ewed collectively argue for finding methods to combine these last e approaches: for policy combinations rather than for the one en- tened path.

In terms of existing research, these studies add a great deal of rmation (particularly valuable in the Krueger volume on trade and ployment, but on all these other issues as well). Research into how ntries might combine concern for basic needs with industrialization ough export promotion, without stepping on the weak in the process, ght be the most rewarding general direction to explore right now. re specific research suggestions abound in the volume edited by ench-Davis and Tironi. In that volume, economics at its best coincides h humane concerns and with deep awareness of Latin American lity. Is that because the Anglo-Saxon component is so exceptionally minated by Latin American scholars? Or is it more because they are olars with exceptionally open minds?

RECENT STUDIES ON WOMEN IN LATIN AMERICA

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RURAL WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN DEVELOPMENT. United Nations Development Program. (New York: UN Development Program, 1980. Pp. 226.)

PAPERS IN LATIN AMERICAN GEOGRAPHY IN HONOR OF LUCIA C. HARRISON. Edited by OSCAR H. HORST. Special Publications of Latin Americanist Geographers no. 1. (Muncie, Indiana: Conference of Latin American Geographers, 1981. Pp. 92.)

MUJER Y CAPITALISMO AGRARIO: ESTUDIO DE CUATRO REGIONES COLOMBIANAS. By MAGDALENA LEÓN DE LEAL, CARMEN DIANA DEERE, ET AL. (Bogotá: Asociación Colombiana para el Estudio de la Población, 1980. Pp. 295.)

WOMEN OF THE ANDES: PATRIARCHY AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN TWO PERUVIAN TOWNS. By SUSAN C. BOURQUE and KAY BARBARA WARREN. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981. Pp. 226. $9.95 paperback.)

LATIN AMERICAN WOMAN: THE MEEK SPEAK OUT. Edited by JUNE H. TURNER. (Silver Spring, Md.: International Educational Development, Inc., 1980. Pp. 174. $6.95.)

WOMEN AND THE CUBAN REVOLUTION: SPEECHES AND DOCUMENTS BY FIDEL CASTRO AND VILMA ESPÍN. Edited by ELIZABETH STONE. (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1981. Pp. 156. $15.00 hardcover, $3.95 paperback.)

WOMEN IN CUBA: TWENTY YEARS LATER. By MARGARET RANDALL. (New York: Smyrna Press, 1981. Pp. 165. $15.95 hardcover, $6.95 paperback.)

The field of Latin American women's studies continues to develop at a steady pace. While its growth has not been as vigorous as that of women's studies in other areas, it has already gained enough momentum to ensure a fruitful ongoing examination of the past and present roles of

en in Latin societies.[1] No individual discipline has yet produced gh literature to offer a satisfactory amount of data for the whole nent. Instead, a mosaic of studies on different topics at national and national levels has emerged. Although comparative studies are still e,[2] the more specialized studies are serving as building blocks to researchers to probe into new fields of inquiry, to challenge long- assumptions, to establish patterns of behavior, and to help define interpretations that will achieve a permanent place for the study of en in Latin American societies in academic circles.

The volumes under review are accurate indicators of prevailing ral trends in the humanities and the social sciences. Most of the ture is produced by women and focuses on twentieth-century de- mental studies that often, although not always, assume a Marxist tical framework. The ascendancy of the social sciences is not sur- g in view of the prevailing interest in determining what is relevant cial change. Given the predominance of studies on the current , the development and exploration of historical themes seems to be y desirable, but realistically, such undertakings will take several years to mature. These trends suggest that the field of Latin Ameri- omen's studies needs to continue to be carried out with an interdis- ary approach that will allow it to make use of the academic re- es now available.

The impact of development on the rural scene is the predominant e in four of the works under review. *Rural Women's Participation in pment*, published by the United Nations, offers an evaluation of n's participation in development projects worldwide in the areas of employment, health, and education. The report acknowledges the nce of two levels of discrimination affecting women: one due to class or social ranking, and the other due to their disadvantaged on vis-à-vis men in public and private life. The unsurprising con- ns are that women are left behind in all aspects of development se of this double discrimination as well as entrenched attitudes the roles of men and women in society. Development programs been ineffectual in raising rural women's standards of living and ate of participation in such programs. The information on Latin can women supplied by this report does not go beyond the general llected by national agencies in the 1970s. Specific data on Haiti, untry selected for a national profile, is an able synthesis of works ned in the last twenty years in the fields of anthropology and nics by such scholars as Sidney Mintz, John Gardner Murray, and undahl.

Three of the papers published in honor of Lucia Harrison by phers of Latin America deal with rural women in farming and ion. Studies focusing on Mexico and Puerto Rico suggest that migration is so much a part of the female experience that studies that do not consider gender as an essential factor in migration are based on what is termed a "curious selection process." For poor rural families in a Mexican village, the migration of daughters to cities is a safety valve that relieves economic pressure on the family. In Puerto Rico, the picture is more complex, but the data suggest that fewer women than men migrate to the United States, moving instead to areas on the island where industrial centers have developed that utilize largely female labor. Female-managed small-scale farms in the English-speaking Caribbean, a third study concludes, stand out by their "marginality in terms of capital, land and labor resources and largely reflect the economic insecurity of the matrifocal household" (Janet D. Henshall, p. 55). Although these are microstudies of specific areas, they successfully stress the need to examine the economic and social pressures on women in underdeveloped societies, pressures that are as much due to gender as to underdevelopment.

Mujer y capitalismo agrario is a sociological study of peasant female labor in four regions of central and northern Colombia that was carried out by six women researchers. The monographs attempt to assess the position of rural women within the process of transition from traditional agriculture to "capitalist agriculture." The latter is defined as the result of national industrialization, which in turn required large-scale production of certain raw materials. The traditional haciendas, it is posited, were transformed into capitalistic enterprises serving the needs of specific industries. This transformation affected the rural families, who lost access to the means of production and have been reduced generally to centers of labor reproduction. Within this general framework, women are seen as having been adversely affected by their relegation to a sexually specific division of work. The authors also acknowledge the influence of negative social values associated with female work and the continued subordination to men.

Most of the essays attempt a "historical" analysis of both labor patterns in the regions studied and the labor of women. They are more successful in the first objective than in the second, thanks to the existence of a few economic history studies on which they heavily rely. On the other hand, the lack of sound historical research on women's labor in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries obliges the writers to resort often to inferential assumptions premised by such phrases as "it seems that," "apparently," or "it may be assumed that." The essays stand on firmer ground when they refer to the last twenty or thirty years of history, for which there is more documentation, and to present conditions substantiated by extensive field research. The results of these inquiries supply important data on the relationship of rural women and their families and the process of agricultural industrialization in Colombia. Levels of fe-

ale participation in the labor force vary according to geographical areas
d crops. The level of poverty among families influences the degree of
nale participation in the labor force, its influence therefore diminish-
g as family income increases. The conclusion applicable to all areas is
at women have historically formed a "reserve" labor supply that has
en influenced positively or adversely by factors such as male labor
ailability, salary levels, demand for intensive labor, and family income.
example, in some coffee-producing areas such as Fredonia, female
rk crews have disappeared as equal salary policies have been en-
ced. This correlation is also seen in other areas, such as Santander. In
cattle-raising area of Sincelejo, women's labor has been limited to
nestic labor within the home; however, many women migrate to ur-
areas such as Barranquilla, where local industries or salaried em-
yment as domestics attract rural migrants. The recently developed
on industries and agricultural employment, such as rice cultivation
ng the Magdalena river, attract little female participation.

One important conclusion that tallies with the results of studies in
er Latin American countries is that female work is underestimated
underappreciated. The Colombian census definition of women
kers as only those who produce merchandise is partly responsible for
atistical, but unreal, decline in female rural work. This underevalua-
was highlighted by a study of the areas of Espinal and Enciso.
ough 45 to 50 percent of rural women there are engaged in agricul-
tasks such as the collection and packing of agricultural products,
nilking and feeding of animals, and the processing and sale of food,
1963 national census stated that only 19 percent of women were
nomically active," and among those, only 4 percent were economi-
active in the agricultural areas under study. The essays in this
ction offer varying degrees of significant information on women in
ural work force and the role of the peasant family in agricultural
uction. The general reader occasionally will have to endure a heavy
ge of economic data and concepts to reach the information on
en, inside and outside the family unit, but the effort will be worth-
.

Women of the Andes is a long, scholarly work on rural women in the
an region of the Department of Lima that explores in depth the
le of this sector of the population. For over a decade, anthropolo-
Susan Bourque and Kay Warren studied the women and communi-
f Mayobamba, an agricultural village, and Chinchín, a commercial
. Assuming the existence of a deeply rooted sexual hierarchy in
an society, the team sought to answer questions about female sub-
ation, the effects of sexual division of work on sex equality, the
nce of class and ethnicity on the female experience, and the effects

of urbanization and development on women's status. The concept of sexual subordination is central to the study, which defines a sexual subordinate as "one that is deemed to be inferior, devalued, second-class, dependent, dominated, exploited" (p. 47). Sexual parity is defined as a situation in which "women's status is independent, autonomous and given equal value to men's status." Subordination means disadvantage in community decision-making, which obliges women to seek influence through strategies aimed at limiting or redirecting the power of those above them.

In adopting a methodology for the study of Andean women, the authors rejected some of the previously accepted analytical frameworks, such as the concept of separate spheres of influence and the sex- and class-related theories that emphasize either the commonality of experience derived from gender or the unbridgeable differences created by class. Instead, the authors chose to accept the idea that sexual hierarchy is a product of culturally created social ideologies and the material conditions of women's and men's lives. "Patterns of labor force specialization also have an ideological dimension, in that they are perpetuated and legitimized by social ideologies of exclusion, segregation, and avoidances" (p. 77). As a result, subordination of women to men persists over and above class, ethnic, and social distinctions.

To test their theoretical approach, the researchers studied closely male and female perceptions of childbirth, marriage, and family linkages, and they extended their research into the patterns of women's participation in the agrarian and commercial economy of the two communities and their political activities. Differences showing greater flexibility in viewing women's role and status in the urban community than in the rural one were found to be differences more of degree than of substance. On the whole, the persistence of traditional structures and attitudes was negative for women. For example, the *comunero* system of allocating personal and familial duties is negative for women because their rights to political participation do not match their economic obligations. In the rural community, "men tended to view their dominance as both natural and extensive" (p. 165). In the urban community, women demonstrated a greater degree of participation in local political activities, but projects favoring them usually finished last on the town's agenda. How does this situation affect the process of development? The government has been unable to change the institutional and cultural underpinnings of society in its development projects. The agrarian reform law of 1969 ignored the role of women in agriculture by granting titles to male heads of households. Nor has the educational level of women changed significantly. Persistent images of women as suffering, self-sacrificing mothers do little to improve their self-esteem. Despite the dynamic role

women play in both the agricultural and trading communities, they unable to comprehend, let alone overcome, the entrenched male rol of key institutional structures.

The wealth of information derived from direct and prolonged ob- ation and the choice of an eclectic, but circumstantially sensitive, hodology make *Women of the Andes* the most interesting of the works er review. The assumption that cultural, economic, and class factors fundamental to the analysis of women's status and role in society ows this study with an interpretive flexibility that surpasses strict erence to a formal model and brings scholarly interpretation closer to complexities of social reality.

Seeking the experience of women themselves, but along a differ- ath, is *Latin American Women: The Meek Speak Out*. Editor June Turner viewed thirteen women in eight countries in Central America and Andean region for the purpose of identifying the problems besetting en of various social, economic, and cultural backgrounds, and their onses to these problems. The title of the book is somewhat misleading because the interviewees were women engaged in social work with ant and working women, on whose behalf they spoke. Truly direct munication with "the meek" is therefore missing. Yet their message t necessarily diluted or misinterpreted by the intermediaries. In one this work has the merit not only of supplying information on poor en but of showing how some educated women have set aside their advantages to address the problems of women who have had none.

Certain common threads unite the stories of the women portrayed ese vignettes: the lack of formal education, low personal and social m, subordination to male authority or that of employers, ignorance t health, nutrition, and family care, and so on. While not claiming to scientific" samplings of large segments of the population, these sto- validity derives from their emergence from grass-roots projects, and would disagree that they are reliable indicators of the situation of segments of the female population of Latin America today. In its monial character, this work exerts a strong emotional appeal for the er and succeeds in fleshing out situations that are more dryly de- ed in academic studies.

The manner in which the Cuban Revolution has affected the sta- nd role of women in society remains an important theme in the nt literature on women's studies. *Women and the Cuban Revolution* is a selection of documents representing the ideological positions by the main revolutionary leaders on the issue of the role of en in society, as well as the policies that they have adopted to ge that role in the course of the last twenty-five years. As a docu- ary source, this one is too short to portray completely the dimen- of the changes in the lives of Cuban women. Moreover, the selections represent official postures and statements, providing the reader with a view from the top, but not with the reaction of Cuban men and women. Despite these caveats, this work enables its reader to appreciate the different approaches of leaders such as Vilma Espín and Fidel Castro to the task of incorporating women into the revolution. Espín emerges as a master propagandist, well suited to head the Cuban Federation of Women. Castro is a pragmatic leader who confesses such "sins" as an initial lack of confidence in women on the part of the leadership. Important insights into policies, failures in their design, and the redefinition of goals emerge from these documents, which should be carefully appraised by those interested in a global study of feminism and women's issues in the Third World.

The incorporation of women into the salaried labor force is generally regarded as one prime sign of "liberation." Women remaining at home and isolated from major social changes are regarded as obstacles in the process of social transformation and are encouraged by social pressures to join the labor market. Support services, such as child care centers, have been furnished in Cuba to help women to engage in socially useful tasks; however, the importance of the subjective factors of change is not underestimated. Because attitudes about female equality were difficult to change, a family code was issued in 1975 in the hope of changing male-female relationships in the family and the community. Legislation and significant practical changes notwithstanding, traditional attitudes persist in certain areas. As of 1980, Cuban women's participation in politics left much to be desired and remained a goal to be achieved. Noteworthy for students of women's movements is the Cuban government's interest in protecting maternity, the demand that mothers be respected, the provisions for infant care, and the unsuccessful attempts to restrict some jobs to men in order to protect women's health. These measures speak of efforts to reconcile the new state guidelines with long-established values.

The documentary selection discussed above has a narrative counterpart in Margaret Randall's report on twenty years of Cuban revolutionary policies affecting women. Illustrated with numerous photographs, this book brings together the lectures given by the author while on a tour of the United States in 1978, supplemented by a short documentary appendix. The tone is optimistic throughout, like the smiling faces of the posters and photographs. The ideological assumption is that capitalism creates women's oppression and that socialism offers a solution to this situation. Socialism, however, does not automatically end sexual discrimination, and the author acknowledges that sexism in the realm of ideas and attitudes remains a tough obstacle to overcome. She discusses in her first chapter the struggle against sexism, while subsequent chapters focus on the practical benefits derived from revolutionary

anges in terms of health, welfare services, new opportunities in educa-
n, the activities of the Cuban Federation of Women, and so on. In
neral, this work is an uncritical description of the many activities un-
rtaken by the government to change and enhance women's role in
ıba. Nothing but progress and success is portrayed. Undoubtedly, the
lease of the potential energies and capabilities of women has been one
the most challenging initiatives and accomplishments of the Cuban
volution. But such massive mobilization demands careful assessment
ther than self-serving, laudatory descriptions. After almost twenty
ars of experience, the time for balanced introspection has arrived, and
nore systematic analysis of the many issues raised by the revolution is
order. For example, a serious study is needed of the conflicting priori-
s presented to women as members of the family and also as members
the revolutionary process while social class and female status were
ing redefined, as well as a study of the economic effects of the in-
eased use of women as productive resources. A comparative study
tween the evolution of women in Soviet and Cuban societies would be
lightening. Similarly, a comparison between Cuban and Nicaraguan
omen could help in understanding the different degrees of response
d participation of women in revolutionary processes.

Lacking a historical perspective, most of these studies cannot
ace some of the issues raised within the larger social, economic, or
ltural processes that have shaped the development of the countries
nder study. Rural-urban migration and female subordination, to cite
o topics, have been part and parcel of women's lives in Latin America
r centuries. The acceleration of some processes such as migration, the
orsening of female participation in specialized areas of the labor mar-
t, the limited participation of women in political activities, and other
levant issues will be better understood when more historical data is
earthed in response to the new questions raised by social scientists.

In her recent review of the research carried out on Latin American
omen, Marysa Navarro commented on the predominance of certain
emes and the absence of others.[3] The concern shown for certain topics
ch as women in the labor force and the coexistence of capitalist and
oncapitalist modes of production in the women's sphere (which ac-
unts for the underevaluation of female work) is also reflected in the
oks under review here. Still missing are studies of upper- and middle-
ss women, female organizations of all kinds, and the analysis of sex
les. Several other potential subjects in dire need of study include the
anging status of women (preceded by a discussion of what has been
d what is their status in Latin American societies); legal studies to
fine female status within the family and in society at large; life-cycle
udies to stress the evolution of activities and the changing roles of
omen throughout their lives; the profound influence of religious beliefs

on women and the position of the church on female-related issues; the conflicts created by contradictory sociocultural values as societies strive for modernization and development and women try to fit into new roles; state policies of governments of Latin America on women, as expressed in the allocation of budgetary resources or official legislation on education, welfare, or urban and rural development; the subjective perception of their own status among women of different cultural, economic, and ethnic backgrounds. These are only a few of the themes that remain on the agenda and that could be approached both from a historian's and a social scientist's point of view in order to yield a richer and more balanced knowledge of women in Latin American societies.

NOTES

1. For a recent survey of works on Latin American women by social scientists, see Marysa Navarro, "Research on Latin American Women," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5, no. 1 (1979): 111–20.
2. For a sample of the new literature on women, see the following titles: Anna Macías, *Against All Odds: The Feminist Movement in Mexico to 1940* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982); Margaret Randall, *Todas estamos despiertas: testimonios de la mujer nicaragüense de hoy* (Mexico: Siglo XXI Editores, 1981); Robert E. Biles, "Women and Political Participation in Latin America: Urban Uruguay and Colombia," paper delivered at the Tenth Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington, D.C., 1982; also "Gender and Political Participation in Bogotá, Colombia," *Texas Journal of Political Studies* 3 (Fall): 43–56; John Tutino, "Power, Class and Family: Men and Women in the Mexican Elite, 1750–1800," *The Americas* 39, no. 3 (January 1983): 359–81; Elizabeth Kusnesof, "The Role of the Female-Headed Household in Brazilian Modernization: São Paulo 1765 to 1836," *Journal of Social History* (Summer 1980): 589–613. The Centro de Documentación del Instituto de Estudios Sociales in Montevideo, Uruguay, published in 1982 several of the studies on women written by members of GRECMU (Grupo de Estudios sobre la Condición de la Mujer en el Uruguay). GRECMU was organized in 1979 and has a team of researchers studying women in Uruguay; it is one of the few centers in South America to carry out that kind of work. The titles of the works published in the last number of the GRECMU's magazine are: Suzana Prates, "Trabajo de la mujer en una época de crisis o cuando se pierde ganando"; Nea Filgueira, "De las diferencias biológicas a las desigualdades sociales: una ideología para la construcción del 'ideal' femenino"; Juan Carlos Fortuna, "Ideología doméstica y subordinación de la mujer"; Silvia Rodríguez Villamil, "La participación femenina en el mercado de trabajo uruguayo: 1880–1914"; Graciela Sapriza, "La imagen de la mujer y sus variantes: 1880–1910"; and Nelly Niedworok, "La mujer rural: familia y trabajo en el Uruguay."
3. Navarro, "Research on Latin American Women."