



Joint INSTRAW/UNFPA Training Seminar
on Women, Population and Development
(Santo Domingo, May 22-26 1989)

POPULATION PROGRAMMES AND DEVELOPMENT
(POLICIES IN CENTRAL AMERICA)

1989 I
POP-LAC

UNITED NATIONS <small>INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING INSTITUTE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN</small>  INSTRAW	WOMEN, POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT Population Programmes & Development (Policies in Central America)	UNITED NATIONS <small>FUND FOR POPULATION ACTIVITIES</small>  UNFPA
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Areas Prioritarias y Acciones Estrategicas

Con el propósito de superar las desigualdades que afectan la situación social de la mujer, las principales acciones del Programa se incluyen en las siguientes áreas:

1. PARTICIPACION DE LA MUJER EN EL PROCESO SOCIOECONOMICO DEL PAIS

El énfasis se coloca en las acciones que permitan diseñar y operar mecanismos de vigilancia para el cumplimiento de la legislación laboral en aquellos aspectos que afectan a la mujer. La inclusión en los sistemas estadísticos de un conjunto de categorías variables e indicadores que reflejen realmente la participación de la mujer en la fuerza de trabajo, se considera fundamental para esclarecer la situación de la mujer en materia de empleo y salario, así como la realización de programas que incrementen los servicios que el Estado y las instituciones privadas brindan a la mujer trabajadora.



A la vez, proporcionará los lineamientos básicos para la reformatión de programas de tipo productivo, orientados a facilitar el acceso de la mujer y la familia a formas de producción rentables.

2. EDUCACION

Colocará especial énfasis en la revisión de los curriculums de educación formal y no formal, para conceder a la mujer oportunidades de capacitación acordes con las necesidades productivas del país. Desarrollará acciones que promuevan un cambio de actitudes de la población hacia la mujer, para lo cual se considera fundamental la labor que se realice en las escuelas y a través de los medios indirectos.

3. FORTALECIMIENTO DEL PROGRAMA

Esta área apoyará la coordinación entre aquellas instituciones que realizan programas dirigidos a la mujer, con el fin de unificar criterios en su orientación filosófica y de lograr un mayor aprovechamiento de los recursos. Proporcionará a las instituciones y grupos de mujeres interesados, la información necesaria para la planificación y desarrollo de las actividades orientadas hacia la mujer y la familia.

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III PROGRAMA NACIONAL DE POBLACION

El Programa Nacional de Población fue elaborado en octubre de 1987 por la Secretaría Técnica de Población. En el se hace un breve diagnóstico de la situación sociodemográfica en Costa Rica, resume los principios y directrices políticas y las áreas prioritarias de ejecución así como la estructura administrativa existente para atender los problemas y ejecutar los programas de Población.

Finalmente, presenta un resumen de los proyectos, sometidos a consideración del Fondo para su financiamiento los cuales responden a las Áreas Prioritarias de ejecución establecidos por el programa.

From: UNFPA: Aspectos Generales sobre la Mujer en Costa Rica, PND 1986-1990, Programa de Población. November 1988, pp 8-10.

It's not as Simple as You Think

Beyond slogans and projects, women are fighting for their own space in societies around the world. To do this they must struggle with their interpersonal relationships, and develop effective social and political networks. They do this largely on their own. In both Brazil and Costa Rica, which have been held up as development models over the past quarter century, women's struggles help make the case that is not as simple as many would like to think.

By John Richardson

With high economic growth rates in the early 1970s, Brazil challenged widespread pessimism that developing economies could not display the same capacity for growth that industrialized economies had. Costa Rica, in Central America, has been praised for its democratic political system and the surprisingly peaceful history it has had in a region of the world noted of late for excessive violence.

Now, much of the promise in both countries has soured. Brazil has the largest debt of any developing nation -100 billion dollars -and inflation is running as high as 230 per cent. "There was no miracle", says one prominent Brazilian business woman. "We just had a stable economy for a while."

In Costa Rica, governments are still brought to power through a rather peaceful and uncorrupted process of vote, but there is growing fear that as economic difficulties mount and civil wars in Central America continue, the country will succumb by degree to the same problems their neighbours have so much difficulty solving. Some already see signs of regression.

But when women are considered, many claims of economic and social progress seem particularly difficult to support and make Brazil and Costa Rica no different from most other countries in the world. In both countries, close to half -and perhaps more of the population -are women. The majority of them are poor and powerless.

In Brazil, women's wages are 40 to 60 per cent those of men. Following the dictates of tradition, women occupy many of the socially most important but financially least remunerative positions -such as teachers, nurses, mothers, and social workers. They also occupy some of the dreariest -such as secretaries and domestic workers. They are the majority of minimum wage earners in a society where large numbers of them do not have a paying job at all.

But because families are breaking up under economic pressure and more and more women are left alone with children to raise, they are also the ones with the greatest responsibilities for shaping the character of future generations. Their limited education, high rates of illiteracy, relative

inexperience in the job market, and general confinement to the routines of the home make the job exceedingly difficult for many of them.

In Costa Rica, the pattern repeats itself. Even in the socially more progressive organizations -the workers' unions that have been allowed to grow under democracy - women have not had much voice and it was not until very recently that the first woman joined the top leadership. While they have the vote, most of the country's women do not believe it necessarily gives them the political power they need to make dramatic changes in their lives. There is no guarantee that the people they vote for -the overwhelming majority of whom are men -will necessarily represent their interests, or even know how to. Without money, many say, political power is impossible -even in a supposedly democratic system.

Part of the problem can be attributed to the shortcomings of the programmes designed to address the problem. The majority of development programmes over the years have been designed and directed by men -who more often than not have either discounted the importance of women's needs or never even thought of them to begin with. The old boys club that has run the development business, has displayed a general "lack of familiarity in dealing with women", according to Bob Berg, a former project evaluator with USAID. A "fear of doing things differently" has led to credibility problems. How can you have credibility, he asks, when you have token women sections in otherwise male dominated organizations? "Often it has taken a woman on the evaluation committee", he adds, "to raise the proper questions at all".

But the problem is also "buried in cultural behaviour", in the words of one Costa Rican health official. Both men and women, he says, "act without serious understanding of the problem. It's something very deep, and a lot more serious than we often think".

It was phrased somewhat differently by a Brazilian woman. "Brazil", she added after a lengthy assessment of the status of women in her country, "is still a very machismo society."

International Women's Year in 1975 introduced the issues, but the work is just beginning

In both Brazil and Costa Rica, many women leaders cite the International Women's Year of 1975 as the first time that the social and economic problems of women were sufficiently recognized to provoke constructive action. At the time, though, women were even more hampered than they are now by a lack of training and education. And they had little experience in organizing themselves.

The majority of the world's women, like those in the slums of Rio de Janeiro or on the co-operatives established in the past decade by former labourers on Costa Rica's fruit plantations, have learnt by force of circumstance -which, in many cases, is the hard way. Through community

projects and discussions about community life, many women are beginning to see their own problems -of poverty, marriage, economy -as representative of poor women everywhere. They are beginning to understand that their problems are not necessarily their own fault, but reflections of greater social shortcomings that they themselves can help correct.

A UNICEF supported study conducted among a group of households in Rocinha, Rio de Janeiro's slum of some 80,000 people, reveals that more than half of the women surveyed do not work outside their homes for money. Close to three quarters of those who do list their occupation as domestic worker. Among the reasons for not working outside their homes, 65 per cent gave the need to stay at home to watch over the children. Of the women who do have jobs, some 20 per cent report leaving children under 12-years-old at home with no adult to take care of them. More than half of the first born children were to mothers under 20 years of age. And, of the women surveyed between 17 and 50-year-old, nearly half had not completed primary school.

As result of the survey's house-to-house visits, many of the women were obliged to think about problems of sexuality, child care, education, and their own health that they had not considered previously. A number of them are now involved in discussion groups, where they learn more about the problems of other women like themselves who live in the community. "They have come to know about their bodies, their children, in fact about the whole woman", says Maria-Helena da Silva, head of the local neighbourhood organization.

The reality behind these statistics, though, is quite harsh, and helps put such efforts into perspective. Eliza Pirozzi, a community leader in Rocinha, counts close to ten different family situations that occur in slum life (see box) that often make the best intentioned efforts to improve upon them appear to be running against the current. They also form a solid case for the need to educate women and provide them with the tools needed to prevent further deterioration of family and community life -such as knowledge of home health care techniques and local schools to which they can send their children.

Some of the women involved in the UNICEF supported survey have begun to assert more control over their lives. They work as health workers, teaching other women how to use oral rehydration to combat diarrhoeal diseases among infants, and spend one day a week working at the local clinic. Others are involved in starting a community school. "We are no longer asking for favours", says Maria-Helena da Silva, "we are asking for our rights".

Many of the problems women need to overcome have their origins in their relationships with other members of their communities

The Coopesierra Cantilla in Costa Rica is a 900 hectare co-operative. Its members are 150 former labourers from a fruit plantation about 200 kilometres south of San Jose, the nation's capital. In the early 1970s, the men lost their jobs on the fruit plantation. Many were jailed when they and their families occupied land that belonged to the fruit company. Later, an arrangement was worked out with the governments and the fruit company which allowed them to own the land.

Women earned the respect of many of the men for their support while the men were either unemployed or in jail. When it came to their struggles with the authorities, it was the women who often displayed the greatest strength. "Women are more courageous than men when it comes to facing police during a strike", says the male manager of the co-operative. Other men agree.

But when it came to the economic life of the community, men weren't so sure. Early projects that involved women were financial failures, largely because women had neither the skills nor the experience to make them successful. When further suggestions for women's projects came up, many of the men told them to stick to housework. They were afraid of losing money through the inexperience of women, says the manager.

Now, though, rising inflation and restricted markets have made many of the men realize that the survival of the co-operative may well depend on involving the women as producers too. When the younger women started leaving the co-operative because there was no work for them, the men got worried and decided they had better find something for them to do to keep them there.

But the problem of getting women involved still exists. One woman, Yolanda Duran, holds both men and women responsible for resistance to change. Before the recent involvement of FECOPA, an association of co-operatives supported in part by UNICEF that encourages members to deal with their problems through discussion and self-critique, she really wasn't aware that the women in her community had problems. Now she is.

The men, she says, have not tried to understand the women's problems. They have kept them from working in the fields, claiming it is too difficult, but have done little to provide any alternatives to isolation in the home.

The family breakdown in Rio slums

In many urban slums, the family is in trouble. The best community programmes are designed to restore coherence and productivity to family life. Here are the impressions of one community leader in Rocinha, whose descriptions of different family situations provide a good sense of what some of the real challenges are:

1. *The mother is a prostitute without a husband. Her child is locked at home or is a streetchild.*
2. *The mother has no husband. Her child is kept in the house and eats off the floor.*
3. *The mother's husband is unemployed. She works and he cares for the kids.*
4. *Both parents (or just the husband) drink too much and the children are in the street.*
5. *The parents have enough money don't care about their children.*
6. *The parents do nothing but criticize and expect others in the community to do things for them.*
7. *The mother is old and alone. She lives with no children, no money, and drinks all day. She has no involvement or perspective.*
8. *Both parents work and can afford to buy rice and beans for their children.*
9. *Only the husband works. The wife is a good mother who is worried about social problems. But reality prevails and her children end up delinquent anyway.*
10. *The family is wealthy but the child is rejected by the community because he's rich.*
11. *The husband works and is involved in community affairs. She is a good mother to her children and to other children.*

It is not just the men, though. Women don't make a sufficient effort either to let the men know what they are thinking. When FECOPA first came to their community, she says, the women should have discussed the need for more projects -like vegetable gardens -to provide the kinds of

jobs that might have prevented the young women from leaving. They didn't. If they had, and they had fought for their own needs, this situation might have been prevented. There's a group of women who never come to meetings at all. It was, she says, largely the women's fault. But through the examples of a few, like herself, she thinks things will change -slowly.

A significant part of the problem is that women are simply timid, according to Margarita Lazara, who lives in the Indian community of Boruka high in the hills south of San Jose. "They've spent all their lives at home and haven't spoken to any outsiders".



Margarita is a member of a committee of female artisans learning to make traditional Indian clothes and household items that are in danger of disappearing as the community depends more and more on manufactured goods. While the committee exists to train women -a job done by the only woman in the community who still possesses the skill -it is the men who run it.

"Perhaps", she says, "the men think we are not capable, but the reality is that there are many of us who are just as intelligent. There are very few women who go to meetings because they're afraid to, but there are women who can do the work".

The president of the committee is her father. He thinks that men run the committee because women don't want to be involved, but says he thinks women should be more involved because their ideas often are better. But "most men are afraid the women will pass them, be more capable and intelligent, and then they'll lose their wives", he says.

Some women, though, like Luisa Ovarex, one of the original members of the Coopevaquita co-operative near the Panama border, are not timid. The co-operative grew out of violent struggle in the early 1970s, when workers on fruit plantations in the area lost their jobs and tried to settle on company land. They were jailed, beaten, shot at, and the land was burned. Enough of them hung on, though, and with the support of the banana workers union in the mid-70s, they earned the right to own the land, which they started paying for by any means they could. Problems continued. They knew nothing about bank credit, and accumulated debts. They were swindled by people who sold them expensive but useless farming machinery. Even though the land they had cultivated began to yield enough food to live on, they had no water supply for the community and children were in bad health. Education for the children was a problem.

The co-operative itself was formed largely out of necessity, as a way of sharing meager resources and acting in solidarity. Men allowed women to work largely because the need for everyone's contribution was so great. Luisa was a pioneer, convincing a group of women to start raising pigs and using the funds for communal needs.

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Because of Luisa's influence, FECOPA's recent involvement, and because the severity of circumstance gave them little choice, women in the co-operative are becoming more and more involved in community problems. They are learning about child health and nutrition, and about the need for safe water and better schooling for their children. Had they know about these things earlier, Luisa says, they might have been able to do something about the food shortages that prevailed during most of the 1970s.



But like most other co-operatives in Costa Rica -which by no means incorporates the majority of the country's poor, many of whom have much less social organization to support them -Coopevaquita continues to have problems. There may never be enough money to allow them to do what they would like. They are learning, and things are much better now than they were even five years ago, but the struggle is still very hard. "All of the co-operatives have problems", says a co-operative manager "because they are co-operatives of poor peasants".

What is important about the co-operatives -particularly for women -is that they give poor peasants a chance to exert some control over their lives, to make some decisions about their fate consistent with their needs and lifestyles. As one woman at a sewing co-operative in San Jose said, "the most important thing about the co-operative is that we are owners, we run it, and it gives us more confidence in ourselves. We don't have a boss. This is very important, because when we worked at the factory we couldn't get permission to see our children or take them to the hospital. Now we have more unity. We have met some objectives in life. We have goals and a sense of how to prepare for them."

"Neither is a man greater than a woman, nor a woman greater than a man. But it is also not true the two are equal in everything. The reality is greater and more beautiful: the woman has qualities specifically feminine which when added to the qualities which are specifically masculine, allows the achievement of results which are greater, more expressive, and richer than any which could be reached if either of the two sexes were working separately".

Archbishop Dom Helder Camara
Recife, Brazil

Yet some of these women talk despairingly about their chances of securing greater influence in the larger society. At another sewing co-operative, just north of San Jose, women agree that they have much greater personal freedom than before. But they point out that many are working there

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because their husbands simply gave in to hard economic times and need whatever money their wives can bring in. As to their chances of ever having the kind of political influence needed to change laws or secure greater economic equality with men, they are skeptical. "There is simply too much machismo", one of them said. "Politics are run by men, and women are put in isolated positions".

The challenge for women, then, is to overcome positions of isolation -as housewives isolated from community affairs, as workers without economic power, as constituents without sufficient representation -and build networks which give them access to the people and resources needed to improve their lives. Co-operatives in Costa Rica represent one possibility, while taking responsibility for child health care and education in Rocinha is another. But ultimately these efforts need to be helped along and built upon by other women if genuine social change is to come.

Connections between poor women and those in power are a key to significant change

In Brazil, early efforts to promote women's issues often resulted in more talk than action, according to one feminist. Many women were political exiles in Europe during the 1970s because of Brazil's oppressive military government. There they began to organize around the issues identified by various women's movements in European countries. When they returned to the country after an amnesty in 1979, many of them went to work in their communities or in various governments agencies to see if they could help their own society recognize and respond to the needs of women. Today a number of them work with established agencies -like governments welfare departments, the church, and international organizations like UNICEF -which help support efforts among the poor to raise consciousness and deliver tangible necessities like jobs, education, and improved health care.

As Brazil's military government gives way to civilian rule, attempt to use the system for social change will be easier. "Now we have a role in policy formation", says Eva Bley, President of the State Council for women's Affairs in Sao Paulo. "Many of us decided consciously to go into politics, and the result was the creation of a council at the state level to deal with women's issues. We can use the existing structure and provoke action from the inside".

The Council is linked to unions, neighbourhood associations, and political parties. It advises women workers on how to start daycare centres, how to change workers laws and get maternity leave increased from three to five months, and how to get their issues on union agendas. It also plans to do something to increase women's wages. "In short", says Eva Bley, "we do things for them that they want us to do".

In Minas Geraes state, there is another state council for women's affairs -the only other one so far in Brazil -that was created with the support of Tancredo Neves, former governor of the state and now the civilian president -elect of Brazil. It is headed by Junia Marise, one of the few female state representatives in the country -in what is recognized by many to be one of the most conservative states.



The council, much like that in Sao Paulo, tries to change laws or create programmes that will help women deal with family violence, discrimination on the job, and low wages. But the system was not created, nor has it evolved, with these issues as its priorities. "So far, the justice system has not solved the problems of women", according to one council member.

In October 1984, with promotional and financial help from UNICEF, the council organized a meeting to discuss the problems of rural women in Brazil. It was the first time such a meeting was held at state level, and evidence of just how long it has taken for women's issues to get on government agendas at high levels.

With political changes in Brazil promising more attention to social issues than the country has seen in 20 years, many are getting optimistic about opportunities for change. Interest groups -including those like the state women's councils -will have more of an ear from representatives because for the first time in two decades the representatives will be dependent in part upon their votes. "These programmes will be much easier to fight for now than even a year ago", says one woman who works at the State Secretariat of Housing and Labour in Rio de Janeiro.

The state women's councils in Brazil are among many efforts being made by Brazilian women to change their social status and secure greater opportunity. They are also evidence -along with the women's group emerging in Rocinha -of how much progress has been made in the past 10 years. Examples can be found in other countries around the world although in many -including Costa Rica -the established social and political structures needed to support substantial change for women are still undeveloped.

There is no particular reason to expect that they will develop unless women see to it themselves -as evidenced also in the case of Brazil. Even though president -elect Neves has made it clear that he considers women's issues important, few women are anticipating miracles. "He will not give anything", says Eva Bley. "We will have to take it. He is giving us a space. Nothing more than this".

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Agrarian change and the dynamics of women's rural out-migration in Latin America.

Lourdes Arizpe

'Females are more migratory than males' wrote Professor E. G. Ravenstein in 1885, in his pioneering attempt at discovering the 'laws' of migration. Today, one hundred years later, while increasingly sceptical that such historical 'laws' may exist for all societies and all times, we are still facing the task of explaining why, indeed, 'females are more migratory' in most Third World countries at present, especially in certain contexts of agrarian change.

In a comprehensive review of data on women's migration in the Third World, Youssef, Buvinic and Kudat have advanced our understanding by showing that gender differences do create distinct patterns of migration and by identifying some regularities in women's migration among different countries. Previously, more formalized models, such as the Todaro-Thadani model, in which income differentials were used as the main factor to explain migration, two additional factors were brought in, the desire for social mobility and the wish to find a husband, in order to try and predict female migration.

However, this article contends that, in order to explain female patterns of migration, women must be understood within the context of the dynamics of social structure in the sending areas. It is this context which ultimately determines who will be most likely to migrate among the women and men of the family or the community. In what follows, an attempt is made to explain why certain women of a given age, marital status or social and economic background, are the most prone to migrate out of specific rural communities in Latin America.

Peasant corporate communities

Peasant communities, assuming no demographic pressure on the land (caused by either concentration of lands or natural population growth), tend to seek a balance between their populations and their systems of production. In many cases, especially in long-established communities with highly developed Indian peasant traditions, social and economic mechanisms are generated which tend to redistribute the economic surplus and the population imbalances among the community households. Mexican peasants, for example, have developed a highly complex hierarchical system that, among other things, redistributes the surplus of individual households



within the community through ritual expenditure, free food, and credit availability for poorer farmers. At the same time, kinship, ritual kinship and marriage ties allow a redistribution of people from poorer households to those with greater resources, for example, through uxorilocal marriage or the adoption patterns of ritual kinship. As a result, women of all ages have had a place in some household where, as is typical of a peasant economy, they can contribute to the work of the family unit. Such institutions function as a social security system whereby the kin group, or the community, is responsible for the welfare of all of its members. Widows, orphaned girls, unmarried women and even unwed mothers normally belong to some household, and are able to eke out a living in the rural community.

An important point is that mechanisms like these function independently of economic levels, and therefore the departure of women migrants cannot be predicted by correlation analyses of female migration and objective criteria such as income levels, unemployment, capital accumulation, etc. This does not necessarily mean that women in peasant corporate communities had egalitarian status or led fuller lives, and poor young girls taken in by richer kinfolk became servants more often than not. In fact, the old word for servant in Spanish, 'criada', literally means someone who has been brought up in the household. Nor did the protection of widows or unmarried women ensure a good life. But women did not usually find themselves unable to live or work in their rural communities.

The transition to a permanent outflow of women from peasant communities begins with the uneven internal development at the national level. As peasant communities become monetized, they begin to lose their surplus through price differentials between agricultural products and manufactured goods, and the loss of their traditional income-generating activities, many of them carried out primarily by women. This is one of the factors that make women more 'available' for migration.

The moral and religious constraints to women's mobility are broken when peasant families feel an urgent need for additional incomes, or find that they can no longer feed their offspring. It is at this point that patterns of migrant selectivity are generated, on the basis of the ideological norms on which gender differences are established in the division of labour and in social behaviour. Generally, in Latin America, because girls are normally not fully involved in traditional agriculture, and because they have better employment opportunities outside, they are the first to be sent out as migrant labourers.

But this push factor would not have such a strong effect had there not been an equally strong pull factor. The ideological constraints which restrict female geographical mobility are overcome because an 'honourable' labour migration path is found in employment in urban domestic service. Young girls are entrusted to the care and protection of the urban matron for whom they work as

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servants. Such employment is plentiful, since a large demand for women servants is generated through the growth of Latin American cities where the upper and middle classes can afford to pay for such services.

The initial flow of women towards the cities grew larger when the peasant economy became gradually undermined by the extraction of surplus to finance industrial and urban growth, and segments of the rural economy became labour reserves for commercial agriculture and urban industry.

Peasant communities as a labour reserve

Historically, peasant communities in Latin America have provided cheap labour for semi-feudal, semi-capitalist haciendas, and for plantations having direct foreign investment. This labour has been predominantly male, although men frequently took their wives and children along to help in cash cropping. In fact, wages were often so low that the only way to eke out a living was by involving the whole family. Women, however, rarely migrated on their own to work as agricultural wage labourers.

The process whereby formerly independent subsistence communities became labour reserves was intensified with the development of agrarian capitalism in rural areas through the monetization of the peasant economy. As land, labour and inputs are increasingly exchanged on a cash basis rather than through the traditional exchange systems based on complex kinship, lineage, residential and community ties, the cash needs of peasant families increase. Draught animals, ploughs, and seeds have to be paid for, and, with the modernization of agriculture as well as soil erosion due to intensive cultivation, fertilizers and insecticides become indispensable. Other modern services such as medical care, transport, drinking water, schooling and electricity must also be paid for, and, at the same time, the mass media encourage the purchase of consumer goods. While their cash needs soar, however, their profits from agriculture shrink with the relative decline in agricultural prices, as do their profits from traditional crafts, trade, and cottage industries.

With an ever-increasing deficit, peasant families face the choice of abandoning their small plots of land to become wage labourers, or staying on by sending out migrants to earn cash incomes. The different strategies they adopt to diversify their sources of income are governed by the possibilities open to them in their immediate surroundings. These may be local wage-labour in agriculture or in the towns, or internal migrant wage-labour in agriculture or in cities, or international migrant labour. Or they may combine seasonal with temporary (this can mean several years) or permanent migrant labour.

If we analyse the various options, it is interesting to note that the one which offers the most advantage is migration of young women to domestic service in the cities. Their labour is needed in agriculture and at important times, as during the harvesting season, they may ask for permission from their employers to go home. Since they live in their employer's house, their expenses are minimal, and their earnings can be high. Furthermore, the father has greater control over them than he would have over his migrant sons.

One aspect that is rarely touched upon is the effect on monetization on the older women of the household. Old women, grandmothers or aunts, can no longer be supported and are expected to find their own sources of income. Since their labour is no longer needed for traditional crafts and cottage industries, and since small-scale trade is pushed aside by large-scale oligopolistic trading, they often have to resort to begging. In the best of cases, many of them go to the cities to live with migrant offspring who may be able to support them.

. When the need for a cash income becomes permanent in the peasant household, a strategy of relay migration may be adopted in which the father, daughters, and sons take turns at migrant labour. During the early stages of the domestic cycle, the father migrates seasonally. When the eldest offspring is old enough, he or she is sent temporarily or permanently to the city; other sons, but daughters especially, follow as the eldest migrants get married or lose their bond with the rural household. Interestingly, in the late stages of the domestic cycle, the remittances of the younger daughters are used to finance the education of the youngest sons in an attempt to increase the household's chances for a higher income in the future.

Regularities in migration strategies are reflected in certain patterns of age and out-migration in women from these communities. Overall, women tend to leave between the ages of 18 and 20, and then between 22 and 25; there is only a trickle of migrants after that age, until the age of 40 when again there is a concentration between 40 and 45. After that, there is only a trickle again. This pattern indicates the weight of the marriage factor in women's out-migration. The largest group of women tend to leave at a marriageable age (18-20). Of those who stay, any who are still unmarried by the time most young marriages in the village have taken place leave then (22-25). After that, most migrants either leave with their husbands or because of a marital break-up. At the age of 40, widows or old couples may decide to move to the city to live with offspring. Beyond that, elderly women will migrate only out of desperate necessity or widowhood.



1. See L. Arizpe, "Relay Migration and the Survival of the Peasant Household", in Jorge Balan (ed.). *Why People Move*, Paris, Unesco, 1982.

Important as the marriage factor is in female migration, the weight of social class also becomes evident when we compare ages with the kind of household the migrant comes from. Again, regularities emerge. The relay-migration strategy follows a distinct pattern in peasant households: the eldest daughters migrate at a significantly early age, sometimes 10 or 12 years, or, more usually, between 13 and 15, a fact which indicates the urgent need for a migrant income in the early middle stages of the domestic cycle. Daughters who are in the middle of the birth order migrate at a slightly older age, between 15 and 17, indicating that their elder sisters are still sending remittances. There is no age regularity in the out-migration of the youngest daughters, indicating that their cash income is no longer urgently needed to finance cultivation, although it becomes important for investment, i.e. in the youngest son's education.

Patterns are not so regular in other types of households. Where the main family income comes from craft production or some cottage industry, female out-migration is slightly lower, and ages at the time of leaving are higher-presumably reflecting the fact that their labour is needed in the family enterprise. Women's out-migration is highest in households where the father or mother is self-employed in petty trade or the services. Migration occurs at all ages, but especially at early ages. In such cases, it would seem that remittance to the family is not counted on. Rather the young daughter is expected to fend for herself since her parent's household has little to offer for the future.

There is little to add to the truism that the greater the number of offsprings, the greater the propensity of women to migrate. However, it is important that social class may offset this tendency since, as is well known, the richer peasant and farming household is able to support, and needs, an extended family system for its enterprise. Thus, if there is female out-migration from such households, it is usually due to high social or educational aspirations for a young woman.

In analysing the context of women's situations and determining which women migrate from which types of households and communities, it is also important to observe which women stay. Although this phenomenon cannot be analysed here at length, it is worth noting what happens to a woman who rarely migrates-the mother in the peasant household. Her work-load increases dramatically but, once again, invisibly. Once her children begin to attend school, and other females have to leave the household, she must substitute for all of them-fetching water and wood, caring for draught animals and fowl, seeding, weeding and harvesting, feeding male workers in the fields, carrying the crop back to the house, collecting and processing food-while still carrying her regular load of domestic work, cooking, caring for children and husband, washing, etc. The only event which makes her additional work-load visible is the migration of her husband, when she has to run the farming unit. It is also important to note that her presence is central to the peasant household. As long as the mother does not migrate, the family has a homestead; when even she migrates, the family has become totally proletarianized, and its members are then individual, independent migrants.

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Another important aspect that needs to be mentioned is that once the rural area becomes a labour reserve, the higher the number of offsprings, the better the chances of the peasant family's survival in exploitative conditions. As I have argued elsewhere, parents do not decide to have more children so as to send them out as migratory labourers; the fact is simply that, given the advantage that a large family provides, parents see no reason to stop having children. In this sense female out-migration to the cities, particularly to domestic service, is a structural phenomenon in that it is inherently linked to the monetization of the peasant economy as well as to its main population trend.

Family producers for the agricultural market

The patterns of female out-migration are different for farming households, both low-income and highly capitalized, which produce a cash crop for the market. Among low-income households, the main difference arises out of the labour requirement for cultivation. When crops are labour-intensive - flowers, strawberries, or peanuts, for example - and the family unit cannot afford to pay labourers, young women are kept at home. Female labour is crucial to the livelihood of such households since their labour is needed to increase productivity to compete in the market, frequently against large capitalist enterprises. Out-migration of daughters is discouraged, since cash remittances could not offset the cost of hiring labourers.

But it is worth noting that this situation is the only one among all those analysed in which a disincentive for women's migration is strong enough to balance the pull factor of mass media and educational programmes. In a household which runs a full-scale capitalist enterprise with high technology, there are no push factors encouraging women to migrate; but higher expectations of educational and social mobility may encourage migration.

Agricultural wage labourers

The loss of resources through uneven exchange with the urban industrial sector has made small-scale agriculture no longer viable in many parts of Latin America. For many peasant households this has meant the loss of their small plot of land. Once the family becomes proletarianized, there is a pattern of female out-migration, but it is certainly not as regular as that of other types of households. To begin with, following a historical trend, families of wage labourers tend to have fewer offspring. If the family lives permanently in a village and, say, only the father and the elder sons migrate on a seasonal or temporary basis, young girls tend to stay at home and migrate only after about the age of 18.

If the family moves about in an annual cycle of agricultural wage labour, however, the sons and daughters tend to lead separate lives early on. The father has little control over their labour,

unless they all work as a unit on a piece-work basis. But normally, as soon as they are adolescents, young women and men can command a wage of their own. The young women's decision to migrate independently depends on personal factors, and her destination is strongly influenced by the availability of jobs in agriculture, agro-industry or the cities.

The recent trend of foreign investors in local export crops and agro-industry to give preference to young rural women is changing the patterns of female out-migration. Women who would otherwise have migrated to the city may stay in the region or may migrate to another rural area, thus increasing rural - rural migration. Young women are also being drawn into agro-industry.



The trend is reinforced by redeployed industries which settle in rural areas and employ young women for textile, clothing, electronic or electrical assembly work, frequently on a piece-work basis. The big question here is whether or not such employment will be permanent. If it is, voluntary turnover of young rural women will lower migration to the cities. If it is not, and industries use female labour power while it is cheap and leave when it becomes more costly, older women, many of them heads of households will be left uprooted, unemployed, unattached, and with poor prospects of survival. In that case, migration to the cities will have been delayed for some years, but these women will inevitably end up in the impoverished shantytowns of cities which offer them no future.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the structural constraints and pressures of women's out-migration from rural communities in Latin America. This process is inherently linked to changes in agrarian systems and to employment opportunities brought about by the uneven development of the traditional rural economy as opposed to the modern urban sector.

In the author's view, the structural dimension of female migration must first be broadly outlined in order to understand the position of women in the dynamics of the development processes which shape large-scale internal migrations. These are the conditions necessary for female migration, but they are not sufficient to explain the complex patterns of migration which have been traced here. In contrast to male migration, it is quite clear that marriage and life-cycle factors play an important part in women's decisions to migrate.

These factors have only been mentioned briefly, but they are crucial to the mode of analysis that is proposed here. Life-cycle considerations, in so far as they are reflected in the social organization, form an intermediate structure between macro-economic pressures and women's individual lives, and channel their migration. But marriage and life-cycle factors must be broken down into the various norms applied to women's family obligations, sexual restrictions, social

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reputation, ideological control, marriage contracts, and so forth. Marriage norms, for example, cannot simply be added to economic factors to explain patterns of female out-migration, because the opportunities for rural employment are largely determined by sexual, social and marriage constraints. Thus, trends in migration can be explained only with reference to both economic and social factors. For example, female migration for domestic service is both an economic strategy of a peasant household and a social strategy that preserves the 'femininity', i.e. marriageability, of the young migrant.

The other dimension that must be taken into account, once the channelling factors of development processes and of social norms for women are established, is what kinds of decisions women are able to take when faced with these options. This dimension has not been touched upon here, mainly because so little is known in this area, but it must certainly be incorporated into models of female migration.

Finally, in economically dependent areas, it is important to examine female rural out-migration in relation to development policies. State policies towards the agrarian sector can have unexpected results when the sexual division of labour in the rural household is ignored. For example, men are expected to migrate to the urban industries in surplus labour models, but it is women who have predominated in rural - urban migration. Among other factors, this contributed to the well-known expansion of the service sector (tertiarization) and the informal sector. These distortions of the development process are, indeed, the result of policies of industrialization and agrarian change, but as the analysis of female migration reveals, they are also an outgrowth of the expectations of women and the restrictions imposed upon them.

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Traditional Birth Attendants (Nicaragua)

A nationwide programme has been identifying traditional birth attendants in rural communities and bringing them together for training courses and regular follow-up contact with health staff. Their integration into the national health care system facilitates the referral of difficult cases to a health centre and is expected to be instrumental in improving the general health of mothers and children.

Traditional birth attendants have long been recognized as playing an important part in the health of Nicaraguan communities, particularly scattered rural ones, and programmes for their training were organized as early as 1976. These programmes continued until 1980 but met with only limited success because the main emphasis was on contraception, thus radically reversing the function of the traditional birth attendant: this person who had always been regarded as a figure related to life was suddenly transformed into one who wanted to limit or deny that life! The community would not accept this transformation that deeply affected its traditions and religious or moral beliefs. A totally new approach was needed, supporting rather than modifying the traditional concept of the birth attendant in the community.

A new direction

After the change of government in 1979, new health policies were established which aimed at a very high coverage of deliveries by hospitals and health centres; all programmes involving traditional birth attendants were therefore suspended in 1980. However, a pilot training scheme took place in the departments of Esteli, Madriz, and Nueva Segovia in 1981 to recruit and train traditional birth attendants. Twelve women participated in the first course; subsequently 360 women were trained in 1982-83 as a result of that pilot programme.

On the basis of the experience gained, policies concerning the work and training of traditional birth attendants were revised in 1982 and extended into a national programme now supported financially by UNICEF. This programme is part of the national unified health system and aims at reducing maternal and child morbidity and mortality. The identification of pregnancies at risk and their referral to health facilities is stressed. Reduction of neonatal tetanus through extended immunization of pregnant women is a fundamental part of the main objective, and other specific goals are the improvement of data collection for vital statistics and the raising of health educational standards in the general population.

In order that the health services may reach the population in its own environment, the health districts were divided into geographically defined sectors, for each of which a nurse was made responsible. The national plan considered health care not in isolation but made it part of an overall

intervention in the social, environmental and traditional structure, aiming at prevention rather than cure. Consequently, all non-institutional health workers, as representatives of tradition and popular participation, became involved in the actions of the Ministry of Health.

Training health staff

To be able to communicate with a heterogeneous group selected for training as traditional birth attendants, the staff of each health district themselves needed training. The first step was to attend a seminar on teaching methodology. Because the traditional practitioners were often old women with a low literacy level and their language was rich in popular expressions, it was vital to train the health staff to use a simple language without any medical or scientific terms. Audiovisual material were therefore widely used, graphs and texts being excluded. Generally this initial seminar lasted two days and helped the participants to rediscover their own traditional language and practices.

After the first seminar there was generally more motivation and the health staff were ready to start their scientific training on the subject as part of a more comprehensive, continuous education programme. Technical instruction was given on gynaecological and obstetric matters that had to be taught to the traditional birth attendants. This part of the training consisted of weekly lessons over 2-3 months, usually given by doctors, as well as some study groups and seminars.

Recruiting traditional birth attendants

A traditional birth attendant is often thought to be just someone who assists deliveries in

The training programme for traditional birth attendants is part of the national unified health system and aims at reducing maternal and child morbidity and mortality.

her community. In reality she is much more: she is a loved and respected member of the community who cares for women in their childbearing years, advising them on contraceptive and gynaecological problems and on the care of their infants. The traditional birth attendant lives where she works. As some communities are very isolated, she is the person with the best knowledge of the general problems of the community itself.

During recruitment the sector nurse visited the communities, including the most isolated homes, in search of these women. Local councils and officials, representatives of mass organiza-

tions like those for women or youth, and health workers provided useful recommendations. When a suitable person was identified, she was visited in her home, as her own surroundings gave an idea of her personality and the importance she attached to hygiene.

According to the selection criteria the candidate should live in the community and be recognized and accepted there as a traditional birth attendant. She should have at least two years' experience in birth attendance and should have helped with at least five deliveries in the past year; she should accept the rules laid down by the Ministry of Health and should be willing to attend a training course. Age limits are based on the judgement of the staff responsible for the course. However, these criteria are sometimes adapted to fit individual cases.

Small groups of the selected traditional birth attendants participated in a motivation meeting with the health staff, where the object and details of the training to follow were explained further. During this meeting they confirmed their willingness to participate in a one-week training course.

The training course

Courses for traditional birth attendants were organized in each district where the health centre staff had already been trained to conduct them. The full-time training course lasted six days and took place in the most centrally situated of the communities from which the participants came. Meals were offered by the host community; where possible transport was guaranteed and, when the distance to be covered was too great, accommodation was also provided.

Because the women were supported in some of their beliefs and practices, they found it easier to abandon the harmful ones.

The course dealt with:

- the anatomy and physiology of male and female reproductive systems;
- the menstrual cycle, conception, and growth and development of the fetus during pregnancy;
- signs and symptoms of pregnancy and calculation of the probable date of birth;
- precautions to be taken during pregnancy: diet, hygiene, cultural myths, exercises, antenatal assistance;
- the importance of referring pregnant women to the health centre for immunization against tetanus;
- signs and symptoms of high obstetric risk;
- venereal diseases;
- preparation for delivery;
- signs and symptoms of labour;
- assistance with a normal birth: delivery of the placenta and cutting of the umbilical cord;
- signs of an abnormal delivery, abnormal positions;
- technique of intramuscular injections;
- immediate assistance to the infant, danger signs for the infant;
- puerperium, its characteristics and complications;
- breast-feeding;
- care and nutrition of the infant;
- functions and tasks of the traditional birth attendant in her community: advice on fertility control, relationship with mass organizations, general knowledge of mother and child health programmes, and referral system to health centres.

The very good relationship between health staff and participants during the course was based on mutual respect and the emphasis on interchange of information and experience resulted in an active and relaxed participation of all concerned.

Technical matters could easily be taught using the local women's experience as a starting point. The nurses in charge of teaching had been trained to consider traditional beliefs and practices as falling into one of three categories: useful, innocuous, and harmful (1,2). When the practices were useful they were supported; when they were innocuous the staff might express doubts on their efficacy or need but it was up to the traditional birth attendant whether to continue to use them; when they were harmful, however, the dangers were explained and the need to abandon these practices was progressively emphasized. Because the women were supported in some of their beliefs and practices, they found it easier to abandon the harmful ones.

Many of the traditional ways of dealing with pregnancy and childbirth were not widely known before the start of this programme. Now, as part of the programme, they will be recorded in a comprehensive document. This will provide a record of an important part of Nicaraguan traditional popular culture.

Teaching aids did not exist at all at the beginning of the programme but were created by the imagination of health staff as the courses progressed, using the tools and materials at their disposal. For example, a pregnant or a normal uterus was painted on a cloth, which was worn like an apron to show the position of the internal organs. Very often the traditional birth attendants had no idea of the reproductive system and such a teaching aid was very useful. Another example was a doll to represent a newborn baby, either life-size or larger, with coloured strings to simulate the arteries and veins of the umbilical cord and a piece of cloth or plastic for the placenta. This doll was used for several demonstrations of pregnancy and delivery.

At the end of the six days a graduation-day party was organized: all the communities to which the traditional birth attendants belonged were invited. In an important ceremony each participant received a certificate of attendance, and a large square aluminium box containing a kit of basic supplies was given to the representative of her community. The kit contained essential equipment for deliveries: a plastic mat to be put under the woman; a plastic apron for the traditional birth attendant or her substitute; scissors and forceps; thread to bind the cord and iodine alcohol to disinfect the stump; tetracycline ophthalmic cream; two towels, soap, a brush for hands and nails; and cotton wool and gauze.

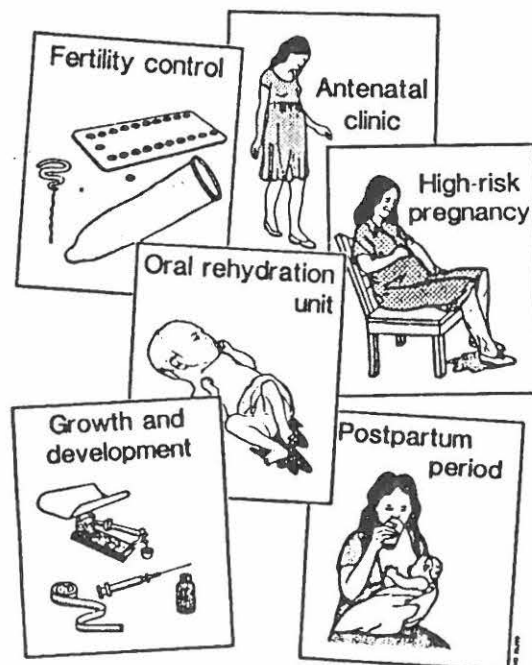
The community representative handed over the kit to the traditional birth attendant. This gesture symbolized her membership of the community, her training to enable her to be of better

service to it, and the fact that it was the community, the real target of the programme, that had the right to control the use of the kit.

Follow-up and impact

After the course the traditional birth attendants and the health centre staff met once a month to discuss and compare problems, evaluate the usefulness of the kit, and refresh their knowledge of what they had learned. These follow-up meetings permitted the supervision and further support of the trained traditional birth attendants who brought with them the cards they had filled in for each birth they had assisted, with details of the delivery, the name of the patient and the date of birth.

Special forms had been printed to facilitate referral to health centres: they contained a visual message, as shown in the figure, relating to different situations the traditional birth attendant may encounter with the mothers and newborn babies. On each sheet a particular problem was indicated in twelve small drawings, and the birth attendant had to cut out (and, if possible, sign) the one representing the situation for which she was referring her patient. The patient then took this referral notice to the health centre, where she was promptly attended to by the staff. These forms were especially useful in evaluating the referrals by the traditional birth attendants and their use of the mother and child care services.



Examples of drawings on cards used by traditional birth attendants for referral of patients to the health centre.

An initial evaluation of this new training programme for traditional birth attendants was clearly positive as can be seen from their willingness to adhere to the system and to participate in training courses and follow-up meetings. In 1983, 758 attendants were trained, of whom 623 were newly recruited; in the same year, 609 of those already trained in the past received follow-up training. In the first six months of 1984, the partial data available show that 347 traditional birth attendants were trained, and there were expected to be about 3000 trained traditional birth attendants by the end of 1984.

The above evaluation is the first one made about the results of the programme. Data on its impact on other programmes (such as the mother and child health programme and the expanded immunization programme) or on vital statistics (incidence of neonatal tetanus and reduction of mother and child morbidity and mortality) are still incomplete and their analysis will be much more difficult. We are confident that the results will be positive, considering how the programme is strongly supported by the whole health system and the traditional birth attendants themselves are fully integrated into it. Their traditional way of life was seriously taken into account when the national programme was formulated: health workers and other staff in the programme were requested to respect the personality of the local women, their language, their lack of literacy, their beliefs and even -when they were not harmful- their traditional practices.

Further evaluations of this programme in Nicaragua should make it possible to compare the results with similar programmes in other countries.

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Duties and rights of trained traditional birth attendants in Nicaragua

Duties

- to be registered at the health centre or health post in her sector
- to attend meetings to which she will be invited at the health centre
- to participate in refresher courses planned in her sector
- to act responsibly concerning the life of mother and child
- to respect the rules of mother and child care programmes
- to send parents to the health centre for birth registration
- to record assisted deliveries and hand in the records to the health centre monthly
- to keep herself clean as an example to other mothers in the community
- to keep her kit and materials clean and in order
- to return the kit to the community if she discontinues her work

Rights

- to be considered as a human resource of the community in primary health care actions
- to be considered as a collaborator of the health staff in her sector
- to attend the training course and to participate in the follow-up programme
- after completion of the training, to receive a certificate, an identification card and a badge
- to receive a health clearance certificate, which has to be renewed every year
- to receive essential items for her job from the corresponding health centre or health post
- to use the equipment kit entrusted to her by the community
- to ask for compensation for her services according to the customs in her community

Nuevo enfoque de las cuestiones de población en el Perú

"PERU TIENE una historia muy pintoresca en lo que respecta a las cuestiones de población", según Alphonse L. MacDonald, Representante Adjunto y Asesor Superior sobre Población del FNUAP en el Perú.

En otra época, la planificación de la familia estaba prohibida en el Perú, observó el Sr. MacDonald en una entrevista con Valerie Havas de Población. El gobierno militar que asumió el poder en 1968 cerró los dispensarios de planificación de la familia y confiscó sus bienes.

Pero la actitud oficial cambió, especialmente tras la vuelta a la democracia en 1980. La promoción de la procreación responsable ha sido incorporada a la Constitución peruana, dijo el Sr. MacDonald, y el año pasado el Presidente García declaró que las cuestiones de población debían ser parte integrante del proceso de planificación socioeconómica de la nación.

Hace poco un comité presidencial elaboró un plan nacional de población, que contiene diversos elementos relacionados con la planificación de la familia y con la educación, información y comunicación sobre población.

La Iglesia Católica también presta apoyo, destacó el Sr. MacDonald. "La Iglesia no se opone a la planificación de la familia, se opone al control de la población", dijo, observando que "hay una excelente colaboración entre la Iglesia y el sector público".

Aunque para los católicos sólo se aprueban los métodos "naturales", los dispensarios vinculados a la Iglesia han aceptado informar a la gente acerca de otros métodos o remitirla a otros centros.

Los cambios de política han tenido sus efectos, observó el Sr. MacDonald. Aproximadamente el 80% de los peruanos conocen por lo menos un método de planificación de la familia, y el 46% están usando algún método. El 50% de esos aceptantes ha elegido un método natural.

Según el Sr. MacDonald, el principal problema de población con que actualmente se enfrenta el Perú es el desequilibrio en la distribución de la población entre las zonas rurales y urbanas. Lima, la capital del país, es un problema particular, ya que una gran parte de sus 6 millones de habitantes viven hacinados en barrios de tugurios.

Dos programas gubernamentales que han ayudado a frenar el éxodo de la población de las zonas rurales incluyen la concesión de préstamos "de interés cero". El Ministerio de Agricultura ha concedido préstamos a los propietarios de pequeñas explotaciones agrícolas y el Ministerio de

Vivienda ha concedido préstamo para el mejoramiento de la vivienda rural. Ambos programas, dijo el Sr. MacDonald, alientan a la gente a permanecer en las zonas rurales o volver a ellas.

Otros problemas de que se ocupa el Perú son el embarazo en la adolescencia y el aborto. Este último al igual que la esterilización, no es un método de planificación de la familia, según las leyes peruanas.

La educación forma parte de la estrategia del Gobierno, señaló el Sr. MacDonald. Según se prevé, habrá cursos de educación sobre población en todas las escuelas públicas, tanto primarias como secundarias, y las cuestiones de población son ahora un tema obligatorio en los cursos de formación de docentes.

"Hay que superar una serie de barreras culturales para que la gente use métodos modernos de planificación de la familia" observó el Sr. MacDonald. "Pero aún hay muchas confusiones en lo que respecta a los métodos modernos de planificación de la familia".

- La asistencia que presta el FNUAP al Perú incluye un proyecto que se ejecuta en una "zona urbana marginal". El proyecto utiliza grupos de mujeres conocidos con el nombre de "Clubes de Madres" para sensibilizar a la población respecto de la necesidades de planificación de la familia. Casi todos los distritos y barrios tienen clubes de este tipo, que tradicionalmente se ocupan de promover la salud -muchos entregan leche gratuitamente, por ejemplo- y de suministrar asistencia técnica y servicios sociales.

Otro proyecto del FNUAP, que se ejecuta en la ciudad de Iquitos en la selva, combina la terapia de rehidratación oral con la planificación de la familia. Este proyecto, que se ejecuta a petición de las mujeres locales, está a cargo de voluntarias.

El Fondo también apoyó un proyecto experimental que formuló una propuesta para reorganizar el sistema de registro civil del Perú. Si bien Perú se ufana de tener uno de los sistemas más antiguos, ha habido graves problemas de aplicación, según el Sr. MacDonald. El Gobierno considera que el proyecto ha tenido éxito y desea adoptar el sistema una vez que se promulgue la ley apropiada.

Con el sistema de registro propuesto, se podrían evitar encuestas que son costosas, ya que el sistema se aplicaría con procedimientos simples, estableciendo más lugares de registro y un sistema centralizado de computadoras, y haciendo propaganda en cajas de cerillas para alentar a la gente a registrar el nacimiento de sus hijos.

Agentes Multiplicadoras de Educación Sexual: La Experiencia de un Grupo de Dueñas de Casa de Sectores Populares de Bogotá



La experiencia que damos a conocer a continuación la hemos tomado de la publicación Noticias No. 1 de CRESALC. Colombia, que dedica su primer número a la labor del grupo de mujeres amas de casa.

La Fundación para el Desarrollo Humano y Social, CRESALC, es una fundación que desde 1984 inició legalmente su existencia.

Su preocupación consiste en elaborar programas educativos. Desde 1985 ha venido desarrollando un amplio trabajo con sectores populares de Bogotá. Allí estableció contacto con grupos de mujeres vinculadas a los comités de salud de la zona de Usme. Apoyada por la Universidad Nacional de Colombia y el Fondo de Población de las Naciones Unidas. CRESALC comenzó a trabajar en un proyecto de Educación en Sexualidad y para la Vida Familiar con la comunidad marginada de Bogotá, como complemento a la formación de las mujeres que trabajan en los comités de salud.

Terminada la capacitación básica y el proyecto, un grupo de mujeres amas de casa decidió continuar su proceso de capacitación. La Fundación decidió respaldar su empeño y apoyar sus inquietudes.

**"La educación sexual y para la vida familiar es
una contribución al desarrollo humano y social".**

El Grupo y las Mujeres que lo forman

"Somos por ahora seis, pero el próximo año, se unirán a nosotras dos mujeres más". Estas mujeres de un sector pobre y marginado de la ciudad, son todas amas de casa y madres de 2, 3, y 4 hijos, salvo Berenice que se declara soltera y de 23 años y es hija de Hilda una integrante del

grupo. Hilda nos dice "Tengo tres hijas señoritas y una niña. Soy ama de casa, participo en el comité desde hace un año y estoy en este trabajo junto con mi hija mayor. Aunque ustedes no lo crean mis hijas menores también han participado".

Nelly, con esposo y 2 hijos y una pequeña dice: "Mi niña pequeña nunca ha sido obstáculo para asistir a los talleres. Al contrario me acompaña a todos y ha aprendido mucho de ellos".

Mariela madre de 3 hombres y una mujer cuenta que es alegre y jovial "Soy una persona que alegra el grupo pues mi especialidad son los cuentos. Mi niño pequeño hace las tareas que tengo que realizar para el taller y no se pierde ninguna clase".

¿Cómo comenzaron a trabajar y qué consiguieron?

"Trabajábamos en el voluntariado de salud, cada una en su sector de acuerdo al lugar donde vive. Comenzamos a participar en los Talleres de Educación Sexual y para la Vida Familiar realizados por la Fundación CRESALC. El primer beneficio que nos ha dejado los talleres ha sido la integración y mayor conocimiento de los demás comités de la zona".

"También hemos aprendido a diferenciar sexo de sexualidad, conocimos de fisiología, anatomía, sexualidad en las diferentes etapas de nuestra vida, comunicación familiar, apreciación y valoración de nuestro cuerpo, pornografía, planificación familiar, homosexualidad, y otros temas".

Aminta, también dueña de casa expresó: "mis hijos, que son tres, ya hablan del tema sin temor, llamando a los órganos genitales por su nombre. Por ejemplo, la niña pequeña decía el otro día que el papá tenía pelos en el pecho, en el estómago y en el pene, y mi mamá tiene pelos en la vulva".

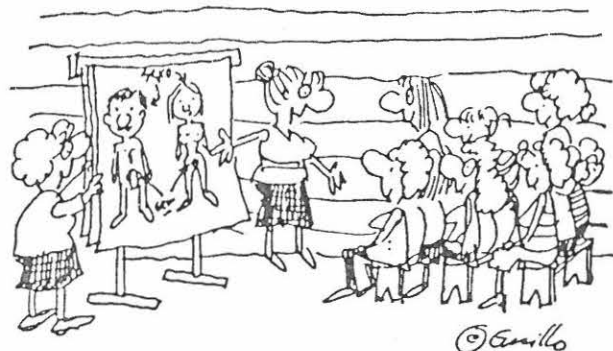




La hija mayor de Blanca, madre de dos niñas de 7 y 3 años, tenía la inquietud de saber si era verdad que para hacer bebés se hacía el amor; yo con toda tranquilidad le expliqué. Creo que estos talleres me han servido para responder a las preguntas de mis hijas sin temor".

El grupo mostró un enorme interés en los talleres queriendo continuar siendo capacitadas pues tenían el propósito de llegar a su propio medio social a través de materiales educativos que ellas querían elaborar. Había nacido una conciencia y una voluntad de convertirse en agentes multiplicadoras de educación sexual.

"Desde agosto, debido a nuestro interés, continuamos la capacitación para elaborar materiales educativos y complementar conocimientos. Necesitábamos encontrar nuevas formas de llevar la Educación Sexual a la Comunidad, con nuestros propios materiales. Hemos aprendido a producirlo y hemos conseguido más habilidades para manejar la metodología de trabajo. Así es más fácil darse a entender".



"En las charlas que les damos a las madres en el programa de nutrición materno infantil, cuando les entregamos la bienestarina, intercalamos información sobre temas de salud con las de educación sexual y comunicación familiar. Además, los métodos que utilizamos les gustan, les parecen prácticos y ellas se sienten partícipes directas que aportan sus opiniones".

"Los talleres nos han servido para despejar dudas, desterrar tabúes, aclarar mitos y creencias". "Y hasta hemos alcanzado cierto grado de éxito". Perdimos la timidez, la inseguridad por el hecho de estar más informados. Ahora tenemos mayor fluidez verbal y además podemos entender mejor a nuestros hijos e hijas adolescentes, abordando con naturalidad y en forma directa sin recurrir a evasivas, ante las preguntas que nos hacen sobre sexualidad".

"Con la pareja, hemos aprendido a cohabitar con mayor entrega, menos cohibidas, con mejor comunicación. Hemos encontrado más atractivo a nuestro cónyuge, tenemos más diálogo ya que aportamos más conocimiento". "Nos arriesgamos a hablar y preguntar sobre el tema de la

sexualidad. Hemos aprendido a comunicarnos con más creatividad utilizando no sólo la comunicación verbal, también lo hacemos con nuestros gestos y la expresión de nuestros sentimientos."

"Para nuestros esposos esto ha sido muy satisfactorio, pues hemos adquirido conocimiento e información clara y verdadera. Les agrada que utilicemos nuestro tiempo libre en esta forma". "Para nuestros hijos ha sido placentero ver a sus madres aclarando dudas y venciendo prejuicios que nos ayudan a mirar con naturalidad la sexualidad".

¿Qué significa esta capacitación dentro del quehacer diario de estas mujeres?

Ha sido sin duda una enorme tarea que implicó enfrentamiento con sus parejas en una primera etapa, conflictos ante el deber no cumplido de sus roles tradicionales de esposas y dueñas de casa. Una lucha dada con estrategia cuyo premio fue mayor del esperado.

"No es fácil que ustedes entiendan el alcance del trabajo que hemos realizado ya que todas somos amas de casa con obligaciones como lavar, planchar, cocinar, atender a las hijas e hijos". "Nos hemos visto abocadas a aplazar las tareas domésticas para asistir a nuestros talleres. Pero esto no ha sido obstáculo porque así fuera en la noche adelantábamos nuestros deberes en la casa, para tener en el día el tiempo disponible debido a la capacitación que estábamos recibiendo".

Los resultados

Para los talleres comunitarios, el grupo tuvo que preparar materiales.



"Hemos tenido que echar mano de nuestra creatividad utilizando toda clase de materiales desechables ¿Le encontraría usted uso a un bombillo fundido? ¿a los envases vacíos de crema

Ponds? ¿A medias sin compañera? ¿A retazos, bolsas de papel, sobrantes de pintura? Con todo esto y un poquito de imaginación interés y creatividad hemos hecho material didáctico que podemos usar en dramatizaciones sobre la familia, la comunicación, nuestra decisiones procreacionales, educación sexual de las hijas e hijos, comunicación de pareja, homosexualidad, etc."

"¿Creen ustedes que los títeres sirven solamente para enseñar a las niñas? ¡Pues no! deben saber que lo que aprendemos con los títeres no se olvida fácilmente, no importa la edad".

"¿Creen que elaborar **máscaras de cartulina** es trabajo de niñas en el día de las brujas? No señoras, también las usamos para enseñar educación sexual a los adolescentes y a los adultos".

"**Las máscaras de yeso** no sólo las usan los actores o quienes hacen escultura. Con ellas te enseñamos cosas muy interesantes. Comunicación, pornografía y cómo combatirla, planificación familiar e infinidad de temas más".

"El **crucigrama** también se puede utilizar haciendo combinaciones con otras ayudas como una sopa de letras. Nos sirven para evaluar conocimientos que deben quedar muy claros en la comunidad sobre anatomía y planificación familiar".

"También hemos aprendido a utilizar el "**rompecabeza de los órganos genitales**" hecho en tela... quedó muy lindo".

"**Concéntrese** es un juego parecido al programa de televisión para que conversando se afiancen los conocimientos aprendidos".

El periódico mural, es una forma fácil práctica para enseñar.

"Utilizamos cartulina, papel periódico, una tabla, goma de pegar y recortes de interés.

"Para hacer las caricaturas no es necesario ser dibujante. Sirven para aclarar y fijar conocimiento, las acompañamos con frases que llevan un mensaje respecto al tema".

"**Los dichos populares** son un recurso a nuestro alcance y de sus contenidos podemos sacar enseñanzas para hacer educación sexual".

"Todas hemos pasado ratos muy amenos en los talleres que queremos compartir con ustedes a través de estos testimonios de los que hemos aprendido. Estos son los primeros pasos de los muchos que daremos para enseñar **educación sexual y comunicación familiar a la comunidad**.

Una gran experiencia

En octubre pasado (1987), la Fundación CRESALC invitó a participar como facilitadoras al grupo, en un taller de capacitación para funcionarios del Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar de las regionales de Bogotá, Cundeamarca, Boyacá, Meta, Tolima y la sede nacional.

"Allí compartimos nuestra experiencia con gente importante y profesional, no creíamos que fuéramos capaces de enfrentar un tema como la decisión procreacional y la planificación familiar, liberadas de prejuicios y con tanta seguridad".

"No esperábamos que nos pusieran cuidado porque somos mujeres de la comunidad y para nuestra sorpresa, la evaluación final fue muy positiva. El esfuerzo fue grande, al comienzo percibimos la duda del grupo acerca de nuestra capacidad, pero después nos dimos cuenta que podíamos aportar mucho con nuestra experiencia y conocimientos. **Nosotras sabemos cómo llegarle a la comunidad**".

From: Isis International: Red de Salud, Boletín 16-17, pp 22-24.

"The Kerala Formula" (INDIA)

Although many of Kerala's socioeconomic indicators have lagged considerably behind those of India as a whole, this state has the lowest fertility and mortality levels in the country. With a view to explaining this paradox, the areas of land reform, social equity, education, women's status, and health care -among others- have been examined in both Kerala and West Bengal. Equity in health care and education are undoubtedly important, but underlying factors also have to be taken into account, notably the development of political awareness and action among the masses.

The Indian state of Kerala, with a population of about 28 million, presents a paradox to many population theorists. Its mortality and fertility rates have declined faster than those in the rest of India. Yet, in contrast to what has been observed elsewhere, Kerala has lagged behind the other Indian states in industrialization, income, and urbanization. How is it, then, that Kerala has the lowest mortality and fertility levels in the country?

Kerala and West Bengal, the two most densely populated states of India, are well known for their traditional emphasis on education and for left-orientated political activities. However, whereas West Bengal has always been more advanced than Kerala in economic development, its mortality level has been higher than that of Kerala.

The infant mortality rate (number of babies dying up to the age of one year per 1000 births) in 1982 was 32 in rural Kerala, 93 in rural West Bengal, and 114 in rural India as a whole. The figures were lower in urban areas: 24 for Kerala, 52 for West Bengal and 65 for the entire country. The crude death rate (number of deaths annually per 1000 population) in 1982 was 7 in rural Kerala, 12 in rural West Bengal and 13 in rural India. Rural Kerala's mortality level has been lower than that of rural West Bengal and rural India as a whole, at least since the third decade of the twentieth century.

Economic development

Per capita income has always been lower in Kerala than West Bengal. It has been argued that the comparatively equitable distribution of income and assets in Kerala has been a major factor affecting the state's demographic trends. However, empirical evidence does not suggest that this has been so, at least until the end of the 1970s. A survey has indicated that inequality in rural household incomes was greater in Kerala than West Bengal (4). Furthermore, surveys conducted by the Reserve Bank of India in 1961 and 1971 showed that the distribution of land and total assets in rural households was less equitable in Kerala than in West Bengal.

Since economic factors apparently cannot explain the lower mortality in rural Kerala, some other possibilities are considered below.

Climate and water

Climatic conditions are not significantly different between these states. However, rural Kerala has a safer water supply than does West Bengal, and the Kerala tradition of drinking water that has been boiled with cumin seeds (jeerampani) and the water remaining after rice has been boiled (kanji) may have contributed towards lower morbidity and mortality.

Nutrition

Surveys conducted in the 1960s and 1970s suggested that both calorie and protein intake were consistently lower in rural Kerala than in West Bengal. However, large amounts of staple foods consumed in rural Kerala, including coconut, tapioca, fish and banana, are available from sources likely to be overlooked in responses to survey questions. It is often argued that more effective land reform, the extensive public distribution of food through fair-price shops, and successful free school-feeding programmes in Kerala are likely to have made food consumption more equitable there than in other states, but the available data do not support this hypothesis.

Health services

As regards the number of beds per 100 000 population in hospitals and dispensaries, there has been no consistent difference between the two states. West Bengal has always had the higher doctor/population ratio, whereas Kerala has always had the higher nurse/population ratio. Kerala and West Bengal differ little in per capita government expenditure on health, but a more equitable distribution of health services in Kerala is reflected in its proportionally higher spending on primary health centres and subcentres. West Bengal has always had more difficulty than Kerala in finding doctors for the primary health centres because of greater reluctance to serve in rural areas.

In both Kerala and West Bengal, local medical facilities are popular, particularly in rural areas. They are aided to some extent by the state governments but depend mainly on the support of the general public. There is clear evidence that people in Kerala use their health facilities much more than do people in West Bengal. This is reflected in the figures for institutionalized births and births attended by trained personnel. In 1978, for example, institutionalized births amounted to 49% of the total in rural Kerala, whereas in rural West Bengal and rural India as a whole the corresponding figures were 29% and 16% respectively. In the same year, 13% of birth were attended by trained personnel in rural Kerala, compared with only 3% in rural West Bengal and 9% in rural India as a whole (5).

**Education contributes towards better health.
Rural education, women's education, and
primary education are especially important in the
fight to reduce mortality rates.**

A major reason for the greater use of health facilities in rural Kerala is their easier accessibility, which depends to a considerable degree on the geographical area covered by each of them and on the availability of transport. Since the population density is higher and the number of primary subcentres per centre is larger in Kerala than in West Bengal, the area covered by each facility is smaller in Kerala. Road and water transport is more extensive in Kerala than in West Bengal. Furthermore, there are more public service vehicles per unit of population in Kerala.

Educational services

Education contributes towards better health, not only by imparting knowledge and encouraging the use of modern health facilities but also by inducing people to adopt sound habits of hygiene and sanitation and to give adequate attention to children's welfare. Rural education, women's education, and primary education are especially important in the fight to reduce mortality rates.

In 1971, 76% of Kerala's urban population aged five years and above were literate, compared with 62% in West Bengal. For the rural populations the corresponding figures were 69% and 31%. In the same year, 61% of Kerala's rural females were literate, compared with 18% in West Bengal. In 1981, 74% of children aged 5-9 years in rural Kerala were enrolled in primary schools, whereas only 32% were so enrolled in rural West Bengal (6).

**People's realization that they have the right to
health facilities is an aspect of political awareness.**

In order to understand the factors responsible for the more equitable distribution of educational services in Kerala it is necessary to analyse the educational structures in the two states.

By the second half of the nineteenth century there was a considerable demand for primary education in Malayalam, the vernacular language of Travancore and Cochin states, now comprising the major part of Kerala. This arose mainly because official communication was in Malayalam and because of increasing economic development and trade. The caste organizations, formed in

response to the exceptional rigidity of the caste system in Travancore and Cochin, agitated for increasing government educational facilities and often opened their own schools. Some indigenous rulers were interested in the spread of education among the rural masses and were often influenced in their endeavours by the British administration as well as by Christian missionaries. The matriarchal tradition in Kerala, particularly among the Nayar caste, helped the spread of female literacy and education.

The educational history of Bengal was, to a major extent, shaped by a land tenure system introduced by the British administration at the end of the eighteenth century. This gave rise to a class of landlords (zamindars) and their agents who had very little interest in educational and other advancement among those who worked the land. The new class was attracted to Calcutta, and, along with a growing middle class of urban professionals, became strong advocates of secondary education in the English language in urban areas rather than primary education in the vernacular in rural areas.

The resources allocated to education have always been greater in Kerala than in West Bengal. The proportions of expenditure on different sectors of education in the two states reflect their different priorities. Thus in 1969-70, 59% of Kerala's educational funds were spent on primary education, compared with 38% in West Bengal. In the same year, the proportions going to university were 5% and 16% respectively. During the 1980s the priorities in West Bengal have changed considerably in favour of greater equity in educational services, but at least up to the end of the 1970s, these were more equitable in Kerala - an important factor contributing to the lower mortality in this state.

Political awareness

It has been suggested, with good reason, that the progress of literacy and education has not only increased the awareness of the rural population in Kerala about the need to use health facilities but has also made the people aware of their rights in this field (7). People's realization that they have the right to health facilities is an aspect of political awareness, something for which the inhabitants of Kerala and West Bengal are well known. However, political awareness seems to be greater in Kerala than in West Bengal, apparently because of more effective caste organizations, peasant movements, and educational structures.

The caste organizations of Kerala, which grew up since the beginning of the twentieth century with the objective of raising the spiritual, social and political status of the lower castes, succeeded in creating awareness among caste members of their rights and in motivating them to agitate for their fulfilment. By the 1930s, political parties of various colours were attempting to win the support of these organizations. In West Bengal the caste system has been more fluid than that of Kerala.

A few organizations of lower castes developed but they were mainly concerned with winning higher social status from the census authorities. They did nothing that could generate political awareness among their members.

During the 1920s and 1930s, left-wingers in the Kerala branch of the Indian National Congress gradually became dominant in this most influential of political parties. They also strengthened their base among the industrial, transport and plantation workers, as well as among the peasants. Since the late 1940s, the main pressure for land reform in Kerala has come from peasant movements. The first trade union of agricultural labourers in India was organized in Kerala. The eagerness of the political parties, both left and right, to win the favour of the peasants has been a very important factor in generating their political awareness.

The formation of the British Indian Society, precursor of the Indian National Congress, in 1843, reflected early political awareness among the landed gentry and urban intelligentsia of West Bengal, but for the most part the Bengali leaders were not interested in forging links with peasant movements. In 1936 one of the political parties in Bengal formed a separate organization for peasants but its achievements were rather limited because the rural base of the party was very weak. In the late 1960s, another party started giving priority to the organization of peasants and landless labourers. Political awareness in rural West Bengal probably increased significantly during the 1970s but as yet this has not affected mortality indices or demands for health services.

With regard to education, newspapers have perhaps been the most effective medium through which political awareness and openness to change have been generated. Indian newspapers, particularly those published in vernacular languages, have a long tradition of mobilizing public opinion on social, economic and political issues. In terms of the circulation of daily newspapers in the vernacular, Kerala has always been far ahead of West Bengal. Village schoolteachers have also played an important role in this connection. The main radical party in Kerala has, since the late 1930s, had a policy of using schoolteachers to strengthen its rural base: in 1939, for example, it organized a strike of schoolteachers in the Malabar area. It is not easy to find a parallel in West Bengal.

* * *

Kerala provides a good example of good health at low cost, relative to other Indian states. The relatively rapid decline in mortality in rural Kerala, in comparison with that in West Bengal, can be attributed mainly to Kerala's more equitable distribution of health facilities and to their better utilization. This has been possible because of their greater accessibility, the more equitable

distribution of educational services, and a higher degree of political awareness among the people in rural Kerala.

The more equitable distribution of educational services in Kerala can be traced to the relatively greater primary, rural and female-orientated educational structure in this state during both the British and post-independence periods. In West Bengal, at least until the late 1970s, there was an elitist, urban, male-orientated educational structure. The higher degree of political awareness in rural Kerala seems to have developed because of the peasant movements, stronger caste organizations, and a more equitable educational structure in this state.

The above analysis suggests that in countries or regions with large proportions of economically and socially deprived people, interventions aimed at reducing mortality should give higher priority to social equity, i.e., in the fields of education, health, transport and so on, than to economic equity. A decline in the mortality rate can be expected to contribute towards equity in economic development.

The specific circumstances that led to a high degree of equity in social development and political awareness in rural Kerala are not likely to be found elsewhere. Nevertheless, similar analyses to the present one could contribute towards the creation of alternative strategies for the achievement of these objectives in other regions and countries and towards the formulation of general theories of demographic transition and development.

Acknowledgements

This article is based on a paper delivered at the Fifth International Congress of the World Federation of Public Health Associations, held in Mexico City from 22 to 27 March 1987.

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From: WHO: World Health Forum, vol.7 (Geneva) 1986, pp 258-262.

América Latina: Incorporación Femenina a la Producción Obliga a Cambiar Programas de Desarrollo

*Por Matilde Walter
Quito, Diciembre*

La creciente incorporación de la mujer a las tareas productivas está obligando a modificar muchos de los programas de desarrollo que impulsan gobiernos y agencias internacionales, y que estaban concebidos exclusivamente para los hombres, comentaron aquí varios expertos.

La mayoría de estos programas están orientados hacia las áreas rural y urbanomarginal, donde los planificadores y técnicos encuentran que cada vez más mujeres son jefas de hogar o colaboran con actividades informales al sostén de la familia.

Ante esta realidad, algunos programas han debido ser desechados y otros han sido reformulados, de manera que actualmente los organismos financieros internacionales canalizan cada vez mayores recursos a iniciativas específicas para mujeres.

"Se tuvo que cambiar en cierto sentido el trabajo que se venía realizando en el frente de la agricultura, antes se trataba sólo con organizaciones masculinas, pero nos encontramos que de lunes a viernes en el campo están sólo las mujeres", explicó a SEMLA Luis Benavides, funcionario de un proyecto de desarrollo rural integral en la provincia andina de COTOPAXI.

En el programa -que abarca las zonas de Tanicuhci, Toacazo y Pastocalle, ubicadas a unos cien kilómetros al Sur de Quito- las organizaciones de Naciones Unidas para la alimentación y la Agricultura (FAO) y la mujer (CUNIFEN) incluyen un componente especial dedicado a campesinas, a las que se les capacita en manejo de suelos y cultivos, en mejoramiento de ganado, reforestación, riego y artesanía.

La crisis ha hecho que los hombres emigren a la ciudad y los campos se han quedado para que la mujer los trabaje muy rudimentariamente, comentó Benavides.

Esta situación se produce en prácticamente todo el territorio ecuatoriano, por lo que los proyectos están capacitando a la mujer y entregándole tecnologías apropiadas.

Para la FAO y el programa de Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo, la participación de la mujer en estas actividades permite crear un nuevo polo de desarrollo dentro de la familia campesina.

Sin embargo, no siempre es así y aunque se ha avanzado mucho en este terreno en toda la región andina aún subsisten los criterios tradicionales de incorporación de la mujer al desarrollo, comentan especialistas.

La mayoría de las veces, más que de incorporación de la mujer al desarrollo, se podría hablar de incorporación al subdesarrollo, opinaron en Quito expertos en la materia, que se reunieron a fines de noviembre para evaluar algunos de estos programas en el área andina.

"Nos estamos preguntando si lo que estamos haciendo es realmente participar en el desarrollo o participar en condiciones de subdesarrollo. Muchas veces se está simplemente reforzando cuestiones de supervivencia dentro del subdesarrollo", afirmó a SEMLA Miriam Gutiérrez, de la Oficina Estatal de Planificación de Colombia.

Esta idea fue reforzada por la chilena Jossie Escarate, de la Fundación Friedrich Ebert, coordinadora de un programa productivo con mujeres urbanomarginales en la capital de su país.

Según Escarate, por lo general en los proyectos se concibe la participación de la mujer en actividades que son una prolongación del trabajo doméstico, como tareas en salud, en reproducción de la familia, corte y confección y similares.

"Los programas, en el fondo, intentan aumentar la productividad y eficiencia de esas mujeres en función que sean el colchón que amortigua los desequilibrios del subdesarrollo, más que un agente real de cambio de esa condición", enfatizó.

"La mujer sirve así de amortiguador de las contradicciones que están produciéndose en el subdesarrollo", comentó la economista chilena y opinó que hay que romper el esquema de los cursos de corte y confección, juguetería y floristería.

Advirtió que las estrategias tienen que ser múltiples, pues hay grupos que pueden industrializarse y explicó que en el programa que dirige hay talleres de corte y confección pero también un grupo de carpinteras que trabajan el torno y la sierra. En Chile, dijo, por la situación política florecieron grupos femeninos de artesanas en arpilleras, tejedoras y otras labores, que venden en los llamados "mercados solidarios", cuya calidad debe mejorar, incrementando la calidad, la oferta y productividad para poder competir en las redes formales de la economía.

"Queremos proyectos para la mujer, pero con una orientación más técnica que incorpore a la mujer, a un proceso de modernización", puntualizó la colombiana Gutiérrez, coordinadora en su país de proyectos estatales para el sector femenino. Las dos expertas participaron en curso sobre mujer, desarrollo y planificación en el área andina, que tras casi un mes le llamó la atención sobre

la no existencia, tanto a nivel estatal como no gubernamental, de políticas globales y planificación que reconozcan a la mujer como agente de cambio.

Los participantes en la actividad recomendaron que en los acuerdos de integración sub-regional, como el pacto andino o el convenio Andrés Bello, se introduzcan programas que tomen en cuenta el problema y óptica de la mujer.

La creación en cada país de un ente coordinador de políticas y programas, en el que intervengan el estado, los organismos no gubernamentales y las organizaciones de mujeres, fue otra de las recomendaciones del curso, durante el cual se destacó, en este sentido, la reciente creación del Consejo Nacional de la mujer en Ecuador.

From: SEMLA/IPS: Mujeres, No.4, Noviembre-Diciembre 1987, p2. (Costa Rica).