programs and financial incentives to legalize relationships have contributed to a lowering of the proportion of illegitimate births registered in Ciudad Guayana (according to Pazos, et al., 1975, about 35%), the proportion of couples in non-legal unions is higher in this city than in other urban areas. Yet nowhere in development programs or policies is there any indication that planners were willing to recognize and plan for a non-nuclear, extra-legal family unit.

Originally, programs and policies were aimed at the working class and the salaried population. They quickly expanded to include the lower classes when it became clear that the skilled labor and technicians required for industry and construction were not materializing in appropriate numbers, necessitating recruitment and training of workers from among the "marginal" population. Women were only admitted to technical training programs in 1974, and their brief incorporation into industry and construction (during the boom) has not been significant (Rakowski 1982).

The Study

In 1980, as part of the research for my dissertation, I conducted a study of 214 households in the working-class and lower-class communities of Ciudad Guayana, the so-called marginal or unplanned communities.[4] This sample was selected by the Statistics Department of the Division of Planning of the Corporacion Venezolana de Guayana and employed the method of systematic selection used in their own semesterly household and employment surveys. Although the distribution of the sample across communities is representative, the Statistics Department's method of rotating samples over a three-year period with yearly updating tends to undercount recent migrants to the city. Therefore, I expanded each community sample as needed to include a proportionate random sample of new households that did not appear on the CVG maps. All lower-class and most working-class communities are located on the San Felix (the eastern) side of the city and represent approximately 65% of the urban population.[5]

One objective of the study was to examine the activities of women in the context of the household, related to the activities of other household members. Therefore, we conducted in-depth interviews in 208 of the 214 households, excluding six households composed of single males. The sample included 332 adult males and 313 adult females; 93% were migrants.

Findings

Ciudad Guayana is a city whose structure of planned opportunities and benefits discriminates against women, especially the uneducated, unskilled women of the working and lower classes. It is also a city that is relatively inhospitable to single males. No laundry, housecleaning, cooking or other personal services were provided for the males. The long hours and arduous nature of industrial and construction activities, combined with a cultural bias against males performing household chores, seriously limits the males' caring for themselves. This situation, plus the programs promoting the family as an institution important to development and the high rate of migration of females to the city, would predict the rapid formation of couples by single males and females after arrival to the city. The patterns of behavior associated with the population studied supports this hypothesis.

Of those males and females who migrated to Ciudad Guayana as adults (at the age of 15 or over), over half were single upon arrival (Table 2).

Slightly more than one-fourth of the males and one-third of the females arrived with or followed a spouse or companion to the city (Table 3). But over a fifth of the females without a spouse or companion were accompanied by their children. Half of these were elder women with adult or adolescent children. While well over half the males indicated that work and income opportunities brought them to Ciudad Guayana, only 15% of the females did so (Table 4). These data support recent conclusions of CVG planners who found that only male migration is directly associated with the expansion of employment (Martinez and Holmes 1980). Most females indicated they migrated to Ciudad Guayana to accompany a friend or relative, to join a friend or relative or that they came for a visit and decided to stay.

Despite the high proportion of single migrants of both sexes, less than half the adults surveyed in 1981 were single. Despite the high proportion of females who migrated with children, only 19.2% of the households surveyed were headed by women (Table 5), a figure consistent with other urban areas of Venezuela and somewhat higher than the 16% registered for the city as a whole that same year (CVG household survey data 1981).

Although urbanization is negatively associated with the proportion of women in consensual unions in Venezuela, the proportion of women in these unions has been on the rise in Ciudad Guayana since 1971 (the first date for which data are available). In that year, 20.5% of the women fell into this category (compared with 16% in Caracas and 13% in the industrial city of Valencia). In the working- and lower-class sample surveyed in 1980, 26.2% of the males and 26.2% of the females were in consensual unions compared with 28.7% and 30% respectively who were legally married at the time of the study (Census 1971; CVG household survey 1977, 1980; OCEI national household survey).[6]

The lower-class and working-class households of Ciudad Guayana show a higher average number of persons per household (5) than do the middle-class and upper-class households of Puerto Ordaz (3) (CVG household survey data, 1981). In part, this is due to the proportion of households with single adults, both male and female (without children) in the lower-class and working-class households (Table 6) and to the large number of households with children. In part, it is due to the significant proportion of extended families to be found in these households. Only 11.2% of the households have a couple without children and these are all either new unions or elderly couples.

Although a significant number of households include members who are friends of the family or relatives who do not participate in supporting the household or in domestic tasks, we can identify households by basic family types (not taking into account these additional members, boarders, maids or visitors). Table 7 indicates that over half the lower- and working-class households studied consist of a nuclear family, and an additional 7% consist of a three-generation extended family which includes a nuclear family unit. Only 8.8% of the households are composed of an extended family with lateral (no linear) ties, while 19.1% are composed of single mothers and their

children, often with a third generation present. While over half the households conform to the expectations of a nuclear family unit, only 53% of the unions have been legalized.

One characteristic which is almost universal in this city of migrants is the presence of minor children in the lower-class and working-class households (Table 6). Almost 90% of the households have children aged 18 or under while over half have children under 4, a pattern related to: 1) the migration of children (over 60% of all migrants); 2) the over-representation of adolescent and young females entering their reproductive lives; and 3) the high fertility rates of all women in this city (Table 8). These rates are lower than those of the rural places of origin (both in the Guayana Region and the North East) of the majority of migrants but higher than those of other urbanized areas of Venezuela. Planners consider this to be a "transitional" stage in the fertility rate of an urbanizing population (Pereina 1983).

Numerous works on fertility and women's status in other Third World countries indicate that the high fertility rate in Ciudad Guayana could be a function of the structure of opportunities and benefits in this city and the reinforcement of motherhood and the housewife role as sources of status and security for females. A recent study of fertility conducted by the statistics department of the CVG noted a limited interest in family planning among women of the city. The same study pointed to a future need for labor which could best be met by continued high fertility and discarded family planning as a "panacea" for poverty and other urban problems. As long as these policies and discrimination against women in employment remain in effect, we should continue to expect high fertility.

Contrary to popular belief that children "cement" a union, the presence of chilren in these households has not guaranteed the stability of unions as evidenced by the number of children with a parent absent: 29.2% of the children between the ages of 7 and 14 and 16.2% of the children under 7 have fathers who are absent. Less than half (48.2%) of the children in the sample live in a nuclear family unit in which the male parent is breadwinner and the female parent is a housewife: 16.8% of those who do live with a stepparent.

Contrary to the stereotype prevalent in Ciudad Guayana with regard to families, in the 208 households surveyed, only half the children depend on their fathers as primary means of support (Table 9). But, as can be expected in a city with limited income opportunities for women, few children depend on their mother as their primary means of support. The significant number who depend on support from persons (mainly males) other than their parents indicate the importance of family networks and support systems.

Many of the social progams that have been developed for Ciudad Guayana have been built on the idea of a nuclear family unit with a male breadwinner supporting a dependent spouse and children. This notion of the male

breadwinner-household head has also been incorporated into discriminatory employment practices which favor the hiring of skilled males over 28. At least half the children of these lower-class and working-class households are disadvantaged in two ways. First, their source of support is unable to affort optimal housing, schooling, and nutrition. Second, because they depend on persons outside the capitalist sector, they do not have access to the educational, recreational, and health services that could help make up for their relative income disadvantage.

Production and Reproduction in the Household

Patterns of participation in productive activities and in domestic tasks in the households surveyed reflect the importance of the housewife role of women and the pressures associated with the structure of opportunities and benefits in Ciudad Guayana. Table 10 indicates that over half the females in these households are engaged exclusively in housework. Another 15% divide their time between housework and a productive activity, in most cases an activity carried out in the home. On the other hand, only one male is engaged in housework.

The data included in Tables 11 to 13 show the occupational segregation that typifies Ciudad Guayana in general and the lower and working classes in particular. Women are concentrated in commerce and service activities while men are concentrated in industry and construction. Although females are only 28.5% of the labor force[7] they represent 42.7% of the self-employed, 61.5% of the patrons of family businesses, and 75% of the domestic servants. They are 63.3% of the public employees (mainly cleaning women and other service workers), 83% of those who work in private homes, and 63% of those who work only sporadically. Those differences in the type of work engaged in by males and females and the characteristics of their industry sectors have a marked impact on income differences.

Females run a greater risk of sporadic income than males and are concentrated at the lowest extreme of the income continuum: 73.1% of the females compared with 24.8% of the males earn less than Bs. 1,500 a month (Table 14).[8] (At the time of the study Bs 4.30 = U.S. $1.00.)

For married women, the lower income opportunities of women are offset by income earned by spouses. Female spouses are concentrated in the lowest income range with 63.7% earning Bs. 1,350 or less compared with only 17.9% of the male spouses in the same income range. But 68.2% of the male spouses earn between Bs. 1,801 and 4,500. Clearly, a marriage or a consensual union is a better source of financial security for women than their own employment. In fact, Table 15 shows that most current housewives who once engaged in income-earning activities had been employed in the lowest paid occupations, often activities which required long hours away from their own households.

The proportion of household support supplied by males and females reflect income differentials. Over 60% of the households have no

income-earning females and therefore are supported totally by males. Even though the greatest proportion of household support in those households with income-earning females is still attributed to male income, this is a direct function of income differences (Table 16). More females contribute all or almost all of the income to the support of the household (see Table 16) than do males, but the greater income levels enjoyed by males permit them to retain a significant proportion of their income for personal use while still providing the greatest share of household support (Table 17).

The social arrangements of Ciudad Guayana encourages the formation of couples, pressure for nuclear family households with women as full-time housewives, and offer incentives to industrial and public-services workers whose family arrangements conform to these expectations. These arrangements also encourage the economic dependence of women by limiting high-paying jobs in industry and construction to males. Thus, we would expect both the income of husbands, and, independently, the type of work they engage in to be associated with the activities engaged in by their wives. In fact, this pattern is present among the lower- and working-class couples surveyed (Table 18). Wives of male workers in industry, public administration, and construction (referred to in the tables as the capitalist sector)[9] are more likely to be housewives than are wives of men engaged in informal activities or unemployed. At the same time, wives are more likely to be engaged in informal activities themselves if the husband is also engaged in such activities or unemployed.

In examining these households more closely, we found that the greater the income of the male head, the greater the likelihood that the wife was a housewife (Table 19). But, even when the male's income level was controlled, employment of the male in the capitalist sector was associated with the housewife role for the female.

The number of children in the household was also associated with the type of activity engaged in by females whether single or married (Table 20). Women with few children or only older children are the most likely employed in the capitalist sector. The number of children is positively correlated with informal sector activity. Overall, the relation between the number of children and an exclusive housewife role is curvilinear. To a certain extent, having chilren makes it less likely a woman will engage in income-earning activities, but having a large number of children (and very likely being a single parent) leads to an increase in income-earning activities. These patterns are mediated by the presence of older children or other female adults who help care for younger children and share domestic tasks.

Males do not participate in housework in these lower- and working-class households except for a small proportion who do the marketing. Most of these purchase goods at the industry commissary or city-wide cooperative, both of which require private transportation for access. Although females are solely responsible for the domestic tasks typically associated with the reproduction of male labor power and the care of children, the performance

of these tasks is often distributed among several women and children in a household (Table 21 and 22). In less than half the households, the wife of the male head is solely responsible for domestic tasks, and in these cases the household is usually a nuclear family unit without additional members.

Children, especially female, participate actively in domestic tasks. Male children typically run errands or care for siblings. Where male children participate in cooking and cleaning, the mother is usually a single parent with no other females in the household or is employed in an activity not traditionally defined as female.

In Ciudad Guayana the type of productive activity engaged in by the wife is clearly associated with the amount of housework assigned to her. When the wife is the sole or main person responsible for cooking, cleaning, and caring for the children, she is far less likely to engage in productive activities or study outside the home (Table 23).

Conclusion

We find in the lower-class and working-class households of Ciudad Guayana several patterns associated with the allocation of productive and reproductive activities within the household that are linked to cultural expectations for both sexes and to the particular economic structure of this city. We also find that the patterns of behavior within households most closely resemble the expectations of planners when the household is composed of a nuclear family unit or the male spouse is employed in industry or construction and/or earns a high income.

Even when women participate in productive activities, they are still solely responsible for the reproduction of their own labor power and that of other household members and for the care and raising of the future labor force. Yet, in most cases, women with paid activities are able to share domestic tasks with other females or children in the household.

The tasks associated with housework in Ciudad Guayana, as in Venezuela in general, are identified with females "oficios propios de su sexo" (literally, "tasks belonging to their sex"). Additionally, women as a group are considered to belong to the "dependent" population and the state reinforces their dependency by relating to women primarily as wives. For many men, development, as defined by the State and its delegate in this setting, the Corporacion Venezolana de Guayana, has meant training and incorporation into relatively well-paid occupations. For most women, however, development has been equated with their "professionalization" as wives and mothers, a strategy that has reinforced their dependency on men and, in the case of females whose families depend on their incomes, their poverty. Just as planners expected economic development to "trickle down" to the "marginal" population (thus justifying attention solely to industrial workers' problems), planners also believed that the benefits accruing from the promotion of men would "trickle over" to women. What was good for men would be good for everyone.

Despite the fact that both industrial planners and other planners in the city recognized the importance of women's domestic labor in the home to increased labor productivity and the "success of the industrial program," a number of myths typical of housework in capitalist social formations remained in effect. Male supremacy, rooted in the social organization of the nuclear family, the norms regarding housing and other programs available to families in the city, and the tendency of such programs to relate to the family only through a male head, serve to mythify the value of domestic labor by creating the illusion that a woman's domestic labor power is a private service to the husband and not the production and reproduction of labor power for the capitalist economy (Hartman 1978; Eisenstein 1978).

The social programs aimed at reinforcing the nuclear family and the exclusive demand for male labor in the capitalist sector promote the economic dependence of women and allocate them to a marginal role in productive activities. In fact, the major expansion of economic opportunities for women was brought about by the selectivity of investment in industry which led to the origin and expansion of labor-intensive complementary and supporting activities, especially in commerce and services. These small-scale activities, plus the clerical and professional services (mainly in education), which generally favor employment of the middle class, are the only activities that show a high participation rate for women. In addition, the expansion of employment for male labor and the migration of single males to this city opened economic opportunities for women in those domestic tasks associated with housework. Since no provision was made for the care of workers by industry (e.g., no barracks were built, cafeterias were inadequate, no laundry services were provided) men turned to female migrants to fill these needs either as companions or as remunerated workers. In fact, it is believed that the demand for female labor generated by males in construction and heavy industry (where hours are long and the work is arduous) may provide a clue to the high rate of female migration.

In the case of Ciudad Guayana, capitalist development has incorporated pre-existing forms of female subordination and norms regarding the female role into the process of industrialization, modifying them according to the needs of industrialization and the characteristics of the migrant population who responded to the development program. The situation described exaggerates female dependence on males. Our survey showed that a low proportion of male and female migrants remain single once they live in the city, but we also found continued reticence to legalize these unions, in part because some males (more so than females) have wives and children in the place of origin and are in the city temporarily.

The importance of family networks in female migration may be an additional factor in the formation and dissolution of couples in Ciudad Guayana. Females appear to migrate to this city because they have families there and they can fall back on family or friends in case of abandonment. Female family ties are reflected in the availability of additional females to share domestic tasks. In most extended families, non-nuclear members are related to the female spouse.

It is still unclear whether the household organization in the lower- and working-class communities studied is a direct response to the structure of opportunities and benefits in Ciudad Guayana and its social programs. The low illegitimacy rate, high proportion of consensual unions, rapid formation of couples by migrants, and relation between the husband's employment in the capitalist sector and the wife's exclusive dedication to domestic tasks would indicate they probably are. Further study of family organization and the characteristics of the population in the place of origin of migrants is required to determine whether rural patterns are being transferred to a city whose economic structure is merely compatible with and reinforces those patterns or whether the economic structure of the city itself generates these household patterns.

NOTES

1. "Informal" refers typically, but not exclusively, to those activities that are unregulated or whose workers are not protected by labor legislation. This includes activities that are usually identified as self-employment (although some may be hidden salaried labor), unpaid family labor, domestic servants, and patróns and workers of establishments with five or fewer workers. They usually show non-contractual social relations of production but may or may not incorporate relatively sophisticated technology and raw materials. This sector is not a residual category (as it has been treated by some theorists), but is a dynamic sector which is often stimulated by and supports industrial development and the accumulation of capital.

2. Planners refer to the portion of the population that does not meet the minimum requirements for employment in industry, public administration or construction as "marginal." These "marginal" people are also associated with unplanned squatter settlements in the city. Maria Pilar Garcia (1976) reports that Ciudad Guayana has a larger proportion of its population living in marginal communities (unplanned and unregulated) than any other Venezuelan urban area.

3. Planners usually use the term "man" in the generic sense, but the content of programs and the orientation of research on "man" are almost exclusively limited to male issues and to men. Furthermore, special programs were set up for women, offsetting and contradicting others ostensibly set up for "man" (meaning men and women).

4. Unplanned communities are all squatter settlements although some have evolved into urbanizations through occupant initiative or subsequent urban development programs.

5. Planners encouraged residential areas in the west by concentrating investment in that side for 75% of the expected urban population. In reality, 75% of the population lives on the east side and only 25% in the more urbanized west.

6. In the text that follows, the term "married" includes both legal and consensual unions and "husband," "wife," and "spouse" refer to individuals in both types of unions.

7. All activities were admitted regardless of the amount of time dedicated. Official labor force statistics from the census bureau require a minimum of 15 hours a week for unpaid family labor and no limit for others. This group shows a participation rate only slightly higher than that found for the urban population in the CVG household surveys: 26%.

8. The Venezuelan national planning agency, Cordiplan, considers Bs. 1,500 to be poverty level (family size unspecified). The CVG, using an estimate of 1.6 workers per family, proposes less than Bs. 1,200 per worker to be an inadequate income given the cost of maintaining a family of 5 in this city. An unpublished study by Lorraine Zuleta (formerly of the CVG) in November 1980 estimated a minimum necessary income of Bs. 3,200 for a family of 6.

9. The term "capitalist sector" is used to distinguish the activities typically associated with capitalist development in the zone. This includes the public sector. All activities should be contractual, regulated by law, and produce for market exchange. This term was substituted for the more commonly-used "formal" or "modern" to avoid giving the impression of a "formal-informal" dichotomy or a positive evaluation to this sector (which implies a negative or "traditional" orientation of the other sector). Activities are better identified, however, as positions on a continuum from advanced capitalist to artisan or subsistence. Since the type of data produced by the CVG surveys and censuses stress discrete categories and not continuums, it was necessary to categorize my own household survey data. The use of sectors is merely an analytical tool to facilitate identification of occupations and industry sectors.

Table 1. Population Growth and Sex Ratio, Ciudad Guayana

Year	Sex Ratio	Annual Growth Total Population	Annual Growth Males	Annual Growth Females	Annual Growth Migrant Population
1950	112				
1961	113	.7			
1971	102.8	8.0			
1976	100.3	7.4	9.8%	10.4%	
1977	104.0		8.2	4.4	8.6%
1978	105.4	6.4	6.5	6.3	6.2
1979	101.6	9.9	10.0	9.8	
1980	98.8	7.5	7.4	7.6	6.9
1981	101.6	2.9	3.0	2.6*	.7

*April-October 1980 = 3.4; October 1980-April 1981 = -.8

Source: 1950, 1961, 1971. Venezuelan Census Data.
1976-1981. Household survey, Corporacion Venezolana de Guayana.

Table 2. Working- and Lower-Class Households, Ciudad Guayana. 1980 Conjugal Status of Migrants at Arrival.

Status	All Males	All Females
Married	14.8%	16.7%
United	16.3	16.7
Single	38.7	36.9
Arrived as child under age 15	30.2	29.7

Households surveyed: 214

Table 3. Persons Accompanying Migrant*

Migrated	Males	Females
Alone	47.8%	13.7%
With spouse**	27.6	35.8
With children only+	1.0	22.1
With someone else	23.6	28.4

Note: Those (mostly females) who declare migrating to join a spouse who sent for them have been classified as migrating with spouse.

*Aged 15 and over at arrival.

**With or without children.

+But not to join spouse and not with a spouse.

Households surveyed: 214

Table 4. Reason for Migrating, Persons 15 or Over at Arrival

Reason	Males	Females
Work-related reasons	60.0%	14.9%
Urban services	1.1	5.9
Accompany someone else	17.8	39.6
Join someone else	10.0	26.3
Other*	11.1	13.3

Note: It was not an option to declare migrating in search of a partner (spouse).

*Includes those who came to visit and decided to stay, those who came to study, etc.

Households surveyed: 214

Table 5. Heads of Lower- and Working-Class Households.

Male	76.5%
Female	19.2
Couple	4.3

Households surveyed: 214

Table 6. Members of the Household by Family Type

Household includes at least one:	
Married couple with children*	40.2%
Married couple without children	3.7
United couple with children	31.3
United couple without children	7.5
Single father	2.8
Single mother	16.8
Single male over 18 years of age	28.5
Single female over 18	17.8
Chilren aged 18 or under	89.2
Children aged 7 to 14	63.6
Children ages 4 to 6	45.8
Children ages birth to 3	51.4

*With children refers only to children aged 18 or under and therefore considered dependent.

Households surveyed: 214

Table 7. Household Structure: Basic Family Grouping.

Single person	4.2%
Couple without children	1.4
Individuals, unrelated	.5
Nuclear family	57.1
Extended family (includes couple and three generations)	7.0
Extended family (without a couple, with lateral relationships)	8.8
Single mother with children* (with or without third generation)	19.1

*Includes grown children.

Households surveyed: 214

Table 8. General and Age-Specific Fertility Rates and Average Number of Children per Woman at the end of Childbearing, Ciudad Guayana, 1977.

Age	Age-Specific Fertility Rate
15-19	123.3
20-24	235.8
25-29	243.7
30-34	159.2
35-39	96.3
40-44	20.4
45-49	---

General Fertility Rate = 155.9

Average number of children at end of child-bearing period = 4.4

Source: CVG/DEPI/SE. Corporación Venezolana de Guayana. Principales Aspectos Sociodemográficos de la Fecundidad en Ciudad Guayana. Encuesta de Fecundidad. 1977.

Table 9. Primary Support of Children in Lower- and Working-Class Households 1980.

Primary Support	Children Ages 0-6	Children Ages 7-14
Father	66.2%	48.2%
Both parents*	10.6	14.8
Child support from absent father	1.8	2.4
Mother	3.9	7.5
Another relative	4.2	3.9
Stepfather	1.4	6.6
Several in household	12.0 N=284	16.6 N=332

*Includes cases where the mother and stepfather both support her children.

Households surveyed: 214

Table 10. Activity Engaged in by Sex. Working- and Lower-Class Households, Ciudad Guayana, 1980.

Activity*	Male	Female
Employed in Capitalist Sector	52.4%	10.9%
Engaged in Informal Activity in Household	3.3	2.9
Engaged in Informal Activity Outside Household	11.3	.6
On Vacation, Capitalist Sector Employment	1.8	
Seeking Employment	13.1	1.3
Studying, on Vacation from Studies	12.8	11.9
Studying and Working	.3	
Housework Only	.3	54.6
Studying and Housework		1.3
Capitalist Employment and Housework		1.3
Informal Activity and Housework		12.1
Informal Activity while Seeking Work	.3	
Ill, Old	1.2	1.9
Nothing	3.1	1.6
	100.0%	100.0%

*Main activity as declared by respondent.

Households surveyed: 214

Table 11. Occupational Distribution by Sex. Working- and Lower-Class Households in Ciudad Guayana, 1980.

Occupation	Males	Females	Females as % of Occupation	
Total	100%	100%	28.5%	
Professional-technical	3.0	2.2	22.2	
Nursing	.4	5.4	83.3	
Teaching	.9	2.2	50.0	
Religious	.4	---	---	
Pilot, navigator, sailor	.9	---	---	
Sales, shop	2.2	4.3	44.4	
Sales, informal	8.2	25.0	54.8	
Food preparation, restaurant	2.2	---	---	
Food preparation, informal	.9	8.7	80.0	
Office worker, secretary	.4	8.7	88.9	
Transportation or communications	4.8	1.1	8.3	
Chauffeur, informal	3.5	---	---	
Agriculturalist	2.2	---	---	
Artisan	---	2.2	100.0	
Operator, heavy industry	32.0	3.3	3.9	
Laborer, general	12.1	1.1	3.4	
Laborer, construction	16.4	---	---	
Guard, watchman	2.6	---	---	
Maid, servant	---	3.3	100.0	
Prostitute	---	2.2	100.0	
Barber, hairdresser	.4	1.1	50.0	
Janitor	.9	25.0	92.0	
Sports/diversion/wizard	.9	---	---	
Community service	.4	1.1	50.0	
Supervisor	4.3	1.1	9.1	
Unpaid assistant in informal activity	---	2.2	100.0	N=324

Table 12. Occupational Category by Sex. Working-Class and Lower-Class Households, Ciudad Guayana, 1980.

Occupational Category+	Males	Females	Females as % of Total
Government Employee or Laborer	38.8%	20.4%	17.4%
Private Employee or Laborer	34.5	15.0	14.9
Self-employed and Cooperativist	18.5	13.8	42.7
Patron of Family Business*	2.2	8.6	61.5
Patron of Non-Family Business	.9	1.1	33.3
Unremunerated Family Labor	2.2	10.8	66.6
Domestic Servant	.9	6.4	75.0
Volunteer	.4	1.1	50.0
Not Clear**	1.7	2.2	33.3
Total	100.0	100.0	28.5

*All workers are members of the family.
**Several apply or undeclared.
+Main category as determined by respondent's occupation.
Households surveyed: 214

Table 13. Industry Type by Sex. Working-Class and Lower-Class Households, Ciudad Guayana, 1980.

Industry Type	Males	Females	Females as % of Total
Public Agency/Enterprise	39.2%	21.3%	63.3%
Private Enterprise	34.9	16.9	15.6
Family Business	4.3	18.0	61.5
Cooperative	.4	1.1	50.0
Own Business	11.2	18.0	38.1
Under Contract, Short-term	3.4		
In Private Home	.4	5.6	83.3
Temporary or Day Work	1.7		
Sporadic	4.3	19.1	63.0
Total	100.0	100.0	28.5

Households surveyed: 214

Table 14. Income by Sex. Lower- and Working-Class Households, Ciudad Guayana, 1980.

Income per Month	Employed Males	Employed Females	Employed Spouse's Income* Male's Wife	Female's Husband
Unknown or sporadic	8.0%	16.9%	10.5%	8.0%
Bs. 001-800	2.2	21.4	25.5	1.8
801-1350	11.5	28.1	27.7	8.1
1351-1500	3.1	6.7	6.4	2.5
1501-1800	9.3	6.7	4.2	5.0
1801-2250	17.3	16.8	23.4	19.2
2251-3500	28.8	1.1	---	30.4
3501-4500	14.6	1.1	2.1	18.6
4501-6500	4.4	1.1	---	5.0
6501-10,000	.4	---	---	.6
10,001-14,000	.4	---	---	.6
	N= 226	N = 89	N = 47	N = 161

*Includes the income of working spouses only and for all persons, male or female, who have a spouse or companion engaged in an economic activity.

Table 15. Previous Employment of Full-Time Housewives, Working- and Lower-Class Households, 1980.

Domestic servant	25.0%
Secretary	15.2
Salesclerk, shop	12.5
Cleaning woman	10.7
Cook	6.2
Sales, informal	4.5
Laundromat attendant	4.5
Machinist, industry	3.6
Laundress	3.6
Teacher	2.7
Prostitute	2.7
Nurse	1.8
Beautician	1.8
Artisan	.9
Other	4.5
	N = 112

Table 16. Proportion of Personal Income Contributed by Sex. Lower- and Working-Class Households, Ciudad Guayana, 1980.

Proportion of Personal Income Contributed to Maintain Household*	Males	Females
none	1.3%	11.3%
Minimal, less than 1%		7.0
02-25%	5.0	5.6
26-40%	15.1	8.4
41-60%	32.1	5.6
61-70%	18.2	4.2
71-85%	15.1	2.8
86-97%	4.4	4.2
98-100%	8.8	50.7
	N = 159	N = 71

*$\frac{\text{Male Income Contributed}}{\text{Total Male Income}}$ or $\frac{\text{Female Income Contributed}}{\text{Total Female Income}}$

Note: N = Total households with male/female income earners

Table 17. Proportion of Household Income Contributed by Sex. Lower- and Working-Class Households, Ciudad Guayana, 1980.

Proportion of Total Household Income Contributed	Males	Females
01-25%	17.9%	43.2%
26-40%	11.7	13.6
41-60%	15.0	19.3
61-75%	8.3	5.7
76-90%	5.8	3.4
91-100%	41.2	14.8
	100.0	100.0

Table 18. Wife's Activity in Relation to Husband's Activity in Lower- and Working-Class Households, 1980.

Husband's Activity	Wife's Activity			
	Capitalist	Informal	Housewife	Other
Capitalist Sector	8.0%	11.5%	75.2%	5.3%
Informal Sector	6.2	25.0	65.6	3.1
Other*	13.3	33.3	53.3	--
N = 161				

*Unemployed, incapacitated, elderly, etc.
Note: Table includes wives in couple headed households.

Table 19. Wife's Activity in Relation to Husband's Income in Lower- and Working-Class Households.*

Wife of Male Head	Male Head's Income				
	Bs. 1-1350	1351-1800	1801-3500	over 3500	Average
Capitalist Sector	9.3%	18.2%	5.8%	8.1%	8.1%
Informal Activity in Household	25.6	9.1	13.0	8.1	15.0
Informal Outside Household	4.6				1.3
Studies	2.3		2.9	2.7	2.5
Housework Only	53.5	63.6	76.8	81.1	70.6
Other	4.6	9.1	1.4		2.5
N =	43	11	69	37	161

*Includes wives in couple headed households.

Table 20. Number of Woman's Own Minor Children Still in Household by Woman's Primary Activity. Women Aged 20 to 40. Lower- and Working-Class Households, 1980.

Woman's Activity	Number of Children									
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8-11	Average
Capitalist Sector	22.6%	21.2%	8.8%	12.5%	29.4%	---	23.1%	8.3%	14.3%	15.4%
Informal in Household	6.5	15.2	11.8	4.2	17.6	17.4%	38.5	16.7	28.6	14.4
Informal outside Household	3.2									.5
Seeking work	6.5									1.0
Studying	12.9	3.0	2.9					16.7		4.1
Housework only	38.7	60.6	76.5	83.3	52.9	82.6	38.5	58.3	57.1	63.1
Old/ill	6.5									1.0
Nothing	3.2									.5
N =	31	33	34	24	17	23	13	12	7	194

Table 21. Distribution of Responsibilities for Domestic Tasks in Lower- and Working-Class Households, Ciudad Guayana, 1980.

Member of Household	Cooks	Cleans Kitchen	Shops	Cleans House	Launders
Female head	8.2%	8.2%	8.2%	7.2%	8.2%
Wife of male head	50.0	42.3	44.2	44.2	47.1
Couple together	1.0	1.0	2.9	.5	.5
Various females	15.4	15.9	14.4	15.9	15.4
Males only			6.7		
All in household cooperate	1.4	1.9	1.4	1.9	1.4
Children under 18	4.8	11.5	4.8	8.2	5.3
Grandmother	3.4	3.4	1.9	2.9	3.4
Wife in couple headed household	1.9	1.9	1.0	1.9	1.9
Husband in couple headed household			1.0		
Mother and children	10.1	9.1	9.6	13.0	11.5
Friend or maid	2.9	2.9	2.9	3.4	4.4
Undeclared	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 22. Responsibility for Care of Children Aged Ten or Under.

Caretaker	Frequency
Mother/father	5.4%
Mother alone	57.1
Grandmother or other female relative	6.0
Other children and other adults	22.6
Older siblings only	4.8
Neighbor/friend	1.2
Child care center	.6
Stays alone	.6
Maid	2.0
No children under ten in household	19.0
	100%

Table 23. Wife's Activity by Participation in Domestic Tasks in Lower- and Working-Class Households.

Participation in Domestic Tasks	Wife's Activity A	B	C	D	E	F
Wife Cooks	7.8%	12.4%		76.7%	2.3%	80.0%
Wife Cleans	7.3	10.0		80.0	1.8	68.8
Wife Cares for Children	2.2	11.0	1.1	83.5	2.2	56.9

A Remunerated Employment in Capitalist Sector

B Informal Activity in Household

C Informal Activity Outside Household

D Housework Only

E Studying

F All Heads' Wives. Average.

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