

WOMEN IN LATIN AMERICA: THE STATE OF RESEARCH, 1975*

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Several years ago a single voice, representing the frustration of many of us trying to carry out research on women in Latin America, decried the "lack of core bibliography, methodological apparatus, or thematic models" (item 182: 125) as major problems besetting the study of women in Latin America. As of 1975, these research hurdles had not been completely overcome, but certainly steps have been and continue to be taken.

An annotated bibliography on women in Spanish America will soon be published and other bibliographic guides of a more limited scope have been or are in the process of being compiled.¹ Both in North America and Latin America, conferences, seminars, and workshops have been held to discuss methodological problems as well as recent research efforts. Associations, committees, coalitions, and centers have organized to promote the cause, lend support, gather and distribute information, and generally represent a growing concern with women's issues.

The purpose of this article is to report those activities and to update and expand the introductory information offered in the Pescatello essay (item 182) prior to the publication of my annotated bibliography on women in Spanish America.² The information contained in the present article draws on a three-month research trip through eight Latin American countries, attendance at various professional conferences, an extensive network of communication with other researchers, and more than two years of bibliographic work. Given the volume of material considered, the article is not a critical analysis of individual investigations and theories, but rather a review of research activities on women in Latin America during the last five years, emphasizing publications only since 1970.³ As

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such, this review attempts to encompass the development of basic research tools; organized group efforts; exploratory, innovative approaches; the formulation of questions; individual research advances; and research objectives and orientation in Latin America.

The data presented in this article are only a partial summary of the forthcoming bibliography. By no means are they to be considered either complete or exhaustive. It is requested of the reader that unintentional omissions be redressed by writing to the author.

I THE CARPENTER GETS HER/HIS TOOLS

In 1897, Elliott Coues, who never did complete his monumental *Universal Bibliography of Ornithology*, remarked that bibliographies are "a necessary nuisance and a horrible drudgery that no mere drudge could perform."⁴ Drudgery notwithstanding, research cannot be conducted without these most fundamental of instruments. In the field of studies on women in Latin America, however, the most minimal research tool—a basic index to the literature—has been notably absent. Although the development of specialized bibliographies on women in Latin America is sluggish, the following works have appeared.⁵

In her LARR article, Pescatello listed sixty-nine items, in addition to several works mentioned within the text, which she considered valuable for interpreting the female in Ibero-America; she subsequently incorporated these works into a bibliography appended to a collection of essays, *Female and Male in Latin America* (item 180), which she edited. A bibliography on women in colonial Mexico was originally prepared by a group of women from San Francisco State University and Stanford University, working together in a research seminar under the direction of Mary Lowenthal Felstiner. Felstiner and Lynn Ellingson are presently revising it as a topical index on women in Latin American history during the colonial period from source materials in English. Preceded by a short review on the literature, the bibliography will emphasize Mexico, Central America, and contemporary accounts of the Andean region.⁶

A list of articles and books relating directly to, or at least citing some interesting or important information on, women in Latin America, was assembled by Yolanda Bellisimo at the University of California at Los Angeles.⁷ Another such list is the "Bibliografía sobre la mujer en América Latina" issued by the Comisión Episcopal de Misiones y Cooperación entre las Iglesias, for its series *Boletín bibliográfico iberoamericano*.⁸ It contains 122 items arranged by country; several are very briefly annotated and/or taken from the Pescatello LARR article. A bio-bibliographical dictionary of women in Mexico in the sciences and humanities has been

compiled for publication by Gloria Grajales, at the Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Beginning with a bibliographical bulletin (1974), a series of publications intended to stimulate the investigation of historical, social, and cultural aspects of the situation of Mexican women has been initiated by the Centro de Estudios Sobre la Mujer en México.⁹ The bulletin itemizes several hundred works related to Mexican and other women organized into such categories as feminist movements, political participation, and social role.

An essay and annotated bibliography on "Women During the Porfiriato: 1877-1911" have been written by Virginia Mounce, at the University Library of the Pan American University, Edinburg, Texas. In addition to discussing the rationale for studying women during this period in Mexican history and the methodology employed for preparing the bibliography, the essay also provides a brief overview of women during the Porfiriato. The bibliography includes ninety-two books, pamphlets, periodical articles, theses, dissertations, and government documents, most of which are amply annotated. A nine-page bibliography, with brief details on published and unpublished sources on Panamanian women, was prepared by Charlotte Elton under the auspices of the International Society for Development and the Consejo Nacional de Mujeres (February 1973). In April 1975, it was expanded to comprise at least eighty-six items, but without annotations.¹⁰

"A Bibliography on Cuban Women in the Twentieth Century" is a valuable contribution by Nelson P. Valdés in the *Cuban Studies Newsletter/Boletín de Estudios Sobre Cuba* (June 1974). Sponsored by LASA, it contains 568 items, some with a one-sentence summary, encompassing socio-politico-economic aspects of women during two historical periods: Pre-revolutionary Cuba (1900-1958) and revolutionary Cuba (1959-73), with an emphasis on the latter. *Latin American Women Authors: A Bio-Bibliography*, which will include publishing information and biographical data on two thousand Latin American women authors, is being prepared by Kathleen O'Quinn for publication by G. K. Hall at the end of 1976.

As part of a larger study on the social and economic situation of women in Peru (item 243a), Gabriela Villalobos de Urrutia at the Centro de Estudios Sobre Población y Desarrollo in Lima compiled a bibliography on the social and legal condition of women. It includes over three hundred university theses, official papers, and published materials on feminism, the family, fertility, occupation, education, and law. References for a bibliography on women in Chile are being collected by Paz Covarrubias at the Universidad Católica de Chile in Santiago. Various other centers and institutes throughout Latin America have prepared lists of references

preparatory to embarking on research projects. Unfortunately, such in-house documents are not very accessible to the public.¹¹

Other bibliographies dealing with women on a worldwide basis often contain a separate section on Latin America, or at least several items interspersed throughout the text. For example, *Women in Perspective: A Guide for Cross-Cultural Studies* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), prepared by Sue Ellen Jacobs, includes a limited, unannotated section devoted to Latin American women. A select bibliography entitled "The Impact of Economic Development and Social Change on the Status of Women" (December 1973) was made available by Julia Graham Lear through the Committee on Women in Development, of the Society for International Development in Washington, D.C. It comprises two hundred published and unpublished sources since the early 1960s, some of which pertain to Latin America; it also notes research in progress. An eight-page, partially annotated bibliographic index on "Women's Role and Development Policies" (April 1974) was subsequently produced by the same committee. It includes items listed in the aforementioned bibliography on women in Panama. "An Introduction to the Social Science Literature on 'Woman's Place' and Fertility in the Developing World" (September 1974) was organized by Nancy Birdsall of the Interdisciplinary Communications Program at the Smithsonian Institution. It has at least fifteen well-summarized items pertaining to the Latin American situation.

An annotated bibliography was provided by the American Association for the Advancement of Science at its seminar on Women in Development, that preceded the UN International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City (June 1975). It contains at least fifty amply annotated items on women in Latin American countries according to such categories as urban migration and employment, education and communication, and women's roles and status. The preliminary version has been revised as *A Guide to the Study of Women in Development* to accompany *Women in Development: Where Are They?*, a collection of the proceedings of the seminar, both to be published by the Overseas Development Council. For the same UN Conference, the Dag Hammarskjöld Library prepared a bibliography on the status of women (June 1975) composed of materials published during the last ten years. There are fifty-nine unannotated items on women in Latin America in such sections as women in society, political participation, employment, and related economic roles.

II COOPERATION YIELDS RESULTS AND REPRESENTATION

One of several indications reflecting the burgeoning interest in women in Latin America is an increasing number of organizations and conferences

that raise and explore questions of a methodological, theoretical, or empirical nature regarding women's position in history and society. Centers, institutes, committees, coalitions, seminars, panels, and workshops are vehicles for any or all of several functions: Organizing forums for the reportage and discussion of new research, establishing a network of communication among individuals engaged in interrelated investigations, making information accessible by collecting and housing it in a central location and often translating and publishing it as well, and generally promoting a metamorphosed image of women as an active rather than passive force.

While many group efforts prevail in the United States and Latin America, either as independent entities or as adjuncts of governments, universities, social or charitable institutions, and religious organizations, the following examples—with a description of their functions and accomplishments—were selected as a small but representative sampling of unofficial coordinated attempts to aid and abet the cause of women in Latin America.¹²

CIDHAL (Comunicación, Intercambio y Desarrollo Humano en América Latina),¹³ located in Cuernavaca, Mexico, was founded in 1968 as a documentation center on women and an organizing point for short courses and seminars. Its working members represent Mexico and other nations. Originally, CIDHAL was in almost exclusive contact with groups of the Catholic church. As a civil association, it has expanded its program beyond religious ties and has established three work areas to accomplish objectives related to the advancement of women and human development within the Latin American context: Information, training, and practical programs. CIDHAL maintains a library that is open to visitors and publishes the *Boletín Documental Sobre las Mujeres*, a newsletter in Spanish and English, and assorted other materials. The *Boletín* features excerpts of speeches and articles published elsewhere in Spanish or translated from other languages, as well as complete essays, all embracing issues important to women in the Latin American countries and other parts of the world. Although published in Spanish, the *Boletín* has come out with two special issues in English (October 1974 and May 1975) in celebration of International Women's Year in 1975. In collaboration with other institutions, CIDHAL also serves as a host for encounters and seminars. In addition, a working team in Temapeche, Veracruz, assists women in participating more fully in the development of their communities. Illustrative of the Latin American approach of combining theory with practice, CIDHAL integrates research with action.

Located in Mexico City, the Centro de Estudios Sobre la Mujer en México is also serving as a clearinghouse and publisher of information on

women. It was mentioned above that a bibliographical bulletin on women in Mexico was the center's first in a series of publications that it is hoped will act as an impetus for further inquiry into the social, cultural, and historical realities of women in Mexico. In addition, members of the center, in *Mujeres en Acción Solidaria* (MAS), publicly voice their opinion on government action, particularly legislation, which affects women.¹⁴

A Puerto Rican feminist group in San Juan, *Mujer Intégrate Ahora* (MIA), organizes seminars and distributes published and unpublished materials relating to women. At the Universidad de Puerto Rico in Rio Piedras, *Tacón de la Chancleta*, a monthly feminist publication that first appeared in January 1975, is being published.¹⁵ Articles range from the exploitative image of women in cinema to medical advice and reports on female union leaders.

In Lima, an organization that, like CIDHAL, initially functioned under religious auspices, is *Creatividad y Cambio*.¹⁶ Subsequent to two seminars sponsored in 1971 and 1972 ("The Role of Women in Contemporary Society" and "The Feminine Condition: Cultural or Biological?"), Sisters Rosa Dominga and Timotea have distributed mimeographed booklets on such topics as the politics of population control, the peasant woman, the feminine condition, and statistics on Peruvian women. Their material ranges from copies of speeches and articles published elsewhere to official data.¹⁷

In March 1973, in La Paz, the Departamento de Promoción Femenina was created within CODEX (Oficina de Coordinación de Estudios en el Extranjero y Asistencia Técnica para la Promoción Social),¹⁸ in response to the need for coordinating activities toward resolving the problems of Bolivian women. Among its many objectives the Department cites the following goals: Analysis of present programs for women in the countryside, investigation of various aspects of the life of Bolivian women, collection and publication of information regarding the situation of women in Bolivia, and offering of training opportunities and technical assistance for women. Toward these ends a national seminar was organized, a descriptive inventory of women's organizations in Bolivia was prepared, and a pilot center was proposed to provide services and training to migrant women and to personnel and volunteers of already existing institutional programs for women. A monthly newsletter, *Encuentro*, regularly features news items on women, especially the *campesina*. This organization is another example of the Latin American approach of integrating research with practice.

Finally, although most demographic centers and social science institutions are not dedicated exclusively to studying women, they often direct research in such related areas as fertility, family planning, family and sexual relations, in all of which women figure prominently.¹⁹

In the United States, women's centers have sprung up across college campuses and in local communities. Women's studies are an accepted major, and the role of women in society is acknowledged as a valid and significant field of investigation. Women's political and professional caucuses and associations have taken definite shape. Two such groups with a particular interest in Latin America are the Women's Coalition of Latin Americanists (WOCLA) and the Committee on Women in Latin American Studies of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA).

WOCLA²⁰ was formally organized at the fourth national LASA Conference (Madison, May 1973) as a separate caucus not officially linked to any organization. At that time, it outlined three main goals: Assistance to women scholars in Latin American studies to achieve greater "visibility," regardless of research interests; promotion of efforts to formulate, finance, and complete research on the situation of women in the Americas; and establishment of ties with Latin American women engaged in similar pursuits for the purposes of communication and collaboration. Regional groups exist in the New York City area, Southern California, Northern California (the Bay Area), the midwest, and the Washington, D.C., area. On a regional or local level, WOCLA serves as a meeting ground where women can join in a supportive environment to share and resolve common problems in teaching about women in Latin America, to present and discuss individual research endeavors, and to communicate news items of importance and interest. WOCLA now boasts more than one thousand women Latin Americanists in its file, which has served to provide recommendations for professional openings in employment and conference participation. This roster was duplicated and turned over to LASA's Secretariat and Women's Committee to facilitate accessibility.

LASA's Women in Latin American Studies Committee,²¹ since its first meeting (Boston, September 1973), has concerned itself with the underrepresentation of women in all of the disciplines, has worked for greater participation on all levels through such activities as seeking funds in order to conduct surveys on the status of women in the professions, and has endeavored to bring Latin American women and women Latin Americanists to LASA meetings. WOCLA and the Women's Committee operate in cooperation and support of each other's efforts. In conjunction with the LASA Women's Committee, WOCLA sponsored a panel on "Women in Latin America: Recent Initiatives in Social Science Research" at the fifth national LASA meeting (San Francisco, November 1974).

In a more literary vein, the Asociación de Literatura Femenina Hispánica,²² since its founding meeting (Houston, November 1974), has been promoting the publication of its official literary journal, *Letras Femeninas*, to which Hispanic women authors and scholars are invited to

contribute their works.²³ The association is also considering publication of an anthology that will include translations of contemporary women writers. Another organization created to advance the literature of and about Latin American women is the Clearinghouse for Women Authors of the Americas.²⁴ Toward that end it will collect and distribute works of Third World women authors, establish a library of Latin American women authors, and publish a catalog of available books and a quarterly literary journal, *Aura*.

These organizations, along with other similar groups, are but a few of the vehicles for communicating information on research. The annual meetings convened by national and regional professional associations provide a forum for publicly announcing the latest research findings, often by individuals who are still engaged in fieldwork. During the past several years, we have witnessed a greater incorporation into various panels of papers on women, as well as an expanding number of symposia focused specifically on women. Clearly, however, separate consideration of women as a topic is only the beginning step toward total integration of women into studies by female and male researchers, from the initial research design to the last stage of analysis.

Seminars on women are being held all over Latin America; some are sponsored by such international organizations as the InterAmerican Commission on Women (IACW) of the Organization of American States (OAS), others by local associations, universities, and institutes.²⁵ Lack of space prevents mentioning all of them. In addition, not all such convocations discuss or foster social science research. Only a partial listing follows of various conferences since 1973 in which the issue of women in Latin America was seriously considered.²⁶

In April 1973, the Society for Applied Anthropology (SAA) organized a symposium on "Third World Women: Active Participants in Social Change" (Tucson) and the fourth Indiana University Symposium on Luso-Brazilian Literature held a program on "Women in Brazilian Literature" (Bloomington). In May 1973, the fourth national meeting of LASA included a workshop on "Researching Women in Latin America: Methodological Issues" (Madison) and Stanford University hosted a conference on "The Latin American Woman and the Chicana: Theory and Practice of Liberation." The June 1973 convocation of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) dedicated a session to "Women and Science in the American Continent" (Mexico City). At the ninth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (ICAES), Ruby Rohrlich Leavitt chaired a session on "Cross-Cultural Perspectives on the Women's Movement and Women's Status" (Chicago, August-September). She has edited a collection of papers (item 127) presented at

that session; it incorporates sections on Latin America and the Caribbean (items 27, 38, 66, 115, 135, 166, 184, 213, 216, 220, 224).

Presentations on women in Latin America were incorporated into several symposia in the 1973 (New Orleans) and 1974 (Mexico City) programs of the American Anthropological Association (AAA), e.g., "The Structure and Organization of Monopoly Capital" and "Folk Medicine" (1974). The University of California at Santa Barbara and the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions jointly organized a symposium on "Social and Political Change: The Role of Women" (March 1974), in which papers on Latin American women were presented; these were later incorporated into a publication (items 109, 203, 217). During the same month, the twenty-second annual meeting of the Rocky Mountain Council for Latin American Studies (RMCLAS) included a panel called "Planning Systematic Research on Women in Latin America," cochaired by Steffen Schmidt and Marianne Schmink. Participants at the fifth national LASA meeting (San Francisco, November 1974) heard several papers on women, most of which were delivered at the earlier-mentioned panel, jointly sponsored by WOCLA and LASA's Women's Committee. At the December 1974 American Historical Association (AHA) annual meeting (Chicago), Susan Soeiro organized a "Workshop on Women's History in Latin America."

In 1974, perhaps the major joint effort by Latin American and North American scholars were two SSRC-sponsored events whose topic was "Feminine Perspectives in Social Science Research in Latin America": A conference held in Buenos Aires in March and a research training seminar held in Cuernavaca that summer. June Nash and Helen Safa, with the assistance of Esther Hermitte, coordinated the week-long conference, held at the Instituto Torcuato di Tella in Buenos Aires and attended by distinguished Latin American and North American social scientists engaged in research concentrating on women. The conference was concerned with three main areas of investigation: Women in the economy, the family, and politics. Major themes explored during the presentation and discussion of papers included: The relationship between exploitation and class, sex, and race; ideological reinforcements of sexual subordination; and the impact of development and modernization on women's roles and status in Latin America.²⁷ Criticism was directed at the established paradigms and theoretical frameworks employed by social scientists to interpret the economic, social, cultural, and political realities in Latin America. These models were recognized as inadequate and even erroneous when applied to the distaff sector of the population; hence, the necessity for integrating a "feminine" or women's perspective. An English edition of selected papers presented at the conference has been

edited by Nash and Safa (item 167); a Spanish collection, edited by María Carmen Elu de Leñero, has been published in Mexico (item 68).

The research training seminar, held in Cuernavaca, was coordinated by Elsa Chaney, Helen Safa, and Aurelia Guadalupe Sánchez Morales of CIDHAL. During July and August, approximately thirty young professionals met for the purpose of furthering methodological training on women's topics and to exchange research ideas and results on such issues in Latin America. Outstanding Latin American scholars addressed the seminar from the perspective of trying to understand women's roles within the given Latin American structure of dependent capitalism. The participants directed themselves to three major questions: (1) How is women's labor force participation conditioned by the process of unequal development? (2) How are the issues of sex and class to be dealt with in researching and organizing women? (3) For whom and by whom is research to be carried out?²⁸

In 1975, a Conference on Women Writers from Latin America, the first of its kind to be held in the United States, took place at Carnegie-Mellon University (Pittsburgh, March). The program consisted of over twenty presentations, poetry readings, panel discussions, and the participation of several Latin American authors. The West Coast Association of Women Historians (Santa Cruz, April) and the Pacific Coast Council on Latin American Studies (PCCLAS) (Fresno, October) included presentations and discussions on women in Latin America. The New England Council on Latin American Studies (NECLAS) incorporated a session on "Latin America's Women: Tradition and Change" into its meeting (Amherst, October). A panel on "Women and Latin American Literature" was organized by Martha Paley de Francescato for the annual Modern Languages Association (MLA) meeting (San Francisco, December).

However, although conflict-ridden and disparagingly reported by the media, the most prominent conference of 1974 was the United Nations program for International Women's Year (Mexico City, June-July). In addition to the official meeting for representatives of member nations and a parallel tribunal for nongovernmental organizations, a special seminar on women and development was sponsored by the UN Development Program UNITAR and the AAAS.²⁹ It is noteworthy that the conference was hosted by a Latin American country and that Latin American women played a pivotal role in all aspects of the event.

For 1976, the Southwestern Social Science Association (SSSA) plans to have a session on "Women in the Mexican Revolution" (Dallas, April); at San Jose University in California (April), a conference on inter-American women writers will include a general discussion on the situation of women writers and seminars on poetry, drama, and fiction by

Latin American women writers; Norma Chinchilla and Terry Dietz-Fee will chair a panel on "Women and the Class Struggle" at the LASA meeting (Atlanta, March); and a major conference on "Women and Development" is planned for early June, to be held at the Center for Research on Women at Wellesley College, consciously aimed at comparing the status of women in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America and representatives of the different area associations are on the steering committee.

Omitted here, but not to be discounted, are additional conferences held by associations of political scientists, economists, sociologists, historians, psychologists, et al., and the endless array of sessions in which demographers and others meet to debate issues of population growth, fertility, family planning, abortion, and related topics.³⁰

III THERE IS ANOTHER WAY TO LOOK AT IT

Research about women in Latin America is beset by some very basic problems: What to do about sources, definitions, and paradigms for interpreting female participation. While a critique of North American social science models applied to Latin America's social, economic, and political situation has begun,³¹ alternatives for analyzing the reality of women are also being proposed. Some researchers contend that the dearth of basic source materials stymies their efforts to explore questions, while others intone a different lament. It is a painstaking task to wade through the morass of uncataloged, miscataloged, yellowing, or illegible archival documents in search of relevant data on women. Once found, the material must be carefully scrutinized for what may be incomplete and distorted accounts.

Historian Lavrín suggests that it is not just a matter of locating a new mine of information but also one of making yet another trip to the old shaft to extract precious ores with a new technique. For example, one can review the annals of the Inquisition for cases concerning adultery, bigamy, witchcraft, or incest; property titles to determine the percentage of female landowners in a given region or time period; criminal records to ascertain which crimes women committed and how they were punished; and parish records to reveal the relationship between demographic fluctuations and economic or epidemic crises (item 124: 12).

Lavrín also cites the necessity for rejecting established canons of historiography that have purveyed the market with one vignette after another of celebrated heroines and illustrious women who represent exceptions to the rules governing appropriate female behavior.³² She suggests replacing this syndrome with a collective portrait, one which is more reflective of women generically—women as an integral part of and in inti-

mate relationship with society (item 124: 11). As a beginning step in that direction, Lavrín offers a discussion of the feminine ideal in pre-Conquest times and in the Hispanic tradition, concluding that the ideal of femininity was conditioned by social and economic class; its fulfillment thus varied from one group of women to another (item 124: 13-15).

Before we can evaluate women's role, status, or participation in society, we need conceptual tools to define them. The anthropological discipline has been helpful in yielding one such tool as a byproduct of its concentration on microsocieties and its emphasis on the importance of less conspicuous or less formal aspects of social structure and function.³³ In the construction of an analytical model of roles, which she designed for describing and explaining the particular nuances of sex roles in the Isthmus Zapotec culture, Chiñas (item 47) offers a systematic approach whose application need not be confined to the cultural group she studied. Chiñas conceptualizes the social system as composed of roles, which she defines as "bundles of rights and obligations" associated with a particular status position. Contributing to the "invisibility" of women within that system is the preoccupation of researchers with formalized roles, an arena in which women have historically played an extremely minor part. Chiñas diagrams a role model that divides roles into quadrants "along a horizontal plane into formalized and nonformalized categories and along a vertical plane as existing in private or public domain" (item 47: 94). The resulting square provides a means for discussing women's nonformalized roles and their relative significance within a particular community or group, thereby functioning as a more accurate gauge of the status of women in that social system.

In connection with this approach, i.e., of interpreting women's roles with extratraditional methodologies, political scientists Jaquette (item 311) and Schmidt (item 336) point to several aspects of Latin American society that merit consideration in the analysis of female political participation. They argue that the conventional indicators of political activity—suffrage; educational level and career choices; accountable labor force participation; party identification, membership, and leadership; and political knowledge and attitudes—fail to account for political behavior that is enacted outside the walls of what are generally venerated as "democratic" institutions. Jaquette suggests incorporating indices of participation in "informal networks of communication and influence . . . clientele linkages . . . strike activities, urban [and rural] land seizures and *barrio* politics" (item 311: 19), as well as parapolitical activities, or what Schmidt labels "political social work." The latter, he finds, is notably absent in official literature and political discussions; perhaps, once again, this can be attributed to the fact that such activities are not formalized and

thus not perceived as significant, especially by male leaders. Cohen adopts a comprehensive definition of political participation that encompasses four major spheres—electoral politics, labor, guerrilla warfare, and military intervention—as a multidimensional approach with which to compare and evaluate the participatory differences between men and women in Uruguay (item 302: 14–15).

In an attempt to understand the relationship between women and politics, particularly in Brazil, Blachman first levels two criticisms: A general omission of women in studies on politics; and, more importantly, the failure of North American mainstream theoretical orientation—specifically interest group theory—to understand female political participation. He argues that interest group theory is not conducive to identifying factors that inhibit entry into the arena of politics. Furthermore, its narrow conceptual framework considers political activity in a limited context, and its pluralistic bias precludes insight into the class distinctions of society. Blachman believes that the relationship between family and polity in Brazil must be determined in order to appraise the unrealized power of women's organized political activity, and the nexus between class and sex must be comprehended and clarified (items 19, 297).

Jaquette also remarks that the North American feminist bias that shuns sex role differentiation—a predominant characteristic of Latin American culture—may skew our evaluation of political participation by Latin American women. The concept of *supermadre*, so clearly defined by Chaney (items 40, 42, 258), does not sit well in North America, where women play a less powerful role in the family. Jaquette concludes that in Latin America, “sex differentiation as supported by sex role stereotyping may be a source of real power for women, even in their roles as politicians.” She recommends substituting the criterion of power for the criterion of complete sexual equalization in order to measure valid participation (item 311: 26). Schmidt raises the issue of semantics by suggesting that women may be “less radical” than men rather than “more conservative” and that, in their abstention at the polls, women may be more suspicious of and alienated from the political system rather than less politicized or less interested (item 336).

Definitions of female participation in the economy, as in politics, are unsatisfactory. The categories so neatly organized for assessing male participation in the labor market fall short in providing an accurate picture of female participation. Women's contribution to the economy is neglected by virtue of the relegation of working-class women to the most unstable, least skilled, and low-paying employment—domestic service, prostitution, and street vending—and the low status accorded such activities. Women's contributions to production, reproduction of labor power, and

in the service sector are not reflected in the aggregate data of census material. The invisibility of these contributions occurs because they may not be formally considered as labor force participation or because their remuneration is not officially registered. How can we even begin to evaluate women's role in the economy when we are uncertain as to who is working and who is not, or what is work and what is not?

Even more difficult is the economic analysis of women's work in the home. The socialist feminist analysis of domestic work, as applied by some Latin Americanists, favors incorporating the reproductive energies that women exert on three levels: Biological reproduction (supplying successive generations of workers); daily reproduction (innumerable tasks that refuel the worker); and ideological or cultural reproduction (socialization of the family). This schema was designed to elucidate women's relationship to the patriarchal family.³⁴

Several of the papers presented at the SSRC conference in Buenos Aires (see section II) serve to elucidate the role of women in the Latin American economy. In her analysis of the Bahian woman in the labor force of Salvador, Brazil, Jelin (item 312) considers domestic production as intimately linked to other forms of organized productive activity—petty commodity production, capitalist enterprise, and state bureaucracy. She emphasizes the importance of including domestic production within the totality of social productive activity because of its intrinsic value and because of its near exclusiveness as a female activity, whether within the family or as a remunerated service. In that light, the economic role of women can then be viewed as producer rather than consumer. Jelin reiterates the necessity of reconceptualizing sociodemographic categories that will require that domestic tasks be counted and that work and nonwork be redefined.

In order to illumine women's work roles beyond simple participation rates, researchers may set the stage of analysis within the framework of dependency theory. However, they take the theory one step further by adding yet another level of dependent relationships to encompass that of the nuclear family as well. In her survey of lower-income families in Araraquara, Brazil, Saffioti (item 334) provides an excellent example of the relationship between sex and class in analysis. She demonstrates how the socialization of women into the ambiguous duality of their social roles—wife/mother and worker—serves to maintain a reserve labor force responsive to the exigencies of a dependent economy. The links of subordination-domination can be diagrammed as follows: Woman > male wage earner > class structure > dependent economy in peripheral nation > dominant economy in highly industrialized center. Saffioti concludes that both women and men are oppressed by the ideology of male supremacy,

an ideology that ultimately acts as a force to preserve the existing class structure. Women, by not identifying themselves as workers within the working class, obviate even further the challenge they could present against the ideology and its attendant oppression.

Several years ago, observers and proponents of development hastened to assure us that, yes, women, too, were being affected favorably by industrialization and modernization. A concomitant rise in women's status was formally proclaimed. However, evidence now suggests that during the process of modernization, the dependence of women on men's wages appears to have increased, with an attendant deterioration of their status.³⁵ Chaney, Schminck, and Galotti (item 299c) demonstrate this by operationalizing the concept of women's status through the use of three indices. In the public sphere, women are not consulted for decision-making at policy levels. In the economic sphere, women do not necessarily enjoy greater access to an independent income. And, in the social sphere, the tasks of raising children and maintaining a household are not deemed as valid productive activities. Women continue to find the door shut to full labor-force participation by occupational sex labeling that denies them the preparation necessary for jobs particularly at the higher level of policy formulation.³⁶

The division of labor, analyzed more frequently in the urban context, is incorporated into Deere's perspective on the situation of women in the rural sector (item 306). While decrying the meagerness of quantitative data on women's agricultural production in Latin America as subsistence farmers or rural laborers, she also notes that it is a consequence of ignoring the division of labor. As a result of the focus on the family unit—particularly on the head of the family—in agricultural censuses, female activities are underreported; while as unpaid family workers, they remain unidentified.³⁷ Deere proposes that the division of labor by sex, as it exists on the *minifundio*—where the man works as a wage laborer with the woman remaining as the principal agriculturist—is more than a socio-cultural convention; rather, it is an adaptive strategy to rural poverty, in itself a result of Latin America's unequal development.

Viewing female activities as strategic responses to given socio-economic circumstances serves as a convenient tool for interpreting female behavior. Traditionally judged according to the sociological paradigm, the woman is expected to conform to the norm of the patriarchal nuclear family. Other forms of domestic organization deviating from this ideal are considered warning signals of a breakdown in social organization.

Women are consistently accused of being bastions of conservatism while simultaneously hailed as preservers of culture. Using either epithet, they are seen as the last bulwark to change. While it is certainly obvious

that women are in a marginal position by gender alone, *campesina* and proletarian women are doubly marginalized by virtue of the socioeconomic sector in which they are classed. Within the parameters of their situation, however, their propensity is not toward stagnation but toward adaptability. In response to stressful economic conditions, peasant and urban working-class women in Latin America have long broken with the traditional ideal of woman as a monogamous partner whose sphere is circumscribed by the four walls of her home.

While Deere considers the biological strategy of rural women in generating large families as a complement to their increasing economic role as agriculturalists on the *minifundio* (in itself a strategy to supplement low rural wages) (item 306a), Safa's informants in her study on Puerto Rico professed a continued desire to bear and rear children. Their progeny provide them with an identity and a reward that they cannot derive from their unskilled, poorly paid, and low-status jobs. Safa (item 212), González (item 88), and Brown (items 26, 27, 28, 29, 257) have investigated female-based households not as a deviant form of family structure so much as a coping mechanism in marginal communities suffering from the unequal development of Latin America.

González describes the consanguineous household of the black Caribs in Guatemala as a functional result of that group's efforts to adapt to a modern economy in which migratory low-wage labor impedes the regular presence of a male as husband/father. Safa notes that the matri-focal emphasis among families living in shantytowns and public housing in Puerto Rico may be due to the pronounced separation of marital roles and the general weakness of conjugal relations. Unable to depend on men for continued economic support, female heads of household increase their reliance on public welfare and low-paying jobs, though they also continue to rely on the mutual aid afforded by female kin. Brown reports that the multiple mate pattern found among women in the lowest economic sector of a rural village in the Dominican Republic proves more advantageous than the ideal single mate form in which a woman is dependent upon only one man. Marginalization in a dependent economy is met with female resourcefulness in nontraditional or unconventional behavior.

Aguiar challenges the sociological model that maintains that "industrialization revolutionizes the rural forms of social organization, such as the role of the family and the social position of the woman at work" (item 292c: 1). According to the paradigm, industrialization affects the family system in such a way as to modify the role of women and to place them in a higher social position. In her study of two factories (flour and tiles) in the northeast of Brazil, she illustrates how a rural community's

traditional ideology is brought into and reinforced by the organization of these work areas. Aguiar supports the thesis that industrialization does not equalize the social positions of women relative to men. A preponderance of family ties in the work environment serves to perpetuate the same low status role of women with respect to wages, benefits, and occupational position.

Martínez-Alier (item 320), in her research among rural wage laborers in Rio das Pedras, Brazil, examines a combination of economic and social factors in an attempt to clarify the differential attitudes and performance of work between men and women. Even when her income is greater than a man's, a woman's work is still not considered to be the main sustenance of a family. As Saffioti and Safa note, women do not identify themselves as workers. Traditional values held about sex roles are reflected in work behavior, as Aguiar indicates. However, work patterns also affect family organization.

IV THE PIECES IN THE PUZZLE

Any one question about women in Latin America prompts a myriad of questions, the answers to which, like pieces in a puzzle, eventually will fit together in a composite understanding of women's role in Latin American society. The models and definitions briefly examined above suggest ways to clarify the problem of evaluating female participation in the economy, the polity, and other social institutions: They are beginning to answer many of the queries being formulated about women in Latin America. Notwithstanding these valuable contributions, further research, both empirical and theoretical, is needed to broaden the scope of existing studies and to provide new data. In this review, constraints of space reduce the vast corpus of questions to a mere listing. Taken from discussions with many other Latin Americanists, through such mediums as conferences, seminars, personal exchanges, and readings, some of the questions that have been raised are presented. Optimistically, these questions will heighten curiosity, expand awareness, and arouse researchers to work on the construction of a new—more adequate, accurate, and encompassing—level of research on women.

The questions given below cannot be neatly dissociated from each other and cubbyholed into such sections as the economy, the family, politics, or education. Rather, they intertwine like the threads of a woven fabric. Nevertheless, an attempt will be made to group the many questions into several broad categories.

With respect to the changing role of women in the economy, there is an abundance of questions.³⁸ To understand how the mode of produc-

tion conditions the nature of female labor-force participation, it is logical to commence with the precapitalist stage and to ask to what extent women have participated in agricultural production, in artisan industries, and in mining. Within these areas, is the economic activity of women characterized as an extension of domestic-related tasks? Is any of their work carried on outside of the home? If the goods of traditional production by women are taken out of the household and given exchange value, what effect does the transfer of production to workshops or factories have on women's economic activities? Will the peasant woman become proletarianized directly, or indirectly through the demand for family labor? Given that the demand for wage labor in the primary sector is basically limited to the male population, what are the implications for women in agriculture as subsistence farmers? When the production of primary goods expands, are women then needed to fulfill secondary labor tasks, such as cleaning raw mining products that are first extracted by men? During this same expansion, there is a concomitant concentration of land and therefore an intensification of the rural proletariat through the shrinkage of subsistence plots. In the resulting rural-urban exodus, do women migrate alone or in families? Do more women than men migrate? Are women the initiators of migratory waves? Are they proletarianized by this movement? What kinds of economic opportunities do they encounter once they enter the city? Are there possibilities of economic mobility? How does urbanization affect the quality of their lives?

Looking at the industrial sector before the onset of advanced technology in the twentieth century, we need to know whether women were employed only where traditional means of production were utilized. What kinds of wages did they earn? Were they systematically replaced by male labor when an industry was modernized? Was this equally true of industries traditionally identified with women, such as textiles? Are women forced out of jobs simply because of technological advances or are there other contingent reasons? For example, what is the relationship between population trends and the level of women's labor-force participation: Are women needed more as workers or as baby makers? With the development of unions, are more women eliminated from jobs? Do unions play a role in maintaining women's position in the labor force at a particular level?

Beginning with the period of import substitution, we can ask if there was a demand for female labor in the industrial development of the early part of the century. Into what sectors? Governmental policies of import substitution and expanded foreign investment in capital-intensive industrial production characterized the 1950s, yet women have been excluded from employment in the modern industrial enclaves that use

advanced technology. Why? The asymmetry in the technological level of men's and women's employment is noted throughout Latin America. This inequality is frequently reflected in the disparity of wage levels between men's and women's work. What conditions result in the discrimination of women as workers: Early socialization into traditional roles and values? imposition of imported ideology? education? training? social legislation? What are the forces behind them? What does industrial development promise for female labor force participation in the future? How does the growing white-collar sector affect the incorporation of women? Is it following traditional class lines or giving working-class women a chance for upward mobility?

In the arena of politics,³⁹ it is customary to consider women as recently enfranchised citizens who continue to demonstrate limited participation, i.e., limited by class, illiteracy, political unawareness, etc. Although outstanding female political leaders are *rare aves*, women's political influence must have been experienced in other ways prior to female suffrage: As adjuncts to male figures? as socializing agents in the family? as social benefactors or charity workers? as acceptors and thus tacit supporters of the system? How do women force issues publicly: By organized appearance and clamor (e.g., the "march of the empty pots" in Chile)? Do women actually mobilize themselves or are they merely mobilized by others, and how? How do women participate in urban and rural land seizures? How do they influence strike activities? Within the existing "democratic" institutional structure, what are the points of entry for women? What are the parameters of their political participation? Are women instrumental in the election of an official or the passage of legislation? Are female politicians different from male politicians? How do other women and men in their society view them? Do they have different expectations of them? Is women's leadership restricted to traditional female bailiwicks, such as social welfare and education? Are women able to upgrade the importance of the issues for which they generally organize, or are these areas consistently deemed of lesser significance? What are the possibilities for increased and even different female political leadership and participation in the future?

Are the possibilities for change in women's political or even overall participation attendant on structural changes in Latin American society? For example, what is the relationship between education for women and their occupational and career choices? What will variations in women's educational patterns do for women's roles and participation in society? Will more years spent sitting in a classroom result in greater occupational possibilities and a more developed political consciousness, or simply the attainment of a higher education for a growing middle-class sector? Will

women merely become better-educated wives and mothers? Who or what determines the recruitment of women into particular schools and attraction to particular areas of study? Is the pattern of recruitment and attraction shifting away from what are traditionally considered feminine occupations? Will the entry of women into "masculine" fields precipitate a change in the nature of those fields? Or, will the overall impact be negligible?

Underlying the reactions to women in any realm of activities are the images society has of women. What traits characterize the female and male stereotypes? How were these stereotypes derived? Who fostered them, how, and why? Have they changed since the colonial period? The image of woman as a passive flower is occasionally cracked by portraits of able, strong, enterprising, and aggressive females. How accurate is that pervasive image of passivity to begin with? What or whose standards are used in order to arrive at such an interpretation? Does it apply at all class levels? Women as a group have served as an innovative and active force in the history of Latin America. Did they not help to forge a new society through their role in the amalgamation of various cultures? Were they not also instrumental in preserving the autonomy and integrity of indigenous cultures? What attitudes and values did women from the Iberian peninsula carry with them across the Atlantic? Which were already autochthonous to the Americas? Which traditions and customs have survived intact; which have been modified or replaced? How have the sexual mores of an epoch been reflected in the prevailing images or ideal of womanhood?

In contemporary times, how do women perceive themselves and other women? How do men perceive them? Structural changes are taking place in Latin American society. Since the family is still the basic unit of that society,⁴⁰ it is fitting to ask how those changes are affecting women's position in the family.⁴¹ Are women still primarily perceived in their universal role as wife/mother, or has the process of modernization stimulated the emergence of new images and are they then translated into actual behavior? If educational and occupational opportunities become more numerous, will women shift their priorities from the family to self-fulfillment as autonomous individuals? At what class level? Need marriage and children endure as the primary validation of adult female status in Latin America, or are other acceptable images of women beginning to emerge?

Given that the norm in Latin America is for women and men to marry and to have children, a series of questions arises. What are the qualities of a married woman; of a married man? What is the actual division of labor within the family? How much do women enter into the decision-making process regarding income expenditure, administration of property and goods, place of residence, education of children, etc? Are

working women more likely to share in the decision-making process than nonworking women? How does the participation of women in the labor force affect the nature of the husband/wife relationship? Will the relationship move toward an equalization of roles at home or a reinforcement of already existing ones? Will the need and/or desire of women to work force the provision of extrafamilial institutions that can assume tasks related to child and household care? Or, will child care have to be provided before women can effectively participate in the labor market without bearing the burden of two jobs, one at home and one on the outside? How does the availability of domestic servants affect these questions? Is the idea of husband and wife sharing tasks and authority within the family being successfully thwarted by the pervasive myth of masculine superiority? Are women accomplices in perpetuating that myth?⁴² Will mothers serve as agents of social change or will they continue to inculcate their children with values that freeze the sexes in their traditional molds?

Related to these questions is the issue of reproduction.⁴³ How does the real family differ in size from the ideal family? How is the concept of ideal family size conditioned by socioeconomic and psychocultural factors? What factors will contribute to or impede the realization of an ideal family size? In Latin America, the family is imbued with a somewhat sacred aura. Divorce continues to be illegal or financially impossible for the majority of Latin American women. How does the absence or presence of a divorce law operate to the advantage or disadvantage of women? What are the particular difficulties faced by a divorced woman? How does her status differ from that of an unwed mother or abandoned woman? Would divorce spell a greater secularization of Latin American society and the concomitant demise of the virgin-madonna image?

The preceding questions relate to women particularly within the context of the nuclear family. However, not all families in Latin America fall within that context. A rising tendency toward female-headed households was noted earlier. What does this tendency connote with respect to male authority within the family and the absence of patriarchal models? Is patriarchy in Latin America as prevalent as is commonly believed? Assuming that Latin America is indeed a patriarchal society, how do women compensate for their lack of formal authority and power? What is their response to exploitation? How do such cultural characterizations of women as unimportant, manipulative, or polluting relate to the question of female power? Does a menstrual or fertility cult indicate covert strength? How is the capacity to reproduce related to women as currency—political, social, or economic? At what stage of the female life cycle do these questions become most relevant? Understanding the various stages of the female life cycle is crucial to understanding how women function in the context of social processes.

Returning to the issue of images, how have the mass media, literature, the arts, educational texts, and the church reinforced traditional stereotypes and inhibited or at least slackened attempts at liberation from such molds? How are women rewarded for adherence to the ideal or castigated for deviation from it? How are the mass media contributing to the dissemination of feminist ideas from abroad? What effect are the North American and European women's movements having on their Latin American sisters? What are the possibilities for a unified women's movement that blurs class distinctions? Or, must proletarian women continue to serve the needs of middle- and upper-class women so that the latter can attain their own goals? In other words, is it possible for domestic servants and their employers to join hands in the solidarity of sisterhood or will each group remain dedicated to its own class to either preserve its privileges or overcome its oppression? Can there be a women's struggle distinct from the class struggle? (See section VI for a discussion of Latin American views on women's liberation.) If class distinctions are maintained, how can women assert a sharper picture of who they are, what they need, and what they want within their respective class? Ultimately, how influential can feminist ideology from abroad be in a different cultural milieu? Can there be a universal or pan-feminism? In order to achieve it, must not a different formula be tested in each cultural setting? This last question may be applied to the worldwide situation, not just to Latin America.

Many important questions relating to crime, law, prostitution, health, religion, language, literature, and other aspects of women's lives have not been raised due to constraints of space and time.⁴⁴ The questions to be asked and answered about women in Latin America defy enumeration, for they must cover every aspect of women's lives and they will vary according to country, region, urban/rural setting, ethnic or racial group, and socioeconomic class. For example, an analysis of child care in Cuba will be different from one in Colombia, given the political, economic, and ideological distinctions operative in those two countries. Similarly, the issue of a university education and professional career will be meaningless to an illiterate Aymara woman; and factory work will be irrelevant to an Amahuaca woman in the jungles of Peru since her economic activities still fall within the purview of the precapitalist mode of production. Sexual restrictions imposed on white middle-class women in Guadalajara will not necessarily be applicable to black women on the Caribbean coast of Colombia or Yanomamo women in the Amazon Basin. In sum, the answers to the many questions being posed must be multiple.

V RECENT STRIDES IN THE LITERATURE

Although individual articles and books on women in Latin America have appeared for years, it is noteworthy that more than a dozen special issues of periodicals and collections of essays have recently surfaced.⁴⁵ It is also remarkable how meager a representation these publications are in light of the fact that hundreds of journals are published on a regular basis and that women constitute a majority of the Latin American population.⁴⁶ The UN declaration that 1975 was International Women's Year precipitated a spate of token gestures focusing on the situation of women throughout the world. Latin American and North American periodicals have presented no exception to this sudden interest and rash of publications. Once women are properly brought to the fore, it will behoove all researchers to integrate women into their studies. History, economics, politics, and literature will no longer merely be the mirror of male feats; they will also have to reflect female deeds.

Although women are now the focal point of many studies, fortunately, they are being viewed not as an isolated unit but rather as an integral part of a social, political, cultural, and economic environment. This section lists some items of current research which are responding to the many queries regarding the situation of women in Latin America. It does not cite all the topics covered by the published and unpublished sources itemized in the bibliography.⁴⁷ For the most part, neither does it repeat material discussed in the preceding sections. Ongoing research projects that will further expand the present body of knowledge on women in Latin America are listed separately in the appendix.

Probably the most significant difference between references on women in Latin America published in the nineteenth and a good part of the twentieth century and those of the last few years is a shift in focus. Formerly, women who appeared in print were either related in some way to an illustrious male figure or were celebrated heroines in their own right; they were usually notable exceptions to what was considered ideal female behavior, especially for middle- and upper-class women. Overall, recent attempts focus more on women generically, rather than individually.⁴⁸ Although women of the middle class continue to be studied, more concern is being manifested for the many indigenous, black, and mestizo women who may be peasants in the countryside or members of the urban working class, rather than for the small percentage of elite women.

For example, there is much interest in the exodus of women from rural zones (67a) and their adaptation to an urban environment in terms of the overall process (item 142), literacy (item 264), economic activity as domestic servants (items 155, 211, 224, 225, 279) and as street vendors

(item 11), dissemination of modern Western culture from the city to the countryside (items 165, 224, 225, 279), language deviance (item 127a) or language shift (item 164), marital and family satisfaction (item 266), transition from traditional to modern roles (item 93), or just sheer numbers (item 191). In response to economic needs, female migrants and other women may also resort to prostitution (items 45, 86, 136, 172, 218, 219).

Women's relationship to the economy is further elaborated. Several researchers examine the effect of modernization on women (items 22, 210, 299c, 327). Socioeconomic changes brought on by tourism are affecting the lives of indigenous women in the San Blas Cuna Islands off Panama (item 345). Despite an increase in urbanization in Peru, a reverse trend of female labor-force participation has occurred in the textile industry since 1940 (item 44). Using the industrial sectors rather than occupations as the basis for the employment structure, one study demonstrates how the female labor force in Mexico responds to the fluctuation of opportunities resulting from the process of development (item 346). Another looks at trends in female labor-force participation in Venezuela (1950–71) and at factors such as education, civil status, and age which influence that participation (item 294). Still another examination of the female labor force in Venezuela points out how the social division between the sexes serves as a useful tool in the functioning of a dependent capitalist system (item 338). An analysis of the social organization and culture of Latin America and the Middle East explains differential female labor-force participation in nonagricultural production in both areas (items 248, 249, 250). Mexican women's occupational possibilities reflect the socioeconomic and cultural climate of the country and internalization of values related to a myth of masculine superiority (item 88a).

Women constitute a reserve labor force (item 334). Some researchers analyze women's incorporation into the Argentine economy (items 83, 104) and into the Cuban labor force since the Revolution, their special problems as workers and government attempts to ameliorate them (item 17). Interviews with lower-income working women in urban and rural Peru reveal their situation and aspirations (item 37). An analysis of the evolution of female participation in the Peruvian labor force examines occupational problems particular to young women of the low-income sectors of Lima (item 91). Several studies explore problems faced by working women in Chile (items 201, 307) and their access to careers and occupations of a middle technology level (item 296); women's situation in textile factory work in Mexico City today (item 184) and in Mexico, Chile, and Colombia in the nineteenth and twentieth century (item 314). Women engage in other kinds of factory work (items 114, 241, 292c), in agriculture

(items 25, 33, 34, 57b, 76, 320), in weaving (items 99, 114, 245a); they may also be traveling or market vendors (items 16b, 47, 48).

Once married, women who work face the special problem of role conflict or the clash between "traditional" and "modern" values (items 3, 49, 50, 115, 118, 149, 271, 275). However, if a woman effectively contributes to the economic maintenance of the family, there is also the possibility of more equal relations with one's spouse (item 6) and greater autonomy in decision-making (item 251). Women's economic activity is frequently related to fertility and other factors (items 57, 65, 82, 87, 96). The number of years of employment after marriage may, in part, affect the adoption of modern family planning techniques (item 270).⁴⁹

The kinds of career choices made by women are directly related to educational opportunities available to them, which are, in turn, related to attitudes about women's roles (items 50, 60, 64, 88a, 271). Although women's gains in the professions have been noted (10, 50, 118, 347), women still tend to predominate in those professions that are "feminine-oriented." This "feminine orientation," or extension of woman's role in the private sphere into the public sphere, is also projected into the arena of politics (items 39, 40, 42, 161, 258). Society views the role of politician for women as deviant from the traditional ideal that implies greater passivity (item 94). Eva Perón is an example of women's changing role, integrating progressive and conservative tendencies in politics (item 102). Educational reform is a useful tool for modernizing women's political role but it is deemed insufficient for achieving full equality for women in the traditional political system (item 12).

Despite the negative connotations associated with activity outside the home, many women take part in protest action (items 158, 166, 198, 236, 238, 239) and collectively participate in social movements. As a result of their expanded labor force participation, they fight for their rights as workers (items 166, 183, 196, 220, 241, 250a). They have also fought for the independence of their country (item 259) and against threats made by another nation (items 75a, 147, 173a). In fact, one researcher makes a case for a female revolutionary tradition in Latin America (item 111). Women have participated in twentieth-century revolutions in Mexico (items 137, 138, 154, 196, 197), in Cuba (items 193, 194a, 205, 208), and in Chile (items 30, 243).⁵⁰ Nonetheless, while there may be difficulty in mobilizing women (item 43), Chilean women were successfully manipulated through the bourgeois mass media to support a counterrevolution (items 149a, 322); the opposition to Allende's Marxist government boasts of the buildup of female power that culminated in his overthrow (item 60a). While one intention of revolutions is to effectuate radical social change, the Mexican

Revolution of 1910 was not necessarily a revolution for women (item 137). And, although many advances have been instituted since 1959, the incomplete impact of the Cuban Revolution on women's position is still observable in remnants of *machismo* and other values of a patriarchal society and capitalist system (items 17, 18, 169, 194, 229, 235).

An offshoot of women's involvement in social movements has been the fight for female suffrage and other legislative reform (items 137, 138, 183, 196, 197, 198, 199, 250a). However, that feminist struggle was usually an upper-middle class phenomenon (items 39, 71a, 136, 161, 183) because those women were able to take advantage of educational facilities (items 39, 136, 183) and were often influenced by ideas from abroad (item 19). The various movements for obtaining the female vote in Latin America, begun around World War I, ended successfully when Paraguayan women were finally granted suffrage in 1961.⁵¹ Fears of impending political disaster, which was to result from the extension of voting rights to women, have not been borne out by women's voting record, which indicates a "conservative" inclination (items 20, 71, 130).

The so-called "conservative" tendencies of women are often attributed to female devotion to the church. Women may take refuge in religious consolation as a response to male dominance (item 262) and may foster their own image as moral and religious individuals as a source of leverage over men (items 230, 231, 232, 233). Convent life and the social/economic influence of nunneries during the colonial period are well documented (items 123, 125, 126, 143a, 228, 265, 344). Contemporary religious archetypes and stereotypes as determined by the Catholic church in Latin America are influential in the lives of women, their role in society, and in male-female relations (item 215). The church is a much less decisive factor than is generally assumed in women's acceptance or rejection of birth-control methods (items 11a, 117). There is also inquiry into the role of nuns and the church in a changing society (items 63, 106, 177), the possibilities of female clergy (item 36), and the theological training of women (item 52).

Machismo, another overexaggerated factor influencing contraception (item 117), continues to be a topic of much interest and controversy (items 2, 5, 9, 13, 77, 84a, 119, 173, 200, 204, 216a, 230, 231, 232, 255, 285). While there is fairly common agreement as to what constitutes *machista* behavior and how it affects women, until recently it had not been argued that there was a female parallel, for which the term *marianismo* was coined (items 230, 231, 232). Both patterns of behavior subscribe to female virginity and chastity, which are related to the concepts of honor for men and shame for women. These concepts are structural rather than cultural features in the highly stratified society of nineteenth-century Cuba, where

marriage patterns related to class and race (items 144, 145, 146). Parish records yield data to determine the marriage patterns of persons of African descent in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Mexico City and the rarity or frequency of interracial marriages (item 134). In contemporary times, the Cuban Revolution has had an impact on interracial marriages (item 78). And, the virginity cult still figures in the civil and criminal law of Puerto Rico (item 221).

In general, relationships between the sexes in Latin America are characterized by female submissiveness and male dominance (items 5, 32, 68a, 79, 149, 156, 262, 309). Closer examination of some communities debunks myths surrounding virility and femininity (items 13, 85) and challenges the ideal of male dominance in a patriarchy (items 79, 152). One study concludes that the patriarchal family structure is in a state of transition toward a less authoritarian system in which women's situation changes (item 111a). Recent findings indicate a general trend toward egalitarianism in conjugal relations in Mexico (items 55, 68a, 251) and changes in the attitudes of Mexican high school girls toward their role in society and male-female relations (item 58). Ethnographic literature that views the role of Latin American peasant women in a passive light is in need of reinterpretation (items 47, 253). Some peasant women have more of a feeling of independence than many suburban U.S. women; they accept, initiate, and even agitate for change (item 66). Although it is considered that women play a generally passive or integrative role, they may enjoy moderately high status in their particular ethnic group (item 59) and they may have power even if it is not formalized (item 47) or validated by the mythology of their society (item 163).

The attempt to separate image from reality is extended to an evaluation of stereotypical images in Latin American literature and the mass media. The innocent young virgin and the swaggering macho are only two of the images that reflect the values and attitudes of Latin American society. Images of women are explored in novels (items 56, 108, 110, 159, 181, 218), in folklore (item 46), in the historical literature (items 101, 124), in religious tracts (item 215), in newspapers (items 94, 169, 322), in magazines (items 74, 75, 139, 140, 242, 291, 301), in *fotonovelas* (items 1, 151, 242, 301), in plays (item 160a) and in films (item 176). Stereotypes reinforce traditional behavior and preclude the possibility of women being projected as vehicles for social change (items 74, 75, 139, 150). In some cases, there is ambivalence between "traditional" and "modern" behavior (item 140). Popular literature is used to illustrate how the concept of modernity in a system of social domination reaffirms the myth of femininity, conferring upon it a new validity through a false notion of innovation (item 150). One study questions whether the Venezuelan

woman has actually changed concomitant to greater participation in the public sphere or whether there is merely the image of a new woman which is transmitted by the mass media (item 92). Fotonovelas in Chile no longer try to reconcile two diametrically opposed images of women—traditional vs. modern or liberated; instead, they obfuscate the issue by emphasizing women's eternal concern for love or matters of the heart (item 151).

Not only is there interest generated in how women are portrayed in the words and pictures of Latin America, but curiosity also exists regarding women writers⁵² and how society is mirrored in their literary works (items 95, 129, 147a, 157, 158, 260, 261, 274, 276, 277, 283, 292b, 349, 349a).⁵³ Although Sor Juana is acclaimed as America's first feminist (item 100a), other women writers have also expressed liberated ideas about women (items 100, 157, 158, 198, 199).

Other areas of research include: Women and ritual (items 247, 287, 295, 329, 330), midwifery (items 303, 313, 329, 330), witchcraft (item 141), child care (items 113, 128), voluntary associations (item 343), personal networks (items 32, 113, 246, 269), slavery (items 24, 185), the acceptance of modern medicine (item 273), sexuality (items 174, 192, 244, 245, 287), weaving as an art (item 272), the social and ethnic significance of clothing (item 256), nineteenth-century periodicals (items 289, 291), sexism in language (item 292), delinquency (items 136, 193a, 237), legal rights (items 7, 53, 143, 156a, 175, 293), conquest and colonization (item 21), marital and courtship disputes (item 51), *recogimientos* of women in colonial Mexico (item 162), and women's liberation (see section VI).

VI RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND ORIENTATION IN LATIN AMERICA OR WHITHER WOMEN'S LIBERATION IN LATIN AMERICA?

Research proposals of Latin American centers and institutes, studies originating in Latin America, and discussions at the SSRC-sponsored conference and research training seminar in which Latin Americans and North Americans participated,⁵⁴ suggest two basic questions: (1) Liberation for women or liberation for the people? Or: The question of sex vs. class; (2) Research?: Why? by whom? for whom? how? Or: The question of ethics.

Let us deal with the second issue first. Latin Americans want to know who is interested in doing research on women. Under what auspices (i.e., financial support and institutional affiliation) and using what methodologies and perspectives will the research be carried out? And, more importantly, why is the research undertaken to begin with and who will benefit from it? Have women in Latin America merely become another target of investigation for North American researchers who continue to

view "south of the border" as an exotic area of study? Latin Americans object to being a mine of raw data that are extracted and later refined for North American academic consumption. Respondents protest that almost invariably they are left without the results that were made possible by their cooperation in the first place.

An examination of notarial records may shed interesting light on an obscured aspect of women's lives in colonial Peru, but how does it contribute to the liberation of migrant women who work twelve hours a day as domestic servants in Lima? A survey of female and male attitudes toward contraception may offer a partial explanation of Latin America's high fertility rates, but how does it alleviate the problem of possible death faced by lower-income women who resort to self-induced abortions? In other words, it boils down to the issue of research for the sake of research (Ph.D.'s, publications, and tenure)⁵⁵ versus research for the sake of practice (i.e., the implementation of one's findings for the benefit of the population under study).⁵⁶

With the question of research ethics as background, let us now turn to the first issue. Dim indeed are the prospects of a women's liberation movement in Latin America, fashioned along the North American and European style (items 39, 233). In the two latter continents, the demand for equality has arisen mainly from white, middle-class, educated women. In Latin America, where a seemingly limitless supply of cheap labor abounds, it is unlikely that women of the middle- and upper-classes will volunteer to surrender their domestic help in order to spearhead a movement intended to liberate all women, employer and employee alike.⁵⁷ The impetus for liberation must come from another sector of the population.

A definition of women's liberation is as complex as the multiheaded Hydra. There is a lack of concordance as to what it is or even what it is called. Although the terms "liberación de la mujer" and "liberación femenina" are seen, heard, and read throughout Latin America, for many Latin Americans a more appropriate expression is "liberación del pueblo." Women's struggle is seen as "enclosed within the class struggle and [it] must be directed by the working class through parties and vanguard organizations" (item 15: 84).⁵⁸ Although women suffer double exploitation as worker and as wife/mother, they are not to be isolated from other social groups⁵⁹ but rather incorporated as a pressure group in the transformation of an outmoded social structure and mentality (item 149: 211).⁶⁰ Unless that rigid structure is destroyed and development is channeled to benefit the entire society, a new institutional framework in which women will be integrated cannot be constructed (item 149: 24). Otherwise, true liberation will degenerate into feminism and the women's struggle "has nothing to do with feminism."⁶¹ It is not a struggle against men but

“against the capitalist system, which maintains and needs the oppression of women” (item 15: 84).⁶²

Roots of women’s oppression stem from “(a) the original economic necessity of privately reproducing labor power; (b) the division of labor between the sexes, which forces women to be responsible for invisible labor; [and] (c) the resulting development of a hidden ideology of sex which distorts our conception of male-female relations in a classless society” (item 121: 16). Furthermore, specific ideological traits, such as sexual liberalism and female economism (loosely defined as consumerism), that are offered to women in a neocapitalist society continue to enslave women as sex objects (item 121: 12–15).

Again and again the idea is driven home in the Latin American literature that women cannot be singled out as a special group unto themselves but rather as one more link in the chain of dependency.⁶³ For Latin American women to be liberated, “there must be freedom from a system of dependence existing on an international, national, regional, and family level” (item 62: 7).⁶⁴ That is why the women’s struggle takes on distinct shades of meaning according to the different classes extant in Latin America (item 69: 33). For there is no prototype of Latin American women, which means that there is no one female problem, but rather women’s problems multiplied by the number of existing subcultures and classes (item 149: 25).⁶⁵

From this exposition of ideas on women’s liberation in Latin America, it becomes understandable why the analysis of class is so relevant to the examination of women in Latin America. It is founded on the analysis of the capitalist system as the primordial oppressor and thus in the links of subordination-domination the most oppressed are peasant and working-class women. It is within this context that research is conducted and why much of it is focused on the special problems of these women. Women’s problems are analyzed not only in terms of sexual exploitation (dominance through the patriarchal ideology) but also in terms of class exploitation (dominance through the capitalist system).

Jelin provides an illustration in her study of Bahian women in the labor force of Salvador, Brazil (see section III). In order to understand the relationship between a capitalist economy and female producers in domestic activities and simple production of goods, she proposes that three aspects must be taken into account: (1) The effect of cheap and abundant domestic service on the demand for consumer goods and services by the managerial class; (2) competition between simple production of goods by women at home and by capitalist enterprises; and (3) the function of unpaid domestic activity by women in working-class families in the cost of industrial labor.

Let us consider only the third aspect. Jelin explains how the poly-faceted and extensive domestic activity by working-class women signifies more than the exploitation of women's role in the home. It is also a mechanism for maintaining industrial labor wages at minimum levels. The gratis performance of household tasks by women facilitates attaining a standard of living that is considerably higher than it would be if those same services had to be paid for. Consequently, a worker's salary can be relatively low since it need not cover the family's total subsistence (item 312: 12–14). Jelin thus offers an analysis of women's productive activity which reveals not only its relationship to sex but also to class. This is only one example which illustrates how sex and class analysis are inseparable in interpreting women's situation in Latin America.

Whether Latin American women reject North American and European feminist ideology because to them it represents yet one more form of foreign domination or whether class analysis is superior to sex analysis, ultimately is not the issue. Thus far, every religious, social, political, and economic ideology that has been elaborated in history has not resulted in the complete liberation of women. While research may be fruitful in adding to our knowledge and understanding of women's particular and peculiar position in society, in the final analysis it will not be a theory that actually breaks the bonds. It will be action.

A P P E N D I X

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS*

ALTERMAN BLAY, EVA. University of São Paulo. São Paulo, Brazil. Conducting research on women in industrial work.

ANDERSON, JEANINE. Anthropology. Cornell University. Completing a doctoral dissertation on middle-class women in an apartment complex in Lima, Peru. Includes data on family, kin, and political perspectives of 130 white-collar employees and professionals.

ARROM, SILVIA. History. Stanford University. Completing archival research for a doctoral dissertation on "A Social History of Women in Mexico City, 1800 to 1857," which looks at demographic patterns, activities and roles of women and how they varied by socioeconomic class.

ASOCIACIÓN COLOMBIANA PARA EL ESTUDIO DE LA POBLACIÓN (ACEP). Bogotá, Colombia. Conducting a study on "The Participation of Women in the Processes of Social and Economic Development." The research team consists of two lawyers (Josefina Amezcua de Almeyda and Delina Guarín de Vizcaya), an

*My thanks to Elinor Barber of the Ford Foundation, for her notes on researchers and their projects on women in Colombia and Brazil; and to Mary Lindsay Elmendorf, consultant to AID, for her notes on women in Peru, Chile, and Brazil.

- anthropologist (Virginia Gutiérrez de Pineda), an economist (Cecilia de Rodríguez), a sociologist (Alejandro Angulo), and a physician (Franz Pardo Tellez). Magdalena de Leal is the project coordinator.
- BARRERA, MANUELA, AND ANA MARÍA ARRIAGADA.** Programa Interdisciplinario de Investigaciones en Educación. Universidad Católica de Chile. Santiago. Conducting research project on female education, female work force, and knowledge of health and family planning practices. Conclusions will relate to the incorporation of women into the Chilean educational system, variations in the educational level of working women, and differences in knowledge of health and family planning in the lower and middle classes.
- BELLISIMO, YOLANDA.** History. University of California, Los Angeles. Dissertation proposal: "Criminal Law and Prison Systems in Nineteenth-Century Venezuela." Study will incorporate women's prisons, hostels, and homes for delinquents and orphans and will also look at the kinds of crimes women committed, the kinds of sentences they received, and how they differed from men in the penal system.
- BLACHMAN, MORRIS.** Political Science. University of South Carolina. Completed a doctoral dissertation on women's suffrage movement in Brazil, emphasizing the 1930s and Berta Lutz, and also discussing women and politics.
- BOSSEN, LAUREL.** State University of New York, Albany. Completing a doctoral dissertation on women and economic development in three sectors of Guatemala: Plantation, city, and Indian peasant village.
- BROMLEY, KAREN.** Anthropology. University of Virginia. Completing a doctoral dissertation on peasant women in Taraco, near Lake Titicaca in Bolivia.
- BROWN, PENNY.** Anthropology. University of California, Berkeley. Completing a doctoral dissertation on "Women's Position in a Mayan Society: The Evidence from Verbal Interaction," which looks at differences between men's and women's speech in the Tzeltal-speaking community of Tenejapa, Chiapas, Mexico. Considers linguistic features in sex-related patterns or "styles" of language usage as strategically related to each other, to sex roles, and to social relationships.
- BROWNER, CAROL.** Anthropology. University of California, Berkeley. Engaged in fieldwork in Cali, Colombia for a doctoral dissertation on "Networks and Strategies in Abortion Decision Making." Women are being interviewed at a hospital and barrio clinic for information on the decision-making process behind having an abortion (the kinds of networks they mobilize, the individuals who influence them, etc.).
- BURKETT, ELINOR.** History. University of Pittsburgh. Recently completed a doctoral dissertation on the roles and realities of women in sixteenth-century Peru, with a concentration on Arequipa. Contends that roles are determined by economic factors and looks at the way in which roles were created for and by women after the Conquest and how they developed during the first one hundred years of Spanish domination. Contributing an essay on "Indian Women in Sixteenth-Century Peru" to *Latin American Women in Historical Perspective, 1540-1940*, edited by Asunción Lavrín.
- CAJKA, FRANK.** Ecology and Anthropology. University of Michigan. Engaged in fieldwork for a doctoral dissertation on "Peasant Commercialization and Ecological Simplification in the Serranías of Cochabamba, Bolivia," in which he also considers the dynamics of sex roles between and within households and how the evolving structure of progressive economic inferiority for women can

- find occasional expression, on the basis of traditional patterns, in a position of economic power for some.
- CARDINAL DE MARTÍN, CECILIA. Corporación Centro Regional de Población. Bogotá, Colombia. Conducting a small project on the knowledge about and attitudes toward menstruation.
- CARDOZO, RUTH. Anthropology. University of São Paulo. São Paulo, Brazil. In her study of a favela, is also considering the role of mothers in the family.
- CARVALHO, INAIA. University of Bahia. Salvador, Bahia, Brazil. Conducting research on the meager employment possibilities for women in general.
- CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS DE POBLACIÓN (CENEP). Buenos Aires, Argentina. Research project on female labor force participation in Argentina includes four interrelated studies: (1) Analysis of the evolution of the economically active female population, 1947–70, and its projection for 1990; (2) description of sociodemographic characteristics of economically active women; (3) identification of sociodemographic variables that affect the level of economic participation; (4) analysis of recruitment of women into different economic sectors and occupations. Research team consists of Zulma Recchini de Lattes, Ruth Sautu, and C. Wainerman. If sufficient data are available for Paraguay and Bolivia, a similar project on women will be conducted there. Another project, on fertility in Argentina and its relationship to socioeconomic characteristics of mothers, is being conducted by E. A. Pantelides.
- CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS DE POBLACIÓN Y DESARROLLO (CEPD). Lima, Perú. Conducting a research project on "La madre y el trabajo," which studies the work situation, family relationships, and political involvement of four groups of working women in Peru: Street vendors, market women, domestic servants, and industrial workers. Research team consists of Elsa Chaney (political science, Fordham University), Ximena Bunster (Chilean anthropologist), Hilda Mercado Avalos (Peruvian sociologist), and Gabriela Villalobos de Urrutia (Peruvian social psychologist).
- CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS SOCIALES (CES). Caracas, Venezuela. Preparing an analysis of women's status with respect to work, the family, education, law and general social, cultural and political participation in Venezuela, for different regions and socioeconomic groups. Project director is Silvana Zaia. (See items 294, 299a, 299b.)
- CENTRO DE SINAMOS. Lima, Perú. Preparing a content analysis of interviews with 270 working women (factory workers, street vendors, housewives, prostitutes, agriculturalists, etc.) in rural and urban areas of Peru. (See item 37.)
- CENTRO LATINOAMERICANO DE DEMOGRAFÍA (CELADE). Santiago, Chile. Recently conducted research project on the economic, social, and demographic variables (marital status, fertility, income, socioeconomic status, labor-force structure) related to female labor force participation in Latin America, using census and household survey data.
- CHERPAK, EVELYN. Archivist. Naval War College. Newport, Rhode Island. Contributing an essay on "The Role of Women in the Independence Movement in Gran Colombia" to *Latin American Women in Historical Perspective, 1540–1940*, edited by Asunción Lavrín.
- CHIÑAS, BEVERLY. Anthropology. California State University, Chico. Preparing a monograph on *Indigenous Women in Latin America: Their Familial, Economic, Political, and Ceremonial Roles*.
- CHINCHILLA, NORMA. Comparative Culture Program. University of California, Ir-

- vine. Researching the effect of industrialization on female labor force participation in a dependent country, Guatemala.
- CORNEJO DE VERA, RINA. Anthropology. Universidad Nacional de San Antonio de Abad, Cuzco, Perú. Completed a study on "La mujer campesina: Factor determinante para los cambios" using three zones to reflect different stages of development within the department of Cuzco, Peru. Looks at the influence of indigenous women in their society, their reactions to new elements introduced from outside, and their participation in commerce, crops, and institutions of change.
- COURTEAU, JOANNA. Foreign Languages. Iowa State University. Preparing a book on the image of women in contemporary Brazilian literature.
- COURTURIER, EDITH. Evanston, Illinois. Contributing an essay on "Women in a Noble Family: The Mexican Reglas, 1750–1830" to *Latin American Women in Historical Perspective, 1540–1940*, edited by Asunción Lavrín. Together with Lavrín, engaged in a study of dowries and wills in order to gauge the economic power of women in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Mexico.
- DEERE, CARMEN DIANA. Agricultural Economics. University of California, Berkeley. Engaged in fieldwork for a doctoral dissertation on "The Division of Labor by Sex in Agriculture: Peasant Women's Subsistence Production on the *Minifundios*" in Peru to document women's participation in agriculture, testing the economic rationale for and socioeconomic consequences of the given division of labor by sex.
- DURHAM, EUNICE. Anthropology. University of São Paulo. São Paulo, Brazil. Planning a study on the authority structure in the middle-class family.
- ENNIS (DE SAGASTI), HELI E. Academy for Educational Development. Washington, D.C. Revising her doctoral dissertation on "Social Implications of Adult Literacy: A Study Among Migrant Women in Peru" for publication. Completed a study on "La mujer vendedora ambulante," focusing on women street vendors in Lima, Peru, and the interrelationships and interdependencies of their occupational and family roles, that she is revising for publication.
- ESTES, VALERIE. Anthropology. University of California, Berkeley. Dissertation proposal: "Bolivian Urban Market Women: Economic Independence and Status." It will be concerned with the relationship between women's economic independence and their status in the domestic and public spheres, investigating questions of male/female and female/female relations.
- FARRINGTON, SUSAN. Political Science. University of New Mexico. Writing a doctoral dissertation on political attitudes and participation of women in Mexico, based on interviews with sixty-five female PRI members, and also interested in the political socialization of women.
- FUNDACIÓN PARA EDUCACIÓN SUPERIOR Y EL DESARROLLO (FEDESARROLLO). Bogotá, Colombia. Conducting a study on female labor-force participation in Colombia, financed by the International Labor Organization. Research team consists of Cecilia de Rodríguez and Alejandro Angulo.
- GALLAGHER, SISTER ANN MIRIAM. President. College Misericordia. Contributing an essay on "The Indian Nuns of Mexico City's *Monasterio* of Corpus Christi, 1724–1821" to *Latin American Women in Historical Perspective, 1540–1940*, edited by Asunción Lavrín.
- GARRET, PATRICIA. Sociology. University of Wisconsin. Completing a doctoral dissertation on "Determinants of Political Orientation Among Peasant Women in Chile," based on interviews with 333 peasant women on *haciendas*.

- GILRUTH, JEAN M. Instituto de Ciencias Sociales. Universidad Iberoamericana. México, D.F. Preparing a doctoral dissertation on *guarderías infantiles* to clarify the nature of a governmental preschool educational system in Mexico and to analyze the evolution of women's position in Mexican society in relation to the evolution of the guardería system.
- GOLDSMITH, MARY. Anthropology. University of Connecticut. Dissertation proposal: An examination of female domestic workers in the context of marginality, urban migration, and capitalist development in Mexico from a historical perspective at national, regional, and local levels.
- GÓMEZ GÓMEZ, ELSA. Corporación Centro Regional de Población. Bogotá, Colombia. Participating in an investigation of the relationship between fertility and women's position in the family, and in a project related to the status of women in the Colombian labor force. Preparing a doctoral dissertation on fertility for Ohio State University in urban sociology.
- HAHNER, JUNE. History. State University of New York, Albany. Contributing an essay on "The Nineteenth-Century Feminist Press and Women's Rights in Brazil" to *Latin American Women in Historical Perspective, 1540–1940*, edited by Asunción Lavrín.
- HART, JOHN. History. University of Houston. Preparing an essay on "Women and Labor in Nineteenth-Century Mexico."
- HEWITT, VALERIE. Corporación Centro Regional de Población. Bogotá, Colombia. British anthropologist researching migrant female labor in Colombia, analyzing urban employment in domestic service.
- HOBERMAN, LOUISA. History. Wesleyan University. Investigating marriage patterns, property holdings, and philanthropic activities of women in seventeenth-century Mexico City; and the development of secondary school teaching as an occupation for women in late nineteenth-century Mexico, and as a modernizing force in Latin America.
- INIDE. Ministerio de Educación. Lima, Peru. Hilda Araujo and Blanca Figueroa completed a psychosocial study, "Diagnóstico de la educación formal and rol ocupacional de la mujer: doméstica," to determine basic characteristics of the domestic service sector in Lima, combined with a study of the new education and how it can train these women for other economic activities and raise their consciousness.
- JOHNSON, LYGIA. English. California State University, Sonoma. Preparing an anthology of Latin American women writers in translation: *Women in Latin America: A Collection of Twentieth-Century Short Stories*.
- KAGAN, SAMUEL. Flushing, New York. Contributing an essay on "The Colonial Penal Experience: The State of the Woman in the Penal History of New Spain" to *Latin American Women in Historical Perspective, 1540–1940*, edited by Asunción Lavrín.
- KARASCH, MARY. History. Oakland University. Investigating women in 19th-century Brazil, the role of slave women in Rio de Janeiro, and the occupations of women in the city other than as domestics.
- KENNEDY, JOHN NORMAN. History. University of Kansas. Engaged in a research project on the Brazilian female labor force. Using census and employment data, the study will identify characteristics of actively employed women workers from 1945 to 1970 in Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo and will measure differing levels of economic activity according to age and marital status.
- KENTNER, JANET. History. Loyola University. Preparing a doctoral dissertation on

"The Socio-Political Role of Women in the Mexican Wars of Independence, 1810–1821."

- KEREMITSIS, DAWN. History. West Valley State College. Saratoga, California. Continuing her comparative research on women workers in Mexico and Colombia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and how industrial changes affected their position.
- LAVRÍN, ASUNCIÓN. History. Silver Springs, Maryland. Editing a collection of essays on *Latin American Women in Historical Perspective, 1540–1940*, to which she is contributing an article on colonial women in New Spain. Together with Couturier, engaged in a study of dowries and wills in order to gauge the economic power of women in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Mexico.
- LEWIN, HELENA. Pontifícia Universidade Católica. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Examining the relationship between educational level and employment of women.
- LITTLE, CYNTHIA. History. Temple University. Writing a doctoral dissertation on the Sociedad de Beneficencia (Buenos Aires, 1823–97), a corporation of prominent upper-class women designed to establish and inspect primary schools for girls, orphanages, hospitals, mental asylums, etc. Examines the institutions administered by the Sociedad, its internal mechanism, its relationship with the municipal and national governments, its response to community needs, and the interaction between women of various socioeconomic classes. Contributing an essay on "Education, Philanthropy, and Feminism: Components of Argentine Womanhood, 1860–1926" to *Latin American Women in Historical Perspective, 1540–1940*, edited by Asunción Lavrín.
- LOMBARDI, MARY. History. University of California, Los Angeles. Preparing a doctoral dissertation on women, salons, and the modernist movement in Brazil, covering the period 1917–30.
- MCELWORTH, CAROLYN. Anthropology. University of Wisconsin. Preparing a doctoral dissertation on market women in Cajamarca, Peru.
- MACHADO NETO, ZAHIDE. Sociology. Universidade Federal da Bahia. Bahia, Brazil. Conducting research on women in the interior of Bahia.
- MACÍAS, ANA. History. Ohio Wesleyan University. Preparing a basic study of feminism in Mexico from 1890 to 1953. Contributing an essay on the "Origins and Development of Feminism in Mexico" to *Latin American Women in Historical Perspective, 1540–1940*, edited by Asunción Lavrín.
- MARTÍN, LUIS. History. Southern Methodist University. Writing a book on *Daughters of Conquistadores: Women in Colonial Peru*, which will encompass the first two generations of Spanish women; women's education; fashion and entertainment; women's role in the family; colonial divorces; lay women and the church; colonial nunneries; St. Rose of Lima and La Perricholi; the *Beaterio* of Copacabana; women and death. (See item 143a.)
- MEIRELLES BOTTA, MARIA AMELIA. Social Sciences. Universidade de São Paulo. São Paulo, Brazil. Completed one phase of an investigation on the occupational situation of women who graduated in the faculties of philosophy and sciences and letters at the Universidade de Araraquara, Brazil. Considers their aspirations and actual realizations, their position with respect to parents and social class, the adequacy of their training, the difficulties they encounter, etc.
- MENDELSON, JOHANNA ROSENTHAL. History. Washington University. Contributing an essay on "The Feminist Press: The View of Women in Four Colonial Journals of Spanish America, 1790–1810" to *Latin American Historical Perspective, 1540–1940*, edited by Asunción Lavrín. Prepared an essay on "The Physician as

- Social Critic: Public Health and Society in Spanish America During the Late Eighteenth Century," which includes a section on pregnancy and women as contributors to well-being and population increase.
- MORA, GABRIELA. Romance Languages. City College of the City University of New York. Preparing a bilingual edition of four feminist plays by Elena Garro, Mexican playwright.
- MURIEL DE LA TORRE, JOSEFINA. Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Preparing a publication on education for women in New Spain.
- NAVARRO, MARYSA. History. Dartmouth College. Preparing a book on Eva Perón.
- NORWOOD, BARBARA. Economics. Radcliffe Institute. Conducting a project to study the relation of modernization and development to the changing roles of women in Latin America.
- OSORIO DE ALMEIDA, ANA LUISA. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Economist studying rural women in Northeast Brazil.
- REEDY, DANIEL. Spanish. University of Kentucky. Preparing a monograph on Magda Portal, Peruvian political activist, feminist, and writer.
- SANTOS, FREDERIKA. Postgraduate School of Economics. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Carrying out research on migration, fertility, and employment.
- SARA LAFOSSE, VIOLETA. Sociology. Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima. Together with Blanca Fernández Montenegro and Ada Ortíz de Reyes, preparing a study on "Estabilidad familiar, trabajo de la esposa y socialización de los hijos según clase social, sexo y edad." Approximately three hundred middle- and lower-class families are being interviewed. This project will eventually contribute to her individual study on the roles and status of women in the family and society in Peru.
- SCHMINK, MARIANNE. Anthropology. University of Texas, Austin. Engaged in fieldwork for a doctoral dissertation on "Power Structures and the Division of Labor in Public and Domestic Domains: Women in Belo Horizonte, Brazil," which will relate the analysis of woman's role and power within the domestic context to that which she enjoys outside and will try to clarify the relation between the two. It will focus on one neighborhood whose residents range from middle to lower socioeconomic strata.
- SCHOFIELD, KENNETH G. Fletcher International School of Law and Diplomacy. Engaged in a research project on seasonal female work-participation rates in Costa Rica.
- SILVERSTEIN, LENI. Anthropology. New School of Social Research. Engaged in fieldwork for a doctoral dissertation on women and the *candomblé* in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil, looking at women's role in ritual and its carryover effect on other activities in the secular scene.
- SMITH, PATRICIA. Anthropology. University of Oregon. Completed a doctoral dissertation on lower-class married women in a small Colombian town, using a social network approach. Based on interviews and observational material on women's life situation in Jardín, Antioquia.
- SOEIRO, SUSAN. History. York College of the City University of New York. Contributing an essay on "The Feminine Orders in Colonial Bahia: Economic, Social and Demographic Implications, 1677-1800" to *Latin American Women in Historical Perspective, 1540-1940*, edited by Asunción Lavrín.
- STODBERG, ANN. CELADE. Santiago, Chile. Swedish economist/historian examining the role of women in a dependent economy (Chile, 1945-70), using census

and household survey data. Will determine the characteristics of the female labor force, its cyclical fluctuations, and the historical, social, and cultural factors contributing to them.

- SWAIN, MARGARET. Anthropology. University of Washington. Writing a doctoral dissertation on women's roles and status with respect to socioeconomic change (tourism) and ethnic identity among the San Blas Cuna Indians of Panama.
- SWEENEY, JUDITH. History. University of California, Los Angeles. Engaged in doctoral research toward a dissertation on women and immigration in Buenos Aires from 1860 to 1910.
- SWENSSON, IRENE. Anthropology. University of Stockholm. Studying the variations in family structure in relation to different types of land ownership in Oaxaca, Mexico.
- TYLER, MAE E. Sociology. University of California, Los Angeles. Gathering data in Cuzco, Peru, on market women.
- VASQUES DE MIRANDA, GLAURA. Economics. Stanford University. Completing a doctoral dissertation on the "Determinants of Women's Labor Force Participation in Brazil," a macro-view, based on census data, which studies the relationship between education and labor force participation.
- ZAPPERT, LORRAINE TESTA. Organizational Behavior. Cornell University. Writing a doctoral dissertation on family structure and child-rearing practices across distinct socioeconomic groups in Lima, Peru. Interviews with 150 families yielded information on the influence of domestic servants on the children of employers' families.

NOTES

1. Meri Knaster, *Women in Spanish America: An Annotated Bibliography*. Boston: G. K. Hall (expected publication date is late 1976). It covers fifteen major subject categories on women in the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America, from pre-Conquest to contemporary times.
2. See note 1.
3. For facility in handling materials, the cutoff point was set at 1970. Although they do not fall within this time limitation, items 44, 68a, 88, 91b, 149, 214, and 235 are important contributions to the field.
4. Quoted by Richard H. Shoemaker in *Bibliography: Current State and Future Trends*, edited by Robert B. Downs and Frances B. Jenkins (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967), p. 5, from Elliott Coues, "Dr. Coues' Column," *The Osprey* 2 (November 1897): 39.
5. Except for the Pescatello publications, the items listed as recent bibliographic efforts are not repeated in the bibliography at the end of this review.
6. Susan Soeiro, in her review essay on recent work on Latin American women (item 227), notes a bibliography entitled "In Search of the Colonial Woman in Hispanic America: A Survey of the Literature," prepared by Susan Pinckman at the State University of New York, Stonybrook, in 1974.
7. A copy of this bibliography is available through the History Department of the University of California, Los Angeles.
8. Located at General Asensio Cabanillas 9, Madrid 3, Spain. Director, Manuel Fernández.
9. Located at San Juan Letrán 21, Despacho 910, México, D.F.
10. A copy of this bibliography is available through the Consejo's President Berta Q. de Moscote, Apartado 8381, Panamá 7, República de Panamá.
11. Ann C. Hartfiel compiled one such in-house document for the Inter-American Founda-

- tion in Washington, D.C.: A twenty-five-page partially annotated bibliography of recent publications in the social sciences which concern women in Latin America; it draws on the Pescatello LARR article and other sources.
12. For a more extensive listing of women's liberation groups in Latin America, see item 214a.
 13. CIDHAL was formerly known as CIDAD (Coordinación de Iniciativas para el Desarrollo Humano en América Latina). It is located at Río Fuerte 3, Col. Vista Hermosa, Cuernavaca, México. The mailing address is Apartado Postal 42, Suc. "A," Cuernavaca, México.
 14. See note 9 and items 161b and 161c. The address of the group is Apartado Postal 61-192, México, D.F.
 15. The mailing address of *Tacón de la Chancleta* is Apartado 21515, Estación Universidad de Puerto Rico, Río Piedras, P.R. 00931.
 16. Located at Jirón Callao, 573, Lima, Perú. The mailing address is Apartado Postal, 5132, Lima, Perú.
 17. Mary Elmendorf in her AID Memorandum (31 December 1974) cites the existence of a group in Lima called Movimiento Derechos de la Mujer, which is involved in reporting on legal changes for Peruvian women. Like MAS in Mexico, its reactions to legislation appear in local newspapers. In Buenos Aires, there is a group called Movimiento de Liberación Feminista (MLF), coordinated by María Elena Odonel, at Buschiazzo 3040. MLF is publishing a magazine called *Persona*, fashioned along the lines of *Ms*. The editorial office is located at Corrientes 815, Piso 8°. Another group is the Unión Feminista Argentina, for which I have no address. There is also a publishing house called Ediciones Nueva Mujer, whose mailing address is Casilla de Correo 2825, Buenos Aires.
 18. Located at Avenida 16 de julio 1800, Piso 10°, La Paz. The mailing address is Casilla M-44 (Miraflores), La Paz, Bolivia.
 19. Just to name a few: Instituto Indigenista Peruano and Centro de Estudios de Población y Desarrollo (CEPD) in Lima; Corporación Centro Regional de Población, Asociación Colombiana de Facultades de Medicina, División de Estudios de Población (AS-COFAME), and Asociación Colombiana para el Estudio de Población (ACEP) in Bogotá; Centro Nacional de Familia (CENAFAM) and Centro de Investigaciones Sociales (CES) in La Paz; Centro de Estudios Sociales (CES) in Caracas; Centro de Estudios de Población (CENEP) in Buenos Aires; Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía (CELADE) in Santiago; and Instituto Mexicano de Estudios Sociales (IMES) in Mexico City.
 20. The New York coordinator for WOCLA is Eilene Keremitsis, Department of History, Columbia University. The secretary-treasurer is Elinor P. Ramos, 45-51 43 Street, Woodside, New York 11377.
 21. The current chairperson of the LASA Committee on Women in Latin American Studies is Evelyn Stevens, 14609 S. Woodland Road, Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120.
 22. The founding president is Victoria E. Urbano, Lamar University, Beaumont, Texas. The secretary-treasurer is Hope Hamilton-Faria, Department of Spanish, University of Colorado, Boulder.
 23. The first issue was published in spring 1975 at the University of Colorado.
 24. The mailing address is P.O. Box 42007, San Francisco, California 94142.
 25. For example, a "Seminario Sobre Problemas de la Mujer Indígena" was held in Guatemala City, 28 May-3 June 1973, under the auspices of IACW-OAS, with the collaboration of the Instituto Indigenista Nacional de Guatemala. A follow-up seminar, the first conference on problems of Indian and peasant women in Brazil, was held at the Hospital Indígena Caiua in Dourados, Matto Grosso. A "Conferencia Interamericana Especializada sobre Educación Integral de la Mujer" was held in Buenos Aires, 21-25 August 1972. See items 9a, 29a, 75b, 90b, 90c, and 156a.
 26. These conferences are listed because there appears to be greater accessibility to conference papers presented at North American-organized events.

27. Copy of report written by Nash and Safa (19 September 1974), courtesy of Helen Safa.
28. Personal communication from Carmen Diana Deere, a participant in the Cuernavaca research training seminar.
29. See section I for notes on an annotated bibliography on women and development distributed at the seminar.
30. Another vehicle for information on women in Latin America is audiovisual material. The following films are four examples. "Lucia," a 160-minute three-part feature film, dramatizes the changing role and growing participation of women in the Cuban struggle for liberation, during three distinct historical epochs: The Independence movement (1895), the overthrow of dictator Machado (1933), and the Castro revolution (1960s). "Colombia 70" is a five-minute account of a poor woman dying of starvation in Bogotá. "Blood of the Condor" is an eighty-five minute controversial film that depicts sterilization of Quechua Indian women without their prior knowledge or consent by a U.S.-imposed population control program in Bolivia. "The Double Day" is a fifty-six-minute documentary on women's working conditions in Latin America. Slide programs have also been presented.
31. For an excellent critique by June Nash, see item 327. Nora Scott Kinzer reviews social science and popular literature to point out that "several major theoretical assumptions which purport to explain Latin American life are at best inadequate and at worst fallacious" (item 117: 300). She also notes the "fiddling and fudging on theory" by North American social scientists attempting to export their model-building and theory construction to Latin America (item 116: 50).
32. In a good survey of how Latin American women have been portrayed in the historical literature, Louisa Hoberman concludes that although different types appear, they all still fall within the purview of femininity (item 101).
33. Marianne Schmink provides a useful survey of anthropological approaches (item 339).
34. Isabel Largaña and John Dumoulin are credited with this schema (items 120 and 121).
35. See item 210. From her research in Puerto Tejada, Colombia, Rubbo concludes that in the community's transition from peasant to rural proletarian, the position of women has deteriorated in an absolute sense as well as in relation to men. Because men are incorporated into the new mode of agricultural production, women have developed an increasing dependence on male workers.
36. See Boserup (item 22) for one of the first studies to question the development/modernization model for women; however, for a refutation of Boserup's thesis, see Sue Ellen Huntington (item 105). See also Nash (item 327) for a critique of the model. Nash discusses the issue of how the modernization scales (as set up by Inkeles, Smith, and Kahl) that are used to measure male "progress" have inadequately measured female "progress." A study by Gans et al. (item 80) indicates that women fare poorly when compared to men. This is then related to women's conservative attitudes, which are a result of their "feminine nature." Nash notes that modernization studies by Inkeles and Smith (*Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966]) and Kahl (*The Measurement of Modernism: A Study of Values in Brazil and Mexico* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968]) did not even have women in their samples. I would further question the appropriateness of the scale itself for measuring Latin American modernism, for the values attributed to a "modern" individual smack heavily of North American middle-class norms. Comparing men and women and North Americans and Latin Americans on these scales is like comparing IQ scores of black children in the rural South with white middle-class children in New York.
37. Deere argues that additional underrating is perpetrated when traditional forms of labor service among peasant groups (such as servile relations and labor reciprocity) and the composite activities of production (such as food processing) are not classified in agricultural census material because they are not within the capitalist mode of production (item 306).
38. I am grateful to Carmen Diana Deere for extending and explaining to me an outline of

- questions on the role of women in the economy which was elaborated in a workshop at the Cuernavaca seminar.
39. Schmidt's paper on women and politics in Colombia (item 336) was very informative for the organization of questions on politics and education.
 40. It is appropriate to begin the following set of questions with a preliminary query: What is the nature of the family in Latin America and how has it evolved?
 41. Many of the following questions related to women's position in the family were suggested by the Mattelart's pioneering study on the Chilean woman (item 149).
 42. Evelyn Stevens suggests that a phenomenon of female chauvinism called marianismo exists in Latin America and that Latin American women themselves help perpetuate myths surrounding masculinity and femininity because they preserve intact a way of life that provides certain benefits for them. See items 230, 231, 232, and 233. However, does an oppressed group elaborate and support a mechanism to reinforce its own oppression?
 43. Elsa Chaney poses thought-provoking questions related to women and population in her evaluation of central research and action issues with respect to alternative roles for women. She suggests how women can participate in population research, policy making, and the implementation of population programs (item 41).
 44. See Chaney for questions related to population, note 43. See Shapiro for a set of questions that could be utilized for a comparative study of sex roles (item 340: 6-7).
 45. See items 8, 122, 131, 132, 161a, 167, 168a, 170, 180, 189, 199a, 240, 247a, 247b, 247c, 247d. Many others are not included here. See also Asunción Lavrín in the appendix. *Latin American Perspectives* is planning a special issue on "Feminism and the Class Struggle in Latin America" for Winter 1977. Contact Norma Chinchilla, Comparative Culture Program, University of California, Irvine 92646; or Terry Dietz-Fee, Political Science Department, University of California, Riverside 92507.
 46. Using the latest census data available in each of the Latin American countries, except Venezuela, the 1973 *Statistical Yearbook of the UN*, 25th ed. (New York: Department of Social and Economic Affairs, 1974) indicates a majority of women in the population of every country but Panama, Guatemala, Peru, and Cuba.
 47. While many of the items listed in the bibliography are based on social science research, others are reports or personal impressions. They have been included for the information they provide and the attitudes they reflect, rather than strictly for any innovative theories or methodologies. These items do not necessarily offer a feminist or Latin American perspective either. The range of material included in the bibliography is to indicate, at least partially, the diversity of sources available. For better coverage of the Brazilian literature, see the bibliographies of items 19 and 297. Also see the Valdés bibliography on women in Cuba, cited in section I.
 48. Nevertheless, several biographical/autobiographical works have appeared. See items 153, 154, 166a, 205, and 238.
 49. This article does not attempt either to review or to cite the vast corpus of literature on fertility and family planning, despite their importance and relevance to women. A section in the annotated bibliography (see note 1) will include such material. Barry Edmunson (Food Research Institute, Stanford University) is preparing a review of the literature on fertility in Latin America for LARR.
 50. See also items 170, 189, 195, 199a, 247b, 247c. Carol Andreas has written a narrative of her experiences in Chile during 1972-73, at which time she had been collecting material for a book dealing with women's participation in the Chilean revolutionary process (item 8a).
 51. Chaney notes that women in Latin America "now acknowledge that early feminism brought them limited benefits." Acquiring the right to vote did not purify the political process nor automatically incur other legal rights as well as improved educational and occupational opportunities (item 39: 337). Prado suggests that although the right to vote and be elected is a conquest of individual participation in power and politics and is the first civic contact with contemporaries, that right has not meant the modification of

- women's dependent role (item 188). Chaney also notes that "women certainly did not 'win' the right to vote; by and large they were simply handed that right in most Latin American countries by conservative male leaders who saw women as a conservatizing force in the electorate or, at least, believed their vote would prove no threat to the status quo" (item 39: 341). See also item 71a.
52. Note recent Carnegie-Mellon conference, MLA panel, and the organization of the Asociación Literature Femenina Hispánica, in section II. See also items 122 and 179. Recent activities and publications point to a growing attempt to introduce more women writers from Latin America, women who have been obscured not only by the popularity of their male compatriots but also by their few well-known sisters (Sor Juana, Gabriela Mistral, Juana de Ibarbouru, Alfonsina Storni), who, while recognized as creative artists, also served as the token female representatives. Interest is being directed at how women writers portray other women and themselves. A question to be explored: Is the portrayal different from that presented by male writers? See also Lygia Johnson in the appendix.
 53. According to Monsiváis (item 159), the novels of the Mexican Revolution failed to record women's advances in participation. However, it is heartening to note at least two recent publications that present the Revolution through the eyes of women: An autobiographical novel by Elena Poniatowska, *Hasta no verte más Jesús mío*, 13th ed. (México, D.F.: Biblioteca Era, 1974), and a nonfictional account by Luz Jiménez (originally in Nahuatl), *Life and Death in Milpa Alta* (item 112). See also item 349.
 54. See section II for notes on these events.
 55. See item 116 for an incisive and witty diatribe on the ills of academia, especially in the field of sociology.
 56. Section II notes the orientation of several Latin American organizations concerned with women's problems toward an integration of research and practice. A proposal by the Centro de Estudios Sociales in Caracas to investigate the causes and consequences of changes in women's status and their participation in Venezuela's development illustrates the importance placed on the application of research results. As one of its objectives, the proposal states the formulation and development of recommendations for concrete measures to be adopted toward reducing or solving women's problems that are detected in the study. ("La condición de la mujer en Venezuela." Project proposal. April 1974, p.7.) How effective such objectives eventually are is a question for separate discussion, one which would have to deal with the relationship between theoretical research and revolutionary action.
 57. Stevens and Chaney, North American political scientists, consider several other obstacles to a women's liberation movement. According to Chaney, "the image of women's proper role has not undergone any fundamental change"; "traditional ideas on womanly behavior are so decisive"; male/female relations "lack almost any sense of overt competition," as reflected in *caballerosidad* and *coquetería*; and "the most potent barrier remains the pervasive belief that man and woman each has a 'proper sphere' in professions and public service" (item 39: 338–41). The division of labor along sex lines is expressed in what Stevens calls the machismo-marianismo pattern of attitudes and behavior (item 233). Another difference can be noted. While North American feminism favors sexual equalization, Latin Americans still emphasize sexual differentiation. Enrique Dussel believes that the trouble with feminism, especially the North American kind, is its insistence on eliminating distinctions between women and men. He insinuates that the true liberation of women lies in admitting that there are two distinct sexualities, the male and the female (item 63: 41–2).
 58. However, that does not preclude incorporating "in a clear, defined and concrete manner the crucial problems that confront . . . women, especially peasant and petit-bourgeois women, considering their problems separately as a specific social category—'women'" (item 14: 34).
 59. Vania Bambirra believes that "because the revolutionary struggle of the working class in [the United States and Canada] is passing through a long period of contraction . . . there is a proliferation of forms of struggle by different social sectors which question

- the system as a whole, but which start from those questions which affect their interests as special sectors. This is the case not only with women's liberation but also with the Black movement" (item 14: 34).
60. "La movilización de la mujer es posible si es parte integrada de una movilización de toda la población con miras de crear la nueva sociedad" (item 149: 215).
 61. "Women's liberation is that of freeing herself within the global process of liberation. It has real meaning for Latin America. The oligarchic feminism of the upper classes, in general quite liberal, will never have any true significance here [in Latin America] because it is a lifeless feminism" (item 62: 9).
 62. "La mujer quiere liberarse, no al estilo de las feministas norteamericanas o europeas que casi llegan a negar al hombre, sino en cuestiones que para ella son fundamentales. Hasta ahora ha sido víctima de un sistema socioeconómico que tenía también atrapado a su hombre, y de toda una maraña de tabúes culturales que afortunadamente ya van desapareciendo" (item 190a: 49).
 63. See description of Saffioti study in section III.
 64. "Sólo cuando el problema de subsistencia está resuelto y esta angustia queda superada, la mujer comienza a pensar en su propia realización o aún en el mejoramiento de las posibilidades de la realización de la familia. Es en estos casos cuando el trabajo femenino adquiere una función que va más allá del beneficio económico. "Esto plantea entonces una dimensión nueva de libertad y de elevación del status de la mujer que, desgraciadamente, no se puede atribuir a los sectores populares en la mayoría de los casos de trabajo femenino." (item 251: 168).
 65. In their study of the Chilean woman in contemporary society, the Mattelarts used a sample that included four socioeconomic groups in an urban setting and five distinct groups in a rural environment (item 149). In the study of Chilean youth, their sample consisted of young men and women of four different groups: University students, white-collar workers, blue-collar workers, and rural workers (item 148).

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The bibliography is divided into published and unpublished sources; the latter are subdivided into Ph.D. dissertations, M.A. theses, and papers. Bibliographies cited in section I of the article are not repeated here. Some of the material is general, covering several aspects of women's lives in Latin America; some focus on a specific issue. Some items cover more than one country or are cross-cultural studies in which information on Latin America is included. Not included in this bibliography are the most recent ethnographic monographs, except those which are specifically concerned with women or which incorporate a great deal of information on women; the innumerable studies on human sexuality, especially as related to reproduction, fertility, and contraception; and the many studies on marriage and the family. These items will be included in the annotated bibliography (see note 1).

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1974 "Latin American Women and Politics: Feminist Paradigms and Cross-Cultural Research." Symposium on Social and Political Change: The Role of Women. Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. University of California, Santa Barbara.
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1974 "La bahiana en la fuerza de trabajo: Actividad doméstica, producción simple y trabajo asalariado en Salvador, Brasil." Conference on Feminine Perspectives in Social Science Research in Latin America. Buenos Aires.
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1973 "The Development of the Argentine Feminist Movement and Its Role in the 1926 Reform of the Civil Code." Berkshire Conference of Women's History. New Brunswick, N.J.
319. MACÍAS, ANA
1971 "Mexican Women in the Social Revolution." Annual meeting of the American Historical Association. New York.

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1974 "La mujer y la línea de masa de la burguesía: El caso de Chile." Conference on Feminine Perspectives in Social Science Research in Latin America. Buenos Aires.
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1974 "Rape and Seduction in Spanish and Latin American Literature." Annual meeting of the Modern Languages Association. New York.
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1974 "La política y feminismo en la República Dominicana." Conference on Feminine Perspectives in Social Science Research in Latin America. Buenos Aires.
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1971 "The Cult of Virginity and the Double Standard: Latin American Models." Annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association. New York.
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1974 "A Critique of Social Science Models of Contemporary Latin American Reality." Conference on Feminine Perspectives in Social Science Research in Latin America. Buenos Aires.
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1974 "The Quest for Race, Sex, and Ethnic Equality in Puerto Rico." Fifth national meeting of the Latin American Studies Association. San Francisco.

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1975 "Nellie Campobello: Romantic Revolutionary and Mexican Realist." Conference on Women Writers from Latin America. Pittsburgh, Pa.
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1975 "Three Female Playwrights Explore Contemporary Latin American Reality: Myrna Casas, Griselda Gambaro, Luisa Josefina Hernández." Conference on Women Writers from Latin America. Pittsburgh, Pa.

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