

MEMORANDUM

TO : AID/W *Mary Elmendorf* DATE: December 31, 1974

FROM : Mary L. Elmendorf, Consultant

SUBJECT: Suggestions, Recommendations and Resources for  
Enhancing the Roles of Women in Development:  
Peru, Chile and Brazil

Reference: LA-74 P.O. 6

RATIONALE: In the world of the less developed countries, the actual and potential roles of women - especially of rural women - have long been either ignored or at best underestimated. In only the rarest of cases have their wishes, hopes, skills or insights been considered in the design and execution of programs, policies or projects related to the development process. Fundamental reasons for this have been both the absence of data and the failure to assemble and assess both human and bibliographic resources which might help clarify the problems and suggest ways and means of solving them.

The Percy Amendment

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has been especially concerned with the problems of women in the aid-recipient countries. In the committee report on the 1973-74 foreign assistance bill, S.2335, the following language appears:

Recognizing that the status of women within each society is one of the indicators of the level of national development, U.S. bilateral aid should assist in the integration of women into the national economy.

On October 2, 1973, the U.S. Senate agreed to an Amendment (No. 574) to the 1973-74 foreign assistance bill proposed by Sen. Percy as follows:

Sec. 113. Integrating Women Into National Economies. -- Sections 103-107 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.

Taking into account the imperatives of the Percy Amendment, AID/W asked me to prepare a brief paper on each of the following three countries: Peru, Chile, and Brazil, to include the historical and sociological background as well as aspects of current bibliography and research in progress, with special emphasis on economic data.

**PURPOSE:**

To identify and evaluate the various kinds of resources available - both overseas and in the U.S. - which might be brought to bear on the administration of AID programs in such a way as to enhance the roles of women within those programs, and to make suggestions for utilization of those roles.

**SCOPE OF PAPER:**

These reports do not pretend to be in-depth analyses of all the factors which might be considered in order to do justice to their aim. Rather, they are the result of a series of very brief visits to the three countries, consultations with A.I.D. personnel and others during those visits, and brief consultations in Mexico and elsewhere both before and after the visits, with special scientists involved directly or indirectly with feminine perspectives on women's roles in development. It should be noted that A.I.D. offices had not set up project visits during my stay in their country and that most of the materials from which the reports were assembled were obtained through personal interviews and contacts.

**HOW TO USE THIS PAPER:**

Basically, these papers - and the listings of bibliographic and human resources appended to them - should provide a source of information usable by any program officer involved in designing or administering an A.I.D. program. The intent is to make readily available an assessment of current research applicable to these areas, and a network of people qualified to be involved in the planning, evaluation, and implementation of all types and levels of A.I.D.-supported activities in the three countries studied. Broad consideration of these resources, together with an analysis of their application to the specific instances cited in the reports should result in programs which would enhance the roles of women in development. The network of qualified women, who could be immediately assigned or appointed as consultants, members of committees, commissions, and most importantly, as active field participants - as per recommendations in June Turner's report to USAID/Bolivia, dated Dec. 6, 1974 - is vast.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
I. Introduction	1
II. Sources - Latin America	8
III. Peru - Field Notes	12
IV. Sources - Peru	20
V. Chile - Field Notes	28
VI. Sources - Chile	38
VII. Brazil - Field Notes	42
VIII. Sources - Brazil	51

## I. Introduction

### A. Historical and Sociological Background - Peru, Chile and Brazil

Before any valid study can be made of the present status of women in any of the Latin American countries, or to project into the future those current trends which seem to be meaningful, one must pause and take at least a brief look at the historical base on which the present rests. There is much to support the view that this history is incompletely documented. Nonetheless, certain undeniable facts do exist and it is to them we must turn for our beginning.

Although historians and anthropologists disagree about the details, it is known that Pre-Colombian cultures did exist in the three countries we are studying, often at a relatively high level, and that there was an established role for women in them, a role which was defined within the familial and the societal structures. Precise details remain obscure, in large part, no doubt, because so much of what is known about them has its origins in the records of the Conquistadores and the early Friars, both of them male groups not distinguished for the accuracy of their reporting about women.

Another historical fact which cannot be denied is that the Spanish conquerors in particular, and the Portuguese perhaps to a lesser degree, methodically destroyed whatever status Pre-Colombian women did have by a deliberate policy of degradation, using the women as sex-partners, the bearers of their illegitimate children and the exploited labor force so needed in the initial stages of conquest. To be sure, both men and women of the aboriginal group were oppressed, but there is much to suggest that women bore the brunt of the oppression, in view of the fact that the Spaniards did not bring their own women with them and yet very early began to produce the "mestizo" population which was to provide a lower class work force for centuries to come. Such a process could only result from an almost total separation of the native women from the roles and statuses they had known in their original society.

The third and final fact which was to underlie the evolution of Latin American society in general was the very early imposition of a tightly structured and stratified social system, controlled entirely by the conquerors and supported by both political and clerical hierarchies. All three of these facts have left their heritage today, especially among the peasant women of the traditional societies which still remain viable and are reflected in the total society.

The breaking down of family structures begun in colonial times is still a force to be reckoned with. Here, however, it becomes necessary to begin to separate out some differences within the total Latin American system. In Peru, for example, where the Spanish domination was total and immediate, the evolution of the roles of women is more nearly similar to that of Mexico, also the seat of major authority

and oppression by the conquering Spaniards. Both these countries were courts for the Viceroy's. Both of them also had highly developed indigenous cultures which were systematically destroyed and desecrated. It is no surprise, therefore, to find that it is in Mexico and Peru where the characteristic known as "Machismo" is most prevalent, a fact noted by many writers and even by relatively unsophisticated observers, including women students of a seminar which only recently visited there. (Bunster, Saffioti, Elmendorf and WCA Seminar, Rio de Janeiro, October, 1974). Both of these countries also still have large Indian populations, with the accompanying problems of continuing high illiteracy, rapid population growth and massive migration to the urban areas. None of these problems can be understood or solved until we more fully understand the role of the peasant woman, both Indian and mestizo, in historical perspective and the consequent present reality. This suggests the need to examine the literature in more detail, to look for some of the unexpected problems and questions which have not been asked. Primarily this involves separating the myth from the reality, in both the broad spectrum and in such specifics as the question of the women's role in decision-making. We need, in other words, to have feminine perspectives on social science research and to incorporate the new data into understanding the historical and sociological background.\* My attempt to do this in Mexico, both with the Mayan Indian women and in a Mexican national context, has produced some information which may have specific relevance to Peru, less so for Chile and Brazil. (See: "The Changing Status of Women: Mexico" and La Mujer Maya y el Cambio).

It is obviously far beyond the scope of a report like this to attempt any claim to being definitive, either about the status of women in these three countries or about the historical and sociological background of that status. It would be presumptuous to pretend so. Rather, it has seemed more appropriate to assemble field notes on my recent short visits together with country-specific bibliographic materials designed to serve as sources of information about both publications and people. They can provide a resource for the continued and in-depth study of the multiple facets of this often obscure and always complicated subject.

Returning to the matter of historical background, it is vital to recall some of the values which were brought to these three countries from the Mediterranean world of the 16th century. Concepts and customs such as honor and shame, patron-client relationships and the patterns - if not the forms - of polygamous marriage have a definite Mozarabic base, yet in their transmissions to the New World they show clearcut variations of intensity from Peru to Brazil to Chile. (Youssef, 1974). This fact seems to suggest that research needs to be done not only on the indigenous backgrounds of the women of these three countries, but also on the Mediterranean elements

\*See reports of SSRC conferences - Feminine Perspectives in Social Science Research held in Buenos Aires and Cuernavaca - 1974.

which persist in their contemporary lives. There is a parallel phenomenon in Brazil, occasioned by the massive immigration of African slaves, superimposed on both the original Indian populations but also on the early mestizos, creating a society more nearly analagous to the Caribbean cultures than to those of South America. It is therefore probable that one may well need to return to a study of certain areas of Africa in order to comprehend the roles of women - and they are significant ones - in the Umbanda cults of northeastern Brazil, to take a single example.\* Similarly, the study of the agenda and report of the recent conference held in Matto Grosso and focussed on the problems of the Indian women of Brazil and attended for the most part by Indian Women can provide information and insights about the problems of those women as perceived by themselves. (Emmerich and Andrade, 1974)

Chile, on the other hand, presents a different set of problems. The virtual disappearance of their Indian population and the heavy overlay of recent European immigration tends to negate much of the historical effect of Conquistador-Indian interaction. When viewed in the light of recent and rapid industrialization, together with the ramifications of modern communications and the commercial and political ties with the United States. Chile stands out as different, but different only in degree from Peru and Brazil, since they too are caught in the streams of "modernization." It is precisely this factor which has created a major dilemma: does economic development necessarily imply an increased inclusion of women in the work force - with corresponding benefits to her status and satisfaction, or does economic development result in the exclusion of women, with a new deterioration in their relative position? Is it merely "going from Bad to Worse"? This is a question which must be answered. (Chaney and Schmink, 1974; Boserup, 1970; Elmendorf, 1971)

If one looks at development as a process which seeks to utilize to the maximum degree all the resources of a given country or area, there emerge certain broad general line of thrust which appear, at least, to have been under-utilized. It has been noted that the Conquest provoked a new level of energy in the Americas. It is probably also true that the impact of the Church, including the supporting mechanisms such as schools, hospitals and social services, has stimulated new energies. Yet, in recent years, many have viewed the contemporary equivalent of the Conquistadores - the military - as negative forces with respect to development and the Church, at best, as neutral. A recent conversation with a senior official of ECLA, however, calls both of these judgments into question and raises still another one. The following is a rough translation/paraphrase of his remarks, made in September, 1974, in Santiago.

\*See Levi Silverstein's research in process - Ford Foundation sponsored.

"There are three key groups whose relationship to development is only just beginning to be appreciated and understood; the military, the Church, and the women. The role of the military relates primarily to the realities of universal compulsory service and the potential for training inherent in that fact. The role of the Church related to population problems and the family. That of women is still conjectural, but it appears certain that this major force in the national life has heretofore been almost ignored and is now beginning to emerge. No one knows just how to harness it, but evidence suggests that the women themselves are arriving at a level of self-awareness which may indicate the direction our efforts should take."

That "the women themselves are arriving at a level of self-awareness" is certainly a fact in Peru, Chile and Brazil. AID is very fortunate to be looking for ways to "enhance the role of women in development" at this time, when so many groups are preparing special reports for International Women's Year. In Peru, Chile and Brazil research is underway for these reports, in some instances by outstanding social scientists and in others by groups of women especially organized or re-organized for this task. These two sources of information should help AID by providing indications about the direction our efforts should take.

#### B. General Recommendations

First of all, the key to this entire report and to the recommendations in it lies in the bibliographic and biographic material which is appended to both the general and the country-specific sections. References are made to individuals and to publications, but it is to the women themselves that I would like to address myself at this point, since they, individually and collectively, constitute the major resource which AID has for creative programming related to the realities of the individual cultures and women's roles within them. This network of women can be used on an individual consultative basis, or in brain-storming workshops, or to form parts of evaluation teams, in all these cases, relating the women's participation to their specific expertise and to AID's program.\*

To be specific, I would suggest that it makes a great deal of sense to take a new look at every single AID program in these three countries with a view to determining how individuals or groups of these women could be brought into some relationship with each one of them. The aim should be to get their honest reactions and recommendations as to ways, if any, in which these projects could be

\*Actual operational use of the resource women could well follow a scheme such as suggested by June Turner in her Dec. 6, 1974 Report to AID.

altered, expanded, eliminated (if need be), or in some way re-focused in order to achieve the desired end. In other words, before starting on what might be termed "women's projects" why not have a new look at existing programs from a feminine perspective and use some discretionary funds to extend them in the direction suggested by the women's input?

Another point I want to make here is that this could - and probably should - be done in such a way as to provide some kind of control-group factor, applying the concept of feminine perspectives to some, but not all, of the projects and then setting up a research design to determine what differences, if any, were evident in those projects in which that perspective had in fact been applied. There is a great scarcity of data in this area, and we need to know not only what happens to the women we involve in new ways in programs/projects, but also what happens to the program/projects themselves. My own personal feeling, based on field work in Mexico, is that the chance for the lasting effectiveness of most development-related projects, certainly those in the rural areas, is much better when women are involved in planning them and carrying them out, with some part in the decision-making at every level.

My second recommendation relates to the publications section of the bibliographic material and has to do with increased sharing of knowledge of research already completed or in process. I mean by this to include work done or being done by Latin American and U.S. scholars. This in turn implies the need for translation of selected books and articles into English, Spanish or Portuguese. AID might therefore consider the establishment of a bi-(or tri-) national committee - perhaps from among some of the women listed in the attached bibliographies - charged with the selection of the most vital works needed by women in relating to the development factors in their respective countries. These works could then be translated and published, as funds were available for the purpose. This point was discussed in more detail with the Peru Mission than with the others. In fact, Don Finberg may already have recommended - as I do - that one of the first collections of essays by outstanding U.S. scholars writing about women in Latin America - Pescatello's Female and Male in Latin America - be translated and distributed by the AID supported translation center in Mexico.

Another recommendation would be that AID continue and increase support for documentation centers for materials relating to women in those countries where there is a felt need for this type of material. Travel grants for a few selected women to visit centers such as the CIDAL library in Cuernavaca or to one which I understand OAS is starting in Argentina, might prove helpful in developing coordinated plans. As a part of these documentation centers, either new or existing, annotated bibliographies, supplemented by abstracts, would help build increased awareness among the women of their potential roles in development. Some of the excellent AID materials, such as Singletary, Schultz and Kahlgren's reports should be receiving wider circulation.

Still another arena in which AID could involve itself in the direction of enhancing women's role in development is that of the preparation and use of audio-visual materials, such as the film The Emerging Woman by Helen Solberg-Ladd. Together with this could be an effort to relate to the preparation of textbooks with the roles of women re-defined in a more contemporary way, with new role definitions. Particularly in Brazil this might be related to the on-going AID projects in Education and to the outstanding Brazilian women working with those projects.

As another part of this effort, AID could sponsor the preparation of new A/V communications materials having to do with the reality of the lives of the rural women, the market women, and the women artisan. Perhaps this could be done using the techniques tried out with the Navajo Indians, in which the women could portray their worlds as they see them instead of filtered through Western and/or male eyes. Along with this filming, there could be taped interpretations, not only of valuable folk beliefs and wisdom, as related to food, eating habits, and medical practices, but also hopes for and fears of change and development.

Such documentation loses its purely esoteric character if we think of how such information could be useful in planning with families, particularly illiterate or semi-literate families for a better life in the rural areas as an alternative to the continuous migration to the favelas, pueblos juvenes and barriadas of the congested metropolitan centers. Better medical care, education and jobs could be a result of greater understanding, through the use of these A/V materials.

Although it is my understanding that AID's focus is on the rural areas of the three countries I visited, and that one of the specific requests I had was that I make recommendations relating to peasant women, I would like to point out the importance of understanding the rural-urban relationship and the emergence of something which can only be called the "urban peasant". Lomnitz has even called them the "hunters and gathers of the cities". AID might consider the establishment of a Task Force charged with trying to analyse and evaluate the dynamics of these urban peasants, particularly the women. By knowing why they left and what might be the pre-conditions for their returning (or not coming in the first place), a beginning might be made of an out-migration, not to the hated housing projects, where bathtubs are converted into gardens in high-rise apartments, but back to an invigorated and enriched rural area. It seems clear that many women in particular would gladly return to the smaller towns and communities from which they came, if they could be assured of a better kind of life for themselves and for their children. And it is precisely from these women of the urban slums that one might learn what those conditions are which would tempt them back. At the same time, AID support for a series of micro-studies of the villages from which these urban migrants have come, combined perhaps with action projects such as JAN in Peru, might well produce new evidence

which could help stem this tide. If such studies were focussed on the women's role in this whole process, these might be keys to solving a problem which is recognized all over the world as a major one, for which no useful solutions have yet been found. A new approach, developed with women, could well help solve some of the problems in the rural areas at the same time it relieved the pressures in the urban setting. Centurion, in Peru with her graduate students, could be an invaluable resource in planning such a program/project.\*

The next recommendation follows logically on this and that is to involve more young people in planning and execution of programs/projects. Recognizing the demographic picture of South America - and most of the Third World - we cannot over-emphasize the importance of involving youth, again particularly the young women, who are re-defining their roles, both in relationship to each other and to their society. My time in these countries was too short for me to have developed any specific project recommendations, but reports from my students in a seminar group were consistent in pointing out how different were the young university students from their elders, and even more so from the stereotypes they had read about in the published literature about Peru, Chile and Brazil. Some of the young scholars listed in the bibliographic material could make specific recommendations, realistically adjusted to AID's budget.

The final recommendation of this report should probably have been the first.

One fact is obvious. AID must "enhance the role of women" within its own professional field staff before there can be any realistic expectations that the Percy Amendment can be made operative. Not only I but numbers of the women - and some men - with whom I talked perceived this as a salient factor which must be corrected. There is clearly a need for at least one professional women staff member on the AID field staff, one who has status and decision-making authority and who may thus be able to demonstrate the credibility of the programs AID is encouraging.

Finally, much of what could be done to relate women more integrally into the development process could be done with relatively little money. In many cases we are talking about small but more significant extensions of already existing programs, the thrust of which is much than the cost. In others, there might well be added costs, but they are going to contribute to the overall intent of bringing women into the development picture more through careful planning and good analysis than through the dispersal of large sums of money.

\*See Peru bibliography.

C. SOURCES\* - LATIN AMERICA

For detailed information, refer to these specific bibliographies.

1.) Ann Hartfiel, The Female Role in Development in Latin America (A Partially Annotated Bibliography of Recent Publications in the Social Sciences with Synopses of 24 Representative Articles and Books) Prepared for Inter-American Foundation, May 1974 (MIMEO)

This excellent bit of research gives information on specific publications relating to Peru, Chile, and Brazil which have been included in the Country Sources.

2.) Ann Pescatello, Female and Male in Latin America, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973.

This book as a detailed bibliography which she divides into three sections: Official Publications of International Organizations, Official Publications of American Nations, Other Primary and Secondary Sources for Ibero-America. No attempt has been made to include the country related material except when used specifically in the project.

3.) Sue Ellen Jacobs, Women in Cross-Cultural Perspective, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1974. This guide for cross-cultural studies is an excellent reference and material for Peru, Chile, and Brazil has been incorporated in the Source Bibliography, but general reference material has not.

4.) Meri Knaster has prepared an annotated bibliography on publications concerning women in Latin America with the support of the Ford Foundation. This bibliography contains the articles Perspectives in Social Science Research held in Buenos Aires in March 1974, as well as critical analysis of basic materials, and research in progress.

5.) Julia Graham Lear, The Impact of Economic Development and Social Change on the Status of Women. This bibliography is made available through Society for International Development in Washington. It is not specifically related to Latin America but does include some relevant material.

6.) (CIM) Interamerican Commission of Women of the Organization of American States, according to their Washington Office, are establishing a Multinational research center - probably in Buenos Aires - where books, publications, and official documents will be catalogued and made available.

7.) UN, UNESCO, ECLA, OAS, and other governmental documents both national and international will hopefully be available and listed by this center.

8.) OEP, Overseas Education Fund, and other voluntary agencies have reports and lists of women leaders.

\* : Please see Jacob, Pescatello, and Knaster for complete bibliography.

- 9.) CIDAL (Coordinacion de Iniciativas para el Desarrollo Humano de America Latina) has various publications such as La Mujer and Boletin Informativo with bibliographies and indices which are most helpful, as well as a documentation center. Address: Rio Fuerte #3, Apdo 42-A, Cuernavaca, Morelos, Mexico.
- 10.) Special reports for International Women's Year which are in the process of preparation have been referred to in the Country Sources for Peru, Chile, and Brazil. Specific documents previously prepared by women's groups which might be of interest or research value have also been noted.
- 11.) Indian women and other special groups have special literature that could be abstracted from publications of Indian Institutes, Anthropologist's Ethnographic notes, and reports from seminars, such as CIM sponsored ones.
- 12.) Field observations and projects by the students on World Campus Afloat, Fall Term 1974 have been helpful in understanding the changing roles of women, especially among the youth.

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12

PERU: Field Notes on Women's Life in Contemporary Institutions  
of the Society - September 14 to 19, 1974

(A) Law and Legal Change - As important part of historical  
and sociological background

Article 23 of the "Plan Inca" passed in the fall of 1974\* included for the first time in the history of Peru "the situation of the women in all dimensions." This was first brought to my attention by Professor Carrillo, our shipboard lecturer. Representatives of the Movimiento Derechos de la Mujer are including a full statement of this new legal change with its effect on women for their part in the report for International Women's Year. They gave me an article from a local newspaper, signed by a number of the members, in which they said, "We consider that this article not only is a reply to the campaign which we have been carrying on for a long time against discrimination, social injustice and economic and cultural dependency that we all suffer from. It is also a recognition of our possibilities, awareness, spirit of struggle and of unity."

Other articles, such as the one by Jaime Hugo Rivera, "La Mujer Peruana 1974," "Igualdad de Derechos y Obligaciones" in El Comercio, Sept. 9, 1974, pointed out the importance of the "Plan Inca" and summarized some of the historical legal inequalities. An example being that women received one half the amount of land as men at birth. "Por ley, el Imperio del Tahuantinsyo otorgaba al nacer a todos sus subditos masculinos, para su alimentacion, un topo (Medida agraria), y a sus subditos femeninos medio topo." A number of legal studies were made by women between 1930 and 1945, some for M.A. thesis at the Catholic University, analyzing the lack of equality. Carrillo and others commented on the ancient Spanish Law, making it illegal to marry an Indian woman. The members of the Movimiento and other women's groups will be analyzing the new law and checking on the effectiveness of the new provisions. They were very critical of the lack of adequate alimony provisions for wives who are "divorced," and they hope there can be more equality in marital separations.

Margarita Rubio Giesecke\*\* is very interested in women and the law, as are other young people who are quoted by Barrio Nuevo. They are questioning the traditional sirvinacuy, the trial marriage of the Indian groups, as being perhaps a more workable relationship than marriage without divorce.

Peruvian women received the right to vote in national elections in 1955, but have not been active politically since the military junta.

\* Note date is available in Washington A.I.D. office.

\*\* Her present research is supported by a Ford Foundation grant.

\*\*\* During fall semester 1974, I was Visiting Professor of Anthropology with World Campus Afloat (WCA) aboard the S.S. Universe Campus. This academic program, sponsored by Chapman College, has shipboard lecturers from the various countries.

(B) Work

We have to think of Peruvian women in two extreme categories: the urban and the rural, with the greatest problems being faced by the rural women lost in the city slums. Myers (1973) in her case studies vividly portrays some of the problems as they are related to the shift from Quechua to Spanish. Smith (1972, 1973, and 1974) did pioneer work in understanding the role of domestic service facilitating the adaptation of the lower class woman to life in Lima. Smith (1971 and 1973) estimates that there were at least ninety thousand servant women in Lima in 1970, and that if one included the women who had been servants, at least 250,000. She also indicates that several thousand women return to their provinces after dropping out of Lima servitude. A great deal of discussion at the panel held on Sept. 18, 1974\* was devoted to this key group of women. Several of the women felt that even though the domestic servant had been included in social security legislation, many housewives did not explain the advantages of such coverage to their employees. Many domestic servants feel that their cash is superior to the coverage; few understand the provisions. There is still no minimum wage but there has been new maximums set for hours. Several people, including Hilda Araujo, are looking into the problems of the domestic servant, and their education.

Dr. Violetta Sara La-Fosse and other Peruvians at the shipboard panel commented on the need of understanding of the rights, both legal and social, of domestic servants. Her research on feminine oppression includes references to women's oppression by women as well as by society. Someone pointed out the low status of particularly the Indian domestic, and the shame many felt when applying for social security whose card labeled them as servants -- a label they carried after leaving this domestic role.

The importance of the domestic servant is dramatized when we realize that of the economically active women in Lima, 62.5% are employed as servants. (Smith, 1973) She estimated on the same data that during the period 1956-65 some 29.9% of the adult female migrants in Lima were first employed as servants. The potential for change in the combination of forces of employers and employed as they together enhance the role of women is enormous.

Carmen Centurion, in her community development work with Juventud para Accion Nacional (JAN) is working with women -- and men -- in the barrios, the "Pueblos Jovenes" as they are called in Peru. This organization, which is under the direction of the wife of

\* See bibliography

the President of Peru has seemingly enormous flexibility for an official agency. Centurion pointed out that women play leadership roles in the various community organizations, as well as in cooperative work project -- such as laying of sewer pipes, road building, etc. Many of the women are heads of households and as such represent their families and neighborhoods. Special pilot projects to teach women effective voting patterns to secure female representation on committees using color coded cards, etc., sounded innovative and effective. The research being done by the graduate students should yield interesting new data.

Most of the women in the rural communities and the lower class women in the urban areas work because of economic necessity, many as heads of households. Along with being domestic servants, which now may be included in social security, they also work as vendors of their crafts or agricultural produce. Some women market these through cooperative fairs, some in urban cooperatives and others work as street vendors (Sagasti\*) One of the interesting projects in which A.I.D. has been involved is one in which urban laundries which have gone bankrupt, have been set up as cooperatives by women. More details on this might reveal a viable model for duplication -- in Peru and elsewhere.

According to Youssef, 15.3% of the non-agricultural labor force is composed of women, with the largest number of women still working in agricultural areas. Tyler's\*\* study of the rural woman in the Cuzco area should add much needed information on this important group, and may reveal a higher input from rural women.

The present status of the professional woman in Peru will be updated in the report under preparation for International Women' Year by the Consejo Nacional de Mujeres. An earlier analysis of the middle class professional can be found in Chaney 1973. The great gap between the intellectual and the uneducated may perhaps be breaking down among working women.

### (C) Family

University students and young people in urban areas are resisting traditional patterns of courtship and marriage and breaking away from their family ties in increasing numbers, but the traditional pressures are still strong. University students are speaking out against the institution of marriage. For every 8,000 marriages, there are about 70,000 "uniones irregulares," in Lima alone, according to Dr. Laura Caller. Called convivencia, this relationship becomes dissolved when the man leaves or dies and the woman finds herself without legal recourse. (Barrionueve, 1974). For many, however, no marriage contract seems preferable

\* FF sponsored

\*\* A.I.D. sponsored

to an unfair contract, broken or reinterpreted by males only. Peruvian women in all classes are beginning to protest more adamantly and female lawyers are agitating for appointments in family courts and in policy making commissions (Panel, Sept., 1974). Perhaps more understanding of and action for the lower class women will result since all classes suffer from the machismo syndrome (Stevens 1972, 1973; Chaney, 1973; Sara-LaFosse). For many, the result is that they are forced to substitute for marriage non-legal living arrangements, consensual unions of varying durability, and polygamous concubinal unions with married men (Yousseff, 1974). More needs to be known about support for working mothers which hopefully will be updated by Cook\* in her research.

Are males in a recognized polygamous society more responsible parents and mates than in the two-faced world of Latin America? Peru's case, with so many rural Indian women coming into urban areas aggravates this process of dependency. Yousseff's excellent analysis of women and work in developing countries compares Latin America with the Moslem world. She points out the higher ratio of working women in countries such as Peru, but one wonders how many of the women are working to feed themselves and their children. Serial mating patterns, as a part of economic coping, is often forced upon the woman in addition to the menial labor. Even the women street vendors often prefer a life in which they earn from 200 to 8,000 sols a week (approximately 4-20 dollars) in an average work week of 61.5 hours, because they can be with their families. Sagasti's study in Peru correlates very closely with Maria Lourdes Arizbe's research on "Las Marias" in Mexico City. Understanding of these rural Indian women caught in urban settings is needed as plans are made to help them find the quality of life they desire within the city, or perhaps in an improved rural setting, which many have left only in search of economic survival.

The average family size in Peru is 6.6 with 43.3 percent legally married, 14.2 in consensual union. 32.5 percent of the women in Peru in 1961 were single, with 8.9 percent widowed and 0.5 separated (Yousseff, 1974). New data analyzing the current social situation to enrich the demographic data would help in understanding the potential role of women in relationship to an overall development plan. Rural families are usually larger, and the actual legal status of many women is unclear.

The birth rate is 42 births per thousand inhabitants per year with an annual increase of 3.1 percent (IPPF, 1973). Women have an estimated 22.7 abortions per 100 pregnancies. This is legal only if the mother's life is in danger (Moore-Cavat, 1974). 5 percent of births were to females under fifteen with another 5 percent of births to females over fifty, according to Krishna Roy, in a study made several years ago in Lima for CELADE. The

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\* A.I.D. supported.

present military regime allows for free hospital delivery, but many infants live about four days. Many women have babies every 22 months, and many self-induced, unreported abortions (Roy). The physical and mental health of both mothers and children under such conditions are endangered.

Family conditions for many are difficult with an average per capita income of \$389.00 per year, with income for areas being much lower. The peasant woman, often Indian, is at the very base of society. She cares for her family, her home, the farm animals, and often plays a major role in agricultural labor, more I suspect than 15.7 percent. In addition, she spins, weaves, and makes most of the clothing, and often controls family financing -- stretching, bartering and borrowing. Rural cooperatives have been set up with help from A.I.D. Women are represented as widows though, not as wives or family members, I was told. In fact, a large percentage of women have been involved in this project as members of the cooperative. When I expressed interest to hear that women were involved, one of the A.I.D. officers said, "Why do you think it's good? We think it's bad. It shows how poor and destitute they are." I wonder how the women who are members feel or are made to feel. "Indian women do not come into direct contact with public officials" is a statement often heard. But is it not perhaps more true that women are not accustomed to having contact with outside men? And where are the outside women? The formal-informal roles of women need to be understood and related to rural project participation and planning (Chinas, 1973; Elmendorf, 1971; Boserup, 1970).

#### D. Education

In every hundred women who start school, only thirty women finish the fifth grade. In the primary school, there are eight females to every ten males. 42 percent of the students in primary school are women, 50 percent in secondary school, 27 percent in the universities, with some faculties, such as medicine, having as many as 50 percent women (Carrillo). In some reports, women are reported as making up to 35 percent in higher education, ranking above Mexico, but lower than Chile and Argentina. (For full detailed analysis, see Chaney, 1973.)

Education is supposed to be compulsory, but among the rural schools of southern Peru, girls still make up a much lower percentage than the national average. In 1958 only 28 percent of the students were girls (Boserup, 1970, pg. 121). A group of women worked actively in the Ministry of Education for the reform law of 1969 to include co-education, equal rights, and "family" sex education (Panel, 1974). Co-education has not

been put into effect in many private schools and special schools- even public ones, but is now official in regular public schools (Carrillo). Illiteracy among rural women of voting age is 51.8 percent, much higher than for men which is 25.67 percent (Myers, 1973). Professional women have specialized in feminine fields but have also trained in large numbers in medicine, dentistry, law and architecture (Chaney, 1973). Having special training and receiving equal job opportunities and pay is another story (Chaney, 1973).

In the "Mujer Peruana" in El Comercio, Sept. 9, 1974, is a cover showing four women, two dark and two fair. One is welding, one shining shoes, one programming a computer, and one weaving on a hand loom. In conversation, as well as in the media, women are being discussed in changing roles within a changing society. Centurion spoke of the adult education classes in the Pueblos Jovenes attended by parent or parents who are helping plan and run community nursery schools. In teaching these parents, mostly women, to sing nursery rhymes, paint posters, and make toys, they are also giving them new skills for themselves. Women are also learning how to organize politically to elect official representatives and to work with mixed groups of men and women. The students working on their university field projects with JAN are also working in teams of men and women in these Pueblos Jovenes as further evidence of de-sexualized or equal roles.

#### E. Health

Peru has socialized medicine, but still has great problems of public health, partially caused by low literacy combined with extreme poverty for many. Women's health problems both mental and physical, are often related to their child bearing patterns, as discussed in the section on family. New sex education in the schools, combined with programs "Paternidad Responsable," are receiving new impetus with the work of people such as Irma de Subiria and her husband. (See attached Panel list of 22 participants on the changing role of women in Peru, many of whom represented the organizations concerned with women's health.)

#### F. Other

Along with the participants on the panel, other organizations mentioned were SINAMOS, ORDEZA, ACCOMUC, and Union Popular des Mujeres. The OEF has a list of ex-becarias from their Leadership Institutes and other workshops, many of whom are outstanding women active in community organization. Within the schools of social work, there are also potential women leaders, including Gloria Abate, previously Director of the School of Social Work, who is now with OAS, and others who have worked with Caroline Ware. The OAS participants in the various seminars such as the one of Indian Women, should not be ignored as resources.

When Irene Silva de Santolalla walked into the room where the panel discussion was being held, she received a standing ovation. Peruvian women have, historically, been politically splintered and competitive (Chaney, 1973). Still today, as seen at the panel, there was evidence of this. She, as the first and only woman senator, epitomized a dream which pulled the group together. Her books on such things as marriage, sex education, and other social and educational problems, which she published in the fifties, before being named "The Woman of the Americas", were pioneers in a field which is still basic to the problems today.

G. Suggestions for A.I.D. Program

1. Continue and increase support for documentation center which could grow out of the work which I understand is being started with A.I.D. support. Great interest was expressed in having materials on other Latin American countries as well as material in English concerning Peru. A plea was made for translation into Spanish of selected materials and, if possible, abstracts and/or a fully annotated bibliography covering the field. Specifically, if Knaster's bibliography, which was sponsored by the Ford Foundation last year, has been completed and is available, perhaps it would be interesting to publish and disseminate to women through the A.I.D.-supported translation center in Mexico. Also, as already recommended by Donald Finberg, a translation of the Pescatello book, Female and Male in Latin America, would be a welcome and helpful addition to the literature. The few who can read English devoured my copy while I was in Lima. Several women expressed interest in knowing more about CIDAL and their Boletin Documental Sobre Las Mujeres. Travel grants for a few selected women to visit the CIDAL Library in Cuernavaca might prove helpful in developing plans for a Peruvian effort. Emphasis should be given to this documentation aspect immediately, while various groups are preparing materials for International Women's Year. This would be a good time to stimulate cooperation and sharing in a joint effort. University-based researchers, such as Sare-LaFosse and Blanca Fernandez (see Sources) would have helpful suggestions concerning such a center. Fernandez, in fact, spent last summer at CIDAL, while attending the SSRC Seminar.

2. Continue to sponsor research by and about women, particularly those studies which relate to pilot projects in which women are involved.

3. Closely related to the above would be to examine carefully some of the already existing A.I.D. projects to determine where and how women could be involved in new and different ways. Once this was determined, one or more research components could be combined with the ongoing project, so that careful evaluation could be made of the effectiveness of the women's dimension, both as it relates to the women themselves and to the overall outcome of the project. More

specific recommendations for such pilot projects could probably be made by Mae Tyler and Ana Maria de Canales, both of whom are working now with women in Peru. Since A.I.D. has expressed specific interest in the peasant woman, these two women's judgments would be especially helpful. (See Sources)

A parallel approach with rural women migrants to the city could also be designed for application in the pueblos jovenes. Carmen Centurion would be invaluable as a resource in this area.

4. Take a new look at the cooperatives, both rural and urban, to make sure that women are involved at all levels, not just when they are widows or un-married heads of families. Alberto Arnillas (see Sources) assured me that he and Dr. Caneles were exploring ways to enlarge the effectiveness of women in the agrarian program of CENCIRA. He would be perhaps the contact most likely to have concrete suggestions.

5. In my brief visit to Peru, I discussed with numerous people ways in which the roles of women in development projects could be enhanced. Rather than making more specific suggestions relating to Peru, I would suggest that you get in touch with the people on the attached annotated Resource List whose interests and skills lie closest to the scope of the A.I.D. program. These people could serve as individual consultants and/or participants in a longer, more carefully planned special panel discussion on the changing role of women in Peru. The brief meeting which was held in Callao on Sept. 18, 1974, even though it was barely long enough for people to identify one another, was an indication of the concern and potential productivity of that particular group of people. (See list of participants in Sources) From members of this group, A.I.D. could certainly get excellent suggestions for small but carefully thought out projects.

(Many of the suggestions made in June Turner's report of December 6, 1974 to USAID/Bolivia for specific organizational incorporation of women into the field programs of A.I.D. would, I feel, be applicable to Peru.)

1. SOURCES\* PERU

Participants in special panel discussion on the Changing role of Women in Peru aboard the S.S. University Campus, Callao, Sept. 18, 1974

Dr. Krishna Roy  
Economist, Demographer  
INPROMEI (Instituto de Neonatología y Protección Materno Infantil)  
Manuel del Pino 279  
Lima, Peru T. 714052

Outstanding Social Scientist from India, resident in Lima, with training at the London School of Economics and Princeton University, has done research on fertility patterns of women in Peru Offered to make paper available to AID Extremely interested in the problems of women in population and development excellent speaker and organizer

Gisella Carter  
Architect and founding organizer of Family Planning group in Lima  
Las Magnolias 889 of. 208  
Lima 27 San Isidro

Energetic young mother, who with her husband has designed model communities and vacation areas. Active as volunteer who approaches social and family problems in a professional manner

Irene Silva de Santolalla  
Writer and Peru's first and only Women Senator  
Av. dos de Mayo, 568  
Miraflores, Lima  
45-40-47

"Peruvian woman wins family education battle;" Pamphlet which tells about Irene Silva's struggle to be recognized as a woman, many of her books are in their third and fourth editions, even though they are dated they are still relevant, Especially Por la Felicidad de Nuestros Hijos, Hacia un mundo mejor

Maria Teresa Santolalla Silva  
Designer, Decorator  
Av. dos de Mayo, 568  
Miraflores, Lima  
93-02-17

Single career woman who has independently established her own profession, and set up a school to train others Very interested in the potential of autonomous working women

Dr. Irma de Subiría  
Director of del Centro de Capacitación y Promoción Familiar  
Catalie Sanchez 244  
Lima 13, Peru  
32-9096

Has prepared, with husband Ricardo, numerous articles on Sex Education and other subjects relating to "Paternidad Responsable," such as Mi Hijo: un desconocido, Una Nueva ética sexual, Haciendo hombre, and El problemático adolescente. The Subirías attended the IMES-UNPHA conference in Mexico in 1973, as well as the Tanzania conference in 1974 Sumarized in Familia 74

Dr. Violetta Sara LaFosse  
sociologist at Universidad Católica  
62-25-10 ext. 154

Outstanding researcher who is coordinating population related problems and study of women with Ford Foundation support. Attended Social Science Research Council Conf. on Feminine Perspectives in S.A. in Paris, 1974 La Condición Femenina en el Perú

\* Please see Jacob, Pescatello, and Knaster for complete bibliography.

Blanca Fernandez Montenegro  
Graduate student in Sociology  
Universidad Católica del Perú  
Santo Domingo 255  
Jesus-María  
Lima, Peru 24-33-90

Has participated in numerous courses and seminars on woman and society as assistant to Dra. Sara-Iafossa and collaborator of Margaret Randall. Presently working as member of research team in the Taller de Socialización on project "Estabilidad familiar, trabajo de la esposa y socialización de los hijos según clases social, sexo y edad." Attended SSRC seminar on Feminine Perspectives and Social Science Research in Cuernavaca, 1974

Carmen Centurion de Ramirez  
Community development expert  
Social Worker, director of (the  
Office of the Wife of the  
President of Perú) JAN  
Juventud para Acción Nacional  
Natalie Sanchez 227  
Jesus-María 32-93-21

Outstanding young woman who has just been appointed by the President's wife to direct and reorganize JAN, a kind of domestic urban Peace Corps, working intensively in the "pueblos jóvenes." Graduate students are working with JAN as a part of their supervised field experience, a great emphasis is placed on the participation of women and families. Dr. Centurion, with her husband Arturo Ramirez, attended CREFAL in Mexico and founded a private agency called Asociacion Equipo para el Desarrollo Humano, 1967, which he continues to run with her serving as chairman of the board. This project receives support from the Maryknolls and other private groups.

Colonel Andrade and twenty  
students working with JAN  
658 Bolivar, Lima

Col. Andrade works closely with the President's wife and Dr. Centurion in making this pilot project of community development work efficiently. The students, social workers, engineers, doctors, lawyers etc, work as teams in various barrios. Reports of their work and observations could be most useful in understanding the problems of rural urban migration.

Alberto Arnillas  
MA University of California  
Davis in Agricultural Economics  
CENCIRA (Centro Nacional de  
Capacitación e Investigación  
para Reforma Agraria)  
Avda Javier Prado (Oeste) 1358  
San Isidro, Lima

Engineer Arnillas with several co-workers from his office attended the Round Table.

He is very active in developing rural projects and concerned about the role of women. Put me in touch with Ana Maria Canales.

Ana Maria de Canales  
Anthropologist, Ministry of  
Agriculture, CENCIRA  
Avda Javier Prado (Oeste) 1358  
San Isidro, Lima

Dr. Canales is working specifically with peasant women in the areas touched by Agrarian Reform. Along with project supervision, she is carrying out some research.

Isabel Reyes Carrillo  
President of Consejo Nacional  
de Mujeres del Peru

Dr. Reyes has the responsibility for organizing the Peruvian Report for International Women's Year. The Consejo Nacional was founded 55 years ago and has 440 collaborating members as well as 100 affiliate institutions. They have various projects relating to women, all designed to have equal status.

Helen Orviz de Salazar Bondi  
Lawyer, President of Movimiento  
Derecho de la Mujer

All of these women along with other members of their organizations have been extremely active in obtaining legal rights for women. They are now campaigning for representation in higher courts and family courts for women. They have a group of volunteers who offer their services free, for those in need of legal counsel.

Renee Lossio de Sousa  
Secretary of Movimiento

Olga Olate de Parades  
lawyer and School Director  
President of Union de Mujeres  
Americanas del Peru  
Perez de Eudela 285  
San Isidro, Lima

Mae Tyler  
Graduate student in Sociology  
at UCLA  
Resident in Peru, 74-75

Ms. Tyler is doing her field research near Cuzco on a project related to rural women. She is carrying on part of her work with an AID related DAVI grant. Her findings should be of special interest in AID project development. (wife of Richard Besen)

Richard Besen  
Graduate student in Sociology  
at UCLA  
Resident in Peru, 74-75

Mr. Besen has a Fulbright to complete his research in Peru. He is interested as is his wife, Mae Tyler, in enhancing the role of women.

Rachel Machicao  
Sanitary Engineer at PREVI  
Plaza Washington 125  
Lima, Peru

Engineer Machicao designed, as a member of PREVI (UNDP housing project), a new bathroom with great advances in use of space and water. She is a Quechua Indian, married to an Indian, both of whom are working as professionals and have international reputations. Interested in women's potential for greater contributions in the field of development.

Marina Cordoba de Ferreyra  
Representative to the  
Interamerican Commission for  
Women, CIM

Sra. Cordoba is the Peruvian representative to CIM, the OAS sponsored group which prepares official documents, sets up leadership institutes etc., has been very active in women's affairs in Latin America.

(\*) Carmelinda Arriaga de Villa  
(\*) Zoila Saavedra Sumersindo  
Doing social work in Iquitos and  
Picha Satipo (Respectively)

For example, she helped select the two Peruvian women who attended the OAS conference on problems of Indian women, held in Guatemala 1973. (x)

Analia Ingo de Verta  
Activist

Mildred Merino de Zela  
Anthropologist

Mary Yeober  
Assistant Cultural Attache  
at U.S. Embassy

Ms. Yeober assisted greatly with translation and interpretation. She offered to help in setting up further discussions among Peruvian women.

Pat Knight  
AID, U.S. Embassy

Ms. Knight was unable to attend the panel discussion because she was preparing to leave Peru for Washington. She, along with Dr. Roy and Mrs. Carter, were extremely helpful in putting me in touch with many of these outstanding Peruvian women.

Along with the above listed people, other Peruvians as well as students and faculty from World Campus Afloat, participated in a lively two hour discussion which had to be interrupted by the raising of the gangplank. Exchange of ideas and projects could well have lasted several days. Many of the Peruvians had not met before, so for them as well as us, this was an interesting but much too short experience.

## 2. OTHER CONTACTS

- o talked with during project preparation  
- know from previous contact
- o - James Trowbridge  
Ford Foundation Representative  
Plaza Washington 125  
Edificio Pacifico Apt. 6025  
Lima, Peru  
Mr. Trowbridge, his wife, and his office staff, were helpful in suggesting individuals and bibliography.
- o - Elsa Chaney  
Fordham University  
New York  
Dr. Chaney was most helpful in sharing personal contacts, many of whom attended the panel. Her observations, as well as her research, which appears in the bibliography, were valuable.
- o - Caroline Ware  
Vienna Virginia  
Dr. Ware, social worker and consultant, suggested outstanding social workers in Lima and the provinces.
- o - Ionise Montgomery  
Overseas Education Fund  
Washington D.C.  
Ms. Montgomery sent me an up to date list of ex-OEF participants who are active in various community projects.
- o Donald Finberg  
AID Director  
U.S. Embassy  
Mr. Finberg, along with a number of members of his staff, gave me a briefing on AID projects in Peru. They pointed out ways in which they are enhancing the role of women in development. Pat Knight, the only woman

AID officer at the meeting, introduced us to our outstanding women, Gisella Carter and Krishna Roy. Unfortunately, Pat Knight, because of her imminent transfer, was unable to attend the panel discussion nor will she be able to implement recommendations.

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28

### III. Chile. Field Notes -- September 20, 1974 to October 1, 1974

#### A. Family

Chile, with its small Indian population, and with what is even more important, its Ibero-Lusitanian cultural heritage, watered down by large additions of varying populations from other parts of Europe, presents a picture very different from that of other Latin American countries. Just one illustration is the much less obvious presence of machismo. This has been reported by scholars such as Bunster, Chaney, Stevens and was also noticed by the women students on World Campus Afloat in the fall of 1974. It was particularly noticeable during our stop in Punta Arenas where 65% of the population is from Yugoslav stock, and where the aggressiveness of the Latin male was strangely lacking.

A full set of reports on the changing role of women in Chile is now being prepared for International Women's Year by a composite committee which is being chaired by Dr. Irma Salas. These reports should supplement the various sources of information which we have in the past literature including those by Salas, Mattelart, Chaney, UNICEF, et. al.

Thus we must evaluate Chile, with its neighbor Argentina, more as we would a European country than as a South American one, with a family structure which is quite different; smaller families and a dwindling population growth rate of 1.8 according to IPPF 1973, down from 2-2.99 on the Doxiodis map of 1969-70. Reporting on family life has, unfortunately, been politicized. For example, the Chilean Association of University Women prepared a report, "The Evolution of the Chilean Family" for a conference in 1969 and one on "Communication between Parents and Adolescents" held in 1970 in order to supplement the reports which had been prepared for an earlier UNICEF conference. These studies covered in some ways the same time span as the research by the Mattelarts on Chilean women, youth and the family, 1968-70. Other sources which I have not included in the bibliography are the excellent demographic reports which were prepared by scholars at CELADE, but this gives an indication of where research on the Chilean family is available with varying interpretations of the role of women within the family structure.

In discussions with women in Chile, I was assured that legally the woman has more protection there than in many countries. For instance, social security is required as is a minimum wage for domestics. Three months paid leave, pre and post partum, and leave for one year, if requested, is also available. All companies, whether or not they employ women, are supposed to pay into a single fund which makes this leave available for all women wherever they work. The discrimination against women which often accompanies

legislation requiring special facilities for children and special leave when more than 39 or 49 women are employed, is supposedly not a problem in Chile. (There was no time to cross-check this, but I found it an interesting plan.) I was told that women, even unmarried, could legitimately adopt children, but not even in Chile is divorce legal. There are various complicated legal ways of separation and equally, if not more, complicated methods of handling estates and children. For instance, I was told that without exception younger children go to the mother, but that at age fourteen the boys may go to the father and the girls may not. The Secretaria de la Mujer has legal services for women, but men, and especially the wealthy, still in Chile, as in other countries, are more favored in most legal decisions. What a woman earns is hers and may be kept in a separate account, but in order to work she must get permission from her husband or, if she is working, she has to stop if her husband doesn't want her to continue. He is able to say that "the family is deteriorating" and she will be asked legally to stop working if she doesn't want to.

Emphasis on the importance of the family, which seems to be even more stressed now than formerly, was pointed out to me by several people at the Secretaria de la Mujer. A pamphlet called "Testimonio de las profesionales chilenas ante el cambio del gobierno 1973" is a political statement showing where the Chilean women who identify with the present government stand. A copy of the full report made to the Population Congress would give the official stand on the woman and the family and would supplement the previously mentioned studies as well as the demographic material which is available through CELADE.

During 1974, the President of Chile, General Pinochet, published a statement in the newspaper which was specifically slanted to the Chilean housewife, not to the professional woman. In fact, the glorification of the family was very much a part of the current atmosphere with "mother, home and hearth" an almost nationwide slogan.

#### B. Work

There are many ways in which Chile is in a completely different situation from much of Latin America. For instance, 31.5% of the population live in cities of more than 100,000, with 21.8% of its non-agricultural labor force composed of females. (Youssef, 1974, pg. 14) Chilean women agricultural workers on the other hand constitute only about 4.7% of women of the agricultural sector (Chaney, 1973; Garrett, 1974).

In urban Chile there are approximately 250 potentially marriageable females between 35 and 55 for every 100 potentially marriageable males in the same age group. According to Youssef (1974, pg. 109)

"The interesting fact is that widows do not return to the rural areas where their chances for remarriage are five times higher than they are in the urban centers. This can only mean that the social gains from urban life have outweighed whatever gains are offered by the village."

And yet driving through the Chilean countryside, the California like areas between Vina del Mar and Santiago and the equally interesting Pampas in the south, I wondered if enhancing the role of women in the rural area might not reverse the status of rural vs. urban life. Can the Centros de Madres - whose members do not necessarily have to be mothers - or other rural cooperatives be A.I.D. related projects tied to introduction of new food products? I do not mean putting women back in the fields as farmers' wives, but relating them creatively to the solution of several pressing problems such as predicted food shortages, as social status and quality of life are improved.

In 1960, 35.9% of the women in Chile were single, 48.7% legally married, 9.6% widowed, and 2.4% separated (divorce is not recognized). Of the married women who were working, 21.6% were in professional jobs, 24.6% in services and 22.6% in artisan-craftsman jobs. Of the single and separated women, on the other hand, only 9.3% and 10.2% respectively work as professionals, but 50.7% and 38.2% are in services (Youssef, 1974, pg. 108). This means that more than twice as large a percentage of the single women as the married work in the service sector, while the ratio is reversed in the professional area.

Women's participation in the professions is extremely interesting and has been well analyzed and documented by Chaney and others. For instance, we find that 28% of the judges and/or court officials are women. 8.5% of the doctors in Chile were women as compared to 6.7% in the U.S. and women comprised 32.7% of the dentists, with even greater percentages of women in the schools of dentistry and medicine at the university. Women are also more represented in architecture and law than in the U.S. In fact, there were two women medical doctors in 1877 and the Chilean Association of University Women was founded this same year. Chilean women proudly mention the founding by Amanda LaBarca over twenty years ago of the Confederation of Women's Organization. And yet, the acceptance of women as professionals is not by any means a fait accompli, according to one of the Chilean women working in the A.I.D. office. As

she said, she had been given a higher post from her original secretarial job so that she was in a decision-making position as far as some of the programs were concerned. Yet she said: "If you're a woman, to a lot of Chilean men, you're a secretary. They always wanted to see my boss". My question to her, and to myself, as I look over the Chilean material, would be: Was this because she was working in a U.S. agency as a Chilean woman or was it because of the situation in which she found herself of changing status within an organization? Certainly, in my conversation with other Chilean women, they seemed to consider it less of a struggle to be accepted as professional women than do women either in Mexico or Peru and, I feel, in Brazil and perhaps in the U.S.A.

If we look at the figures for working class youth in both the rural and urban areas, we find that 64.1% of males and 42.2% of the females have entered the labor force before age fifteen. In Chile today, however, we have an amazing statistic which shows that nearly one-half of these young people are unemployed (ECLA, 1974, Vol. III, pg. 669-70). The relatively higher per capita gross national product in Chile clearly does not reflect a lower ratio of need on an absolute scale. Because of the rapid increase in the cost of living and the manifold economic problems which grew out of the recent tensions related to governmental changes, I heard widespread predictions of great need and possibilities of critical food shortages and hunger.

We see here a large middle class with large numbers of working wives, semi-professionals and professionals. With high unemployment and scarcity we might well analyze the roles women play in the economic pattern of reciprocity of favors in the urban middle class. (Lomnitz, 1971)

If we look at the problems of women in the rural areas, even though they comprise a very small percentage, they still pose a special problem. Garrett's unfinished research which was focused on this group, may give us some needed new insight on the problem. A.I.D. might very well explore some of the problems of the rural sector: unemployment among the youth in the city areas; the need for food; the possibility of greater production of foodstuffs; and the feasibility of cooperatives; and the development of canning facilities, particularly in the southern area of Chile. There appear to be ways of relating women to such a development plan, though considerable detailed study would be needed and could appropriately constitute the first logical step.

### C. Education

In Chile we find a much higher educational level overall than in most of Latin America with correspondingly lower illiteracy rates. An interesting fact about Chile, however, is that only 11% of the women are illiterate while 18% of the men are (Chaney, 1973). Another interesting statistic showed that 11.4% of the women in the urban areas are illiterate as compared to 7.8% in the rural areas (Youssef, 1974, pg. 74). If we move from these figures to the university area, we find that women are rapidly approaching 50% in some of the professional schools such as medicine, law and dentistry, with resulting problems of job placement for many of them, as unemployment and cost of living rise. Since 1940, there's been a general increase in enrollments in the schools, particularly at the secondary and university level with the greatest increase among the female students. Schools are co-educational at pre-primary and primary level and at university level but boys and girls were, and are still, segregated during secondary school. A UNESCO study of the schools of agriculture showed discriminatory practices in programs for women as compared to those for men. For example, there was also a field observation made showing that girls in secondary and vocational schools were concentrated in sex-stereotyped learning, but these, of course, might have been isolated observations. I have no nationwide statistics on which to support them.

### D. Health

I should comment briefly on the great feeling of a threat of a food shortage, partly aggravated, I feel sure, by the possibly artificial shortages which had been experienced during the recent political upheaval. Certainly, one did not see the evidences of poverty that are so obvious in parts of Peru and Brazil. Nor was there an awareness of lack of food that is so obvious in Senegal, Egypt and Southern Italy, but the feeling was in the air that there was a shortage of food or that there might be lack of equal distribution of the food that was available. The repeated tales of waiting in endless lines, of queueing for basic staples emphasized this fear. I have no statistics to cite on this possible food shortage, but realized that this is a part of the emphasis of the A.I.D. report which was furnished me. If it is in fact true, certainly the women who play such a role in both the production and consumption of food should be encouraged to be involved in solutions to the problem.

Perhaps this is the time to mention the Centro de Madres, from now on referred to as CEMA or Centros. For some strange and wonderful reason, these Centros have been able to survive various political changes. During Allende's time they were one of the

points of distribution for the medio litro de leche and according to my informants they grew out of earlier distribution programs set up by the Church. Now CEMA is still extremely well organized. The wife of the President of the Republic is the president of CEMA, as were the wives of the previous presidents, and the organization is now tied to the military representatives in the provinces whose wives are in turn the presidents of the regional chapters of CEMA. The representation is national with over 1,000,000 women as active members; 20,000 clubs with an average of 50 members each. The regional and local chapters are very much in touch with the headquarters in Santiago, which I visited. I was told there that there are various programs which are carried on, including economic activities which include job placement as well as employment for women in home industries, making various uniforms for hospitals and schools which are pre-cut and made at home. These are sold at cost and the women receive at least a minimum wage. I was assured that these were in no way sweat shops but allowed the women to work at home and yet still be a part of a national scheme.

As someone who believes very much in the importance of sewing machines for women, as useful tools and often as status symbols, I was pleased to be told of the way sewing machines were sold at cost to women using them to make clothing with the profits from which they paid for their machines. I was also given information on the cooperatives which sold artisan and craft material; rugs, knitting, weaving, flowers, etc., made by women either in their clubs or in their homes. In many ways I found this an extremely interesting program and one which I have been curious about and would like to know more about. If the Centros have been able to survive political changes in the past, perhaps even within the military regime they can continue to work for the good of the individual women and families rather than just as an arm of the government. Are there other ways to relate the Centros to enhancing the role of women in development? Here we have a viable agency with women of all sectors participating. Is A.I.D. exploring all potentials, particularly in barrios and rural areas?

While in Punta Arenas I visited the provincial headquarters of CEMA and a Centro de Madres in one of the barriadas of the city. One woman who is definitely partisan to the present regime explained: "We joined the Centros because we wanted to keep them going, now they are ours." I understood when I visited the headquarters in Punta Arenas how closely CEMA identified today with the military when I saw the plan of the city which was divided into four sections with one belonging to the army, one to the navy, one to the air force and one to the police. It was explained to me that the overall head was

the wife of the provincial governor and that each division was under the wife of the officer in charge of his part of the military. Each club in each section has two women within that military organization who are the monitors ("monitores") of the club. There are also technical women, community development experts or teachers of weaving or whatever is requested by the club who go out to set up classes. The club in one of the barrios which I visited unexpectedly with the knitting teacher had one of the monitors there. When I asked about the different programs that were carried on in the club, I was told the clubs really doubled as community centers and that husbands and children joined the women at different times for activities. There was a ping pong table and other signs that made one feel this was very much a part of the community and very much used. The women attending varied in age from post-adolescent to elderly and there was a feeling of involved activity. When I asked if things such as sex education or family planning were discussed in the club, the monitor seemed extremely upset and said that this should be talked about at the hospital; that this wasn't anything which should be discussed in the women's club. There is interest in health problems, though, and these are discussed in the club. Recipes for use of new foodstuffs are experimented on in the clubs and the clubs' potential for creative change is great.

Perhaps it was the original emphasis on medio litro de leche in the Centros and the threat of food shortage which brought to mind the article, "The Economics of Breast Feeding" by Alan Berg, published in 1973.

"Potential breast milk production in Chile in 1950 was 57,000 tons of which all but 2,900 tons were realized. By 1970, 78,600 tons of 93,200 potential tons were unrealized. The milk of 32,000 cows would be required to compensate the loss (pg. 30). Twenty years ago, for example, 95% of Chilean mothers breast fed their children beyond the first year of life. By 1969, only 6% did so (pg. 30). Beyond that, when women lactate, their menstruation and ovulation is delayed from ten weeks to twenty-six months. In many societies, in fact, breast feeding may constitute a more effective form of contraception than the haphazard and ineffective techniques in practice. In Taiwan, scientists estimate that lactation has prevented as much as 20% of the births that would have occurred. In India, the same ratio would mean prevention of about 5,000,000 births each year (pg. 30)."

One other situation which must always be related to women and health is the availability of birth control information, the number of unwanted babies, or the number of induced abortions when other means are not available. Chile is a pro-natalist country in that special provisions are made for women with more than five children, such as an earlier retirement, i.e., twenty-five years for five children, and for fewer, twenty-six, twenty-seven and so forth until thirty which is the same for men. There is a great pride in Chile that Dr. Jaime Zipper's invention of the copper T IUD. There is also pride in the past provisions of socialized medicine, in the fact that there was a woman gynecologist who was inserting IUDs in Chile earlier than in any other Latin American country. When we talked to the doctor in the clinic in Punta Arenas on a visit to the general hospital, he proudly demonstrated his techniques in explaining the use of an IUD and asked that we observe the insertion of one.

For me it was very difficult with background to understand why the rate of induced abortion was so high in Chile with one in every three pregnancies ending in abortion. The statistics which show 34.4 abortions per one hundred pregnancies are based on a population study of 675 lower middle class women. (Moore Cavar, pg. 305, Table 64.C) This is perhaps a small sample, and may not be a true figure on a national basis, but even so it was a very interesting statistic when related to the health of women.

#### E. Other Miscellaneous Notes and Recommendations

There are several points which I would like to note briefly.

When I think of the images and feeling I had in Chile in October of 1974, I can only say that I felt a *deja vu*. I kept dreaming of and thinking of Paris after VE day, of my times working in the prisons outside of Paris and of trying to set up projects with people from various political backgrounds. The world I found in Santiago was a world of distrust, of accusations of "collaborationists". The words, "commie" and "mummie" were used often by the women in referring to each other. The pride of the women who had "invaded the streets to defend the right to stay in the house" (Mattelart, 1974, pg. 22), was the part that hit the international press. In conversation with several women, there was still pride in their block organizations. "Long before the final coup", they said, "during Allende's administration, we women were prepared. We knew who was a doctor, who was a nurse." "We had our own weapons and a communications plan", said one. If we look back, we can remember the role women played in the elections of Frei and of Allende (Chaney, 1973, 1971; Vidal, 1972; Bambirra, 1971, 1972). Since women in Chile vote at separate polling places

and the count is made in a separate report, it is very easy to analyze the political role of women at various times. In a careful analysis of this we might find also that there was division by socioeconomic status with, perhaps, sex division playing a less important role than economics.

In spite of Chile's relatively advanced economic and social development, it is unlikely that we will see any indications of a women's activist organization under the present regime. When we realize that Chile's gross national product, on a per capita basis, is \$674 as compared to \$389 for Peru and \$348 for Brazil (UN Census, September, 1970), we have a very different picture. With inflation reaching more than 370% last year combined with an unemployment rate of around 10%, with higher figures among youth, there is awareness of harsh economic realities to be faced -- including real fear of food shortages (New York Times, March 2, 1974). In thinking of Chile and women, we have also a very different picture. The Indian population is small in number and very much ignored. For instance, at the OAS/CIM (Organization of American States, Intern-American Commission for Women) Conference on Indian Women held in Guatemala in 1973, there was no representation from Chile, but among the Mapuche Indians of Chile the women have very high status or have had in their earlier cultures (Bunster, 1973; Faron, 1968-70; Salinas). The Mapuches, as Indians groups in other parts of the world, face great problems in adjusting to urban life. Alcoholism, as one indicator, is analyzed by Lomnitz (1969) in a study which could help us understand similar problems in other favelas, pueblos juvenes, and the varying roles Indian men and women play in this process of adaptation.

Another point which I found interesting was that, according to several people, the use of the word companero as a form of address or reference to a person has been outlawed. Many of the professional women refer to themselves as being "rotc" or "choro" like mussels they explained, which meant they were witty or daring or doing things which were out of the ordinary. I quote this only to emphasize that the basic potential here for women is great, but as to how to make recommendations to A.I.D., I find great difficulties, based on such a short visit. I understand from an A.I.D. training officer in the Santiago office that, "outside the OEF type grants, only one percent of training grants were for women -- and these were for midwives". I would not discourage the training of the midwives because this category is one which both men and women are having more respect for with statistics showing that the births of babies with the help of a midwife often have a lower mortality rate and fewer physical and mental or other difficulties. (McCore Cavar, 1974). I would say, however, that I feel that other professional

women in Chile could certainly also participate in other training grants and would not necessarily have to be limited to this one category. I also feel that the Overseas Education Fund and other leadership training grants are important and should be continued and enlarged, but as they relate to projects in the community which do enhance the role of women rather than being simply absorbed in development type projects, without definition or evaluation. Certainly, the women in OEF leadership training institutes could include "enhancing the role of women" specifically as a part of their seminars and institutes even though in many ways it has always been an unstated goal.

In closing, I would say again that the resources are here - human, bibliographic and geographic. Women may be the major force, but as I quoted earlier from ECLA, "No one knows just how to harness it, but evidence suggests that the women themselves are arriving at a level of self-awareness which may indicate the direction our efforts should take."

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SHEEHY, XIMENA, instructor of Folk Dancing, WCA, native of Chile  
AMARALES, DR. JORGE ASPINALL, director of gynecology, Hospital General, Punta Arenas, Chile  
LUTZ, SENORA OLGADE DE, wife of provincial governor Colonel Lutz, visited in home in Punta Arenas  
And others, many of whom are listed in bibliography above.

42

BRAZIL - Field Notes: October 11 - 17, 1974

Section I - Family and Work

Brazil is a semi-urban country with 37 births per thousand inhabitants and an annual growth rate of 2.8 which gives it an estimated population of 215.5 millions of people by 2000 A.D. (CELADE and A.I.D., 1972)\*. There is an official pro-natalist policy as Brazil attempts to populate its vast areas with its own people instead of continued immigration. At the same time there is a great problem of jobs, housing and running water. As Rubens va da Costa points out in his article "Victims of Population Growth", there is no governmental agency for family planning (ibid., pg. 15-17) but in close association with BENFAM (Society for Family Welfare for Brazil) there has been a rapid increase from 1966 to now in the number of formal and informal agreements with governments and others to provide family planning services. (See IPPF Report No. 17, Fall 1973, pg. 20-22.) Since 1972 there has been a law requiring prescriptions for birth control pills but contraceptives can be purchased over the counter, without prescriptions, in many places (Jacobson, and in Rio conversations, Oct. 1974). An estimated 58.1% of the women in Rio and vicinity use contraceptives. Of this number, 74% were university educated with 42.5% with little or no education. Mothers in the city have about two-thirds as many children as mothers in the rural areas. There is a bonus from the Ministry of Labor for families with more than six children and retirement is at a lower age for working mothers. The most recent revision of the abortion law was in 1940 based on a restrictive law passed in 1933 with permission for ethical, humanitarian reasons for medical indications, when for life, threat of death, with approval by a committee of three, including an attending physician. The ratio of abortions per one thousand pregnancies in the study in Brazil was 15.3 (See Moore Cavat, 1974, 305)

My conversation with Dr. Maria Miraigai Pitanga of the Ministry of Finance (Director of the Federal Price Control Office) shared thoughts as they related to the Brazilian woman in relationship to her family and her society in her role as wife and mother. Dr. Miraigai P. considers herself a full-fledged feminist and she feels that women who are masculine in Brazil are not able to do their jobs as well as women who use their femaleness. They should not ever think of working alone but should think of working as men and women together. She feels the "the problem of women is the fault of taboos and tradition." "I fight these two things." She added that the upper class women have always has special privileges. She referred back to the time when she was the only woman in the university and the only woman in the ministry. She spoke of nursery tales and of how the myths and truths were hard to separate. She said that women in Brazil, as every-

place, were able to excel when things were on a basis of competition by exams. "Women can hold their own, usually when the rules of the game are this, but when it comes to job placement, and the choice of a person for the assignment is made by a man, he will choose a man even though he may be inferior to available women." She also mentioned the fact of how the upper class woman could work if she has a profession since her husband would usually understand her desire to carry out her career plans. The middle class woman also had more choice than the lower class woman. She could choose not to work, to work or to have her husband work whereas the lower class woman often was forced to work in order to make ends meet. Then if we look in the rural area, there is yet another picture.

The woman's integration into social production has not yet led to a redistribution of domestic work. While men only work in the field, the women work at home and in the field. When a child is sick, when they are behind with the washing, it is the woman who misses a day. Work in the field, starts at seven in the morning. In order to get the meal ready for the day and to get everybody out of the house, most women get up at about three in the morning. Men usually rise after their wives. In the afternoon when the women return from work around six o'clock, they will have to prepare dinner, do some washing and clear up the kitchen. (Martinez-Alier, 1974:20)

Only a few rural men are willing to assist in domestic chores. The most they will generally do is mend the fence or yard which are said to be traditionally masculine. Even carrying water when this is necessary is done by the woman. Only when men are forced to stay at home for some reason or another will they do some domestic work, and when they do they are considered "vagabonds". "It is acceptable and even desirable that women should work outside and at home, for as they say even at home a woman is productive. The women feel acutely that they are now in a worse lot and resent this." (Martinez-Alier, 1974, pg. 20-1) This picture is repeated in the literature of Brazil, of Latin America, and on a worldwide basis as more and more women are becoming aware of their situation, of the dual roles which they carry. This is true, of course, not only of the rural women but also of women at every level of society. Of course, one of the differences is that the upper class, the professional women, particularly in Latin America, have domestics, other women who do their work for them. Even so, they always have to do the planning, the supervision, a task which some of the more sensitive are beginning to feel acutely guilty about.

We often realize that new roles can be added for women but their original roles defined within the home are very difficult to redefine.

It has often been argued that the massive introduction of women into social production which will lead to a redefinition of traditionally asymmetrical roles in family organization. While this may be true in the long run, when changes in occupational patterns first occur, traditional values with respect to sexual roles, related to their particular role within the family, seem to exercise an important influence on choice, performance and social evaluation of work done by women. At the same time, however, the new work situation also seems to pose a challenge to the family organization. (Martinez-Alier, 1974, pg. 13)

I was very aware of this change in attitude among the youth in Rio and among the young professionals in Brasilia, both of whom, male and female, were redefining in a completely different way, the roles of men and women. Most people seem to feel that the enormous percentage of youth in Brazil today would cause a rapid redefinition of the male/female relationship. One of the young women with whom I discussed this in Brasilia said that she felt a study of the population of Brasilia where "divorces", "separations", had been enormously large, indicate the restating of family values and of the new independence - or lack of dependence - which women felt once they had the security of a job.

But to go back to the family in the rural area which is still the more traditional perhaps the area where A.I.D. will be concentrating most of its efforts, "all members work for the benefit of the family as a whole under the leadership of the family head. He was the one who entered the contract with the Fazenda who receive the earnings and control them". (Martinez-Alier, 1974, pg. 14) This we find not only in attitude but also in statistics and a need, I think, of careful analysis of actual hours of work put in by women all over the world, both professional and every category. An excellent analysis of this was included in Chaubaud's The Education and Advancement of Women, a UNESCO publication. Also we have reports from Africa which have noted that new analysis of statistics have showed that what had been reported as 8% participation by rural women in the labor force was much nearer to 80% (Sipilia, 1974; Van Allen, 1974; Snyder, 1972). Much of this is lost within the family situation. Perhaps "hidden" would be a better word than "lost".

Then when we have women leaving the agricultural area where they were earning part of their livelihood by helping within a family situation, they leave to do outside work for which they often receive lower salaries than men for the same work, even

though the law stipulates equal wages for men and women. Turmeiros, job supervisors, often withhold a larger share of the women's wage and so pay them less than men (Martinez-Alier, 1974, pg. 20). But there needs to be more data on this. Even the questioning of wages paid might help. The gathering of data sometimes helps in changing the situation.

There is both a differential evaluation of men's and women's work and a different motivation. "The man works to sustemar; the woman to ayudar ... Women work because necessity obliges them to; men work because they are men". Dr. Verena Martinez-Alier in interviews in Rio das Pedras in the state of Sao Paulo catches a feeling and attitude which could be repeated in many parts of the world.

#### B. Work

Most of the pertinent data has been covered in the section on the family. During my visit, I was told that there had been a depreciation of women in the labor force. In 1882, over 45% of women were in economic production. The questions being asked were: "Are women a reserve army? Are maids a reserve army? What is the relationship of women to a development program such as the one Brazil is now carrying through on?" Books and papers by Heleieth Saffioti have been very much discussed at various meetings in the U.S., Mexico and throughout Latin America (see bibliography).

Perhaps one research project which is underway now, thanks to A.I.D. and Ford Foundation support, is Gloria Vasquez' study of educational determinants of women's labor force participation in Brazil. She is doing a macro study based on census data which should help explain some of the differences in male/female economic participation. (Paper requested to be sent to AID/W, see bibliography). More specific data related to women and work is included in the section on education.

#### C. Education

On education, female enrollment in schools of every category except normal schools has risen much faster than males. For instance, between 1960 and 1970, there was a net increase in the primary schools of plus 5% in the intermediate, plus 31% the intermediate b plus 98% technical a, plus 157% technical b advanced minus 42%, normal minus 164%, normal advanced minus 1,110% (unbelievable!) the university 34% (Tourinho Saraiva, 1970). The implications are that more women are going further in school except perhaps many more men are becoming teachers and more men are in advanced technical training. I do not know how one explains the increased enrollment of men in the advanced normal school. One

wonders if this is because there is a higher salary in this area or is there unemployment and men have entered in such great numbers or is it an attempt to have more male teachers in an area which at one point was primarily women?

A look at the illiteracy figures for 1968 shows that the total for the whole country, age fourteen and over, was 32.1% with the highest percentage in the rural area, 43.6% compared to 22.3% in the urban. As in most situations, women's illiteracy was higher with 35.1% as compared to males' illiteracy of 28.9%. I have no breakdown for rural-urban areas.

Looking at teachers across the different levels, we find that in the primary schools, 94% are women; in intermediate, 49%; in technical school, 33%; in normal, 70%; and university, 16%. As I said earlier, the rapid increase of men entering normal schools may be an attempt to enhance the role of men at the normal school level but there may be other factors (Maria Teresina Tourinho Saraiva, 1970). Boserup noted that "over 90% of the pupils training as primary teachers in Brazil are women, and although half of these women make no use of their training later, nearly all the teachers in primary schools are women." (Boserup, 1970, pg. 129).

I hesitate to comment in much detail on the educational sector because I realize how much money and how much effort and planning has been put into this part of the A.I.D. program budget in Brazil and how many excellent reports have been prepared. Alfred Ravelli, for instance, mentioned that 90% of the 72 leaders in charge of education in the Secretarias of Education for the States and who went, on A.I.D. grants, to a conference in San Diego and New Mexico, were women. He also commented on the fact that a conference being held from October 21 to 25, 1974, of the top education leaders of the States included a large number of women. One of the plans was to make an analysis of the teachers and the powers of decision. Ravelli feels that women are very well represented in secondary higher education and on planning commissions in Brazil. I certainly had a feeling of self-confidence on the part of the Brazilian women with whom I talked in my short visit and of their feeling of participation in the overall planning and administration of many of the new educational projects.

One of these projects very much impressed me but which I did not have an opportunity to visit was the ungraded or the non-formal education of the Escotas Polivalentes. A.I.D. reports and state documents, such as the one on Bahia, have been prepared on this already but I do not know how much of it has been analyzed on the basis of changing sex roles. This would be of great interest, I'm sure, not only in thinking of Brazil and Latin America, but also for other places as well.

One area which shouldn't be forgotten is the area of textbooks where the representation of women and/or girls within the school literature is a part of socialization. This point was discussed with Cosete Ramos, an A.I.D. grantee, who will be returning to complete her Ph.D at the University of Tallahassee (Florida State). She is a very dynamic young woman who is very concerned about the changing role of women and would certainly be an excellent person on a committee or on a project planning session, as would many of the writers listed in the bibliography.

An extremely knowledgeable person on the staff of A.I.D., Brasilia, listed as a resource, is Tereshina Pian Castello. Margeurite Crimmins\* who knows Brazil not only from two assignments but also as a member of the OEF Latin America Committee\*\*, was and is very close to various projects related to planning with women leaders in other parts of Latin America, including the Dominican Republic. These are all resource people who could be involved in specific planning and analysis in relationship to enhancing the role of women in education in the broad and in the specific sense.

#### D. Health

There is very little on which I have statistics, or new data, as regards health. I've already covered most of the data as far as birth control and abortion are concerned in the section on family. I would only want to add here, as I have in other sections, that the physical and mental health of women and children cannot be understood unless we include the dimension of unwanted pregnancies and unwanted deaths; the tragedy and the physical and mental torture for women cannot be overemphasized.

One of the other points I would like to bring up here could be the role of women in the Ubanda cults when the majority of priests are female. Since a large number of Brazilians turn to the Ubandas in time of need, these women already hold key roles. As we think of disseminating information, not only about health but about other things, these women could be involved. Understanding of the role these Ubanda priestesses play can help us understand a part of Brazilian culture and the role of women in the mental, psychological and physical health of the community (Silverman, 1975, research in process).

Also in the introduction of new foodstuffs, better use of available food, use of native foodstuffs - all of these things can also be related to local women leaders and/or groups such as the Ubanda priests/priestesses. Let me say again that in trying to understand the cultures of Brazil, particularly

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\* Foreign Service, wife of Ambassador Crimmons  
\*\*Overseas Education Fund

the black cultures, we might look to some of the projects which have been carried on so successfully in Africa to see what is transferrable and what is applicable within areas where cultural traits are similar (see Snyder, Africa Development, etc.).

D. Other Notes

There is a new concern with the Indian woman - and the rural woman - as we think of development and change. I would like to refer to several ethnographic studies which point out differences among the various cultures. For instance, Judith Shapiro has analyzed the social properties of sex determined roles in her working paper on "Sexual Hierarchy Among the Yanomama", and Indian group in Venezuela and Brazil. We need to have a re-study and a reanalysis of sex roles and of the roles of women since so much of the literature is based on investigations which only look at the cultures from the male point of view. Similar studies have and are being done in other parts of Latin America (Chinas, 1971 and '73; Elmendorf, 1972, '73 and '74; Paul, 1974). An understanding of the various male/female relationships within family units in different groups of people is our only way to understand how women can relate to changing conditions without becoming continually downgraded by the change.

Among the Indian population there are many cultural variations of family life and many changes occurring within each ethnic group as aggressive development occurs. The Kaingang have a very sexually egalitarian society according to Jules Henry in his classic ethnography. Also, among the Tupinamba, the mother is the disciplinarian. The children are very loved and fondled, rarely spanked or struck and a display of hostility is the only thing that would provoke repressive discipline. The children - boys and girls - are taught not to fight back. These are the kinds of things which have to be observed and understood in textbook writing, in education, and all A.I.D. programs which are planned, of course, in cooperation with the indigenous agencies.

There is a new concern for the role of the Indian woman in planning for what they and their families wish. At the appointment set up by the U.S. Consulate with Dr. Charlotte Emmerick of the National Museum (see bibliography) I found that a follow up to OAS-CIM 1973 Seminar on the Problems of Indian Women had been organized in Brazil. Dr. Emmerick had just returned from this meeting held at the Matto Grosso Clinic directed by the Nurse-Midwives Loide Bonfes Indrade. The Indian women at this meeting made specific recommendations which should be consulted before plans are made.

Dr. Emmerick (see bibliography) visited bi-cultural - bi-lingual projects supervised by Center for Applied Linguistics and other groups in the U.S. and Mexico, with the hope that she could develop projects which might be initiated in Brazil. So important as observing and evaluating other projects can be - particularly to see what does not as well as what does work (my own feeling) and it is a very deep concern, is that understanding the point of view of the Indian women and involving them in the evaluating and developing of specific pilot projects is equally important to knowledge of successful techniques. I would like to recommend that A.I.D. look into this area for the possibility of a few pilot projects - related perhaps to the non-formal, non-traditional education component. This concern is reflected by the meeting of the Matto Grosso.

Among the Indian communities, the women's role is often sex-stereotyped, and often defined within the boundaries of hearth and home. How to extend that role into the community and nation, or to have nation and world extend to that community, without having the life of women "going from bad to worse" is a critical question (Chaney and Schmink, 1974; Elmendorf, 1971; Bolling, 1971).

#### E. Final Recommendations

Many people have said that modernization and industrialization is a way for the liberation of women, but if we look at the total quality of life, and women's role within it, we have many examples in Brazil, as in all countries, to question this statement. As we question it, we should see what could be done to prevent it from happening and, certainly, what is being done by outside agencies such as A.I.D. and others to aggravate what might happen anyway. Another area we need to look into if we are to understand the problems of the rural areas is in the favelas of Rio and Sao Paulo which are "teeming with the rural poor". We must understand the family structure of these migrants and of the potential role of women, as I have said in the introductory material for perhaps being leaders in a resettling from the urban areas to the rural areas tied around a better quality of life for them and their families. For some, the favela is supportive, cohesive, human community with an extraordinarily high level of participation. Many of the people in the favela are highly satisfied with the city life despite its hardships and find it a definite improvement over their home towns. There is a social structure both within the family and within the community which, if understood, could be a part of a development plan in the best sense of the word (Perleman, 1974; Lomnid, 1973). Other women, given the chance for a better life in the rural areas, would perhaps be leaders in reestablishing satellite villages (Marianne Schmink will be doing research in 1975/76 in Brazil on 'economic' anthropology).

Realizing that budgets are cut back, that very few projects will be added, that the most that can be done will be small pilot projects, I would like to repeat again that I do not think that many new things have to be added but rather that new looks be taken of ongoing projects. Perhaps within the field of education some new things might be added in the field of bi-lingual/bi-cultural, working with the people I have already mentioned who are concerned with this. Also, adding an anthropological dimension to some of the economic development projects, in a way similar to the PIAUI project\* might be a way of enriching the total project at the time that the role of women is enhanced. In ending, I would say, if we think of development in the newer definition, there must be a raising of the quality of life for all concerned. In order to do this, the role of women will automatically be enhanced, and perhaps the object of having quality of life enhanced can be reached by involving women in the process. To know whether or not this is happening, we must have ongoing research related to small action projects, within a larger program - so as to have control groups for research evaluation.

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\* Unfortunately, I was not able to visit any of the projects, any field operations in Brazil, but reports of the project BAIUT which has been based on an anthropological component as well as an economic component is one which seems to have caught the attention of many people and perhaps could be a model which could be carefully observed to be repeated in other areas in much smaller programs (Vocational Bulletin, Inter-American Foundation, 1974).

SOURCES\*- BRAZIL

My time in Brazil was divided between Rio and Brasilia and included a visit to several government agencies, a favela project, and appointments with women administrators, researchers, etc., set up by the U.S. Consulate and the A.I.D. office.

The women who were discussed by the Cultural Affairs office and USIS were the usual list of university women, writers, artists, journalists, etc. Many of them interesting, exciting, and perhaps interested in the changing role of women but not necessarily so. It would take time to see which of these might be good resource people to serve as consultants or on a committee. Time did not allow this so after a day in Rio, I accepted Ambassador Crimmins' invitation to visit Brasilia with a hope of understanding a little more of the potential for enhancing the role of women in the overall A.I.D. program in Brazil.

Much information was shared with me during my short time in Brasilia. Not only the Chief of the A.I.D. office, Mr. Weissman, but Alfred Ravelli and Tereshina Pian Castello were extremely knowledgeable about the potentials of enhancing the role of women and had excellent suggestions as to some of the women with whom they were already working who might have specific ideas or who were already involved in peripheral ways.

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