

URUGUAY

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PN-MAX-562

15N-50882

FEMALE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION
IN URUGUAY

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MONTEVIDEO. Uruguay

Junio 1975.

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INTRODUCTION

The Percy amendment, which stipulates that development assistance activities

"shall be administered so as to give particular attention to those programs, projects and activities which tend to integrate women into the national economies of foreign countries, thus improving their status and assisting the total development effort"¹

has been interpreted as reflecting an increasing awareness

"of the importance of the social and economic roles of women in the development process, both actual and potential, and of the effect--both negative and positive--that economic development and foreign assistance can have on these roles."²

Although Uruguay is a relatively small country, it is of special interest to those concerned with women's role in development. Uruguay has long had a tradition of legal equality for women, parity of education at the primary, secondary and university levels; a low birth rate, special legal protections, maternity benefits and retirement provisions for women and, we believe, less machismo than most Latin American countries.

If lack of equal education, high fertility, legal constraints and cultural prejudices are considered barriers to the full integration of women into the development process, Uruguay is an obvious place to ask whether equal education, low fertility, legal equality and apparently slight cultural prejudices do in fact promote female participation in the development process. Apart from the consideration that the above are general social "goods", do they make a difference to development in the Uruguayan example?

While it may be that women play a crucial role in social development, we have limited our investigation to the role of women in economic development. More specifically, we will be describing the female labor force, that is, women actively engaged in monetized production. It is considered a normal aspect of the development process that non-monetized forms of production are superseded by monetized

forms of production; thus, an examination of the female contribution to development is, in great part, an examination of the female labor force.

We justify this concentration on the grounds that significant non-monetized production is usually rural and agricultural; in Uruguay, only 20% of the population is rural, and most of the production in rural areas is stockraising, in which women play no role at all. Although there can scarcely be said to exist a paid rural female labor force, outside of domestic service, we have examined the condition of the rural women rather closely because of the current special interest in increasing the productivity of the rural sector.

We have had yet another justification for focussing primarily on the female labor force--the information available. This study was done in a short period of time (1½ months) by two authors; therefore, we were limited to published data. We found published data more readily available about the labor force than, for example, about attitudes towards work or women.

Our main source was the the national census of 1963 (the first since 1908) and a number of very fine studies of the rural population; information on education was also of high quality. To some extent, the availability of published data directed our investigations into areas which might seem less important than other areas; this, combined with what we considered to be the interests of AID, gave direction to this study.

We omitted, for example, discussion of family labor or other unremunerated labor in areas other than agriculture because of the lack of published data. We do not mean to suggest that there are not a great many unpaid but valuable activities of women in a developing economy, only that lack of time and published information made it impossible to do justice to these activities.

Despite this apology for the things we have not done, we think it of some interest to know more about the present female labor force in Uruguay. We say present advisedly: most of our information comes from the 1963 Census, the only source of national labor force information available until the results of the May, 1975, Census are tabulated. Alberto Bension's study of the total labor force in 1974, based on the Plan Nacional de Desarrollo of the Office of Budget and Planning,

showed that there has been little economic growth over the last 15 years, and even less growth in the labor force than in the Gross National Product. Occupational distribution by sector has remained virtually the same.³ Therefore, we have felt comfortable in using the 1963 information to sketch the outlines of the present, and to suggest the possible shape of the future.

Chapter I will be a general description of the society and economy of Uruguay, past and present, the context in which Uruguayan women work. The legal status of women, so often a reflection of the social attitudes and economic conditions of the country, as well as an influence on their labor force participation, will be covered in Chapter II. Chapter III will discuss the female labor force as a part of the total labor force, and Chapter IV will continue by examining the occupational distribution of economically active women. In Chapter V we will look at the educational level of the female population, and relate this to the occupational distribution of working women. In Chapter VI we will examine the demographic characteristics of the female population as a whole, and the effect that these have on the extent to which women participate in the labor force. Chapter VII is devoted to rural women--their special characteristics, their educational and demographic characteristics, and their labor force participation.

Although consultation was constant between the two authors, Horacio Martorelli was primarily responsible for the chapters on the economy and the society, law, and rural women, while Susan Watkins was primarily responsible for the chapters on the labor force, the demographic characteristics of the female population, and education. The conclusions, and the final responsibility of the authors, are, of course, joint.

CHAPTER 1

CHAPTER I

The Economy and the Society

1.1 Background

The Oriental Republic of Uruguay, with an area of 186,926 square kilometers, has a population of 2,763,964 according to the preliminary results of the Census of May 21, 1975; the Census of October 16, 1963 counted 2,595,510 inhabitants. Ninety percent of the land area is devoted to agriculture, which employs about one-fifth of the active population. Population growth has been very slow, about .5% a year since 1963, due partly to the low rate of natural growth and partly to a high rate of emigration.

According to the preliminary results of the 1975 Census, there were 1,408,110 women, or 51% of the total population. There were about 55,000 more women than men, compared to an excess of about 15,000 in 1963. This great increase in the difference in numbers between the sexes is probably due to the greater emigration of men than women.

On the basis of the new population count, the income per capita has been estimated at about \$1,000 per year. The per capita GNP is probably the second highest in Latin America, and income distribution is considered exceptional for a developing country. In the last ten years, however, Uruguay has had the lowest economic growth rates in all of Latin America. The rate of growth of the GNP averaged 2.3% between 1965 and 1970, and between 1970 and 1975 the rate of growth was negative, - .5% (although in 1974 it was 2%); for all of Latin America the average rate of growth was 7.1 % in 1974. Industrial production has been stationary or decreasing, with an average rate of growth of 1.6 % between 1960 and 1970, and a negative rate, -0.8%, between 1970 and 1973; in the latter period the Latin American average was 8.7 %.

In addition, Uruguay has suffered from high rates of inflation: 95% in 1972, 78% in 1973, and 107% in 1974. These levels of inflation have been higher only in Chile during these years.

Since 1906 the country has benefitted from remarkable institutional stability, except for two brief interludes in 1933-34 and 1942-43. During the period 1967-71 the Government had to resort to a variety of extraordinary measures to make its constitutional authority effective. The new Government of March 1972, had to take, after February 1973, exceptional measures to deal with the threat to national institutions.

The study of certain aspects of the social condition of women - with special emphasis on the analyses of the female labor force - that we will make in the different chapters of this work, must be interpreted keeping in mind the characteristics of Uruguayan society that we have sketched in the preceding paragraphs.

We are persuaded that Uruguayan society as a whole, despite the stagnation of the economy, is presently undergoing major changes. It is not yet clear where this process will lead: what is certain is that Uruguayan society in the coming years will be quite different from the Uruguayan society of the last 60 years, and that this process of social change will affect the role that women fulfill in the country.

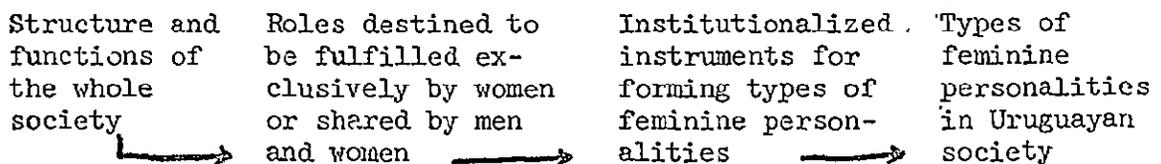
1.2 General organizing hypothesis

Social and economic development is the result of a myriad of changes in the structure and the functions of society. Such processes of change generally are neither completely harmonious nor balanced nor organic, but rather usually give rise to disharmonies, imbalances, tensions and conflicts in the society.

The present situation of women in Uruguay depends on the state and the dynamic of the society taken together, the combination of structural and circumstantial elements.

Uruguay has a variety of institutional means that serve to mould the types of feminine personality required by the roles that women fulfill. These roles, in turn are determined in their internal composition and in their inter-actions by the structure and the functions of the whole society. We can express this in the following diagram:

Situation of the Woman



The process of conditioning female personalities (socialization of women) according to the requirements of the society often leads to tensions and conflicts. These are accentuated by the processes of social change such as those occurring in present-day Uruguay. Thus, it may be that there are categories of women who have internalized values that, for lack of appropriate means, they cannot achieve;

indeed, it can happen that the current legal norms have established relations of equality between women and men in the fulfilling of certain roles in given situations, but that, in fact, the relations are unequal in those situations and generate dependency and subordination by the women.

The pluralism and the heterogeneity that at least has characterized Uruguayan society (the multiplicity of groups and organizations, the variety of societal values, the differences in ecological areas, the clear separation of the social classes, the different cultural levels) make it appropriate to talk about, instead of the "the situation of the woman", the concept of different situations for different types of women. These different types will be correlated with the different ecological areas of the society, with the different social classes that live within it, and with the different subcultural sectors that can be distinguished.

Certain aspects of the process of change in Uruguayan society over the last hundred years can help us define the present situation in which women here live. We will assume that this process has affected unequally the different types of women who presently make up the Uruguayan society. In addition, it is important to bear in mind that, although the process has been uninterrupted, it has proceeded at different speeds in different periods. We will list below aspects of the above process that are especially important to our work.

a. In the last hundred years, and until the middle of the 1950's, the population of the country experienced an improvement in the standard of living. The almost uninterrupted growth of available goods and services, and the effective mechanisms for redistribution of income, resulted in a distribution of wealth that was relatively equitable when compared to the rest of the countries of Latin America during the same period. The middle classes grew and lent their support to the solidifying of the social system. The rule of law was affirmed not only in the laws themselves but also in the deeds of the citizens, and gave rise to a peaceful citizenry, one that was proud of the institutions achieved by the social system.

The improvement in the standards of living was linked to the moderate demographic growth rate of the 20th. century, the result of steadily falling birth and death rates. The evident control of births (that is, the limiting of the number of children by the family) tended to stress the woman's participation in the family's decision-making. In addition, the decline in pregnancies, births and the care of small children has increased the time that women can dedicate to other occupations within and outside of the home.

b. The uninterrupted growth and spread of the educational system that began in the 1870s, by increasing the access of women to the multiple levels of formal education and by offering co-education to men and women, has drawn women into participation in the national life. The achievement of a certain level of education by women must be considered a sine qua non to integration into the productive labor force.

When the woman has an equal or higher education than her husband, and when since childhood she has been accustomed to equality with boys on the school benches, it is not easy to accept a subordinate role within the home nor in society in general. In addition, when the woman increases her education, she also improves her vision and comprehension of the world and of her own society.

c. Uruguayan society has been affected by the generalized process, common to modern societies, by which the family loses many of its social functions. The nuclear family, consisting of the couple and their younger children, retains the basic functions of procreation and the emotional integration of its members. Other functions - economic, political, educational, etc., - have been passing wholly or in part to other social organizations, public or private. The familiar universe has been progressively diminishing: kinship, outside of the nuclear family, has lost its earlier importance, and marriage has become increasingly unstable. The woman - single or married - has been pushed little by little to look outside the family group for the means by which to expand her personality.

d. Presently 80% of Uruguay's population live in urban centers. But even the rural population has been markedly penetrated by the influence of the urban ways of living. Migration from the countryside has resulted, since the decade of the 50s, in an absolute decline in the size of the rural population. This migration has affected women more than men.

It is reasonable to assume that those thousands of women who every year leave their rural hearths to begin life in the city must break with the traditional forms of social control, and are obliged to build a more independent new life in the urban setting.

It has been in this urban setting that the process by which women look outside the home for activities and independent personal development has been most noticeable. Consequently, the process of urbanization in Uruguay - whether it be by feminine emigration from the rural areas, or by the penetration of urban life styles into the countryside - is intimately related to the changes in the social situation of the woman, that have occurred over the century.

e. An accelerated process of secularization of public and private life is unmistakable since the third quarter of the 19th. century. It was first manifested as a virulent anti-clericalism or agnosticism with respect to the traditional practices of the Catholic Church; finally, it has led to a great degree of indifference to organized religion throughout the society.

The female population was one of the basic sources of recruits for religions until well into the second quarter of the 20th. century. Nonetheless, the general indifference or agnosticism grew in the female sector of the population as well.

The weakening of the social controls which derived from the institution of the Church, obviously enlarged the ambit of activity for women, since many prohibitions lost their effect, for example: divorce, premarital or extramarital sexual relations, access to shows discouraged or prohibited by the church authorities, use of methods of contraception not approved by the Church, abortion, etc.

f. During the 20th. century various political currents erupted on the national scene, and although their existence was partial or temporary, they have left indelible tracks in the society. They have all insisted, as much in their doctrine as in their effective political action, on the necessity and importance of the liberation of women. As far as possible, these political currents opened an avenue to feminine participation in all national activities. To ensure female participation in social activities, they insisted firmly on legal protection for women and on encouragements to feminine independence; for example, special facilities by which women can initiate and obtain divorce, protection for the woman who works outside the home, special retirement benefits for the working woman, etc.

Not all of these processes that we have reviewed very briefly reached all Uruguayan women equally. Throughout this work we will see how the social situation of the Uruguayan woman is markedly unequal. In other words, the change in the position of women during the last 100 years has not been homogeneous for all the women who are members of the Uruguayan society. While some categories of women have participated actively in the new roles open for feminine fulfillment and have benefitted from the improvement in the condition of women, there are also large categories of women who have been scarcely touched by this process, and who live much as they did nearly 100 years ago, in a precarious and dependent manner.

CHAPTER II

THE LAW

2. 1 Introduction

One of the usual indicators of the social situation of women in a given society is their legal status. Societies usually discriminate between the legal rights and obligations of women and those of men, a discrimination based on the difference in roles which originates in the difference between the sexes. The status of women, as reflected in the law, is likely to impinge, directly or indirectly, on the extent and nature of female labor force participation, while specific legislation may directly affect the degree to which women work as well as the conditions in which they work.

Modern societies, often in response to economic realities as well as ideological changes, usually go through a process of eliminating legal differences between the sexes that tend to ascribe to the woman a subordinate or inferior role in society; they usually maintain, however, those legal distinctions which tend to protect or improve the situation of women.

Uruguay is not different in this respect, and indeed can be said to be a leader in Latin America: the legal barriers which once impeded the access of women to a full, free and equal life in society have fallen one after the other. At the same time, certain norms have been established to protect women. Thus, the status of women in Uruguay today depends on some rights that have not been given to men, rather than on a situation of absolute equality of rights.

2. 2. History

The superior legal status which Uruguayan women today enjoy is the product of the past, a history of effort and struggle, ups and downs, failures and successes which go back to the 19th. century. Below are some of the events that are milestones in that progress:

- 1795 The first school for women was inaugurated in Montevideo.
- 1897 A law was approved requiring primary education for all between the ages of 6 and 14, without distinction between the sexes.
- 1879 For the first time a woman was authorized by the University Council to take examinations in mathematics and philosophy.
- 1882 The Instituto Normal de Señoritas was founded to prepare primary school teachers. In 1888 this became the Instituto Normal.
- 1901 The first woman entered the Facultad de Medicina.
The first woman public employee was hired by the Post Office.
- 1902 The feminist magazine "Nosotras" was published, and the National Feminine League organized.
- 1908 The first woman doctor graduated.

- 1911 The first woman lawyer graduated.
The Sección Femenina de Enseñanza Secundaria was created. In the same year, the number of women enrolled in secondary education doubled.
The Ateneo of Montevideo accepted the Uruguayan Section of the Pan-american Women's Federation.
- 1912 Departmental Liceos (secondary schools) were established in the Interior for students of both sexes.
- 1914 Paternity could be adjudicated, with the consequent legal obligations of the natural father.
- 1916 The National Council of Women was formed.
- 1917 The magazine "Acción Femenina" was published.
- 1932 Women were given the vote.
- 1934 The Constitution of 1934 gave equal rights of citizenship to men and women.
- 1946 The "Law of Civil Rights of the Woman" was approved.

The legislation of the Batlle period, though it did not establish legal equality for women, recognized their need for specific legal protections. To protect unwed mothers, judicial determination of paternity was allowed for all minors whose parents were not legally married; the woman may initiate action after the fifth month of pregnancy, and the law does not allow the father to be excused on the grounds of bad conduct by the woman. The father is obliged to pay child support. (Law 5.153, 1914 and the Children's Code, 1934). The woman was given the exclusive privilege of seeking divorce by her own wish, without declaring any cause or motive except her sole desire to dissolve the relationship (Law, 1914). Other grounds for divorce are mutual consent, or unilaterally for causes determined by the law. Unless the woman is declared guilty of the separation, the ex-husband must contribute to her maintenance and share the divorce costs. In 1946 married women were legally enabled to share with their spouses the rights and obligations emanating from marriage, authority over minor children, and administration of the goods of the family, all in legal equality with the husband. (Law 10.783, 1946).

After the Batlle period, the next great burst of legal concern for women was in the Constitution of 1934. Neither the Constitution of 1830 nor that of 1917 had recognized women as full citizens; only in 1934 were they made members of the electorate, legally eligible for all political offices and all public positions. In 1943 the first of 7 women senators was elected, in 1947 the first of 16 women representatives. In the Appendix we have included a report on women in Parliament.

The 1934 Constitution emphasizes the woman as a mother and a family member. It establishes that "The family is the base of our society. The state will watch over its moral and material stability for the better development of children within the society", (Art. 40) and that "Motherhood, whatever the condition or state of the woman, merits the protection of society and its assistance in case of need", (Art. 42).

These principles have been defined and amplified by subsequent legislation.

2. 3. Protective legislation

To strengthen the economic position of the family, the laws have established different family payments: family allowances, baby bonuses, marriage bonuses, and a bonus for forming a home, (The basic law is 10.499 of 1943). Recognizing the special difficulties faced by rural families caused by the predominance of large, extensive stockraising establishments, in rural areas, the law stipulates that the ranchowner must make provision for the families of workers so that they may live on the establishment with the father. (Law 10.809, 1946). This law, however, rarely seems to have been enforced.

There are no norms in Uruguay limiting the labor force participation of women. Legally, they can take part in all activities in which men take part, and equal pay is required for equal work. There are, however, special protections for working women, especially working mothers, which, while they improve the working conditions for women, may also make it more difficult for them to be hired. (See Chapter VI). Legal dispositions establish "pre-natal protection" (Children's Code, 1934), "obligatory pre-natal and post-partum rest" (Law 12.030 of 1953), "maternity leave" (Decree of October, 1958), "the prohibition of dismissal during pregnancy". (Law 11.577, 1950).

The Ley Madre enables a woman with minor children to retire after only 10 years in the labor force. Women who are widows, daughters and sisters dependent on a worker who dies have the right to a pension from the state that is adjusted according to the salary and the length of service of the deceased worker. (Law 9.940, 1950, Law 6.962, 1939, Law 10.629, 1945, Law 13.426 of 1965 and Law 12.049, 1953).

Legislation protects the work of minor women. All minors under 14 are forbidden to work. The only exceptions made are for children between 12 and 14, working in rural activities and small family industry under the direct control of parents and guardians and of the Council of Children, and then only when the work does not interfere with school obligations. Children between 14 and 18 may not work more than 36 hours a week or 6 hours a day, and may not work between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m. There are exclusive provisions for female minors, forbidding all those under 18 from working as professional actors in public representation, and all those under 21 from participating in revues, cafe-concerts, or similar events. In addition, until they are 18 women are not allowed to work in streets, plazas or public places. (Children's Code, 1934).

2.4. Summary

From the preceding paragraphs it is clear that Uruguayan legislation progressively has equalized the political and civil rights of men and women. Differences are maintained, however, whenever it has been considered necessary to afford special protection to the woman, either in her work, the family, or in marriage. Thus, we can conclude that the woman enjoys legal privileges based on her biological nature or on the traditional role that has been assigned to her by society.

The absence of any legal barriers to women's labor force participation, and the special protections given to working mothers, undoubtedly contribute to the comparatively high level of female labor force participation in Uruguay. In addition, the general acceptance by society of women's equality, as formulated in the Constitution of 1954, surely facilitates their acceptance as full working members of the society.

Although the legislation in force in any society is generally a reliable indicator of the state of the social, political and moral conscience of the society at a given time, the actual conduct of the members of society is not always in accord with legal precepts. It cannot surprise us, then, that some of the provisions described in the previous paragraphs are in fact complied with only partially or not at all. A detailed analysis of those rights which the law attributes to the women that are in fact not exercised, of the social protections for the woman which are mere legal illusion, and of the prohibitions that are violated, frequently to the detriment of the dignity of women, would go beyond the limits of this report. It is possible to conclude, nonetheless, that the laws in Uruguay with respect to women are "progressive", to the extent that they have furthered the habitual conduct of the members of the society, and that if there are barriers to women's full participation in the labor force they are not legal.

Chapter III

DEMAND FOR FEMALE LABOR

3. 1. Introduction

In our description of the female labor force, we will analyze it as a category of the entire labor force, and as a category of the female population. Both the characteristics of the entire labor force (which reflects the nature of the economy) and the characteristics of the population influence the labor force participation of women.

Our discussion will be within a framework of supply and demand for female non-agricultural labor. We have considered demand to be influenced partly by the level of economic development, which determines the availability of non agricultural employment, and partly by the specific organization of the economy. In this section we will examine the organization of the economy by sector; are women excluded from some sectors, and are these sectors important sources of employment in the labor force?

Supply considerations will be those characteristics of the female population which might help us to understand their ability, and propensity, to engage in labor outside the home. If the society is one in which most married women do not work for wages, do almost all women marry? What is the age of marriage -- do women go directly from home or school to marriage, or does marriage occur a few years later than normal school leaving age? How do the age distribution and level of urbanization of the population affect the extent to which Uruguayan women work? Demographic and educational characteristics will be analyzed at greater length in Chapters V and VI.

The analysis within the framework of supply and demand, (though based largely on descriptive material from the 1960's) should suggest the direction of the impact of economic changes on the integration of women into the economy in the future; there has been little to suggest that the labor force is very different today.

In this chapter we will focus on the non-agricultural labor force, and in fact will be talking only about the non-agricultural labor force unless otherwise specified. Development literature commonly emphasizes the importance of the growth of the secondary and tertiary sectors in the process of development, and a corresponding decline in the proportion of the population employed in agriculture.

This focus is particularly appropriate in Uruguay. Though agriculture is highly important in producing Uruguay's exports (85% of the country's exports consist of beef, wool and hides) the particular kind of extensive herding here employs relatively little labor, and an insignificant amount of female labor. 23.9% of the adult

male labor force is engaged in agriculture, but only 2.7% of the adult female labor force. Thus, an examination of the female labor force is virtually equivalent to an examination of the female non-agricultural labor force.

We will, however, concentrate on the labor force participation of rural women in chapter VII. Although the rural population is not large in this highly urbanized country, the labor force participation of rural women is of special interest since agricultural production for export is a pillar of the economy, and increasing attention is being paid to the productivity of this sector.

We will also be talking only about the adult labor force, that is, workers 15 and over. There is very little child labor here -- only 9,009 men and 3,575 females between the ages of 10 and 14 were counted as economically active in 1963. We might have also excluded the population over 60: we did not, but only because the comparative data we had available was based on ages 15 and above, with no cut-off age.

3. 2. The size of the labor force¹

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>% Male</u>	<u>% Female</u>
All economically active	971,186	730,377	252,280	75	25
All economically active outside agriculture	787,575	553,489	234,084	70	30

Thus, while one out of every four members of the total labor force are female, when we look only at the labor force in the secondary and tertiary sectors, one out of every three workers are female. This is much the same division as in most Latin American countries.

4. 3. Activity Rates

We are also interested, however, in the degree to which both male and female adults are active in the labor force. When we examine the activity rates of the male population, we find that 79.1% of the adult male population is economically active, and 60.2% of the adult male population works outside of agriculture. For the female population, the activity rates are virtually identical: 25.35% of the adult female population is economically active, and 24.66% of this population is active

outside of agriculture. In other words, one out of every four adult woman is working either in the secondary or the tertiary sectors of the economy.

Both the male and female activity rates are high compared to the countries listed on the chart below. Uruguay's female activity rate is higher than that for any other Latin American country listed.

CONTEMPORARY ASSOCIATION BETWEEN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN NONAGRICULTURAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES (c. 1960)

Industrialized Countries (inc./capita = U.S. \$500+)	Activity Rate		Population (millions)		Under-developed Countries (inc./capita < U.S. \$500)	Activity Rate		Population (millions)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female
Total	64.3	28.1	216.4	232.9	Total	35.1	12.3	274.3	267.9
					URUGUAY	60.2	24.7	1.2	1.3
					<i>Class I</i>				
United Kingdom	78.6	40.4	19.5	21.6	Chile	56.1	21.8	2.1	2.3
Germany	78.4	35.1	19.4	22.7	Portugal	48.2	14.0	2.9	3.4
Switzerland	74.9	34.3	2.0	2.1	Puerto Rico ^b	46.2	19.7	0.7	0.7
Australia	74.3	27.8	3.7	3.6	Iraq	44.6	2.6	1.7	1.8
Netherlands ^a	72.5	21.9	3.9	4.0	Greece	41.9	12.2	2.9	3.2
					Costa Rica	40.9	16.3	0.3	0.4
United States ^b	71.5	32.0	61.3	65.0	Jamaica ^b	40.5	35.7	0.5	0.5
Canada	66.5	28.4	6.1	6.0	Egypt	40.1	3.5	7.3	7.5
Luxembourg	65.6	22.2	0.1	0.1	Rumania ^b	40.0	12.6	6.2	6.8
Denmark ^a	65.5	35.9	1.7	1.8	<i>Class II</i>				
Austria	64.9	31.2	2.5	3.1	Iran	39.6	7.0	5.6	5.4
					Peru	39.5	15.3	2.8	2.9
Sweden ^a	64.6	31.4	2.9	3.0	Panama	38.6	23.3	0.3	0.3
Argentina ^b	64.3	22.4	7.1	7.1	Morocco	38.4	4.5	3.2	3.3
France	62.8	29.3	16.7	18.2	Turkey	36.4	2.7	8.2	8.1
Norway	62.7	22.9	1.3	1.3	Syria	35.0	3.2	1.2	1.2
Japan	62.6	28.8	31.5	33.8	Ecuador	34.9	21.8	1.2	1.3
					Tunisia	34.9	4.4	1.1	0.9
Venezuela ^a	61.7	20.0	1.8	1.7	India	31.9	8.8	133.6	125.2
Israel ^b	58.4	22.0	0.7	0.7	Mexico ^a	30.6	12.0	12.5	13.0
Italy ^b	57.3	24.2	18.9	20.1	<i>Class III</i>				
Hungary	56.4	25.7	3.5	3.9	Nicaragua	29.4	19.0	0.4	0.4
Finland	52.5	33.0	1.5	1.6	Korea ^a	29.1	9.1	7.3	8.1
					El Salvador	28.1	17.4	0.7	0.7
Poland	50.8	24.1	9.3	10.5	Indonesia	26.9	10.9	27.0	28.7
Ireland ^b	48.6	24.0	1.0	1.0	Pakistan	26.4	2.3	26.6	23.5
					Philippines	26.1	18.2	7.2	7.3
					Honduras	23.9	13.1	0.5	0.5
					Thailand	20.6	11.8	7.4	7.5
					Sudan	14.6	1.6	2.9	3.0

^aPopulation <20 for Netherlands and Sweden; 18+ for Denmark; 20+ for Venezuela; 12+ for Mexico; 13+ for Korea.

^bPopulation 14 and older.

Sources: Per capita income [Davis, 1972]; population [UN, 1965: Table 8]; nonagricultural economic workers [UN, 1965: Table 8], except Pakistan and UK [UN, 1968: Table 2A].

Male activity rate in non-agricultural economic activities can be taken as an indicator of the development and the availability of jobs: were the male activity rate low, one would expect female rate to also be low. When the male activity rate is much higher than the female rate as it is in all the countries on the following chart, however, it suggests that other factors besides the demand of the economy for labor in the secondary and tertiary sectors are influential."

FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES, BY ACTIVITY RATE OF ADULT MALES, IN NONAGRICULTURAL ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Class and Country	Activity Rate		Population (millions)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Underdeveloped (<i>income/capita</i> <U.S. \$500)				
Total	35.1	12.3	274.3	267.9
URUGUAY	60.2	24.7	1.3	1.3
Class I: <i>male activity ranges from 40 to 56 percent</i>				
Chile	56.1	21.8	2.1	2.3
Portugal	48.2	14.0	2.9	3.4
Puerto Rico	46.2	19.7	0.7	0.7
Iraq	44.6	2.6	1.7	1.8
Greece	41.9	12.2	2.9	3.2
Costa Rica	40.9	16.3	0.3	0.4
Jamaica	40.5	35.7	0.5	0.5
Egypt	40.1	3.5	7.3	7.5
Rumania	40.0	12.6	6.2	6.8
Class II: <i>male activity ranges from 30 to <40 percent</i>				
Iran	39.6	7.0	5.6	5.4
Peru	39.5	15.3	2.8	2.9
Panama	38.6	23.3	0.3	0.3
Morocco	38.4	4.5	3.2	3.3
Turkey	36.4	2.7	8.2	8.1
Syria	35.0	3.2	1.2	1.2
Ecuador	34.9	21.8	1.2	1.3
Tunisia	34.9	4.4	1.1	0.9
India	31.9	8.8	133.6	125.2
Mexico	30.6	12.0	12.5	13.0
Class III: <i>male activity <30 percent</i>				
Nicaragua	29.4	19.0	0.4	0.4
Korea	29.1	9.1	7.3	8.1
El Salvador	28.1	17.4	0.7	0.7
Indonesia	26.9	10.9	27.0	28.7
Pakistan	26.4	2.3	26.6	23.5
Philippines	26.1	18.2	7.2	7.3
Honduras	23.9	13.1	0.5	0.5
Thailand	20.6	11.8	7.4	7.5
Sudan	14.6	1.6	2.9	3.0

Sources: See Table 1.

3. 4. Comparative male and female activity rates

Among the possible explanations of comparative differences in male and female activity rates in economic activity in Uruguay are the urbanization of the population, its age distribution, its demographic characteristics, educational differences between the two sexes, and the organization of economic activity by sector, the wage structure and the economic climate.

Urbanization. Female activity rates may be more heavily influenced (than male activity rates) by the extent to which the population is concentrated in urban centers. For women, who often have responsibilities in the home in addition to any market place activity they may be engaged in, the ease of access to employment sites may be particularly influential. Uruguay's high rate of economic activity by females, compared to most other Latin American countries, may reflect its high levels of urbanization. In 1963 80.1% of the Uruguayan population was urban; 46% of the total population lived in the one city of 100,000 and over, Montevideo.

Wage Structure. If wages paid to women were considerably lower than those paid to men, one would expect the differential activity rates to reflect this. Generally, the greater the gap between male wages and female wages, the less likely, for example, are married women to exchange home or leisure activities for a salary. In Uruguay, we have found no evidence that women earn less than men for the same job, though there is evidence that most women work in occupations which pay less than most occupations in which the majority of those employed are male. In several textile and leather factories we visited, for example, most of the cutters (cortadores) were men, while the seamstresses (cosedores) were women; the cortadores earned more than the cosedores, on the grounds that cutting is the more highly skilled and more physically demanding task.

Education. If men received more or better education than women, it might explain the difference in their rates of participation in the labor force. We will go into the comparative education of both sexes in Uruguay in Chapter V. Suffice it to say here that the following chart shows that at every level of education men and women were represented equally or nearly equally in the 1963 census. Measured by years of education received, women were as prepared to participate in the labor force as men.⁵

Población de 8 y más años por nivel de educación a/ y sexo b/.-
 (miles de habitantes)

Nivel de Educación	Total		Hombres		Mujeres	
	Población	%	Población	%	Población	%
S Instrucción..	233.6	10.6	116.3	10.7	117.3	10.6
Primaria Incompleta.....	1.050.6	47.9	532.5	49.0	518.1	46.9
Primaria Completa	489.4	22.4	220.3	20.3	269.1	24.4
Secundaria c/...	301.9	13.8	159.3	14.7	142.6	12.9
Superior d/.....	84.8	3.9	40.6	3.7	44.2	4.0
Otros e/.....	29.5	1.4	16.8	1.6	12.7	1.2
Total de 8 años y más.....	2.189.8	100.0	1.085.8	100.0	1.104.0	100.0

a/ El nivel de educación se refiere al último grado aprobado.-

b/ Incluye: A los sin información de edad.-

c/ Incluye: Industrial y Agrario.-

d/ Incluye: Cuatro años o más de Universidad y tres años y más de Normal.-

e/ Incluye: Sin dato, información deficiente, escuelas técnicas, secretariado, idiomas etc.-

Demography.

The major demographic characteristics of Uruguay -- which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter VI, would tend to narrow the gap between male and female rates of economic activity. The level of the birth rate, average life expectancy, age of marriage and proportions never-marrying all have a stronger influence on the extent to which women are likely to be economically active than they do on male activity rates. In Uruguay, birth rates are low, both in the urban and rural areas (about 21/1000 and 24/1000, respectively); thus, at any given time a smaller proportion of women have young children than in countries where fertility is high. Marriage is far from universal -- 14% of the women in the age group 40-54 were never-married in 1963, and occurs rather late -- the mean age of marriage is 23.6.⁶ Thus, the proportions single are comparatively large and those who do marry have time to acquire higher education or work experience before marrying. Female life expectancy is long, slightly more than 71 years, leaving most women with many years after her children are grown. The fertility, mortality and nuptiality characteristics of the population, then, are likely to influence positively the extent to which women are able to work outside the home.

The age distribution of the "elderly" Uruguayan population, however, result of its recent fertility and mortality history, would tend to depress the percent of both adult males and adult females who are economically active. A relatively larger proportion of the population are in the older age groups than would be the case in a population that was growing rapidly due to high fertility. This tilt toward the older years affects male and female participation in the same direction, downwards, but for different reasons. The bulk of the labor force in the older age groups are male, and in Uruguay retirement occurs earlier than in most countries; thus, male activity rates are likely to be somewhat depressed by the age distribution. On the other hand, in Uruguay as elsewhere, women are more likely to work when they are young and single. An age distribution which puts a relatively smaller proportion of the population in these early active years would depress female activity rates.

3.5. Economic Activity by Sector

The specific organization of the economy, as shown by the distribution of manpower among the different sectors, is a determinant of the demand for female labor. Extractive industries, such as mining, generally exclude women, while the service sector is often heavily female. Thus, the importance of the different sectors to the labor force, as well as cultural mandates, will importantly affect the comparative male and female activity rates.⁷

	<u>% of total employment in sector</u>	<u>% of total female employ- ment in sector</u>	<u>% of total male employment in sector</u>
Agriculture	19.44	2.9	24.9
Mines	.25	.0094	.33
Industry and Manufacturing	23.11	25.03	22.48
Construction	5.86	.78	7.73
Electricity and Gas	1.75	9.0	2.1
Commerce	13.70	11.14	14.54
Transportation	6.19	1.48	7.75
Services	28.52	57.66	18.9

While it is clear that there are a number of sectors in which hardly any women work -agriculture, mining, construction and transportation- of these only agriculture can be said to be a major source of employment for men. Thus, it can be said that the specific organization of the economy does not emphasize areas which exclude women; on the contrary, women are a significant part of all the important non-agricultural economic sectors.

Manufacturing and Industry

Within the manufacturing and industrial sector, women are represented in proportions corresponding to their overall representation in the labor force. This does not mean, however, that they are spread evenly throughout the sector. Two sub-classifications, both part of the textile industry, account for 81% of the female employment in the whole sector, but only 19.24% of the total employment in the sector. As the following chart shows, women are virtually absent in some sub-classifications and over-represented in others, as they are in both Chile and Colombia.³

FEMALE PROPORTION OF MANUFACTURING SECTOR WORKERS
BY TYPE OF INDUSTRY: LATIN AMERICA
AND THE MIDDLE EAST
(Population 15+)

Industry Group	Uruguay	Chile ^a	Colombia	Egypt	Syria	Turkey
All manufacturing industries	25.0	24.0	27.0	3.3	6.5	8.1
Food	15.1	12.5	22.8	2.3	3.3	4.8
Beverages	3.9	7.7	10.3	1.1	2.1	5.8
Tobacco	31.8	31.7	50.4	1.5	46.3	51.5
Textiles	53.2	38.0	52.4	4.7	11.5	21.9
Wearing apparel, footwear and other textiles	70.7	61.0	60.0	1.8	6.9	6.1
Wood (except furniture)	2.0	2.4	9.6	0.4	0.6	1.1
Furniture and fixtures	5.9	3.5	5.1	0.1	0.3	1.3
Paper and allied products	33.1	15.0	24.8	5.0	0.7	11.3
Printing, publishing and related	14.0	14.0	20.2	0.4	1.5	4.0
Leather and leather products	17.9	10.1	13.0	1.2	0.9	0.9
Rubber products	18.7	13.0	15.4	2.3	5.1	6.3
Chemicals and chemical products	32.5	21.7	28.7	4.4	3.7	12.7
Petroleum and coal products	11.5	0.1	8.2	1.3	1.7	4.3
Nonmetallic products (except petroleum and coal)	7.8	7.9	10.7	1.6	1.5	3.6
Metal smelting, basic metal and metal products	7.5	5.5	12.8	0.9	0.9	1.0
Machinery	3.0	3.5	3.7	0.4	0.5	1.5
Electrical machinery, equipment and appliances	10.5	10.0	6.8	1.0	0.0	3.5
Repair of transport equipment	1.3	1.7	1.8	0.2	0.0	3.8
Miscellaneous	30.5	9.0	23.4	21.0	10.8	9.7

^aPopulation 12+.

Services

The provision of service is an important source of economic activity in Uruguay, disproportionately so for working women since it includes teaching, medical services and social work, as well as domestic service. The sector as a whole is 50% female. If domestic service is excluded, it is 36.9% female, and if "substitute domestic service" such as laundries, and restaurants are excluded, it is 24% female.

The above figures suggest the importance of women to the service sector. They do not, however, suggest the reciprocal importance of the service sector to economically active women. More than half of the working women in Uruguay are employed in the service sector, one fourth of them as domestic service. In other words, one out of every four is a domestic.

3.6 Economic Growth

This is an area which we can only venture hypothesis. Bowen and Finnegan's analysis of the labor force participation of married women in the United States showed that the effect of increased levels of unemployment is not to add additional female workers to the labor force (to compensate for the loss of the male's contribution to family income), but rather to discourage females from entering the labor force. Many women, they concluded, who might otherwise seek employment (and thus be counted as economically active even if they do not find it) will, in the face of increasing unemployment, become discouraged, and will not look for a job. To the extent that a higher proportion of the female population can be considered in a marginal employment category - ready to work at some times but not at others - unemployment will discourage female employment proportionately more than male.

In Uruguay, unemployment has not been high, compared to other Latin American countries, and has been most severe in sectors in which women are not employed, such as construction. For both men and women, the average percent of unemployment between 1965 and 1969 was 8%.

Emigration has probably kept the unemployment figures down. Petruccelli estimated that most emigrants have been in the younger active working ages, and that four-fifths of them were women. The stagnation of the economy, reflected in this case by a combination of moderate unemployment rates and apparently high emigration rates, probably have acted to discourage females from entering the labor force. In economics that are expanding rapidly, such as that of Hong Kong in the past decade, women are usually drawn into the labor force; in addition they tend to shift from domestic services to manufacturing.

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3.7 Summary

Female labor force participation rates in Uruguay are higher than in most other Latin American countries, perhaps because of the lower birth rate and higher educational levels. On the other hand, female activity rates are, as they are in most countries, considerably lower than male activity rates. We have suggested some possible reasons for this discrepancy, and will suggest others in following sections. None of the demand factors which we have discussed so far would explain the difference in activity rates: the level of economic development is such that most employment is in non-agricultural sectors of the economy, and the specific organization of the economy is such that sectors in which women do not normally work, such as mining or heavy industry, are not highly important to the economy. On the contrary, nearly 30% of those who are economically active work in the service sector, which is generally an important source of employment for women, as it is in Uruguay. The lack of growth in the economy, however, probably affects female employment more than male, since more women can be considered to be in the secondary, or reserve, labor pool.

Continuing our examination of the demand for female labor, in the next chapter we will examine more closely the occupational distribution of the female labor force. Although we have concluded that the organization of the economy by sector is not such as to discourage the participation of women, the idiosyncracies of the demand may influence the extent to which the demand for female labor will increase.

CHAPTER IV4. 1. Occupational DEMAND FOR FEMALE LABOR, OCCUPATIONS
Distribution of Working Women

In order to understand and to predict the extent of female participation in the labor force, it is necessary to determine whether female workers are interchangeable with male workers, or whether there exists a definable female labor market, that is, a demand for female labor which may not easily be satisfied, for a variety of reasons, by male workers.

Valerie Kincaid Oppenheimer, in her study of the female labor force in the U.S., argues that a demand for female labor can be said to exist in labor markets where females predominate; if most of the employees in an occupation are females, that is equivalent to a demand for females.¹

Do such markets exist in Uruguay? Are most working women concentrated in occupations which are predominantly female, or are they spread throughout the occupations in proportions roughly corresponding to their share of the total labor force, 25%?

Of the 329 occupations listed in the Census, very few employed no women at all. We found, however, that 82.25% of the women worked in the 26 occupations that were more than 25% female:²

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Percentage of employment in occupation that is female</u>	<u>Number of Women in Occupation</u>
1. Laundresses, self employed	99.2	7,179
2. Laundresses, domestic service	98.2	1,603
3. Domestic Servants	97.7	59,682
4. Dressmakers (not ind.)	83.0	28,895
5. Nurses, midwives	82.9	6,879
6. Nurses's aides	81.8	1,078
7. Professors and teachers	81.8	15,734
8. Secretaries	67.5	3,492
9. Social workers and clergy	66.7	2,732
10. Bottlers and packers	65.2	2,146
11. Workers in janitorial services	61.9	1,555
12. Weavers, spinners, dyers (industrial)	61.2	10,843

13. Others, not specified, in services	55.9	2,004
14. Hairdressers and barbers	55.5	5,192
15. Workers in paper production	53.5	328
16. Cooks (restaurants)	53.0	3,992
17. Telephone operators	48.5	1,886
18. Others in professional & technical work	48.0	402
19. Chemists and pharmacists	46.2	977
20. Elevator operators, porters	45.0	6,057
21. Workers in cigarette production	43.2	281
22. Artists	42.2	2,702
23. Workers in factories (janitors, etc.)	34.2	665
24. Other office workers	32.0	11,569
25. Sales persons	28.3	11,835
26. Personnel administrators in state offices	27.5	13,812

Of these 26 occupations, 7 accounted for 50% of the working women.

Laundresses, self employed
Laundresses, domestic service
Domestic servants
Dressmakers and tailors
Nurses and midwives
Nurses' aides
Professors and teachers

Three of the occupations, domestic service, dressmakers and teachers, accounted for 44.6% of the female labor force. Nearly one out of every two working women is either a domestic, a dressmaker or a teacher.

That there are some jobs which seem to be considered women's work becomes even more evident when one examines the subclassification of the Census Agrupaciones. For example, while the Agrupacion Professors and Teachers is 82% female, only 30% of the professors at the university level are women, while 63.7% of the secondary and vocational school teachers and 91% of the primary school teachers are female. And within the subclassification themselves are hidden concentrations in occupations by sex: for

example the subclassification "Cutters, sewers and others occupied in making clothing" is predominantly female, but visits to several clothing factories made it clear that almost all of the cutters are men, and almost all of the sewers are women.

A look at the list of occupations which have more than their share of working women suggests that women are not working in occupations that can be considered to be feminine because of their relation to traditional homemaking tasks or activities (sewing, bottling and packing, nursing, etc.) they are in occupations which have come to be considered, throughout the western world at any rate, as usually female jobs- typists and stenographers, sales-girls, telephone operators. If the women are working in factories, it is most likely to be work that emphasizes the preliminary home-learned skills- operators of sewing machines in factories, or weavers.

One might expect a greater dispersal of women in the occupations which require a number of years of specialized education, that is, the professional occupations. These extra years of schooling can provide skills not so closely related to the traditional female tasks of the home, expand interests, and, since the vast majority of education in Uruguay is co-educational, lead to a sense of occupational equality among women and men.

The overall representation of women in the professions is high, as it is throughout Latin America; 57.5% of all those in the professions are women. Without primary school teachers and nurses, however, the number of female professionals would be cut in half, since the numbers in the other professions are relatively small. It is noteworthy that while for a country that depends so heavily on agriculture there are very few agricultural professionals (agronomists, veterinarians); only slightly more than 4% of this classification is female.

The following chart clarifies the location of women within the professions: 3

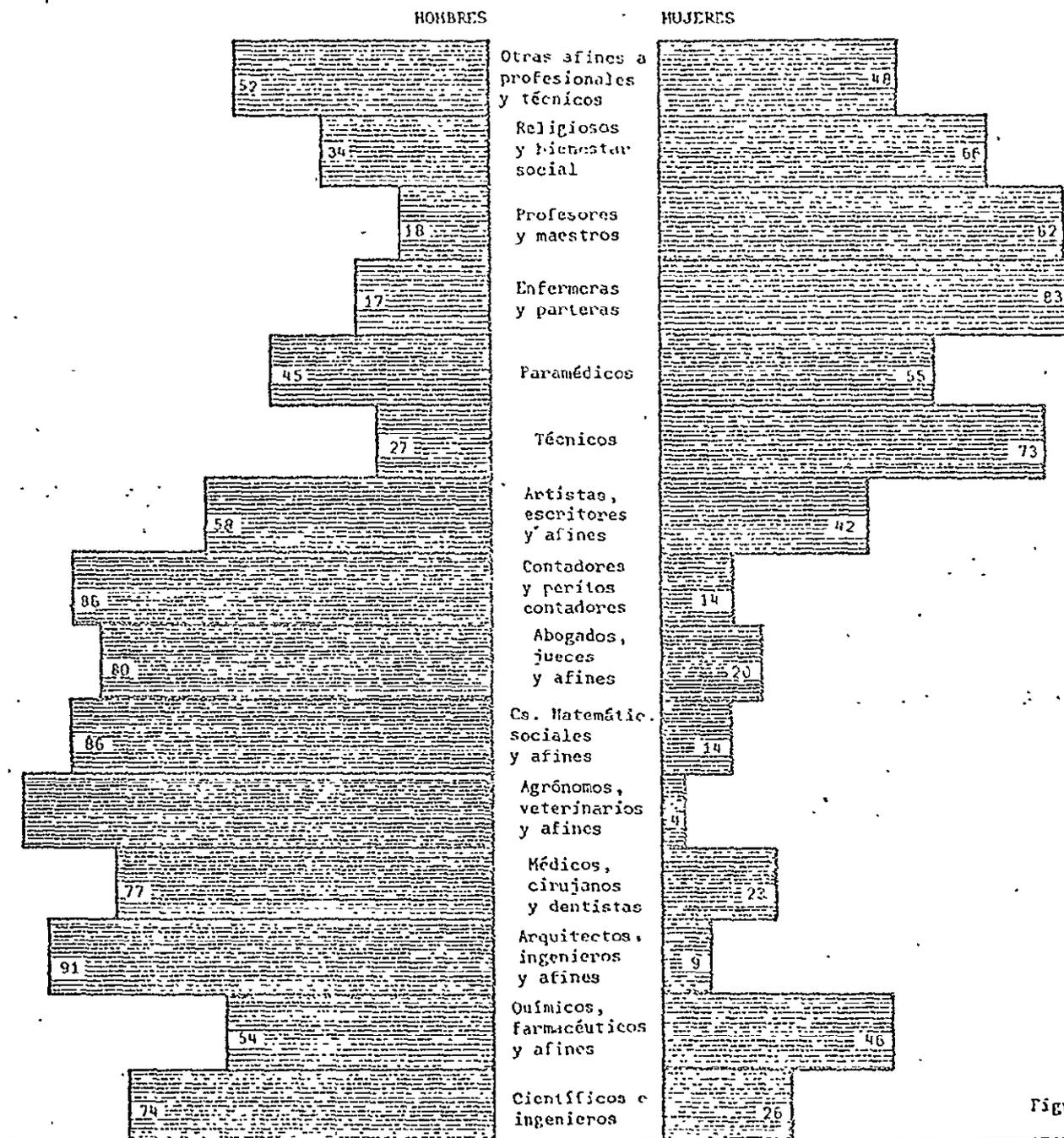


Figura 1

Again, however, the relative grossness of the occupational classification masks finer differences- women are 22.0% of the classification Doctors, Surgeons and Dentists, but they are only 15% of the subclassification doctors and surgeons and 40% of the subclassification dentists. Similarly, in the classification "Lawyers, Judges, and Persons in Related Occupations", women are 14.5% of the lawyers, 10.2% of the magistrates and judges, and 27% of the responsible justices of the peace, notaries, persons responsible for public registers and persons in other legal occupations.

To compare the dispersal, presumably related to years of education, we calculated that women are overrepresented in 7 of the professional occupation categories, and under-represented in 5. In the manufacturing and industrial occupations, we found that women were over-represented in 7, but under-represented in 17. Thus, while women hold their own in more than half of the professional occupations, they do so in less than one-third of the manufacturing and industrial occupations.

Occupations that are disproportionately female in Uruguay have a strong relation to traditional female activities, whether one looks at occupations which require little education (domestic service, factory work) or whether one looks at the professions, whether one looks at "old fashioned" occupations such as domestic service or nursing, or more modern occupations such as sales or office workers.

4. 2. Predicted Demand in Female Occupations

Because, as we pointed out in Chapter I, the rate of economic growth in Uruguay has been very slow indeed since 1963, we do not expect this pattern of occupational concentration to have changed much between then and now. Were the economy expanding, we could expect women to be drawn into occupations in which they had hitherto not worked, especially once the primary labor pool (consisting predominantly of men in the active working ages) were exhausted. Even with economic expansion, however, we would expect the pattern of occupational concentration to remain evident: in the United States in 1960, for example, 80% of the female labor force was engaged in occupations which were disproportionately female.⁴

The pattern of occupational concentration in Uruguay is so strong that estimations of change in demand for female labor can be based on estimations for growth or decline in the occupations which are now highly feminine. Let us look first at the likelihood of change in demand for seamstresses, teachers and domestics, since these three categories are by far the largest, accounting for nearly one out of every two working women.

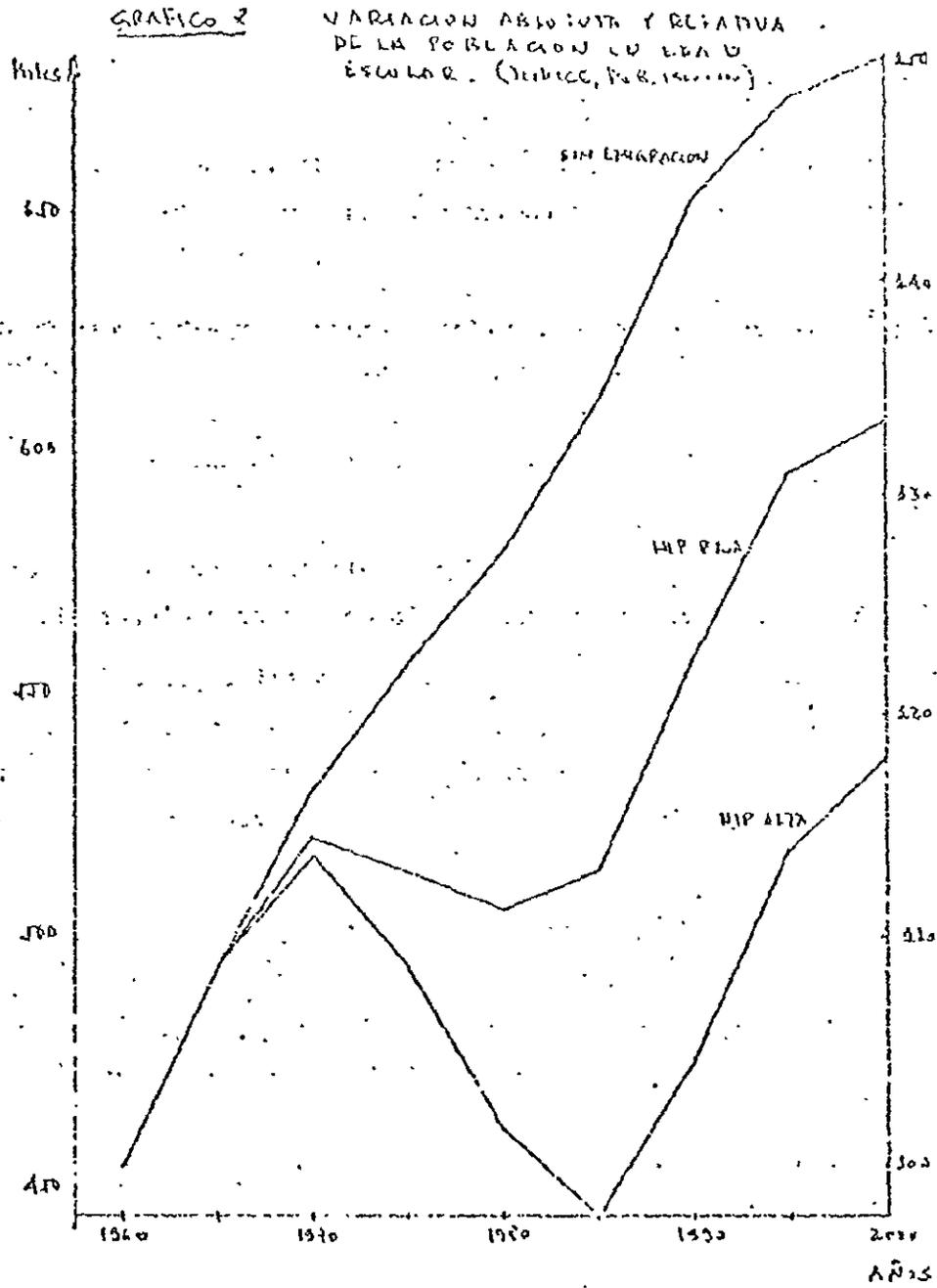
Seamstresses - It is highly improbable that the demand for seamstresses will increase significantly. This group, now second in size only to domestic servants, by census definition does not work in a factory. It is only in peculiar situations that the cost of handmade garments is cheaper than machine-made garments. In addition, with a population that is growing very slowly, (thus fewer children who grow out of their clothes) and will not in

the foreseeable future be able to afford the luxury of an increase in the purchase of comparatively expensive hand-made clothes, it is likely that this group will decrease in importance.

Teachers - Here also the outlook for an expansion of demand is dim. The primary school market is saturated -almost all children between the ages of 6 and 14 are in school. Changes in the organization of primary education, for example, a reduction of pupil/teacher ratios, could increase the need for primary school teachers. Some expansion of secondary schools will take place when the 1958 Constitution and 1973 Education Law making 3 years of secondary education obligatory goes into effect; secondary school teachers are 63.7% female, so this should provide some demand.

More importantly, however, there is reason to believe that the school age population will not only decline proportionately (as a consequence of the aging of the population but may decline absolutely as well.

José Luis Petrucelli, who has estimated recent emigration and has projected the population between 1965 and 2000 on the basis of these projections, suggests that the emigration will have a considerable effect on the number of children of school age. The HB is the low hypothesis, an emigration of 320,000 between 1965 and 2000, the HA is the high hypothesis, an emigration of 600,000 people during this period. He considers that emigration would cease in 1985 under the high hypothesis, and 1980 under the second. The following graph shows the effect of this estimated emigration on the projected number of school children:



Thus, the high hypothesis, (a not unreasonable estimate) would mean that between 1970 and 1985 the school population, ages 6 to 14, would decrease from 517,000 to 445,000, a loss of nearly 75,000 potential students, or 15%. Only by 1995 would the 1970 levels be achieved. The lower hypothesis shows a smaller descent between 1965 and 1980, when emigration is assumed to cease.

The high levels of emigration will have a clear effect on the school age-population, and therefore, on the demand for primary school teachers.

Domestic service - The largest category of demand for female labor is domestic service. One out of every four working women is a servant in a private home. There is no reason to believe that the demand for this occupation will increase (in the economic sense of demand) and every reason to believe that it will decrease, as it has steadily in all countries that have developed or are developing now. Indeed, the lament for the golden days of domestic service seems to be one of the indicators, a tell-tale sign that the economy has come a long way. The decline in demand for domestic service workers however, may mean a shift into demand for workers in services that substitute for domestic services, such as restaurants and laundries.

These three categories, then, in addition to being more than 80% female, employ the largest number of women. Between them, they account for 104,131 working women, or 44.6% of the female labor force. None of them is likely to do more than hold their own, and perhaps even somewhat less, in providing a demand for female workers.

Increased economic activity in the industrial and manufacturing sectors will almost certainly draw more women into the labor force, as well as shift employment away from occupations such as home sewing and domestic service; this, at any rate, has been the pattern in now-developed countries. When expansion is exceptionally rapid, as it was, for example, in Hong Kong, an even larger proportion of the new workers are likely to be female, partly because they will work for lower wages, and partly because women, especially married women, are often - as they are here (see Chapter V) a reserve or secondary pool of labor.

An increase in demand in those industrial and manufacturing occupations which are now predominantly female will, all other things being equal, increase female labor force participation rates faster than male. Since 80% of the women in manufacturing and industrial occupations are in the textile industries, an expansion in these industries will have the greatest effect on female labor force participation. In addition, women are the majority of the workers not only in textiles but in cigarette and paper production and bottling and packing as well; the numbers employed in these three latter occupations, however, are so small that even doubling the employment would have little effect on the total female labor force.

There appears to be no reason to believe that these industries will grow at a rate greater than the average for all secondary sector occupations. Growth in industries which now employ very few women such as machine industries, petroleum, etc -is likely to have little effect on female employment, at least in the short run.

The service occupations already account for more than 50% of the female labor force, and nearly 30% of the whole economy; while these will undoubtedly grow if the economy heats up, much of the effect on the female labor force is likely to substitute more productive for less productive services - restaurant workers for private cooks, for example- and higher educated service workers for lesser educated ones- laboratory technicians for hairdressers. Because so many of the females in the service sector are domestics, we would expect a substitution to occur before a growth in female employment in the service sector.

The occupational mobility of professionals is somewhat less than it is for occupations which require less education; a woman trained as a dentist, for example, is highly likely to work as a dentist. We were able to get information from some of the University facultades on the numbers of male and female graduates, and in turn to compare this with the proportions of male and females in the corresponding occupational classifications in the census. A precise analysis was impossible within the framework of this paper, but we are able to conclude that highly trained women are not only highly likely to work, but also highly likely to work in the profession for which they were trained. Very few women, as we well see in Chapter V, are studying in University facultades for professions in engineering, agriculture or industrial chemistry, and therefore, the numbers employed in these professional occupations are unlikely to increase significantly in the near future, no matter how great the increase in demand.

Summary

In summary, accepting the hypothesis that the demand for female labor is different from the demand from male labor -that employers want something different from the women than they do from the men- we can see that there is, at present, an obvious demand for female labor, measured by those occupational categories which were, in 1963, more than 80% female. Over half the female labor force worked in these occupations, and 44.6% of the female labor force works in only three occupations -domestic service, dressmaking and teaching.

Most of the remaining female workers are to be found in occupations which are over 25% female, and thus which have more than the labor force percentage of females. Even though these occupations apparently have a lesser degree of concentration, a closer examination finds that within the occupational classifications of the census are subclassifications in which female workers are, again, highly concentrated.

Thus, the picture of the female labor force is one of women working in a great variety of occupations, but of high concentration within a very few occupations, or subclassifications within occupations; there is, in fact, a specific demand for female labor in the Uruguayan labor force. More importantly, an examination of the occupations which are now employing the largest numbers of female suggests that the demand for female labor within these occupations is not likely to increase substantially, and in fact may even decrease.

This is not to say, of course, that women do not work now in occupations which are predominantly male- virtually no occupational classifications are without any women- or that they will not increase their representation in these occupations. It is only to say that drawing women into the labor force through increased demand in predominantly male occupations is likely to be much slower than increasing demand in areas which are already considered to be women's work.

The greater occupational dispersion in the professions would suggest that as education goes up, occupational concentration may lessen, at least somewhat; indeed, as we saw in Chapter V and VI, the supply of female labor is becoming increasingly educated, and we expect that the distinction between men's work and women's work will become less rigid in the future.

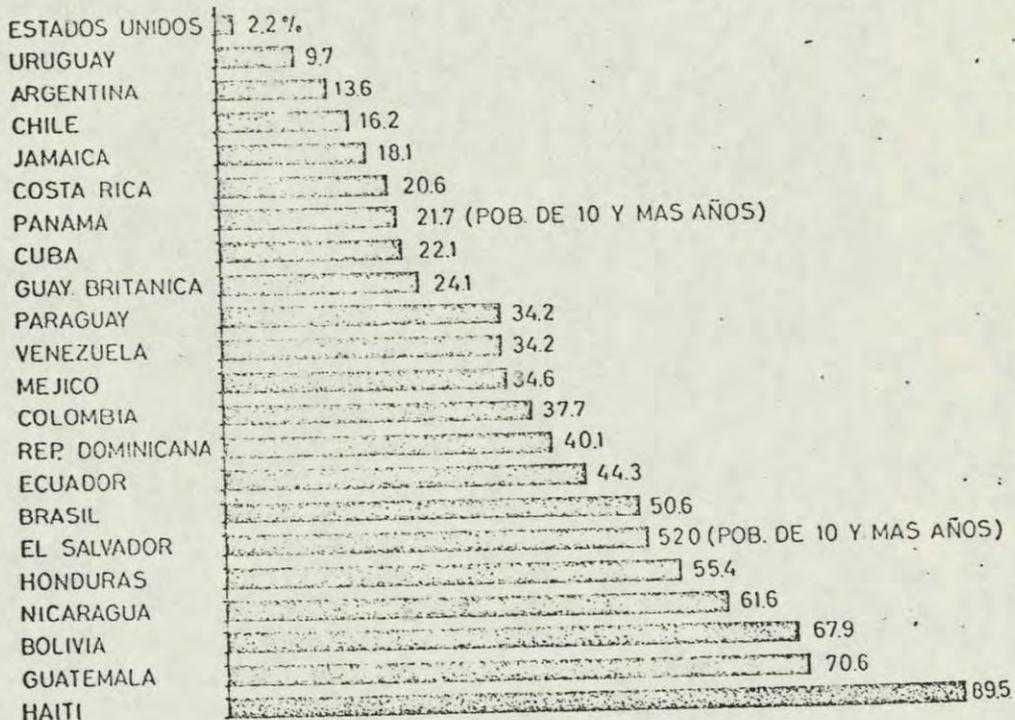
It must not be automatically assumed, of course, that higher levels of female labor force participation or greater occupational dispersion automatically means that women are better off; quite the reverse may be the case if the occupations in which they work are low paid or disagreeable, or if provisions for care of children and the house are inadequate.

In the foreseeable future, women are likely to work in the same occupations that they do now, and it is on the rise and fall of activity in areas which demand labor from these occupations that the future nature of the female labor force is likely to depend.

CHAPTER V
EDUCATIONV.1. History

The population of Uruguay, both male and female, has a level of education that many underdeveloped countries are trying strenuously to achieve. Were the eradication of illiteracy and the equal education of females the only indices of modernization, Uruguay would rank with the developed industrialized countries.¹

Gráfico V TASAS DE ANALFABETISMO EN AMERICA
POBLACION DE 15 Y MAS AÑOS



In addition to general cultural factors that predisposed the Uruguayans to value education (such as the preponderance of European immigration) and the logistical advantages of a small, compact terrain, the educational reforms of Verela in the 1870's were an enormous stimulus to the spread of education among all levels of society. In 1877 primary education was made obligatory; children between ages 6 and 14 were considered to be of legal school age and were required to complete primary studies. The law was not always complied with, of course; many students did not attend school, many did not finish primary school, and many did not (and still do not) finish primary school by their 14th year of age. Nevertheless, the law, and an expanding system of publicly financed schools (and later, the requirement of proof of school assistance in order to receive government family bonuses) made for a growing rate of primary school attendance.

Very early in the country's history special attention was given to the education of women. In 1795 the first primary school for women was

established; after the reforms of Varela, however, most girls went to coeducational primary schools, and in numbers just about equal to the boys. By 1908, 2/3, or 153 out of a total of 256 schools in Montevideo, were coeducational.² Secondary education was for many years divided by sex. In 1882 the Instituto Normal de Señoritas was organized to train teachers, and in 1911 the Sección Femenina de Enseñanza Secundaria was established. In 1915 the Universidad de Mujeres was created.

Although the enrollment of women at secondary levels and above was quite limited during these early years -only about .5 to 1% of all secondary students in 1911 were women- there were some women who took full advantage of all the levels of education.³ In 1879 the first woman was authorized by the Consejo Universitario to take examinations in mathematics and philosophy, the first woman dentist graduated in 1888, in 1901 the first woman entered the Facultad de Medicina, 1908 the first woman doctor graduated and in 1911 the first woman lawyer.

At the time of the national census in 1908, as in the census of Montevideo in 1889, women were represented equally in the lower levels of the educational system. Both the number of illiterates and the number of literates were equally divided by sex. Of the children between 5 and 14 who were receiving instruction, 94.64% of the population within these ages, 130,644 were boys, 128,365 were girls.

It is clear that the school population was equally divided between males and females, at least during the obligatory ages of schooling. The slight excess in numbers of males is due to the normal demographic excess of males in these age groups.

Although there is no information in the 1908 census on secondary education, it is likely that, as in 1889, girls fell behind in representation at the secondary level.

V. 2. Attitudes

The pattern suggested by this data becomes more evident in the educational statistics of the 1930's, the 1940's, the 1950's and the 1960's. Virtually all children attend primary schools. At the secondary level, boys outnumber girls considerably at the beginning of the century, and enrollment only becomes roughly equal between 1945 and 1950, though there are an increasing number of women during these years who take full advantage of the educational opportunities to become either teachers (through the normal school system) or members of a small group of highly educated female professionals.

The detailed report made by the Comisión de Inversiones y Desarrollo Económico and the Comisión Coordinadora de las Entes de Enseñanza, in 1966, (the CIDE report) covering education between 1942 and 1963, confirms this pattern. The report finds, once again, that girls and boys are roughly equally represented at the primary level.

A difference in attitude toward schooling for girls and for boys, however, is suggested by the greater drop out rates for boys.⁷

Cuadro N° 29

TASAS DE RETENCION DEL CICLO ESCOLAR PUBLICO --- ANALISIS POR
REGIONES Y SEXO

Generacion	MONTEVIDEO			INTERIOR URBANAS			RURALES		
	Varones	Mujeres	Tasa de feminidad	Varones	Mujeres	Tasa de feminidad	Varones	Mujeres	Tasa de feminidad
1930/35	27.9	29.7	106.5	11.0	17.5	125.0	---	---	---
1955/60	56.6	62.0	109.5	36.7	42.1	111.7	11.9	15.2	127.7

Fuente: Oficina Técnica de la Comisión Coordinadora de los Entes de Enseñanza y CIDE sobre datos de ASTORI y otros.

Rural children of both sexes drop out faster than children in school in Montevideo or in urban centers in the interior, and boys drop out faster than girls in all three types of schools. The difference between drop out rates by sex is greatest in the urban interior schools.

The CIDE report offers the following explanation for the difference in male-female drop-out rates, which we quote at length because of the emphasis it places on the importance of different social attitudes toward men and women.

"The phenomenon of masculine desertion of the schools is complex, and is related to a collective attitude -particularly intense in the Interior- that expresses the conception of a model of masculine existence very similar to the manly image of a traditional nature, by which the parents urge the boy to separate himself from the life of the adults, to begin to act independently, to act in a way that implies a clear distinction from feminine conduct, even though in order to achieve this behavior the parents must give them a liberty which goes against the necessary vigilance and patterns of education required for the age. This will have repercussions on the efficiency of the educational process, since the lesser communication of the child with adults is a brake on his intellectual development. Also, to a more limited degree, it is an impediment to the careful accomplishment of the homework required by the teachers. If the child does adjust to this personality model, he will more easily come into conflict, at a certain age, with the discipline of the school".⁵

It may be, as CIDE suggests, that in the urban interior schools the higher drop-out rates of boys are due to these differences in attitude. On the other hand, the higher drop-out rates may be apparent, the result as much of an influx of girls into the interior urban schools between the 1st and the 6th. grades. The differential rural-urban migration figures, by sex, and the early increase in rural sex ratios, would suggest the latter. (see the section on rural migration of females).

Girls also repeat fewer grades during their primary school years.⁶

RELACION ENTRE LA REPITENCIA DE LOS SEXOS

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Curso	Diferencia en % entre las tasas de los sexos
1º	15.2
2º	21.7
3º	23.2
4º	20.2
5º	29.7

From the lower drop-out rates and lower repetition rates of the girls, it is clear that they are more efficient during their school years. They repeat fewer years, and they drop out of school more slowly. If this does imply different attitudes on the part of society toward schooling for boys and girls, the implication is that, at least through the primary grades, school is more important for girls. It may also reflect, however, greater job opportunities available to young boys, despite the strict regulations of child labor.

V. 3. Secondary Education

In a country in which primary school attendance is required, free and easily available to most students, secondary school attendance is a better indication of the importance of education to the society. Between 1942 and 1962 there was an enormous, more than 400% expansion in secondary education -both in liceo the first cycle of four years and preparatorias the second cycle of two years.⁷

INSCRIPCION POR CICLOS EN ENSEÑANZA SECUNDARIA
Período 1942 - 1963

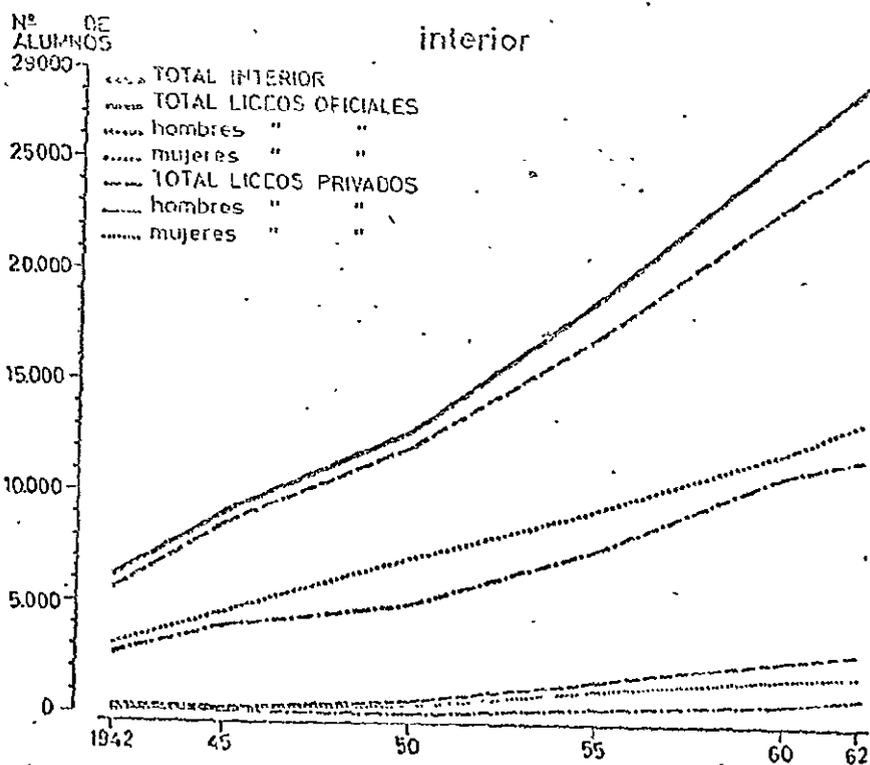
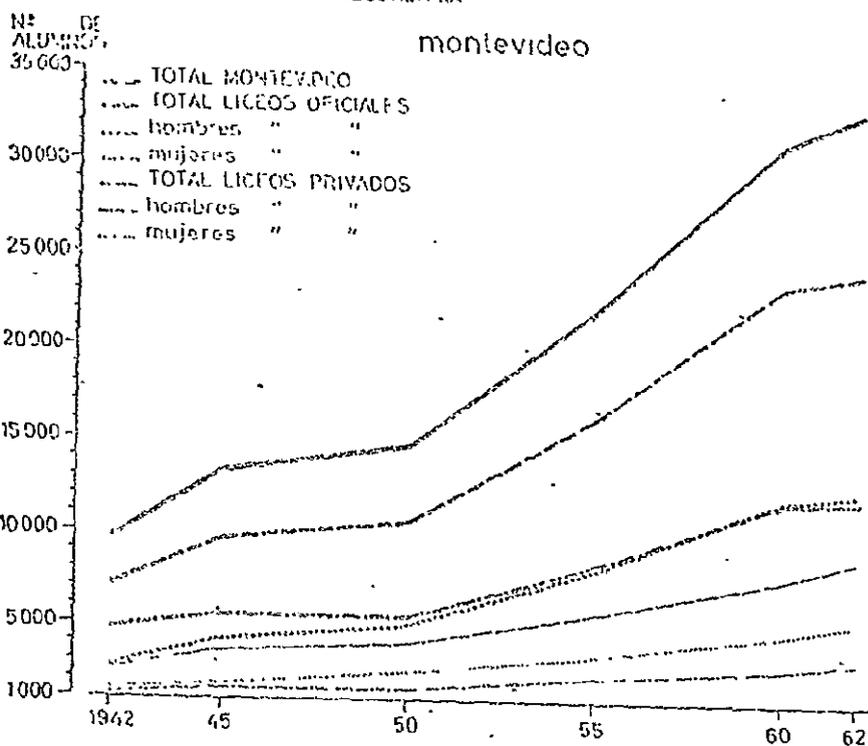
Año	Total	Índice	1er. ciclo	Índice	2º ciclo	Índice
1942	19.309	100	15.832	100	3.477	100
1946	26.835	139	22.297	141	4.538	130
1950	34.226	177	27.393	173	6.833	197
1955	49.090	254	40.996	259	8.094	233
1960	69.727	361	57.099	361	12.628	363
1962	75.958	393	61.490	388	14.468	416
1963	79.510	412	65.218	412	14.292	411

Fuente: Oficina Técnica de la Comisión Coordinadora de los Entes de Enseñanza, y CIDE sobre datos de la Oficina de Estadísticas de E. Secundaria.

Between 1953 and 1973, there has been a further increase, of nearly 200% to a total of 152,194 students enrolled at the secondary level (116,015 in the first cycle, 36,179 in the second).⁸

Gráfico XVII

EVOLUCION DE LA MATRICULA DEL PRIMER CICLO ENSEÑANZA SECUNDARIA



After having been in a minority at the secondary level for the first half of the century, women students began to outnumber men students from 1950 on. Between 1942 and 1962, male enrollment increased by 336%, female enrollment by 465%, though males remained in the demographic majority in these age groups. 7

INSCRIPCION POR SEXOS EN ENSEÑANZA SECUNDARIA			
Año	% masc.	S. M.	S. F.
1942	55.6	10,742	8,567
1945	53.2	14,269	12,561
1950	48.2	16,488	17,738
1955	46.7	22,936	26,154
1960	47.8	33,357	36,370
1962	47.6	36,140	39,818

Fuente: Oficina Técnica de la Comisión Coordinadora de los Entes de Enseñanza y CIDE sobre datos de la Oficina de Estadísticas de E. Secundaria.

Between 1965 and 1970, again, the rate of increase in female enrollment at the secondary level has continued to be greater than the rate of increase in male enrollment. In 1962 men accounted for 47% of the enrollment at the secondary level, and women 53%, in 1970 men accounted for 44% of the enrollment and women 56%. 10

The Constitution of 1968 and the Education Law of 1973 reorganized secondary education into two cycles of three years each, an obligatory basic cycle and a superior cycle. Since the law has not yet gone into effect, the great increase in enrollment at the secondary level is probably due to a growing recognition of the importance of education beyond the primary level -and, indeed, virtually all white collar jobs have required schooling beyond the primary grades.

V. 4. Comparative male/female educational levels

By the time of the 1963 census, there was no significant difference in the level of education of the male and female populations."

Population of 8 years and older by level of education and sex

	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>	
	<u>Population</u>	<u>Percentage</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Without instruction	116.3	10.7	117.3	10.6
Primary Incomplete	532.5	49.0	578.1	46.9
Primary complete	220.3	20.3	269.1	24.4
Secondary	159.3	14.7	142.6	12.9
Superior	40.6	3.7	44.2	4.0
Others	16.8	1.6	12.7	1.2
Total, 8 and older	1.085.8	100.0	1.104.0	100.0

Explanation: The calculations include those without information about age. Level of education refers to the last grade finished. Secondary includes industrial and agrarian schools. Superior includes four years or more of University and three years and more of Normal School. The category Others includes those without information or with deficient information, technical schools, secretary schools, language schools, etc.

It is only when the student has the opportunity to specialize, to select courses of study, that differences between men and women with regard to education emerge.

V. 5. Male-Female Differences in Specialized Education

There are several levels of specialized education available: agrarian school and the Universidad del Trabajo (UTU) after the completion of primary school; preparatorios; Normal Schools and the Universidad de la República.

Agrarian Schools and Normal Schools

Normal schools and agrarian schools represent choices in the direction of post-secondary education that are made virtually entirely on the basis of sex. Normal schools, which prepare teachers of the primary grades, are virtually entirely female, while agrarian schools are virtually entirely male.¹²

Not properly a normal school, the Instituto de Profesores "Artigas", the single school to prepare secondary teachers, is predominantly female, with 130 female students and 27 male students in 1964.¹³

La Universidad del Trabajo (UTU)

The Universidad del Trabajo (UTU) has been and is now roughly equally divided in its total enrollment, with a slight predominance of men. In 1954, 58% of the enrollment was male, in 1974, 64% of the enrollment was male.¹⁴

The following chart shows the division by sex among the different types of schools run by UTU:¹⁵

UNIVERSIDAD DEL TRABAJO

Matrícula por Escuelas y Sexo

TIPOS DE ESCUELAS	AÑO							
	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973
POLITECNICA FEMENINA	2.815	2.850	2.915	3.031	2.831	2.142	1.390	1.441
Varones	113	128	133	167	146	118	12	61
Mujeres	2.702	2.722	2.821	2.914	2.685	2.024	1.378	1.380
INDUSTRIAS NAVALES	863	819	952	824	789	907	872	828
Varones	863	819	952	824	789	907	892	827
Mujeres	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
I.N.E.T.	130	199	206	130	154	107	154	108
Varones	89	110	93	71	54	33	74	66
Mujeres	41	89	113	109	90	74	80	42
INDUSTRIALES POLITECNICAS	16.838	18.646	20.609	22.240	21.585	21.385	22.293	23.430
Varones	9.924	11.386	12.839	13.872	13.688	13.636	14.476	14.951
Mujeres	6.964	7.260	7.761	8.362	7.897	7.749	7.817	8.479
AGRARIAS GENERALES	505	552	619	623	531	507	521	447
Varones	504	549	612	616	596	505	521	447
Mujeres	2	3	7	7	5	2	—	—
AGRARIAS ESPECIALES	122	152	223	186	102	238	183	225
Varones	122	152	216	184	101	235	183	218
Mujeres	—	—	7	2	1	3	—	7

It is clear that while most of the types of schools have maintained the same proportion of male-female enrollment over the years, there has been a relatively much larger increase recently in male enrollment in the Escuelas Industriales Politécnicas, accounting for most of the increased masculinization of the Universidad del Trabajo.

In the appendix is included a list of all students by sex enrolled in non-agrarian courses in UTU in 1974. The list is long, but what is striking is that the women students are taking quite different courses than the men students, as they did in the period covered by the CIDE report. Of the 103 courses offered, 38 are either all male or all female, and most of the others are predominantly male or predominantly female. Of the 13,155 women, 8170, or over half, are enrolled in 5 courses: cutting and sewing, commerce, accounting, secretarial and weaving. Of the 22,800 men, over half are in four courses: carpentry, electricity, mechanics and naval mechanics.¹⁰

	Women	Men
Cutting and sewing	3.458	1
commerce	881	427
accounting	851	209
secretarial	1.959	438
weaving	1.011	1
	<u>8.170</u>	<u>1.075</u>
carpentry	2	3.124
electricity	30	3.744
mechanics	5	7.988
naval mechanics	0	-1.110
	<u>37</u>	<u>15.955</u>

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Only seven courses, most of them quite small, have a more or less proportionate enrollment: basketwork, woodcarving, gem cutting, commerce, drafting, ingreso (assistants in the construction industry, including architect's assistants) and formación masculina y femenina.

Except for the commercial courses, the predominantly female courses are those which either are organized as non-professional courses with no useful degree, or courses in which the majority of the students are in fact not taking a degree. In many female courses, specially those of the handcraft type, the women are considerably older than the female students in the commercial courses, or than the male students.

The majority of all students, however, do not graduate, and UTU is presently planning a reorganization which will provide shorter courses of study more specifically directed toward vocational training. The following chart shows graduates, by sex and by specialty, in recent years. 17

UNIVERSIDAD DEL TRABAJO

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Egresados Clasificados por Manualidades Agrupadas

MANUALIDADES	A Ñ O								
	1966			1967			1968		
	TOTAL	HOM.	MUJ.	TOTAL	HOM.	MUJ.	TOTAL	HOM.	MUJ.
TOTAL	3.036	1.866	1.170	3.137	1.808	1.329	3.903	2.157	1.746
Mecánica	662	662	—	680	680	—	757	757	—
Carpintería	265	265	—	277	277	—	267	267	—
Electrotecnia									
Electrónica	285	285	—	331	330	1	499	499	—
Construcción	171	123	48	193	144	49	166	127	39
Gráficos	62	35	27	24	18	6	28	19	9
Reparación y Const.									
Naval	47	47	—	51	51	—	76	76	—
Comercio	482	263	219	547	115	432	809	195	614
Manualidades Femeninas	554	—	554	643	3	640	772	—	772
Curso del Hogar	48	—	48	118	—	118	161	—	161
Belleza	263	9	254	72	7	65	128	15	113
Artes Aplicadas	35	15	20	33	15	18	68	40	28
Artesanales	25	25	—	28	28	—	42	34	8
Patrón de Cabotaje	—	—	—	15	15	—	8	8	—
Agropecuarias Generales	101	101	—	92	92	—	76	74	2
Agropecuarias Especiales	36	36	—	33	33	—	46	46	—

Universidad de la República

The same pattern of matriculation can be seen at the University of the Republic, where a near-equality of enrollment masks a quite different type of educational specialization.

The overall enrollment of students at the University shows a slight majority of men; out of every five students, three are male and two are female. The proportion of female students is the highest in all Latin America.

The University is divided into Facultades, which correspond to the traditional faculties of U/S. and European universities, and schools, which offer training in specialized fields such as nursing or social work. The Facultades are predominantly masculine (64%) while the Schools are predominantly feminine (77%). Many of the Schools, such as the library school, the nursing school and the school of social work, are virtually entirely feminine. Interestingly, it was found that the students of the schools were more likely to come from families headed by parents in the lower socio-professional categories than were students in the Facultades. When we remember the slight overrepresentation of girls from this level in the liceos, it suggests that relatively poorer parents are more likely to make the effort to provide further, and useful, education for their daughters than they are to prepare and send their sons to the relatively long period of academic training in the Facultades.

The following chart looks at enrollment in the Facultades.

<u>Facultades</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>1960</u>
Humanities and Sciences	73		62
Odontología	56		48
Química	55		37
Derecho	54		54
Medicina	35		46
Ciencias Sociales (Económicas)	30		35
Arquitectura	25		34
Veterinaria	30		21
Agrimensura			
Ingeniería	7		6
Agronomía	9		13

It is noteworthy that women are virtually unrepresented in university level training for careers that have to do with production, such as engineering and surveying, or for those careers such as veterinary medicine that are important to the present economy of the country.

Within the Facultades that offer several courses of specialization, such as law, medicine and chemistry, there is again a differentiation between male and female students. In chemistry, for example, most of the women specialize in pharmacology, the men in industrial chemistry; in law, most of the women are preparing for careers as notaries, the men in law.

V. 6. Specialized Education and Specialized Occupations

The foregoing has suggested that the apparent equality of the sexes in the educational system masks a marked degree of difference in the content of their education. Through the end of the first cycle of secondary education, i.e. four more years than are required by law, girl students are represented either equally or more than equally. Thus, it can be said that for those who go no further than primary school or the first cycle of secondary school, women are slightly more likely than men to take advantage of the free, available system of public education. Furthermore, continuing increase in numbers of women students at the secondary level suggest that in the future women will be even more prepared for white-collar jobs in the

labor force than they have been in the past.

Once the opportunity for specialization occurs, however, -normal schools, agrarian schools, the Universidad del Trabajo, the Universidad de la República, the content of the education differs considerably, even though the enrollment continues to be equally divided by sex. Women flock to some courses and avoid others, as do men.

There is no indication anywhere in the educational system that courses or schools are open only to members of one sex, with the possible exception of agrarian schools in the interior which have boarding facilities available only for men.

What does seem to explain the male-female differences in specialized education, however, is the obvious relation between specialization in education and specialization in employment. The following chart shows this relationship clearly:

SPECIALIZED EDUCATION
COURSES WHICH ARE
MORE THAN 70% FEMALE

Library School
Nursing School
Social Work School

Institute Artigas

Normal Schools

UTU courses in sewing,
weaving, etc.

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SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL COURSES
WHICH ARE MORE THAN THE
AVERAGE ENROLLMENT FEMALE

Sciences and Humanities
Social Sciences 59.0%
Dentistry 57.3%
Chemistry 54.3%
Law 43.3%

OCCUPATIONS WHICH ARE
MORE THAN 70% FEMALE

Domestic Servants,
Laundresses
* Nurses, Midwives 82.9%
* Tailors, Dressmakers 82.0%
* Paramedicals 81.75%
* Professors & teachers

OCCUPATIONS WHICH HAVE
MORE THAN LABOR FORCE
AVERAGE OF FEMALES

Domestic Servants,
Laundresses

* Typists & stenographers 67.5%
* Clergy and social a
assistants 66.7%
Bottlers & Packers 65.2%
Laundresses 61.9%
* Barbers and Hair-
dressers 55.5%
Workers in paper 53.5%
factories
Telephone operators 48.5%
* Others in technical
& professional work 47.9%
* Chemists, pharmacists 46.2%
Elevator operators 45.0%
Artists 42.15%
Workers in ciga-
rett factories 33.2%
Factory workers 34.2%

* Indicates occupations which require specialized
education or training

The computation in the preceding chart were made on the basis of large occupational classifications (Census Agrupaciones)- Professors and Teachers, for example, rather than the three subclassifications of rectors, professors and university professors, professors and teachers of secondary schools, and teachers of primary schools. If we had used sub-classifications, we would see an even greater specialization in the labor force. For example, 30% of the university professors are female, but 91% of the primary school teachers are female.

The feminine occupations can be divided into those which require little or no education, certainly none beyond the legal minimum of primary (the personal service occupations, elevator and telephone operators, the other industrial occupations) and those which require a degree, even a great deal, of specialized training before employment begins, such as nursing, secretarial work and teaching.

There is an obvious close correspondence between those female occupations that require specialized training before employment, and those institutes or courses of specialized education which are predominantly female. As we have seen in Chapter IV most employed women are in occupations which can be labeled female on the basis of the percentage of the total employed in the occupation who are women. Similarly, most women who receive specialized training do so in institutions or in courses that are predominantly female.

It is not surprising that there should be a relationship between specialized education or training, and occupation in the labor force. It is possible that the job market is differentiated by sex, that there is a specific demand for female labor, precisely because educational specialization has been differentiated by sex. It is even more likely, however, that students who seek education beyond the primary level are thinking in terms of future employment, and are well aware of the concentration by sex in the various occupations in the labor force.

Chapter VI
DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

1. Introduction

In the preceding chapters we discussed the characteristics of the female labor force. In this chapter we will look more closely at the one out of every four adult women who work -- how are they different from the ones who do not work? To the extent that we can distinguish pools of women with characteristics that make them more likely to be economically active, we can then predict the possibilities for changes in the supply of female labor. We will examine the characteristics most likely to affect the propensity of women to work: age, nuptiality, fertility, level of education, and urban/rural residence.

2. Age

The following chart and graph present activity rates by age:

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>% Economically Active</u>
10-14	3.8
15-19	26.6
20-24	38.6
25-29	36.6
30-34	33.2
35-38	31.1
40-44	29.6
45-49	27.0
50-54	21.5
55-59	15.6
60-64	9.5
65 &	3.3

Younger women are clearly more likely to work than older ones, though the curve of participation slopes down gradually until age 49. Any demographic changes, such as increased fertility or reduced infant mortality which would affect the age distribution of the population by making it younger would increase the supply of women to the labor force if this pattern of work rates continues; conversely, changes which would make the population even older, such as a further decline in fertility or significant emigration in the younger age groups, would reduce the supply of women to the labor force.

It is clear from the following discussion that age itself is less important in determining labor force participation, however, than age-associated events such as marriage and fertility.

3. Nuptiality

Marriage is clearly highly important in determining whether or not an Uruguayan woman is likely to be a member of the labor force.²

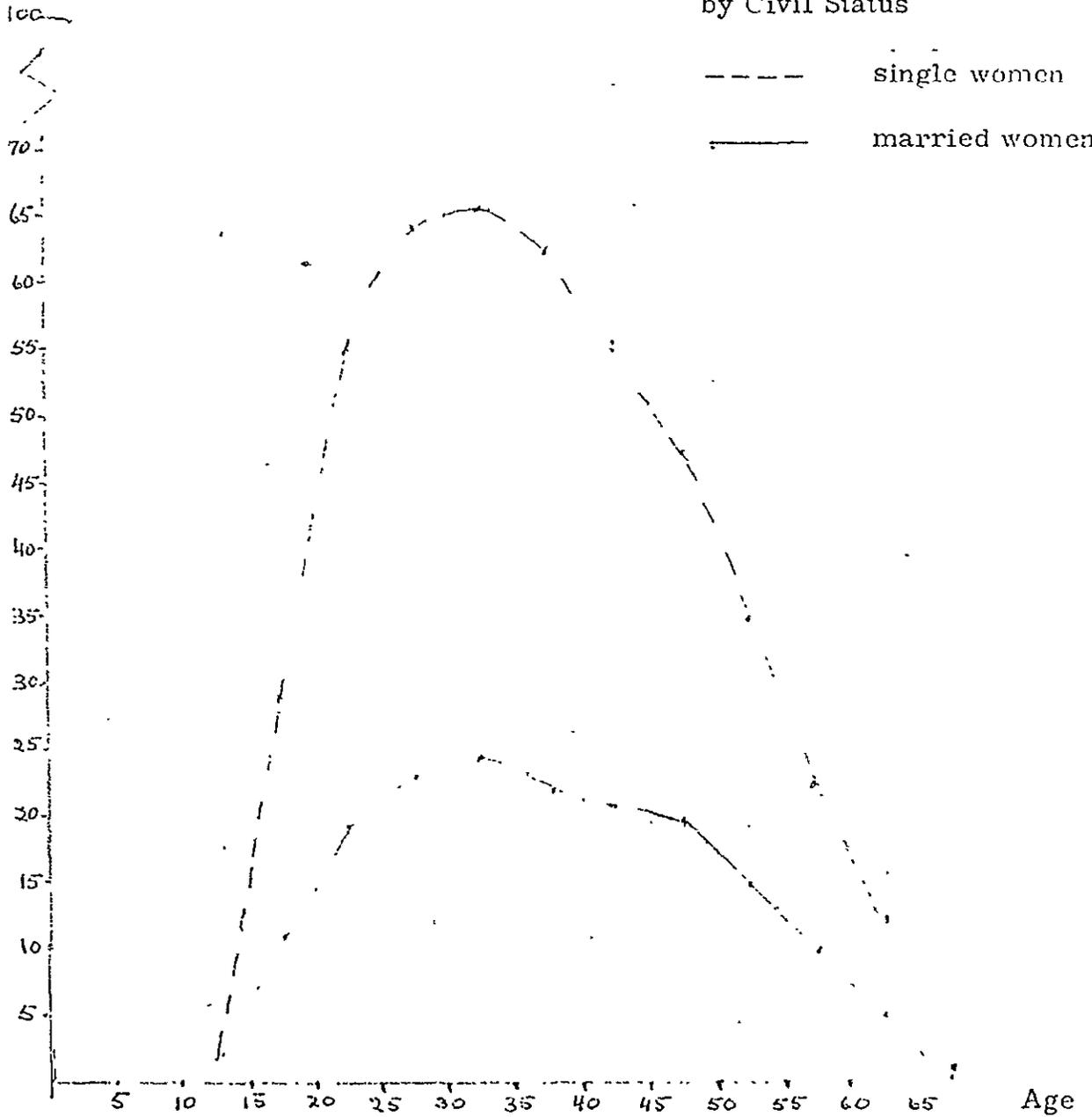
<u>Age Group</u>	<u>% Single Women Economically Active (includes widowed & divorced)</u>	<u>% Married Women Economically Active (includes consensual unions)</u>
15-19	3.7	11.2
20-24	28.2	19.0
25-29	55.1	23.3
30-34	64.3	23.6
35-39	65.7	22.4
40-44	63.0	22.0
45-49	56.4	20.0
50-54	46.9	15.2
55-59	34.8	10.4
60-64	22.6	6.0
65 &	12.9	2.0

In the single category, we have included both widowed and divorced as well as never-married, on the grounds that all three groups were assumed to have a need to be self supporting. The numbers of divorced women are small, as are the number of widowed women in the working ages. The category married includes both legally married and union libre, or consensual marriage; the latter is also a small proportion of population. Married, husband present, would have been a better category for our purposes than simply married, but the information was not available in the census. The tabulated information appears graphically as follows:

% economically active

Labor Force Participation by Civil Status

----- single women
———— married women



The age pattern of labor force participation for married and for single women is similar. Both rise relatively sharply, and then decline, though the curve for single women declines more steeply.

Although between the ages of 20 and 40 more than half of all single women work (only slightly more than one fifth of the married women between these ages work), we are somewhat puzzled by the comparatively low rate of participation of single women, and the steepness with which the curve of their participation declines. Participation rates for single women are much higher in the U.S. How do non-working single women in Uruguay support themselves? Are the never-married in fact living in undeclared consensual unions, or on their father's pensions?

The peak ages for labor force participation for both married and single women was the same, ages 30-34. This too is somewhat surprising, for the married women. The median maternal age in 1953 was 27 and age specific fertility rates highest between 20 and 29; thus, if these working married women had children during these years, the children would be still relatively young when the mother is between 30-34, after which ages work rates for married women begin to decline. It may be that this is influenced by the Ley Madre, which allows mothers to retire with a pension after one child and 10 years of labor force participation.

Unfortunately, our information did not allow us to control for any of the many variables that in other countries have been shown to influence the work rates of married women -- number of children by age of child, schooling, husband's income, etc.

The evenness of the rates for married women at all ages between 25 and 54, however, suggests that it may be the fact of marriage itself rather than the presence of young children in the home that determines whether or not a married woman works. Three-quarters to four-fifths of the married women in most ages do not work, but for those who do, most of them do not drop out of the labor force during the peak ages of childbearing. The level of non-participation may possibly be explained by social attitudes, the level of participation by the liberal maternity benefits, or by an overriding economic necessity.

Most Uruguayans seem to believe that a married woman's place is in the home, especially if she has children; that so many married women work suggests however, that these attitudes are apparently not a major barrier to the participation of married women if either need or desire is strong. Most of the occupations that are either predominantly female

or that employ large numbers of females (domestic service, seamstresses, textile workers) have little obvious attraction other than the salaries they offer. We can assume that women in the occupations are working either to support themselves or to add to a family income that is inadequate for their needs.

We have estimated the mean singulate age of marriage to be 23.6 years. An increase in the age of marriage or a fall in the proportions marrying, then, would influence the supply of women available for the labor force, by increasing the proportion of the female population that is single. On the other hand, changes in the propensity of married women to work would also affect the supply of female labor. If our hypothesis in Chapter III is correct, that the inflation and stagnation in real income over the past years would tend to increase the propensity of married women to work in order to maintain at least a gradually rising standard of living; we expect that (other things being equal) the labor force participation rates of married women will be higher in the census of 1975 than they were in 1963, and will continue to increase as long as the same economic factors are present.

4. Fertility

Fertility is one of the major variables associated with female labor force participation; most countries in which the average number of children per family is small have high rates of female labor force participation, and there is thought to be a causal relationship. In the U.S., the presence of children under six has been shown to be the single most important factor influencing whether or not a woman works. In Uruguay, fertility is low, and the female work rates are the highest in Latin America (see Chapter III).

Direct information in fertility in Uruguay is, maddeningly, scarcer than hen's teeth; the 1963 Census did not gather information on number of children ever born. Thus, we have to rely for most of our evidence about the level of fertility on birth rates, calculated on the basis of number of registered births over estimated population for the years between the two census in this century, 1908 and 1963.

There is evidence that in Uruguay the birth rate fell in the 1930s. The division of the population into age groups on the basis of the 1963 Census indicates a sharp drop in the size of the age groups born in the 1930s. Since there is no evidence of an unusual mortality experience for these groups, we postulate a drop in the size of the birth cohorts

during the depression years of the thirties, as indeed occurred in many countries. While there was a recovery of the birth rate in the 50's (on the basis of registered births over estimated population), the birth rate seems never to have regained its pre-1930's levels, and indeed seems to have been steadily though slowly decreasing since the 50's peak. It was estimated in 1971 as 21/1000.³

A sample survey of the Population of Montevideo in 1955 also shows a fall in the birth rate after 1930, affecting slightly the size of the age group 20-24 in 1955, and more severely the size of the age group 15 to 19.⁴ Other surveys in rural areas showed evidence of similarly lowered birth rates during the 30's in the towns and cities in the southern part of the country, but a strong rate of natural increase in the northern cities of Melo, and Tacuarembó.⁵ Evidence from the same surveys on number of children under 15 show the same regional differences: 22% of the population of Montevideo was under 15 years old, but 30 to 39% in some cities of the north, and 40 to 50% in some northern and eastern urban areas. A birth rate for Montevideo was estimated at around 15 to 16 per thousand.⁶

Birth rates, however, since they are influenced by the age distribution of the population, are not equivalent to fertility data, such as average family size, timing and spacing of children, which would directly affect the ages and years of female labor force participation. We found only two sources for this kind of information -- the 1955 Montevideo survey, and estimates of fertility based on births registered in the 1963 Census by age of mother.

The 1955 Montevideo survey found that the average number of children actually residing with the family was 1.4. Combining the categories of divorced, widowed and married women, more than 75% had 0, 1 or 2 children, and only 5% in the same category had more than 4 children. The average number of children for women between 40 and 49 years old (who can be assumed to have terminated almost all of their childbearing) was 2.1, but for the group aged 70 to 79 it was 4.3.⁷

The most recent estimates of fertility are based on the 1963 Census population and 1963 registered births. A total fertility rate, per women, of 3.25 children per woman has been calculated, with the following age-specific fertility rates: ⁸

<u>Age Group of Mother</u>	<u>Birth Rate per 1000 Women</u>
15-19	68
20-24	181
25-29	175
30-34	125
35-39	71
40-44	26
45-49	4

This age pattern of childbearing reflects the relatively late average age of marriage, around 24. The mean maternal age was 27.7

Given the low fertility rates (regardless of age), it is obvious that most fertile married women practice some sort of control of births.

We could find no indication that the government has ever encouraged reduced fertility; the birth rate seems to have fallen without government assistance. Extremely little funding has been made available for family planning. The Ministry of Health now operates one family planning clinic, in the city of Montevideo; twenty-one other clinics throughout the country are operated by the Association of Family Planning and Research on Reproduction, an affiliate of the International Planned Parenthood Foundation. The majority of the population is Catholic, but a strict church and state division has been maintained throughout the century, and government policy seems to have been rarely directly based on religious considerations, although abortion is illegal.

Government legislation may, however, have had unintended side-effects on fertility. For example, the long-standing old-age assistance and retirement pensions may have reduced the desire of parents for many children to support them in their old age, thus contributing to lowered fertility. Legislation which could be supposed to have a pronatalist effect, such as baby bonuses and maternity benefits, would seem to have had the opposite result.

Female labor force participation is usually inversely related to fertility, and the following table is suggestive of possible linkages between the two in Uruguay. ¹⁰

	<u>1889 Census of Montevideo</u>	<u>1908 Census whole country</u>	<u>1955 Survey of Montevideo</u>	<u>1963 Census whole country</u>
Est. crude birth rate	37.6	33.7/1000	15-16/1000	
% labor force female	21.3	16.7	31	25
% female popu- lation econo- mically active	20.6	13.26	23	18.62

The relationship is inverse, but lack of more precise information on fertility and changes in labor force participation has prevented us from ascribing causality to either one. The 1889 Census and the 1955 Survey, show that the birth rate went down and female labor force participation increased in Montevideo; the same is true for the information from the two national censuses. In order to draw more interesting conclusions about the relationship of the two, we would need to examine the historical evidence more closely than this data permits. An increase in the age of marriage (which could be calculated on the basis of the marriage registers) could have increased the numbers of young single girls available for the labor force, while the expansion of certain kinds of occupations, such as teaching, could have influenced the demand for female labor.

Uruguay, as we have noted, is rather famous for its progressive social legislation, although our information does not allow us to say whether the effect of this legislation was to increase female labor force participation. Maternity benefits, obligatory pre-natal and post-partum rest, the prohibition of dismissal during pregnancy, obviously made it easier for women who were members of the labor force to continue working through the child-bearing period, and the Ley Madre, which allows women with children to retire after ten years in the labor force, may have encouraged their continued participation as well.

Informal evidence suggests that some of this social legislation has had a negative effect on female labor force participation, since employers may be less likely to hire married women because of the prospect of her temporary absence should she bear children.

5. Mortality

The mortality experience of Uruguayan women is among the best in the world, with a life expectancy estimated at 71.6 years. This means that the average woman has many years after the end of her childbearing in which she could participate in the labor force. The tendency of both male and female workers to retire early from the labor force, however, means that any increase in longevity is not likely to affect the supply of female labor significantly.

Infant mortality is 49.8/1000 births, compared to 107/1000 for Chile, 56.9/1000 for Argentina, 23/1000 for Canada, and 24/1000 for the United States.¹¹ High rates of infant mortality, because they are generally associated with high rates of infant morbidity, tend to inhibit female labor force participation, since sickness among infants requires intensive attention which is usually provided by the mother. Thus, a decline in infant mortality in Uruguay would tend to increase female labor force participation. It would also eventually tend to increase female labor force participation by increasing the proportion of the population in the ages 20-24, which show the highest propensity to work.

On the other hand, reducing infant mortality would have the same effect as an increase in fertility, increasing the proportion of women with small children who (on the basis of studies in other countries) are generally less likely to work.

6. Education

In Chapter V, we went into the education of the female population in Uruguay at great length. Here, our intent is only to show the extent to which labor force participation is influenced by level of education.¹²

<u>Highest level of education obtained</u>	<u>% of urban women in category who are economically active</u>	<u>% of rural women in category who are economically active</u>	<u>% of total women in category who are economically active</u>
Primary incomplete	25.5	11.2	22.3
Primary complete	25.6	13.2	24.7
Secondary incomplete	27.9	11.7	27.0
Secondary complete	33.6	18.8	33.0
Normal	56.23	77.4	57.8
University	70	46.9	69.7

As in the United States, more educated women are more likely to work, while less educated women are more likely not to work, in both urban and rural areas. There is a strikingly strong and consistent association between education and work force participation. The category of rural women with normal school education shows a particularly high work rate; the category is probably inflated by city women sent to the rural areas to teach.

Our data did not allow us to control for other influences which might work through education, such as husband's income, size of family, hours worked, etc. However, because of the perfectly regular relationship for the whole-country figures, it seems clear beyond a doubt that increasing the number of women in the educational categories with the higher work rates will increase the proportion of women who are economically active. Thus, other things being equal, the great increase in female attendance at secondary school between 1963 and 1973 will show up in female participation rates in the 1975 census. Furthermore, if provision of the 1968 constitution requiring three years of secondary education goes into effect, we can expect yet more women to work in the future.

7. Urban-Rural Residence

Along with marriage and educational level, urban residence is a highly important factor in determining whether an Uruguayan woman will work.³

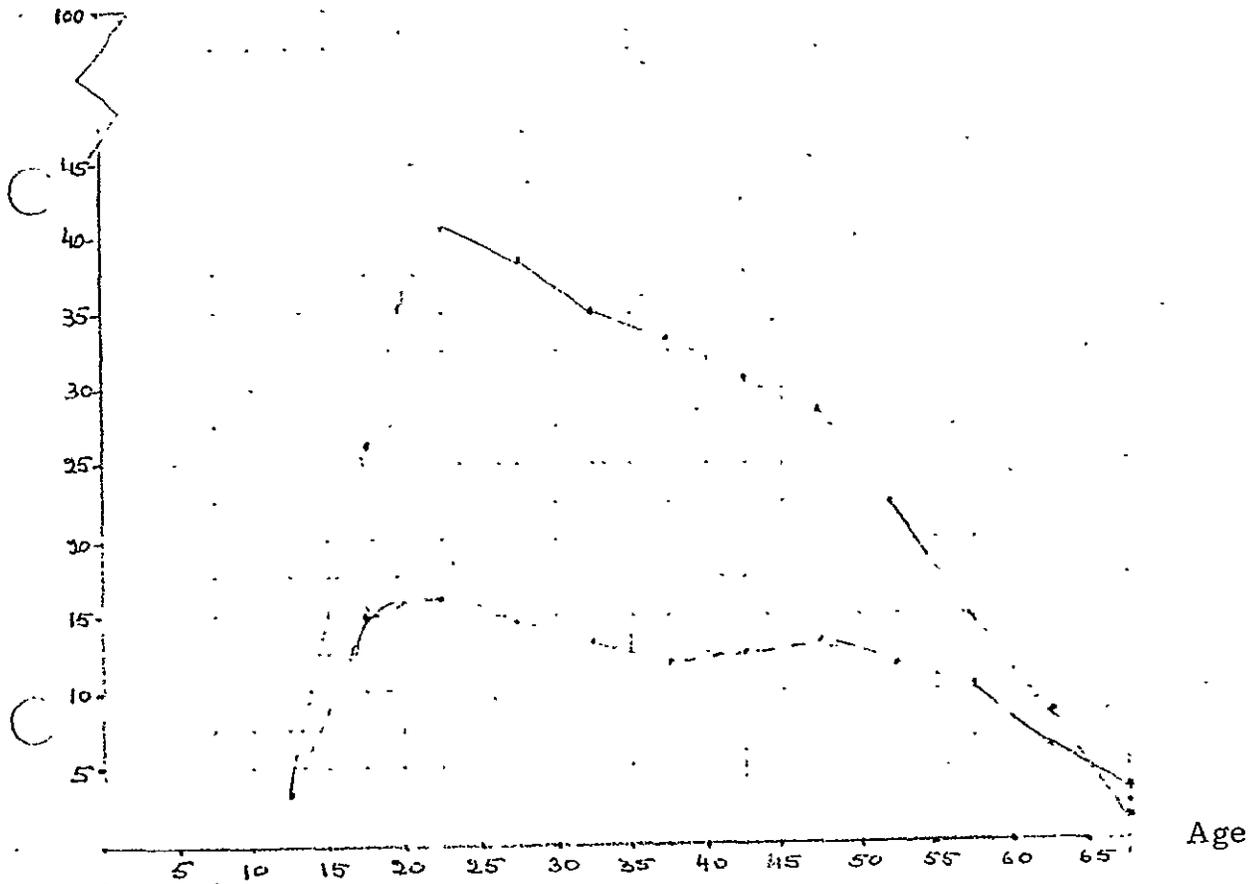
<u>Age group</u>	<u>% of urban women economically active</u>	<u>% of rural women economically active</u>
10-14	3.4	3.0
15-19	26.4	14.7
20-24	40.4	16.0
25-29	38.8	14.9
30-34	35.2	13.5
35-39	33.2	11.8
40-44	31.5	12.5
45-49	28.6	12.9
50-54	22.4	11.5
55-59	15.4	11.0
60-64	9.0	8.6
65 &	2.8	3.7

The following graph presents this same information.

Labor Force Participation
by Residence

— urban women
- - - rural women

%
economically
active



The country is already 80% urban, and it is difficult to expect that it will become much more urban. If it does, however, we can anticipate (again, all other things being equal) an increase in the labor force participation rates of the female population. In the final chapter of this paper, we discuss at length the situation of the rural woman, with special attention to the opportunities available to her for remunerative labor.

8. Emigration

There is very little available information on the rate of emigration, but it is generally thought to have been high over the last ten years. José Luis Petruccelli's "Análisis de Algunas Consecuencias de la Emigración Internacional en la Proyección de la Población del Uruguay" is perhaps the only thorough study of the issue.⁴

Based on historical data, Mr. Petruccelli developed three alternative hypotheses for emigration of the active age group, 15-59. The three hypotheses are: No emigration; 320,000 persons between 1965 and 1980 (low), and 600,000 persons between 1965 and 2000. The latter two seem the more likely and both would significantly reduce the number of women in the working ages. He estimates that female emigration is about four-fifths of male emigration.

To the extent that emigration is a substitute for unemployment, however, it may be that emigration will not in fact affect the proportion of the female population that is economically active.

9. Summary

The information presented above makes it clear that in Uruguay levels of education, age of marriage and proportions remaining single, urban-rural residence and perhaps fertility affect the degree to which women participate in the labor force.

The work rates of younger women are the highest. If the population continues to age, the proportion of women in the older ages will increase, reducing the supply of women available to the labor force. An increase in the propensity of older women to work -- as happened in the United States in the decade of the 1950's -- could counter-balance this tendency; however, it is not likely to be significant

since both Uruguayan men and Uruguayan women retire from the labor force at relatively early ages.

Since single women work more than other women, the supply of women to the labor force could be increased by either a decrease in proportions married, an increase in the age of marriage, or an increasing propensity of married women to work.

The low work rates of married women, considered in conjunction with the estimated low fertility, probably reflect attitudes that a married woman's place is in the home. The relative stability of the work rates of married women, however, through the ages in which children can be expected to be still young, suggest that these attitudes are not a firm barrier against women working. When we note that most women work in occupations such as domestic service which can have little attraction other than income, we can assume that most married Uruguayan women work because of economic necessity.

There is no reason to believe that this economic necessity has decreased over the last 12 years. Continued economic stagnation make it likely, on the contrary, that the labor force participation rates of married women have in fact increased. Attitudes disfavoring labor force participation by married women are likely to be eroded by an eroding standard of living, and to continue to be expressed more as an ideal than a reality.

Because work rates were demonstrated to go up in a regular fashion as level of education increases, the growth in female participation at the secondary and university levels which we described in Chapter V is likely to lead to an increase in the proportion of the female population that works, as well as to a redistribution of women within the occupational categories of the labor force. More women will work, and are likely to find occupations such as domestic service less satisfactory.

The labor force, then, seems to be predominantly composed of three types of women: young single women, married women who work out of economic necessity in jobs with little prestige, and highly educated women who work because they want to continue exercising their profession after marriage. Because of changes in educational levels and the prevailing economic conditions, we expect the 1975 Census to show that the latter two groups have increased.

CHAPTER VII

RURAL WOMEN

7.1. Principal sources of data and their reliability

Fortunately, the research and data available about the rural areas of Uruguay are of high technical level.

No specific surveys have been conducted regarding the condition of rural women. An Appendix to this paper lists the best sources; these can be consulted by anyone interested in a specific point.

It should be noted that we have taken into special consideration the following sources of information:

(a) "Situación Económica y Social del Uruguay Rural" (Economic and Social Conditions in Rural Uruguay). This contains the results of sample surveys which covered the whole of the nation rural area. The surveys were conducted between August and December 1962 and published in 1965. Despite the time elapsed, most of the conclusions regarding social aspects of rural life are still applicable.

(b) "IV Censo General de Población y II de Vivienda" (4th. General Census on Population and 2nd. Census on Housing), conducted in 1963.

(c) "Estudio Económico y Social de la Agricultura en el Uruguay" (Economic and Social Study of Agricultural in Uruguay", published in 1963.

(d) "Plan de Desarrollo Agropecuario" (Agricultural Development Plan) published in 1967.

(e) "Censo General Agropecuario-1970" (General Agricultural Census). (4)

It should also be noted that so far, there have been no studies or programs specifically covering the activities of rural woman.

7.2. Principal demographic characteristics of the rural woman.

1. If we estimate the present rural population to be about 461,800 people, 43% of them, or 198,600 would be women. Considering the six agro-economic zones of the following map, we see that the feminine population is unequally distributed spatially, and that relation between men and women differs in the diverse zones. The following graph presents this data:

Chart 7.1. The distribution of the feminine population according to the different agro-economic zones, and its relation with the males in each zone. (2)

Agroeconomic zone	Volume of women (in thousands)	Women as percent of the total population of the zone
0	16.0	47%
1	31.3	49%
2	32.1	45%
3	19.4	35%
4	36.2	42%
5	63.6	45%
Todas las zonas	198.6	43%

This imbalance between the sexes is explained by the feminine migration to the populated centers. In section 7.3 this phenomenon will be analyzed at greater length. The adjoining map also shows the age pyramid for each agroeconomic zone.

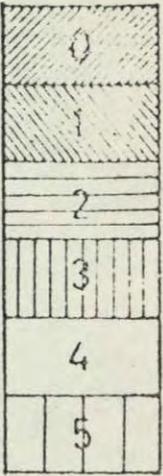
a) In zones 0 and 1 there is a relative equilibrium between the sexes: 112 women and 104 women for each 100 men, respectively. However, if we look only at the population over 15 years, the relation changes to 118 and 110 women respectively for every 100 men. This indicates a feminine emigration toward the populated centers (see section 7.3).

b) In the other zones on the map the imbalance of sexes is accentuated, and oscillates between 122 women for every 100 men in zone 2 and 5, on one hand, and 185 women for every 100 men in zone 3. If we look at the population over 15 years, we find that the ratio oscillates between 120 and 192 women for every 100 men, according to the zone. We are in zones of strong female emigration to the urban centers (see section 7.3).

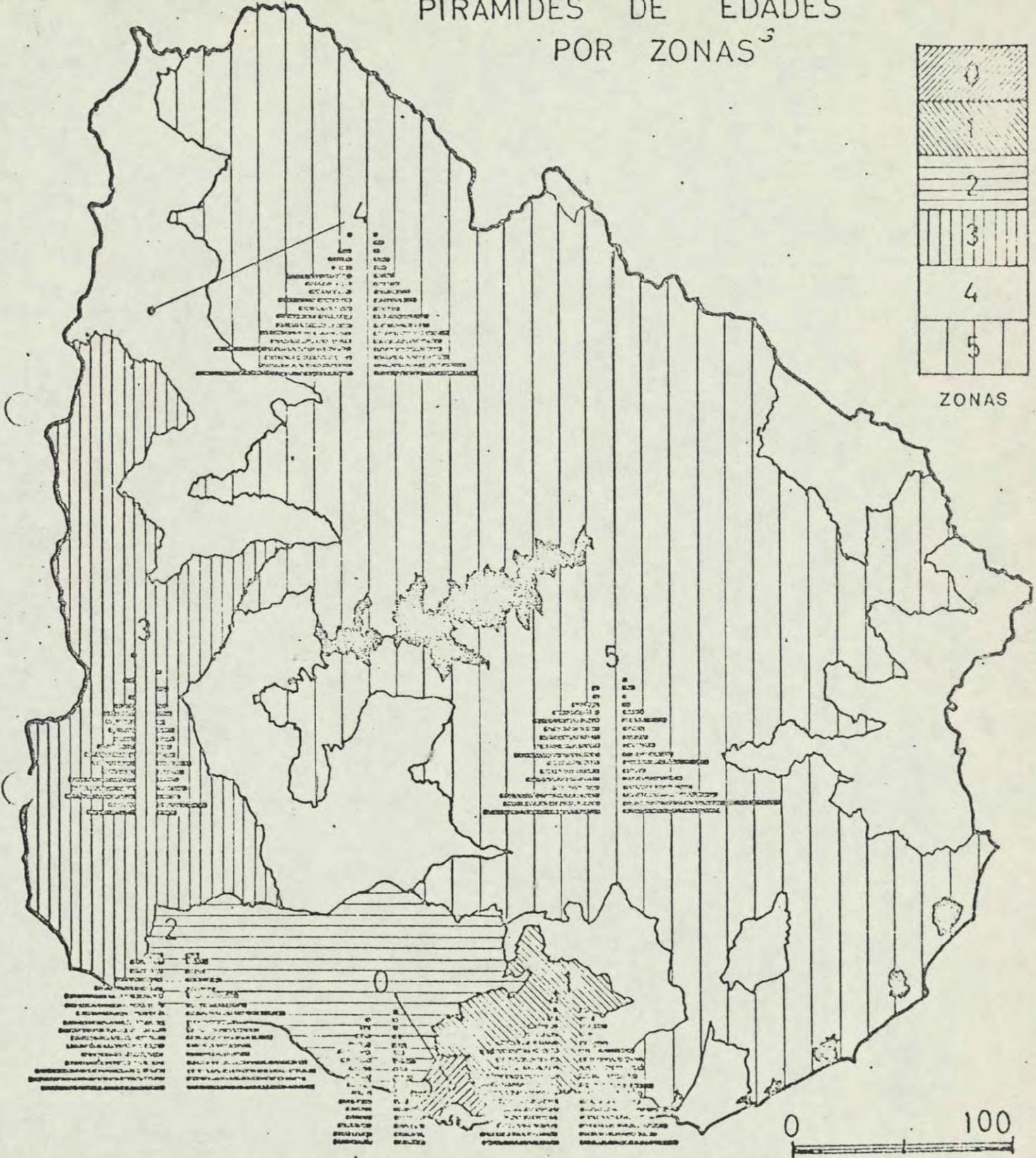
c) The proportion of the population under 15 years also varies according the zone, between 24% (zone 1) and 37% (zone 5) with an average for the whole rural population of 30%. In addition, the proportion of those older than 60 oscillates between 13.3% (zone 1) and 7.2% (zone 5) with an average of nearly 10% for the whole rural population.

The following map of agroeconomic zones and pyramids of ages permits us to focus on these aspects of the rural woman.

PIRAMIDES DE EDADES POR ZONAS³



ZONAS



- Note to Map: Zone 0 - Areas of horticulture and fruiticulture in the belt around Montevideo
- Zone 1 - Agricultural areas and the farms of Canelones.
- Zone 2 - Areas of production of milk, cheese, potatoes and agriculture in general with some stockraising.
- Zone 3 - Areas of cereal growing along the Litoral where at least an average of 20% of the land is devoted to the cultivation of cereals; stockraising is also practiced.
- Zone 4 - Areas with stockraising predominate, with numerous smaller areas of diverse agriculture (sugar cane, citrus fruits, cereals and rice principally in the east).
- Zone 5 - Areas that are almost exclusively devoted to stock-raising, with the exception of some agriculture.

The unequal distribution of the rural population is confirmed if we look at average densities in the agroeconomic zone, as in the following chart:

Chart 7.2. Density of the rural population by agroeconomic zone.⁴

Agroeconomic zones	Density of rural population by Km ² .
0	88
1	18.4
2	6.9
3	2.9
4	2.3
5	1.5

Further on (see section 7.6 and 7.7) we will see that low densities and unequal distribution of the rural population are among the determining factors in the social situation of all categories of rural woman. Since the zones of low population density are also those of low standards of living and isolation, there is little link between the feminine population and rural life.

2. The situation of the population which works in farming but lives in populated centers is, from the demographic point of view, quite different.

This population totals around 40,000 people. There is a relative balance of sexes with 51.5% women; however, if we look only at the population over 15, the percent of females is 55%. This means that here the situation is reversed: there is an excess of women and there is no doubt that a part of the women emigrants from the rural areas are here. It is

clear that these 2,800 excess women in the populated rural centers no way compensate for the unequal distribution of sexes in the rural areas of dispersed population.

It is appropriate to point out, finally, that the proportion of children is high: 46% of those living in populated centers are under 15. This is surely due to the grouping in this population of those who combine low standards of living with high fertility.

3. The birth rate in the rural population is about 24/1000 annually. According to the census of 1963 the birth rate for the whole country was 21.9/1000. Although the birth rate in the rural areas is clearly greater than for the country as a whole, in a normal demographic situation, it is appropriate to call attention to the relatively small difference between the two. This could be an indication of the process of urbanization in the rural areas of Uruguay, a process which has been occurring since the beginning of the century. It is probable that the increase in the means of transportation, the spread of mass communications and the spread of primary instruction, among other, have combined to bring to the rural areas some of the urban behavior which controls fertility. We would require more empirical evidence on which to base our estimates more solidly.

Nonetheless, the panorama of rural fertility also differs by agro-economic zone. Thus, in zone 1 the birth rate would be around 9/1000 annually: this is an elderly population, in rural agricultural zones, with a relative balance between the sexes, and with large stratas of the population cultivating minifundios with low economic return. On the other hand, zones 4 and 5 show about a 25/1000 and 28/1000 birth rate. Without doubt, the process of urbanization has been very strong in zone 1, while in zone 3 and 4, typically devoted to stockraising and with a low population density, notwithstanding the imbalance of sexes, the predominant forms of life are typically rural and urban penetration has been much less.

The preceding information suggest to us probable differences in female behavior with respect to family planning. It is possible that the degree of urbanization of the different groups in the different zones is an important variable. Although we do not have sufficient empirical evidence, we could venture the hypothesis that in the zones of intensive cultivation or farming on small plots, the woman, or better, the family, is influenced to plan the number of her children because of the greater participation of the woman in the family business. We ought to interpret these birth rates with circumspection, however, since while rural birth rates may appear low nonetheless fertility of rural women may be high, since the denominator of the data rate is overburdened with men, who do not give birth to the numerators.

4. If, on the basis of previous studies, we consider the number of children per woman over 15 years (data for 1962), we find some interesting situations:

a) The average number of children born per woman older than 15 years was 2.7 for the whole rural population.

b) For women between 45 and 69 years the average of children per woman was around 3.5 children, while for the women older than 80 the average was 6.2 children per woman. This would suggest a strong decrease in the rural birth rate during the period of the first world war.

c) We find an average of 4.6 children per woman in consensual marriage, a number that is well above the general average.

d) Women married with only a civil ceremony average 3.2 children per woman, while those who were also married in a religious service average 2.8 children per woman. This is surely due to greater frequency of religious marriage in the upper strata: among large rural proprietors 87.5% of the marriage were solemnized by the church, while among the small producers only 64% of the couples were so married, and among the peones even fewer: 48%.

2. We are now able to suggest some conclusions about the demographic aspects of the rural woman in Uruguay:

a) The marked imbalance between the sexes in wide rural areas, due to the emigration of woman, is due to a scarcity of women in the stock-raising areas, and specially in the areas of the large establishments.

b) The zones of low population density, and consequently of isolation and a lack of services to the population reduce the willingness of the rural woman to stay on the land.

c) The excess of women in the rural populated centers does not compensate for the scarcity of women in the dispersed rural population; this indicates that when the women leave the rural areas they break their ties with stockraising activities.

d) The decreasing fertility in the rural areas -although with minor differences according to agro-economic zones- indicate a process of urban penetration of family planning attitudes into the rural zones. This influence seems to be greater in the zones of intensive cultivation and minifundios relatively near to Montevideo.

e) It would seem that the larger number of children per woman is positively correlated with the low socioeconomic level of the family, although this is being modified by penetration of urban influences.

7.3. Migration of rural women towards urban areas.

1. Since the 1950s the rural population has not ceased to decrease, both in absolute figures and in percentages. The following chart illustrates the magnitude of this desertion of the country side.

Chart No. 7.3

Evolution of Population Volume located in rural units of less than 1 hectarea. (Basis: 100 for 1951)⁵

	<u>1916</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1937</u>	<u>1951</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1970</u>
Total	59	73	75	100	91	86	72	70
Males				100	91	86	72	70
Females				100	90	85	72	69

The migration process of rural women towards the urban areas followed the general trend of this so-called "rural exodus".

The 1963 census indicates that the rural population was of 45% female, against 55% male. This imbalance of the sex ratios is confirmed by the Agricultural Census of 1970 which showed a volume ratio in farming units over 1 hectarea in size; 43% of the population was female against 57% male.

The excess of men over women (132 males for each 100 women) in the rural areas is not due to unusually high sex ratios at birth, but rather to female migration.

Following the data at hand, we can take a basis global figure of 198.000 rural females (estimated).

2. Migration of rural females commences at an early age. As early as from 5 years on, the girls start to move to the urban areas, probably accompanied by their mothers or adult relations for the purpose of starting school with greater facilities than those offered in the rural areas.

The migration process increases and reaches its climax in the age groups 20 and 24 years. Thus, at age 5, the predominance of rural males over rural females is 114 males for each 100 females; if we take the population at 15-19 years of age we find 123 males for each 100 females; between ages 20 and 24 years there are 143 males for each 100 females.

The data indicated in the following chart detail the conditions referred to above:

Chart . Rural females per age categories (in percentages)⁶

<u>% of women 15 years old in total population in this age category</u>	<u>% of women older than 15 years in total population in this age group</u>	<u>% of women in total rural population</u>
45.2%	43.4%	43.6%

Among the population older than 15 years, there are 51,900 fewer females than males; a figure which is specially significant since the women live longer than the men. The other side of this situation is readily seen in Montevideo, where among the population 15 years old, there are 51,400 more women than men and in the central urban areas in the interior where there are 22,700 women more than men.

Therefore, the surplus of 74,100 women older than 15 years old in the Uruguayan urban areas is not explained by woman's longevity, but rather by female migration from the rural areas.

3. In order to best understand the rural female migration, it would be well to study the situation in different agro-economic zones. In this connection, we shall take the map on page 65 and its divisions to zones, which will allow us to properly place the data available in the following chart:

Chart No. 7.4 Percentage of rural women per agro-economic zones indicated on map in page - 7

Dispersed Rural Population	AGRO-ECONOMIC ZONES						All zones
	0	1	2	3	4	5	
Women	47	49	45	35	42	45	44.2
Men	53	51	55	65	58	55	55.8
Total:	100	100	100	100	100	100	100 %
Males over 15 yrs. old for each 100 females	118	111	130	192	148	148	136

The extraordinary excess of men in zones 3, 4 and 5 corresponds to the extensive agriculture practiced there, which attracts principally male labor (peones) without family ties; the surplus of men in these zones is extraordinary (see paragraph 7.5). Further (on paragraph 7.6) we will consider repercussions of the situation on the family life of women.

4. Female migration decreases in rural zones where intense agricultural crops are produced (vegetable production, grapevines, fruit production and small dairy and hog farms (chacrerias)) but it increases in the vast lands devoted to raising sheep and cattle, a type of agriculture which does not use female labor and one which does not retain the rural female population.

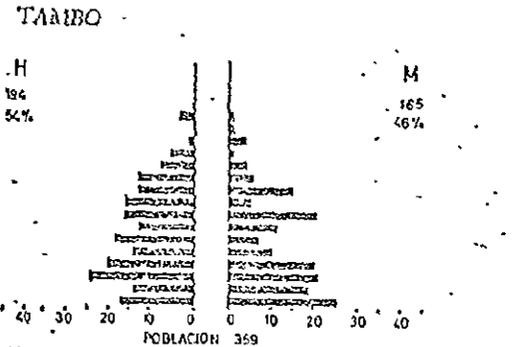
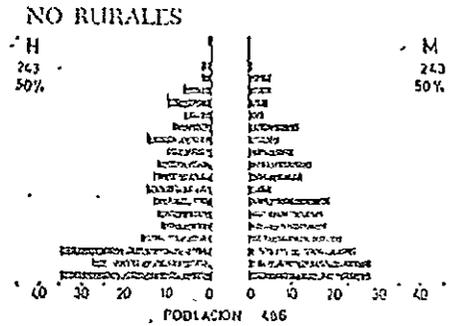
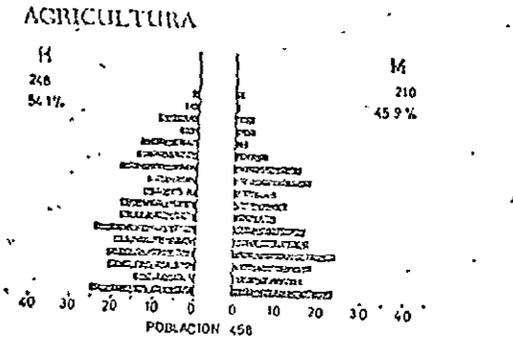
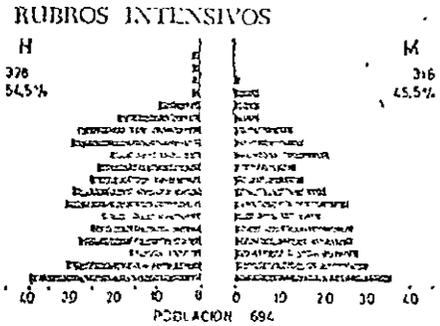
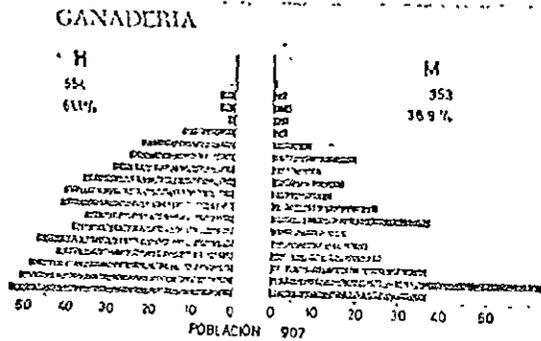
Chart 7.5. Percentage of rural female population per dominant ag. production of the rural units.²

	Cattle Breeding Production	Agricultural	Dairy	Intensive produce
Women	38.9	45.9	46	45.5
Men	61.1	54.1	54	54.5
Total	100	100	100	100
Males over 15 yrs. over each 100 women over 15 yrs. old	124	124	138	132

The male surplus in the dairy and intensive produce areas is explained by the immigration of men to work as farm hands. In cattle breeding establishments the male surplus is due to the special work undertaken which is not considered appropriate for females.

The following graphs explain which are the dominant activities needing less female help in the rural media.

Chart 7.6. Rural population distributions graphs per age and sexes by dominant activities of the rural units.³



If the ranch hands category explain a surplus of 237 males for every 100 females and if the cattle breeding units show large surplus of males, it is not surprising that the surplus of males has a positive inter-relation with the size of the unit. The large rural establishments usually operate extensive cattle breeding and agricultural activities; this extensive work usually requires little manpower, and most estancias hire predominantly floating male labor without family ties (either single or with families elsewhere). The size of the establishment therefore, seems to be a positive factor in the female exodus from the rural lands toward the urban centers. The following chart shows the situation:

Chart No. 7.7. . Percentage of rural females, per size of unit.¹⁸

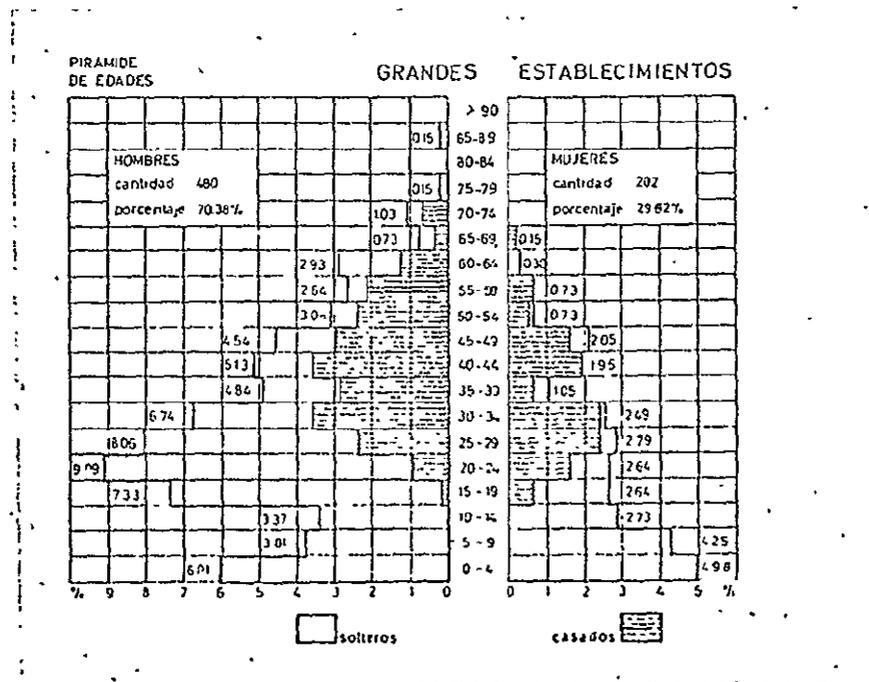
	Units with less than 50 Hectas.	Units of from 50 hectas. to 200 hectas.	Units of 200 hectas. to 1000 hectas.	Units of over 1000 hectas.
Women	48.5	46.7	43	30
Men	51.5	53.3	57	70
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Men older than 15 yrs. for each 100 women older than 15 yrs.

107	114	158	170
-----	-----	-----	-----

Units larger than 1000 hectareas occupy 58.38% of cultivated area of the country and the rural population living within this zone amounts to 5.13% of total rural population. These establishments therefore are thinly populated, even more thinly by females. The following graph shows this situation:

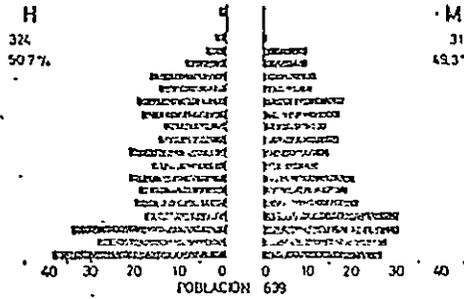
Chart No 7.8. . Distribution of population in the zone covered by large establishments of over 1000 hectareas by sex and age. "



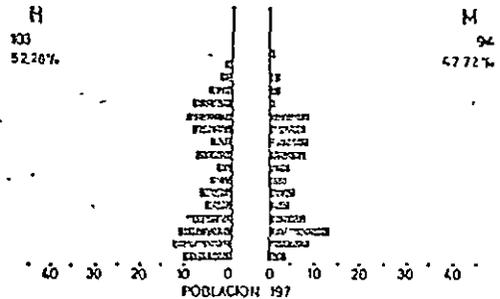
This situation seems feasible when we look upon the rural population divided by social-occupational conditions. We then discover that the rural floating population category is where the female deficits exist. On the other hand, we find a relative level in the category of small-holders and very small farms; we should consider that the mini-farms are family industries and therefore tend to retain their womenfolk. In the case of large estates and vast properties as also the medium units, the conditions are somewhat uneven, since they are mainly run by the proprietor, who often lives there while his family lives in the urban area; economic conditions permit frequent trips of the owner -and moderate stopovers--his family and the family will often spend vacations on the farm units. The following graph shows this aspect:

Chart 7.9. Distribution per sex and ages of rural population per social-occupational categories.¹²

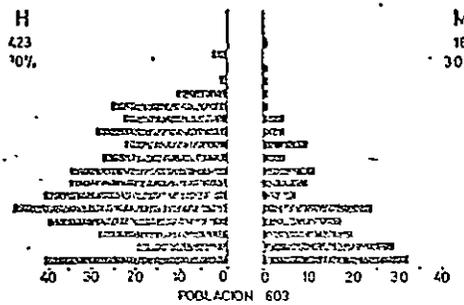
OCUPACIONES NO RURALES



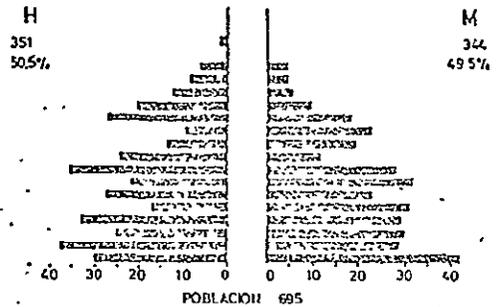
PROPIETARIOS MUY PEQUEÑOS



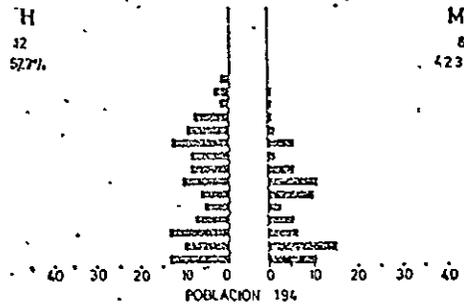
PEONES



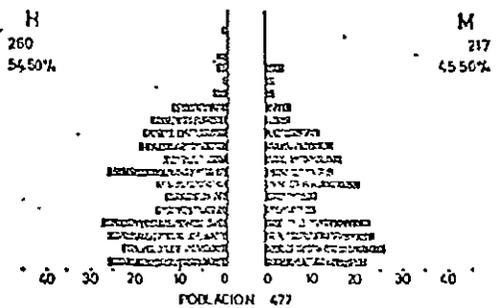
PROPIETARIOS PEQUEÑOS



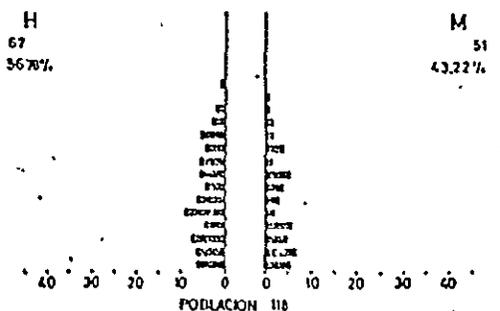
CAPATACES



PROPIETARIOS MEDIANOS



PROPIETARIOS GRANDES Y MUY GRANDES



5. What is the destination of the females who migrate from the rural area? We do not have sufficient evidence to give a definite reply to this question, but we can suggest some conclusions.

It is probable that less than 10% of the migrants go directly to the capital city of Montevideo. More than 90% of them probably go to the neighboring cities and villages in the interior; some of them, at a secondary stage, maybe months or years after leaving their home environment, might finally reach Montevideo.

Their occupational destination in the cities is probably not very encouraging, since these are mostly women without any professional capacity whatsoever. It is sensible to suppose that those of the lowest levels would be domestic servants or other activities of even less prestige. It is natural to suppose that the occupational destination of the female migrants depends mainly on their own initial social level.

It is also reasonable to suppose that the women who migrate because of loneliness and displacement problems, drift into activities such as prostitution, habitual delinquency, etc.

6. Despite the clear picture of female rural migration, this problem requires a more sophisticated research although it would not be risky to arrive at some conclusions, such as:

a) The Uruguayan rural area seems to have exhausted, since the middle of this century, its capacity to absorb female vegetative growth. Also, there has been a regression because female rural migration exceeds female vegetative growth (see paragraph 7.2).

b) There seem to be several structural reasons existent in the rural areas which steadily drive toward female exodus; some of these could be: the structure of rural productive activity, the size of rural units, the general character of the different agro-economic zones.

c) Imbalance of the sexes is strongly prevailing in the rural salaried class and this will have repercussions in the structure of rural family life (see paragraph 7.6) and the appearance of socially undesirable sexual behavior.

d) Only a minimum part of the migrating women go directly to Montevideo; most of them first settle in cities and villages in the interior.

e) Social destination of rural female migration is closely linked with the social level of women involved. In lower social levels it is possible that migration towards urban centers may worsen social exclusion of many migratory females.

7.4 Education of Rural Women

1. There are marked differences in the level of education of rural women. One of the reasons is the distance from school of the various categories of Uruguayan rural population. While in the agro-economic area Zone 0 (see paragraph 7.2) 67% of the population lives at less than 1 km. from the local school, in agro-economic Zones 3, 4 and 5 between 28% and 45% of the population lives over 5 km. away from the nearest school.

Distance from school-particularly if transportation is not adequate and roads are in bad condition- is probably the main factor behind the relative low performance of children, since distance must be largely responsible for pupils' absence from school, especially in winter.

2. The level of education of rural women is slightly higher than men's as illustrated by the following table:

Chart 7.10. Level of education of rural population over 8 years of age.¹³

<u>Level of Education</u>	<u>Female</u>	<u>Male</u>
Uneducated	15.8	17.7
Primary-incomplete	67.8	66.9
Primary-complete	11.4	10.0
Secondary (liceo) complete or incomplete	3.2	3.1
Technical (agricultural, industrial, commercial, etc.)	0.4	1.2
Teachers training, university & others	1.4	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0

Despite the higher level of education of women, with respect to men the ratios are reversed for "technical" education. It would appear that, with few exceptions, women do not take technical courses; this would account for women's indifferent role in the country's agricultural activities.

Feminine education in rural areas has shown a tendency to improve over the years, since the lower level of education correspond to the higher age brackets, as borne out by the following table:

Chart 7.11. Rural feminine education by age groups (the table only registers values over 0.2%)

Para la población femenina rural de 8 y más años ¹⁴

Edades	Total	Sin instruc.	Primaria incompl.	Primario completa	Liceo incompl.	Liceo completo	Normal	UTU o Similar	Super
14 y menos	100	5	28	5	-	-	-	-	-
15/19	100	4	60	26	6	-	-	-	-
20/24	100	6	63	20	4	3	1,4	-	1,4
25/29	100	8	67	14	3	2	3	0,6	1,4
30/39	100	12	69	12	1,8	1,1	1,8	0,3	0,6
40/49	100	19	66	10	1,3	0,7	0,7	-	-
50/59	100	30	59	8	1	0,6	0,6	-	-
60/69	100	42	50	6	0,6	0,4	-	-	-
70 y más	100	57	37	5	0,2	0,4	0,2	-	-
Total	100	16	22	1,4	0,2	-	-	-	-

Both of the tables transcribed above show an upward trend for feminine education, as well as a greater concern of the family over the education of girls than of boys. It was found that boys' attendance decreases from age 12 onwards; at age 13 one-third of the boys engage in productive activities and at 15, 90% are active. The ratio for active females is considerably lower and only reaches one-third of the total at age 16.

2. The lower levels of feminine education correspond to the lower social brackets. We find that rural population connected with rural hired workers shows between 27% and 43% of individuals over 15 that have not attended school; but at "large and very large landowners" level primary school attendance is almost 100%.

The 1953 Census showed that 22% of the feminine population over 8 years of age has not finished primary school. Probably 10% of this figure corresponds to girls between 8 and 12 years of age who could still complete their primary studies. Therefore, we can bring down to 70% the feminine rural population aged over 13 who has not finished primary studies. We can assume that these women correspond to the lower brackets of rural population, and therefore their lack of adequate education will run parallel to other deficiencies no less important.

4. Some conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing:

First, parents tend to show more concern over the education of their girls than their boys. This is probably because boys start to perform some type of productive activity at an early age, whereas girls usually prolong school attendance longer than boys, particularly in agro-economic zones 3, 4 and 5, where there are no productive activities easily available for girls.

Second, a high percentage of women have not completed primary education. This has tended to decrease in recent years, and the level of education of the rural woman is expected to rise in the future.

Third, it can be assumed that women with the lowest levels of education correspond to the lowest social brackets and have, therefore, other equally important deficiencies (food, housing, health, etc.).

Fourth, the percentage of women with some level of secondary education is low. On the other hand, working possibilities for rural women are not an incentive for education furtherance since most of the active feminine population in rural areas work as domestic help (see paragraph 7.5).

Fifth, the country lacks specialized education to qualify rural women to participate in productive activities essential to the economic development of the country.

7.5 The work of the rural woman

1. The participation of the rural woman presents somewhat complex problems of interpretation. It is not possible simply to apply urban models of labor force participation to rural women; moreover, the effect of labor force participation on the life of the woman is usually markedly different in rural areas than in urban areas. It would be helpful here to specify some of the characteristics of the work of rural females.

In the first place, in Uruguay labor on family farms (generally done by men or women who are members of the family) is not always paid. This type of unpaid or family labor is more frequent in small and middle-sized farms, than in large ones.

In the second place, rural work does not have the same continuity as does urban employment: periods of activity alternate with periods of relative inactivity as the seasons demand.

In the third place, some of the important activities of rural life are tied to the subsistence of the family, production which will not enter the market but which nevertheless substitutes for expenses which the family would otherwise have to make.

In the fourth place, much of the work directed toward the subsistence of the rural family do not require that the woman abandon the home for regular daily periods, more or less long as well as obligatory, as normally is the case with employment in the urban areas. This means that the rural woman can frequently combine productive activities with the care of children or general attention to the house.

The above qualifications permit us to specify a concept of rural female work which can be formulated in the following manner: the active rural female labor force is that formed by women who work on farms not less than six months a year. The six months must consist of at least 180 days of work, however, it is irrelevant whether or not the work is remunerated in money or whether the productive activity in which she is engaged is destined, even in part, for selfconsumption. Unless otherwise indicated, when we refer to the female rural work force we will be using the above definition.

2. Research done in Uruguay allow us to present the following information:

Chart 7.13. Active and nonactive rural population by sexes.¹⁵

	Pob. rural dispersa			Pob. rural nucleada		
	T	H	M	T	H	M
Pob. total	445.000	261.660	183.340	100.000	48.000	51.500
Pob. activa	187.000	158.015	28.985	21.560	17.915	8.240
Pob. inactiva	258.000	103.645	154.355	78.440	30.555	43.240
(Porcentajes)						
	100	100	100	100	100	100
	42	40	15,8	21,5	37	8,2
	58	60	84,2	78,5	63	91,8

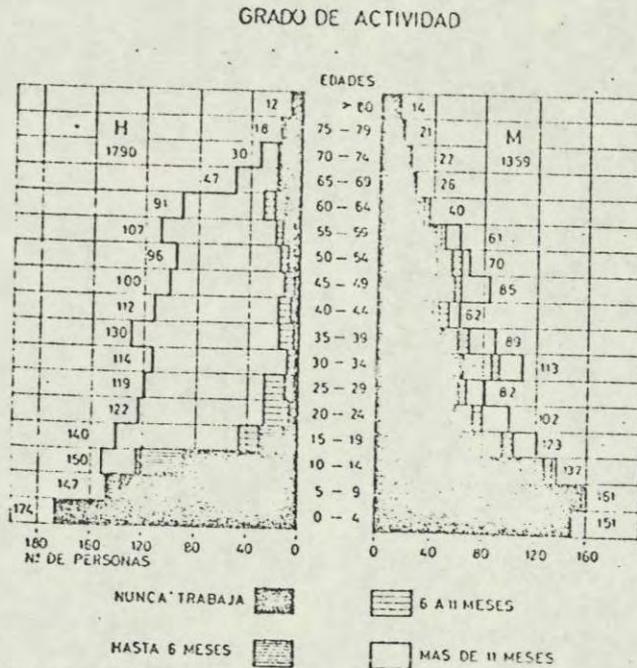
We find that the rural female labor force consists of approximately 37.225 women, or 15.7% of the total rural female population.

The proportion of working women varies with the age of the women, thus from 5.1% active between the ages of 10 and 14, the proportion rises to 19.5% between 15 and 20, between ages 20 and 59 since in these age groups the rate of participation oscillates between 20% and 25%, and is finally reduced to almost zero in the age group 65 and older.

Women represent only .17% of the total rural labor force. Their participation is even less when we look at the dispersed rural population; in this group women are .15% on the labor force.

Chart 7.13.

Graph of the distribution by sex and activity of the dispersed rural population

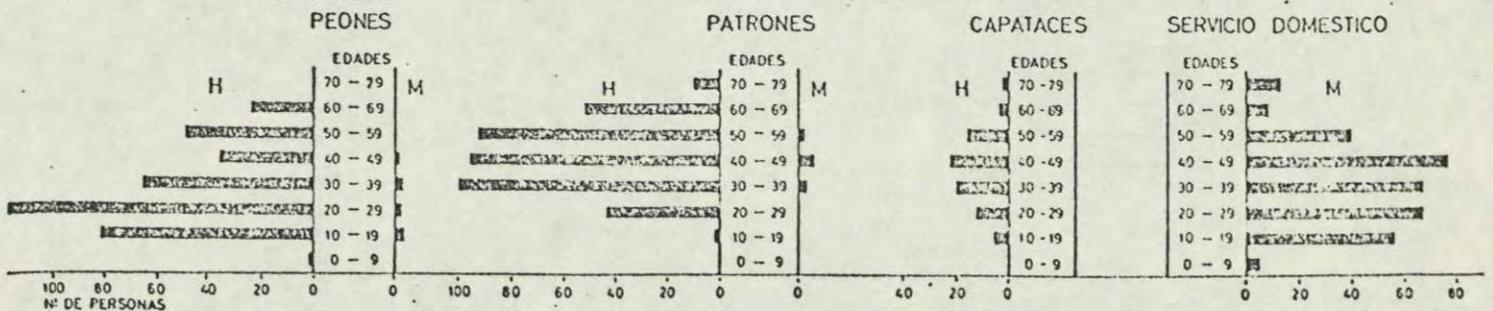


The preceding graph permits us to visualize the relatively slight weight of female workers in the rural labor force. This becomes clearer once we distinguish the activities that the women actually do in the rural areas.

In order to understand the nature of the work done by rural women, it is appropriate to keep in mind that nearly 90% of the female force outside of populated centers consists of domestic service on ranches. We do not have data concerning the working women in populated centers, but it is possible to assume that the situation there differs little. The following graph illustrates this situation:

Chart 7.14.

The composition by sex and age of some occupational categories in the rural dispersed population.



These results are explicable if one keeps in mind that 57% of the rural labor force works on land devoted to stockraising or to extensive agriculture, which in Uruguay do not require feminine labor except for domestic service. In addition, the large establishments (1000 hectares or more) use little labor in general, and of course little female labor. Specifically, it is in the small plots -many of which are minifundios with a precarious standard of living (see paragraph 7.7)- where the rural population is concentrated. See the following chart:

Chart 7.15. The distribution of the active population by type and size ¹⁷

DISTRIBUCION DE LA POBLACION ACTIVA POR RUBRO Y DIMENSION

	6	5	4	3	2	1	0		
	Menos de 1 há.	1-10	10-50	50-200	200 1000	1000 5000	Más de 5000	Total	% de c/rubro
Ganadería	—	1.96	9.48	22.47	27.62	30.20	8.27	100.0	41.72
Agricultura	—	17.70	33.93	24.29	20.07	4.01	—	100.0	15.29
Láchería	—	12.54	34.61	29.85	23.00	—	—	100.0	13.68
Frut. - viticultura	0.82	29.14	66.78	3.26	—	—	—	100.0	9.41
Horticultura	2.54	47.35	46.73	3.38	—	—	—	100.0	7.25
O/rubios	15.64	38.09	20.24	26.03	—	—	—	100.0	4.43
Varios	—	39.06	51.43	9.51	—	—	—	100.0	4.72
Predios s/prod.	55.68	37.67	6.65	—	—	—	—	100.0	3.50
Totales	2.98	16.14	27.11	19.33	17.14	13.23	3.47	100.0	100.0

3. There is no legal discrimination between the wages paid to rural laborers on the basis of sex. Rural salaries have been determined by the Executive Resolution of February 7, 1975, and are summarized in the following chart:

Chart 7.16. Salaries of rural workers (average salaries) ¹⁹

Occupational Category	Daily salary with Board	Daily salary without Board
Foreman	\$ 3.616	\$ 5.416
Peón skilled	\$ 3.100	\$ 4.900
Peón and chacrero	\$ 3.200	\$ 5.000
Minors of under 18 years old	\$ 2.016	\$ 3.900
Cook	\$ 2.016	\$ 3.900
Day laborers	\$ 3.550	\$ 5.350
Tractor driver	\$ 3.550	\$ 5.350
Domestic service	\$ 1.683	\$ 3.483

(1 peso equally U\$S 0.0004

Studies indicate that in an important proportion of cases the employers do not comply with the minimum wage that is fixed periodically by law. The distance between law and fact has indicated that between a quarter and something more than a third (and up to half in the case of peones who work by the day) of rural workers are paid less than the minimum legal wage. It would seem that the situation is not much different with respect to the other legal obligations of employer, such as obligatory insurance, annual leave, etc. Nor do the government agencies have the appropriate means to effectively control the fulfillment of the employers' obligations. In all aspects, the real situation of the rural working women does not differ significantly from that of men.

It is appropriate to point out, finally, that as we have seen in part 2 of the present paragraph, female rural labor is concentrated in the category of rural domestic service, keeping in mind the lower of wages for all rural activity. This is illustrated in the following graph:

Chart 7.17. Daily salary for domestic service compared to the daily salary of other occupational categories (Average salaries, comparison in percents).²⁰

Compared with the salary of a foreman	46%
" " " " " <u>peón</u> skilled	54%
" " " " " <u>peón</u> and <u>chacrero</u>	52%
" " " " " minors of under 18	83%
" " " " " day laborer	47%

4. After having read the preceding sections, it is not surprising that the opportunities for work available to the woman in the rural areas are in no way an attractive mean by which she can be tied to the countryside.

Opportunities for employment for the rural women are scarce, and always in the lowest levels of the occupational strata, with no specialization and with low remuneration. Such is the typical case of domestic service on stockraising establishments, an activity almost monopolized by women.

Female labor is also employed in dairying and in intensive farming (fruits, horticulture, etc.) but in most cases it is unpaid work on family farm. This reinforces the idea that the only independent occupation for the rural woman is domestic service.

5. It is not difficult to extract some conclusions from the above discussion. In the first place, it is appropriate to emphasize that stock-raising, as it is actually carried on in Uruguay requires very little or no female labor. In addition, as much in the extensive nature of the activity as in the large size of many establishments (larger than 1000 hectares) very little labor in general is required, and almost no feminine labor that can be considered directly related to stockraising. In other words, the productive structure of rural Uruguay cannot absorb even the available male labor force, and much less the women in the working ages.

In the second place, when the woman is occupied within the stockraising establishments (except as of housekeeper) she is working either as an unsalaried domestic servant or as a participant in the activities of a family farm, usually in medium to small-sized establishments of intensive farming. Many of these are minifundios with very low labor productivity beneath acceptable limits of economic exploitation, and thus, with the lowest standards of living in the country.

In the third place, the tasks of the woman on the family farm are not independent from the family structure; quite the opposite, they directed toward maintaining the unity of family and business. In such cases, the woman can attend to productive activities without prejudice to her domestic or to care of the children. It would seem that the only independent work available to woman on the ranches which cover Uruguay is domestic service, which offers low salaries and a high degree of dependence. That there are a very few rural women employers does not alter the conclusions we have reached. From this point of view the major alternatives for work by rural woman are the following: either unpaid work in domestic service, or unpaid work in a family business or farm, alternating house-keeping with productive tasks to the extent that her roles as wife and mother permit.

In the fourth place, the few opportunities for employment for the rural woman, the virtual limitation of these opportunities to the lowest occupational strata, and the difficulties in achieving an independent activity, are surely factors that impel the woman to abandon the rural areas (see paragraph 7.3).

7.6 The woman in the rural family.

1. The role of the rural woman in the family is of outstanding importance since the rural family is not only a unit of consumption but one of production as well, unlike the family in the urban centers. Although it is generally admitted that her role is an important one, we do not have studies that would indicate her precise function in the family organization. Nor do we have sufficient empirical evidence upon which to base solid conclusions on the role of the woman in the production of the family or her participation in family decisions. This probably varies according to her position in the family (wife, mother, sister, etc.) and also with the socio-economic status of the family; it is probably also related to the area of the country according to cultural differentiations, the type of productive activity, and the degree of urban penetration into the rural area.

2. The dispersed population in rural Uruguay consists of 118,000 families and approximately 9,000 non-family groups. In the village rural population there are approximately 8,000 families.

The rural family consists basically of the married couple and their children, the nuclear family. The extended family (one which includes various couples, grandparents, etc.) is virtually unknown here. The following chart confirms this conclusion:

Chart 7.18 Distribution of rural population according to family relations.²¹

<u>Category</u>	<u>% of total Rural Population</u>
Parents	42.
Children	39.
Grandparents	2.3
Sons/daughters-in-law	0.7
Grandchildren	3.6
Other relatives	2.8
Non-family members	<u>9.6</u>
Total:	100.%

This situation is not substantially different from that in the urban areas of the country.

The nuclear family of which the rural woman forms part, has an average of 3.76 members in dispersed population and 4.7 in nuclear population; 65% of rural families have 4 or less members. These averages confirm the relatively small size of rural families.

3. The nucleus of the family is the married couple in 65.5% of all rural families. 5.2% families have only a female head; 6.2% have a male head; 3.1% around two related married couples. This data bears out the impression that older children leave their family of origin when they marry and set-up independent homes.

4. A point worth mentioning is the effective family life of rural women. In certain circumstances the rural family has to disperse or its permanent interactions are not regular as could be expected. Surveys establish five decreasing levels of family life:

a) The first level is complete family organization. In Zones 0, 1 and 2 (see map in page 65) over 95% of families are complete. In Zones 3, 4 and 5 the ratio drops to 83%, 80% and 73% respectively.

b) At the second level of family organization, women form part of families in which children disperse between ages 14 and 21. These are young people who leave home to work or study; many of them emigrate to cities or villages (see paragraph 7.3).

c) The third level covers families in which children under 14 years of age are separated from the family nucleus. These children reside in urban areas, in the houses of relatives or boarding schools, for educational reasons. If the woman chooses to remain with her husband and younger children, she must part with her school-aged children. This type of dispersion generally affects rural families in the middle and higher brackets.

d) A fourth level of family life comprises married women who must be separated from their spouses: the married couple disperses. In agro-economic Zones 3, 4 and 5, 10%, 9% and 7% of families, respectively are in this category.

e) At the fifth level are families formed by mothers without marriage bonds, not even de facto. 4% of families in Zone 5 are in this category.

5. With respect to marriage unions, about one tenth of the couples in areas 3, 4 and 5 have de facto marriages, without legal or religious ties of any type. These are extensive agriculture areas with an imbalanced sex ratio. Religious marriages range between 80% of the married couples in Zone 2 and only 38% in zone 3; they are below 50% in Zones 4 and 5.

Religious marriage seems quite common in the high and medium high brackets of rural society and less common in the lower brackets. Thus, 80% of the large and medium land owners have had religious marriages, as against only 64% of the small producers. Among hired workers only 48% of the marriages are religious. The ratio of de facto marriages also increases as the socio-economic level descends.

We have no empirical evidence to establish the preference for religious marriage in the higher brackets. It does not seem to depend upon the religiousness of the women in the higher brackets, since surveys made in rural areas indicate small variations in religious affiliation of women at different occupational levels. Thus, 29% of women in the "large landowner" category said they are not religious, 30% in the "very small landowner" groups, 27% in the "foremen and puesteros" and 38% in the "miscellaneous hired workers". It should be stressed that a total of 30.2% of adult rural women claimed no religious whatsoever.

6. With respect to the civil status of rural women are fewer single women than single men. This is logical taking into account that there are many more adult men than women (see paragraphs 7.2 and 7.3). It is therefore harder for men to get a spouse than for women. See the following table:

Chart 7.10. Civil status of rural populations, by sex. ²²

<u>Civil Status</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Men</u>
Single	27.91	46.50
Married	59.52	46.52
Free union	5.69	4.05
Widowers	6.51	2.09
Divorced	0.37	0.84
Total	100.00	100.00

It is worth noting that the percent divorced men is remarkably lower than in urban areas of the Interior of the country: 1.56%; the ratio in Montevideo is 2.45%. These figures do not necessarily show a greater stability of the married couple in the rural areas, since it could happen that many divorced rural women move to urban centers, and also that separation of rural marriages in the lower brackets seldom results in legal divorces. Additional empirical evidence is needed on this aspect to arrive at consistent hypothesis.

7. At this point we could establish several conclusions regarding woman's position in the rural family:

- a) Certain conditions in rural areas -extensive production, large estates, little or no demand for feminine labor, low ratio of population-force women away from rural areas and prevent them from building a family. This migration unbalances the sex ratio and does prevent a significant number of the males who remain in rural areas from forming a home; the women that move to cities and villages cannot do so either.
- b) Rural women constitute families of the nuclear type. They usually leave their parental home and form a new home.
- c) The basic nucleus of a rural family is the married couple. However, approximately in one family out of twenty a woman is the head of the family.
- d) Rural women often have difficulties in achieving full family life. Between 50 to 27 families out of 100 have their members (husband, children) dispersed, depending upon the area they inhabit. The ratio of dispersion is higher in areas of extensive production (3, 4 and 5 in map on page) and in large estates. A low population density seems to be a parallel factor to the dispersion of rural families.

e) In areas of low population density four families out of 100 are headed by a woman with children but without marriage ties, not even de facto.

f) Religious marriages are more frequent at high and medium high levels of rural society than at medium low and low levels, which could indicate that the incidence of religious marriages at high and medium-high levels is not due to religious beliefs but rather to wedding traditions in certain social spheres. On this point, however, we lack statistical evidence to bear out such a hypothesis.

7.7. Standard of living and social stratification. ²³

1. In several places in this work we have emphasized the unequal social conditions of rural women. There is no doubt they are well separated at the two extremes of the social scale in rural society; nor is it possible to doubt that those at the upper extreme are few and those at the lower are manifestly numerous. We will continue by defining these two quite different groups.

2. The term "standard of living" will mean here the different conditions existing in society (or in some portion of society) with respect to the actual access of the woman to the goods and services capable of satisfying socially recognized necessities.

Research in Uruguay on rural conditions has taken into account five basic aspects: nutrition, housing, education, social participation and family organization. On the bases of this analysis we can distinguish five levels for the rural women, levels that coincide with the five general levels in the rural population.

a) Level 0: A condition of extreme insufficiencies. Nutrition is totally insufficient and hunger is endemic. Housing is constructed out of waste materials; living is promiscuous and crowded. Formal education either is non-existent or does not include the termination of primary school; there are many illiterates, and functional illiterates; the indexes of dropping-out or repetition are high. From the point of view of social participation, women on this level are almost completely without contact with the exterior world, since there are few newspapers, magazines or books, and scarcely any radios. The level of information of these women is almost nil; they go only to the nearest populated center, or to a slightly larger village a bit further away, and virtually do not participate in any social grouping. From the point of view of family organization, few of these women are part of a stable union; frequently contact is lost even with children younger than 15. In large parts of the country the marked disequilibrium between the sexes due to the scarcity of women gives rise to irregular matrimonial unions or to generalized prostitution.

b) Level 1: Conditions of grave insufficiencies. Nutrition is poor, consisting of a monotonous diet with a minimum requirement of proteins and calories but deficiencies in vitamins and minerals. Most housing is irrecoverable or inadequate for the family or incomplete. The majority of adult women have not finished primary school, and functional illiterates are common. Again, the indexes of repetition and dropping-out are high. From the point of view of social participation they have little contact with the exterior world, and are insufficiently informed. They go only occasionally to the nearest center, or to a slightly larger village, and are rarely participants in social groups. These women are part of an unstable family system, since the husband-father is usually a peon whose absences are frequent and prolonged. In large parts of the countryside there is a scarcity of women, while there is an abundance of women of this level in the rural villages. This contributes to the weakening of family life and to irregular or undesirable situations from the point of view of social organization.

c) Level 2: A low level with important deficiencies. Diet is monotonous, but with more variations than in the previous category. Most housing is inadequate for the family, or incomplete. Education is usually no more than primary, complete or incomplete. Social participation is somewhat more intense than in the previous level; group participation is sporadic. There is difficulty in communication; and the women go only infrequently to the nearest centers or to larger villages. Family life shows a greater integration than in the previous categories.

d) Level 3: Low level without important deficiencies. Among these women, the most notable deficiencies are of housing and social participation. The diet is relatively balanced and covers the minimum requirements. The majority have completed primary school. These women are members of stable and organized family systems.

e) Level 4: Satisfactory. Women of this level do not demonstrate deficiencies of any type. Education usually is the weakest aspect, since a large proportion of these women have had no more schooling than primary.

3. The unequal distribution of rural women in the preceding categories of living are obvious in the following chart. It is appropriate to note, nonetheless that although the surveys on which our information is based were done in the second half of 1963, there is nothing to suggest that the situation has changed substantially; the general proportions are still correct.

Chart 7.20^{bis}. Standards of living in the rural dispersed population and the rural village population.

	Niveles de vida					total
	0	1	2	3	4	
Población dispersa	31.6	29.3	23.1	14.5	1.4	100%
Población nucleada	57.0	19.0	12.0	12.0	- (1)	100%

(1) The small proportion in this level was not represented in the survey.

If we look at the levels of living as they are distributed among the six agro-economic zones shown on the map on page 65, it is clear that the lowest levels of living are abundant in those agro-economic zones in which extensive cultivation and large ranches are predominant. The following chart is illustrative:

Chart 7.24. Levels of living in the rural population according to agro-economic zones.

Zonas agroeconómicas	Niveles de vida					total
	0	1	2	3	4	
Zona 0	28	24	17	31	-	100%
Zona 1	29	21	30	19	1	100%
Zona 2	28	28	27	17	-	100%
Zona 3	33	31	22	10	-	100%
Zona 4	34	36	21	8	1	100%
Zona 2	38	33	16	10	3	100%

Note: Percentages less than 1% are not included.

After reading the above charts, it is feasible to believe that the women belonging to the occupational categories of the least social relevance are those that have the most deficient standards of living. The following chart makes this hypothesis plausible:

Chart 7.22. Levels of living in the rural population according to occupational categories.

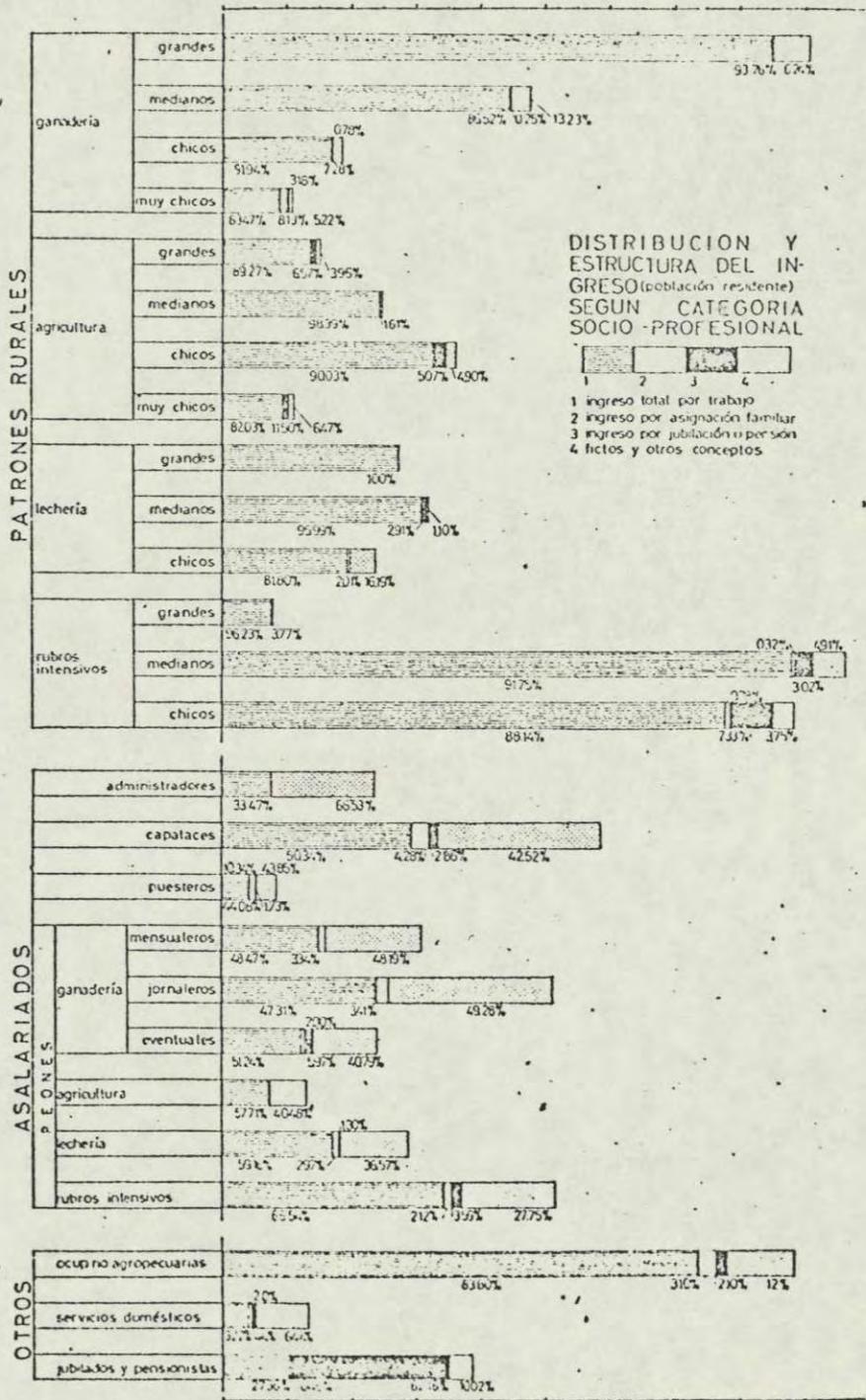
Occupational Categories	Levels of Living					Total
	0	1	2	3	4	
Medium landowner	24.5	24.5	19.5	31.2	-	100%
Small landowner	28	35	24	13	-	100%
Very small landowner	51	28	18	1	-	100%
<u>Total of landowners</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>2 (1)</u>	<u>100%</u>
Wage earners in dairy	27.5	20	37.5	15	-	100%
Wage earners in intensive agriculture	44	23	23	-	-	100%
Wage earners in stockraising	56.5	31.5	9	3	-	100%
<u>Total wage earners</u>	<u>46.5</u>	<u>26.5</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>9</u>	-	<u>100%</u>

(1) Include that large landowners who are not included because of their small numbers in the sample.

In general terms, in the previous chart the difference between landowners and wage earners is quite marked. Nonetheless, the situation of the small landowners should be pointed out, given the low standards of living in that category: we ought to remember that the category is made up of very small minifundistas, and that their standards of living are generally inferior even to that of the peones.

4. The differential access of rural women to the goods and services produced by society implies a different use of such goods and services, or even their lack of use. This means that the living conditions of rural women suggest a very different control over the existing goods and services; in other words, one is dealing with an unequal distribution of income. The following chart illustrates this:

Cuadro 7.13. Distribución del ingreso de la población rural por categoría ocupacional. (Incomes of rural population to occupational categories.)

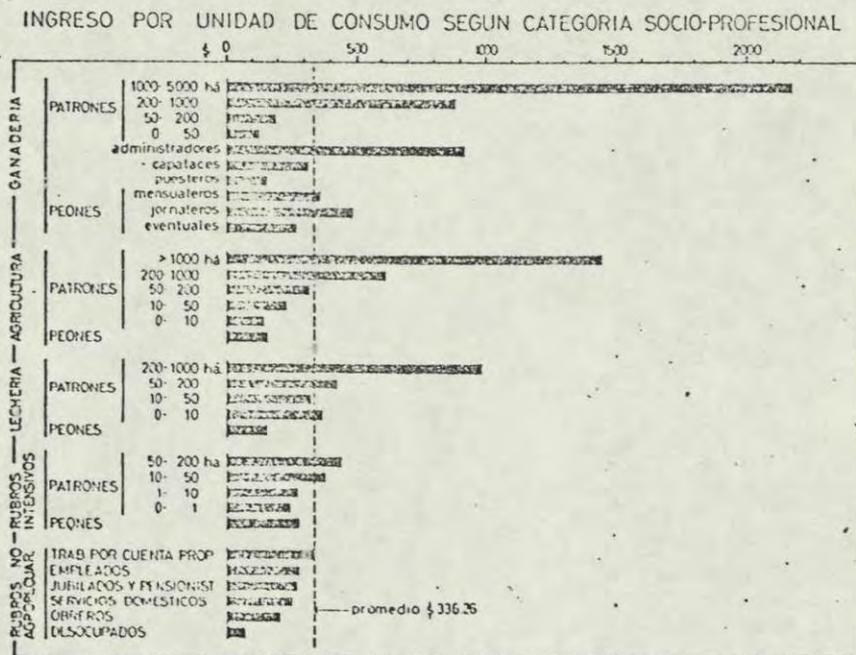


From the preceding chart, in addition to the unequal distribution of income, it is useful to note that most income comes from the labor for all of the categories except administrator and for domestic servants. The relative weight of family allocations ("asignaciones familiares") on actual income is small.

Family allocations (see chapter V of this work) are not important as an instrument for redistributing income in the rural areas.

The unequal distribution of income in the rural areas is obvious if we consider income by "consumption unit". (Consumption unit is measured against the "reference man" defined by the FAO as a person of 25 years old, masculine in a temperate zone, with an average daily requirement of 3,200 net calories.) In this manner one controls in the distribution of income by capita the distortion that is introduced by children and the aged. The following chart shows us the distribution of income according to these weights in the rural area.

Chart 7.24. Income per consumer unit by socioprofessional category.



All those women who make up the social categories with low standards of living and low income, in addition to having scarce or no access to the goods and services that society produces, also have little opportunity to participate in social decisions that affect them. When a condition of social inferiority is extended over periods of time that cross several generations, they probably give to attitudes, beliefs, images and behaviour that could become an obstacle to female participation in the economic and social development of society as a whole. This grouping of factors one of the most important for the division into objectively distinct and separate social classes in the heart of uruguayan rural society.

5. The existence of social classes in rural Uruguay presupposes the configuration of the social structure in a form of superimposed strata that support unequal relations of asymmetrical dominance. In other words, the upper classes control the power, receive the greater part of the income, control the instruments of production and of interchange and live on a standard that is good or very good. The lower classes participate little in the power, receive a small proportion of the income, do not control the instruments of production and interchange, live a life of marked deficiencies and only participate in the major social activities through their labour. Between these two extremes - quite unequal in volume - are middle classes that then to shade in their extremes into the upper or lower levels.

Technical studies done here on rural social classes usually agree distinguishing three major levels of stratification:

- a) Upper class. Large landowners and rural capitalists with a high level of investment.
- b) Rural middle class. Medium producers, including administrators and other occupations of local prestige.
- c) Rural lower class. Farm labor and service workers in agricultural production, owners of minifundios and the village rural population of the lowest level in the "rancherios" or rural slums on the edges of villages and towns, as long as they are part to the agricultural production.

The quantitative estimates of the number of members of each rural social class vary, although there is agreement that the upper class is the smallest and the middle classed and lower classes are much larger. The following chart compares some of the estimations made in several works:

Chart 7.25 Estimate volumes of rural social classes.

Rural classes	Source of estimates (24)				
	SOLARI (1)	RAMA (2)	CIDE (3)	CINAM (4)	ERRANDONEA (5)
Upper class	5 %	2 %	0.9 %	3 %	1 %
Middle class	60/65 %	29/25 %	47.2 %	30 %	28/30 %
Lower class	30/35 %	30/35 %	51.9 %	67 %	71/69 %

Nota: Solari, "Sociología rural nacional", 1958.
 Rama, "Las clases sociales en el Uruguay", 1960.
 CIDE, "Plan Nacional Agropecuario", 1967.
 CINAM, "Situación económica y social del Uruguay Rural", 1963.
 Errandonea, "Apuntes sobre la conformación de las clases sociales en el medio rural uruguayo", 1970.

The women who are members of the different social classes are different with respect to their behaviour, access to goods and social services, productive activity and subcultural peculiarities.

Nonetheless, we must point out that we do not have sufficient empirical evidence that would permit us to measure and describe the differential behaviour of the female members of the diverse social classes in terms of their potential participation in the process of development. We can only assume that their participation is likely to be quite different due to the present heterogeneity in the structure of social stratification in the present rural society.

6. As a conclusion to this section we can point out the following:

a) The manifest inequality of life among rural woman is noticeable if one looks at standards of living, distribution of income, and social stratification of the rural population.

b) Access to and enjoyment of goods and essential services is not possible for large groups of rural women. In effect, more than half of the rural female population belong to levels with extreme insufficiencies or with serious insufficiencies. Only a minority of rural women have an acceptable level of living.

c) Rural women are affected by the unequal distribution of income. The legal means for redistributing income (family allocations, pensions, etc.) are only moderately effective or are simply ineffective.

d) The rural upper class only includes a small portion of the rural women, perhaps between 0.9 % and 5 % of the total. The middle class oscillates between one third and two thirds according to the different studies.

e) These clear inequalities in the possession of goods, in income, in accesses to services and in participation in power, are translated into the existence of categories of women quite unequal in terms of their participation and their role in rural society. It would seem on the basis of all this evidence that any proposal for the integration of the woman into national social and economic development must take into account this differentiation of feminine categories. Development programs can opt for maintaining these inequalities, for accentuating them, or, on the contrary, for lessing them by trying to improve the conditions of the most disadvantaged rural women.

CONCLUSIONS

Why is Uruguay's female labor force participation rate as high as it is? Why is it not higher? Our conclusions, based on the information and analysis of the previous chapters, are suggestive not only for Uruguay but also, we believe, for development programs in other underdeveloped countries.

The female population of Uruguay, the large reservoir from which the pool of female labor is drawn, is without doubt as qualified or more qualified for labor force participation as any on the continent. Moreover, all the social and demographic machinery thought to ease the transformation from non-working to working are long-established and functioning: legal equality which facilitates women working side by side with men, and special legal protections for working women, especially working mothers; equality of representation at all levels of the educational system, from primary school through university; comparative freedom from the demographic hindrances to participation outside the home--birth rates are low, infant mortality rates are the lowest on the continent and female life expectancy the highest, levels of urban residence are high (and higher for women than for men as a result of the excess rural-urban migration of women), and an age distribution which puts a proportionately larger part of the population in the active ages of 15-59 than in most underdeveloped countries. In addition, the declining real income and high levels of inflation provide a stimulus, especially for married women, to join the labor force to maintain or improve on previous family income.

Yet female labor force participation rates in Uruguay are not much higher than they are for the other Latin American countries for which information is available. We would have expected there to be more difference in the extent of female integration into the economy between Uruguay and those countries in which high birth rates and high levels of infant mortality are a steady drain on a woman's time and physical energy, in which many women live in isolated rural areas, in which when there is a decision whom to send to school the boys are sent.

We reject the conclusion that cultural attitudes are the primary inhibitors of greater female economic activity. When female activity rates are as low as they are in the Muslim countries it is possible to say that cultural attitudes are an effective barrier to women's labor force participation outside of agriculture. In Uruguay, where one out

every four adult women works, cultural attitudes are obviously not effective barriers.

These attitudes do, however, clearly affect the labor force participation rates of married women, the educational specialization of female students, and the occupational distribution of women in the labor force.

Economic activity rates of married women are only half as high, over most age groups, as the rates of single women. We believe this is due partly to their relationship with another wage owner, partly to the realities of child care, and partly to the widespread but unsurveyed beliefs that a married woman's first responsibility is to her family, a responsibility which she fulfills by devoting her efforts to the functioning of the home.

It is clear, however, that many married women do work--more than one out of every three women in the non-agricultural labor force are married. Attitudes opposed to female economic activity outside the home are inhibiting but not insuperable. Many of these married working women are in the labor force out of economic necessity: the numbers of women working in low-prestige and often unattractive occupations such as domestic service (one out of every four working women) allow no other conclusion.

Other married women are working because they want to work. The positive and regular relationship between level of education and labor force participation, rising from 22% of those with primary education to 70% of those with university education may mean that the more educated have an easier time getting a job, that in higher social levels attitudes against married women working are not so strong, or, most probably, that women with a high degree of education have a strong taste for work. The census tabulations unfortunately do not permit us to correlate occupation or education with civil status or family income; studies elsewhere, where more detailed information is available on these variables, suggest that the taste for work of highly educated women is a determining variable, and we think it is likely to be so here as well.

The strong correspondence between educational specialization and occupational distribution in the labor force suggests, however, that cultural attitudes are important in determining what work is appropriate for women. More than 80% of the working women work in occupations

that are disproportionately female, whereas if there were no distinction between men's work and women's work we would expect to find women in every occupation in percentages corresponding to their overall representation in the labor force, 25%.

Moreover, the majority of working women are in only seven occupations, and nearly one out of every two is a domestic servant, a dressmaker or a teacher. When women take advantage of specialized or higher education, they do so in areas that prepare them for occupations or professions that are overwhelmingly female--teaching, social work and nursing, for example. This specialization in education and concentration in occupations suggests that cultural attitudes, while not barriers to female labor force participation, indeed define appropriate areas for this participation.

We also conclude that more women would work if more jobs were available, and that it is precisely the lack of growth in the economy that explains why female activity rates are not higher than they are. The economy has been stagnant over most of the last 15 years, with little growth in the GNP per capita, little growth in the overall labor force, and little change in the distribution of the labor force by sector. Unemployment rates are not exceptionally high, but the scarcity of employment opportunities is reflected more in the high rates of emigration than in unemployment rates. Scarcity of employment opportunities is thought to have a more discouraging effect on the labor force participation rates of those in the secondary or marginal labor pool--those who, if jobs were thought to be readily available, would seek employment--and this pool includes many women.

In addition, a rapidly growing economy tends to draw on labor from this secondary pool. There has been no need in Uruguay over at least the last 15 years to draw on this reserve army of labor; were the economy to expand, however, we expect that the increasing demand would draw from the sizeable supply of well-educated, low-fertility Uruguayan women.

Our emphasis on the importance of demand for female labor is buttressed by our examination of the rural female labor force. Labor force participation rates for rural women are much lower than for urban women, and lower for women in stockraising areas than for women in farming areas. It seems to be precisely the level of demand

that is responsible for these differences: employment is available in the urban areas, but in the rural areas the only alternatives are domestic service--which accounts for 90% of remunerated female employment there--and compensated or uncompensated labor, nearly always the latter, on family farms. In the stockraising areas, even uncompensated family farming is not a significant source of employment.

The high rates of female emigration from the rural areas, higher than the male rates, reflect: the living conditions in the rural areas--the lack of services, the difficulties of communication, the isolation, and the difficulty, in the stockraising areas primarily, of maintaining a family structure when the wife is generally not permitted to live on the estancia with her husband, unless he is the owner.

The higher female emigration rates also reflect, however, the lack of employment opportunities for women. In the agro-economic zones in which small farms predominate, family structure is more stable and women participate in some agricultural tasks with their husbands, female emigration is less. In the zones in which stockraising and large estancias predominate, family structure is weaker, jobs for women are few, and female rates of emigration are higher.

The potential labor force participation rates of Uruguayan women, both rural and urban, are higher than the present level because jobs are not available, not because women are not available to work. In the rural area employment is not available because of the nature of the agricultural production and the belief that paid employment in agriculture is generally inappropriate for women. In the urban areas employment is not available because the economy is stagnant. In other words, we conclude that a growth in the economy will lead to a growth in the female labor force, or, conversely, that the only thing preventing a fuller integration of women into the national economy is the economy itself.

FOOTNOTES

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INTRODUCTION.

- (1) Section 113 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1973.
- (2) AID/AA/LA Airgram, 25 July, 1974.
- (3) Bensión, Alberto; see PRINCIPAL REFERENCES.

CHAPTER III.

- (1) Calculations based on Cuadro XI, Fasc. i and Cuadro 1, Fasc.iii, and 1963 Census, and Cuadro 10, unpublished Census data. All occupational categories were considered to be agricultural.
- (2) Ibid.
- (3) Table from Youssef; see PRINCIPAL REFERENCES.
- (4) Table from Youssef, op. cit. p.17.
- (5) Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, "Muestra de Anticipación de Resultados Censales", 1963, p. XXVIII.
- (6) Mean singular age of marriage calculated according to method described in Hajnal; see PRINCIPAL REFERENCES.
- (7) Following table calculated on basis of Cuadro 2, Fasc. iii, 1963 Census.
- (8) Following table from Youssef, op cit. p.32. Figures for Uruguay calculated on basis of Cuadro 1, Fasc. iii, 1963 Census.
- (9) Bowen and Finnegan

CHAPTER IV.

- (1) Oppenheimer; see Principal REFERENCES.
- (2) Calculations based on Cuadro 1, fasc. iii, 1963 Census.
- (3) Sistema Científico y Técnico Nacional, Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas; see PRINCIPAL REFERENCES.
- (4) Oppenheimer, op. cit. (80 % of the female labor force in disprop. female occ.)
- (5) Petruccelli, p. 29; see PRINCIPAL REFERENCES.

CHAPTER V.

- (1) The following chart is from the Informe Sobre el Estado de la Educación en el Uruguay, Ministerio de Instrucción Pública y Previsión Social, p. 23; see PRINCIPAL REFERENCES.
- (2) Anuario Estadístico del Uruguay, Censo General de la República en 1908; see PRINCIPAL REFERENCES. All calculations on the basis of the 1908 Census made by the authors.
- (3) Machado Bonet, Ofelia, p. 152; see PRINCIPAL REFERENCES.

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- (4) Informe Sobre el Estado de la Educación en el Uruguay, vol I, p. 74; see PRINCIPAL REFERENCES.
- (5) Ibid., p. 75.
- (6) Ibid., p. 80.
- (7) Ibid., p. 110.
- (8) Estadísticas Educativas 1966-73, p.53; see PRINCIPAL REFERENCES.
- (9) Informe sobre el Estado de la Educación en el Uruguay, op.cit. p. 118.
- (10) Diario de Sesiones de la Cámara de Representantes, No. 1741, tomo 612, November 14, 1972.
- (11) Muestra de Anticipación de Resultados Censales, op. cit., Cuadro 14, p. XXVIII.
- (12) While most agrarian schools come under the jurisdiction of UTU, there are a number of private agrarian schools.
- (13) Informe Sobre el Estado de la Educación en el Uruguay, op. cit. vol I, p. 177.
- (14) Ibid., and Programa 08, Estadísticas, Universidad del Trabajo del Uruguay, 1974; see Principal REFERENCES.
- (15) Estadísticas Educativas, op.cit., p.79.
- (16) Programa 08, Estadísticas, op. cit.
- (17) Estadísticas Educativas, op. cit., p. 83.
- (18) Universidad de la República, Censo General de Estudiantes 1968, p. 33; see PRINCIPAL REFERENCES.

CHAPTER VI.

- (1) Calculated on basis of Cuadro 10 unpublished Census tables, 1963, and Cuadro 2.a.1, Fasc. ; see PRINCIPAL REFERENCES.
- (2) Calculations on basis of Cuadro 14, unpublished Census Tables 1963 and Cuadro 2.a.3, Fasc. I, 1963 Census.
- (3) Office of Population Program Assistance, AID, Washington 1972, p. 178.
- (4) Equipos del Bien Común, p. 37; see PRINCIPAL REFERENCES.
- (5) Ibid., p. 37 & 39.
- (6) Ibid., p. 40.
- (7) Ibid., p. 50. Retrospective fertility data from elderly women is generally unreliable.
- (8) Data on Population Bilateral Programs for IGA, AID.
- (9) Population Program Assistance, op. cit. p. 178.
- (10) Equipos del Bien Común, op. cit. an calculation on basis of 1889 Census, 1908 Census and 1963 Census.
- (11) Mortality data from América en Cifras; see PRINCIPAL REFERENCES.
- (12) Calculations bases on Cuadros 17 and 23, unpublished tables, 1963 Census.
- (13) Calculations based on Cuadro 10, unpublished tables, 1963 Census, and Cuadros 2.a.2 & 2.a.3, Fasc. 1, 1963 Census.
- (14) Petruccelli, op. cit.

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CHAPTER VII.

- (1) We used the following sources:
"Situación Económica y Social del Uruguay Rural" (referred as "Uruguay Rural").
"IV Censo General de Población y II de Vivienda" (referred as "1963 Census").
"Estudio Económico y Social de la Agricultura en el Uruguay" (referred as "Estudio de la Agricultura").
"Plan de Desarrollo Agropecuario" (referred as "Plan")
"Censo Agropecuario de 1970" (Referred as "Censo Agropecuario").
- (2) "Uruguay Rural", p. 274 ss.
- (3) Ibid. p. 284.
- (4) Ibid. p. 41.
- (5) "Censos Agropecuarios" of the years indicated in the table.
- (6) "1963 Census" and "Estudio de la Agricultura", p. 260 ss. tomo I.
- (7) "Uruguay Rural", p. 274 ss.
- (8) Ibid. p. 276 ss.
- (9) Ibid. p. 290.
- (10) Ibid. p. 278.
- (11) Ibid. p. 282.
- (12) Ibid. p. 290.
- (13) "1963 Census".
- (14) Ibid. and "Uruguay Rural" p. 402 ss.
- (15) "1963 Census", "Censo Agropecuario" and "Estudio de la Agricultura" p. 260 ss. T.I.
- (16) "Uruguay Rural", p. 311.
- (17) Ibid., p. 317.
- (18) Ibid., p. 324.
- (19) Resolución 227/975 of Poder Ejecutivo, february 7, 1975.
- (20) Ibid.
- (21) "Uruguay Rural", p.292 ss.
- (22) "1963 Census".
- (23) The tables are all from "Uruguay Rural", with the exception of table 7.25.
- (24) The values are taken from the texts listed at the foot of the table. the evaluation is that of Brandonea: see PRINCIPAL REFERENCES.

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- "Características demográficas del Uruguay". Montevideo, 1962.
- "Censo Económico Nacional, 1968; Industrial". Montevideo, 1968.
- "Censo Económico Nacional, 1968, Industria manufacturera", Montevideo, 1968.
- "IV Censo de Población

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- "Iv Censo de Población y II de Vivienda. Datos definitivos". Montevideo 1969.
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ZAIA MACCAN, Sylvana and BAMBERGER, Michael - "The Effects of Employment and Education on the Status of Women in Venezuela". Caracas, 1974.

ZERBINO, Ricardo; COURIEL, Alberto, ASTORI, Daniel, SANTIAS, José - "Elgunas vinculaciones entre la educación y el desarrollo económico y social". Montevideo, 1964.

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APPENDIX

THE AUTHORS

Horacio Martorelli is a Doctor of Law and Social Sciences from the Universidad de la Republica, Montevideo, and an expert in rural sociology.

Susan Watkins is a demographer from Princeton University.

BIBLIOTECA DEL PODER
LEGISLATIVO

Dirección

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ACTUACION DE LA MUJER
EN EL PARLAMENTO NACIONAL.

Montevideo, 5, 2, 1975

BIBLIOTECA DEL
PODER LEGISLATIVO

11/975.

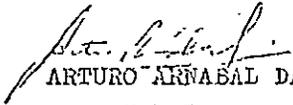
Montevideo, 6 de febrero de 1975.
Año de la Orientalidad.-

Señorita
Mercedes Fitz-Patrick,
Directora del Centro Nacional de Información y Documentación.
P r e s e n t e .

De mi mayor consideración:

De acuerdo a lo dispuesto por el señor Director de los Servicios Administrativos del Poder Legislativo, Coronel Don Alberto E. Lerena, cúpleme remitir a usted la información concerniente a la actuación de la mujer en el ámbito parlamentario nacional.

Sin otro particular, me valgo de la oportunidad para saludar a usted con las expresiones de la más distinguida consideración.


ARTURO ARNABÁL DAGNINO
Sub Director

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Montevideo, febrero 5 de 1975

Señor
Subdirector en ejercicio de la Dirección
de la Biblioteca del Poder Legislativo,
Don Arturo Amador Magliano.

Presente

Atento a la orden oportunamente dispuesta cumplo en
mitirle información sobre "Actuación de las Mujeres en el Parla-
mento Nacional".

La misma ha sido realizada atendiendo a las fuentes de
información que se mencionan y en particular los archivos de
la Biblioteca (Registros de Leyes, Diarios de Sesiones, etc.).

Los nombres de las mujeres actuantes en la Cámara de Re-
presentantes y en el Senado, fechas que ocuparon las bancas,
cantidad por año, etc, surgen de los cuadros que se adjuntan.
Las "pequeñas resúmenes biográficos de las actuales Consejeras-
de Estado", como se solicitan, y de la gran mayoría de las in-
tegrantes del Senado que también acompañamos, han sido obteni-
das de los propios archivos de esta institución.

Sin otro particular y esperando haber cumplimentado en
forma su pedido, salúdale con distinguida consideración:


Helga Ferrana
Adscrito

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CÁMARA DE SENADORES

Es en la 34a. Legislatura de la Cámara de Senadores, que comprende desde el 4 de febrero de 1943 al 10 de febrero de 1947 en que aparece actuando la mujer como Senador,

La Ley No. 3.927, del 16 de diciembre de 1932 dice en su artículo 1o. "Reconócese el derecho de la mujer al voto activo y pasivo tanto en materia nacional como municipal" y en su artículo 2o. "Decláranse aplicables a la mujer todas las disposiciones legales de carácter electoral en vigor".

Fueron estas disposiciones las que permitieron el ingreso de la mujer en la Cámara Alta de la República. Las dos primeras fueron la Dra. Sofía Alvarez de Demichelli y la Dra. Isabel Pintos de Vidal.

El cuadro que adjuntamos ilustra sobre la actuación que ha correspondido a la mujer dentro del Senado uruguayo, y en especial los años en que les tocó actuar. Se acompaña también breve noticia biográfica sobre la mayoría de las Senadoras.

Fuentes consultadas: "Anales del Senado del Uruguay" Luis A. -
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Sección "Clasificación", Biblioteca del -
P. Legislativo.-

NOMINA DE MUJERES QUE INTEGRARON EL
SENADO DE LA REPUBLICA DESDE LA 34a
LEGISLATURA (1943), HASTA EL 27 DE
JUNIO DE 1973

Nombre de la Senadora	- Período de actuación (en años) -	- Observaciones
MONTES DE SANCHEZ, So- fía.	1943, 1944, 1945, 1946 y 1947.	
MONTES DE ROSA, Juana.	1943 y 1952, 1953, 1954 y 1955.	
MONTES DE ROSA, Julia.	1947, 1948, 1949, 1950 y 1951.	
FERNANDEZ DE BORGES, Elsa.	1967, 1968 y 1972.	Concurre a EE. UU, en misión oficial - invitada por el Depto. de Estado.
MONTES DE VIDAL, Isabel.	1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953 y 1954	Siendo Vice-Pte. del Consejo fue la pri- mer mujer que presidió el Senado. (2 de abril de 1952).
ROBALLO, Alba.	1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, - 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970 y 1971.	Concurrió en misión oficial a Italia, Israel y Alemania Occidental.
SANCHEZ BARCELÓ, Francisca.	1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, - 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972 y 1973.	

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BREVE RESENA BIOGRAFICA DE MUJERES QUE OCUPARON BAICAS EN
EL SENADO DE LA REPUBLICA. (Incompleta.)

ALVAREZ VIGNOLI DE D.FICHETTI, Sofía. Abogada. Legisla -
dora. Coautora del Código del Niño vigente en el Uruguay -
desde 1934. Primera Senadora de la República (junto con I -
sabel Pintos de Vidal) y de América del Sur. Coautora y --
propulsora de la Ley de "Derechos Civiles de la Mujer" pro
mulgada en 1946. Delegada permanente del Uruguay ante la
Comisión Interamericana de Mujeres con sede en Washington.
Delegada de nuestro país a numerosos congresos y conferen -
cias internacionales. Ejerce actualmente la presidencia de
la Unión Internacional de Protección a la Infancia. Fue --
primera presidente del Cté. Femenino del Colegio de Aboga --
dos del Uruguay; fundadora y primera presidente de la Aso -
ciación de Estudiantes y Profesionales Católicas. Asesora -
Jurídica de la Asociación Morquio; de la de Visitadoras --
del Uruguay; de la Liga Uruguaya contra el Alcoholismo" --
del Instituto de Ciegos "General Artigas"; del Instituto de
Sordos-Mudos y de Hogares Infantiles. Publicó: "Derechos -
civiles y políticos de la mujer"; "La vivienda económica y
el huerto"; "Legislación en la defensa social del niño"; -
"Legitimación adoptiva en el derecho comparado" etc.

AREVALO DE ROCHE, Julia. Política. Parlamentaria. Diputada
(1942-1946); Senadora (1946-1950) y Edil (1958-1966) en re
presentación del Partido Comunista. Intervino en numerosos
congresos, llevando a los mismos, la representación de su
partido. Miembro del Consejo Mundial de la Federación Demo
crática Internacional de Mujeres y del Comité Central del
Partido Comunista del Uruguay. Ha publicado artículos en
los periódicos "Justicia", "Diario Popular" y "El Popular".
Fue directora de la Revista "Nosotras" en la década del 40
al 50. Libros: "Crónicas de un mundo de heroísmo" y "La mu
jer en la R.D.A. construye el socialismo"

FERNANDEZ DE LOAGNES, Elsa. Maestra. Parlamentaria. Especialmente interesada en los problemas campesinos, realizó cursos especiales de Pedagogía, Metodología y Sociología Rural. Fue Directora de una Escuela Rural, Inspectora de Escuelas-Grandes.

Colaboró como periodista en "El Plata", "Acción" y diarios del interior.

Ocupó durante tres períodos parlamentarios una banca en la Cámara de Diputados por el sector de la Lista 15 del Partido Colorado Batllismo. Su tema de preocupación: la educación y los problemas sociales y económicos del campo.

Publicó obras en colaboración con su esposo, el Dr. Juan Antonio Borges: "Miel Amarga"; "Tierra Ajena"; "Estudio Sociográfico de una Zona Rural"; etc.

PINTOS DE VIDAL, Isabel. Abogada. Maestra. Parlamentaria. Falleció en enero de 1969. Dictó clases en la Universidad de Mujeres como Profesora de Historia Americana y Nacional, desempeñando también cátedras de Literatura e Historia Universal. Consejera de Enseñanza Primaria y Normal. Senadora durante varios períodos en representación del Partido Colorado-Batllismo, formó parte de las Comisiones de I. Pública y Previsión Social, llegando a presidirlas. Presentó varios proyectos que se transformaron en leyes: con el Sr. Zavala Muniz, presentó un proyecto que se convirtió en Ley de Asistencia Social. Propulsora, con otros legisladores, y especialmente con la Dra. de Demichelli de la Ley de "Derechos Civiles de la Mujer". Entre las iniciativas más importantes, deben citarse: "Reorganización de Enseñanza Primaria" y la "Escuela de Servicio Social" Formó parte de la Comisión reformadora del Código del Niño.

En materia internacional desempeñó varias misiones: representó al Uruguay al tratarse la Carta de Las Naciones Unidas (1945). Delegada a la VIII. Asamblea de la UN.

Miembro fundador de la Asociación Cristiana Femenina del Uruguay; Presidente del Ateneo. Representó a la Cruz Roja Uruguaya en la Conferencia celebrada en Caracas (1947); formó parte de la Comisión de la Cruz Roja Juvenil y al volver al Uruguay quedó reorganizada esta institución. Publicó "La Carta de las Naciones Unidas" y "El batllismo, precursor de los Derechos Civiles de la Mujer".

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ROBALLO, Alba. Abogada. Poetisa. Parlamentaria. Senadora por el Partido Colorado Batllista fue reelecta en varias oportunidades. Integrante y presidenta de las comisiones de Previsión Social e Instrucción Pública en ese Cuerpo.

Profesora de Filosofía en Enseñanza Secundaria actuó también como Asesor Jurídico en el aquel entonces Ministerio de Hacienda.

Hizo también periodismo fundando dos publicaciones: "Mujer Batllista" y el semanario "Pregón".

Su carrera política comenzó con la Presidencia de los Institutos de Asignaciones Familiares; ocupó un cargo de Director en las Cajas de Jubilaciones y su Vicepresidencia desde 1951 a 1954. (Fue la primer mujer en ocupar ese cargo).

En 1954 actuó como Concejal Titular en el Concejo Departamental de Montevideo. También actuó, por breve lapso, como Ministro de Cultura siendo la primer mujer en acceder a ese tipo de cargo.

Publicó varios libros de poesía: "Se levanta el sol" (Premio M.I.P.); "La tarde prodigiosa"; "La tierra perdida" y "Mayo de Cenizas".

CÁMARA DE REPRESENTANTES

También en la 3.ª legislatura de la Cámara de Representantes, que abarca desde el 15 de febrero de 1943 al 14 de febrero de 1947, es que aparece por primera vez una mujer actuando como Representante Nacional (Diputado).

Correspondió por honor a la Sra. Magdalene Antarrilli Harari y a la Sra. Julia Arávalo de Roche, representantes a las bancas del departamento de Montevideo.

Desde entonces y hasta la última legislatura varias mujeres han actuado en la Cámara de Representantes. Algunas, como por ejemplo Julia Arávalo de Roche y Elsa Fernández de Borges se han desempeñado, en distintas oportunidades, tanto como Diputadas como Senadoras.

En el cuadro que adjuntamos se muestra la nómina de representantes femeninas que han integrado la Cámara de Representantes los años de actuación y el departamento que han representado. -- (Sejane constancia que hemos tomado solamente a las personas -- que ocuparon una banca por períodos mayores de seis meses). (1)

(1) En hoja separada y a los efectos de completar la información se relacionan las Representantes que, en uso de una suplencia, ocuparon bancas por períodos menores de seis meses. -

Fuente consultada: "Anales Cronológicos de la Cámara de Representantes" "1930-1971". Montevideo, 1971.

"Diarios de Sesiones de la Cámara de Representantes"

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NOMINA DE MUJERES QUE INTEGRARON
LA CAMARA DE REPRESENTANTES DE
LA REPUBLICA DESDE LA 34a. LEGIS-
LATURA (1943) HASTA EL 27.6.1973

Nombre de la Representante	Años de Legislatura (en años)	Representación
ARMSTRONG, Rosalinda.	1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951	Representante por MONTEVIDEO.
ANGRISANO, ENFERMERIA, María Inés.	1956, 1958, 1959, 1961, 1962 y 1963	Representante por MONTEVIDEO.
ANTONELLI MONTES, María Inés.	1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948 y 1949	Representante por MONTEVIDEO.
AREVALO DE ROCHE, Julia.	1943, 1944, 1945, 1946 y 1947.	Representante por MONTEVIDEO. -Además fue Senadora.
BARBERO, Graciela.	1971, 1972 y 1973.	Representante por MONTEVIDEO.
FERNANDEZ DE BORGES, Elsa.	1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, - 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, - 1966 y 1967.	Representante por MONTEVIDEO. -Además fue Senadora.
FERNANDEZ VIEIRA, Déleasis.	1959, 1960, 1961, 1962 y 1963.	Representante por SAVANHA.
HUBERA DE FONT, Amanda.	1947, 1948, 1949, 1950 y 1951.	Representante por MONTEVIDEO.
IDIARTEBARAY, María Mercedes.	1947, 1948, 1949.	Representante por MONTEVIDEO.
COCCARO DE MILLER, Dora.	1958, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, - 1965, 1966 y 1967.	Representante por MONTEVIDEO.
-REVES DE CHACCO, Judith.	1959, 1961 y 1963.	Representante por MONTEVIDEO.
RUBIO REVES, María Luisa.	1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, - 1965, 1966, 1967 y 1973.	Representante por MONTEVIDEO.
SOARES DE LIMA, María Victoria.	1963, 1964, 1965, 1966 y 1967.	Representante por SAVANHA.
SOTO FERRER DE OBANDO, Zulma.	1947, 1948, 1949, 1950 y 1951.	Representante por MONTEVIDEO.
VALVERDE DE GRAÑA, Emilia.	1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, - 1953, 1954, 1955 y 1956.	Representante por MONTEVIDEO.
VISCONTI DE MARIOLLA, Angela.	1951 y 1952.	Representante por ROMA.

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NOMINA DE LAS REPRESENTANTES
NACIONALES CUYA ASIGNACION A
BARCO PERICLICO ISLEROES A LOS
SEIS MESES

<u>BARRENETTE</u> , Felicidad. (Depto. Colonia)	30. 6. 1970 - 27. 7. 1970
<u>BERNARDI</u> , Blanca. (Depto. Canelones.)	14. 4. 1970 - 3. 6. 1970
<u>BRIOSO</u> DE VILLANUEVA, Isolina (Depto. Colonia)	23. 9. 1953 - 1. 11. 1953
<u>CASERA</u> DE GOLDMANN, Raquel. (Depto. Montevideo.)	8. 3. 1972 - 22. 9. 1972
<u>DEJEN</u> , Primavera. (Dpto. Soriano.)	15. 6. 1971 - 5. 3. 1971
<u>PICCA</u> , Olga. (Depto. Montevideo.)	15. 2. 1972 - 23. 2. 1972
<u>RAMIREZ</u> DE AGUIRRE ROSELLO, Irene. (Depto. Montevideo.)	10. 9. 1957 - 31. 12. 1957
<u>REYES</u> , Reina. (Depto. Montevideo.)	1. 3. 1951 - 30. 10. 1951
<u>ROSPIDE</u> DE PONCE DE LEON, Adelaida. (Depto. Montevideo.)	15. 2. 1955 - 11. 4. 1955
<u>TREZZA</u> DE CALDEROS, Carmen (Depto. Florida)	8. 3. 1972 - 7. 9. 1972

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RESUMEN BIOGRAFICO DE LAS ACTUALES CONSEJEROS DE ESTADO

ALVAREZ DE SILVA LEDEZMA, Aurora. Su carrera se inicia en el año 1953 al obtener el título de Escribana Pública. En 1955 es nombrada Juez de Paz en la localidad de Río Branco, pasando el año siguiente, en 1956, a desempeñarse con idéntico cargo en Sarandí Grande, en el departamento de Florida. En los años 1960 y 1961 actúa también como Juez de Paz en las ciudades de Santa Lucía y La Paz, 2a. y 5a. sección judicial del departamento de Canelones, respectivamente. En el año 1971 se gradúa como Abogada pasando a ser, en el próximo año de 1972, Juez Letrado en la Ciudad de Paso de los Toros (Departamento de Tacuarembó).

En octubre de 1973 pasa a desempeñar el cargo de Juez Letrado de Maldonado.

COOLINGHAM SANGUINETTI, María Luisa. Profesora uruguaya -- nacida en Buenos Aires en 1917 siendo ciudadana natural uruguaya. (Artículo 73 de la Constitución de la República). Cursó estudios en el Instituto Normal de Montevideo. Al recibir el título de maestra y luego de ejercer por ocho años se dedica al profesorado de Historia. Es autora de las siguientes obras de investigación: "Liguel Barreiro: Su obra como Secretario de Artigas" 1948; "Solemnidades y fiestas de guardar en el Antiguo Montevideo", aún inédita, 1948. Premiada en el Concurso Anual de Obras Históricas de la Universidad. 1952. "Fundamentos culturales de la democracia en la obra de José Artigas" -- 1950.

En colaboración con el Prof. Mauricio Schurmann Pacheco es autora de los siguientes textos de Enseñanza Secundaria: "Historia del Uruguay" (1956, 1957 y 1960: 3 ed.). Fue premiada por la Universidad en 1959. "Historia del Uruguay para uso escolar" (1958, 1959, 1961 y 1963: 4 ed.). "Prehistoria y Oriente" -- (1959 y 1962: 2 ed.). "Historia de Grecia" (1959 y 1963: 2 ed.). "Historia de Roma" (1960); "Historia de la Edad Media" (1960) e "Historia de la Epoca Moderna" (1962).

Ha pronunciado diversas conferencias sobre temas de su especialidad tanto en el país como en el extranjero.

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FREIRE BONFIGLIO DE ADDIEGO, María Gladys. Nacida en el departamento de Montevideo obtiene su título de Abogada el 24 de marzo de 1950. Ha actuado dentro de la docencia en liceos privados y en la Escuela de Servicio Social desde 1945 a 1967. Participó en la Conferencia Interoamericana de Abogados celebrada en noviembre de 1965 y en la 14a. Asamblea Anual de la Comisión Interamericana de Mujeres. OEA. en noviembre de 1967. En este último evento presentó un trabajo sobre "La mujer en la integración". Se ha desempeñado también como periodista publicando colaboraciones en el periódico "El Ciudadano".

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CONSEJO NACIONAL DE EDUCACION
UNIVERSIDAD DEL TRABAJO DEL URUGUAY
PROGRAMA OS - ESTADISTICA

INSCRIPCIONES EN U.T.U. A NIVEL NACIONAL
SEGUN MANUALIDADES.- 1974

MANUALIDADES	TOTAL	HOMBRES	MUJERES
TOTAL GENERAL	35.955	22.800	13.155
ADMINISTRACION	203	40	163
ALBAÑILERIA	131	122	9
ALBAÑILERIA (CM)	19	19	---
ALFOMBRAS	23	---	23
ARTESANIA DEL MUEBLE	26	23	3
AUD.TEC.ARQU.E.ING.	30	20	10
BASICO FEMENINO	286	---	286
BELLEZA	603	9	594
BORDADOS	356	---	356
BORDADOS A MAQUINA	23	---	23
BORDADOS Y LENCERIA	37	---	37
CARPINTERIA	3.126	3.124	2
CARPINTERIA (CM)	74	74	---
CARPINT. Y HERR. RUR. (CM)	26	26	---
CARP. DE RIBERA	27	27	---
CARP. DE CBRA	109	107	2
CALEFACCION	24	23	1
CERAMICA	248	65	183
CESTERIA	37	6	31
CESTERIA (CM)	207	96	111
COCINA	881	9	872
COMERCIO	1.308	427	881
CONSTRUCCION NAVAL	33	33	---
CONSTRUCTOR	44	44	---
CONFECCION DE ROPA	70	---	70
CORTE Y COSTURA	3.459	1	3.458
CORTE Y COSTURA (CM)	122	---	122
CORREOS	410	11	99
CURSOS AGRARIOS	470	458	12
CURSO DEL HOGAR	57	---	57

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MANUALIDADES	TOTAL	HOMBRES	MUJERES
CHAPA Y PINTURA	56	56	---
CHAPA Y PINTURA (CM)	25	25	---
DIBUJO CONSTRUCCION	234	134	100
DIBUJO Y PINTURA	87	34	53
EBANISTERIA	38	37	1
ELECTRICIDAD	3.774	3.744	30
ELECTRICIDAD (CM)	29	27	2
ELECTRONICA	927	905	22
ENCUADERNACION	132	39	93
ESCULTURA	41	17	24
FORM. MISC. Y FEMEN.	221	122	99
FUNDICION METALES	25	14	11
GRABADO JOYERIA	38	23	15
HERRERIA	61	61	---
HOJAL. Y PLOMERIA (CM)	148	147	1
HOGAR RURAL (CM)	123	---	123
HORMIGON ARMADO (CM)	37	34	3
IDONEO (COMERCIO)	1.060	209	851
IMPRESION TIPOGRAFICA	49	42	7
INGRESO	310	122	188
INST. ELECTRICAS	174	165	9
INST. ELECTRICAS (CM)	119	96	23
INST. SANITARIAS	145	135	10
INST. SANITARIAS (CM)	64	60	4
LAPIDADO	132	60	72
LANA RUSTICA (CM)	76	---	76
LINOTIPIA	63	49	14
MAQU. AGRICOLA (CM)	28	28	---
MECANICA	7.993	7.988	5
MECANICA (CM)	119	119	---
MECANICA AUTOMOTRIZ	511	510	1
MECANICA NAVAL	1.110	1.110	---
MODELISTA	13	---	13
MOLDISTA	62	1	61
MOTORES	48	48	---
PARADER. Y REPOST. (CM)	55	17	38
PATRONES DE CABOTAJE	55	55	---
FELUQUERIA	41	1	40
FRE - APRENDIZAJE	72	49	23

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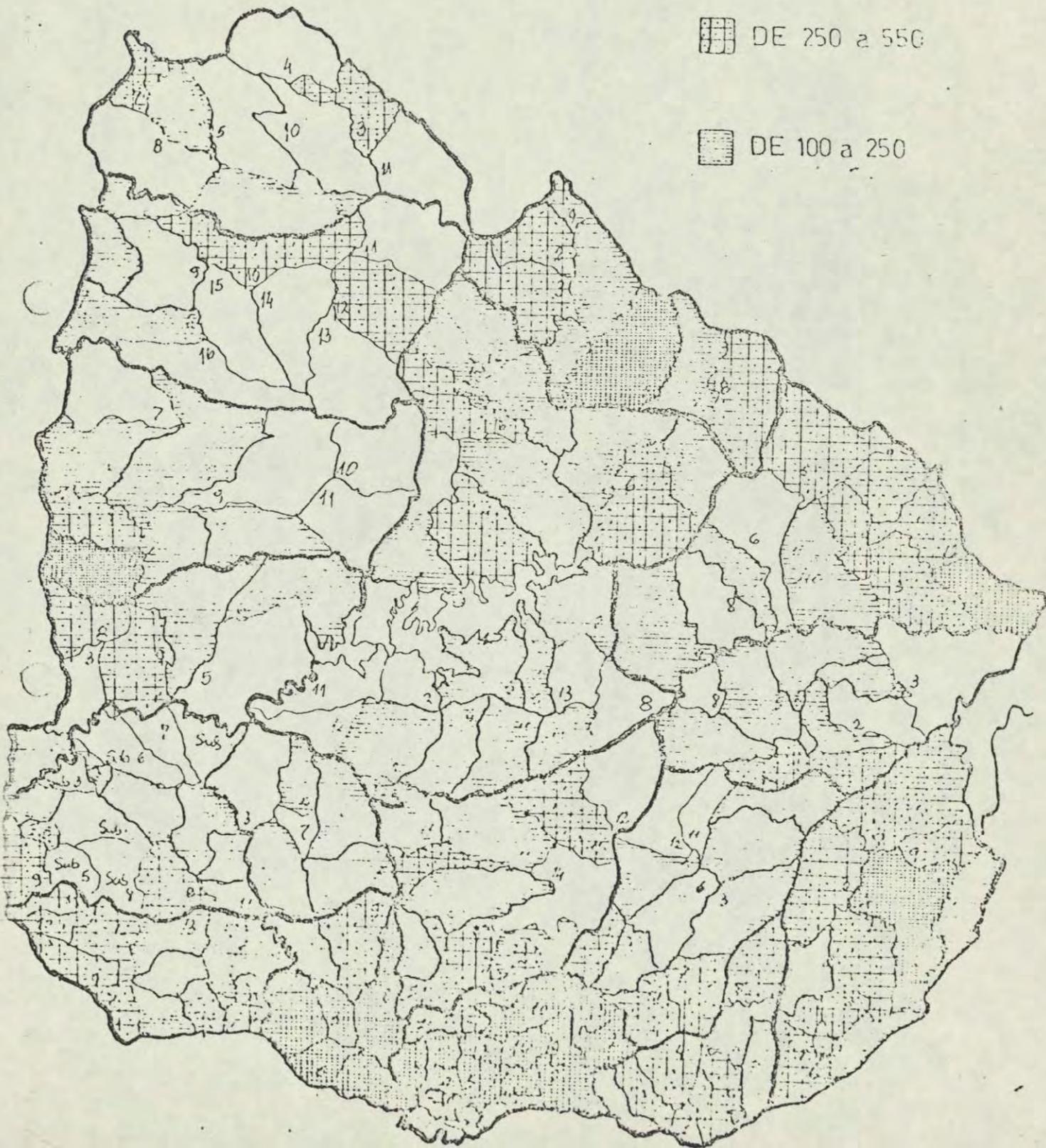
MANUALIDADES	TOTAL	HOMBRES	MUJERES
PREPARATORIO	23	1	22
PRE - VOCACIONAL	107	100	7
PROF. BORDADOS	16	---	16
" CORTE	70	---	70
" DECORACION	27	---	27
" LENCERIA	16	---	16
" TEJIDOS	15	---	15
PUBLICACION GRAFICA	264	175	89
RADIO MANUAL	59	56	3
RADIO MANUAL (CM)	15	15	---
RADIO Y T.V.	209	196	13
RADIO Y T.V. (CM)	11	10	1
REFRIGERACION	85	85	---
RELOJERIA	145	127	18
RELOJERIA (CM)	6	6	---
REPUJADO	24	7	17
SASTRERIA	217	24	193
SECRETARIADO	2.407	438	1.969
SOLDADURAS	173	173	---
SOMBREROS	11	---	11
TALLADO MADERA	84	47	37
TALLADO VIDRIO	43	14	29
TALABARTERIA (CM)	31	22	9
TAPICERIA	8	2	6
TAPICERIA (CM)	43	35	8
TARACEA	14	5	9
TEC. INST. ELECTRIC.	44	43	1
TEC. INST. SANITARIO	24	24	---
TEJIDOS	1.011	1	1.010
TEJIDOS (CM)	104	---	104
TEJIDO Y COCINA	28	---	28
TIPOGRAFIA	59	54	5
VIOLERIA	19	16	3
ZAPATERIA (CM)	79	77	2

NUMERO DE PREDIOS MINIFUNDIARIOS
POR SECC. POL. . 1961

 DE 550 a 850 y más

 DE 250 a 550

 DE 100 a 250



NUMERO DE PREDIOS

• 50 PREDIOS



CENTRO LATINOAMERICANO
DE ECONOMIA HUMANA
C I N A M

FUENTES CENSO AGRO-
PECUARIO 1956 ABRIL 1962

0 10 50 100 km

TIPO CENTRO	LIMITES
	A REGIONAL
	B ZONAL
	C LOCAL
	D LOCAL
	E LOCAL

