

Reproductive histories, family dynamics and gender identities: the uruguayan case study

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Introduction

This paper is part of a study² that seeks to analyze the significance that motherhood and fatherhood acquire in the construction of gender identities. This significance is analyzed based on reproductive histories that are configured in a context of changes in gender relations and family dynamics in Uruguay during the last few decades. Two types of results of this study are presented here: firstly, data that allow a general understanding of the gender system in Uruguay, and secondly, some preliminary results arising from the analysis of in-depth interviews that portray the different reproductive and family-related trajectories of women and men.

Uruguay is a country with demographic traits that are appreciably different from those of the rest of the Latin American continent. Currently, Uruguay's population is more than three million people, half of whom are concentrated in the capital, Montevideo. With an early demographic transition that began to occur at the end of the 19th century, Uruguay was the first Latin American country to show reduced fertility rates. This early decline occurred in the context of transformations related to the modernization and urbanization processes, which favored the adoption of reproductive behavioral frameworks considered "modern" and which were evident in the early 20th century among urban sectors (Pellegrino et. al, 1995). In the second half of the 20th century, a further decline in fertility occurred, though much more gradually, with indicators of the global rate falling from 2.8 in 1963 to 2.4 in 1996. In Montevideo, the rates were slightly lower at around 2.3, while in the rest of the country the rate reached 2.8. These fertility rates are inversely related to the different socioeconomic sectors of the Uruguayan population, which began to present a higher biological reproduction among the lower-income sectors of the population and a low fertility rate among the wealthier sectors.

In parallel to the decline in fertility, we also find a transformation of family structures and dynamics in Uruguay. Coinciding with the end of the military dictatorship (1973-1985) the most drastic changes in the formation and dissolution of families are manifest in the second half of the 1980s (Cabella,1998; Paredes,1999). From that point on, the rise in the divorce rate is reflected in the alteration of household structures as the predominance of the typical nuclear family gives way to the rise in single-parent families and to the configuration of alternative living arrangements. It is also in the second half of the 20th century, particularly in the 1970s

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and 1980s, that women made massive inroads into the labor market. Female participation in the economically active population nearly doubled in that period. Women currently make up 41% of Uruguay's economically active population.

It is in this scenario that the changes in the social construction of female and male social identities are processed. Gender relations undergo transformations that are manifest in different ways in the "private" sphere and in "public" life. New family configurations and dynamics continue to appear to the extent that women impose their presence in areas such as the educational system and the labor market. But this process occurs in a slow and unequal way. Though women in Uruguay have achieved educational levels similar to those of men, the Uruguayan labor market continues to manifest gender discrimination.

In the family sphere, the changes in the social construction of gender identities are closely linked to the significance attributed to motherhood and fatherhood (Paredes, 1999; Paredes, 2000). As women have incorporated themselves into the "public" spheres of social life, motherhood is no longer the only life project available to them. The figure of "mother" is a dimension that is interconnected with areas that gather strength in the social construction of the female identity. But it also has an impact on the social construction of the male identity; the erosion of the "breadwinner" model that implies the man as the sole economic provider for the household displaces the protagonism of the male economic role. Not only are the aspects relative to traditional household economic contributions completely overturned, but there are also consequences in the affective arena and in the new conjugation of roles within the family. The duties of the father come to include a greater emotional involvement in rearing the children. These changes form part of a slow and contradictory process of adapting to the new family dynamics: women often take on the "double shift" of work inside and outside the home, or they work outside the home only part time in order to dedicate more time to family life, and suffer the consequences in the labor sphere; and in many cases men take on more domestic responsibilities, contributing to a more equitable distribution of household work.

Both the incorporation of women into the public sphere and greater involvement of men in the "private" sphere are ongoing trends in current Uruguayan society. However, the difficulties in assimilating these changes sometimes lead to conflictive family situations that vary from the traditional to the modern in family dynamic models. Though men might take on greater affective involvement in caring for the children, they do not always welcome loss of economic household leadership. Women often do not want to give up their spaces in the domestic sphere even though they feel overburdened by their workload. In parallel, the new forms of cohabitation that have resulted from the rise in divorces and remarriages have changed the family relationship, forcing the reconstruction of ties within the framework of the new family arrangements. In this context of alterations at the social, personal and family levels, the meanings attributed to motherhood and fatherhood in the construction of gender identities are altered to the extent that the relationships between men and women have changed in Uruguayan society. Motherhood is no longer the only space for women's affirmation of identity, while fatherhood has become a new space of affirmation for men. Family life is changing course in many aspects, but in others, it continues down the same path. For a better understanding of these processes we present information here that allows an approximation of the current configuration of the gender system in Uruguay, followed by a preliminary analysis

of the in-depth interviews in which we look at the more personal and family-related dimensions of these processes of change.

Methodology

The research strategy consisted of a quantitative method, based on secondary data, and a qualitative method, based on in-depth semi-structured interviews with women and men. The first was used to contextualize some aspects of the gender system in Uruguayan society while the second seeks to create a better understanding of what is happening at the family level regarding gender equity.

Secondary analysis was selected in order to study four aspects of the Uruguayan gender system: 1) female and male participation in the labor market and education system, which was extracted from the most recent Uruguayan census (1996); 2) men's and women's participation in the political decision-making processes that characterize the Uruguayan political system; 3) analysis of the agendas the political parties presented in the most recent national elections (1999) in order to examine how they handle gender issues; 4) analysis of public opinion surveys (conducted between 1995 and 1999) to understand the Uruguayan perception regarding changes in gender relationships and in family dynamics

The in-depth interviews were conducted with the objective of analyzing the make-up of reproductive histories and their relation with other aspects of the individual biography. The sample chosen for this analysis involves people who have already completed or are towards the end of their reproductive trajectory. Though this designation is somewhat arbitrary, given the fertility timeframe Uruguayans generally follow, we consider that between ages 40 and 45 adults finalize the reproductive phase of their lives, or have ruled out reproduction from the biographical experience in that it has not taken place.³ As such, the interviewees we selected were born between 1955 and 1960, approximately, and have built their reproductive histories within the transformations of family structures and of gender relations that have occurred since the end of the military dictatorship in Uruguay. The selection targeted people from the medium-to-high socioeconomic sector who are economically active, with a university education, or equivalent, and who were part of a dual career couple (in those cases in which the individual has had a long-term relationship or is married, divorced or remarried, though single adults were also interviewed). Within these criteria, the interviewees were selected based on the diversity of reproductive histories (people who had or did not have children) and families (single, married, divorced, remarried, etc.).

The selection of interviewees according to these characteristics arises from various motives. One is that the configuration of the meaning of motherhood and fatherhood in the construction of gender identity acquires specificity for people who are finalizing or near the end of their reproductive trajectory. In the longitudinal dimension of the biographical history, individuals passing through this period in their lives acquire a certain retrospective attitude in the discourse

³ Though this phase is characterized by the finalization of the reproductive cycle in the case of women, it is not necessarily the case for men. Despite this fact, we consider these ages representative of a subjective and cultural viewpoint of the end of the reproductive cycle in men and women, beyond biological determinations.

built around their reproductive history. Another reason is that, as mentioned earlier, people from the middle-to-high socioeconomic level have a particular reproductive behavior of low fertility levels. The discourse elaborated by people from this social sector, in addition to showing the faster rate of change in the cultural frameworks of society, reveals a greater capacity for reflection and development, which enriches the qualitative analysis. In accordance with these criteria, the sample was categorized as to the type of reproductive trajectory: individuals who have children and individuals who do not have children. Among those "with children," an attempt was made to diversify with simple trajectories (people who had children only with their current partner), semi-complex trajectories (people with children from a previous relationship) and complex trajectories (people with children from more than one relationship). As a result, eight categories were formed and the interviews were conducted following the criteria of "data saturation," with a minimum of two cases in each category. The field work for this study is not yet finalized, but the results of the first 20 interviews are presented here.

An Approximation of the Gender System in Uruguay

To approach an understanding of the gender system in Uruguay it is necessary to consider several aspects of society that indicate the distribution of power and access to resources established based on the rights and expectations that women and men develop in their daily lives (Mason, 1995). Though we cannot conduct an exhaustive analyses of all the dimensions the gender system encompasses, we have attempted to achieve an understanding of some aspects of Uruguayan society that reveal its current status. First, information about the education system and the labor market is introduced, followed by data on women's political participation, the design of government programs for gender equity and the platforms of the political in the most recent Uruguayan elections as a means of evaluating public attention to this matter. Lastly, we provide data from studies of public opinion surveys on Uruguayans' attitudes toward the changes in gender relations, and the role of women in particular.

The Participation of Men and Women in the Labor Market and Education System

The broad coverage of the Uruguayan educational system has a long history in this country, dating back to the late 19th century in a socio-political context tending towards modernization, when an educational reform was approved that declared primary school to be obligatory and free of cost. Currently in the Uruguayan educational system we see a high participation of women, as well as an education level that is generally higher than that of men. According to data from the latest census, conducted in 1996, 97% of the Uruguayan population is literate - defined as the ability to read and write. In the breakdown among age groups, women present slightly higher literacy levels than men do in all categories. Among men, the overall illiteracy rate reaches 3.7%, while it is 2.7%. It is among the elderly population where we find higher percentages of illiterate people given that the educational system has expanded its coverage over time, reaching near-universal literacy among the younger age groups (Table 1).

The levels of education achieved by women tend to be higher than the levels men achieve. In adult groups (over age 30), in which it is assumed that the age for formal education has passed, we find appreciably higher levels of education among the female population. While at

least 12% of women complete university education, only 7% of men do. In relation to the average years of study completed by the population over age 11, it is also evident that females tend to achieve greater levels of education, even in the most advanced age groups. The highest average of years of education is found in the age group of 30 to 39, with women completing 9.3 years and men 8.7 years (Table 2).

The differences involved in the profile of higher education pursued by men and women are clearly visible in the data on admissions and graduation at the university level (Table 3).⁴ The data from the various university departments show that while there is a majority of women in many fields of study, there are some in which men maintain a clear predominance. Such is the case for agronomy and engineering. In the remaining areas, the student population is mostly women, and is particularly notable in the social and human sciences, law, library sciences and psychology. Among the basic sciences, chemistry and dentistry show a clear feminization, which also stands out in areas related to medicine: the schools of medical technology (radiology, physical therapy), and nursing and midwifery are almost the exclusive domain of women.⁵ In spite of this context of strong female presence the university, men continue to be the vast majority in the school of engineering, with its technical profile more associated with the male world, and in agronomy, associated with the performance of tasks in the clearly male-dominated rural environment.

Gender equality, achieved in terms of educational coverage and participation, is not necessarily reflected in the professional profile of Uruguayans with a university education. Though women are being incorporated into disciplines that had previously been predominantly male, women continue to be the majority in the areas of specialization considered traditionally female because they are more associated with women's responsibilities in the domestic sphere. As far as educational levels, though gender balance exists in the earlier years of schooling, the female population in all age groups has completed more years of formal education. However, this expansion of women's education does not correspond to the data related to the activities and occupations of men and women in the labor market. The greater participation of women in formal education could be due to men's earlier and more intensive incorporation into the labor market.

The incorporation of women into the labor market was massive during the last decades of the 20th century and constitutes a structural trend for Uruguayan society. If we consider the evolution of the rates of activity in urban areas⁶ from 1983 to 1998 by gender, we find a significant increase in the women's participation, rising from 38.6% to 49.3% of the female population, while economic activity among the male population stays relatively stable, varying

⁴ These data correspond to admissions in 1999 and graduations in 1998 at the University of the Republic, the institution in which higher education is most often pursued in Uruguay, and are available in the web page of this institution (<http://www.rau.edu.uy>)

⁵ It should be mentioned that teacher training for primary and secondary schools in Uruguay occurs outside the university at specialized institutions. There, 95% of the students are women.

⁶ These data were extracted from the Household Survey, unlike others that are taken from the most recent censuses. This survey is conducted continuously among approximately 18,000 households based on two representative samples for Montevideo and for the rest of the country's urban areas (cities of more than 5,000 inhabitants). The data provided from these surveys generally present higher estimates of the economically active female population than those recorded in the censuses. This is due to a more rigorous inclusion of women who work part time or sporadically.

only slightly from 73%. Though the period shows a significant expansion in the rate of women's participation, it remains far behind the portion of the male population in the labor market (Graph 1).

In the distribution of economic participation by age group, according to data from the 1996 census (Table 4), we find that, among the population age 12 or over, the levels of economic activity diverge greatly when gender is taken into account. While among men, 70.6% of the population is economically active, for women, the percentage drops to 44.6%. Even from the youngest ages - 12 to 14 - we see that levels of male activity reach 16% while 7.6% of females report being economically active. The situation in the age groups of youths and adults, the gender-based differences are repeated. While in the 25-29 age group, in which the formal educational period is assumed to be completed, 93.2% of men are economically active, while just 66% of women are economically active. This situation is repeated - though with lesser intensity - in the older age groups.

The economic participation of women varies according to marital status as well. The rates of activity for married women are much lower than those of unmarried women, which reach their highest levels among divorced, separated or widowed women. In these categories the rate of economic activity surpasses 90% among women ages 30 to 49 (Graph 2). For married women in this age group, the rate is just 65%. Similarly, if we consider the labor status of the men and women who married in 1997 we find that in just over half of the cases were both members of the couple economically active, while in 43% the man was active and the woman inactive. The inverse was recorded in just 1% of all marriages that year (Table 5).

The differences between men and women in the labor market are reflected in the type and classification of the occupations they hold. Among the economically active population we find that there is a notable masculinization in occupations related to agriculture and fishing, and also in the armed forces, which in Uruguay is 90% male. Men also predominate among the skilled industrial and crafts workers and among plant and machinery operators (Table 6). Greater feminization is found in the occupations defined as professional, scientific, artistic or intellectual, with women comprising 64% in this sector. In the overall structure of the economically active population, this sector employs 11% of women. The categories of unskilled workers and service workers (including personal services such as domestic workers) employ 40% of the economically active female population. Men, meanwhile, are concentrated in the jobs considered skilled and also in the group of service workers. It must be stressed that in the category involving jobs of relative hierarchy, such as heads of public administration and managers and owners of private companies, there is a considerable majority of men (66%), with women holding the remaining 34% of those posts. This dynamic is clear in the data based on occupational categories (Table 7). In positions of authority - bosses, supervisors - men hold 72% of the posts, compared to the 28% occupied by women. In the overall economically active population, 4.6% of women hold jobs in this category, while for men the figure is nearly double. Among factory or construction workers and office or clerical workers, though there are more men than women, the difference is not as marked, as women make up 41% of the workers in this category. The percentages in this category in the occupational structure is similar for men and women, involving the majority of the population in both cases. Gender disparity exists among the self-employed as the majority are men. The only category in which women are the majority is the unpaid domestic/family worker, which constitutes a

significant point for how the female workforce is utilized.

Employment data for urban areas, extracted from an Household Survey for the year 1996, show significant discrimination in the employment of women (Table 8). Employment rates were 65% for men and 40% for women, while unemployment rates were higher for women, reaching nearly 15%. In addition, the percentage of underemployed workers (people who work only part time but seek full employment) is higher for women than for men. The wage rates for women are inferior in all employment categories in which women constitute the majority, including domestic services.

In summary we can consider that even though women have been extensively incorporated into the Uruguayan labor market over the last few decades, they remain in a situation of gender inequality in this arena. Women represent a minority in economic activity and they hold lower positions in the hierarchy even though their educational level is higher. Unemployment and under-employment rates alike are higher for women than for men, and wages are lower across the board for the female sector of the economically active population.

Women and Gender Equity in the Uruguayan Political System

In Uruguay, women obtained political rights very early compared to most of the rest of Latin America. In 1932, women's political rights were consecrated as Uruguay was the second country in Latin American in which women obtained the right to vote, and in 1946 they obtained civil rights, recognizing their rights and civil capacity to be equal to those of men (Sapriza, 1999).

Despite these rights, current indicators show that women's participation in the public sphere is scant and segmented. In the Executive branch, there are very few posts held by women. Under the previous administration (1995-1999) women held just 6 of the 79 leadership posts, ranging from the presidency of the Republic to the secretaries general of the local governments (Table 9).

In the Legislative branch, women's participation reached 7% during the 1995-1999 term. Women reached the National Parliament for the first time in 1942 when two female senators and two female legislative deputies were elected. In the 1995-1999 period, 7 of the 99 deputy seats and 2 of the 30 senate seats were held by women. Since February 2000, following the elections held in October 1999, there are 16 women holding parliamentary seats in Uruguay - 13 deputies and 3 senators. At the level of local legislative bodies of the country's 19 departments, women's participation reached 14% in the 1995-1999 period. In the lesser bodies of local governments (Departmental Councils and Neighborhood Councils) women's participation reached 42%, demonstrating that the increase in their participation is inversely related to the power, leadership and legitimacy obtained from government posts.

Of the government branches, the Judiciary has the greatest participation of women, though it is also highly stratified in function of the hierarchy of the posts held. In 1998, there were no women justices among the five posts in the Supreme Court of Justice, but among lower court judges, they hold 59% of the posts in Montevideo (95 judges total) and 51% in the

country's interior, where there are 80 judgeships. The growing participation of women in the Judiciary has been explained by the increasing feminization in the university departments of Law and of Notaryship, from which officials for that branch are recruited, and by the fact that fewer men are willing to accept the Judiciary's relatively low salaries and the prohibition of performing any other service for wages if holding one of these posts (Sapriza, 1999).

As far as other types of female participation in the socio-political sphere, it should be stressed that, although there are no quantitative figures about women's activism in the political parties, the presence of women in party leadership is incipient. Though there are cases in which women serve on the directive bodies of these organizations, their representation continues to be limited. Labor unions, meanwhile, have seen their overall membership decline, and women's participation has similarly been reduced.

The relative increase in women's political participation in legislative posts has generated anecdotal reactions in the Uruguayan communications media. After the most recent elections in which women achieved a greater presence in the Legislative branch, many media outlets covered the issue, including interviews with the women parliamentarians. Their coverage tended to focus on the domestic image of these women, reflecting the aspect of the "affective costs" of women's political careers. However, there was almost no coverage about these costs for male parliamentarians.

As far as the governmental actions and programs intended to increase women's political participation, the commission to follow-up on the commitments Uruguay made in 1995 at the United Nations World Conference on Women, Beijing, has identified some actions and policies at different levels of government. The Family and Women Institute was created in 1991 as a national-level institution to guide government policies related to women and the family, but it has proven unable to keep up with the activities it is entrusted with performing. So far it has focussed its efforts on assisting and advising women about their rights, with particular emphasis on domestic violence. The possibility of pursuing other actions towards increasing women's political participation is limited by the budgets designated by political decision-makers.

Additionally, issues related to the participation of women and of gender equity in society have limited presence on the political agenda. Based on the analysis of the political parties' platforms of the most recent national elections, we have found that the existence of actions or policies that refer to gender equity are few and are unequally distributed among the parties, varying according to the ideological orientation of the political group.

In the program presented by the candidate for the governing party (Colorado Party, which held on to the presidency with 31.9% of the votes), we saw the classic reference to the family as "the basic unit of society" with strong connotations of moral values. References to the different members that comprise this unit were minimal though parents were closely associated with the transmission of moral values to the children. The designs of social policies are proposed with the assumption of family unity and ensuring its well-being through different actions tending towards improvements in the areas of employment, education, housing policies, services, etc. At no point do this party's policies target gender equity or the problematic of women.

In the platform of the National Party, which obtained 21.7% of the votes and supported the Colorado Party's candidate in the run-off election, there were similar references to the family and its role in forming the individual, but in a chapter titled "Childhood and Family" it mentions some policies that focus on women, particularly in relation to domestic violence, motherhood and adolescent pregnancy.

The political parties that are more identified with the political left included in their platforms some elements that make explicit reference to the problematic of women and to gender equity. The political program of the 'Nuevo Espacio' (New Space) party, an offshoot of the leftist coalition, 'Frente Amplio' (Broad Front), and which obtained 4.4% of the vote, the issue of women appears as the distinguishing feature of social policy proposals. The party proposes that gender should be acknowledged throughout all social policies, including labor, health, education, culture, social security and in political participation and social integration. The party outlines measures calling for equality in access to employment, integrating gender equity perspectives in the educational content of formal schooling, taking action against domestic violence and incorporating specific changes in health services that respond to women's needs, not only in maternity coverage, but also providing sexual and reproductive health services for women as well as for men.

Finally, in the platform of the leftist coalition 'Encuentro Progresista-Frente Amplio' (Progressive Encounter-Broad Front), which won 39.6% of the votes, is where we find the most extensive mention of gender equity in specific terms and details of measures to be taken if the coalition were to reach power. It proposes that the national government should promote gender equity policies, with the clear objective of achieving equality of opportunity among women and men, and enumerates a series of short- and medium-term actions to make such equality effective. These actions cover the areas of health, education, and work, ranging from specific attention to adolescent sexual and reproductive health to an increase in the oversight of men's and women's work conditions.

In summary, the incorporation of women into the Uruguayan political system is still nascent though it has increased in relative terms over recent decades. The image of the "woman politician" has scarcely been incorporated by Uruguayan public opinion as a counterpoint to the domestic image. The issues related to women's participation or to gender equity that are promoted by the current national government tend to be few, highly focussed and lacking in resources. The inclusion of this type of question in political agendas is generally limited, and it is in the governing party that we have found least mention of the issue.

Uruguayans' Perception of Changes in Gender Relations and Family Dynamics

Some public opinion studies have been conducted in Uruguay, disseminated by the media, that directly or indirectly cover the issue of gender roles in Uruguayan society⁷. Though these studies are not considered exhaustive, some elements can be used in order to assess, even if superficially, the perception Uruguayans have of gender roles. In this section we present the

⁷ These data were extracted from Public Opinion Surveys conducted by Equipos/Mori and published in the newspaper "El Observador" between 1995 and 1999.

type of data revealed by the public opinion surveys in relation to the roles attributed to women and men in family and social life.

In 1999, in regard to the passage of a law on assisted reproduction (fertility treatments), studies were conducted revealing that for 54% of the Uruguayans surveyed, a woman must be a mother in order to feel completely fulfilled, and 39% believe that being a mother is not a necessary condition for feeling completely fulfilled as a woman. Those most inclined to consider motherhood as an indispensable characteristic for female fulfillment are older and have a medium level of education. People with a university education were the only group in which the majority did not consider it necessary for a woman to have children in order to feel fulfilled.

Studies conducted in previous years about the roles of family members indicate that, at least in some aspects, Uruguayans identify with a traditional family model in which the man is responsible for providing the household income, while the woman should be in charge of caring for the children and of running the household in general. In a March 1995 survey, 45% of the Uruguayans polled agreed with the phrase that, in general terms, reflect this conception. In a study conducted in August 1998, with similar wording, the portion remained nearly the same (43%).

However, the information gathered on that date show Uruguayans are generally open to economic-related transformations in gender roles. The vast majority (84%) agree with the phrase *"Both man and woman should contribute to the household income,"* and nearly seven out of 10 (68%) also agree that *"Having a job is the best way for a woman to be independent."* This suggests that Uruguayans are not very traditional when economic reasons are behind the changes in women's roles in the home. A quite different panorama arises from the analysis of the survey responses on ideological and family values. Nearly two-thirds (65%) agree that *"Work is fine, but what many women want is to have a home and children."* More than half (54%) believe that *"being a housewife allows the same kind of fulfillment as having a job,"* and 43% agree with the idea that *"The duty of the man is to earn money, and the duty of the woman is to take care of the home and the family."* This general outlook is only nuanced by the large portion of people surveyed (61%) who believe that *"A mother who works outside the home can establish a relationship with her children that is just as warm and secure as those established by mothers who do not work."*

The overall results indicate that Uruguayans tend to be more tradition-minded about the female role in the family than they are about the changing economic role of women. Just two out of 10 people could be defined as "traditional" for their stance on statements that refer to changes in female roles arising from economic matters, while the portion rises to six of every 10 when the statements refer to the changes in these roles in relation to their impact on the family. The opinions expressed by the men surveyed do not differ greatly from those expressed by the women. The differences do acquire some magnitude in aspects referring to the domestic consequences of expanding women's economic roles, reflecting a more traditional attitude among men than among women. As for educational levels, those with lesser education are more traditional in their outlook on female roles than those with higher education, especially when it comes to changes involving family life.

Table 10 shows the responses of the people surveyed in Montevideo in March 1995 about the obligations of men and women in a relationship. Apparently, most respondents believe the duties mentioned correspond to both members of the couple, though there seems to be greater segmentation when the matter involves household tasks associated with women, and those associated with men (such as home repairs, more technical tasks). The greatest consensus surrounds the belief that both should educate the children, as 92% of those surveyed support the statement that this duty is to be shared by both parents. However, it is curious that when it comes to "caring for" - not "educating" - the children, the portion falls to 73%, while 27% of those surveyed maintain that childcare is the woman's duty alone. In this sense, the identification of the image of the man as educator can be contrasted with that of the woman as caregiver, with the latter more likely to involve physical contact with the children, while the role of educator is more associated with the transmission of knowledge and values. When the survey questions involve providing income for the household, though 68% of Montevideans believe that the responsibility is of the man as well as the woman, 30% identify it as the duty of the man alone, while just 2% believe the woman is the one who should provide the household income. The same poll asked Montevideans about decision-making authority for certain topics and tend to stand in contrast to the reality of the family of the interviewee (Table 11). While the vast majority (92%) believe that decisions about educating the children should be shared by both parents, just 68% think that this is what truly occurs in their own families, with women making these decisions in 20% of the cases, and men in just 4% of the cases. As far as the smaller expenses of the household, an important proportion of those surveyed assign responsibility directly to the woman (41%), while in practice it rises to 50%. But when it comes to larger expenses, 85% say the decision should be made jointly, but only 70% say that this is what actually occurs, while in 15% of the cases the decisions are made by the man, and 12% by the woman. Although the number of children a couple has does not always involve a voluntary decision, but can be mediated by several unforeseen variables, 92% recognize that this should be a joint decision. But the portion is lower for the cases in which this actually occurs (79%), while in 9% of the cases the decision is attributed to the woman alone, and in just 2% to the man. Lastly, deciding on where to live appears to be the matter requiring most consensus of the couple, as 96% see this as a decision to be made by both members, but in practice it was respected in just 81% of the cases experienced by those interviewed.

Many of these studies are based on the level of agreement expressed by the interviewees in response to statements that summarize an opinion. These results vary depending on the characteristics of the interviewees. For example, the attitude towards the phrase "*the woman's responsibility is to take care of the children and the home, and the man's to provide the household income,*" - which reflects an important segmentation of family roles based on the most traditional model - changes when variables such as residence, gender and education are incorporated (Table 12). In general terms, 46% of Uruguayans agree with the above statement, while Montevideans in particular show less agreement with the model it expresses. As far as gender, men seem to respond along more traditional lines than women, but the differences are not significant. The variable that seems to have the most impact is education. Among those with primary education or incomplete secondary education, more than 60% express agreement with the statement, while among those with higher levels of education the rate drops abruptly, with just 9% of those with university training agreeing with the statement.

In August 1996, another study was conducted to determine the level of agreement

Uruguayans felt about statements concerning the duties of men and women (Table 13). The results of this survey also show Uruguayans' strong acceptance of women in the traditional role, with 82% defining their principal responsibility as related to children. It should be mentioned that this figure jumps to 96% among those who did not complete primary school, and falls to 57% among the interviewees who completed at least one year of university studies. Among people age 60 or over, 90% agree with the traditional role for women, while in the 18-29 age group, it drops to 70%. This traditionalism is further reaffirmed by responses to the statement that the woman should only work outside the home if the man's income is not sufficient, an opinion held by 61% of Uruguayans. However, just 23% express agreement with the possibility that marriage will fail if the woman earns more money than the man. These data suggest that, while the domestic role of the woman is highly valued, affirming that she should only work if the man's income is not enough, there is recognition that the woman's employment and success outside the domestic sphere does not imply marital failure. According to these results, the position of many Uruguayans could perhaps be summarized as the following: It is preferable that the woman remain in the home with the children if the economic situation permits it, and she should work outside the home only if necessary for the household, but there would be few problems if she is more financially successful than the man.

In synthesis, among Uruguayans we find strong indicators of opinion that maintain the traditional model in the designation of gender roles, associating women with the domestic sphere, in particular with the care and education of the children, and men with the role of economic provider. Despite the fact that certain traditional images about women's roles remain firmly intact among Uruguayans, others are debatable. Some images are beginning to be discarded outright, especially those involving a woman's personal and professional fulfillment and her role in making economic contributions to the household. Though this stance is progressively more accepted, the viewpoint that links women with the care of the children remains entrenched. These images are increasingly in conflict. The woman worker is accepted for the benefits she can provide to the household, but is rejected when the impact on her reproductive duties are taken into account. The presence of children in the household and the need to take care of them seems to be - as far as the public opinion of Uruguayans - the obstacle that most stands in the way of full acceptance of a working and independent woman.

In-Depth Interviews: Preliminary Results

In this section we present the preliminary results of the analysis of the in-depth interviews. There is not room here to reproduce the texts of the interviews conducted though we occasionally include some quotations that are key to or significant for the analysis. The results presented constitute a synthetic and preliminary explanation based on the first twenty interviews conducted. The qualitative methodology here does not seek to be statistically representative but rather to highlight the singularity of the constructed discourse. The data are understood as a construction process in which knowledge constitutes an approximation of the social reality but does not imply the possibility of encompassing it completely (Paredes, 2000). Consequently, these results are not subject to a criteria of statistical generalization, but rather a deeper understanding of the meanings the interviewees attribute to their reproductive and family histories, thus allowing us greater comprehension of the transformations in Uruguayan society's reproductive behavior and family dynamics.

The Construction of the Meaning of Motherhood and Fatherhood

The experiences of motherhood and fatherhood are key elements in the process of constructing personal identities. For women, motherhood becomes part of a personal project in a more defined way than does fatherhood for men, and occurs prior to the experience itself. It can be said that among women the idea of having children prevails throughout life and crystallizes as an element of identity building in the actual experience of motherhood. For men, fatherhood is not always clearly defined as a project in their personal history but acquires strength and affirmation once it is experienced. For this reason, the significance attributed to the impact that actual fatherhood generates in the lives of men is often stronger than actual motherhood in the lives of women. Statements like *"I am no longer the person I used to be"* or *"I can't imagine not being a father"* or *"I am a father, it is part of my life, it is part of my identity"* reflect the structural change created by fatherhood in constructing the male identity. Men also tend to mention emotional growth and an increased capacity for love as the results of their parental experiences.

The construction of the meaning of motherhood among the women interviewed takes form in a more contradictory discourse. Many mention the tension between the personal project of professional development and the interruption suffered in studies or career. Though none of the women interviewed quit her job as a result of having children, the reduction of hours worked daily or the inability to complete education or pursue promotions constitute elements of "slowing" "breaking" the progress of women within the activities they developed in the labor market. However, we generally find a high valuation of the maternal experience that is usually associated with the physical ties with the child. One example of this is the references made to the moment of birth, such as *"the happiest day of my life was not when I got married, nor when I graduated. It was the day that I received my daughter in my arms, and all the fantasy of nine months was crystallized,"* or *"for a mother, a child is like an extension of her body, you feel the child like a part of your body."* However, in the discourse constructed by women, the significance attributed to the experience of motherhood is not reflected as a structural change in her persona nor in her life. The experience is basically lived as "natural", planned, thought out, decided and accepted.

The perception that women are naturally associated with birth is quite frequent in the discourse of the interviewees and usually favors the mother/child relationship over that of father/child. The ability to engender a human being tends to define women whether or not this is carried out, though many consider it "unnatural" to decide not to have children. This type of perception is evident in phrases like *"a woman is a mother, even if she never has children, she is a mother,"* *"I think that being a mother, being able to create a human being is the high point, there is nothing more, I don't think there is anything better,"* *"when I say that I am not interested, that I don't picture myself with children, they tell me I'm going against nature,"* and *"the woman is naturally called to have children."* These statements were made by men and women alike, with and without children. This often leads - in the construction of the interviewees' discourse - to the "social sanction" that accompanies not having children. In some cases, people who have decided not to have children are accused of selfishness or individualistic attitudes, and in others, though there is not an under-valuation of this

phenomenon, there is the perception of losing a rich experience of personal fulfillment. Likewise, the men without children interviewed construct a more anguished significance for their lack of paternal experience than do women without children. Among the latter, the professional or work-related affirmation often stands in opposition to a life with children. This does not in any way remove the sensation of "being different" that is expressed by women who have decided not to have children in a society described as "made for living as a family," which these women have often had to "oppose," reinforcing themselves in psychological therapeutic process of personal affirmation. In addition, the "family-focussed" valuation among those interviewed is closely related to the feeling of protection created by the family institution, in particular with the presence of children, and counters - and often sanctions - the life as a single adult. However, this does not reflect the possibility of personal fulfillment that people without children can have, nor in the valuation of such trajectories even by those interviewees who do have children. The parental experience itself does not escape challenge: many times the evaluation of motherhood or fatherhood is based on the way the family ties are constructed. It is the strength of the well-built ties that leads to an appreciation of the parental experience and stands in contrast to the devaluation of a link that lacks content. This is related to a new way of building family ties that often transcends the older types of family structures.

Family Ties: Parents and Children in a Changing Context

The decision to have children is generally attributed to women, even when it is the outcome of a consensus of the couple. The decisions associated with the number of children, the woman's desire for a second or third child, are often obstructed by arguments from the male related to economic limitations. In this sense we can observe that often the ideal fertility would be higher than effective fertility rates, a trait that makes Uruguay unique in the Latin American context (Celade et al., 1994). The discourse constructed by the interviewees tends to involve the desire to have had more children and the impediment of economic limitations, or of professional or work-related postponements. Also mentioned are the desire for better use of free time and the recovery of the lifestyle of the couple that is perceived as being lost or changed with the arrival of children. In the case of economic restrictions, we can clearly see the costs related to having children in these middle-upper socioeconomic sectors. Parents invest in and spend money on a child: the costs of education, health and recreation are mentioned most often. The equation of quantity vs. quality arises not only in the economic cost, but also in the quality of the emotional relationship. The strengthening of affective ties between parents and children runs counter to the idea of large families. This type of link tends to appear more forcefully and in a more personal and bilateral way for people with children who have gone through a divorce or separation. In these cases, the reaffirmation of the vertical (filiation) link appears to take on greater significance when the horizontal tie (alliance) is weakened or broken.

Among the reasons cited against more numerous families, we find the possibility of enjoying and reconstituting life as a couple. The changes children cause in the dynamic of a life led by a couple are reflected in this desire to reaffirm the horizontal tie at a certain point in the family life cycle. Though motherhood and fatherhood are usually defined as acts of "responsibility" and "maturity", the interviewees tend to describe themselves as more selfish than their parents were. In comparing these experiences we find differences that are reflected also in the process of constructing gender identities related to the parental experience. Men feel emotional

growth in the experience of fatherhood, and contrast it with their perception of their own colder and more distant fathers, and they tend to feel that the father-child link in their own generational experience is more flexible. The comparison women tend to make is more related to the altruism they say characterized their own mothers. In this female discourse they tend to mention the conflict of feeling more selfish and less generous than were their mothers in their experience with motherhood. This is often related to the female affirmation in the work and professional sphere, which in general did not constitute part of the process of identity construction in previous generations.

Gender Relations and Family Dynamic

As we have seen in previous sections, women have increased their participation in the economically active population in Uruguayan society. To the extent that women's economic activity was a premise for the people interviewed, the discourse was constructed based on that characteristic. Despite this fact, there are differences between women in relation to labor market insertion and professional development. There are cases in which professional affirmation is clearly relegated in function of the reproductive trajectory of the women. They either work less, their performance suffers or they postpone their professional aspirations once children are present in the home. In other cases professional affirmation continues to be the principal goal in the women's personal project, valued as much or more than the maternal experience. The meaning of the financial contribution the woman makes to the total household income has a great deal to do with these attitudes. If this contribution is considered substantial, both by the man and by the woman, the woman's economic activity is much more valued than when the contribution is merely complementary. In the first case, neither the man nor the woman conceives of a family model without the woman's participation in the labor market. In the cases where the woman's financial contribution is complementary to the man's, the aspirations for professional development of the woman are subordinate to her role as mother and spouse.

In all cases the domestic space generally is considered an area where the woman predominates. Even when the woman is as much or more of an economic support for the household, the supervision of domestic life is in her charge. Though this has consequences - the daily overburdening through the woman's "double shift" - it is also a space for affirmation of the female identity. This is reflected in the discourse of men as well as women and is deeply rooted in the traditional model of gender roles. This model functions with greater force in nuclear family structures and is accentuated with the arrival of children. The domestic chores associated with caring for children, though often supported by domestic employees or by relatives (usually the children's grandparents or aunts and uncles), fall to the woman/mother. In the discourse constructed by women, the feeling of being "indispensable" in the domestic aspect of family life usually contrasts with a certain disqualification of the man in carrying out domestic duties. In other cases, though the man collaborates in housework, the hegemony or supervision remains in the woman's hands. It is in this sense in which the construction of a space for identity affirmation is verbalized, especially in the women's own words.

In spite of this, the interviewees generally elaborate a discourse in which they perceive a notable change in gender relations. This change is more closely related to the

incorporation of the woman "into society," in the labor market, in women's professional and personal development, than to the impact of these changes on domestic life. Even the male discourse tends to be constructed as a vindication of the traditional roles of the woman, though recognizing achievements of equality in some spheres that are not equated with the "unassumed" responsibilities that correspond to men, such as women's achievements in the public sphere, particularly in the labor market. The decision-making capacity women have acquired as a result of their incorporation into the traditionally male sphere produces a feeling of equality as human beings between men and women that is generally valued by all. But the repercussion of this process on the daily dynamic is not necessarily translated into an equitable relationship in the home. The interviewees' observations coincide with the analysis we made in the previous section based on public opinion surveys. The change in gender relations is perceived to a greater extent in the incorporation of women into the labor market and their resulting contribution to household income. Women's aspirations for professional and personal development generate changes in the dynamic of the couple and creates an equivalence with men in that sense. But the domestic sphere continues to be the female domain, particularly in relation to rearing children. In this sense the construction of the female identity passes through a process in which family life, motherhood and the domestic sphere remain important elements for affirming the identity, even when professional development constitutes an important part of her personal project. Among men, fatherhood seems to have gained ground in the construction of the male identity, largely in the flexibility acquired in building emotional ties with children. But this does not necessarily translate into men's acquisition of the domestic space as an element of personal affirmation, thus the male identity remains linked to providing economic support for the household.

Conclusions

We can conclude that the Uruguayan case is not characterized by gender equity. Although the education system shows a high level of equality, when we examine women's participation in the labor market and the political system, the data underscores the inequalities existing between women and men in Uruguayan society. The study of secondary data shows that although Uruguay's education system has high female participation, the same cannot be said about the labor market. Women complete more formal education than men, but men obtain better insertion in the labor market. Female and male segregation, as far as economic activities and income differences, indicates the labor market's continued discrimination against women.

Women's participation in political decision-making is limited compared to that of men, and is inversely related to the status of the position in the political hierarchy. As indicated by public opinion surveys, Uruguayans are generally accepting of women's participation in the labor market, but less inclined to assimilate changes occurring regarding the role of women in the household. Uruguayans tend to be more comfortable with the traditional breadwinner model in which women take care of their children and men work outside the home.

Although we can observe that the Uruguayan society does not seem to have incorporated many changes in gender equity, the analysis of in-depth interviews allows us to say that, at the family level, changes in women's and men's relationships are beginning to occur. These changes are related to the meaning of motherhood and fatherhood in the construction of gender

identities and the redistribution of the identity-affirming spheres. Fatherhood is affirmed in the construction of the male identity through strengthening the emotional ties between father and children. But motherhood maintains its focus on the physical identification of the woman with the "naturalness" of having children. For women, conflict arises between their professional development and the demands of a family life linked to the experience of motherhood. Even though men also experience these kinds of tensions, they tend to manifest themselves more strongly in women to the extent that women maintain their protagonism in the domestic sphere. Though there is a certain equality between men and women as far as aspirations for personal development and fulfillment, this does not necessarily translate into an equitable distribution of the spaces for affirming identity in the family dynamic. As a result, the tensions generated by a reproductive history involving children translate into more distinct oppositions for women who have not been mothers than for men who have not been fathers. The construction of the female identity, in these cases, is affirmed much more by professional development, assuming the costs generated by the "social sanction" in an Uruguayan society apparently "made for living as a family." Other conclusions are pending further detailed analysis of all of the interviews conducted.

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Annex

	Women	Men
Overall	2.7	3.7
Urban areas	2.6	3.2
Rural areas	4.4	8.1
Youth (ages 15-29)	1.4	1.8
Adult (30-64)	3.3	1.9
Older adult (65-84)	9.0	6.6
Elderly (age 85 and over)	17.0	14.1

Source: 'Mujer y estadísticas'. INFM; UNICEF; Ministry of Education and Culture, 2000 and author's synthesis based on data from the 1996 census.

Table 2 - Average years of schooling completed* by the population ages 12 and older, by sex and age group.

	Total	Male	Female
Total	7.73	7.55	7.89
12 - 14.	5.75	5.58	5.93
15 - 19.	7.78	7.48	8.10
20 - 24.	8.93	8.52	9.34
25 - 29.	9.12	8.73	9.51
30 - 34.	9.00	8.71	9.28
35 - 39.	9.02	8.77	9.26
40 - 44.	8.75	8.48	9.00
45 - 49.	8.22	8.00	8.43
50 - 54.	7.67	7.49	7.85
55 - 59.	6.98	6.82	7.13
60 - 64.	6.39	6.19	6.56
65 - 69.	5.97	5.88	6.05
70 - 74.	5.62	5.57	5.66
75 - 79.	5.32	5.29	5.34
80 - 84.	5.13	5.03	5.18
85 or older. ...	4.68	4.63	4.70

* Does not include pre-school education.

Source: Author's synthesis based on the 1996 National Population and Housing Census.

Table 3 – Admissions (1999) and graduations (1998) at the University of the Republic of Uruguay, by field of study and by gender.

Field of Study	Admissions - 1999			Graduation – 1998		
	Men	Women		Men	Women	
Agronomy	66.8	33.2	100.0	73.1	26.9	100.0
Architecture	52.7	47.3	100.0	48.5	51.5	100.0
Sciences	40.2	59.8	100.0	46.5	53.5	100.0
Economic Sciences	42.1	57.9	100.0	44.3	55.7	100.0
Social Sciences	25.0	75.0	100.0	36.1	63.9	100.0
Law	39.4	60.6	100.0	30.9	69.1	100.0
Humanities and Educ. Sciences	29.8	70.2	100.0	30.0	70.0	100.0
Engineering	54.4	45.6	100.0	77.4	22.6	100.0
Medicine	31.7	68.3	100.0	39.2	60.8	100.0
Dentistry	27.0	73.0	100.0	31.3	68.8	100.0
Chemistry	31.0	69.0	100.0	12.2	87.8	100.0
Veterinary Medicine	38.5	61.5	100.0	63.6	36.4	100.0
Psychology	35.3	64.7	100.0	22.6	77.4	100.0
Communication Sciences	39.0	61.0	100.0	48.1	51.9	100.0
Fine Arts	35.0	65.0	100.0	----	----	----
Nursing	14.0	86.0	100.0	6.7	93.3	100.0
Administration	29.0	71.0	100.0	----	----	----
Dental Assistant	----	----	---	11.6	88.4	100.0
Nutrition and Diet	10.4	89.6	100.0	8.6	91.4	100.0
Midwifery	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0
Medical Technology	26.2	73.8	100.0	15.6	84.4	100.0
Music	62.5	37.5	100.0	----	----	----
Library Sciences	29.1	70.9	100.0	13.8	86.2	100.0

Source: Universidad de la República del Uruguay, web page (<http://www.rau.edu.uy>)

Table 4 - Economically active population ages 12 and older, by sex and by age group – 1996

	Male	Female
Total	70.6	44.6
12 to 13	6.2	3.6
14	16.1	7.6
15-24	68.3	46.2
25-29	93.2	65.9
30-64	88.7	58.4
65 or older	22.7	9.1

Source: Author's synthesis based on the 1996 National Population and Housing Census.

Table 5 - Marriages in 1997, by status of economic activity of the husband and of the wife.

Activity of Wife	Activity of Husband			Total
	Active	Inactive	Unknown	
Active	53.6	1.0	0.1	54.7
Inactive	42.7	2.3	0.2	45.1
Unknown	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.2
Total	96.5	3.3	0.3	100.0

Source: Author's synthesis based on vital statistics, 1997, National Institute of Statistics.

	Participation in EAP		Structure of EAP		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Public administration directors, managers, administrators, owners of private companies	66.2	33.8	4.2	3.1	3.8
Professionals, scientists, artists, intellectuals	36.5	63.5	4.3	10.9	7.0
Mid-level technicians and professionals	56.0	44.0	5.1	5.8	5.4
Office employees	43.7	56.3	7.7	14.3	10.4
Service workers, vendors, retail	45.8	54.2	10.7	18.3	13.8
Farmers, skilled agriculture and fishing	87.1	12.9	7.5	1.6	5.1
Skilled industrial and crafts workers	82.2	17.8	21.9	6.9	15.7
Plant and machinery operators	83.4	16.6	8.9	2.6	6.3
Unskilled workers	51.2	48.8	17.6	24.3	20.3
Armed forces	89.9	10.1	2.4	0.4	1.6
Unspecified	56.8	43.2	8.4	9.3	8.8
Looking for work for first time	43.7	56.3	1.4	2.5	1.8
Total	59.2	40.8	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Author's synthesis based on the 1996 National Population and Housing Census.

	Participation in EAP		Structure of EAP	
	Men	Women	Women	Men
Supervisor/Boss	72.2	27.8	4.6	8.2
Worker or employee	58.9	41.1	66.5	65.8
Self-employed	61.8	38.2	17.5	19.5
Unpaid family worker	35.6	64.4	3.3	1.3
Member of production cooperative	78.8	21.2	0.2	0.4
Other	56.2	43.8	5.4	3.4
Looking for work for first time	43.7	56.3	2.5	1.4
Total	59.2	40.8	100.0	100.0

Source: Author's synthesis based on the 1996 National Population and Housing Census.

	Women	Men
Urban employment rate	39.9	64.8
Urban unemployment rate	14.6	9.8
% of under-employed among employed urban population	8.0	6.1
% of 'unstable' employed among employed urban population	13.1	16.3
% of domestic service among employed urban population	17.1	0.2
Average hourly wage (Uruguayan pesos)		
Professionals, technicians, directors	35.5	57.3
Average hourly wage (Uruguayan pesos) Office workers	26.0	31.3
Average hourly wage (Uruguayan pesos) Personal services	17.2	18.5

Source: 'Mujer y estadísticas' INFM; UNICEF; Ministry of Education and Culture, 2000. Household Survey, 1996

	Position	Women	% of Women
Executive Branch			
President of the Republic	1	0	0.0
Vice-President of the Republic	1	0	0.0
Ministers	13	1	7.7
Assistant Ministers	13	1	7.7
Directors-General of Secretariats	13	1	7.7
Departmental Mayors	19	0	0.0
Secretaries-General of Mayorships	19	3	15.8
Total	79	6	7.6
Director of Autonomous Entities	101	13	12.9
Director of Decentralized Services	34	3	8.8
Legislative Branch			
Deputies	99	7	7.1
Senators	30	2	6.7
Total	129	9	7.0
Departmental Legislative Bodies			
City Councilor in Montevideo	31	6	19.4
City Councilor in the Interior	558	78	14.0
Total	589	84	14.3
Judicial Branch – (1998)			
Supreme Court of Justice	5	0	0.0
Lower court judges in Montevideo	95	56	58.9
Lower court judges in Interior	80	41	51.3
Courts of Appeals	44	15	34.1
Total	224	112	50.0

Source: Author's synthesis based on Sapriza, 1999. *El Estado Uruguayo y las Mujeres. Monitoreo de políticas públicas*

	Man	Woman	Both	Total
household chores	0	34	66	100
care of children	0	27	73	100
educating the children	1	7	92	100
household repairs	32	5	63	100
Shopping	4	28	68	100
provide household income	30	2	68	100

Source: Equipos/Mori, survey conducted in March 1995.

Table 11 – Public opinion survey. Who should make decisions and who does make the decisions in practice, with respect to:

	Man	Woman	Both	Unknown	Total
education of the children					
who should decide	2	6	92	0	100
who actually decides	4	20	68	8	100
small household purchases					
who should decide	1	41	58	0	100
who actually decides	4	50	44	2	100
large household purchases					
who should decide	13	2	85	0	100
who actually decides	15	12	70	3	100
number of children					
who should decide	1	5	92	2	100
who actually decides	2	9	79	10	100
where to live					
who should decide	4	0	96	0	100
who actually decides	9	7	81	3	100

Source: Equipos/Mori, survey conducted in March 1995.

Table 12 - Public opinion survey. % of people who agree with the statement: *It is the woman's responsibility to take care of the children and the home and the man's responsibility to provide the household income* according to selected variables.

Total	46%
According to Place of Residence	
Montevideo	37%
Interior	50%
According to sex	
Men	48%
Women	41%
According to education	
Primary school incomplete	63%
Up to 3 years secondary school	61%
Up to 6 years secondary school	22%
University	9%

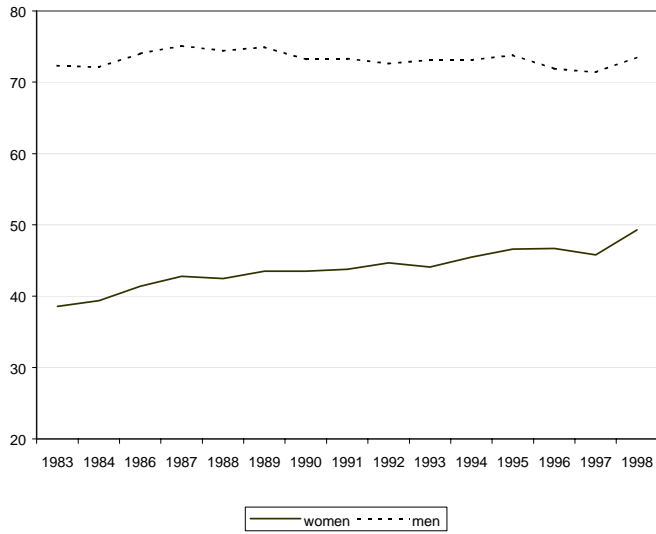
Source: Equipos/Mori, survey conducted in March 1995.

Table 13 - Public Opinion Survey. % of people who "agree" with the following statements:

<i>A woman's first and fundamental obligation is to care for and educate her children.</i>	82%
<i>A married woman with children should only work if her husband's earnings are insufficient.</i>	61%
<i>The ideal status of a woman is to be married.</i>	42%
<i>Personal fulfillment is only possible for single women.</i>	25%
<i>A marriage will fail if the woman is more successful or earns more than the man.</i>	23%

Source: Equipos/Mori, survey conducted in August 1996.

Graph 1 - Rates of economic activity in urban areas by sex (1983-1998)



Graph 2 - Rates of women economic activity in urban areas by marital status - 1996

