



This is to certify that the
dissertation entitled
THE TIES THAT BIND:
THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF WORK AND FAMILY AMONG WOMEN
IN INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT IN QUERETARO, MEXICO

presented by

Ruth Eugenia Scott

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

PhD degree in Anthropology


Major professor

Date November 7, 1988



RETURNING MATERIALS:
Place in book drop to
remove this checkout from
your record. FINES will
be charged if book is
returned after the date
stamped below.

		JUN 24 1995 MAGIC 2
		NOV 10 1998
153	June 15-92	
174	July 6-92	
141	July 25-92	
207	Aug 7-92	
280	Aug 31-92	
252	Jan 5 th	
046	May 10 th	
144	Sept 27	

THE TIES THAT BIND:
THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF WORK AND FAMILY AMONG WOMEN
IN INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT IN QUERETARO, MEXICO

By

Ruth Eugenia Scott

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Anthropology

1988

ABSTRACT

THE TIES THAT BIND: THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF WORK AND FAMILY AMONG WOMEN IN INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT IN QUERETARO, MEXICO

By

Ruth Eugenia Scott

This dissertation focuses on women in the industrial manufacturing sector of Queretaro, Mexico. It examines women's work and adaptations in the home and in the industrial workplace, emphasizing the interrelationship of work and family.

Rapid industrialization in Queretaro provides a context for the examination of women's participation in industry, particularly as managers. The position of manager has traditionally been "sex-typed" as male, and few women hold management positions. This study focuses on women's entrance into industrial management, on the social, political, and economic barriers they face, and on their strategies for coping with these barriers.

A comparison of management and non-management women in industry is presented in terms of life chances, ideology, aspirations, and class and gender relations using data collected from survey questionnaire, in-depth interviews, and participant observation in the home and the industrial workplace during sixteen months of field research in Queretaro.

Management women in Queretaro are concentrated in the

middle- and lower-levels of industrial management. Only one woman holds an upper-level management position. They are employed in industries as diverse as heavy manufacturing and food processing. Although they are concentrated in human relations positions, they have broken into non-traditional areas for women, such as engineering.

Managers attribute their success to supportive families, access to education, and supportive relationships with husband and children. They ask for and receive more help from their families with domestic chores. They view their managerial work as a career, and derive a high level of satisfaction from it. The class position of managers gives them the flexibility to satisfactorily combine career and family.

Non-managers report more difficulty in juggling work and family demands. Their low-level clerical positions provide less flexibility and satisfaction than do management positions. Less supportive relationships with husbands and children create a double burden for non-management women.

This examination of women's work and adaptations in the home and in the workplace emphasizes the interdependence of class and gender relations and their effects on women's access to and participation in the work force.

Copyright by
RUTH EUGENIA SCOTT
1988

to Bill, for his help, humor, and understanding to the end

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The major portion of my fieldwork in 1982-83 was made possible by a National Resource Fellowship in International Development Studies from the Center for Advanced Studies in International Development at Michigan State University. I received additional financial assistance from a Women in Development Grant from the Ford Foundation through the Office of Women in International Development at Michigan State University.

Dr. Ann Millard, as Chair of my committee, provided constant insight, criticism, and encouragement throughout the writing process. I thank her for her willingness to explore new theoretical directions with me, for her careful reading and criticism of my dissertation, and for her friendship.

I owe Dr. Melissa Barker a tremendous debt for her theoretical guidance and interest in my research. Her thorough reading and criticism, and constant encouragement helped to shape my own thinking and the final form of this dissertation.

Dr. Scott Whiteford oversaw my first fieldwork in Queretaro in 1976, and he continued to provide encouragement

and criticism during the completion of this research. I would like to thank both Scott and Weegee Dana Whiteford for introducing me to Mexico and to the joys of fieldwork.

Dr. Harry Raulet contributed to my early theoretical exploration and his comments and criticism are reflected in this dissertation.

Dr. Barbara Rylko-Bauer provided careful reading of the first draft of the dissertation and her comments and support helped to bring it to completion. Her critical contribution as a committee member is greatly appreciated.

In the early stages of writing, Dr. Rita Gallin provided valuable criticism and direction and I thank her for her participation. Dr. Joseph Spielberg's helpful advice and comments were much appreciated on my return from the field.

Thanks also to Randy Donahue for his assistance and encouragement throughout the data analysis phase, to Pat Whittier for her editing and comments on an earlier draft, and to Terry Hoops and Bill Derman for their comments and encouragement in our writing group.

My greatest debt is to the women who participated in this study and I am grateful for the opportunity to have known them. Their willingness to answer endless questions and open their lives to me astounded me. Although they must remain anonymous, the women and men who participated in this study have my deep appreciation.

In Mexico I received assistance from a variety of individuals and institutions. The cooperation of the Universidad Autonoma de Queretaro, particularly the members of the Centro de Estudios Antropologicos and the Office of Extension, was invaluable. I would especially like to thank Patricia Palacios de Westendarp for her encouragement and assistance in my research efforts, and to her and her family, many thanks for opening their home to me.

I would like to thank Elizabeth Arguedas and Bill Schermer for helping me to get settled in Queretaro, and for their hospitality. Brooks, Mike, and Ana Natasha Cervantes were good friends and made me feel at home in Queretaro. Jim Keyes helped me to appreciate my opportunity to explore Queretaro and Mexico, and I thank him for his constant encouragement and support. My thanks to Antoinette Verwey for her humor, insight, and friendship; and to Sylvia Chant for sharing the trials and satisfactions of field research.

Throughout my graduate career my family has been understanding, somehow always interested, and supportive; without them it would all have been much harder. My mother especially has inspired me to persevere, and I thank her.

Finally, I thank my husband, Bill Rockwell, for his patience and clear-thinking during the completion of this dissertation. His willingness to read, criticize, type, and encourage makes me look forward to years of collaboration.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xii
CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION.....	1
Research Problem.....	1
Theoretical Framework.....	10
Theoretical Constructs:	
Gender and Class.....	16
CHAPTER TWO - THE RESEARCH SETTING.....	21
Historical Background.....	21
The Colonial Period.....	22
The Struggle for Interdependence.....	32
The Revolution and Post-Revolutionary	
Years.....	33
Industrialization since the 1940s.....	35
Conclusions.....	45
CHAPTER THREE - DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTICIPANTS	
AND METHODS.....	50
Research Design.....	50
Selection of Participants.....	51
Development of the Questionnaire.....	55
Interviewing.....	57
Participant Observation.....	58
Other Sources of Data.....	58
Description of Participants.....	59
Personal Characteristics.....	61
Family and Class Background.....	63
Educational Background.....	69
Marriage and Family.....	75
Husband's Background.....	78
Children.....	79
Summary.....	80

CHAPTER FOUR - THE WORKPLACE.....	82
Recruitment.....	82
Rank.....	84
Entry Level.....	85
Work Relations.....	87
Management Women and their Supervisors..	90
Non-Management Women and their	
Supervisors.....	92
Management Women and Subordinates.....	93
Co-workers.....	94
Isolation and Tokenism.....	98
Work Networks.....	99
Corporate Executives.....	101
Aspirations for Advancement.....	102
Career vs. Employment.....	104
Class Relations in the Work Place.....	106
Summary and Discussion.....	111
CHAPTER FIVE - STRUGGLING THE GOOD STRUGGLE.....	115
Marriage.....	119
Children.....	123
Division of Labor in the Home.....	127
Husbands.....	127
Children.....	131
Other Domestic Help.....	134
Discussion.....	136
CHAPTER SIX - DAILY LIVES.....	147
A Manager: Ana.....	147
A Non-Manager: Guadalupe.....	155
Comparison of the Daily Lives of a Manager	
and a Non-Manager.....	160
CHAPTER SEVEN - CONCLUSIONS.....	164
The Managers.....	165
The Non-Managers.....	166
Class and Gender Relations.....	168
Mentoring.....	171
Women and Industrial Work.....	172
Career vs. Employment.....	174
Industrial Relations within a World Economy.	177
Managers and the World Economy.....	178
Ideology and Consciousness.....	179
The Interdependence of Work and Family.....	183
APPENDIX - SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE.....	187
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	198

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 3.1. Distribution of Women Managers in Manufacturing Industries.....	60
Table 3.2. Age of Respondents.....	62
Table 3.3. Place of Origin.....	63
Table 3.4. Occupation of Father during Respondents' Childhood.....	67
Table 3.5. Occupation of Mother during Respondents' Childhood.....	68
Table 3.6. Highest Level of Education Obtained.....	70
Table 3.7. Marriage and Family.....	77
Table 3.8. Husbands' Occupation.....	79
Table 4.1. How did you hear of an opening for work in this firm?.....	83
Table 4.2. At what level was your first position in the firm?.....	86
Table 4.3. Are you the first woman in your present position?.....	89
Table 4.4. Is your supervisor:.....	91
Table 4.5. Responses of Managers Regarding Subordinates.....	94
Table 4.6. Were your co-workers supportive initially?.	95
Table 4.7. To what position do you aspire?.....	103
Table 4.8. Do you prefer to work outside the home?...	104
Table 5.1. Does your husband respect your work?.....	122

Table 5.2.	Is your husband satisfied with your position?.....	123
Table 5.3.	Work Plans.....	125
Table 5.4.	Should a husband share household work?....	128
Table 5.5.	What percent of household tasks does your husband share (if married)?.....	129
Table 5.6.	Is combining work and family more difficult for women or for men?.....	130
Table 5.7.	Do you ask your children to help in the home?.....	132
Table 5.8.	Should children do household chores?.....	133
Table 5.9.	Does a servant seem necessary to you?.....	135

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 3.1. Composite Organization Chart of Manufacturing Management.....	53

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation focuses on women in the industrial manufacturing sector of Queretaro, Mexico. It examines women's work and adaptations in the home and in the industrial workplace, emphasizing the interrelationship of work and family. This research provides needed data on women in management in a Third World context, using the existent data on women in management from industrialized nations when they are useful for comparison.

Research Problem

Women participated in large numbers as workers in early international industrialization, but the domain of management remained exclusively male until recently.¹ In recent decades, women have entered business and industry in record numbers, and they have joined the ranks of management in the United States and other industrialized nations. A large literature has sprung up to document the entrance of women into management, and to discuss the issues and obstacles with which they are faced. This literature, however, is largely confined to industrialized nations and very little

¹The few women who became the heads of industries were isolated cases in Western nations, and generally inherited their positions (Finklestein 1981:194).

can be found on women in industrial management in developing nations (Brown 1981).

The tremendous industrial expansion in many Third World nations created an increased demand for managers during the economic growth period of the late 1960s and 1970s.² In Mexico, women have begun to occupy industrial management positions although in smaller numbers than in the heavily industrialized nations. Women's acceptance in management demonstrates some change within the industrial environment and in society in general. However, the women in this study continue to be at a disadvantage in management and face considerable obstacles in their advancement.

Although there are small numbers of women entering management in Third World industries, they represent a significant shift in the employment status of women. As data on Third World managers are sparse, comparative data from industrialized nations are sometimes used, bearing in mind the lack of comparability of economic and social circumstances. Some research suggests that managerial women share an organizational, transnational culture with managers from industrialized nations (Sunkel 1973), as is true to some degree of the managers in this study.

In 1970, a survey by the Harvard Business Review could patently state that there were so few women in management

²There was a spate of research and writing on managers in Latin America during this period, but rarely any mention of women in management. (See, for example, Reyes Salcido 1966, Davis 1969, Gillin 1971, Boseman and Phatak 1978, and Savage 1978).

positions in the United States that "there is scarcely anything to study" (Epstein 1970: 6). Yet now the picture has changed and thus this research contributes data on a changing world of management, in which after more than fifteen years, such a statement can no longer be made. Women occupy management positions in Queretaro, Mexico today, and this study explores their career and family patterns, and the interdependence of work and family.

The position of manager is one of high status and involves the allocation of socially valued resources such as prestige, power, and income. It has been categorically male, until recently. Thus the study of women as managers provides insights into the changes in the arrangement of status and power according to gender in the industrial workplace. The category of management for each organization encompasses a variety of positions and responsibilities and spans many different levels of the company hierarchy.³ In addition, there is variability in the way a specific organization will define which set of tasks and positions are considered managerial.

³For the purposes of this study, the following conceptualization of management was used:

Once people combine to accomplish some objective, they have created an organization, a social machine that has the potential to accomplish more than any one person could accomplish alone. Whether the organization succeeds or fails depends on how effectively it obtains its resources and uses them. The work involved in combining and directing the use of resources to achieve particular purposes is called management. (Hampton 1977: 9)

When women become managers, they begin to control resources, not just produce them. According to Sacks (1979) and others, the subordination of women in the social order has been perpetuated through their lack of control of social institutions and access to resources. Structurally, women as managers gain access to critical arenas of decision-making and power; those who have achieved managerial positions have entered the domain of "men's work".

Women have faced great difficulties entering the ranks of management, due in part to the fact that by gender, they are stereotyped as the opposite of the model manager, who is in fact, male. The predominance of a male managerial model developed since the acceptance of "scientific management" in the early 1900s in industry has created a situation in which women typically do not fit the model of the aggressive, decisive, rational manager. Women are viewed as the opposite; nurturing, irrational, and focused on their families. This sex-typing of management as a male occupation has contributed to the difficulty women have experienced in achieving management positions.

The existence of a "male managerial model" and the relationship between male/female stereotypes and the image of the manager have been established by many investigators. Fifteen years ago, Harvard Business Review surveyed 2,000 executives and discovered that 51 percent of the male executives believed that women are "temperamentally unfit for management". In the past decade, managers have become more cautious about verbalizing such opinions, but they still persist. The ideal manager is perceived as male in character: competitive, aggressive, dominant, firm, vigorous, and rational. Against this standard, women are

perceived as inadequate. They are characterized as not competitive, valuing social skills, person-oriented, emotional, intuitive, unambitious, and dependent. (Brown 1979: 275)

The structure and dynamics of the industrial workplace have historically been developed by upper- and middle-class men. The difficulties that women face in entering this traditionally male domain in the United States and other industrialized nations have been documented in many studies, but, as noted above, little research has focused on the situation of Third World women entering management (Hennig and Jardim 1976; Kanter 1977; Brown 1981).

Gender is a significant factor in keeping women out of management positions in Queretaro. An important analytic tool in this study is Holter's concept of male dominance or "reorganized patriarchy", defined as social arrangements that indirectly secure men's advantages in the market place and male hegemony in personal relations within the household (Holter 1980: 9). Reorganized patriarchy, combined with the social division of labor under capitalism, contributes to disadvantageous conditions for women seeking management positions. The management ranks of industry have been shown to be emotionally and physically demanding, even for the young men who have traditionally been prepared to enter them (Albrecht 1979; Moss 1981). When women enter management, even with the requisite educational and professional training, they face additional gender-based difficulties which contribute to high stress levels (Davidson and Cooper

1983; Kinzer 1978).

Management is frequently divided into lower, middle and upper levels within a company, and it has been documented that women are concentrated in the lower levels in the Western nations, receiving lower salaries and less opportunity for advancement than men. Queretaro presents a similar situation, with the majority of female managers in lower levels of management, and only one women in an upper level position.

Rapid social change and industrialization in Queretaro provided a context for examination of women's participation in industry, and the dearth of material on women in management in Third World nations provoked questions about their presence in Queretaro, their access to upper management positions and their contributions and viability within management.

Women workers have played an important part in industrial development in Mexico, but most research has focused on women in lower-level positions. One of the most well-researched sectors of women workers is that of the maquiladora industries of the United States-Mexico border area (Fernandez-Kelly 1983)⁴. This research is particularly interesting because of the rapid growth of the maquila industries and

⁴The Maquiladora Program in Mexico is "part of a systematic effort to encourage foreign investment in export manufacturing through a combination of stimuli stemmed from tariff laws and fiscal incentives" (Fernandez-Kelly 1983: 25). Fernandez-Kelly documents the participation of women in this industrial activity along the Mexican-United States border.

their almost exclusive employment of female labor. The maquila industries also provide an excellent context for examination of the global interconnections of industry.

Women have typically been concentrated in low-status production jobs in Mexican industry; jobs which were considered unskilled and were poorly remunerated. Women involved in production have also tended to be concentrated in the sectors of industry traditionally regarded as the female domain, such as food processing or textiles, production related to the home and sustenance of the family (Epstein and Coser 1981). Women's work in industrial production dates back to colonial times, so women are not strangers to the industrialization process.

The arguments for why women have been kept out of the ranks of management for so long are myriad. For years, United States and Mexican management argued that there were no women with the proper qualifications or training available. Women were also viewed as uniquely unsuited for management positions because of their nurturing tendencies and inability to be hardnosed and to make difficult decisions. Women were considered to be bad risks for special training, as they were too apt to get married or have children and leave the company. There are also alternative explanations for the difficulties that the women in this study faced in entering industrial management and they will be examined in the following chapters.

It is important to locate this study of women as indus-

trial managers within the context of external constraints. Queretaro's industrial management, as part of the larger industrialization impetus in Mexico, is subject to a variety of external constraints at the national and international levels. National constraints, such as the competition of other economic sectors for national support and investment, affect management policies and direction. Mexico has made industry a primary focus of investment and expansion since the years following World War II. International constraints are complex, but center around the peripheral or dependent position of Mexico in a world economic system in which a capitalist core of industrialized nations are dominant.

Internal constraints must also be considered in analyzing women's entrance into management. Gender issues are not the only concern in advancement; stratification within the firm places women in different levels of the organization, and in different relationship to each other. These relationships and the bases of stratification must be considered. The company (by its nature as a capitalist enterprise) functions under the constraints of a profit-based operation, consequently, only a small number of top-level positions are available, and very few employees will ever occupy those positions.

Since 1976, some women in Queretaro's industries have risen to positions of considerable authority and responsibility, and women are increasingly involved in management. This change is paralleled by the increasing presence of

women in high-level positions in government (senator, governor, cabinet member) and other sectors of society. Although Latin America has been consistently portrayed as constrictive to women and their occupational aspirations, women have begun to hold positions of power and visibility.

The nature of the Latin male is generally conceived to be one of the toughest obstacles for women's ascendancy to power--the "macho", an unyielding, demanding, domineering, tough guy with little sympathy for the working woman. And yet in Queretaro and throughout Latin America, many women work outside the home, and some have achieved positions of authority, such as industrial management positions.

Other researchers in Latin America have questioned the stereotype of the "macho" male and the subservient female, and felt that it was an inaccurate description of the social reality (Kinzer 1973). In Buenos Aires, Argentina, Kinzer (1975) studied professional women and reported that the relationship between a woman and her husband, and his supportiveness of her work, was one of the most important mitigating factors in reducing the role conflict experienced by a working woman.

This study uses an historical perspective to trace the shaping of gender relations from colonial times to the present in Mexico, attempting to clarify the importance of social forces such as machismo, as well as economic and political forces which have affected women's participation in the work force in Queretaro, and specifically, industrial

management.

Theoretical Framework

There is a growing body of literature which calls for a focus on women's participation in the work force and the family, and the contradictions inherent in women's position in capitalistic industrial societies (Beneria and Roldan 1987, Beneria and Sen 1981, Sokoloff 1980, Hartmann 1976). Different perspectives have been used to examine various aspects of the issues surrounding women's participation in the labor market. Marxist, radical feminist, marxist feminist, and structural functionalist studies have all contributed significantly to the debate. However, many researchers have recognized the lack of a theoretical framework which encompasses the problem in its totality (Beneria and Roldan 1987, Brenner and Ramas 1984, Young et al 1981). A major inadequacy of prior research which is critical to this study is the lack of a framework which traces the interdependence of class and gender relations within their historical context and the significance of this interdependence to women's participation in the labor market (Sokoloff 1980).

It is difficult but necessary to conceptualize the role of both the material and the ideological in shaping gender hierarchies and class inequalities. Marxist explanatory theories have tended to emphasize the importance of the material basis of gender inequalities, to the point of

economic reductionism, while emphasis solely on the ideological loses sight of the class inequalities generated by industrial capitalism.

An examination of both gender and class relations and their interpenetration is fundamental to an understanding of women's participation in the home and industrial management. The framework developed in this study examines the ideological construction of gender as embedded in the material. An important aspect of the framework developed here is that it recognizes the dialectic that operates between household, made up of male and female, decision-making and the demands of capitalist society on workers, within the home and outside it. Building on a theory proposed by Natalie Sokoloff in Between Money and Love (1980), this study focuses on the dialectical nature of patriarchal and class relations in the home and workplace, examining women's participation in the home and in wage labor as organized by the relations of capitalism and patriarchy, themselves dialectically related.

Instead of seeing the home as women's sphere and the market as men's sphere...., it becomes necessary to understand that both the home and market are mutually interpenetrating and are organized by the dialectical relationship between patriarchy and capitalism. Patriarchy and capitalism operate simultaneously in each sphere of living; each strengthens the other through reciprocal reinforcement, at the same time that contradictory relations continually emerge to threaten their dominance (Sokoloff 1980: 222).

The dangers of falling into a dualistic analysis while

studying the interplay of patriarchy and capitalism have been noted by several researchers (Beneria and Roldan 1987, Young et al 1981). They point out the need to examine the totality of forces which operate in relations of subordination--age, race, ethnicity--not only gender and class. Historical analysis provides a context in which to analyze the development of these relations, helping to break down the duality of analyzing class and gender relations alone or apart. In addition, it allows for the development of this theoretical perspective within the context of developing countries, thereby filling a gap in the existing literature (Beneria and Roldan 1987).

Earlier studies suggested that women could alleviate problems of subordination and oppression by becoming more active in wage labor, thereby gaining status and greater economic independence to put them on a more equal basis with men. This "solution" has now been recognized as overly simplistic, while begging several questions (definitions of status and oppression), it ignores the fact that women have long participated in production (though often in low positions and at poor pay), with little recognition of their contribution to production. It misses the relationship between the home and the market, and the fact that women support production through their reproductive functions.

Because production has been viewed by industrialized society as largely a male domain, past studies focused on women's activities in production, ignoring women's repro-

ductive activities and their importance to society (Beneria 1982). Recent studies seek to redress this overemphasis on women in the productive sphere, by deriving more complex and comprehensive models of women's activities and the plasticity of social roles (Beneria and Roldan 1987, Mathews 1985, Sacks 1979) from reconceptualizations of the "separate spheres" models developed in the feminist social science literature of the early 1970s (Lamphere 1974, Rosaldo 1974).

The theoretical framework needed to address the questions central to this study requires an understanding of the development of capitalism and patriarchy and their interdependence in the specific context of Mexico, a developing country in a world economy. Advanced industrial capitalism as it has developed in Mexico has a specific form which influences the structure of the family and gender relations in society. The capitalistic mode of production moved the locus of production outside the home, dividing home from work. The separation of production from the home created a situation where men left the home to occupy wage labor positions, while women maintained the home and worked within it. Women's participation in production became less visible, depending on their class position and economic needs (it is not possible to generalize, as some women have always worked outside the home when necessity dictated). The role that women played as supporters and reproducers of production was not clearly recognized and the idea that women were "protected" in the home from the demands of

production became prevalent.² Women's services in raising children and maintaining those who are not in the labor force were not recognized with a wage or for their contribution to production.

There are various levels of mystification which blur the significance of women's work in the home. First, women's work supports the capitalist industrial system by reproducing the labor force for production work outside the home. Second, women's work reproduces the class structure of society which supports the capitalist system. Third, women's work reproduces reorganized patriarchy, by reproducing the gender relations in society.

If class and gender relations are perceived as interpenetrating, then gender relations are affected by class and class relations are influenced by gender. This is true both in the home and the workplace; both sets of relations operate in both locations. As described by Sokoloff:

Thus, the family and women's role in it is not only organized by patriarchy and capitalism but reproduces within itself both patriarchal and class relations. This is a two-way process: the work that women do in the family produces both sexed (or, more appropriately, gendered) and classed workers, just as the labor market does. This is a core dynamic of our contemporary social order...(Sokoloff 1980: 222).

Early historical forces during preconquest and colonial times continue to be reflected in the patriarchal relations

²For a detailed analysis of the situation of women in Mexico City, 1790-1857, see Arrom (1985).

of contemporary Mexico, and this is also seen in industry. Women's participation in industrial labor is strongly class-based, and has been since colonial times when women were hired in poorly-paid, tedious production positions. Whether women worked, where they worked, how they worked, were all influenced by their class standing. Upper class women had little to do with early industry, in part because of the traditional upper-class Spanish preference for owning agricultural and ranching enterprises.

A reflection of the interpenetration of capitalism and patriarchy, industry is embedded in the capitalistic world economy and has been traditionally created and controlled by men. Industry is organized by a capitalist framework which uses men as the model for its workers (reproduction is not included in the organization, it is considered "outside" production). Women have generally been employed in the lowest levels of industrial production. In industrial management, the male managerial model remains very strong. Thus women face a) patriarchal obstacles: 'male' manager (gender constraint) and b) capitalist obstacles: male workers first; women are not considered to be workers, rather they are seen as responsible for the maintenance of the home, and only occasionally as workers. Within this framework of analysis, it is clear that women managers, who are high-level, legitimate workers, provide contradictions for the industrial system.

This study emphasizes the analysis of the household

economy, the sexual division of labor, and social relations within the household, as well as participation in the labor force outside the home. By examining the interdependence of class and gender relations in a specific cultural context, a sharper focus on the determinants and consequences of particular patterns of gender and class relations is possible.

Theoretical Constructs: Gender and Class

The interaction of class and gender in the home and workplace becomes clear as we begin to analyze the differential participation of management and non-management women in the work force and their disparate experiences in it. The tendency to view women as a homogeneous group linked by gender has contributed to a lack of data on the class differences between women. As the critical nature of class and its impact on life chances and ideology are increasingly recognized, the confusion and lack of definition regarding class in the literature dealing with women and their work has become apparent, and researchers have begun to note the lack of analytical and conceptual tools necessary for understanding the phenomenon (Beneria and Roldan 1987: 2).

The development of the class structure differs in each society, and each specific case generates its own set of problems in terms of definitions and conceptualization. Latin America has been noted for its sharply differentiated class structure, partly as a result of its colonial heritage (Butterworth 1981). Each nation has a different pattern of

class relations, and in many cases, there are distinct regional patterns within nations.

Many researchers have commented on the difficulty of defining class in Mexico (Butterworth 1981, Beals 1953). In Queretaro, as in other parts of Mexico, there is no clear terminology for describing class, such as lower, middle and upper. There is a distinction made between the social class and the economic standing of a family. Wealth alone does not necessarily connote upper class standing. Some of the most respected families of the old landed elite of Queretaro are no longer very wealthy, but socially they continue to be defined as upper class.

In the 1950s, Beals commented:

The term "middle class", indeed, is not common to Latin-American vocabularies except among intellectuals and the truly literate, although such terms as "upper class" and "lower class" are common. On the other hand, a host of class terms are in more current use and refer to social realities. Gente decente, gente de razon, los ricos, and la clase dirigente [decent people, reasonable people, the rich, and the ruling class] are more common than clase alta... (Beals 1953: 332).

Andrew Whiteford, in his seminal work on social classes in Queretaro and Popayan, Colombia, describes the difficulties he encountered in defining class in Queretaro.⁴ He used a complex analysis of lifestyle, housing, interior decor, education and occupation, as they resulted in the

⁴For a rich description of Queretaro in the late 1950s and early 1960s, see Two Cities in Latin America: A Comparative Description of Social Classes (1964).

"proper behavior" which identified differences in class identity (1964: 62). He found the middle class to be characterized by its heterogeneity.

This does not mean that it consisted simply of a loose amalgam of ambitious Lower Class people and declining members of the Upper Class. It was not merely an undefined area between the extremes of the society, but actually possessed in itself a reality which gave its members a sense of identification and position. Its members interacted with each other, conscious of the social position which they shared and proud of the characteristics which distinguished them from the other classes (Whiteford 1964: 99).

Queretaro's class system before industrialization was based largely on an agrarian system of latifundia which provided a small, elite group with land and resources, while leaving the majority with little land and dependent on the elite for subsistence. During the colonial period of the 1800s, early industrialization efforts established textile and cigar factories in the area. The elite, with the capital for investment (although often themselves dependent on infusion of capital from Mexico City), developed industries while controlling technology, capital, and land but needing labor to work in the factories to produce the goods sold for profit. The workers were paid a wage for their labor, but as labor value is generally devalued in the industrial capitalist system, the larger profits accrued to the owners and the accumulation of wealth led to the growth of an elite class based on an industrial mode of production.

The perspective of world systems theory focuses on the

international relations that affect economic change and growth in nations (Wallerstein 1984). This perspective allows the recognition of the complexities of Mexico's industrialization process, moving beyond the more simplistic modernization theory of development prevalent in earlier research. The world systems approach also encourages a more global perspective on world labor movements and international connections.

As part of the world system, Mexico's location in the semi-periphery requires the importation of its technology and management strategies from the center, which create a financial disadvantage for development. As part of the semi-periphery, Mexico is a source of cheaper labor and government accommodation which encourage foreign investment and the presence of multinationals in Mexico. The multinationals have been faulted for their lack of concern with the local economy and environment, contributing to the perpetuation of a system of inequities and lack of redistribution of economic gains in the semi-periphery (Sunkel 1973). In terms of management positions, Mexican nationals are not the owners of the production process but, compared with those who neither own nor manage, they are in a different relationship to production, with more control over resources (including their personal and social capital, e.g. education). Managers have been described as part of an international bourgeoisie--with alliances toward the center, rather than the semi-periphery. Sunkel describes the "transna-

tional kernel" as, "a complex of activities, social groups and regions in different countries...which are closely linked transnationally through many concrete interests as well as by similar styles, ways and levels of living and cultural affinities" (1973: 146). Analysis of the management women in this study provides some insight into this "transnational" culture of managers, and how they differ from non-managers in terms of class and gender relations, life chances, ideology, and aspirations.

CHAPTER TWO

THE RESEARCH SETTING

The following chapter provides a broad outline of the the development of industry in Queretaro, and the participation of women in the industrialization process. Historical forces and events have played an important part in defining the specific social formation which exists in Queretaro, and they provide a context for understanding the industrialization process. The city and state of Queretaro have been important players in the history of Mexico, and although it is not within the scope of this work to provide a complete history of the nation, or even the city of Queretaro, this chapter provides a brief review of the historical events and movements important for gaining an understanding of the growth of industry in Queretaro, and its significance to the participation and social position of women throughout this process.¹

Historical Background

The city of Queretaro was founded in the mid-sixteenth century, and rapidly became an important commercial and administrative center, supplying agricultural and manufac-

¹For an overview of the history of Queretaro, see Selby (1976), Super (1973), and Wolf (1955).

tured goods to the mining complex of the Bajio region and northern Mexico (Wolf 1955, Super 1973). Located in the center of Mexico, some 115 miles northwest of Mexico City, the city stands between Mexico City, the most important city in Mexico, and the Bajio. The Bajio region, famous for its agricultural production and mining operations, has played an important part in the Mexican economy since colonial times. Long before the city of Queretaro developed as an industrial center, its prominence in Mexican political and economic history was evident.

According to Eric Wolf, who has written on colonial development of the Bajio, the northern periphery of Mexico lacked the intensive agriculture, large populations, tribute surpluses and state mechanisms which characterized the Indian areas to the south, and led to a more independent, entrepreneurial development in the region (1955: 181). One of a number of regional economies which developed in Mexico during the colonial period, the Bajio developed a unique complex of mining, agriculture and industry (Wolf 1955: 182). Thus, industry is not new to the Bajio, or to Queretaro, but its development has been characterized by sporadic expansion since the colonial period.

The Colonial Period

The area surrounding Queretaro was inhabited by various indigenous peoples during the 1400s. Otomi, Chichimeca, and Tarascan populations used the area as a refuge during the early struggles between the Aztec and the Spanish conquista-

dors. After subduing the Aztec empire, the Spanish gained control of the region surrounding Queretaro, and in 1537, the Spanish Crown formally recognized the town of Queretaro. By 1656, the growing importance of the city was recognized, and Queretaro was granted the title of "Third City of the Realm" (Super 1973).

Queretaro was located on one of the most important transportation routes in the nation, linking Mexico City with the ports and northern mining operations. A part of the Bajio complex described by Wolf (1955), Queretaro supplied the north with manufactured goods, such as textiles, cotton and wool, leather goods and agricultural produce. In the early years, Queretaro depended on Mexico City for consumer goods, political administration, capital, and markets. The ties, both economic and social, to Mexico City were strong; many of the new residents of Queretaro still felt strong allegiance to the capital, maintaining their religious membership there (Super 1973: 174). By the mid-1600s, however, Queretaro had become an important urban center in its own right, and began to fill more and more of its own needs.

The mainstream location of the city encouraged early development of commercial and manufacturing activities. Agricultural products and livestock were the region's largest exports, but mining and manufacturing were also important. Citrus fruits, grapes, and wheat were among the chief crops; sheep, their wool, and mutton were produced on

the ranches. The manufacturing of wool and then cotton gained in importance. Obrajes, or colonial textile shops, produced much of the goods sold in the northern regions of Mexico, and Mexico City. In Queretaro, the obraje labor force included free contractual workers, indentured servants, prisoners, and slaves (Super 1973). Slavery was common in the area, and traders brought black Africans, mulattos, and orientals. During the 1600s, the use of slave labor and free mulattos increasingly replaced Indian laborers. In the early years of Queretaro's history, there was little of the sharp differentiation between Spanish and other ethnic groups that would develop over the next century. Indians participated in the commercial development of the city, and there was considerable social integration and intermarriage (Super 1973).

Although the early colonists were predominately male, by the 1590s Spanish women had become an important force in colonial society. Queretaro was a city of immigrants, many of whom came directly from Spain or lived briefly in Mexico City or other cities of Mexico. The immigrants' customs and memories of Spain and Europe gave the city a cosmopolitan atmosphere, as reflected in the women's fashions of the day. Describing a local dona of the time in his study, Queretaro: Society and Economy in Early Provincial Mexico, 1590-1630, Super states:

Her taste in clothes, probably determined by styles current in Mexico City, showed a decided preference for imported cloths and silks.

Bedecked in a quilted petticoat from China, dress skirts from Castille, a fine silk hat, and a cloak of blue woven cloth from London, she must have moved comfortably among the wealthiest women of Queretaro (1973: 175).

Women in colonial society played a crucial role in Queretaro's economy; they ran large households, managed estates, and participated actively in religious life (Super 1973). Research into accounts of colonial life in Mexico suggests that the portrayal of women as subordinate and economically inactive is inaccurate (Arrom 1985, Super 1973).

Under Spanish colonial law, single women were accorded few economic and social freedoms, and married women were also severely limited. Widows were generally accorded the most freedom under the law. The situation of women varied considerably with each individual and region.

Laws regulating marriage placed the woman in a dependent position to the husband, who had the authority to grant or deny his wife permission to engage in contractual obligations. Yet in Queretaro, at least, the legal boundaries of women's activities varied, and frequently married women appeared in court or in a notary's office without the expressed consent of their spouses. In situations such as these the authority of the husband was transferred to the court, which authorized the woman to enter a civil contract. Laws regulating women in Queretaro derived from those in Spain, but they never strictly determined women's legal and economic ventures (Super 1973: 175).

In Queretaro, Super notes the economic activity of women, especially the dominant influence of widows in the economy. Women often chose to manage themselves their deceased

husband's estate or business, rather than appoint an overseer or relinquish their right to a son or male relative.

Women accumulated wealth in Queretaro through the standard ways of dowry, inheritance or bequest, their investment and management of their capital, and through their own labor. The participation of women in the labor force had sharp class connotations. Women in the poorer classes worked as domestics, in shops, textile mills, and wherever they could find a wage. Higher class women had some involvement with commerce, and some women, particularly widows, were actively involved, contributing their managerial skills as well as their capital to new ventures.

Most widows maintained at least an indirect control over their wealth, while many of them remained vigorously involved with their estates, following procedures common in New Spain to administer their property. The skill and expertise displayed by widows attest to their understanding of the conduct of business in the region, in personal and legal aspects. They engaged in most of the economic endeavors common to the valley---crop raising, animal husbandry, slave sales, long distance commerce, retail trade, pharmacy, playing card monopolies, and mining---and were always an influential segment of the business community (Super 1973: 195-6).

Few married women could be classified as having an occupation or profession, but there is record of those who were owners of hostelryes or agricultural estates (Super 1973: 197). Although they were in the minority, women did participate actively in business and commerce during the colonial period.

Women were extremely influential in the family and social life of the period. Queretaro was characterized by small, nuclear families, generally composed of parents and children in a single household. However, the importance of the extended family was clear.

The typical household in Queretaro was not a self-contained unit capable of exercising a variety of economic and social functions. Rather, it was through the inter-relationship of different households that the family maintained its importance. The small size of the household did not disrupt the close association between members of the extended family, nor did it negatively influence the patriarchal organization of the family....The complex of personal relationships found in households was determined by the patria potestad, meaning that the father was the legal authority in the family, responsible for the wife and for direct descendents of his line. Women and children in the household were subordinate to the father and dependent on him for their physical, economic, and social welfare (Super 1973: 201).

As Super points out, however, widows frequently assumed the patria potestad, and took over the responsibility for their households. So women were not unknown as heads of households, or unable to manage without a male figure.

The importance of religion in the city of Queretaro was established early in its history. The early colonists spent fortunes building magnificent churches, and the city became nationally famous for the beauty and numbers of its churches. "The early seventeenth century growth of the Church, which provided the basis for Queretaro's subsequent role as a missionary headquarters for the Sierra Gorda and California missions (Super 1973: 175). Queretaro came to be known

as the "City of Churches", with fifty-three churches established in the city. The construction of elaborate churches, residences, and official structures reflected the growing wealth of the region, and Queretaro's increasing importance as a commercial and manufacturing center. The importance of religion in the city established a tone of conservatism and strong colonial allegiance, which influenced later development.

Women were actively involved with religious institutions during the colonial period. In Queretaro, attendance at a specific church and membership in its lay organization, or *cofradia*, was an important aspect of social association outside the family for women. Women always remembered their church in their wills, requesting masses in their memory, and with outright bequeathals. It was not uncommon for a woman to belong to more than one *cofradia*, sometimes even in other cities. Social distinctions were reflected in the wills of women, those of highest standing commanding the *cofradia* to attend their funerals, and leaving large sums of money to the church (this was also common practice for wealthy men) (Super 1973: 206). The *cofradia* was a significant institution in social dealings in the city, particularly financial. Members of the same *cofradia* frequently entered joint business ventures and provided loans to other members, the close ties of the group created significant social interaction and support.

Industrialization began early in Queretaro with the

obrages manufacturing textiles and the production of leather goods; and later, a grain mill and textile mill were established in the 1800s. The Hercules textile mill is the second oldest mill in the Republic. Tobacco processing and cigar factories were also established in the region.

In Queretaro, women were employed as production workers early in the industrialization process, particularly in textiles and tobacco. Women workers were considered to be dexterous, docile, and willing to work for a lower wage than men. Because of their dexterity and patience, women were concentrated in the more tedious parts of production, such as rolling cigarettes and threading the looms. In the textile industry:

Wages were not uniform, varying by factory, by sex, and by age. Women and children earned a half to a third of the salary for men. For example, in 1885, in the Hercules factory in Queretaro, the women earned from twenty to twenty-five centavos daily, whereas the men earned from thirty-one to fifty-two centavos on a piece-work basis depending on their level of skill. By the 1890s, women earned forty to fifty centavos daily. In 1900, factories in the state of Veracruz paid women from fifty to eighty centavos daily and men from sixty centavos to two and one-half pesos (Vallens 1975:44-45).

The fact that women were paid lower wages than men reflects the assumption that men were supporting families and deserved higher wages, while women were only working to supplement the household income. Also, the image of women as docile and easily managed suggested to some employers that they could pay a lesser wage, and have women work under

poor conditions with little fear of formal complaint from the female workers (Towner 1977: 92-95). The virtues of the wife were extolled in a worker's publication as follows:

To be a wife is to be a woman preferably selected amongst many other women, for her honesty, for her religiousness, for her amiability, for her industriousness, for her docility, for her sweetness, for her moderation, for her prudence, for her sensibility, for her tenderness, for her modesty, for her retirement, for her submission, for her frugality (CEHSMO 1975: 13).

Another factor affecting women's employment during this period was the class structure of society and industry. Women and children of the lower classes were incorporated into the work force, but the upper classes discouraged female participation in the labor force as unfeminine and contrary to the role of wife and mother.

There have always been critics of women's position in society in Mexico. Perhaps the most celebrated critic of male dominance and machismo was Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz (1648-95), a Jeronimite nun, who became one the great poets of the Hispanic world. She was an ardent advocate for the cause of education for women, denouncing the sexual double standard, and calling for equal education for women. One of her best known poems, "Hombres Necios" (Foolish Men), reflects these concerns in elegant verse. Recognizing the reluctance of parents to expose their daughters to close male contact during education, and the fear that male teachers would take advantage of female students, she proposed that sexual exploitation could be avoided by using

a select group of self-educated women to teach young women in all subjects (Macias 1982: 5).

Although Sor Juana is one of Mexico's finest examples of educated women, in the end, she was silenced by the Church. The Catholic Church was traditionally opposed to women assuming other than wifely or religious vocations, and represented one of the strongest forces of patriarchy in early Mexican history. The Church forbade Sor Juana to continue to speak or write for the public, and she died in 1695. However, Sor Juana's power as a poet and writer continues to be highly prized and revered in Mexico, and Latin scholars continue to study her works and life.²

The cause so important to Sor Juana was taken up by others in 1700s and 1800s, and education for women, particularly the elite, was fostered by the establishment of educational institutions for women during the 1800s, but it tended to focus on making women more efficient housewives and better mothers, rather than higher education or academic training (Macias 1982: 6). Education in the colonial era, then, served to reinforce the traditional role of women in patriarchal society, confining learning to the domestic arts and the teaching of children.

²For a comprehensive bibliography and examination of the literary works of Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz, see the 1982 volume, Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz o Las trampas de la Fe, written by Octavio Paz, Barcelona, Spain: Seix Barral Biblioteca Breve.

The Struggle for Independence

Queretaro was witness to some of the most dramatic events of the 1800s in Mexico. During the struggle for independence a well-educated woman played a significant role in the revolt led by Hidalgo. Dona Josefa Ortiz de Dominguez, the wife of the Corregidor or mayor of Queretaro, was a party to the plans for a rebellion against Spain; she learned the plans had been discovered and alerted the rebels to begin the insurgency immediately, thus setting in motion Hidalgo's rebellion. Although the attempt at independence failed, it was the beginning of the end of Spanish dominance of Mexico, and the Corregidora remains a much revered national historical figure.

Mexico's problems with foreign powers and domination were far from over after the Hidalgo rebellion, and Queretaro was to remain a central place in the unfolding history. In 1848, after the U.S. invasion of Mexico, the Treaties of Peace were agreed upon in Queretaro. In 1867, the French intervention in Mexico ended when Maximilian, Napoleon's appointed Emperor of Mexico, abandoned Mexico City and withdrew to Queretaro, where he was arrested and executed.

As land consolidation by the hacendados continued through the 1800s, rural populations were increasingly deprived of their lands and the ability to maintain a subsistence existence in the rural areas. Much of the state of Queretaro's rocky soil is unsuitable for agricultural production, so although the large estancias and haciendas

created on the best lands prospered, much of the state remained disarticulated from the wealth amassed and concentrated in the cities. Despite high levels of agricultural productivity, concentrated land ownership contributed to widespread poverty among the landless. The colonial land tenure system established a pattern which would have an important impact on future growth and development in the area.

The years of unrest and uprisings created unsettled financial and political times for Mexico, and the Bajío experienced an economic decline and loss of national political influence during the late 1800s and early 1900s. This period was characterized by increasing foreign investment, particularly by Great Britain, France, and the United States (Wilkins 1970: 113).

Technology and industrialization were introduced from the outside and remained alien to the local culture and further, the country and the people derived little or no benefit from it. Foreign investment in this period (1876-1910) amounted to 80% of total investment and was distributed mainly among three important national groups: USA (38%), Great Britain (29%), and France (27%) (Derossi 1971: 16).

The Revolution and Post-Revolutionary Years

The Revolution in Mexico sought to destroy the old institutions, such as latifundia, and to take control of national industrialization and development. Women's participation in the Revolutionary movement has not been fully

acknowledged, as it was significant. However, the colonial pattern of landholding and labor practices persisted and maintained a system which contributed to concentrated landholdings and the development of commercial agriculture and large industries for export.

President Carranza declared Queretaro the capital city of Mexico in 1916, and it was there that the modern Constitution was signed in 1917. In 1929, the National Revolutionary Party (which would eventually become the Institutional Revolutionary Party, the dominant political party of contemporary Mexico) was formed in Queretaro.

During the Cardenas presidency, domestic concerns were paramount. A policy of independence from foreign capital led to uncertain international relations, which were made more precarious by the impending World War II. Women's suffrage became a critical issue under Cardenas in the 1930s.³ One reason women were denied the vote was their powerful support of the Church, and their conservative political stance which the Revolutionary government feared it would not be able to control. Women's alignment with the Church complicated the development of a feminist movement, as the Church generally opposed activist movements organized by women, and women's suffrage was postponed.

³For an excellent work on the roots of Mexican feminism, see Macias (1982).

Industrialization since the 1940s

In the early 1940s, Mexico gained stability after the tumultuous years of revolution and political struggle. The national banking system was organized and the national investment bank (Nacional Financiera) operated as an effective intermediary for obtaining foreign loans. Mexico's export economy received a tremendous boost during World War II, as a shortage of manufactured goods created by the war opened a new market for Mexican goods in Latin America. Textile exports which were virtually nonexistent in 1939 reached \$42.5 million in 1945 (Looney 1978).

During the 1940s, Mexico took a more moderate stance on foreign investors. The laws governing manufacturing and industry opened the way for foreign investors, and the industrial sector was stimulated by war trade. Aleman Valdes, as the first civilian president since Madero, encouraged foreign industry and investment even further.

In 1946, the name and structure of the contemporary PRI (Institutionalized Revolutionary Party), the dominant political party of Mexico, emerged with the promise of fuller recognition of the middle classes, and a lessening of communist and radical peasant factions in the government. During this period a focus on increased trade, extended communications, and education laid the groundwork for the industrial development initiative promoted by the national government. Finally in 1953, the Constitution of 1917 was amended giving women the vote. For the first time women

were legally full participants in the political system, although legal enfranchisement has not brought women full social or economic equality.

During the late 1940s and 1950s, Queretaro entered a new stage of industrialization. The national government's decision to build an international highway, which passed through Queretaro as it connected the United States border with Mexico City, encouraged investment in hotels, service stations, and made Queretaro even more attractive to new industries. Increasing foreign investment in Mexico during the 1950s brought several multinational companies, such as Kellogg and Singer, into the city. Industrial and population expansion continued through the 1960s, as the early textile and food processing industries were joined by manufacturers of automotive parts and large machinery.

Industrialization continued through the 1970s during a period of government-encouraged stabilizing development. The late 1970s was a time of heavy investment in Mexico and the foreign debt grew to unprecedented highs. Compounded by the discovery of large oil reserves off the coast of Mexico, Mexico's economic future seemed assured.

Although located on the eastern edge of the rich agricultural lands of the Bajio region (the nation's "breadbasket"), a large portion of the state of Queretaro is rocky and mountainous, with poor, arid soil not suited for cultivation. Some mineral resources such as opals are existent, but not in concentrations suitable for extensive

mining operations. During recent decades, agriculture, cattle-ranching and breeding, dairy, some mining, and industry have been the primary economic activities of the region. Recently, tourism has become a target industry, emphasizing the growing wine-producing area surrounding San Juan del Rio, and vacation resorts close to Mexico City.

The colonial land tenure system contributed to an early pattern of sharp differences in wealth and resources among residents of Queretaro. The State of Queretaro continues to have a relatively low income level and a skewed pattern of income distribution (Scott 1982). National and State government have stressed industrial expansion at the expense of rural development and income distribution.

A largely agrarian-based aristocracy controlled the city for centuries, and despite high levels of agricultural productivity in the state, concentrated land ownership has contributed to widespread poverty in the rural areas. This situation has contributed to a large influx of migrants from rural areas seeking employment in the expanding industrial sectors of the cities (Hoops and Whiteford 1983). The influx of campesinos from the countryside seeking employment has swelled the city's population to more than 300,000.⁴ This rapid urbanization has created shortages of housing and public services in and around the city.

⁴The colonias surrounding the city are plagued by inadequate housing and access to public services. See Chant (1984) for a discussion of the problems facing the colonias in Queretaro.

Some sectors have amassed considerable wealth, and investments in the city now include a new mall, deluxe housing, and shops with readily available luxury goods. There is constant exposure to foreign ideas and culture (via television, radio, and magazines) and to Mexico City's cosmopolitan influence. Queretaro has also become popular as a relocation spot for former Mexico City residents tired of the pollution, traffic snarls, and frenetic pace of one of the largest cities in the world.

Since the 1940s, Mexico has strongly encouraged industrial expansion and development within its borders as part of a national development plan.⁵ Industrialization in Mexico has been characterized by the geographical concentration of industry in a few states and cities. Queretaro is one of several areas chosen by the Mexican government for development and industrial expansion.⁶

During the 1970s, the Mexican government devised a plan to "reshape the geography of the nation" (Scott 1982). Based on studies by the Ministry of Public Works, the government aimed to construct and promote industrial parks in or near urban centers to attract industries and regulate future physical growth.

Queretaro was a major center of interest during the government's industrialization initiative throughout the

⁵The National Plan for Industrial Development (1979-1982), Mexico City, 1979.

⁶For a discussion of Mexico's plans for industrial expansion and decentralization, see Scott (1982).

1970s; of 177 firms interested in participating in Mexico's plan, 63 listed Queretaro as their top choice for location (Scott 1982: 161). Obviously, part of Queretaro's attractiveness to industry is its location only ninety minutes from the northern industrial districts of Mexico City on an excellent, limited-access highway (which was expanded to four lanes in the 1960s to accommodate the heavy levels of traffic). Queretaro lies at the intersection of north-south and east-west transportation routes, linking it to Saltillo, Monterrey and the United States border to the north, Puebla and Mexico City to the south, and Guadalajara to the west. Many Mexico City industries are considering Queretaro as an area for decentralization of their activities, a policy encouraged by the national government to help reduce the stress on Mexico City's environmental resources. The Industrial Corridor consisting of Queretaro-Irapuato-Celaya-Salamanca has become an important focus for industrial growth. Plans for a rapid-rail transport system from Mexico City to Queretaro have been made, and support the rumors of plans for future decentralization of Mexico City financial centers and government offices.

In Queretaro, the industrial park is located on the southwestern edge of the city along the highway. The fifty large and middle-sized firms located in the city include Singer, Purina, Carnation, General Electric, Kellogg, Celenese, and Coca Cola. As evident from the names of the industries located there, Queretaro is a center of foreign

and multinational investment. Mexico encourages foreign investment (with local partners in a 51%/49% ownership arrangement) providing tax breaks and other incentives (Scott 1982). One reason cited by several corporations for locating in the area during the 1960s and 1970s was the relatively "unspoiled" labor force; it was large, willing to work for cheap wages (compared to United States wages), and had a low level of union activity. During the 1980s, union leadership had become more sophisticated and younger more demanding leaders began to take control of the labor movement.

Since the 1940s, the government has concentrated investment and development in urban areas, emphasizing the expansion of industry, and the rural areas have been neglected. Poor communications add to the problems, poor roads, some very remote areas with little access to public services, such as adequate health care. Queretaro continues to have a highly skewed income distribution, typical of Mexico as a whole which has one of the worst profiles in the world (Scott 1982). A small proportion of the population controls a large percentage of the wealth in the state. The State has generally favored economic growth in the cities, particularly the industrial sector, over distribution of wealth. This situation reflects the position of the national government which has consistently favored stability over radical social change (Scott 1982).

An initial lack of planning regarding urban growth and

industrialization has created some environmental concerns for the area; one of the most problematic is waste disposal. There is speculation about water resources; some industries are concerned that the water table has been dropping steadily, affected by natural drought, rapid construction, and a growing population, as well as heavy industrial use.

Public services have not kept pace with rapid population growth in the city of Queretaro. The population doubled in less than ten years, and is now estimated at 300,000. Sewage systems are inadequate and the narrow colonial-designed streets cannot accommodate the traffic levels of the growing city. Growth projections for Queretaro show that the future population may well exceed one million. A shortage of housing in the city is already a problem although new construction is visible almost everywhere. The hills surrounding the city are covered with squatter settlements, or colonias, without adequate electrification, access to water, or sanitation systems.

Queretaro established the Autonomous University of Queretaro in 1959, and higher education became more accessible to more students. Rather than having to relocate in Mexico City or another region offering university coursework, residents of Queretaro and the surrounding area could study at home or closer to home. During the 1960s, women began to consider university education, and throughout the 1970s it became increasingly acceptable for women to obtain higher degrees.

Industry was simultaneously seeking creative, young graduates for training programs and management positions. As the manufacturing sector was expanding during the 1960s and 70s in Queretaro, more and more women were becoming qualified to consider and occupy management positions. Women are involved in many different levels of industry in contemporary Queretaro; productive, clerical, and managerial. It is clear that their participation is influenced by a historical pattern specific to Queretaro, as well as a pattern of industrialization that is specific to Mexico.

Queretaro is very much a part of the international world economy. Queretaro's development as an industrial center is deeply imbedded in the national economy and industrialization policy. Mexico as a Third World nation stands in a particular relation to the developed nations, and occupies a specific position in the world economy.⁷ Heavy foreign debt has created dependencies on foreign financing and forced the imposition of austerity measures. The plummeting economic growth rate of the nation (which for the last three years has remained at 0%) has heralded troubled times for Mexico, its economy and people (World Bank 1986). It will certainly have a powerful impact on the industrialization process in Queretaro, but the outcome is as yet unpredictable.

There is a sense in Queretaro that the traditional and

⁷For a discussion of Mexico and the world economy, see Evans (1979), Scott (1982), Wallerstein (1974).

the contemporary are both very much present in the city, but that each is carefully preserved and kept separate. Local social customs are carefully observed and recorded in the society pages of the local newspapers. At the same time, high-technology machines are operating on the edge of town, and the men and women who operate the factories work in ultra-modern environments imported from the United States, Japan, or Germany.

The center of the city still preserves the colonial heritage of the city, and the city is laid out in the Spanish tradition around a central plaza, surrounded by smaller plazas. These plazas are still social gathering spots and filled to overflowing during holiday fiestas when food stands are set up, along with carnival rides, traditional music and dancing and religious processions fill the streets.

The center of the city has been closed to auto traffic to create a mall atmosphere and to preserve the colonial architecture characterized by elaborate baroque stonework, and massive carved colonial wooden doors. The colonial architecture is protected by law, and restorations or renovation must preserve the original design.

Although Queretaro retains its reputation as one of the most conservative cities in the Bajio, most residents describe immense changes in the last twenty years. One woman described her father's reaction to the changing population and social relations in Queretaro as follows:

My father tells stories about Queretaro when he was a young man (early 1920s-30s)--times when everyone knew everyone else--and the center of town was the place to be. He says that he could stand on the corner and know the name of every person who walked by, right down to the name of their dog! Now you can stand on a corner in the center of the city and not even recognize half of the people who walk by--sometimes you can't even tell what country they're from. I think we younger people somewhat enjoy the anonymity, but the older people really miss the familiarity. When my father sits in the Plaza now, he's just an old man to many people, not Don Pepe, as in the old days.

Queretaro has undergone rapid social, economic, and political changes in the last few decades. Social relations are a topic of frequent discussion among residents, and a part of those relations will be explored further in this dissertation. The growth and expansion of industry in Queretaro and the nation have had a significant impact on the growth and development of the city and state of Queretaro, in both social and economic terms.

The changes have affected familial and gender relations, as well as industrial work relations, the dual focus of this study. Both the workplace and the home of the female industrial managers and non-managers in this study reflect changes occurring in Queretaro today and, to an extent, provide insight into the satisfactions and stresses of dealing with rapid social and economic change on a very human level.

Conclusions

The industrial transformation of Queretaro has been characterized by sporadic and uneven development. The growth of the textile manufacturing industry from the 1600s to the 1800s generated commercial activity and stimulated the circulation of goods and capital in the area. The heavy conflicts in the region during the Wars of Independence disrupted the economic development of the area. After the Revolution, the reapportionment of landholdings created further conflict and failed to have a significant effect on easing the sharp disparities in rural and urban access to resources.

The patriarchal system of laws and social organization were imported with the Spanish conquest. Women's participation in the society and economy were defined to a large extent by their social relation to men; first, as a daughter, with certain obligations, and then, to a husband, with specific obligations. Although the participation of women in the economy and society was not as restricted or stereotyped as some have portrayed it, women were clearly unequal before the law, without legal status as an individual before or after marriage, with the exception of as a widow. As some observers have pointed out, women in Mexico have been regarded as "other" rather than equals (Macias 1982).

The significance of women's involvement with the Church is seen in its effect on suffrage and political involvement. The strictures of the Church required women to perform their

roles of daughter, wife and mother dutifully and with willing self-sacrifice. The relationship of women to the Church has been complex and damaging for their political enfranchisement. Despite the attempts of liberal and socialist reformers such as Alvarado and Calles, feminism did not become a powerful force in Mexico after the Revolution. Fears of the political conservatism of women influenced heavily by the Church contributed to the late date of women's suffrage in Mexico (1953).

Post-revolutionary Mexico has gone through changes particularly significant to the pattern of relations of gender and class. Gender and class relations have been molded by the historical context in which they have developed and been played out.

The creation of a strong central state in Mexico which has managed to maintain political stability (with some exceptions) has contributed to the economic growth of the nation, despite various crises. The PRI has maintained its power and influence since its inception in the 1940s. Despite the severe economic problems facing Mexico, the government thus far has managed to control its huge and diverse population and is taking measures to regain economic strength.

The State's emphasis on the development of education has created a growing body of educated individuals able to fill positions in government and the private sector which Mexico badly needs for further development. Women's

inclusion in this emphasis on education is supplying more women educated to hold positions at levels not held by women in the past. Although women continue to dominate the traditional female careers such as nursing, teaching, and work in the service sector in general, there is some evidence of women entering less traditional areas, such as business and management, high political offices of governor, senator, and cabinet member.

Decisions by the national government during the 1940s to encourage industrialization have had an important impact on the direction of growth and economic development for the nation. For Queretaro, industrial transformation has been characterized by sporadic development. The heavy conflicts in the area during the Wars of Independence and the Revolution disrupted the economic structure of the area, and created recessions which seriously stunted the development of the area. After the Revolution, the reapportionment of landholdings created further conflict and failed to have a significant effect on easing the sharp differential in rural and urban access to resources. The differences between rural and urban development in the region remain significant today. Local decisions to discourage industry from expanding in the area during the 1920s, maintained Queretaro as a conservative, slightly remote economic center. However, under the national policy encouraging industrial enterprise and foreign investment during the 1940s to the present, Queretaro's location and resources made it a natural center

of industrial growth.

Although the importance of the Church remains evident in Mexico, its powers have gradually been brought into an uneasy alliance with the State. Changes within the Church and its strictures have allowed for slightly more flexibility on issues such as contraception and divorce, and both are now commonplace in Mexico.

These changes have had an important effect on gender relations, giving women more flexibility in their roles within the family, especially in decisions regarding the spacing of children and control of family size. However, despite the reforms of 1975 which recognize the rights of an individual to control family size and spacing of children, abortion has not yet been decriminalized in Mexico. Women's access to medical care is largely determined by social class standing, or access to economic means. Although some of the more restrictive patriarchal structure of Mexican society has been altered in recent decades, the class structure of society continues to significantly restrict women of the lower classes.

In 1974, the Mexican government formally examined the laws on the books, in preparation for hosting the United Nations International Women's Year of 1975. Revisions were made to recognize the juridical equality of men and women. However, the law does not guarantee equality for women, nor does it specify the means of enforcement of equality. Technically, women are equal before the law, however, in

practice disparities still exist.

It is in the workplace that many of these disparities are the most glaring. As long as equal rights are not guaranteed, women will continue to deal with gender discrimination and sexual harassment in the work place. Most women who work outside the home earn considerably less than their male counterparts. Many rules in various industries constitute sexual discrimination. Some factories will hire only single women, or frequently a woman is disqualified for a job or fired if she is pregnant. Many industries reflect an ideology of the family which reifies the woman as mother, and denies women the choice of maintaining employment, viewing wife and mother as the only appropriate roles for women.

Although Mexican society has undergone dramatic changes in the post-revolutionary years, gender relations in the home and in the workplace still bear the stamp of the patriarchal social structure which has dominated Mexican society since colonial times. Some changes are evident, but they are complicated by the contradictions inherent in advanced industrial capitalism and the resultant class system which has evolved in Mexico. The life experiences of the women in this study illustrate the articulation of gender and class, and the changes, contradictions, and barriers with which women must deal as they maintain their presence in the home and the workplace in the 1980s.

CHAPTER THREE

DESCRIPTION OF THE PARTICIPANTS AND METHODS

The first section of this chapter describes the research design and development of instruments, the selection of participants, and the field research methods used for this study. The subsequent sections outline salient personal characteristics of the management and non-management women, drawing on the personal background section of the questionnaire answered by each woman and on in-depth interviews. Questionnaire responses are reported in tables and discussed in more detail in the text.

Research Design

The field research for this project was conducted with participants in manufacturing firms in Queretaro over a sixteen-month period (March 1982 to June 1983). Preliminary research during the summer of 1976 on the effects of industrialization on women provided initial contacts with the industrial community. Personal contacts in two Michigan-based multinational companies provided advice on strategies for interviewing company employees and obtaining security clearance. The companies also supplied the names of several people to contact in their Queretaro offices and advised them of my arrival and the topic of my research.

After a review of the literature and consultation with industrial managers in Michigan, a research design including a questionnaire, in-depth interviews, historical research, and participant observation was developed. The research design was further refined through preliminary work in Queretaro, interviewing industrial contacts, and discussing the project with Mexican academicians.

The research design included initial participant observation in the community and following local activities through newspapers, radio, and community events, to familiarize myself with the local context. Introduction to the industrial community and definition of the two groups of women was carried out simultaneously with final development of the questionnaire. Initial meetings with industrial leaders helped to refine both the questionnaire and the interview process. During interviewing, I also observed the industrial community by touring plant facilities and meeting informally with employees. Social meetings with managers and non-managers provided further opportunities for a fuller understanding of the women's social networks and context.

Analysis of the data was carried out in two phases: compilation of questionnaire results and the analysis of interviews and observations. Each section of the research design is described below.

Selection of Participants

During the first phase of field work in 1982, I defined a population of women managers working in the manufacturing

industries of Queretaro. A management position was defined as one in which the occupant was recognized as management within the hierarchy of the company. (See Figure 3.1.) Upon arriving in Queretaro, the offices of CANACINTRA (Camara Nacional de la Industria de Transformacion) provided a complete directory of manufacturing industries in the city. After consultation with CANACINTRA, ten general managers and top executives were chosen from the list and contacted for interviews to provide an introduction to the industrial community and the situation of women in management.¹ From these interviews I gathered a list of about twenty female managers working in the manufacturing sector. In several instances, the general managers of companies with no women managers knew of other companies with women in such positions. As I began contacting the women on the list, they contributed the names of additional women managers in their companies and in other manufacturing companies.² A telephone survey of those firms not contacted in person provided verification that no women managers in manufacturing had been overlooked. Thus, the group of women identified could be considered equal to the universe of women managers in

¹These included the two companies I had contacted in Michigan.

²This "snowball" sampling technique allowed me to observe communication networks between firms and between women managers, but also introduced a potential bias, as it was dependent upon the women's knowledge of each other's existence in management positions. As this technique was cross-checked by telephone surveys of the manufacturing industries, the researcher has reasonable confidence that the entire universe of management women was identified.

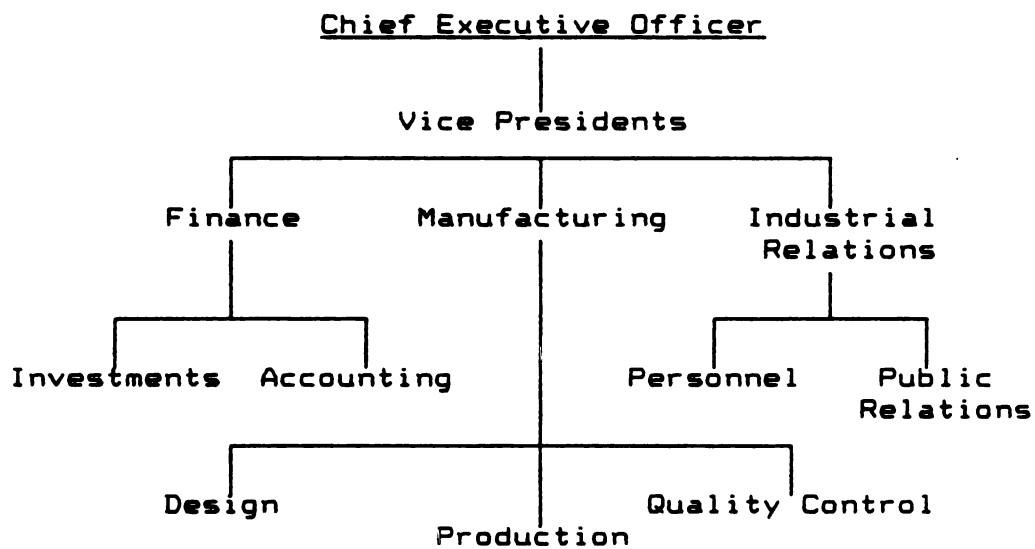


Figure 3.1. Composite Organization Chart of Manufacturing Management³

³There is no standard organization for all manufacturing concerns. This composite was designed to give the reader a general idea of the levels of hierarchy under discussion here.

manufacturing in Queretaro. The percentage of female managers in manufacturing is less than one percent of the total industrial management population of Queretaro, but they are quite visible and very active in the industrial community.⁴

The final list was composed of thirty women in industrial manufacturing management, holding positions such as Personnel Director, Supervisor of Quality Control, and Director of Imports. I contacted each of the women by telephone or personal appointment and explained the purpose of the study and requirements for participation. All thirty women agreed to participate. Each participant received a questionnaire to complete and arrangements were made for a follow-up interview. Some interviews took place in the workplace when permission was granted, but more frequently they were conducted in a local coffee shop or in the participant's home.

In the next phase of research, a group of thirty women working in industry who held clerical and technical positions below management level was chosen for comparative purposes. Appropriate women were identified from lists furnished by personnel departments of the companies where women managers were identified. From each list, every tenth woman was selected until the numbers of non-managers and managers from each company were equal. (Some women chosen

⁴The estimated percent is based on personal observation and estimates of local members of industry.

were unavailable because of leave or absence; in that case, another name was selected.) The women were contacted by telephone or in person, and the requirements of participation in the study were explained. All women contacted agreed to participate. The women held positions such as secretaries, technical assistants, and executive secretaries. Each woman was supplied with a questionnaire and interviewed using the same format as that used for the management women.

All participants in the study were extremely cooperative. A guarantee of the confidentiality of their responses was important to gain cooperation in answering sensitive questions. Because of the sensitivity of many of the areas of inquiry--relations with coworkers and superiors, career aspirations, and family relations--anonymity of the participants will be maintained throughout this work.

Development of the Questionnaire

An initial draft of the questionnaire was developed in Michigan after reviewing samples of questionnaires used in similar research contexts (Schreiber 1979, Selby 1979). After discussions with industrialists and academicians in Mexico, the questionnaire was revised. The questionnaire was translated into Spanish by a native Spanish speaker in Queretaro, then reviewed and revised by three native Spanish speakers. It was then pre-tested with ten women who were not involved in the study but who were employed as managers and secretaries in government agencies, banks, and schools

in the city. They were located through visits to these institutions and by reading newspapers for the names of prominent women in the city. Some items on the questionnaire were modified according to their recommendations.

In its final form, the questionnaire was comprised of items focused on five areas: personal background (including education and employment); the family; the workplace; stress and health; and social change in Queretaro (see Appendix). It consisted of ten pages of open-ended and closed-ended questions. The items in the personal background section of the questionnaire were used to produce a general profile of the women in the two groups. The next two sections of the questionnaire were structured to shed light on relations and experiences in the workplace and the home. The stress section was designed to elicit the women's perceptions about stress and its effects on their health. This section contained questions from instruments used in other stress-related research (Albrecht 1979, Caplan 1975, Schreiber 1979). The fifth section provided information on how women perceive and experience social change in Queretaro and what they see as the major problems facing women employed outside the home.

Each woman completed the questionnaire by herself and addressed any questions or problems during the follow-up interview. Time taken to complete the questionnaire ranged from one-half hour to several hours. Although many women commented that the questionnaire was long, many also

commented that they enjoyed thinking about and answering the questions.

Interviewing

Personal interviews with the participants focused on the five sections covered by the written questionnaire. Each participant was asked a set of fewer, more open-ended, and more personal questions in these five areas. The interviews ranged in length from one to several hours. When possible, each woman was also visited at home for additional informal interviews with husbands and other family members. These visits ranged from one-half hour to several hours and provided an opportunity for observation of family interactions and the division of labor in the home, which enhanced and verified questionnaire responses.

Rapid inflation, currency devaluation, economic instability, and labor unrest during the research period made informants and employers reluctant to provide written information about wages and income. Thus, interviews and verbal statements from the women and employers were the primary source information on earnings. Interviews were also conducted with the general managers of several major firms, government officials involved in regulating industry, university officials, and other community members about their views on women working in industry and how women's roles and the family have been affected by rapid industrialization.

Participant Observation

To provide background and enrich the interpretation of the preceding material, sixteen months spent in Queretaro provided a continual opportunity to participate in community life, observe social interactions, join social groups, and be involved in the everyday life of the city. My participation in several political and social groups, in particular, provided the chance to observe women discussing their political and economic concerns. The activities, goals, and structure of these groups provided insight into the roles and effectiveness of women in the community.

Involvement in the every day life of the city informed my perspective on work and life in Queretaro today. Much of what was reported as difficulties of both working and maintaining families became very real for me. Living amid the complexities of a rapidly growing and changing city provided a context which, though not easily described or understood, greatly enriched the interpretations presented in this study.

Other Sources of Data

Historical research was important to understanding the specific social formation that has evolved in Queretaro. Both oral histories gathered through interviews with long-time residents of Queretaro and archival and historical research on women and their participation in the economy and society were used to develop a long-term perspective. John Super's (1973) study of the society and economy of early

colonial Queretaro provided especially useful data on the early participation of women in the economy. Andrew Whiteford's (1964) baseline study of Queretaro's class and family structure prior to industrialization provided an invaluable comparative framework for analyzing the changes occurring in the city today. A more recent study of women and industrialization in Queretaro (Selby 1979) was another important source for comparison. Government offices in Mexico City and Queretaro provided historical census and labor statistics on the roles and employment of women in Queretaro over the last ten years.

The news media were an excellent source of information on attitudes toward women's participation in politics, business, education, and all aspects of community life. The newspapers were especially rich in their commentary on the effects of women working outside the home, and in their daily coverage of women, their activities, and public opinion on a range of issues concerning women and work.

Description of Participants

Participants worked in industries ranging from food processing (e.g., Kelloggs and Gerber) to manufacturing of auto parts and farm machinery (e.g., Massey Ferguson and Tremec). (See Table 3.1.) The managers in this study most frequently held positions in personnel and human or public relations, departments which have traditionally been more open to women, but some also work in departments such as

engineering, product design, marketing, and quality control. Non-management positions are generally clerical or administrative in nature, for example, secretary, bilingual secretary, executive secretary, and technical assistant.

TABLE 3.1. Distribution of Women Managers in Manufacturing Industries

<u>Type of Plant</u>	<u># of Women in Management</u>
Food and beverage	11
Heavy manufacturing	13
Light manufacturing	<u>6</u>
Total	30

The stereotyping of gender roles is seen in the positions that women managers hold. Women are considered more appropriate choices for personnel and human relations positions because they are viewed as nurturing, supportive, and able to more easily resolve conflict situations. Since these abilities are used in the home, in raising a family and getting along with a spouse, it is generally believed that women excel in these areas. Several workers stated that they would prefer to be let go by a female personnel official because she would be kinder and would help connect them with networks for support, easing their financial burden during unemployment.

The stereotypes which support gender roles can be seen to affect women's participation in employment. In many

industrialized nations, management women tend to be concentrated in industries where women have typically been involved at the production level, and which are stereotyped as "female", such as food processing or textiles. In Queretaro, almost equal concentrations of women managers in the traditionally "female" food and textile industries and the more generally "male" heavy manufacturing industry are found. In fact, the woman who holds the highest level management position is employed in a heavy manufacturing firm, which makes her doubly unusual. Non-managers in this study are distributed among industries in the same pattern as management women, as they were matched by company.

The presence of management women in heavy manufacturing suggests that women are not coming up through the ranks by promotion from production level jobs, since very few women are employed on the production line in these industries. In fact, even in the textile industry, where women are employed on the line, they are not rising from production-level to management-level positions. This point is further substantiated below.

Personal Characteristics

There is little difference in the ages of the two groups of women, as Table 3.2 demonstrates. The average age for management women is 30, with a range from 21 to 55. For clerical women, the average is 28, with a range from 21 to 44. The youth of the managers was somewhat surprising, but reflects both the recent acceptance of higher education for

women and the increased demand for managerial level employees in Mexico's industries during the economic expansion of the last two decades. It also suggests that most are hired into a management-track, rather than working their way up through the company from clerical or administrative positions.

TABLE 3.2. Age of Respondents

<u>Age (yrs.)</u>	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
20-29	17	56.7	17	56.7
30-39	11	36.7	12	40.0
40-49	1	3.3	1	3.3
50-59	<u>1</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

The geographic origins of the two groups are similar. Eleven (36.7%) of the female managers are born and raised Queretanas, eight (26.7%) are from Mexico City, and eleven (36.7%) from other parts of the republic (Table 3.3). Ten (33.3%) non-management women are from Queretaro, six (20%) from Mexico City, and eight (26.7%) are from other areas.

TABLE 3.3. Place of Origin

<u>Place of origin</u>	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Queretaro	11	36.7	10	33.3
Mexico City	8	26.7	6	20.0
Other	<u>11</u>	<u>36.7</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>46.7</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Family and Class Background

The family context into which a woman is born considerably affects the pattern of her life. The family molds perception of self and the world, and class background influences a young woman's access to education and employment opportunities as well as her aspirations.

Our notions of family absorb the conflicts, contradictions and tensions that are actually generated by those material, class-structured relations that households hold to resources in advanced capitalism. "Family," as we understand (and misunderstand) the term, is conditioned by the exigencies of household formation, and serves as a shock-absorber to keep households functioning. People are recruited and kept in households by families in all classes, yet the families they have (or don't have) are not the same (Rapp 1978:281).

Family and class standing, then, are significant determinants in molding life chances, life style, and ideology (Giddens 1979).

A focus on class has been recognized as a necessary tool for understanding the divisions and contradictions within advanced industrial society (Beneria and Roldan 1987, Sokoloff 1980), but the literature on class is huge and daunting. It is not a simple definition of class which is

necessary, rather, as Rapp puts it:

We have a huge and muddled literature which attempts to reconcile objective and subjective criteria, to sort people into lowers, uppers and middles, to argue about the relation of consciousness to material reality. I will say only the following: "social class" is a shorthand for a process, and not a thing. That process is the one by which different social relations to the means of production are inherited and reproduced under capitalism...The point is, "class" isn't a static place which individuals inhabit. It is a process determined by the relationships set up in capital accumulation (Rapp 1978: 282).

For the purposes of this research, on one level a subjective approach to class was taken, letting the respondents define the concept of class themselves. On another level, the research focuses on the process, or the set of relations to the means of production which are inherent in the two groups, managers and non-managers in an industrializing society, and how these relations articulate with those of gender in the industrial workplace and the home.

The women in this study were asked to identify their family class background. Although almost all of them expressed some difficulty in defining their class background, the majority chose upper, middle, or lower as descriptors, instead of terms such as gente decente ("well brought up people") and pobre ("poor"). To clarify these emic definitions, the women were asked to describe what they meant by class. Several women mentioned that Queretaro seems to have its own, somewhat unique categories for class:

People here seem to have a real respect for the old families of Queretaro. The society pages in the newspapers are full of their birthday parties, weddings, fund raisers. They cover other people, too, but one can tell which families are the "creme de la creme" in this city -- the real upper class.

Among the management women, 25 said that their background was middle class. When asked what she meant by middle class, one woman summarized:

Well, you know, my father had a good job--he was a professional, good education, decent salary--he was respected in the community. We weren't rich, of course, there were things we kids (five of us) wanted that we didn't get. But we were all educated, well-fed, and exposed to cultural things--piano lessons, ballet, art lessons. We had a very comfortable life.

Every woman mentioned her father's employment and what it could obtain for the family as part of her definition of the class in which she located herself. This focus on the father's influence is interesting in light of the patriarchal relations in Queretaro; the relationship between a Mexican father and daughter, particularly in the middle and upper classes, is legendary.

Only two managers mentioned their mothers as a factor in defining class background. One mother was described as heavily encouraging education and good grades; she devoted an hour each evening to problems or questions concerning homework or school. Another mother was credited with giving her daughter a very strong background in the arts through lessons, readings, and her own enthusiasm:

At university, that background was invaluable to me. I was amazed how many doors it opened for me, the wonderful people I met who shared my interests, and even the introduction to my husband--all because my mother strongly encouraged my training in the arts.

Three managers identified themselves as coming from a lower-class background and two described their families as upper-class.

The majority (24) of the non-management women classified their social origins as middle class. Six women said that they thought they were somewhere in between middle and lower, but when pressed to make a choice, three said middle class, and three lower class. One non-manager who described her background as middle class remembered:

Once my brothers started working, they contributed a lot to the family income. My oldest brother never finished secondary school, he was an incredible worker (he and my father both worked in a metal shop) and he could fix anything. Anyway, after I was about six, I remember we moved to a nicer house, we kids got more clothes, and life was a lot easier. We became more middle class, I guess.

A non-manager who described her background as lower class, or "humble" (humilde) recalled:

What I remember as a child was what a struggle everything was. To put a meal on the table for all of us (eight children) was a fight. My mother and father argued a lot over little bits of money that my father spent on a drink or some bets at work. I always swore that my life would be different, and it is.

In summary, all but five of the management respondents

described themselves as from middle class backgrounds; two women reported they are from the upper class, and three women said they are from the lower class. Among the non-management group, twenty-seven women said they are from middle class backgrounds, and three women said lower class. According to their self-reports, then, management women are from slightly higher class families than non-management women, but the majority of women (49) in both groups report middle-class origins. There is evidence, however, that this self-reporting understates real differences in class background.

More striking differences in social background are revealed by the reports of fathers' occupations. Almost two thirds (63.3%) of the fathers of the managers were involved in commerce, the professions, management, and government. In contrast, only one-quarter (26.6%) of the fathers of the non-managers were working in these sectors. (See Table 3.4.)

TABLE 3.4. Occupation of Father during Respondents' Childhood

<u>Father's occupation</u>	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Unskilled farm work	1	3.3	6	20.0
Unskilled factory work	2	6.7	8	26.7
Skilled labor	5	16.7	7	23.3
Service	3	10.0	2	6.7
Commerce	5	16.7	4	13.3
Professions	6	20.0	3	10.0
Business management	4	13.3	0	0.0
Government	4	13.3	0	0.0
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Similarly, more mothers of managers worked in skilled occupations, though the majority of the mothers of the women in both groups did not work outside the home while the participants were growing up (Table 3.5). In the management group, five mothers (17%) were employed outside the home: one was a secretary, one was in sales, two were teachers, and one was a social worker. Of the non-management women's mothers, three had outside employment during the respondent's childhood: two mothers had worked briefly as secretaries and one had worked in sales.

TABLE 3.5. Occupation of Mother during Respondents' Childhood

<u>Mother's occupation</u>	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Homemaker	25	83.3	27	90.0
Clerical worker	1	3.3	2	6.7
Employee in Commerce	1	3.3	1	3.3
Educator	2	6.7	0	0.0
Social worker	<u>1</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Perhaps more significantly, managers consistently reported close relationships with their fathers. The majority (27) stated that their fathers were a much stronger influence on their occupational choices than their mothers. Many of the women said their fathers made them feel important or different from other women and capable of choosing a "man's" career (such as management). They reported that their fathers served as important role models and sources of

encouragement. Only three managers said that their fathers were an impediment to their careers by denying their daughters financial support, housing, or approval. In contrast, the mothers of the management women, had had little influence on the women's choice of career. The managers did not see their mothers' work outside the home as affecting their own choice of management careers.

In contrast, most non-management women reported having to fight strong objections from their fathers to go to school and work outside the home. Their mothers tended to be strong sources of support, but negative role models. Of those women who spoke about their mothers, almost all agreed that they felt sorry for their mothers and thought that they were overworked in the home and burdened with too many children and too little money to support the household. To avoid this situation in their own lives, twelve non-management women had decided to get secretarial training and employment to enable them to meet men of better means and to save money before marriage.

Educational Background

Not surprisingly, managers were more highly educated than non-management women. As Table 3.6 demonstrates, twenty-six (86.6%) managers had at least some university training and, of those, seven (23.3%) had Master's degrees. Of the four women who had no university education, two (6.7%) were high school graduates. Among non-managers, only six (20%) had graduated from university, and ten more (33%)

had received a high school diploma. This finding is consistent with that of Selby in his study of traditional and modern women in Queretaro; that is, the higher the educational level of a woman, the higher employment level she is likely to achieve (1979: 130).

TABLE 3.6. Highest Level of Education Obtained

	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Master's Degree	7	23.3	0	0.0
University graduate	18	60.0	6	20.0
Some University	1	3.3	0	0.0
High School graduate (Preparatoria or Secretarial track)	2	6.7	10	33.3
Some High School	<u>2</u>	<u>6.7</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>46.7</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Education for women in Queretaro is a recent phenomenon. Even after the establishment of the university in Queretaro (in the 1960s), women were not generally encouraged to pursue higher education. Upper-class women sometimes studied abroad in finishing schools or studied languages or the arts, but they did not prepare for careers. Middle-class women, in contrast, often acquired secretarial skills so that they could work until they were married (Whiteford 1964).

The ideology that supports men as the primary providers

and, therefore, the rightful recipients of education is illustrated by the lives of many of the women. Those who continued their education are quick to point out that they faced opposition from society in general, and often from their own families as well. As one manager remembers:

When I was a girl, I enrolled in the prepa even though my father thought it was a waste for women to be educated any further than elementary school. I got very good grades, much better than my brothers. I decided to become a physician. When I finished prepa, my father refused to allow me to study at the university. He insisted that only prostitutes and loose girls studied there, had classes with men, studied with men--and when I got out, what was I going to do, work with men?!! I insisted that I wanted to be a physician. I enrolled at the university and my father threw me out of the house. I went to live with an aunt and worked my way through the first year. My father was furious and disowned me. It was a real blow to me. My aunt and uncle encouraged me and allowed me to stay with them. My mother never said a word. I gave up on medicine, it was too long to study, so I finished in chemistry with high honors. I was hired immediately and I've loved every minute of it. I support my parents now and they admit that they are very proud. I still have my angry moments when I remember the past, but I look to the future for the most part.

The difficulties that women in Queretaro initially encountered in entering the university have all but disappeared. Several managers discussed this issue and its importance for women who seek managerial careers. Since these options were not always so available, the women in both groups view education as liberating them from ignorance and traditional views that hold women back. Traditional Mexican values support close family ties, a closed social network, and little experience outside the home for women.

Education provides an avenue out of this closed lifestyle which Queretaro epitomizes to many of the participants in the study.

Non-management women identified their lack of higher education as a major regret, so education is valued very highly by both groups of women. Non-management women cited social and financial obstacles as the major reasons they did not continue their educations. The most common reason given was objection to further education by the family, usually the father.

I have two brothers and a sister. My father was a commerciante, he had a stall at the market where he sold onions and produce. We always had to scrape by financially. I always loved school and I wanted to go on to study at the prepa but my father only wanted the boys to go on with their studies. After much arguing, he agreed to let me try business school but there wasn't enough money after my first year so I found a job, got married, and I'm still here. The company pays for English classes if we want to take them and I just started. My husband objects to the time but I say I had enough of that from my father.

When a woman attends university, it is the first time in her life that the family cannot oversee all interactions. This is one of the reasons that Queretaro families initially objected to higher education for their daughters. Learning to cope is the first step toward learning to command and change things. According to management women, there is often much unfairness and sexist behavior at university but this is reality and necessary preparation for the work world. Female students learn to stand up for themselves in

the university setting. The women believe that the sense of having career training and preparation equal to that of their male colleagues is one of the most important tools a woman can have.

According to Mexican university officials, female students are not just enrolling in greater numbers, they have also begun to enroll in degree programs that were once traditionally male. Women now frequently graduate in engineering, business administration, architecture, and medicine. They still have a few "horror" stories to tell from the early years (1960s and 70s) but, as in many other areas, women have become much more accepted in professional training. (See Kinzer 1978 for similar accounts by Argentine women breaking into "male" professions.) One engineer describes her first term at university:

At first no one would speak to me, I was the only female and they really made me feel isolated. My father (an engineer) warned me what it would be like and was very supportive of me at that time. He often took me to lunch between classes. I think the worst thing was feeling invisible. The boys just wouldn't recognize that I was there. In class they would make points and have discussions, when I tried to participate it was as if I hadn't spoken, they just continued among themselves. But I got the very highest grade that term and even the professor congratulated me. After a while I made a few friends and we studied together. You know those men are still my friends and we often consult about technical problems at work. It took a while for them to recognize me but they have been very loyal colleagues.

Study abroad, especially in the U.S., is often seen as a transforming experience for both sexes. Both managers and

non-managers mentioned the effects of study abroad, particularly in relation to the behavior of husbands who had studied abroad. One non-management woman observed:

My boss is an incredible woman, she's determined, intelligent, and very strong without being overpowering. She has a good education, and a really unusual marriage for Queretaro. I take nothing away from her, but her husband is also very educated. He studied in the U.S. for five years, and he is unlike any man I've ever met. They treat each other as equals, and it isn't just for show. She had the chance to train in the U.S. for some months, and he said she should go, he thought it was a great opportunity. Finally, she turned it down. Come to find out she was pregnant with their first child. But for him to encourage her to go, that is unusual here.

The non-manager thus sees education as empowering for her boss, though she also notes the contribution of an unusual marital relationship as important to her boss's career. Although her boss chose to follow a traditional pattern of having a child, she also maintained her management career.

Only three management women have had any foreign educational experience themselves. One woman attended high school in the United States, another spent a portion of her university years there, and the third attended university courses in Europe. One non-management woman attended high school and secretarial school in the United States. She trained as a bilingual executive secretary, and briefly considered management school, but married and moved back to Mexico instead. All of these women believe that their experience abroad changed them by making them more self-reliant and open to new and different ideas.

Although education seems to be highly valued by both groups of women, access to higher education is sharply blocked by social, financial, and marital obstacles for many non-management women. Class differences continue to have an effect on life chances, since management women are more likely to be involved in continuing their educations while working than are non-management women. Most managers (63%) were enrolled in Master's programs or foreign language courses; only one third (10) of the non-managers were enrolled in English language courses or intended to be soon. Many firms provide the opportunity to continue studies, especially English language courses, at the company's expense. Many women in the non-management group aspire to the position of bilingual secretary, and such courses provide important training toward reaching this goal. However, many non-managers find these courses an appealing incentive, even though many are unable to participate because of scheduling difficulties or objections at home, from husbands or family.

Marriage and Family

Research from industrialized nations comparing women in male-dominated fields (like industry) with those in traditionally-female fields (such as teaching or nursing) has shown a disproportionate number of women executives who have never married, are divorced, or are lesbians (Finklestein 1981: 194). This seems to indicate an incompatibility between marriage and non-traditional work roles. Such an

incompatibility is not apparent in Queretaro. In the management group, 12 women are married, 17 are single (three are engaged), and one is a widow. Of the fourteen women who are single and not engaged, only three desire to remain single. The group of women in non-management positions has a similar composition of 14 married, 14 single (two engaged), one widow and one divorced (see Table 3.7). All but one of the single women would like to marry in the future.

Of the three managers who intend to stay single, one no longer considers herself of marriageable age (she is in her 50s); she says that she accepts that her work took her on a different course than many women, and is satisfied to be surrounded with family and friends. The other two women are much younger, but strongly believe that their work goals would be hindered by marriage to a Mexican man. They both hope that their work will give them the opportunity to live in different countries, and the travel and new work experiences are more important than marriage in their lives. The widow would like to remarry, but believes that her husband's death forced her to grow and discover abilities which she would not wish to surrender in a traditional marriage.

One non-manager says that she would prefer to study and continue working rather than have the responsibilities of a home and family. The two divorced and widowed non-managers both agree that they would remarry if they met someone less demanding than their former husbands. Despite the hardships of living alone and maintaining their families, they enjoy

their independence and receive tremendous support from family and friends.

TABLE 3.7. Marriage and Family

<u>Marital status</u>	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Single	14	46.7	12	40.0
Engaged	3	10.0	2	6.7
Married	12	40.0	14	46.7
Divorced	0	0.0	1	3.3
Widowed	<u>1</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3.3</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
0	24	80.0	20	66.7
1	1	3.3	5	16.7
2	3	10.0	4	13.3
3	0	0.0	1	3.3
4	<u>2</u>	<u>6.7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

<u>Ages of children</u>	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Under 5	1	3.3	4	13.3
5-10	3	10.0	1	3.3
11-20	2	6.7	5	16.7
No children	<u>24</u>	<u>80.0</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>66.7</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

It has commonly been assumed in the industrialized nations that it is easier for the single woman to rise to corporate power, since she is unhindered by husband or other outside deterrents to concentration and ambition (Epstein and Coser 1981). In Queretaro, among the women in the management group we find the married women in the highest

positions, and contrary to the assumption stated above, these women cite their marriage as the single most advantageous relationship to their career advancement. The non-managers report more of a struggle combining family and work, and more difficulty in their marital relationships. Twenty non-management women had not intended to work after marriage, but rising costs and the instability of the Mexican economy made two incomes a necessity.

Husband's Background

The husbands of women in managerial positions have attained higher levels of education than the husbands of non-management women. Over 80 % (10) of the management women's husbands have a university education, and eight have further graduate work, including two Master's degrees, one M.D., and one Ph.D. Of the husbands of non-managers, only two have college degrees.

Over 90% (11) of the husbands of women managers are in professional or managerial positions (see Table 3.8). One husband is involved in commerce. The husbands of the non-management women hold lower status jobs. Two husbands are involved in agricultural labor and three work in industry at the production level. Four men are skilled laborers, two work in the service sector, and two in commerce. Only one is a professional.

TABLE 3.8 Husbands' Occupation

<u>Husband's occupation</u>	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Unskilled farm	0	0.0	2	14.3
Unskilled factory	0	0.0	3	21.4
Skilled labor	0	0.0	4	28.6
Service	0	0.0	2	14.3
Commerce	1	8.3	2	14.3
Professional	9	75.0	1	7.1
Business management	<u>2</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	12	100.0	14	100.0

The husband's education and occupation contribute significantly to a couple's perception and coordination of work and family. There are sharp differences between managers and non-managers in this area of interaction of family and work. These differences will be outlined in Chapter Five.

Children

In the management group, only one woman has a child who is under five years old, as seen in Table 3.7. Three managers have children between the ages of five and ten, and two women have teenagers. Of the non-managers, four women have young children under five years of age. One non-manager has children between five and ten, while half of the non-managers with children have children older than eleven. Relatively few women in either group have children yet. For both groups, the majority of women said that two was the ideal number of children. Issues surrounding child care, which are quite different for each group, will be examined

in the discussion of home and family in Chapter Five.

Summary

Class and family background, as well as traditional gender roles, clearly influence women's participation in the work force and the position which they occupy. Managers cite the importance that their families placed on education as a significant factor in their achievement of management positions. Non-management women also value education, but report more difficulties in gaining access to education and more opposition from their families.

Management women generally report that a strong, supportive relationship with their fathers contributed to their development of self-esteem and ambition. They view their relationships with their mothers as less influential in their development and choice of career, but as generally positive. Since their fathers were the primary providers and recipients of education, it is not surprising that they exerted more influence over their daughters' choice to have a career. On the other hand, their mothers were raised when education was less accessible to women; most were housewives and had less influence as role models over their daughters' employment choices. In contrast, non-management women report that their relationships with their fathers were more difficult. They viewed their mothers as negative role models whose lives were difficult and not what the women would choose for themselves.

The choice of marriage, a husband, and children is a significant aspect of the reproduction of class in a society, and has important implications for a woman's quality of life, life chances, and ideology. The significance of these factors will be examined in the following chapters. Although there are fairly sharp differences between the socio-economic backgrounds of management and non-management women, there appears to be an even sharper differential when comparing their present socio-economic situations. The husbands of management women are involved in higher status occupations, their children attend the prestigious American school, gaining bilingual (English-Spanish) training, and their homes are in the more exclusive parts of the city. The importance of class differences becomes increasingly apparent when we examine the workplace and the opportunities made available there to both groups of women.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE WORKPLACE

This chapter focuses on the workplace, how the management and non-management women came to it, how they operate within it, and what they see as the difficulties and advantages of their positions within it. Issues of particular importance in differentiating the two groups are their relations with co-workers, their opportunities for advancement, and whether they see their jobs as part of careers. The ideology of the workplace holds that women who are managers are exceptions who have to prove themselves to all concerned: the management women themselves, their male co-workers, supervisors and subordinates.

Recruitment

Historically, women who hold high level positions in companies world wide have often achieved their power through family connections, taking over after the death of a father or husband (Rapoport and Rapoport 1971). One might expect that this would be true in Mexico as well, especially since family bonds are strong, but it is not the case among the majority of the management women in this study. In fact, many women in management positions in Queretaro are without any local family ties. Eleven management women are from

Queretaro, eight are from Mexico City, and eleven from other parts of Mexico (as shown in Table 3.3).

Among the management women, eleven stated that they believed that they were hired as the result of some family connection. (See Table 4.1.) The woman who holds the highest position in management applied on the recommendation of her father, who was employed by the firm at that time.

TABLE 4.1. How did you hear of an opening for work in this firm?

<u>Source</u>	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Family	11	36.7	17	56.7
Friend	16	53.3	11	36.7
Advertisement	0	0.0	2	6.7
The firm	<u>3</u>	<u>10.0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Three managers who were outstanding students were recruited by individual firms. They were contacted to come in for an interview, and subsequently hired. According to most management women this is fairly unusual practice in the hiring of women, but standard for men in management. The director of one firm commented:

We have our sources. When we hear of a very promising woman who is available for management training, we occasionally seek her out.

Referring to a top woman manager in another firm, he continued:

She has become famous around here. If we could lure her away from them we would, but I understand that she is very loyal. We'll just have to find our own woman manager to match her.

The majority (53%) of the management women heard about their present position through friends working in the company. It was more common for non-managers to have been advised of an opening by relatives than friends. Seventeen (57%) stated that they had heard of their position through relatives, and of those, eleven (37%) had family actually working in the company when they were hired.

This finding is interesting in light of the argument that the tradition of family help in finding a job breaks down with industrialization. It has been argued that kin are less likely to know of suitable positions or to have sufficient influence to help secure a position (Terpstra and David 1985: 200). It appears that in the lower levels of administration relatives are still useful in finding employment, but, as specialization and rank increase, families seem to provide less assistance, at least for this management group.

Rank

In Queretaro, women in management positions are concentrated in lower and middle levels; there are almost no women in the top executive ranks. Only one woman holds a position defined as upper management by her firm; twelve women are in middle management positions, and the majority

(57%) are in lower management positions. The highest position held by a woman in this study is in the lowest tier of upper management. Most of the women managers in this study have recently been promoted or hired into management. Five women have been in management positions for less than one year. The majority of the participants have held their positions for between one and five years, and only two have been in management positions for over five years.

The non-management women tend to have worked longer in their current positions than the management women. The majority (16) have held their positions between five to ten years, eight women from one to five years, and six for over ten years.

Entry Level

Table 4.2 indicates that the general pattern of entry into management is through a position such as managerial assistant, followed by one to two promotions leading fairly quickly to a management position. Only three women were initially hired as managers.

TABLE 4.2. At what level was your first position in the firm?

<u>Level</u>	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Management	3	10.0	0	0.0
Assistant Mgt.	21	70.0	0	0.0
Technician(a)	4	13.3	0	0.0
Secretary	2	6.7	28	93.3
Production	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6.7</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

(a) Technical positions in these cases were engineer or chemist, requiring a high level of education and sometimes leading to management positions.

Non-management women have a very different pattern of promotion. Most non-management women have held their current position for five to ten years. In general, it is their second or third position since entering the work force. The opportunities for advancement are limited in non-management jobs.

Hennig and Jardim (1976) reported that many of the management women in their study started out in secretarial or non-management positions. Later, with more experience and seniority they were promoted to low management-level positions. This does not seem to be the pattern in Queretaro, where instead, two quite separate tracks of employment are evident. Most non-management women do not meet the educational and training requirements for management positions. Only two managers began their careers as secretaries, and they both studied and explicitly worked toward management positions. The non-management pattern of

employment in Queretaro suggests that training is a more important part of achieving management positions than seniority or "learning the business" on the job, since clerical and secretarial workers are rarely promoted into management positions. Several executives commented that education is becoming increasingly important for obtaining management-level employment. Enrollments in programs offering Master's degrees in business education have increased in the 1980s, and more and more women are participants.

Work Relations

During the last ten years as women have begun to occupy more management positions, work relations in industrial management have reflected both accommodation and resistance to their presence. Changes in society in general have also affected the work place, and women's involvement in economic activities is increasingly recognized in local newspaper articles, television coverage, and everyday discussion. As the material basis of a society changes, as during industrialization, the ideology which supports existing patterns of behavior will be shaped by changes in the economic base of society. Work relations reflect the contradictions and confrontations that are indications of the dialectic operating in social situations.

If we define ideology as "the justificatory dimension of culture, which establishes and defends patterns of belief

and value", we see that ideology functions to make social institutions possible by providing concepts that make institutions meaningful to people, and that motivate people to support these institutions (Felker 1983: 349). Ideology then appears as what is "natural" in society, the way things "should" be, and how people normally act.

The ideology which supports the traditional work relations in industry is important in trying to understand how women are accepted in management, or the difficulties which they face. Work relations are dynamic; they reflect the changes and contribute to change within the production process. In this study, relations in the work place was a topic which every respondent was interested in discussing, and the most common theme was change.

Until the 1970s industrial management in Queretaro was almost exclusively occupied by men. The term management was synonymous with male, according to one woman who has worked with management since 1970. She moved from a technical position in quality control to lower management. The transition, in terms of her work, was easy for her, but the reaction of her colleagues was more problematic, as she recalls:

I had quite a bit of training in the U.S., and I got used to being treated as a competent manager. When I came home to Mexico, I acted the same way I had been trained to act. I got so tired of having people come in for an appointment, take one look at me, and ask to see my boss, the manager. They just couldn't imagine that a woman could be the manager; that I could handle management responsibilities.

Twenty-five management women were the first females to occupy their current position; thus, they were navigating uncharted waters, as were their supervisors and staff (see Table 4.3).

TABLE 4.3. Are you the first woman in your present position?

	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	25	83.3	3	10.0
No	<u>5</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>90.0</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Researchers (Kanter 1977, Hennig and Jardim 1976) have commented on the frequency of boss-secretary relationships which mirror that of a couple, or husband and wife--the "office wife" is a common role for a secretary to play, getting coffee, arranging meetings, generally "taking care of" her boss. When a woman takes the position of boss, a new set of relations is required. There is often a difficult period of adjustment, and some secretaries refuse to work for a woman. Such women say that it is too confusing, they don't know how to act toward their new boss or what to expect, and many times the boss, unaccustomed to her position of authority, doesn't know how to act either.

When I first took over my position, I was really scared. I didn't think I could handle the responsibility. My staff was very cold toward me. I felt sick to my stomach every morning. Then I realized that I was acting strange, very reserved toward my staff so that they wouldn't see how

scared I was. I calmed myself and tried to act more myself--the difference was immediate. We started to communicate and work well together. But in the beginning, I was too hard on myself and on my staff, too. It takes experience to learn how to manage well. I am always learning!

Women managers have to learn how to deal with their newly acquired authority. Because of the asymmetrical nature of the boss-employee relationship "big-sister-little sister" arrangements often evolve, but many times the manager is younger than the secretary. The "team" approach seemed to be the most successful approach to work relations, for the women managers interviewed, as described below.

The ideology of the firm also influenced managerial style. Several large firms had adopted a "family" ideology to help promote good work relations among management and workers. The "team" image was also common in several firms. Team sports, volleyball, bowling, and soccer, were supported by the company, and very popular with employees. Banquets, trophies, articles and photographs in the company newsletter all helped to promote the image of teamwork on the playing fields and in the plant. In those companies without these explicit ideologies, the level of camaraderie and interaction between employees seemed to be noticeably lower.

Management Women and Their Supervisors

Twenty-six management women reported that their supervisors (all males) were supportive from the outset and that they had very few problems in working with them (see Table 4.4). The four women who reported difficulties were

in positions that had previously been occupied by women.

TABLE 4.4. Is your supervisor:

<u>Male or female?</u>	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Male	30	100.0	25	83.3
Female	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>16.7</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

<u>Supportive?</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	26	86.7	21	70.0
No	3	10.0	7	23.3
Indifferent	<u>1</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6.7</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

The sexual aspects of work relations cannot be ignored. I often observed an established pattern of stylized flirting underlying office relations between non-management women and their male bosses. This type of flirting was conspicuously absent from male-female manager interactions. These interactions were more controlled, more business-like, although often good-natured and pleasant, they remained distinctly different in character from male boss-female employee exchanges.

Management women were frank about the dangers of sex in the workplace. Innuendos are common in Mexico--and people openly complain that women cannot get anywhere in politics without sleeping with someone at the top. In industry, both groups of women maintained the situation is different. Most women felt strongly that intimate involvement to get ahead

in the company would be a major mistake. The management women stated that they believe indiscretions are much more damaging for women than men in management. At the time of this study, the case of Mary Cunningham, a high-level female executive with Bendix, was very much in the news. Her meteoric rise within the company became suspect when she and her boss William Agee were reported to be romantically involved. Almost every manager mentioned the Cunningham case, and how she was foolish to have become involved with a man in the company. According to the management women, Cunningham's relationship damaged her position and that of other women in business, by contributing to the idea that sex can be used to gain access to top positions. ¹

Non-management Women and Their Supervisors

Among the non-management women, twenty-five have male supervisors, while five work for women. Twenty-one women report good working relations with their supervisors. Of the nine who report having had difficulties, three are working for women, and they report that their supervisors are very demanding in terms of quality of work and attention to detail. Two women reported initial problems with their new female bosses' style of management. They stated that once they adjusted to their new bosses, however, their

¹None of the managers questioned whether the reports might be false or raised the possibility of sex discrimination against Cunningham. Cunningham and Agee denied any romantic involvement at the time, but the press continued link them.

supervisors were more willing to operate as a "team" than the men for whom they had worked, and that once they got used to each other, they worked very successfully. Two women feel that such demands result in good work for the company, and reflect well on the supervisors. However, one woman who reported problems felt her supervisor to be anything but a team player. She cited numerous instances of having her ideas taken with no credit given, of being asked to do too much, and of unreasonably high standards. Although in principle she didn't favor either a male or female supervisor, she had already taken steps to be transferred, stating that working for this individual was a problem for her.

Management Women and Subordinates

Women in management said that their biggest initial problem in work relations was dealing with subordinates, especially other women (see Table 4.5). According to the women managers, relations with female subordinates are more difficult than with men. Stereotypes of women in management are strong not only among men in industry, but among women too. Secretaries accustomed to male bosses often create problems for a female boss. One manager described her worst experience when she first arrived as a low-level manager and was assigned a woman as secretary who had worked in the plant for twenty years. The secretary refused to do any of the work that the manager gave her. At first, the manager did it all herself--her own typing and phoning--she was

afraid of the situation, and she wanted people to like her. But finally she had to fire the woman. She said it was a hard way to learn that just being a woman does not assure you of the support of other women.

TABLE 4.5. Responses of managers regarding subordinates.

Were they supportive <u>originally?</u>	<u>Male sub.</u>		<u>Female sub.</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	26	86.7	17	56.7
No	<u>4</u>	<u>13.3</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>43.3</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Are they supportive <u>now?</u>	<u>Male sub.</u>		<u>Female sub.</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	30	100.0	28	93.3
No	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6.7</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Surprisingly few problems were reported by female managers regarding working relations with male subordinates (see Table 4.5). Most often women reported that initially male subordinates adopted a "wait and see" attitude and were, at first, somewhat distant and sometimes skeptical. But the women are highly motivated, highly organized workers and they soon overcame any initial objections to their promotions and gained the respect of the men working for them.

Co-workers

Almost two-thirds (63.3%) of the management group

report that their co-workers were supportive even in the beginning (see Table 4.6). However, eleven management women report some difficulty in dealing with male co-workers initially. One manager described her early experiences:

I never felt that I could rely on my co-workers for guidance or information--I almost always went to my superiors in the beginning. After a few months, I became much more comfortable with my job and its demands. Now I have lunch with our clients, my husband, my boss, and occasionally with my co-workers. It's funny, now that I don't feel the need to go out with them and be accepted by them, they ask me!

Of those women who encountered initial difficulties (11), only three state that they still face problems, but feel that these will be resolved with time.

TABLE 4.6. Were your co-workers supportive initially?

	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	19	63.3	27	90.0
No	<u>11</u>	<u>36.7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>10.0</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Male managers, often in competition with women for management positions, maintain strong stereotypes of the inappropriateness of women for management. Management women all made the point that stereotypes are one of their greatest sources of frustration. They feel that especially with co-workers, they waste considerable time trying to break old stereotypes, and trying to get people to respond

to them as "individuals" rather than types. One male manager stated:

Women are very good with details, and they are more punctual than men, but they are too sensitive for management positions. If they are criticized, they cry; if they have to fire a subordinate, they cry; if their kids are sick at home, they cry. How do they expect to control the company if they can't control themselves?

Since these men are in direct competition with women managers, they are the most threatened by women entering management and remain hostile to the idea that they could be replaced by a woman.

Stereotypes of the inappropriateness of women in management reflect the traditional ideology that supports the division of labor in which women are the caretakers of the home and men work outside the home in wage employment. Women working outside the home, particularly in high-status jobs such as management, threaten the traditional image of marriage and the family. Thus, those who share this ideology view it as "unnatural" for women to work in powerful (i.e., men's) positions. It is important to be aware of ideology operating in the workplace, and to recognize that it functions as "justification" for the pattern of behavior that has traditionally existed, not as the only possible pattern.

Among the non-management women surveyed, co-workers are a critical factor in their continued employment. The women reported close personal relationships with co-workers in

almost every instance. There were also reports of competition and occasional difficulties between co-workers, but the overwhelming majority of non-management women report that their co-workers are their closest friends and most dependable sources of support. Non-management women frequently reported their relationships with coworkers as the most fulfilling aspect of their jobs.

Often at the secretarial and low administrative levels of industry, the women report frustration with their superiors and their lack of appreciation. It is among co-workers that the non-managers can express these frustrations and also gain support and respect. One woman described the following situation:

Maria is the best secretary in the plant. She's efficient, pleasant, organized and smart. But she has the worst boss in the place. Obviously, he knows she's good because he's kept her for five years, but never a good word. When he blows up over something, we're the ones who buy her a cup of coffee or listen to her crying. We're the only reason he still has a secretary!

Although the women are sometimes close friends and supportive on a personal level, they do not report the kind of professional support and encouragement that management women describe receiving. When asked about this difference, one non-management woman responded:

We're here to earn money, get out of the house, make friends. I like my job, I don't want to move up--I don't want more pressure or longer hours. My husband barely tolerates the situation as it is. As co-workers, we make our time here a little easier because we are friends and we like each

other. We don't have any grand aspirations, just to make it through the day!

Isolation and Tokenism

The managers frequently reported difficulty in dealing with the isolation that comes with a management position. The woman who holds the highest position in the management group described her initial experience of promotion:

All of a sudden I had my own office. I'm surrounded by four glass walls separating me from the colleagues that I've worked with for five years. They looked at me, I looked at them...all day long. I finally got huge jars of candy, trying to lure them in here so I didn't feel so cut off. It lasted about three days, then the realities of my position hit me and I've been so busy ever since that I don't notice the walls. I try to be extremely fair with my colleagues and subordinates. I listen very hard and I work very hard. They seem to respect that. But I still keep the jars of candy after all these years!

The management women are aware of their positions as "tokens" within industrial management, a term defined by Kanter (1977) as those who are numerically rare. As such, they are highly visible which makes their performance all the more critical and their work always subject to public commentary. According to Kanter (1977), women in token positions in U.S. industry have difficulty sharing confidences with colleagues and feel special performance pressure. The women in this management group agree that their positions make them very visible to the public eye, and that their relations with colleagues are complicated by the issue of gender.

The managers describe the support they receive from their male supervisors as critical to their acceptance and effective functioning within the workplace. Many of the managers also described the support that they derive from one another as helping to alleviate the pressures they experience as tokens. Since the group of women in management positions is small and within the same city, they have other managers with whom to share confidences, although they are not in the same firms.

Work Networks

Although networking as it is known in the U.S. is not a familiar concept in Queretaro among the management and nonmanagement women in this study, there is evidence of fairly strong support groups for women in both positions. Nine of the thirty management women are part of a close group of former classmates who meet regularly to discuss problems and strategies at work. Five other management women meet with this group periodically and remain in close contact. The group encourages each member to take further course work, watches the job market closely for better positions, and generally functions as a support group. The sense of being a token in management has been greatly relieved for these women by their close relationship with others in similar situations.

Recently, a woman applied for membership in the all-male Industrialist's Club of Queretaro, a group of industry

leaders who regularly meet to socialize and discuss industrial policy and directions. One of the members commented:

I don't know whether she will be accepted or not, we haven't met to discuss it yet. Frankly, I don't know where she got the nerve to do it, but I'm in favor of it. She really is top-notch and I would welcome her insights. Of course, I'm not one of the old guard--I'm usually in opposition to them myself.

Among the non-management women, the strongest group is a secretarial association, which provides opportunities for socializing and promotes its members professionally. Of the thirty non-management women, twenty-six belong to the association. Members discuss problems with colleagues and superiors as well as the advantages and disadvantages of working with various firms. They promote continued education among group members and they are also an active source for information on new positions opening up.

A striking difference between the two groups is that the management women's group is very informal, roughly drawn from a cohort of women who went through university together. In contrast, the secretarial association is a formal, professional organization linked to nationwide chapters. The point is often made that male managers conduct much important business through informal interaction (such as golfing, or having a drink). The contrast between female managers' and non-managers' groups points to a similar informal flow of information among female managers.

Several management women commented on the importance of

professional associations and links with business organizations, but they do not have time to belong. Groups for business and professional women have been organized in Mexico City, and a meeting was advertised in the newspaper for Queretaro, but the meeting never took place while this study was being conducted.

Corporate Executives

High-level corporate executives repeatedly expressed the opinion that women are capable of handling top management positions but that the time has not arrived in Queretaro for women to be accepted at this level. One executive stated:

I have in mind several women who in the future will be promoted to top management positions in this company. But the reason I am holding back is that the men in those ranks aren't ready yet for female colleagues, or in some cases, bosses. It's easier for me to work with the men, plant ideas, create an entrance for these women. Then the transition will be much less difficult and the company won't suffer from the personal conflicts.

Many corporate executives repeated this attitude that it is the men who are not ready for women in management, rather than the lack of adequately prepared women. They stated that only in recent years have women begun to concentrate on areas of study that may lead to industrial management careers; but within the ranks of the present junior managers are women who will eventually be promoted to upper level management.

Aspirations for Advancement

Several management women stated that they think of themselves as involved in a process of gaining entrance to upper management. From their perspective, as lack of education becomes an outdated excuse for the dearth of women in management there will be one less obstacle to their advancement and gradually they will face the remaining arguments and obstacles one by one until women in upper management become a common occurrence, rather than the anomalies that they are today.

As discussed earlier, many management women are taking the necessary steps to train themselves for top positions. Professional degrees in business administration and intensive language programs will provide these women with the necessary credentials and capabilities for upper management. A lack of adequately prepared women for management is a commonly expressed explanation for the absence of women in management among the women themselves.

The data in Table 4.7. show the response of the two groups when asked to describe their ideal post. Seventeen management women (57%) said that they are aiming for the top levels of management and, of these women, five stated that they intend to be the director of a firm eventually. Two managers aspire to department head or higher middle management positions. They stated that the top positions in industry are still an unrealistic goal for women.

Ten of the non-management women (33%) also desire

higher level positions, such as executive secretary or administrative assistant, but 12 (40%) stated that they would prefer to remain in the job they have now, and eight (27%) would rather have less work and responsibility and would prefer a part-time position.

Table 4.7. To what position do you aspire?

<u>Position</u>	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Director	5	16.7	0	0.0
Senior manager	12	40.0	0	0.0
Middle manager	2	6.7	6	20.0
Executive secretary	0	0.0	4	13.3
Current position	10	33.3	12	40.0
Part-time	<u>1</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>26.7</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

For many non-management women, the goal of a career would not fit with their personal situation. That is, many work to earn some supplemental money for the household, and to make friends outside the home. During interviews, eighty-two percent of non-management women reported that their family comes first, work is clearly secondary. This is in marked contrast to management women, among whom it was found that 87% believe that family and work are both integral parts of their lives and that neither one comes before the other.

Career vs. Employment

One of the sharpest contrasts between management and non-management women was illustrated in Table 4.8 by their answers to the question, "Do you prefer to work outside the home?". Twenty-eight management women (93%) prefer to work outside the home. One woman would prefer to stay home with her small children, but she believes that she has too much invested in her career to leave it now. Another woman would prefer a part-time arrangement which would allow her to have more time at home.

Table 4.8. Do you prefer to work outside the home?

	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	28	93.3	6	20.0
No	1	3.3	16	53.3
Part-time	<u>1</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>26.7</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Of the non-managment women, only twenty percent prefer to work outside the home. The majority (53%) would prefer not to work outside the home, however, they state various reasons, mostly financial, that necessitate their continued work. Eight non-management women (27%) would prefer a part-time arrangement which would allow them more time at home while continuing their outside work.

Traditionally in Queretaro, women who worked outside the home did so only until they married. This led to

competition among women for marriageable men in the work place and contributed to employers' unwillingness to train women for higher positions.

Selby observed during the 1970s that one of the major obstacles to women's increased participation in industry was that:

Typically employment represents only a postponement of the traditional domestic role, but opportunities now exist in the city for a woman to sustain herself economically, provide for her children, and even use her company as a vehicle to achieve some geographical mobility (1979:234).

According to Selby, most women working in industry in the early 1970s did not view their work as a career, and were not dedicated to their work as a form of personal fulfillment.

One senior executive complained that although he has encouraged his secretary, who is extremely bright and competent, to continue her studies and try for a higher position within the company, she will not even consider it. Though still a young woman, her aspirations do not include a higher position, and in addition, her husband objects to the idea of her being more highly educated than he is.

One of the most significant findings of this study is that management women in Queretaro in the 1980s have a very different attitude from non-management women toward their work: they view their work as a career, not simply as employment. Management women intend to continue to work after marriage and childrearing. They have been trained for

the positions they occupy, and generally have a career strategy which includes goals as high as top management levels of the firm.

Class Relations in the Workplace

Management women are separated from non-management women by their location within the work hierarchy and class structure. Where gender might play a part in creating an ideological sense of solidarity between the two groups of women, their class differences and different locations within the hierarchy work against any sense of solidarity. This section explores some of the complex aspects of class relationships in linking and dividing management and non-management women in the workplace.

In terms of class, the managers are in a contradictory position. Wright argues that although managers are excluded from ownership of the means of production, their interests are opposed to those of workers because of their effective control of assets pertaining to skills and organizational positions as managers (1985: 87). Managers' control of resources is the key to their class position, that is, managers have a relation to production that differs from that of non-managers. The position of managers as allocators of resources and "owners of capital" (Giddens 1981) in the form of education and training defines their relationship to employers, and their ability to negotiate a contract--a very different relation to production for managers

as opposed to non-managers. This constitutes a contradictory class location for managers within exploitative relations, or the relations of production. As managers, their sense of solidarity with the women in lower positions is cut off by their position in the workplace and their sense of upward mobility.

There is not only a hierarchical difference between management and non-management positions within the company, but also a social class difference between the two groups. The boundaries are defined by: family background, level of education, husband's occupation, husband's education, and career training and aspirations. Managerial training, salary, and exposure to foreign influences contribute to increased consumption of goods and services and to a definition as a group apart. That is, managers refer to themselves as unusual, exceptional or lucky. They do not conceptualize their distinctiveness as related to class differences from non-managers.

Gender is a significant element in differentiating positions in the work hierarchy, but it does not provide a central focus or the creation of a sense of solidarity between management and non-management women. Both groups deal with aspects of discrimination against women in the workplace, but very differently. Non-management women see discrimination operating in the workplace, and yet the ideology that men are primary wage earners and therefore must come first is generally accepted by the non-managers

(both in the workplace and in the home). Management women report much less discrimination in the workplace--fewer obstacles to advancement and fewer difficulties in combining work and family. Even in management where women have gained some access to resources and authority, the majority of women are still confined to middle management. Yet because of their position within the work hierarchy, management women are more likely to identify with the men in the positions above them and with authority over them--positions to which the women themselves eventually aspire--rather than with non-management women.

Many women managers maintain that by constantly emphasizing the fact that they are women, raising feminist issues, or complaining about the situation of women working in manufacturing that they would cut themselves off or delineate themselves from other (male) managers. They don't want to be discriminated against as women or to show favor to women--rather they want to be a fair, skilled person who manages others with fairness. In fact, the managers maintain their femininity, in style of dress and interaction, they are not taking on masculine styles or mannerisms in an attempt to succeed in a male world. They prefer not to make gender an issue but to emphasize their personal competence.

A sense of solidarity with women in different positions within the hierarchy of the firm was not frequently discussed by the management women. Three women mentioned that

they sometimes feel obligated to help women in lower positions to get ahead, or to solve personal problems. But, as one woman said it very clearly:

I don't think it is useful for a group of wealthy women to get together over coffee and talk of what they can do for the poor. You know that is the tradition here, for rich women to organize charity work and "help" the poor. Giving candy and trinkets to the children, is that "helping"? I think, if you want to do something, go talk to the people you want to help. If you can do something they think is useful, fine, but for someone else to determine what they need is, well, condescending.

Another woman, speaking explicitly about women in industry, said:

I think that the best thing that I can do for women who work in industry is to do outstanding work in my position as a manager. If I do well, then the bosses know that women can handle these positions and they will consider other women for other positions. If I go in and complain to them about how few women are in management or how they treat a secretary, what do you think they will say to themselves.? "Here's a troublemaker; we'll think twice before we hire another woman."

Although many of the management women are involved in professional groups, few belong to social activist or political groups (such as the women's organizations associated with the PRI [Institutionalized Revolutionary Party], the dominant political party in Mexico), which at least rhetorically seek to help those of lower economic levels, especially women. Managers remain outside of this aspect of social change, although they see themselves as agents of change in some ways. Various women reported trying to

influence their family and friends by bringing in new ideas to the community, suggesting different roles for men and women, and recommending further education. Especially in terms of their children, management women want to encourage different patterns of gender role differentiation and career management than have traditionally been accepted in Queretaro.

Management women were frequently critical of non-management women's willingness to leave the work force to raise children, or because their husbands objected to their work, while at the same time they recognize that the companies were often unfair in their policies toward married women, or women with children, assuming that they would be less devoted to their jobs. One woman manager was very sympathetic to a non-management woman about to be married who wanted to keep her position, but company policy was against married women remaining at work. The company was a family-owned franchise that maintained a very strong family ideology, including the ideal that married women should be in the home and raising children. The manager intervened on behalf of her secretary and convinced the management to let her stay on until she becomes pregnant, when she will have to resign.

The paradox in considering class relations in the workplace is that the majority of women in both groups describe themselves as middle class, and yet, there are clear economic parameters which differentiate the two groups

and significantly influence their life chances, ideology, and mobility within the workplace.

Summary and Discussion

Management women are very clear about their desire to maintain and promote their careers. They have a higher level of education, more professional training and work experience than non-management women. Managers come from families with adequate incomes, for the most part, a high regard for education, and have fathers who have fairly high-status occupations. Among those managers who are married, their choice of husband has been significant to their careers; they are married to supportive, highly educated men with professional occupations. In general, their timing of bearing children has been planned with their careers in mind. Compared with non-managers, they have more possibility of progression in their careers. This possibility of a progressive career is a particularly important difference between management and non-management women.

Non-management women report they are frustrated by their lack of authority on the job. Although they experience strong support from co-workers, they describe frequent difficulties with demanding and unreasonable superiors. The majority of non-management women stated that they are working for economic reasons, rather than for the personal satisfaction the managers cited as their major reason for working.

Though the majority of non-management women say that they would rather not continue working after they have children, this decision reflects a class-based structuring of opportunity--less education (limiting their ability to progress in the work hierarchy), less choice in employment (lower pay, less prestige, more monotony), less income, lack of flexibility in childcare options and domestic help. In addition, their husbands have fewer options for employment than many managers' husbands, so there is more concern over maintaining their families financially. Also, because of their backgrounds, opportunities for jobs which might be more interesting and rewarding, are severely limited.

There is a tendency in anthropology, and social science in general, to polarize social dicotomies (rural-urban, male-female, work-home) as if the two aspects of the dicotomy were somehow unrelated. Work and home in this study are seen to be interrelated on important levels, both in terms of accessibility of employment and relations within the workplace. Hoops and Whiteford point out that in Queretaro there is a rural population of male migrants who serve urban industry in Queretaro as a reserve labor force (1983:261). Women have also traditionally formed a part of a labor reserve which bears the brunt of the expansions and contractions of the capitalist economy. It serves industry's purposes to have women in the home as a labor reserve, willing to work for low pay and reproducing the labor force in the home.

When we examine the position of women working in management, we see the position of other women as members of a reserve labor force much more clearly. Women managers have to adjust family demands (such as bearing children and child care) and responsibilities in order to maintain their careers. These demands have historically been assumed by women and the family, rather than industry or the capitalists who benefit the most from the reproduction of labor and social class in the home, the cost of which is born by the worker and the worker's family. The work traditionally done by women in the home to maintain and reproduce the work force has been poorly remunerated and largely ignored. When women work outside the home, the work required in the home becomes more apparent. For many corporate situations, it is assumed that the wife is essentially employed as well, although she receives no explicit wage and her position is not formally recognized, she is expected to entertain for the corporation and to collaborate with her husband in helping him rise within the hierarchy (Kanter 1977: 111). When a woman is employed outside the home, she is no longer available and someone must be hired to fulfill the needs of the corporation.

As women move into management positions, they are no longer as expendable as non-management workers, as they represent substantial investments to their companies in terms of training. The women themselves have invested considerable time, money, and social capital in becoming

managers, so they do not easily retract from the labor force, and they maintain a position of significantly more authority than non-management women within the industrial workforce.

As we examine women's participation in the industrial workplace, the interdependence of the home and workplace is illustrated in their lives. Managers and non-managers have differing class positions and relations which create significant differences in their life chances, but they share a set of gender relations common to Mexico. However, these gender relations are modified by class position. Women's work in the industrial workplace reproduces the gender relations of the patriarchal, capitalist system in which they are embedded and reflects the class-system which is created by industrial capitalism.

CHAPTER FIVE

STRUGGLING THE GOOD STRUGGLE

While they win the bread, you [women] take charge of the order, tranquility, and well-being of the home and above all contribute with your own superior bread to the formation of souls; this is the supreme task.....Let the man struggle with political questions and write the laws; you struggle the good struggle, that of the sentiments and form souls, which is better than forming laws (Justo Sierra 1948: 329, bracketed portion added)¹

Although many years have passed since Justo Sierra penned the above statement to women during the early 1900s, the near sanctity of the family and home life remains an important element of contemporary Mexican society.

This chapter examines the home and family life of the management and non-management women and shows that management women have more support for their careers from their husbands and children. In their homes, the division of labor is different; thus home life varies according to class and affects how each participant interacts in the workplace, as well as in other arenas of her life. The interconnections between home and work are only recently being

¹As a congressman in the 1880s, Sierra sought approval of obligatory public instruction and the adoption of a well-defined, singular school program. In 1901, he took charge of the educational branch of the Secretaria de Justicia y Instruccion Publica y Bellas Artes. He was the architect of Mexico's public school system. "The education of women was intended to strengthen their primary role in the home as replacers of labor power and transmitters of values" (Vaughan 1977:138).

addressed in social science research. Earlier research focused sometimes on work, sometimes the home, but missed the importance of one to the other. The relations generated by industrial capitalism play an important role in the formation of households and have a significant impact on the gender relations within the household.

"The reproduction of class (and gender) through women's work is ... a core dynamic of a society organized along the principles of patriarchal and capitalist relations" (Sokoloff 1980: 228). This is equally true whether or not women work for a wage. Women as wives, mothers, homemakers, in their work in the home and daily activities, play an essential role in linking the family with the larger society. Generally, men are seen as linking the "private" family with the larger world, particularly through their participation in the work force--but women are constantly connecting family with society through their interactions with extended family, networks, and the work they do in the home which supports the capitalist system of work.

In Queretaro, as in many other parts of the world, the dominant ideology supports the pattern of women caring for and maintaining their homes and families, providing the domestic labor in the reproduction of the work force for the productive realm of the "real world" outside the home. While in Queretaro, I examined local media treatment of women and the images which they portrayed. The ideology of women in the home is evident in advertising, which continues

to be directed at women as the "amas de casas" (housewives) who are interested in the best laundry soaps, and conveniences for the home. Articles in the newspaper frequently honor women with large families, and glorify the role of mother. Yet women are also portrayed as naive, innocent, and occasionally, even stupid. In a local advertisement for an automatic camera, the husband, on a family outing, praising the simplicity of the camera, turns to his wife and says patronizingly, "It's so simple, even you can use it." In response, the wife nods and smiles sweetly.

Recently other images of women involved in wage labor have begun to appear, mother going to the office or wives coming home from work, but they are infrequent and still novel enough to provoke comment. A very popular form of literature in Mexico, the "fotonovela", addresses the issue of the woman executive and the troubles she faces finding love and fulfillment in her personal life. Although the novela does not have a happy ending, the idea of a woman executive being dealt with in such a popular medium as the fotonovela suggests that society is beginning to at least recognize more diverse productive roles for women.

Home, including the family and friends who frequent it, is an important center of social interaction in Queretaro. Going out for entertainment is much less common than in many industrialized nations. Most entertaining takes place in the home and it continues to be central to social activity. In this context of strong family ties, it is especially

significant to examine the family and life in the home, and their importance to women who work outside the home.

"It is through families that people enter into productive, reproductive, and consumption relations. The two genders enter them differently. Families organize households, and it is within families that people experience the absence or presence, the sharing or withholding, of basic poolable resources. "Family" (as a normative concept in our culture) reflects those material relations; it also distorts them. As such, the concept of family is a socially necessary illusion which simultaneously expresses and masks recruitment to relations of production, reproduction and consumption--relations that condition different kinds of household resource bases in different class sectors" (Rapp 1978: 281).

The women in this study are single, married, divorced, and widowed; the homes in which they live are diverse in organization and socio-economic levels. Some homes were warm and friendly, others more reserved and quiet, but in every home the importance of family life to the individual was apparent. The single women most often live with their parents or members of their extended family, or occasionally in an apartment with friends. Married women have often started their own families and generally live in their own homes. The divorced and widowed women in this study live in their own homes with their children.²²

The closeness and importance of the family in Queretaro raises the question of how women can go against the reigning

²²This pattern of single family dwellings is noted by Super in early colonial Queretaro as well, although it was not common practice in many other regions of Mexico at that time (Super 1973).

social ideology of women as homemakers, and leave the home to work in industry. In nations such as the United States, where the family is purported to be weakening as a social institution, women have found it very difficult to combine work and family life, so how is it possible for Mexican women to succeed in a nation where the family is strong, some say constrictive? This question is explored below.

Marriage

Those managers who are married occupy the highest level positions of any of the management group. They cite their marriages as the single most advantageous relationships to their career advancement. Rather than viewing their husbands as a hindrance to success, the managers see their husbands as an important aspect of their successful careers.

There is consensus among the married women in management that they are unique among women in Queretaro because of their supportive marital relationships. They feel that their lives and relationships are significantly different from that of the average woman. One woman stated:

I consider myself to be very lucky. My husband is very supportive of my work. He even picks up the children from school and helps with the shopping. Ten years ago that would have been unheard of for a man in this town. His mother still does not approve but we are very comfortable with our life together.

The management women consistently stated that their husbands were unusual, particularly supportive individuals.

One commonly cited difference between the husbands of management women and those of non-management women was level of education. The husbands of management women have attained higher levels of education than the husbands of non-managers. Over 80 % (10) of the management women's husbands have a university education, and eight have further graduate work, including two Master's degrees, one M.D., and one doctorate. Of non-management husbands, 10 (72%) men finished high school educations, and four had some additional years or courses. Two non-management women are married to men with college degrees.

Wives say that education is a significant factor in fostering the willingness of their husbands to support further studies for their wives and opportunities for career advancement. One manager said that because of her husband's educational background and training, he is secure enough in himself to ignore the teasing from his friends about not being macho enough or letting his wife run the family. She said not everyone in Queretaro is accepting the changes in society, and women in authoritative positions, like managers, are irritating, even threatening to some people.

One management woman described education abroad as a very significant variable in explaining how the husbands of many management women differ from the husbands of non-management women.

My husband studied for four years in the United States. I think that was a turning point in our lives. He didn't care for some things in the

U.S., there are many customs that don't appeal to Mexicans. But he did learn a lot about what women are capable of and what a difference social barriers can make for women. I think it changed his attitudes toward women at work, and it has definitely had a positive effect on our relationship. The men who support the idea of women in management--you'll see--they've all had time abroad somewhere.

Foreign training or experience does seem to be significant in several managers' marriages, in terms of increased support of the women's careers and willingness to share domestic tasks. Having lived in cultures where women have careers, and men participate in household chores (at least more than traditionally accepted in Mexico) has shown some of the men different options for how couples can interact and cooperate in their work and home lives. Several male managers who had studied abroad also stated that their experience in the United States or Europe gave them a different perspective from that of many of their colleagues. They state that they are more supportive of women managers in the workplace, discussing problems with them, and including them in work plans.

The husbands of non-management women tend to have lower average levels of education than management women's husbands. None of their husbands had studied or traveled in foreign countries, and their travel experiences within Mexico were much more limited than those of the managerial group.

The majority of women in both groups report that their husbands respect their work, as seen in Table 5.1. Non-

management women report slightly more ambivalence from their husbands--three women have frequent difficulties with their husbands about their work, and one woman faces constant opposition. The issue of a husband's respect for his wife's employment becomes an important issue when considering a woman's stress level and how household demands are dealt with by a couple.

TABLE 5.1. Does your husband respect your work?

	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	11	91.7	11	78.6
Some	1	8.3	2	14.2
Very				
little	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7.1</u>
Total	12	100.0	14	100.0

When asked if their husbands are satisfied with their wives' position of employment (pay, demands, status), eighty three percent of the management women report that their husbands are satisfied (see Table 5.2). The husbands of two managers would like to see their wives promoted, with salary increases.³

³Although data on income levels was difficult to gather, the salaries women make probably have a significant influence on their husband's attitudes toward their work.

TABLE 5.2. Is your husband satisfied with your position?

	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	10	83.3	9	64.3
No	<u>2</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>35.7</u>
Total	12	100.0	14	100.0

In the non-management group, 64% of the husbands are satisfied with their wives' current positions. Of those women who felt their husband was dissatisfied with their wives' positions, two said their husbands would prefer that they only work part-time, and three felt that their husbands want them to earn more money.

Children

Traditionally, companies have stated their preference for single female employees and married male employees. The assumption was that married men, especially those with children, were more stable and dependable. In Queretaro the family ideology is very strong, and women are expected to be wives and mothers. Women were traditionally expected to marry and leave the work force to bear and raise children. The recent rise in the number of women continuing to work even with small children in the household and, in fact, citing that as an impetus to continue work for financial and personal reasons, may demonstrate that the married female manager with children is equally as dependable and stable as

her male counterpart. The ideology of the mother and her devotion to children above all else is still strong in Queretaro, however, and there is much social resistance to the separation of mother and children. Women who continue to work after bearing children are still viewed with some skepticism. One manager described her situation as follows:

Among my friends, I am considered an oddity. Not all of them even work, and they criticize my working full time with the children still so small. But my work is me, I can't separate myself into little pieces. I grew up wanting to work and be a mother, not one or the other. My children are proud because my husband is proud and I'm proud of myself. I don't want them to think that I am on this earth to serve them. We each have our goals and purpose in life.

Although all of the management women state that they would continue to work after bearing children, none of the now-childless non-management women plan to be working mothers, as demonstrated in Table 5.3. They say that the combining of family and employment is too problematic. A decade ago, marriage was the reason many women left the work force. Now with women having fewer children and later, married women are frequent in the work force, and children have become the reason for giving up employment.

Table 5.3. Work Plans

Plan to continue work after marriage	Management		Non-management	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	18	100.0	12	75.0
No	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>25.0</u>
Total	18	100.0	16	100.0

Plan to continue work after children	Management		Non-management	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	24	100.0	0	0.0
No	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Total	24	100.0	20	100.0

Eighty percent (24) of management women state that they work for their own personal growth as well as economic reasons. This is an important point, for women have frequently been criticized by employers in the past as unreliable and "not dedicated enough to be management material". The women managers in this study view their careers as a significant part of their personal development, and would not trade them for satisfaction with family alone.

According to some researchers, until women begin to think in terms of careers, they will continue to be thought of as not really central to the work force and the industrialization process and as easily expendable labor (Epstein and Coser 1981). Women's participation as an elastic element of the work force gives them little power in obtaining work benefits, such as child care services or flexibility in work hours. There has been a tendency among employers, government planners, and policy-makers to view

women's employment more as the result of boredom or the desire for "pin money", rather than an interest in maintaining a career, or the need to maintain a household.

The ideology of women confined to the home, removed from the "world of work and men," remains strong in Mexico. Women are sensitive to the ideology of Mexican society, which supports the idea of women as homemakers and mothers. In this study, ten non-management women report a strong desire to continue work outside the home, but lack the necessary support system for child care, feel unprepared educationally, and uncertain as to what area of work would be most appropriate for them.

The women in both groups also state that there is little flexibility (such as part-time or flex-time) available in employment arrangements. Women involved in careers are often forced to return home after child-bearing because the work structure is unsuited and insensitive to the needs of women with children. Work environments remain rigidly resistant to recognizing the need for flexibility in this area.

Management women reported slightly more flexibility in making arrangements to continue course work and even, occasionally, to arrange for part-time work after child-bearing. One manager decided to resign after the birth of her first child. Her boss refused to accept her resignation and suggested that she consider continuing to work part-time for the company. She did so, working progressively longer

hours over a year and one-half period. After that time, she worked full-time for one year and was given a promotion. Hers, however, was a very rare situation even among management women. Several senior-level male managers explained that they are eager to find and keep good female managers who have top potential, but the flexibility to accomodate the women's family concerns is virtually nonexistent in most companies. Thus, senior-level managers claim to be open-minded in regard to women employees, but clearly do not want any employees to involve themselves in any family life that might require flexibility regarding employment conditions.

Division of Labor in the Home

Management women feel very strongly that labor in the home should be shared to avoid the creation of a "double burden" for women. They share domestic tasks with their families and they often have access to outside domestic help, such as maids or cooks. The non-managers maintain a different division of labor in the home; these differences are examined below.

Husbands

Nineteen managers (63%) say that the husband should share equally in the maintenance of the household.⁴ (See

⁴"Equally" was defined as an equal amount of time put in to keep the household running smoothly. Women did not seem concerned about sharing specific tasks--such as cooking or dusting--equally. Tasks were generally divided along traditional gender lines, eg. women doing most of house

Table 5.4.) Eleven (37%) state that the husband should be understanding of work obligations and provide some help in the home. This is significantly different from the responses of non-management women.

Table 5.4. Should a husband share household work?

	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes, equally	19	63.3	7	23.3
Yes, some	11	36.7	22	73.3
No, not at all	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3.3</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Only seven non-management women (23%) said that husbands should share equally in household work, while 22 women (73%) believe that men should be of some help, and only one woman said the husband needn't help at all with household work.²

As we see in Table 5.5, management women report that their husbands participate much more actively than non-management husbands in household tasks. Of the twelve married

maintenance and men doing most outdoor, car, or financial work maintenance.

²Some of the questions about division of labor in the home were asked in the hypothetical, so that all participants answered the question on how much a husband should participate in household chores. Other questions asked specifically what the husband does in household management, in which case, only married women responded. This also provided a cross-check, as in cases where a women said a husband should participate 100% in home maintenance, but in fact, he washes the car and takes the children to school. These disparities were then followed up in the interviews.

managers, half (6) said that their husbands participate in 50% of household tasks. Three women report that their husbands participate in 100% of household maintenance. These three women said that they share equally with their husbands the responsibilities of child rearing and home maintenance. Two women said that their husbands participate in 75% of household tasks, and one woman reported her husband participates in 25%.

Table 5.5. What percent of household tasks does your husband share (if married)?

	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Percent</u>				
100	3	25.0	0	0.0
75	2	16.7	0	0.0
50	6	50.0	2	14.3
25	1	8.3	9	64.3
10	0	0.0	3	21.4
Total	12	100.0	14	100.0

Non-management husbands participate considerably less according to their wives. Two women report their husbands participate in 50% of household tasks, nine report participation in 25%, and three in 10%. The married non-management women as a group do not ask for as much participation from their husbands, and report significantly less participation than reported among management husbands.

Non-management women find combining work and family more of a struggle and state more ambivalence about trying to make it work. The most frequent difficulty discussed is

their relationships with their husbands. Non-management women report their husbands to be much less supportive than do management women. The husbands were not only much less willing to have their wives work but were also less involved in household maintenance, as were the children.

One bilingual secretary exemplifies the situation:

For years my husband refused to let me study or work. Finally a few years ago, the children were all in school and we needed more money to manage our lives. A friend told me that they needed a secretary here so I told my husband to be sensible, to let me try working. He warned me that if the food or the housework suffered that would be the end of it. We still fight a lot about my working, and I know he doesn't like it, but I need to get out, to be with my friends and now we could never get along on one salary, anyway.

Table 5.6 indicates that the management group tended to view women as having more difficulty than men in combining work and family, but a fair proportion (37%) recognized the difficulty for both partners. Non-management women were more divided over this issue.

Table 5.6. Is combining work and family more difficult for women or for men?

<u>More difficult for</u>	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Men	4	13.3	14	46.7
Women	15	50.0	13	43.3
The same	11	36.7	3	10.0
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

It became clear during interviews, that the two groups

view men and women as participating in the work force differently. Management women talked about the difficulties of juggling roles and demands for men and women. Non-management women described juggling demands but also talked about financial difficulties, and they described men as having the ultimate financial responsibility for the family, and therefore, a more difficult situation than women. Non-management women frequently gave arguments for men needing better jobs than women that were similar to those mentioned during interviews with conservative male executives; for example, they viewed their own work as supplemental or additional income for the family. On the other hand, management women see their work as a career to which they are entitled, and not as supplemental income. This is a significant difference between the two groups of women.

Children

Management women clearly regard work in the home as an important part of their children's socialization. Twenty-three (77%) explicitly stated that it is important for children to learn to be responsible and to respect work by doing chores such as dishwashing, laundry, dusting, vacuuming. Although many management women with higher salaries can afford domestic help and child care, they require more participation from both husbands and children than the non-management group.

Among management women with children (6) all said that children should have responsibilities and participate in

home management. Management women ask their children for more help in the home than do non-management women. (See Table 5.7.) The non-management group was split; three women ask their children for help routinely, four women ask sometimes, and three women said it is the woman's responsibility to keep the household running smoothly, and they do not ask for their children's help.

Table 5.7. Do you ask your children to help in the home?

	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	6	100.0	3	30.0
Sometimes	0	0.0	4	40.0
No	<u>0</u>	<u>0.0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>30.0</u>
Total	6	100.0	10	100.0

Asked as a group (married and unmarried) whether children should participate in maintaining the household, the two groups gave very different opinions, as shown below in Table 5.8. Twenty-three management women felt strongly that children should be required to help with household chores. Six women said that children should help sometimes, and only one woman said she didn't believe children should be required to help on a regular basis.

Table 5.8. Should children do household chores?

	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	23	76.7	7	23.3
Some	6	20.0	19	63.3
No	<u>1</u>	<u>3.3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>13.3</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

Only seven non-management women (23%) said that children should participate regularly in household chores. Nineteen women said children should help out occasionally, and four women said children should not have to help with household tasks.

This raises some interesting questions regarding the influence of the structure and techniques of occupation on the organization of family life. Do women who work in management positions apply "management principles" to their homelife as well? For the women in this study, it appears that this is very much the case. It is difficult to separate management skills and practices from personal aptitudes and tendencies toward organization, but the women interviewed here gave very explicit answers regarding the value of skills learned at work as applied to the home. According to one manager:

One of the most useful things that I've learned from working in management is how not to take things personally--to delegate work fairly and then to expect completion. Earlier in my life I often felt that I was solely responsible for a project or an account and I would worry until I was sick over it. Now I realize that is why one

has coworkers! I have become much more able to work as a team member. And its been important in family life, too. The children make their contributions to running the household, and we all share the responsibility. I don't think I would have survived doing it all, and I hope the children will already have the skills when they begin working.

Managers, who have to learn to delegate jobs in the work-place, report that these skills make them more comfortable in doing so at home as well.

Twenty-four non-management women reported that they or their husbands would be uncomfortable asking the children to help with domestic chores, especially the boys.

They (the boys) need to be learning other things, not doing dishes or helping me. My daughters help, but they're interested in their friends and clothes and the new music--it's not fair to ask them to take on adult responsibilities at their age. I'm the one who wants to work away from home, so I should make up for it somehow.

Clearly, there is a difference in how the two groups view both childhood and the division of labor within the family. Management women reported socialization during childhood to be one of the most influential factors by management women in the choice of their present career. They believe their solid sense of their capabilities and confidence came largely from encouragement by their parents to take risks and try new areas and from being given early responsibilities.

Other Domestic Help

Two thirds of the women in both groups agreed that a

servant is necessary for a family in which both parents work outside the home, as demonstrated in Table 5.9. However, not all women in either group employ domestic help.

Table 5.9. Does a servant seem necessary to you?

	<u>Management</u>		<u>Non-management</u>	
	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>%</u>
Yes	21	70.0	21	70.0
No	<u>9</u>	<u>30.0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>30.0</u>
Total	30	100.0	30	100.0

With fewer children in most families today, there is less actual need for domestic help, as a family can maintain itself with more conveniences available. However, especially in higher class families it is customary to have servants. Domestic help has become much harder to obtain in recent years, and several families were actively looking for a maid but had not found one at the time of the study. Only in the last few years has a shortage of maids become noticeable as poorer women choose to work in the factories for better pay, hours, and less oppressive work conditions. This trend, if it continues, will have an impact on middle and upper class women's domestic arrangements.

There is a class difference apparent here, as less well-to-do families tend to depend more on other members of the extended family (mothers or sisters), rather than hired domestic help. Five non-management women said that their mothers or sisters often cook for them, take their laundry,

or watch the children. The non-management women generally reported less settled arrangements for child care and domestic help, which required frequent shifting and alternate planning for them, adding to their difficulties in meeting the demands of work and home.

Discussion

In the home, management women report that they expect and receive both moral and physical support from their families. Husbands and children are actively involved in household maintenance. The women especially warn of the dangers of trying to be "superwoman", and stress the importance of delegating tasks and responsibilities in the home. They also believe that children benefit from early responsibility and participating in family maintenance.

Non-management women report more of a struggle in juggling the demands of the workplace and the home. They ask for and receive less help with domestic chores than do management women. The majority of them experience more ambivalence about working outside the home, and receive less support from their families than the management women. The majority of non-managers stated that they are working for economic reasons, rather than to promote their careers or personal satisfaction. They view their work as providing

supplementary family income.⁴

In contrast, management women are very clear about their desire to maintain and promote their careers. Their families are also supportive of their work, and managers report little ambivalence in this area. Managers emphasized that balancing work and family demands, not allowing one set of demands to overshadow the other, is necessary for successfully combining work and family. Clearly, class is a significant aspect of managers' ability to cope with work and family, with financial security providing more opportunities for support and assistance. Modern technology, providing alternatives to domestic help, such as fast foods and laundromats, allows managers less dependence on domestic help, and creates options that are unavailable to lower-class women without financial access to newer technology or domestic help.

Bailyn and Schein (1976) examined how people in different occupations balance home and work life. They found that academics and scientists are highly focused on work, with characteristically little family involvement. Engineers represent the reverse, a strong family involvement with a less intense focus on work. Managers showed a high involvement with both work and family. (This is interesting in light of the appeal of management to women, and to their

⁴It is important to note that it is not strictly individual decisions nor social obstacles that determine whether women join the work force. The household or family is an important mediator in a woman's decision to participate in wage employment (Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Tilly 1978).

"fit" with their career and environment.)

The management women in this study seem to fit this pattern. They are very involved with their families and yet capable, hard-working managers. They paid remarkably little attention to guilt--fear of neglecting their children, or not working hard enough at the office. Partly they attribute this to the difference between industry in the United States and Mexico. Several managers stated that Mexicans have a better grasp of balancing home life and work, a more realistic level of expectations. They criticize some United States companies as being too mechanical in their demands, not recognizing that managers are humans with personal needs and familial demands.

The management families in this study seem to represent a movement in the direction of dual-career type organization. The concept of the dual-career family has become a frequently discussed pattern of family organization in western nations (Rapoport & Rapoport 1971; Fogarty, Rapoport & Rapoport 1974), but there has been little comment on its development in Third World countries, such as Mexico.

The dual-career family is a structural type emerging as an important option for a future in which both men and women will have increased education and training and in which family life is likely to remain a fundamental institution fulfilling essential social and psychological functions (Rapoport & Rapoport 1971: 278).

One of the major developments leading to the dual-career pattern is the fact that management women now perceive

their employment to be a career, rather than simply employment. Both husband and wife accept and support each other's careers and their significance for the organization of the family.

In their study of British dual-career couples, Rapoport & Rapoport reported that:

It takes a husband who is either very strong or very identified with the efforts of his wife to allow her to equal or exceed his own accomplishments without major disruption in the relationship, and most husbands in the series have some combination of these two attributes (1971: 285).

They also commented that the husband's participation in household labor was still viewed as "an act of goodwill" or as "helping out" his wife in many cases.

Among the management women in Queretaro, we see some signs that they go beyond that attitude, in sharing equally the responsibilities of the home, or at least attempting to. But "equal" sharing is difficult to define--helping out with shopping, and minding the children are helpful, but are the major responsibilities still handled by the women? Several married management women stated that for them the most telling measurement of "equal" sharing was who would stay home with or make the arrangements for a sick child. Six management women who already have children said that it would depend on the work schedule of the mother and father, and the particular demands of that day, but that it would not necessarily be the female responsibility. Six management women felt that the majority of times it would be their

responsibility. All non-management mothers said it would be their responsibility to work out arrangements.

One of the differences cited in the dual-career pattern is the husband's greater participation in domestic life and the children's increased exposure to their father (Rapoport & Rapoport 1971: 289). Conventional childcare and socialization has perpetuated an imbalance in the interaction of mother and father with the children, with the majority of childcare being performed by the mother. The fathers in the management group were very vocal about their enjoyment of their closer involvement with their children. But they also pointed to a fair amount of criticism from their male friends and coworkers when they refuse after work get-togethers or frequent all-male outings, in favor of family functions and responsibilities. The dual-career families tend to socialize with each other as they understand each other's pressures and problems, as well as their goals and enjoyment of the dual-career lifestyle.

A closer relationship between residence and workplace would seem desirable in many instances, and for women at the present stage of social evolution it may be critical for their participation (Rapoport & Rapoport 1971: 312).

Marxists and feminists alike have argued that women's subordination through maternity and the sexual division of labor has kept women from attaining prestigious positions in production (Stolke 1981: 160). The inferior stature of what became women's domestic work stems more from its isolation

from production than its inherent nature. Production and reproduction (of the domestic unit) cannot be separated except arbitrarily; their interconnections are multitude and vital. When we examine women taking up managerial positions, it makes clearer these connections as we see husbands and wives shifting domestic responsibilities to allow for a different relationship between production and reproduction, men and women.

The need for a closer relationship between residence and workplace as called for by Rapoport and Rapoport (1971), means a recognition of the dependence of the two upon one another. If women work outside the home, the work within the home must be reapportioned to allow the family to function. Domestic help can be hired to do this work, or it can be divided among family members.

One of the most telling findings of this study is the striking difference between the way management and non-management women's families respond to their employment. Management women do not succeed in their careers by becoming "super women", in fact, they are very sensitive to this issue, and take care not to take on more domestic responsibility than they feel they can handle. They rely largely on organizational and decision-making abilities, essentially managerial skills, to divide domestic labor and keep their professional responsibilities at a feasible level.

In a situation where management women view their job as a career, on a parallel with their husband's career, and

their family as a shared (male-female) responsibility, we see a greater sharing of domestic labor and a high level of professional achievement and personal satisfaction. There are considerable costs for these women in management; social disapproval from some quarters, personal disappointments, and tremendous expenditure of energy, but the benefits are also great, and from self-reporting, well worth the going price.

In the non-management group, there is clear evidence of the classic "double burden", women maintaining the household while also involved in wage labor outside the home. The non-managers report considerable ambivalence toward their jobs outside the home, recognizing their economic contribution to the household but also the heavy personal cost to themselves. They feel strongly that getting out, working with people, learning new skills are positive things for them personally, but most (73%) would choose not to work if they were more financially secure.

Current research suggests that women can simultaneously and successfully work and raise a family if the infrastructural supports are there. However, major employers of women provide little of the necessary infrastructure. As a result, women are forced to deal with these issues individually, and it is here that we see the strongest divisions along class lines among women employed outside the home. The middle and upper class status of the women being drawn into management in Queretaro allows them critical freedom

and flexibility in combining work and family. They have certain advantages which ease conflicting demands. Most middle and upper class homes have some kind of employed domestic help, such as a live-in or part-time maid or cook. In terms of the solidarity or consciousness of women as a group, these class differences are problematic. One woman pointed out:

It is the servant class that enables elite women to function on a professional level in a system in which the mass of women are exploited by a small number of men and women. While some women gain certain benefits and lose others, the overall effect is that women lose their power by cutting themselves off from each other.

Despite this asymmetry of power, management women state that they are training their children to share responsibilities; young boys and girls are learning to wash clothes and cook, and to appreciate their mother's work outside the home as well as their father's.

One manager reported that she feels this equalizing of work roles within the home--between brothers and sisters, as well as mother and father--is one of the most important contributions that parents can make to Mexican society today.

If little boys are not waited on hand and foot, they will not come to expect it when they are adults. My husband's mother was a classic, she even brought the boys fresh juice in bed each morning. But my husband has changed a lot over the years and he wants his sons to be capable of a relationship like the one we have. We don't feel that one or the other has to win or lose, we're in this struggle together.

Although there seem to be some important changes occurring in the way women conceptualize their employment as careers, and their awareness of the need for more equalized relationships and household divisions of labor, some fundamental obstacles still clearly exist.

Gloria Lee, in her study of British executives, makes the point that people who consciously choose a career and plan for it, are likely to have an easier time handling the conflicts between work and family, as they will have thought out the timing and interdependence of life and career events (such things as when to have a child, and when to go for a promotion).

When an individual thinks of his occupational future in terms of a career, the articulation of the relationship between work and lifestyle is likely to be clearer than it is for the person who takes the most readily available job, as a career sets out the potential for progress within the structure (1981: 5).

But this acceptance of individual responsibility to make all the pieces fit, to be wife, mother, and manager is a misleading concept. By putting the burden on individuals and individual families, the business world shirks much of its responsibility for sensitivity to the needs of the workers.

Osako finds, as do Bourne and Wikler, that women who are able to maintain careers make idiosyncratic adjustments rather than challenge either the definition of commitment to work or the definition of the feminine role. Such adjustments tend to reinforce the definition of the problem as an individual one. We see the underlying social

basis for inequality only when we recognize the devaluation of women implied in the inflexibility of structural arrangements and ideological patterns (Nieva and Gutek 1981: 49)

Women because of their dual potential as workers and bearers of children, have an especially difficult number of roles to coordinate. Child-rearing responsibilities are often handled primarily by women due to societal stereotypes and norms which designate mothers as the primary caregivers.

Problems of integrating work and family life are more severe for women than men because women have traditionally been assumed to be available during the day to care for children, chauffeur children, let in the plumber, run errands, and do the housework. As a result, Hall (1972) noted that working women have simultaneous role demands from work and family whereas men have sequential role demands (Nieva and Gutek 1981: 47-48).

The women managers in this study often reported struggling to make lunches, drop children at school, shop on the way home--only to one day realize that they had shouldered too many of the burdens of family maintenance. In some cases, the husbands were willing, even waiting, to participate more but felt uncertain as to what their role should be now that "mother" works.

But on an even more important level of analysis, even changes within the household, shifts in responsibility and obligation, miss the point that more fundamental changes are needed.

Women are seen as fortunate to have the choice as to whether to work or not--but also expected to subordinate her career aspirations to husband/family responsibilities. This narrowing of options, coupled with the tendency for environmental institutions to aggravate the difficulties faced by highly qualified women, creates a situation where the onus is thrown very much on to them as individuals to create solutions to their dilemmas (Fogarty, Rapoport and Rapoport 1971: 187).

Societal changes are necessary to help working families solve child care problems, to recognize that women in the work force need more flexibility in terms of maternity leave, day care centers, possible paternity leave, and part-time employment, which in many cases would provide a better option. The definition of commitment to work needs to be reexamined, with more workers available and increasing levels of unemployment, time-sharing positions and other options need to be developed.

Many women have begun to sort through the options and possibilities for combining work and family. The problems faced by women with fewer opportunities and less economic potential need to be addressed, and the interrelationship of work and family in their lives is a critical area for analysis. Differential access to life chances: education, employment and child care, creates a situation where class must be examined as a powerful factor, along with gender, in the lives of the women in this study.

CHAPTER SIX

DAILY LIVES

This chapter focuses on the daily lives of two women who participated in the study, one a manager, the other a non-manager. An exploration of their experiences in the workplace and in the home illustrates the findings and theoretical implications of this study in a more human way than tables and statistical analyses. Both women were interviewed extensively in their homes, at their places of work, and at various community social functions. Their views and experiences are those of two individuals, but illustrate much of the interpenetration and contradiction between class and gender in the lives of the women who participated in this study.¹

A Manager: Ana

The sense that they and their lives are not typical of women in Queretaro is woven throughout the lives of the managers in this study, and they often mentioned the uniqueness of their jobs, family circumstances, and career aspirations. As a group, they share this strong sense of uniqueness. Choosing one woman to illustrate a manager's

¹Names and details have been changed to respect the anonymity of women who participated in this study.

daily life was not easy, and she does not typify the group, but she is representative of the patterns and themes in their lives. Ana Martinez, a manager at a large industrial concern, begins her commentary on a day in her life with this observation:

A typical day? Unfortunately, I don't have typical days--every one is full of surprises. But let me try....I get up in the morning around 5:30 because I like to take my time bathing and dressing, and it's so quiet before the children are up. My appearance is very important in my position. I try to always look put-together and well-dressed. It affects how I feel personally, and it reflects well on the company for me to look professional and well-groomed. I prefer feminine but tailored clothes. I don't believe in dressing like a man, severe suits in dark color, I wear colors that suit me and styles that appeal to me. Call it my Latin heritage, but I like bright colors that look alive and happy. I always wear a jacket in case there is a surprise meeting. It looks professional. I even keep an extra in my office for emergencies.

Like most of the managers in this study, Ana begins her day with her focus on work, already gearing up for the office. Her conviction that appearance is important on the job was echoed by every other manager. Ana was adamant about the need to look and act professional, while maintaining her own personality and preferences. She commented that United States female managers' preoccupation with looking masculine and their concern for "power" clothes seems superficial and counter-productive to her.

I think a woman should play up her strengths, not try to pretend she is a man. And this is more than just appearances, this reflects how you feel about yourself, about who you are and how much you

respect your own capabilities. I like fashion but I'm not going to deny who I am to be stylish or to get ahead on the job.

This was a common theme for Ana, her sense of individualism and femininity were both very strong. When asked about the effects of the Women's Movement in Mexico, she dismissed it as insignificant except within radical intellectual circles. She reflected the views of the majority of managers when she strongly criticized feminism as undermining women's position in management by emphasizing the separateness of women's concerns from those of men. During interviews with the managers, frequently one of the first questions asked of me was my position on feminism. Ana believed that feminism was the product of intellectuals who really didn't understand other groups in society, such as the poor, or those outside the university. Ana stated that women need to make it in management on their own, and any collective action will only create problems within the company.

Continuing with her description of her daily routine, Ana depicted her morning as follows:

Usually I cook breakfast, nothing fancy, bread and jam, eggs or cereal. We all eat together, my husband, the children, and I. I tell them what my schedule is for the day, and the children know when to expect me home.

When I leave for work, my husband takes the children to school and since he works out of his office in our home, he oversees the maid who cleans up after breakfast, does general cleaning, shops, and cooks the main meal of the day. Sometimes I go home for lunch, but usually I have

engagements at work. I drive myself to work, and some of my friends can't understand how I have the nerve to drive on the highway, but then I studied in Mexico City so Queretaro traffic seems easy to me.

Although Ana does some cooking and child care at home, the majority of domestic work is performed by a maid and Ana's husband. Her economic situation and this division of labor in the home allow Ana to focus much more of her energy on her job than non-managers can. Ana's situation is unusual with her husband's office at home but his willingness to help reflects the generally more equal division of household work between husband and wife among managers. The demands of the industrial capitalist system create a situation which necessitates that the maintenance of workers be borne by those in the home. In Ana's case the typical role of female homemaker is taken over by a maid and some help from the husband and children.

At work, it seems that I'm on the phone all day. Much of my work involves other plants and suppliers so there is always a call to make or receive. When I first started this job, I used to dread phone work, my hands would perspire and my voice shake. It felt so impersonal not seeing the other person's reactions and having to make tough negotiations with someone I couldn't even see. Now the phone feels like another arm or ear, I'm so accustomed to being on it--I can write or sort papers at the same time! I've learned that in order to survive in this job, I have to do several things at one time.

Ana discussed how difficult it was to break away from her early socialization to be pleasant at all times, especially on the telephone. Young girls are raised to be

helpful and to try to please and this does not help them in tough business negotiations. One of Ana's coworkers, a man, commented that if the caller could see Ana that she would have a much better chance at winning the negotiations. Ana is extremely attractive, and she is aware that her appearance affects her image at work. She responded that she considers competence, a thorough knowledge of her job, to be the requisite for success in management.

One of the great joys of my work is the chance to interact with so many people. I keep a jar of candy in my office so that people will pop in to get a sweet and say hello, maybe chat a little, if I'm not on the phone! I really value those little breaks and the chance to keep in touch with the others in the department. So much of my work is focused outside the company, and I spend so much time on the telephone, that I crave face to face interaction with real people, people I can see and touch.

When someone is absent in my staff, I always call to see if they need anything, or if anything is really wrong. We are a very close working group and actually have very few absences, so I notice when someone is missing. Some of my male colleagues call me the "mother hen" but I'm not sure that they aren't just jealous of our department's rapport.

Mexican industrial relations have been described as more personalistic than relations in the United States or other industrialized nations (Davis 1969; Kelley, Whatley and Zarate 1987), and Ana's description of her work day supports this difference. Her interactions with co-workers and staff were frequent and very cordial. "Mothering" of subordinates was frequently observed among women managers, and an informal atmosphere emphasizing teamwork seemed to be

the most common interaction pattern.

Ana's boss is one of her major supporters. He is an important figure in the company and his opinions are respected. He wants her to be accepted for her skill and value to the company and he is introducing her to the industrial community. Ana comments:

My boss often arranges business lunches with visitors from the United States or other area offices. I'm scheduled to visit the home offices in a few months to meet the top management and attend a management seminar. I'm looking forward to it but I feel my English isn't good enough yet, so I'm taking private English lessons.

After work, every day I exercise for an hour. I've studied ballet since I was a little girl, so I have my barre at home and it clears my head and teaches me discipline (plus I've worn the same dress size for years, so it's economical, too!). Then I play with the children, help with homework, do errands with them, whatever they need. We have a small supper together and then I have my English lesson--the tutor comes to the house and the children giggle because their English is so much better than mine. They both go to the Kennedy School and their classes are in English and Spanish. Lucky things. I think I'm really too old to learn.

Ana's emphasis on the importance of learning English is consistent with other managers. Speaking English well is considered a tool for advancement, as well as a status symbol. The larger companies encourage their employees to study English and provide further incentive by offering financial assistance or providing classes. Speaking English well also provides opportunities for interacting with visiting executives and their families. These opportunities have obvious importance for professional advancement.

Finding time for exercise and relaxation was a common theme among managers. The majority of managers do manage to find time for these things, and they believe them useful in keeping stress at a tolerable level while also maintaining a good physical appearance.

Socializing for Ana and her family revolves around the family and a few close friends. As a manager, work also makes demands on Ana's social life which she describes as follows:

My husband and I try to have friends over or see family a few nights a week, just casual get-togethers. Sometimes we have work-related entertaining, his or mine, and probably twice a week I have a business engagement at night--a dinner or meeting. He never complains about how much time I put in for work. He used to work in the same company, and so he understands the demands. Many times I go alone to business functions, but it doesn't bother either of us. When I have to travel I know that it bothers him, but he accepts it.

Ana's husband is unusual in his personal awareness of her company's demands for entertaining and travel, but the husbands of managers tend to be professionals or involved in business themselves so that they are familiar with the situations which their wives face. Although the situation is rarely described as easy, these couples have the resources to make a two-career family function.

Ana's discussion of her relationship with her extended family illustrates the reliance on family expressed by nearly every manager. The Mexican culture places a strong emphasis on the family and particularly women's role in

maintaining the extended family network (Lomnitz and Perez-Lizaur (1987)).

I would not be successful without my parents. I always know that if anything goes wrong at home, my mother will help out. If one of the children is very ill, she comes over, or if we're giving a big party, she oversees the preparation. She is really much better at those things than I am. Imagine what relief it gives me to know that she is there for us. I sometimes wonder how women manage when their mothers are in a different city or state. For us (Mexicans), the larger family is very important and we are very close.

My father has been my biggest supporter in my work. He encouraged me in the first place and he advises me now. He knows what men really think and say about women as managers and he helps me to anticipate and solve problems. Plus he is an excellent businessman. He's practically an alter-ego for me. His best advice? To never give in to being a "darling" of the company, but to get ahead because of my competence and skill. There is a tendency for some men to play to a woman as a girl, "una nina bonita". I stay away from that kind of interaction, that type of flirting and manipulating. I run this office because I understand the regulations and the needs of this company, and I surround myself with competent, hard-working people.

For a manager, like Ana, it is immensely helpful to have someone to depend on to keep the home running smoothly in moments of crisis or overwork. Many managers do not have the luxury of having their parents in the same city and they must work out other arrangements. In many ways this first generation of female managers is unique and Ana's arrangement will not be possible for her daughter, with her mother working full-time. This will have important effects on family reciprocity and support.

Ana's close relationship with her father is typical of

many female managers world-wide (Hennig and Jardim 1976). She credits his encouragement and support for much of her ambition and success. Although her mother contributes more to the actual functioning of her life, her father has been the source of her moral support and self-definition.

A Non-manager: Guadalupe

Guadalupe Sanchez is a receptionist at a multinational company. She is a pretty, very quick and witty woman in her mid-twenties. The bus ride to her house is long, twenty minutes from the plant, but there is constant conversation among the passengers and the ride passes quickly. The woman sitting next to me points out Guadalupe's house which is tiny, but immaculate and surrounded with flowers. Lupe (a nickname she prefers to Guadalupe) greets me with the traditional Mexican phrase, welcoming me into her home as my own home. Her eldest daughter hangs back shyly, peering around the corner from the kitchen.

"I sent the children to my sister's house except for Maria. I wanted her to meet you," Guadalupe says.

We sit down and chat a few minutes before beginning the interview questions. Maria brings in a carefully prepared tray with coffee and cookies, and then sits next to her mother on the couch. Maria is about nine years old, tall and very slender, and very shy. She listens attentively to the conversation.

"I want Maria to go to school," explains Lupe. "As

much school as we can afford and she can stand. I don't want her to regret missed opportunities the way I do. I want her to meet people like you, to travel and be proud of herself."

"Aren't you proud of yourself, Lupe?" I ask. "You have a good job and bring home a paycheck."

"In a sense I'm proud but I know I could have done so much more with a better education. At the time though, it wasn't easy to go on. My parents were against it. It wasn't accepted for girls to study beyond secondary school. And there was no one in my family or among my friends who had done it, so I had no support."

"Do you think it really would have helped to have a role model or someone who went on in school?" I ask.

"Oh, yes," explains Lupe. "When you're a teenager it's hard to do things on your own, it's so much easier now that women often go to the prepa or university. And now there are women in the factories with good jobs, in the government, and you can see them in the newspaper and on the television. Of course, my father still thinks it's terrible, but now we can ignore him."

Lupe has touched on a theme common to the non-managers, their lack of encouragement to continue their education as girls and their lowered self-esteem because of their lack of education. Many non-managers continue to regret their lack of schooling; some are openly angry at their families for denying them educations, and generally it was their fathers

who objected to further schooling for a girl.

I ask Lupe if her husband, Tomas, is going to be home soon.

"No," she answers. "He works until seven and then he's going over to a friend's garage to work on the truck. Something is wrong with the brakes, and he needs it for deliveries on the weekend. He's working three different jobs now, so we hardly see him, anymore. That's really common among our friends now; on one salary you can't even eat, and on two salaries you can barely survive...so we work as much as we can."

With the onset of the economic crisis in Mexico, it is very common for working-class men and women to have more than one job. Many of the non-managers did extra work to supplement their household incomes.

Lupe tells me that on weekends she does sewing and alteration work which also brings in a little extra money. She does not want the children to work, only to concentrate on their studies. Maria, her eldest child, is a tremendous help with the cleaning and cooking in the house, and she watches over the smaller children (there are two; a four year old girl and a boy, two years old). But she is also very good in school and Lupe is careful to give her enough time for her studies.

"My husband complains sometimes," she says, "he thinks I should have the girls do more work around here, but to me school work comes first. I listened to my father, and I

quit school. Now enough listening, this time I'm telling, Go to school, work hard, get a good job. My husband and I argue about my work and ideas quite a bit, but I've become a very strong person over the years, and I've learned how to argue. That's why I still have my job and so many of my friends are at home. So many men still think women should be in the home. Period."

Clearly Lupe is aware of the gender relations which have affected her life. The dominance of her father in her early life and now her husband's attempts at dominating the family are met with opposition from Guadalupe. She has thought through the issues and is firmly convinced of what is best for her children, continued education.

Watching Lupe at work, it is clear that she excels at what she does. She is a very efficient receptionist at a local industrial plant. As she answers the phone and connects callers, she is helpful and very cordial. Lupe's work clothes are worn but carefully ironed. She jokes and chats with frequent visitors to the plant and remembers the names of delivery people. Her boss says that Lupe is the best receptionist they've ever had. She is very proud of her work, her efficiency and the plant itself. She adds, "My parents were farmers, poor and uneducated, now I work in a high-technology plant. I'm grateful for the opportunity and the pay!"

As do many of the non-managers, Lupe remembers harder times in her life and is very grateful for her job. She is

very loyal to the company and speaks highly of its products. Even though Lupe is an excellent and appreciative employee, she recognizes that her position is low in the hierarchy of the company, and she is not satisfied. Although she doesn't aspire to a management position, unlike many of the non-managers, Lupe does want to improve her skills, to continue working, and to achieve a higher-paid position eventually.

Lupe's day begins totally focused on getting her family out the door. The smallest children go to her sister for the day. In the evening, she watches her sister's children and fixes them dinner while their mother works. She says she could not work without the support of her family, they all share child care, shopping, and cooking. And they listen.

Somedays I come home from work exhausted. The baby didn't sleep the night before, I worried all day about him, problems at work. Sometimes it is too much for me. So my sister, she's a saint, she listens to all my troubles while she's cooking my dinner and cleaning my house. And she really cares. So when she needs help, I'm there in an instant. My husband I could probably live without, but my sister? Never.

I want to study English when the children are older. I know that the whole world wants to study English here in Mexico, but I really could use it in my work. The company pays for English classes for employees and my boss is always asking when I'm going to start. My husband says no, that I have ridiculous plans, but I am going to learn English.

Lupe's level of determination to learn English was unusual for women in the non-management group. However, several of the women had overcome substantial odds to begin

and continue their work outside the home. It is not only managers who are determined to continue their work or to be promoted, but the obstacles most non-managers face are significantly greater and there are fewer non-managers who actively choose to face them. Family opposition to higher education, followed by complaints from husband and children discourage most non-managers from thinking in terms of preparing themselves for a career. This is one of the most significant differences between the managers and non-managers.

Comparison of the Daily Lives of a Manager and a Non-Manager

A comparison of daily activities provides insights into the articulation of class and gender relations in managers' and non-managers' lives. Ana's day begins clearly focused on work, on preparing herself mentally and physically for her management responsibilities. Although she interacts with her husband and children, others provide most of the domestic support so that she can leave her family concerns at home as she goes off to work. In contrast, Guadalupe is responsible for orchestrating her family's departure for work, school, or child care. She cooks, cleans up, then gets herself ready for work, deposits two children with her sister, and runs to catch the bus for the plant. She does not have the luxury of her own car, as does Ana, but she says that she enjoys the chance to chat with other workers, except when the bus is so crowded that she must stand.

On the job, managers clearly have more control over their work, their assignments and schedules. Although their jobs are demanding and require constant decision-making, according to most of the women managers, this is balanced by their position of authority and confidence in themselves. Ana loves her work and takes pains to make her staff enjoy theirs. This creates a cooperative work environment, and Ana attributes much of her own success to her supportive staff. Guadalupe also enjoys her work, which is not as common among the non-managers, many of whom resent their jobs and the tedious work they perform. Guadalupe commented that she, too, might be less enthusiastic about her job if she thought it was the only job she would ever have, but she intends to move up or over in hierarchy, to improve her skills and her salary.

In Ana's day, she always manages to make the time to exercise to reduce her stress level and to maintain her fitness. This is common practice among the managers, who all cite the need for relaxation and fitness. The non-managers describe experiencing high levels of stress from their work, but have more difficulty finding time to exercise or relax. Guadalupe commented: "Exercise? I love to play volleyball and to dance, but these days I get my exercise running to the bus and cleaning the floor." Although most non-managers recognize the positive effects of exercise and relaxation, they cannot fit it into the demands of work and home.

It is striking how many management women commented that household responsibilities should be shared by family members, and in their homes other members of the family do participate in household tasks. Managers also have the resources for domestic help, a maid or a cook, which tends to reduce the amount of work which the family needs to do in the household. The non-managers ask for and receive less assistance from their families with household maintenance, but as in Lupe's case, she prefers to encourage the children to study more, and to do the housework herself. The non-managers also frequently face more resistance from their husbands about helping with housework, and the gender roles in their families tend to be more traditional.

Common to both groups of women in the study is their interdependence with extended family. Compared with United States female managers, the Queretaro managers receive much more support and actual help from their extended families. Mexican culture with its strong emphasis on the family and its networks of family support is apparent in the lives of both groups of women. It was very common for a mother, sister, or grandmother to help out with child care or cooking. The family as a resource and support for the managers is clear from their early lives to the present. The non-managers also clearly rely on their families for help in coping with work and family demands.

However, the class differences between the two groups are significant here. Managers from higher-class families,

clearly can draw more resources from their families. Many non-managers reported mothers and sisters who also work (often in informal situations; extra cooking, sewing, domestic work) and so are unavailable to help out. This, coupled with less access to conveniences such as washing machines, dishwashers, microwave ovens, or the financial resources to purchase convenience foods, and less willingness of husbands to help out in the home, means that for non-managers the double-burden is significantly greater than for managers.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

This study traces the interdependence of family and work relations in a capitalist industrial context of the Third World and examines the critical interaction of class and gender relations in the lives of the women in this study. The analysis of gender relationships at work and at home show that women are disadvantaged, both in management and non-management positions. The degree of disadvantage and the extent of the double burden, however, varies by class. Holter's concept of "reorganized patriarchy", the social arrangements that directly and indirectly secure male advantage in the market place and further male hegemony in personal relations within the household (1984: 9), is demonstrated in the situations of both groups of women. Male dominance combined with a social division of labor under capitalism leads to a division of production and reproduction in capitalist industrial society which contributes to the double burden that women involved in wage labor must carry.

In these conclusions, a brief comparison of the managers and non-managers to examine the interdependence of gender and class relations in the home and workplace is followed by a reiteration of the world economy context of women's industrial participation, and finally, a discussion

of ideology and consciousness in the lives of the women in this study.

The Managers

Management women in Queretaro have benefitted from a class position in society which improves their life chances and allows them education, training, and support for their careers. Despite the presence of machismo, Mexican culture's emphasis on family and human values is helpful to management women once they break through the initial barriers to high-level positions; gender articulates with class for the managers to create a set of relations which support their career aspirations. Although there are few women managers in industry in Queretaro, they are a forceful and positive group of women who are determined to maintain work and family lives, and who benefit from the interrelationship of their roles in the home and the workplace.

Women managers in Queretaro are concentrated in lower and middle management positions. Only one woman holds an upper-level management position. The women are employed in a wide range of industries from food processing to heavy manufacturing and are not restricted to industries traditionally stereotyped as receptive to women. Although the managers are concentrated in departments traditionally considered appropriate for women's skills (like personnel and human relations) some have moved into areas of traditional male-dominance (such as engineering and marketing).

The managers generally report that a supportive family environment helped them to attain educational levels which allowed them to enter industrial management. Their fathers, in particular, supported and nurtured their career ambitions. They want marriages that support their career potential, but that are protected from business demands. They are affluent enough to be able to study, aspire to top positions in industry, and juggle work and family using domestic help, shared domestic responsibilities, and modern conveniences. They derive a high level of satisfaction from their work which reinforces their commitment to work. The managers emphasize that good health is critical for reducing their stress, and they use exercise, relaxation, and other stress reducing techniques to help them manage the demands of work and family. For the managers, the interdependence of work and family is a positive element of their lives, they draw strength and support from both areas, which contributes to their positive assessment of their situation.

The Non-Managers

The non-managers maintain jobs in traditionally female low-level administrative assistants or clerical positions. They do not struggle against the identical gender barriers as managers, but they share the problems of jobs "sex-typed" as female: low status, poor pay, and little recognition for their hard work. Though some of the non-managers are positive about their work, others are unhappy, bored by

tedious tasks, or angry at demanding bosses.

Generally the non-managers accept their positions in the workforce and do not expect to achieve much better ones in the future--many just want to put in their years and save a little toward marriage or the bearing of children. Changes in the economic situation have affected this group of women significantly, and many who expected to quit their jobs at marriage are still working to add a second income to household earnings. Since the non-managers never intended to work their whole adult lives, their employment lacks the managers' career plans. Non-managers' salaries are reported to be a critical part of the family income and the pressure to hold onto their jobs, despite the tedium or stress, is great.

The interdependence of home and work life is often painful for the non-managers, and they report significant difficulty in trying to manage the demands of work and family. They ask for and receive much less help from husbands and children in household tasks than do managers. Although they receive help from other female members of their extended families, they report that it is always a struggle to finish the housework, care for the children, and work for a wage outside the home. Non-managers report significant concern for their children's welfare while at work, and worry that they are not performing well enough at the office spills over into their homelife. The non-managers have fewer resources to handle the demands in their lives

than do the managers.

Class and Gender Relations

The hierarchical structure of the workplace both reflects and uses socially constructed gender traits to place women at specific tasks, and this is evident at both management and non-management levels. The hierarchical organization of industry, both within management and between management and workers, reflects the patriarchal relations played out in the workplace and larger society. These relations are evident both in management and in non-management. In management, the "sex-typing" of managerial tasks confines women to lower and middle management. At the administrative level below management, women do essential work for the company but with little chance for advancement and with poor remuneration.

Gender is an important factor affecting the achievement of high-status management positions, but class seems to be most salient to understanding the differential impact of industrial opportunity for these two groups of women. Although industrialization provides jobs for non-management women, they are at a low level of income and prestige, the jobs tend to be repetitious with little autonomy or authority and do not provide the personal satisfaction which managers report from their work. Management women hold positions which are stimulating, challenging, and offer great variety, but they are from a higher class standing

with opportunities for education and employment formerly available only to men, which in turn lead to industrial careers and viable accommodation of domestic responsibilities by the family. As a result middle- and upper-level managerial women tend to be the greater beneficiaries of industrialization.

The non-managers in this study report little flexibility in the structure of their jobs, particularly in accommodating family obligations. In contrast, several firms show a willingness to offer managers part-time work arrangements. Thus the very optimistic and positive view of the managers toward their careers reflects the many benefits of middle- and upper-class life in Mexico, particularly in the workplace. To reinforce these patterns the "career-tracking" of young managers is unavailable to secretaries, who remain at that level and are rarely promoted into the management track.

The relationship between secretary and boss illustrates the interconnectedness of patriarchal and capitalist relations as they are frequently experienced by non-management women (Sokoloff 1980: 280). Secretaries frequently have the reputation of "running" the office: locating important documents and clients, greeting clients, stalling for their bosses when delays occur, and generally facilitating human relations. Some bosses express their gratitude (and occasionally their admiration) for their secretaries' skills in managing the office. A few bosses even suggest

that they would like to see their secretaries rise within the company and develop their obvious managerial talents, and they express frustration that the women don't seriously consider the idea. The secretaries explained that their bosses were unrealistic, that a move up would require further education, fancier clothes and more time commitments, which their families could not afford or would not allow. The managers fail to see the situation of non-management women because from their own class perspective, class differences in life chances are invisible.

The supportive bosses described above, however, are quite rare. Most bosses are described as demanding and showing little gratitude for the work of secretaries and other low-level administrative workers. The non-managers often feel exploited, underpaid, and overworked. They reported that efficiency is rewarded with more work, not praise. However, many of the non-managers do enjoy working in the pleasant surroundings of the company, in clean offices with expensive furniture and decor and modern office machines, and they enjoy getting away from home and working with their friends.

Despite the general enthusiasm of managers for their work, gender remains a significant factor within management. The "rational, efficient" manager is rewarded, and women are not viewed as fitting this masculine model. As a result there are still very few women in management, especially at high levels.

Women are entering management but one area which requires watching is whether the management hierarchy is being restructured (as with United States clerical workers in late 1800s)¹. In other words, are women being accommodated without really increasing their power or access to top level jobs, by confining them to staff as opposed to line positions, and relegating them to areas emphasizing "people skills", such as personnel or human relations (i.e. less powerful divisions within the company), as well as confining women to lower-level management in general. Under such circumstances, women may be doing management work but not receiving the recognition, status, or pay of men in management.

Promotions of women within the company largely depend on individual bosses who accept women's aspirations to management; there is no structure or policy for promoting women into senior positions. Though some companies prefer to be seen as fair and progressive, and actively create opportunities for and recruit women, other companies, even some with women in their lower ranks of management, resist promoting a woman into the senior level.

Mentoring

The structure of the industrial hierarchy encourages executives to choose people much like themselves to promote-

¹For a discussion of this shift away from all male clerical workers to increasing numbers of women, see Evelyn and Feldberg, 1977.

- "ensuring the continuity of leadership" (Sokoloff 1980). Since industrial management has traditionally been male-dominated, it has been more difficult for women to enter this system of mentoring, contributing to a reproduction of gender relations in the workplace which favor men over women. This mentoring process can be seen as elitist as well as sexist, as junior men are chosen who closely resemble their mentors in terms of educational background (often having attended the same schools), interests often revolving around high-priced recreation (such as sailing or golf), and status items such as expensive cars, clothes and homes. This elitism maintains the company image as successful and progressive; and contributes to the reproduction of class relations in the workplace. Having built the mentoring system around these elements, men find themselves in a different relation to women, often with a lack of shared interests and backgrounds and different relations must be created with women entering management--this has been resisted.

Women and Industrial Work

Image and reality frequently conflict in Latin America (Pescatello 1973) and this conflict is especially clear in the study of women. The image of women in the home, removed from the "world of work and men", is still strong in Mexico, yet many women work outside the home in reality. Much research on women and their work tries to resolve this conflict by accepting this image and conceptualizing working

women as extraordinary and, very possibly, superfluous. Stevens (1973) has suggested that marianismo plays a strong part in why some women "choose" not to work. She has described marianismo as female chauvinism, in which women are revered as saintlike and the "mothers of children", which implies that women choose not to work outside the home to avoid tarnishing their image as pure, and jeopardizing their privileged status in society. Because there has been little empirical research addressing women's choices regarding work, Stevens argues that:

...we must leave open the possibility that a considerable number may have freely chosen to have their "marianismo" cake and eat it, too. (1973: 75)

This type of argument is incomplete, however, because it stresses the "free choice" of women and begs the question of what choices are available to them. The type of work in which women are employed, or the choice to work outside the home at all, depends on economic conditions and class-related factors influencing a woman's training, education, aspirations, personal level of confidence, and household income. In examining the differences between the two groups in this study (managers and non-managers), it becomes clear that class is an important element in evaluating and analyzing life chances, achievement, and aspirations. Recognizing the importance of class moves us away from an individual focus and emphasizes structural factors in female participation in the work force.

Although machismo permeates Mexican society, it operates differently at different class levels. Historically, women in the middle and upper classes have sometimes taken control of large estates upon the death of their husbands or fathers (Super 1979). Although such women "bosses" over men have been unusual, they serve as precedent for women wielding economic and social power in Queretaro. The social arrangements that indirectly secure male advantage in the workplace are very evident in industrial management; however, class is a salient principle structuring hierarchical relationships in many cases. Among management women, very few report serious difficulties with male subordinates. The women are comfortable in their position as "boss", and men who work under them seem comfortable with their situations and recognize their bosses' superior qualifications, training, or experience. Non-management women, in positions of lower status, report more problematic relations with men on the job. They cite a lack of respect for their work and their personal integrity. Non-managers also frequently report machismo as a general obstacle for working women, whereas only two managers mention it as a potential problem in the workplace.

Career vs. Employment

Traditionally in Queretaro, women who worked outside the home did so only until they married. Many employers relate their unwillingness to train women for higher positions to the tendency of women to meet marriageable men in

the workplace and to leave the workforce upon marriage. Selby observed during the 1970s that one of the major obstacles to women's increased participation in industry in Queretaro was:

Typically employment represents only a postponement of the traditional domestic role, but opportunities now exist in the city for a woman to sustain herself economically, provide for her children, and even use her company as a vehicle to achieve some geographical mobility (1979: 234).

According to Selby, most women working in industry in the early 1970s did not view their work as a career, and were not dedicated to their work as a form of personal fulfillment.

One of the most significant findings of this study is that management women in Queretaro in the 1980s have a very different attitude toward their work: they view their work as a career, not simply as employment. Management women intend to continue their work along with marriage and childrearing. They have been trained for the positions they occupy, and generally have a career strategy which includes goals as high as head of the firm, and they have considered the impact of family and children on a career. They also have the resources to handle child care arrangements to their satisfaction. Although they are a small, unique group, they represent a significant change from the women Selby encountered in industry in the 1970s. In contrast, non-management women generally view their jobs as employment rather than a career, and again, class differences create a

situation for the non-managers in which fewer resources are available to them for juggling career and home, making their double burden that much heavier.

Although managers stress the importance of viewing employment as a career and demonstrating the same dedication that male managers show for their careers, they also emphasize that their work does not supercede the family responsibilities and commitment which they find equally important. This emphasis on balance differs from attitudes advised in much of the management literature from industrialized nations. Queretaro's women managers note the interaction of work and family, and how they use both areas to help in coping with the challenges they face.

"As a mother I have become a stronger person. I have learned things about myself and I see strengths that I never recognized before. I believe my experience as a mother has made me a better supervisor. I think I see things less selfishly, less solely from my perspective in life. The company has gained a better manager and I also think that being a manager has had some very positive effects on my family life. In terms of careers, my husband and I ended up in very different places from what either of us expected when we were young. I think that has made us aware that life is full of surprises and people are capable of many things. It's important not to let yourself be blinded by false obstacles."

The managers in this study cite the increasing need for social measures such as day-care centers, more flexible maternity and paternity leaves, flex-time and job-sharing arrangements to help working families solve child care problems and balance the demands of work and family.

Industrial Relations within a World Economy

It is important to locate Queretaro's industry within its national and international economic context. Mexico's economic policy is designed to encourage a high rate of industrial growth as a key to greater social welfare (Derossi 1971), and Queretaro is one of the regions targeted for industrial development. Regional development programs (where they exist) complement and support the national industrialization program; however, their potential redistributive potential has not been realized to date. Regional development plans tend to skirt the issues of income distribution (which in the state of Queretaro, and Mexico as a whole, are very skewed). They do not address the real issue of the sharp schism between rural and urban populations and the dramatic impoverishment of the rural areas, partly as a result of national industrialization policy. Although growth in industry creates jobs, and migrants from rural areas comprise a large percentage of the industrial work force, industrialization has had a debilitating effect on the rural sector.

As described earlier, the city of Queretaro faces problems due to rapid population growth, and migrants to the city continue to live in difficult situations, often without water, electricity or sewage systems. The government has recognized these problems to some extent, housing projects for workers are being constructed and services are planned for areas without them. However, this continues the focus

on urban development while the rural areas remain without access to needed resources.

The regional plan for the industrial development of Queretaro does not effectively change the economic situation of the majority in the state of Queretaro. The urban elite may be able to advance their position with the State more effectively--(or the multinationals)--but their relation to production within the multinationals is still constrained by profit accumulation going back to the center, rather than the semi-periphery, in this case, Queretaro.

In recent decades, the national focus on industrial development has been an attempt at solving some of the severe economic problems facing Mexico. This national focus on industrialization has been criticized on many fronts for ignoring other crucial issues, such as development of agriculture and rural articulation with the economy, but despite criticism, industrialization continues to be a major national objective and its effects on the economic and social structure of the country continue to be significant.

Managers and the World Economy

Managers can be seen to be a status-group that is more international and cosmopolitan and less bound by national constraints, with "a 'world' cultural style--in consumption, language, etc." (Wallerstein 1984: 34). Because of their class position within an industrial world-economy, Queretaro's managers share more with managers in other nations than with the non-management women of their own country.

This is evident in many of the managers' lifestyles described in previous chapters; home furnishings, international travel, food consumption, education of children in bilingual schools, and the aspiration to speak the English language.

Many of the women managers organize and manage their families in much the same way as the dual-career model found in industrialized nations, though they are trying to avoid the trap of aspiring to "Superwoman", who does double duty at home and in the office. Although domestic help is more available in Mexico than in many other nations, the Queretaro managers still emphasize the need for a family to share domestic responsibilities and to participate in home maintenance (as an ideology which fosters self-esteem and a sense of responsibility; an ideology which they hope to pass on to their children). Non-managers do not share this concern for family participation and, as their salaries rarely allow for domestic help, the women bear the double burden of work and home demands, and the stress that comes with it.

Ideology and Consciousness

Although new social divisions are created by industrialization and its demands on human resources, interconnections between production and reproduction have always existed. In addition, women's historical and present participation in industrial production has gone largely unrecognized (as has their contribution through informal

production, household production, and class reproduction in the home), and has been mystified by an ideology that declared woman's place was in the home. As women move into positions formerly occupied by men, the hidden dimensions of their role in industrialization become more apparent from their struggles with the demands of work and family.

Although the ideology of women keeping to the home still exists in Queretaro and throughout Mexico in the media, stereotypes, old sayings, and traditional hiring practices in industry, gender relations have been changing at many levels in society. While gender roles are blurring slightly, the class structure remains sharply intact.

Management women, as seen in this study, do not really face the classic "double burden". Their class situation gives them certain advantages such as 1) domestic help 2) a different division of labor within the home. This class position mediates their gender roles, and has an important influence on management women's consciousness or lack of consciousness regarding the situation of other women and their gender issues. The difference in class standing between management and non-management women contributes to a lack of solidarity between the two groups of women. Despite their shared gender position in society, their class differences in the workplace and the society at large mitigate against a sense of gender identification.

The contemporary women's movement has emerged in large part out of the contradictions facing women in their double day as homemaker and wage laborer.

Women's consciousness has been raised in so many different ways--and differently for professional and business women than for working-class women (Sokoloff 1980: 234).

A lack of identification with feminism and its concerns was evident among both the managers and non-managers, but it was most pronounced among the managers. Frequently the first question asked of me during an interview was "Are you a feminist?". This was often followed by a vehement rejection of feminism as conceptualized by the participant (some unusual ideas of what feminism consisted of were aired, from the ideas of women who hate men to the rantings of misfits who don't want to have families). However, after some questioning and discussion many women revealed strong concerns about women's place in society and status in the family which closely paralleled many feminist concerns.

Gender issues were downplayed by the majority of female managers. Although some women described difficult relations with their male coworkers, and attributed them to gender differences or discrimination, generally the managers maintained that there was almost equal opportunity for women now, and that competence and perseverance were the important factors in achieving top management positions. Clearly the managers' strong career orientation and determination to achieve top positions has been affected by their historical context and a growing acceptance of education and employment for women in society at large.

Non-managers described problems with male bosses and

coworkers, attributing them to gender discrimination, male prejudices about women's capabilities, and how gender and class limited their access to education and resources. Many non-managers derive some increased sense of self-esteem and power from working outside the home and value their interactions and friendship with their coworkers, but they generally reported little identification with management women. Although there were some limited interactions between management and non-management women, and occasional strong relationships where women helped each other in discriminatory situations, generally there was no sense of solidarity as women or as members of an oppressed group. Increasing numbers of women in the workplace means that there are more interactions between women of various classes but in a hierarchically-structured environment where class differences will obfuscate gender consciousness.

Although there are some active groups which emphasize gender identity in Queretaro, such as ANFER, the women's arm of the PRI, AMPRO, a professional women's organization, and a Business Womens' group, there isn't a general sense of solidarity among women clarifying the divisive role of class alliances. In the workplace, class is a stronger marker than gender, although gender is still a powerful factor in determining employment and promotion opportunities.

Women's consciousness has been raised in both groups, but in different ways. Many managers commented that it will be harder to push women out of the labor market (as happened

after World War II in the United States) now that they have this level of work experience. The economic crisis of the 1980s has increased the need for a double wage and women are sharply conscious of this need. Many women expect to work a large part of their adult lives, particularly those in careers, such as management. Many non-managers pointed out that wage work has become increasingly acceptable among middle and lower class women and that it is increasingly regarded as an economic necessity by women in all sectors of society. Given the unstable economic situation in Mexico, this is in direct conflict with the possibility that opportunities for women may contract rather than expand in the future.

Many men, in management and on the street, expressed the sentiment that women "are taking jobs away from men", that men are still the major breadwinners and deserve priority for available jobs. Women are still regarded as secondary to men as workers, and they continue to be viewed as an elastic labor force.

The Interdependence of Work and Family

Despite changes in the pattern of women's participation in the work force as evidenced by the entrance of women into industrial management, social institutions maintain the traditional family model. Industry continues to operate as though households had one full-time worker and a full-time wife and mother. In other words, society continues to

emphasize the importance of men's as compared to women's opportunities and aspirations. Maintenance of the household and child care continue to be disproportionately allocated to women whether they are employed or not. This "double burden" results in stress and overload for women in work and family relations.

The conflicts in the workplace and home do vary for women, of course, and they depend on many factors, which are patterned according to class. The resolution of the conflicts can focus on the individual or the structure of work and family in society. The individual focus tends to accept the traditional values and attitudes about work and family and expects that individuals will change their lives to accomodate the traditional model. The structural approach rejects the idea that occupations or family organization must follow the traditional model and suggests alterations in the organization of work and society.

On the individual level, solutions often center around time management strategies for working women. Patterns of accomodation are recommended, such as the sharing of household work and parenting, and careful guarding of the boundaries between work and family. These are all solutions stressed by the managers in this study. The managers generally see the issue in individual terms; get an education, work hard, be determined, and success will follow. They do not emphasize the issue of discrimination or machismo as an impediment or difficulty for women in the

workplace. They recommend the sharing of responsibilities in the home, and remain largely unaware of the conflicts and problems facing non-management women in combining work and family. This focus places the blame on the non-managers if they cannot make the necessary adjustments to demands at work and in the home; it ignores the issue of class.

Although the managers recognize the necessity of structural changes in the organization and structure of the workplace, and cite innovations, such as flex-time, job-sharing, and part-time work; those benefits which are available in some companies do not benefit all women equally; they differentially affect the two groups of women, the highly-paid, high-visibility managerial women are the greater beneficiaries of company benefits. These benefits are often used to preclude accusations of gender discrimination and to demonstrate how companies are supporting women and their careers, but they obfuscate the class-related apportionment in the division of labor within the company which reflects the divisions in the society at large. Thus class issues are inherent in gender considerations.

This examination of women's work and adaptations in the home and in the industrial workplace has focused on the points of articulation between work and the family. Within the family, gender and class relations are created which clearly affect women's access to and participation in the work force. Gender and class relations are also created and reproduced in the industrial workplace, as seen in both

management and non-management positions. Gender and class relations are intricately articulated, shaping and reshaping each other. Both gender and class are critical elements in analyzing women's positions and participation in the work force and the home, and in understanding the interdependence of work and family.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

Estimada participante:

Este cuestionario es parte de una investigación sobre el papel de la mujer y la industrialización en Querétaro. Estoy realizando esta investigación para mi doctorado en antropología social de Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, con la cooperación del Centro de Estudios Antropológicos de la Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro.

Quiero estudiar el papel de la mujer que trabaja fuera del hogar y, a la vez, se dedica a la familia. Este cuestionario consta de preguntas sobre el trabajo, la familia, y el papel de la mujer en Querétaro hoy día.

Todas las respuestas quedarán anónimas y confidenciales. Le agradezco mucho su participación en este estudio.

ATENTAMENTE.

Lic. Ruth E. Scott

ESTADISTICA GENERAL

EDAD: _____ ESTADO CIVIL: _____

RELIGION: _____ PUESTO DE TRABAJO: _____

LUGAR DE NACIMIENTO: _____

EDUCACION

A. PREPARATORIA

Nombre de Escuela	Cuidad	Fecha del--al	Título o Diploma

B. UNIVERSIDAD

Nombre de Escuela	Cuidad	Fecha del--al	Título o Diploma

C. OTROS ESTUDIOS

Nombre de Escuela	Cuidad	Fecha del--al	Título o Diploma

FAMILIA

1. ¿Cuánto tiempo ha vivido en Querétaro?

2. Lugar de origen de sus padres:

3. Ocupación del padre:

de la madre:

4. ¿Cuántos años han vivido sus padres en Querétaro?
5. ¿Alguien de su familia trabaja en esta compañía?
6. ¿Cuántos años de escuela completó su marido?
7. ¿Que clase de trabajo tiene su marido?
8. ¿Cuál sería el número ideal de hijos que le gustaría tener?
9. ¿Tiene ayuda en la casa, en forma de familia o sir-vienta?
10. ¿Tiene hijos? ¿Cuántos tiene y cuántos años tienen?

OCUPACION

1. ¿Cuáles son los puestos en que Ud. ha trabajado?

Fecha del-al	Puesto en el trabajo	Parte del tiempo	Tiempo Completo	Negocio Familiar

2. ¿Pertenece Ud. a alguna asociación profesional?
¿Cuál es?
3. ¿Planea seguir trabajando en el futuro? ¿Después de casarse? ¿Después de tener hijos?
4. ¿Cuál sería para Ud. el puesto ideal en el trabajo?
5. ¿Espera lograr ese puesto? Si la respuesta es negativa, explique.
6. ¿Cuáles son los puestos más apropiados para la mujer, ya sea en la industria, el comercio, o en el gobierno?
7. ¿Cuáles fueron las razones principales por las cuáles Ud. empezó a trabajar?

8. ¿En qué forma debe el hombre adaptarse a sus colegas femeninas dentro de la oficina?
9. ¿Cómo debe el hombre adaptarse en el hogar cuando su esposa trabaja?
10. ¿Tiene Ud. un puesto que no es frecuentemente ocupado por una mujer? ¿Porqué cree que a una mujer le gustaría un puesto como éste?
11. Al llegar por primera vez a su trabajo, ¿Había habido otra mujer antes que Ud.?
12. ¿Cuando tomó este puesto, era su supervisor un hombre o una mujer?
13. ¿Como podría describir el tratamiento inicial del supervisor hacia Ud.?
14. ¿Qué tal ahora, ha habido algún cambio en la forma en que es tratada por sus supervisores?
15. ¿En general, qué clase de cualidades requiere un hombre o una mujer para hacer bien este trabajo?
16. ¿En su opinión, cuáles son las ventajas que un hombre tiene para hacer este trabajo bien?
17. ¿Cuáles son las ventajas que una mujer tiene para hacer este trabajo bien?

18. ¿Hoy día, piensa que un hombre y una mujer tienen oportunidades iguales para todos los puestos aquí? Explique las razones, por favor.
19. ¿Ha usado los beneficios educationales de la compañía desde que trabaja aquí?
20. ¿Cuántos casos de ausencias por enfermedades tuvo Ud. el año pasado?
21. ¿Cuántos, el año antes de tomar este puesto?

EL TRABAJO Y LA FAMILIA

1. ¿Es más difícil para el marido o la mujer trabajar y a la vez cuidar de la familia?
Hombre_____ Mujer_____ Igual_____
2. ¿Cree Ud. que sus compañeros del trabajo la respetan?
Mucho_____ Algo_____ Poco_____
3. ¿Su marido la respeta a Ud. y a su trabajo?
Mucho_____ Algo_____ Poco_____
4. ¿Sus hijos le tienen respeto a Ud. y a su trabajo?
Mucho_____ Algo_____ Poco_____
5. ¿Su marido está satisfecho con el empleo que Ud. tiene?
Sí_____ No_____
6. ¿Ud. piensa que su tarea de mujer y madre de familia es:
Laboriosa_____ Regular_____ Fácil_____

7. ¿Sus padres respetan su trabajo?
Sí_____ No_____
8. Antes de ir a trabajar esta mañana, ¿Quién?
Lavó los platos_____
Preparó el desayuno_____
Llevó los niños a la escuela_____
9. ¿Debería el marido ganar más que la esposa en una familia?
Sí_____ No_____
10. Al desaprobado el marido que su mujer trabaje, ¿Estaría la mujer contenta en su trabajo?
11. ¿En el transcurso de este año, ha consultado Ud. con alguien sobre algún problema relacionado con el trabajo?
Sí_____ No_____
12. ¿Le parece a Ud. necesario tener una sirvienta para poder trabajar y tener una familia?
Sí_____ No_____
13. En cuánto a su sueldo neto en comparación con el de su marido:
_____es más _____es meno _____igual
14. ¿Se siente muy cansada cuando se levanta por la mañana?
15. En su familia, quien:
_____lava la ropa _____mantiene el coche
_____hace el mandado _____lleva los niños a la cama
_____compra la ropa de los _____cocina la comida
ninos
16. ¿De las cosas que Ud. hizo en su trabajo, de cuál está Ud. más orgullosa?

17. ¿Ud. le pida a sus hijos que la ayuden cuando sea posible en casa?
18. ¿Es importante para mujeres que trabajan pertenecer a un grupo o asociación profesional?
19. ¿Es problemático para la mujer ganar más que su marido?
20. ¿Su marido alguna vez le causó problemas porque Ud. trabaja con hombres?
21. ¿Se quejaron sus hijos alguna vez de que Ud. trabaja?
22. ¿Preferiría Ud. trabajar fuera que dedicarse al hogar?
23. ¿De sus amigas, trabajan muchas?
24. ¿En promedio, toma Ud. más de cinco tazas de café al día?
25. Practica Ud. gimnasia o algun deporte? ¿Cuántos veces a la semana?
26. ¿En promedio, toma Ud. más de dos bebidas alcohólicas al día?
27. ¿Cree Ud. que el abuso de drogas, como cafeína o alcohol, es un problema entre las mujeres que trabajan?
28. ¿Piensa Ud. que es importante hacer ejercicio físico diario?
29. ¿Piensa Ud. que su trabajo vale la pena?
30. ¿Alguna vez, siente que no tiene tiempo adecuado para sus niños? ¿su marido?

31. ¿Ha cambiado su vida ahora después de decidirse a trabajar? ¿Cuáles son los cambios?
32. ¿Piensa Ud. que la sociedad aprueba a la mujer que trabaja?
33. ¿Piensa Ud. que su familia tiene un sueldo adecuado?
34. ¿Sería posible mantener la familia con solamente el sueldo de su marido?
35. ¿Cuál es el obstáculo mayor para las mujeres que quieren puestos elevados en Querétaro hoy?
36. ¿Es importante discutir los problemas en el trabajo con sus compañeros del trabajo?
37. ¿Cuál es su problema más difícil en trabajar y a la vez tener una familia?

Por favor describa sus experiencias actuales en este trabajo.

Por favor encierre en un circulo los números que corresponden conjunto de preguntas.

1. ¿Cuánto le ayuda cada una de las siguientes personas para que sea más fácil su trabajo?

	<u>muy poco</u>	<u>poco</u>	<u>algo</u>	<u>mucho</u>	<u>muchísimo</u>
A. Su supervisor inmediato	1	2	3	4	5
B. Otras personas en el trabajo	1	2	3	4	5
C. Su esposo (si es casada)	1	2	3	4	5

2. ¿Cómo de fácil es platicar con cada una de las siguientes personas?

	<u>muy difícil</u>	<u>difícil</u>	<u>fácil</u>	<u>muy fácil</u>
A. Su supervisor inmediato	1	2	3	4
B. Otras personas en el trabajo	1	2	3	4
C. Su esposo (si es casada)	1	2	3	4

3. ¿Cuánto puede confiar en cada una de estas personas cuando las cosas se han tornado bruscas en el trabajo?

	<u>muy poco</u>	<u>poco</u>	<u>algo</u>	<u>mucho</u>	<u>muchísimo</u>
A. Su supervisor inmediato	1	2	3	4	5
B. Otras personas en el trabajo	1	2	3	4	5
C. Su esposo (si es casada)	1	2	3	4	5

4. ¿Cuántas de cada una de las siguientes personas esta dispuesta a escuchar sus problemas personales?

	<u>muy poco</u>	<u>poco</u>	<u>algo</u>	<u>mucho</u>	<u>muchísimo</u>
A. Su supervisor inmediato	1	2	3	4	5
B. Otras personas en el trabajo	1	2	3	4	5
C. Su esposo (si es casada)	1	2	3	4	5

5. ¿Cuántas personas trabajan bajo las órdenes de Ud.

6. ¿Cuántas personas trabajan bajo las órdenes de su supervisor?

7. De las personas bajo las órdenes de Ud., ¿cuántos son hombres?

8. ¿Es su supervisor hombre o mujer?

9. ¿Cuántas personas trabajan en su oficina?

10. ¿Cuántos son hombres?

11. ¿Cuántas son mujeres?

SALUD Y BIENESTAR

Cuando piensa en su vida general, ¿cómo se siente?

Escribe un número en el espacio en blanco, basada en la escala:

- (1) Nunca (2) Poco (3) Algunas (4) Parte del tiempo
(5) La mayoría del tiempo

- ___ 1. Animada
- ___ 2. Nerviosa
- ___ 3. Triste
- ___ 4. Enérgica
- ___ 5. Impaciente
- ___ 6. Útil y necesaria
- ___ 7. Fatigada
- ___ 8. Calmada
- ___ 9. Descansada
- ___ 10. Infeliz
- ___ 11. Alerta
- ___ 12. Confusa
- ___ 13. Tensa
- ___ 14. Frustrada
- ___ 15. Llena de energía
- ___ 16. Solitaria
- ___ 17. Bien
- ___ 18. Deprimida
- ___ 19. Enojada
- ___ 20. Relajada
- ___ 21. Cansada sin razón
- ___ 22. Ansiosa
- ___ 23. Inquieta
- ___ 24. Despreocupada
- ___ 25. Irritada
- ___ 26. Alegre
- ___ 27. Molesta
- ___ 28. Desconcertada
- ___ 29. Abatida
- ___ 30. Eficiente
- ___ 31. No puede tomar un período de descanso diario.
- ___ 32. No puede tener un ejercicio físico diario.
- ___ 33. Fumo más de 20 cigarros al día.
- ___ 34. Tomo más de 6 tazas de café al día.
- ___ 35. Tomo 2 o más bebidas alcohólicas al día.

Lea cada oración e indique en qué le aplica a usted, cada una de ellas. Usando la escala de abajo, coloque el número clave en sus siguientes respuestas en el espacio en blanco.

1	2	3	4	5
Se aplica a mí muy poco				Se aplica a mí bastante

- ___1. No tengo muy buena salud.
- ___2. Me siento inquieta o tensa más veces que yo debería estar.
- ___3. Siempre me siento molesta por una indigestión o problemas del estómago.
- ___4. Algunas veces me siento débil sobre todo.
- ___5. Me levanto con dolores musculares.
- ___6. Mi trabajo tiene un efecto directo sobre mi salud.
- ___7. Tengo problemas para dormir.
- ___8. Me siento nerviosa por parte de mi trabajo.
- ___9. Tengo dolor de cabeza con frecuencia.
- ___10. Si tuviera un trabajo diferente, probablemente mejorara mi salud.
- ___11. Me siento cansada fácilmente.
- ___12. Tengo una condición de úlcera.
- ___13. Algunas veces las preocupaciones de mi trabajo me hacen mal.
- ___14. Me siento deprimida con frecuencia.
- ___15. Estoy feliz cuando no voy a trabajar.
- ___16. Me siento muy nerviosa antes de una conferencia de trabajo.
- ___17. Con frecuencia pienso en el trabajo mucho cuando estoy en casa.
- ___18. Algunas veces, no sé si vale la pena todo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arrom, Silvia Marina

- 1985 The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857.
 Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Bailyn, L. and E. Schein

- 1976 Life/career considerations as indicators of
 quality of employment. In A. Biderman and T.
 Drury (eds). Measuring Work Quality for
 Social Reporting. New York: Halstead Press.

Basil, Douglas C.

- 1972 Women in Management. New York: Dunellen.

Beals, Ralph L.

- 1953 Social Stratification in Latin America.
 American Journal of Sociology 58: 327-339.

Beneria, Lourdes

- 1982 Women and Development: The Sexual Division
 of Labor in Rural Societies. Praeger.

Beneria, Lourdes and Martha Roldan

- 1987 The Crossroads of Class and Gender. Chicago:
 University of Chicago Press.

Beneria, Lourdes and Gita Sen

- 1981 Accumulation, Reproduction, and Women's Role
 in Economic Development: Boserup Revisited.
 Signs 7(2):279-298.

Biderman, A.D. and T.F. Drury (eds)

- 1976 Measuring Work Quality for Social Reporting.
 New York: Halstead Press.

Blum, Linda and Vicki Smith

- 1988 Women's Mobility in the Corporation: A Critique of the Politics of Optimism. Signs 13(3): 528-545.

Boseman, Glenn and Arvind Phatak

- 1978 Management Practices of Industrial Enterprises in Mexico: A Comparative Study. Management International Review 18(1): 43-48.

Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Gintis

- 1986 Democracy and Capitalism. New York: Basic Books.

Brenner, Johanna, and Maria Ramas

- 1984 Rethinking Women's Oppression. New Left Review 144 (March-April): 33-71.

Brown, Linda Keller

- 1979 Women and Business Management. Signs 5(2): 266-288.
- 1981 The Woman Manager in the United States. Washington, D.C.: Business and Professional Women's Foundation.

Butterworth, Douglas and John Chance

- 1981 Latin American Urbanization. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Caplan, R., S. Cobb, J. French, R. Harrison, and S. Pinneau

- 1975 Job Demands and Worker Health. Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Occupational Health and Safety.

CEHSMO

- 1975 La mujer y el movimiento obrero mexicano en el siglo XIX, Antologia de la prensa obrera. Mexico: CEHSMO.

Chant, Sylvia

- 1984 Household Labour and Self-Help Housing in Queretaro, Mexico. Boletin de Estudios Latinoamericanos y Del Caribe 37:45-68.

Chant, Sylvia (cont.)

- 1984 Female-Headed Households in the Barrios of Queretaro. Ph.D. dissertation. University College London. London: England.

Cockcroft, James D.

- 1983 Mexico: Class Formation, Capital Accumulation, and the State. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Cooper, Cary and Judi Marshall

- 1977 Understanding Executive Stress. New York: Petrocelli Books.

Crawford, Jacquelyn S.

- 1977 Women in Middle Management. Ridgewood, NJ: Forkner Publishing Corporation.

Cunningham, Mary

- 1984 Powerplay: What Really Happened at Bendix. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Davidson, Marilyn and Cary Cooper

- 1983 Stress and the Woman Manager. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Davis, Stanley

- 1971 Comparative Management: Organizational and Cultural Perspectives. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- 1969 U.S. versus Latin America: Business and Culture. Harvard Business Review (Nov-Dec): 88-98.

Derossi, Flavia

- 1971 The Mexican Entrepreneur.

Eisenstein, Zillah (ed)

- 1978 Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Epstein, Cynthia Fuchs

- 1970 *Woman's Place: Options and Limits in Professional Careers.* Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Epstein, Cynthia and Rose Coser (eds)

- 1981 *Access to Power: Cross-National Studies of Women and Elites.* London: George Allen & Unwin.

Evans, Paul and Fernando Bartolome

- 1981 *Must Success Cost So Much?* New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Evans, Peter

- 1979 *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State, and Local Capital in Brazil.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Felker, Marcia E.

- 1983 *Ideology and Order in the Operating Room.* In Lola Romanucci-Ross, Moerman and Tancredi (eds). *The Anthropology of Medicine.* South Hadley, MA: Preager.

Fernandez-Kelly, Maria Patricia

- 1983 *For We are Sold, I and My People: Women and Industry in Mexico's Frontier.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Finklestein, Carol Ann

- 1981 *Women Managers: Career Patterns and Changes in the United States.* In Epstein and Coser (eds). *Access to Power: Cross-National Studies of Women and Elites.* London: George Allen & Unwin.

Fogarty, Michael, Rhona Rapoport, and Robert Rapoport

- 1971 *Sex, Career and Family.* London: George Allen & Unwin.

Giddens, Anthony

- 1981 A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism. Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- 1976 New Rules of Sociological Method. New York: Basic Books.

Gilligan, Carol

- 1982 In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Gillin, J.

- 1971 The Middle Segments and Their Values. In Stanley Davis (ed), Comparative Management : Organizational and Cultural Perspectives. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Glenn, Evelyn, and Rosalyn Feldberg

- 1979 Clerical Work: The Female Occupation. In J. Freeman (ed), Women: A Feminist Perspective. Second edition. Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield.

Gordon, Francine and Myra Stober

- 1975 Bringing Women into Management. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Hampton, David

- 1977 Contemporary Management. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Hardesty, Sarah and Nehama Jacobs

- 1986 Success and Betrayal: The Crisis of Women in Corporate America. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc.

Hartmann, Heidi

- 1976 Capitalism, Patriarchy, and Job Segregation by Sex. In M. Blaxall and B. Reagan (eds.), Women and the Work Place. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 137-70.

Harriman, Ann

- 1985 Women/Men/Management. New York: Praeger.

Hellman, Judith Adler

- 1983 Mexico in Crisis. Second Edition. New York:
Holmes and Meier Publishers.

Hennig, Margaret and Anne Jardim

- 1976 The Managerial Woman. New York: Simon and
Schuster.

Holter, Oystein Gullvag (ed)

- 1984 Patriarchy in a Welfare Society. Oslo:
Universitetsforlaget.

Hoops, Terry and Scott Whiteford

- 1983 Transcending Rural-Urban Boundaries: a
Comparative View of Two Labor Reserves and
Family Strategies. In John Hunter, Robert
Thomas and Scott Whiteford (eds.), Population
Growth and Urbanization in Latin America.
Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing.

Howe, Louise Kapp

- 1977 Pink Collar Workers. New York: G.P.
Putnam's Sons.

Inter-American Development Bank

- 1982 Economic and Social Progress in Latin
America. Washington, D.C.

International Labour Office

- 1976 Women Workers and Society. Geneva: ILO.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss

- 1977 Men and Women of the Corporation. New York:
Basic Books.

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss (cont.)

- 1977 Work and Family in the United States: a
Critical Review and Agenda for Research and
Policy. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Kelley, Lane, Art Whatley, Narcisa Zarate

- 1987 Managing in Mexico: A Cultural Perspective.
The Joint Border Research Institute: New
Mexico State University.

Kelly, Joan

- 1979 The Doubled Vision of Feminist Theory.
Feminist Studies 5(1): 216-227.

Kinzer, Nora Scott

- 1978 Stress and the American Woman. New York:
Ballantine Books.
- 1975 Sociocultural Factors Mitigating Role
Conflict in Buenos Aires Professional Women.
In Ruby R. Leavitt (ed.). Women Cross-
Culturally: Change and Challenge. The
Hague: Mouton.
- 1973 Women Professionals in Buenos Aires. In Ann
Pescatello (ed.). Female and Male in Latin
America. Pittsburgh: University of Pitts-
burgh Press.

Lamphere, Louise

- 1974 Strategies, Cooperation, and Conflict among
Women in Domestic Groups. In M. Rosaldo and
L. Lamphere (eds), Women, Culture, and
Society. Stanford: Stanford University
Press.

Lee, Gloria L.

- 1981 Who Gets to the Top? Hampshire, England:
Gower Publishing Company Ltd.

Levy, Daniel and Gabriel Szekely

- 1983 Mexico: Paradoxes of Stability and Change.
Boulder: Westview Press.

Loden, Marilyn

- 1985 Feminine Leadership: Or How to Succeed in
Business Without Being One of the Boys. New
York: New York Times Books.

Lomnitz, Larissa Adler and Marisol Perez Lizaur

- 1978 The History of a Mexican Urban Family.
Journal of Family History 3(4):391-408.
- 1979 Kinship Structure and the Role of Women in
the Urban Upper Class of Mexico. Signs
5(1):164-168.

Looney, Robert E.

- 1978 Mexico's Economy: A Policy Analysis with
Forecasts to 1990. Boulder, Colorado:
Westview Press.

Lopata, Helena Znaniecka

- 1984 City Women: Work, Occupations, Careers.
New York: Praeger.

Lopata, Helena Z. and Joseph Pleck

- 1983 Research in the Interweave of Social Roles:
Families and Jobs. Greenwich: JAI Press.

Lyle, Jerolyn R. and Jane L. Ross

- 1973 Women in Industry. Lexington: Lexington
Books.

Macias, Anna

- 1980 Women and the Mexican Revolution: 1910-1920.
The Americas (July) 37(1): 53-82.
- 1982 Against All Odds: The Feminist Movement in
Mexico to 1940. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood.

Marcus, George E. and Michael M. J. Fisher

- 1986 Anthropology as Cultural Critique: an
Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences.
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Mathews, Holly

- 1985 "We are mayordomo": a reinterpretation of
women's roles in the Mexican cargo system.
American Ethnologist 12(2): 285-301.

McBroom, Patricia A.

- 1986 The Third Sex: The New Professional Woman.
New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc.

Moss, Leonard

- 1981 Management Stress. Menlo, CA: Addison-
Wesley Publishing Company.

Nash, June and M. P. Fernandez-Kelly (eds)

- 1984 Women, Men and the International Division of Labor. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Nash, June and Helen Safa (eds)

- 1976 Sex and Class in Latin America. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- 1986 Women and Change in Latin America. South Hadley, MA: Bergin and Garvey Publishers.

Nathanson, Constance A.

- 1980 Social Roles and Health Status Among Women: The Significance of Employment. Social Science and Medicine 14A: 463-471.

Nieva, Veronica F. and Barbara Gutek

- 1981 Women and Work: A Psychological Perspective. New York: Praeger.

Pahl, J.M. and R.E.

- 1971 Managers and Their Wives. London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press.

Pescatello, Ann (ed)

- 1973 Female and Male in Latin America. Pittsburgh, PA.: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Petchesky, Rosalind

- 1978 Dissolving the Hyphen: A Report on Marxist-Feminist Groups, 1-5. In Zillah Eisenstein (ed). Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism. New York: Monthly Review Press.

PRI

- 1982 Queretaro (Report to Miguel de la Madrid). Mexico, DF: Coordinacion General de Documentacion y Analisis, Partido Revolucionario Institucional.

Pross, Helge

- 1981 Women in Management in West Germany. In Epstein and Coser (eds). Access to Power: Cross-National Studies of Women and Elites. London: George Allen & Unwin.

Purcell, Susan Kaufman

- 1975 The Mexican Profit-Sharing Decision: Politics in an Authoritarian Regime. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Rapp, Rayna

- 1978 Family and Class in Contemporary America: Notes Toward an Understanding of Ideology. Science and Society 42 (Fall): 278-300.

Rapoport, Robert and Rhona Rapoport

- 1971 Dual-Career Families. London: Penguin.

Rascon, Maria Antonieta

- 1975 La mujer y la lucha social. In Imagen y Realidad de la mujer. Mexico: Sep/Setentas.

Reyes-Salcido, Edgardo

- 1976 Some Social and Cultural Factors Affecting Management in Mexico. Management Development Series: no. 5. Geneva: ILO.

Rosaldo, Michelle

- 1974 Women, Culture and Society: A Theoretical Overview. In Rosaldo and Lamphere (eds). Women, Culture and Society. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Rosaldo, Michelle and Louise Lamphere (eds)

- 1974 Women, Culture and Society. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Rogers, Barbara

- 1980 The Domestication of Women. London: Tavistock.

Sacks, Karen

- 1975 Engels Revisited: Women, the Organization of Production, and Private Property. In Reyna Reiter, (ed), Toward an Anthropology of Women. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- 1979 Sisters and Wives. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Salaman, Graeme

- 1981 Class and the Corporation. Great Britain: Fontana Paperbacks.

Savage, A.H.

- 1978 Planning and Control Problems in Developing Countries. Managerial Planning (July-August): 48-57.

Schreiber, Carol Tropp

- 1979 Changing Places: Men and Women in Transitional Occupations. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Scott, Ian

- 1982 Urban and Spatial Development in Mexico. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Selby, Robert L.

- 1979 Women, Industrialization, and Change in Queretaro, Mexico. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Utah.

Sen, Gita

- 1980 The Sexual Division of Labour and the Working Class Family. Review of Radical Political Economy 12(2): 76-86.

Sokoloff, Natalie

- 1980 Between Money and Love: The Dialectics of Women's Home and Market Work. New York: Praeger.

Stevens, Evelyn P.

- 1973 Marianismo: The Other Face of Machismo in Latin America. In Ann Pescatello (ed). Female and Male in Latin America. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Stoler, Ann

- 1977 Class Structure and Female Autonomy in Rural Java. Signs 3(1): 74-89.

Sunkel, O.

- 1973 Transnational Capitalism and National Disintegration in Latin America. Social and Economic Studies 22(1): 132-71.

Super, John Clay

- 1976 Queretaro Obrajes: Industry and Society in Provincial Mexico, 1600-1810. Hispanic American Historical Review 56 (2): 197-216.
- 1973 Queretaro: Society and Economy in Early Provincial Mexico, 1590-1630. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Terpstra, Vern and Kenneth David

- 1985 The Cultural Environment of International Business. Second Edition. Cincinnati: South-Western Publishing Co.

Tilly, Louise and Joan Scott

- 1978 Women, Work and Family. New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston.

Towner, Margaret

- 1977 Monopoly Capitalism and Women's Work during the Porfiriato. Latin American Perspectives, Issues 12-13, Vol. IV (1-2).

Unikel, L., C. Ruiz Chiapetto, and G. Garza Villareal

- 1978 El desarrollo urbano de Mexico. Mexico City: El Colegio de Mexico.

Vallens, Vivian

- 1975 Working Women in Mexico during the Porfiriato, 1880-1910. Master's thesis, California State University, Long Beach.

Vaughan, Mary K.

- 1979 Women, Class and Education in Mexico. In Women in Latin America, pp. 63-80. Special publication of Latin American Perspectives. Riverside, CA.

Wallerstein, Immanuel

- 1984 The Politics of the World-Economy. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1974 The Modern World-System. New York: Academic Press.

Wilkins, Mira

- 1970 The Emergence of the Multinational Enterprises: American Business Abroad from the Colonial Era to 1914. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Whiteford, Andrew

- 1964 Two Cities in Latin America: A Comparative Description of Social Classes. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co.

Wolf, Eric

- 1955 The Mexican Bajio in the Eighteenth Century. Middle American Research Institute, Publication No. 17. New Orleans: Tulane University.

Wright, Erik Olin

- 1985 Classes. London: New Left Books.

Young, Kate, Carol Wolkowitz, and Roslyn McCullagh (eds.)

- 1981 Of Marriage and the Market: Women's Subordination in International Perspective. London: CSE Press.