

## Women in the Cuban Bureaucracies : 1968-1974\*

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The experience of women during the course of the Cuban revolution is important as one measure of human dignity in the island. It is interesting also because of the parallels which it has with reforms proposed or realized in this country to improve the status of women. The purpose of this paper is to examine the experience of women in achieving positions of authority and responsibility in Cuba, a country ruled by a revolutionary movement that has untiringly declared itself to be the hemisphere's champion of egalitarianism.

The Marxist interpretation of women's liberation during a dictatorship of the proletariat exemplifies what Gusfield (1973: 14-15) called a political utopia. According to it, the emergence of the bourgeois family signaled the final degradation of women into servants and childcarers. Women's liberation is theoretically realized once the society's economic structure is socialized, so that all persons, regardless of sex, stand in the same relation to the means of production. Quite apart from the frequent need to substitute labour for decreasing levels of capital, it is because of this ideological tenet that the incorporation of women into the labor force characterizes periods of socialist domination. It is assumed (Gusfield, 1973: 18) that the society of the past (the thesis) represents a monistic, consistent system, to be contrasted with the antithesis—changes that supposedly have taken place since the revolution.

Indeed, the notion that the triumph of the proletarian revolution erodes all the structural elements that previously had resulted in discrimination against women persists in the imagination of countless persons even against the counsel of their own experience. The continued discrimination against Soviet women (Goldberg, 1973; Holter, 1973; Salaff and Meckle, 1970) is explained by the Stalinist oppression and the present-day rule of the Soviet bureaucrats (Trotsky, 1970), while the experience of discrimination against women in the Kibbutz movement in Israel (Padan-Eisenstark, 1973) which in part was strongly Marxist in its inception, is either ignored or explained away as a temporary aberration.

Such an interpretation of history (Engels, 1972; Marx, 1970), with its emphasis on stages or historical epochs, is reflected in Cuba's official stand on family

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\*The data presented in this paper was collected during the summer and fall of 1974. I am grateful to George Hart and Angus M. Thuermer who helped me secure some documents, and to Professor Alfred C. Clarke who provided research assistance to me. I am indebted to Professors Laurel Walum and William Petersen for their incisive substantive and editorial comments to earlier drafts of the manuscript, and to Professor Wen L. Li for his comments on the statistical methods used in this paper. Sole responsibility for its final contents rests with the author.

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and women (de la Torre, 1965). And yet, the ideology is interpreted selectively. For instance, the Cuban authorities have attempted to strengthen the family by providing contraceptives and abortion services on demand (de Onis, 1967; Perez Tobella, 1967; Chelala, 1971; Stamper, 1971; Boyd, 1974), by encouraging people to marry rather than forming common-law unions (Blutstein *et al.*, 1971: 105-112; Cooney, 1974), by maintaining, despite the well-publicized new family code (Granma, 1975a; 1975b), the pre-1959 legal basis for divorce (le-Riverend, 1966: 536), and, in general by respecting the bonds between parents and their children (JPRS no. 35954)—though the new basis for the formation of families and parent-child relations is supposedly love combined with ideological compatibility (JPRS no. 265256).

Undoubtedly, these measures are a reaction, in part, to the upsurge in family instability that Cuba experienced and, in part, is due to the regime's revolutionary puritanism (Yglesias, 1969). Increasing even prior to 1959, the national divorce rate rose extraordinarily during the 1960's, from 8.3 divorces per 100 marriages in 1958 to 18.1 per 100 marriages in 1968, with peaks in the measure of 20.3 in 1966 and 1967. In the province of La Habana, in fact, the divorce rate reached 30.1 per 100 marriages in 1966 (Roberts and Hamour, 1970: 80). Moreover, most extended families were disrupted by geographical and ideological separations.

Cuba's political myth that women's freedom has been achieved inhibits the development of an independent women's movement. According to Camarano (1971), for instance, the historical experience of women is irrelevant as the foundation for female consciousness in Cuba. The actual consequence of this orthodoxy is to make it more difficult to realize greater equality between the sexes. In practical terms, it keeps women from forming independent social organizations, unable to force the male authorities to recognize the importance and immediacy of their needs (Purcell, 1973).

Of course, the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC), one of the most active and important mass organizations, is the government's main instrument to mobilize women. As such, it is not an independent organization of women. Rather, after prodding from the highest levels of the government (FCW, Press Office, 1965) it was formed in 1960 from a merger of various Cuban women's associations, among them the Democratic Federation of Cuban women, an organization of the Cuban Communist Party and a member of the International Democratic Federation of Women, with headquarters in the USSR (Randall, 1972: 91; Montes and Avila, 1970: 367). More important, the Federation (FMC) has not maintained a critical stand on the issues affecting women's freedoms. Its draft program dealt exclusively with problems arising from the incorporation of women into the labor force and other revolutionary efforts in health, education, and welfare, to involve women in the construction of the new society (Book Institute, 1967: 83-90). Nowhere does its draft program mention the re-education of the Cuban male, inequalities in authority at home or work, the redefinition of sex-linked household and family tasks and obligations, discrimination in hiring and pay, and the many other concerns of a vigorous and autonomous women's movement (Re-

ports, 1962). This limited orientation has remained unchanged throughout the years (JPRS, 1964; Espin, 1969; JPRS, 1969: Granma Weekly Review, 1971).

The political myth of women's freedom, in fact, co-exists with traditional attitudes and practices (Berman, 1970; Gordon, 1970; Purcell, 1973) in a culture known for its strong emphasis on male supremacy (Lawrenson, 1973; Rodriguez, 1962), and with no official organized efforts to combat them. Instead, women are encouraged to participate in the life of the country that retains a culture of continuing male supremacy. Not surprisingly, it was possible to incorporate them into the labor force only through extensive pressure and official recruitment (JPRS, 1969), including finally a virtually gratis child-care program operation throughout the island (Leiner, 1973; Garrity, 1971).<sup>1</sup>

In spite of widespread resistance, however, women's participation in the labor force has risen since the late 1950's (Mesa Lago, 1972: 41; Perera, 1962; Acevedo, 1961). The available data on the range of this participation can clarify the degree to which women are discriminated against in positions of authority and responsibility.

#### Sample and Method

The information used in this paper was collected from the six editions of the *Directory of Personalities of the Cuban Government, Official Organizations and Mass Organizations*. In these directories the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has compiled the names of all persons that appeared in the Cuban mass media occupying administrative bureaucratic offices in the Cuban government and official organizations.<sup>2</sup> These represent mainly high status positions due to a cultural tendency in the Cuban mass media to give preferential coverage to important appointive announcements.

Conceivably, the CIA may have purposefully distorted<sup>3</sup> the sexual make-up

<sup>1</sup>The program, however, perhaps as a result of the lack of an independent and critical women's organization, perpetuates the traditional division of labor between the sexes which have been in the past associated with male exploitative behavior. There are no male workers in the child centers (Leiner, 1973: 18-19; Garrity, 1971: 61). Thus, in this as well as in a number of other instances (Valdes Perez, 1964; Bohemia, 1964), sex-specific occupational practices continue in a setting considered by the Cubans as being the first step in the revolutionary education of the new generation (Rodriguez, 1966).

<sup>2</sup>I do not know the exact criteria used to include or exclude names from the six editions of the Directory. Mr. A.M. Thuermer, an official of the Central Intelligence Agency, informed me that the directories were compiled by an independent research organization which is now disbanded. According to Mr. Thuermer, "the goal of the independent research organization, however, was to compile a *comprehensive* administrative directory of the Cuban government and official organizations using available Cuban mass media. Every bureaucratic position mentioned in the Cuban media was considered for the directory and the position was included unless the information was not sufficient to warrant inclusion. Every effort was made to obtain additional information so that the position could be included in future editions of the directory," (Emphasis in the original, personal communication with Mr. Angus MacLean Thuermer, Assistant to the Director, Central Intelligence Agency, November 14, 1974). Clearly then, although plausible, the adequacy and representativeness of the information in these documents are not proven.

<sup>3</sup>For a discussion of the use of archival material see David C. Pritt, *Using Historical Sources in Anthropology and Sociology*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winton, Inc., 1972, especially Chapter 4.

of the subpopulation included in the directories so as to minimize the participation of women in the administration of the Cuban bureaucracies. However, the avowed intention of the Agency in publishing the directory was to provide background material on Cuban officials to various United States Government agencies. Thus, it is likely that the CIA would include all known Cuban officials, regardless of their sex, in order to provide accurate information to the intended government users of the directories. A more likely cause of the distortion is that the Cuban mass media which served as the sources for the names listed, following their ideological public relations (Fagen, 1972), may have overreported the appointments of women to administrative positions if compared to its coverage of males in similar posts.<sup>4</sup> Such a sampling error insures a greater reliability to any criticism of women's labor-force participation.

The same regulations were applied throughout the six editions of the directory so that they are comparable.<sup>5</sup> For each edition the total number of persons and the number of administrative positions in each bureaucracy occupied by both sexes were counted. The total sample consists of 25,704 persons, of whom 25,274 could be identified by their sex.<sup>6</sup> To calculate the relative importance of women's participation in each of the bureaucracies included in the directories, the percentage of positions that women occupied in them was calculated for every year for which data were available.

A standardization index was used to determine the relative female participation in each of the bureaucracies during specified years:

$$\left[ \frac{\sum W_i}{\sum W_y} \times \frac{\sum N_y}{\sum N_i} \right] \times 100$$

where

$\sum W_i$  = total number of women-occupied administrative offices in a given ministry.

$\sum W_y$  = total number of women-occupied administrative offices in a given year.

$\sum N_y$  = total number of sex-identifiable (both sexes) administrative offices in a given year.

$\sum N_i$  = total number of sex-identifiable (both sexes) administrative offices in a given ministry.

<sup>4</sup>As one support of this assumption Premier Fidel Castro announced recently (*Granma*, August 4, 1974, p. 4) the results of the elections to the popular assembly of the province of Matanzas (Mesa, 1974; Cooney, 1974b). Only five of the 151 persons elected were women. Prior to Castro's announcement, however, *Granma* (June 30, 1974, p. 4) had given extensive coverage to the candidacy of a young high school girl. The very fact that so very few women were elected, according to Castro's own estimates, as contrasted to the emphasis which *Granma* placed in covering the nomination of one female suggests that this type of distortion is a constant characteristic of mass media coverage in Cuba.

<sup>5</sup>Personal communication with Mr. Angus MacLean Thuermer, August 9, 1974.

<sup>6</sup>I could not identify the sex of persons who were mentioned by their last names only, or whose first names could not be clearly classified, or who were mentioned by nicknames with no clear sexual referent.

the index ranges from 0 to more than 100 for above-average female representation with 100 as the statistical norm.

To measure longitudinally the extent of women's segregation in the bureaucracies, a dispersion index proposed by Gibbs and Martin (1969: 312-315) and initially modified by Li (1971) was used. The index of female diffuseness varies between 0 and 1, in which 0 represents equal number of females in all the categories (bureaucracies) and 1 stands for the segregation of all the women in one category.

The construction of this index involves three steps. We first calculated unadjusted coefficients using the formula,

$$\frac{\left(\sum X^2\right) \div \left(\frac{\sum X}{\sum N}\right)^2}{\sum N}$$

where

$\sum X$ =the total number of women-occupied administrative offices in each ministry.

$\sum N$ =the total number of ministries and organizations for which comparable data are available in a given period.

The range of the unadjusted coefficients using this formula is 1 to N, whenever N is smaller than X. The coefficients, which stand to each other in the same proportion as the Ns on which they are based, were made comparable to each other.

The third stage in the index was to convert the adjusted coefficients to a scale of 0 to 1 so as to make them more easily comparable. We first subtracted 1 from the adjusted coefficients so as to create a common lower limit of zero. Then, the proportion which 1 is of the N-1 for which adjusted coefficients had been calculated was noted, and this constant was then multiplied by each of the adjusted coefficients so as to convert them to a zero to one scale. Due to the longitudinal constraints imposed by the calculation of this adjusted coefficient, the bureaucracies were divided into four groups, reflecting degrees of shared completeness of the data. Group A bureaucracies are those for which we have complete information for the 1968-1974 period, group B includes bureaucracies for which information was available for the 1969-1973 period, Group C includes those with information during the 1971-1974 period, and Group D bureaucracies could not be meaningfully grouped due to the poor longitudinal data available.

### **Findings and Discussion**

The increase in female participation in the national labor force during 1968-1974, although not known with any precision, is nevertheless large. Taking the pre-revolutionary 1956-1957 national survey estimates as the base, women's participation increased by roughly a third by 1969. The increase continued in 1970 and 1971, so that by 1972 close to a half million women were in the labor force (Randall, 1972: 80-91) and since that date the government's sharpened demand

TABLE 1\* THE CUBAN LABOR FORCE BY SEX, SPECIFIED DATES

	1943 <sup>a</sup>	1953 <sup>a</sup>	1956-1957 <sup>b</sup>	1969 <sup>c</sup>	1970 <sup>c</sup>	1971 <sup>c</sup>
Male	1,363,841 (89.7%)	1,706,477 (82.9%)	1,890,000 (85.7%)	1,460,673 (77.1%)	1,573,603 (76.2%)	1,604,259 (77.1%)
Female	157,010 (10.3%)	353,182 (17.1%)	314,000 (14.3%)	434,671 (22.9%)	490,360 (23.8%)	475,341 (22.9%)
Total	1,520,851 (100%)	2,059,659 (100%)	2,204,000 (100%)	1,895,344 (100%)	2,063,963 (100%)	2,079,600 (100%)

SOURCES : <sup>a</sup>Carmelo Mesa-Lago, *The Labor Force, Employment, Unemployment and Underemployment in Cuba : 1899-1970*, pp. 16, 22; <sup>b</sup>Cuban Economic Research Project, *A Study in Cuba*, p. 431, Table 293; <sup>c</sup>Junta Central de Planificación, *Boletín Estadístico 1971*, Cuba, Dirección General de Estadística, pp. 48-49.

\*The figures in this table are not strictly comparable for they were estimated by different methods: (A) National Census 1943, 1953; (B) National Survey 1956-1957; (C) Population Estimates 1969-1971. Thus, for instance, the apparent drop in female participation during 1953-1957 is probably a methodological artifact; for a number of reasons the latter figure is probably more accurate.

The quality of the population estimates made in Cuba after 1959 is not known, although they are probably the best available (Nelson, 1970: 398-399). The total labor force estimates for 1969-1971 include only persons working in the public civil sector, which causes the drop in the total labor force figures after 1957. According to Carmelo Mesa-Lago (personal communication with the author, January 15, 1975; see also his *The Labor Force Employment, Unemployment and Underemployment in Cuba: 1899-1970*, Beverly Hills: Sage Professional Paper, 1972), owners of farms and their employees, persons in the armed forces and internal security forces, and self-employed workers, were excluded from the total labor force of these years (1969-1971). Since women probably do not work in any appreciable numbers in these categories, the available official estimates of female participation in the labor force may exaggerate their real participation.

that women work has probably had some success. At the administrative levels of the Cuban bureaucracies, however, the participation of women, as reflected by the mass-media coverage has remained quite stable during 1968-1974, fluctuating around 9 percent.

TABLE 2 PARTICIPATION IN THE CUBAN BUREAUCRACY : BY SEX AND SPECIFIED YEARS

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1973	1974
Male	2897	3812	3940	4445	5564	2239
Female	290(9.1%)	379(9%)	387(8.9%)	467(9.5%)	641(10%)	213(8.7%)
Subtotal	3187	4191	4327	4912	6205	2452
Unidentifiable Names	59(1.8%)	82(1.9%)	97(2.2%)	105(2.1%)	45(0.7%)	42(1.7%)
Total	3246	4273	4424	5017	6250	2494

The expansion of female participation in the labor force has not been associated with a proportionate increase in female employment at administrative and decision-making levels of the bureaucracies. Indeed, Randall (1972: 80-81) estimates that in 1972, 29 percent of all employed women worked in production, 38 percent in service occupations, 8.5 percent in administrative positions, 21 percent in technical occupations, and only 3.5 percent in leadership positions. Castro (Oui, 1975) puts the participation of women in the leadership of the Cuban Communist Party at 5 percent, while Boyd (1974: 991) mentions that although half Cuba's medical doctors are female, administrators in almost all cases are male.

Contrary to the stylized heroic image of a new Cuban woman breaking with traditions and engaging in large numbers in all types of work, Cuban women in administrative and leadership positions are found most often in traditional female lines of work, although even in many of these they are under-represented.

TABLE 3 PERCENTAGE OF SEX-OCCUPIED BUREAUCRATIC OFFICES : BY BUREAUCRACY AND SPECIFIED YEARS

	1968-1974	1968	1969	1970	1971	1973	1974
<b>Group A</b>							
<b>Communist Party of Cuba</b>							
Index*	59.1	61.5	59.7	50.1	67.9	57.1	67.2
Percentage Women		3.8	3.6	3.0	4.6	4.2	3.5
Subtotal**		728	501	498	548	632	677
<b>Presidency of the Republic</b>							
Index	258.5	328.3	365.0	365.3	326.5	188.7	148.2
Percentage Women		20.5	22.0	22.0	22.0	14.1	7.8
Subtotal		39	41	41	41	85	64
<b>Ministry of Revolutionary Armed Force</b>							
Index	22.4	0	54.2	44.2	8.4	7.4	18.0
Percentage Women		0	3.3	2.7	0.6	0.6	.09
Subtotal		95	184	188	176	181	211
<b>Ministry of Interior (Minit)</b>							
Index	26.6	103.7	31.9	29.4	7.8	11.6	22.8
Percentage Women		6.5	2.0	1.8	0.5	0.9	1.2
Subtotal		108	158	171	194	232	255

(Contd.)

\*The standardization index figures in this table do not include the number of persons listed as working in the Cuban Federation of Women (FMC). This was done so as to eliminate the downward distortion which otherwise it would have occasioned in the index. There were no men listed as working in the Federation (FMC). The total number of women listed in it for each of the six years studied was 76, 154, 171, 182, 173 and 83. They accounted, respectively, for 26, 35, 38, 34, 25 and 37 percents of the total number of women annually listed in the directories. In overall terms, 2637 women were listed in the directories, of which 839 or 31.8 percent were listed in the Federation (FMC).

\*\*The figures appearing under this rubric represent names which were identified by their sex (see footnote 6).

Table 3 (Contd.)

	1968-1974	1968	1969	1970	1971	1973	1974
<b>National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA)</b>							
Index	46.7	31.4	57.6	57.1	47.2	40.2	33.9
Percentage Women		2.0	3.5	3.4	3.2	3.0	1.8
Subtotal		153	231	233	252	299	56
<b>Ministry of Public Health (MINISAP)</b>							
Index	93.6	100.0	115.5	92.4	102.6	66.3	130.8
Percentage Women		7.9	7.0	5.6	6.9	5.0	6.9
Subtotal		144	187	216	232	282	29
<b>Civil Aeronautics Institute (IAC)</b>							
Index	91.6	157.4	138.5	134.2	0	0	146.0
Percentage Women		9.8	8.0	8.0	0	0	7.7
Subtotal		61	60	62	47	44	13
<b>Ministry of Construction (MINCONS)</b>							
Index	63.4	54.9	59.2	70.5	212.5	58.9	62.6
Percentage Women		3.4	3.6	4.2	14.3	4.4	3.4
Subtotal		204	281	283	21	272	61
<b>Ministry of Education (MINED)</b>							
Index	269.6	336.5	309.4	303.7	221.7	253.0	184.2
Percentage Women		21.0	18.6	17.5	15.0	18.9	10.7
Subtotal		214	387	400	557	444	103
<b>National Commission of the Cuban Academy of Sciences (ACC)</b>							
Index	32.8	24.2	20.8	41.0	17.3	53.4	0
Percentage Women		1.5	1.2	2.5	1.2	4.0	0
Subtotal		66	80	81	86	100	11
<b>Book Institute (I.L.)</b>							
Index	114.0	0	0	0	185.9	162.0	0
Percentage Women		0	0	0	12.5	12.1	0
Subtotal		6	11	14	24	33	7
<b>Cuban Institute of the Motion Picture Arts and Industry (ICAIC)</b>							
Index	82.1	47.0	121.6	121.8	103.7	31.1	0
Percentage Women		2.9	7.3	7.3	7.0	2.3	0
Subtotal		34	41	41	43	43	5
<b>Cuban Broadcasting Institute (ICR)</b>							
Index	90.0	84.2	118.8	110.9	76.2	81.8	0
Percentage Women		5.3	7.1	6.7	5.1	6.1	0
Subtotal		19	28	30	39	49	7
<b>Central Planning Board (JUCEPLAN)</b>							
Index	95.5	80.0	69.3	66.5	90.1	130.4	100.0
Percentage Women		5.0	4.2	4.0	6.0	9.7	5.3
Subtotal		20	24	25	33	41	19

(Contd.)



Table 3 (Contd.)

	1968-1974	1968	1969	1970	1971	1973	1974
<b>Ministry of Labor (MINTRAB)</b>							
Index	226.5	114.3	262.5	277.4	253.6	201.8	0
Percentage Women		7.1	15.8	16.7	17.0	15.1	0
Subtotal		28	57	60	88	106	16
<b>Ministry of Foreign Trade (MINCEX)</b>							
Index	62.5	22.8	45.6	44.3	91.3	93.8	0
Percentage Women		1.4	2.7	2.7	6.1	7.0	0
Subtotal		70	73	75	114	114	49
<b>Ministry of Justice (MINJUS)</b>							
Index	98.9	81.4	105.2	64.8	117.0	120.3	0
Percentage Women		5.0	6.3	3.9	7.9	9.0	0
Subtotal		59	79	77	89	100	18
<b>National Fishing Institute (INP)</b>							
Index	60.3	25.4	79.1	79.2	67.0	49.9	0
Percentage Women		1.6	4.8	4.8	4.5	3.7	0
Subtotal		63	105	105	111	134	20
<b>Ministry of Foreign Relations (MINREX)</b>							
Index	202.1	194.4	242.1	215.2	192.4	195.2	204.6
Percentage Women		12.2	14.6	13.0	13.0	14.6	10.8
Subtotal		107	103	116	116	137	102
<b>Cuban Institute of Friendship with Peoples (ICAP)</b>							
Index	276.2	170.7	232.8	242.4	269.5	313.7	474.4
Percentage Women		10.7	14.0	14.6	18.0	23.4	25.0
Subtotal		75	100	103	138	179	32
<b>Ministry of Basic Industry (MINBAS)</b>							
Index	45.3	94.1	50.9	64.0	41.3	20.5	0
Percentage Women		5.9	3.1	3.8	2.8	1.5	0
Subtotal		51	98	104	108	130	21
<b>Ministry of Mines and Metallurgy (MMM)</b>							
Index	45.3	0	34.0	67.9	26.1	60.8	0
Percentage Women		0	2.5	4.0	1.8	4.5	0
Subtotal		13	40	49	57	66	14
<b>National Coordination of Local Administration</b>							
Index	36.3	50.0	31.3	30.2	21.5	33.4	210.9
Percentage Women		3.1	2.0	1.8	1.4	2.5	11.1
Subtotal		32	53	55	69	80	9
<b>Union of Young Communists (UMC)</b>							
Index	108.2	171.1	112.2	99.7	99.7	78.9	123.4
Percentage Women		10.7	6.7	6.0	6.7	5.9	6.5
Subtotal		318	326	334	358	542	123

(Contd.)

Table 3 (Contd.)

	1968-1974	1968	1969	1970	1971	1973	1974
<b>Federation of Cuban Women (FMC)</b>							
Index							
Percentage Women		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Subtotal		76	154	171	182	173	83
<b>Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR)</b>							
Index	103.3	231.9	128.9	119.7	89.2	69.3	90.4
Percentage Women		14.5	7.8	7.2	6.0	5.2	4.8
Subtotal		69	129	139	150	270	126
<b>Confederation of Cuban Workers (CTC)</b>							
Index	73.4	61.6	57.5	81.5	87.8	56.0	144.9
Percentage Women		3.8	3.5	4.9	5.9	4.2	7.6
Subtotal		156	289	286	305	454	131
<b>Ministry of the Sugar Industry (MINAZ)</b>							
Index	64.3	47.8	103.9	96.7	101.4	12.0	0
Percentage Women		3.0	6.2	5.8	6.8	0.9	0
Subtotal		67	80	86	88	111	25
<b>Ministry of Domestic Trade (MINCIN)</b>							
Index	52.1	78.0	51.7	54.6	20.9	63.6	111.6
Percentage Women		4.9	3.1	3.3	1.4	4.7	5.9
Subtotal		41	289	61	71	84	17
<b>Ministry of Food Industry (MINAL)</b>							
Index	54.0	0	56.4	56.4	72.0	58.7	0
Percentage Women		0	3.4	3.4	4.8	4.4	0
Subtotal		28	59	59	62	91	16
<b>Ministry of Light Industry (MINIL)</b>							
Index	64.2	57.2	0	0	29.1	121.6	223.2
Percentage Women		3.6	0	0	2.0	9.0	11.8
Subtotal		28	45	47	51	77	17
<b>National Institute of the Tourist Industry (INIT)</b>							
Index	7.6	0	0	0	0	0	146.0
Percentage Women		0	0	0	0	0	7.7
Subtotal		30	37	40	39	44	13
<b>Ministry of Communications (MINCOM)</b>							
Index	69.3	71.7	83.1	81.8	91.8	41.3	0
Percentage Women		4.4	5.0	4.9	6.2	3.0	0
Subtotal		45	60	61	81	97	13
<b>Ministry of Transportation (MITRANS)</b>							
Index	33.3	62.4	29.4	29.2	35.0	25.9	0
Percentage Women		3.9	2.0	1.8	2.4	1.9	0
Subtotal		77	113	114	85	103	18

(Contd.)

Table 3 (Contd.)

	1968-1974	1968	1969	1970	1971	1973	1974
<b>National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP)</b>							
Index	34.7	15.8	33.4	31.8	30.0	52.0	0
Percentage Women		1.0	2.0	1.9	2.0	3.9	0
Subtotal		101	149	157	149	180	0
<b>Union of Cuban Newspapermen (UPEC)</b>							
Index	340.7	160.0	461.0	293.7	343.3	297.1	517.6
Percentage Women		10.0	28.0	17.6	23.0	22.2	27.3
Subtotal		10	18	17	26	36	11
<b>Union of Cuban Writers and Artists (UNEAC)</b>							
Index	78.9	123.1	110.9	110.9	70.8	53.4	0
Percentage Women		7.7	6.7	6.7	4.5	4.0	0
Subtotal		13	15	15	22	25	9
<b>Group B</b>							
<b>Cuban Tobacco Enterprise (CUBATABACO)</b>							
Index		106.7	79.2	104.0	40.2	0	
Percentage Women		6.7	4.8	6.0	2.7	0	
Subtotal		15	21	32	37	44	
<b>National Forestry Institute (INDAF)</b>							
Index		0	72.3	66.5	139.4	81.8	
Percentage Women		0	4.3	4.0	9.4	6.1	
Subtotal		11	23	25	32	49	
<b>Cuban Chamber of Commerce</b>							
Index			138.5	138.6	0	222.8	
Percentage Women			8.3	8.3	0	16.7	
Subtotal			12	12	15	18	
<b>Center for Automotive Technical Services (CESETA)</b>							
Index			53.6	0	41.3	29.7	0
Percentage Women			3.2	0	2.8	2.2	0
Subtotal			31	24	36	45	7
<b>National Institute of Veterinary Medicine (INMV)</b>							
Index			83.1	75.6	43.8	34.2	271.1
Percentage Women			5.0	4.5	2.9	2.5	14.3
Subtotal			20	22	34	39	7
<b>Centennial Youth Column (CJC)</b>							
Index			48.9	53.7	114.4	133.7	
Percentage Women			3.0	3.0	7.7	10.0	
Subtotal			34	31	39	50	
<b>Group C</b>							
<b>National Bank of Cuba (BNC)</b>							
Index		0		55.5	41.3	68.6	0
Percentage Women		0		3.0	2.8	5.1	0
Subtotal		21		30	36	39	18

(Contd.)

Table 3 (contd.)

	1968-1974	1968	1969	1970	1971	1973	1974
<b>Ministry of Merchant Marine and Ports (MMM &amp; P)</b>							
Index					0	0	0
Percentage Women					0	0	0
Subtotal					50	77	17
<b>Cuban Petroleum Institute (ICP)</b>							
Index					87.5	116.2	0
Percentage Women					5.9	8.7	0
Subtotal					17	23	6
<b>Mid-Level Students Federation (FEEM)</b>							
Index					274.0	334.3	189.8
Percentage Women					18.4	25.0	10.0
Subtotal					38	60	10
<b>Union of Cuban Pioneers (UPC)</b>							
Index					343.3	262.6	669.8
Percentage Women					23.0	19.6	35.3
Subtotal					13	56	17
<b>Prensa Latina News Agency (PL or PRELA)</b>							
Index					168.2	133.7	191.5
Percentage Women					11.3	10.0	10.1
Subtotal					115	150	218
<b>Group D***</b>							
Percentage Women		3.4	4.5	4.4	4.9	22.5	21.0
Subtotal		58	88	90	183	301	76
<b>TOTALS</b>							
Number of Women	1798	215	288	283	358	512	142
Subtotal of Occupied positions (both men and women)	27,807	3441	4789	4710	5326	6846	2695
Number of Occupied positions, by gender, including unidentifiables, and FMC							
Men	26,009	3226	4501	4427	4968	6334	2553
Women	2637	291(8.3)	442(8.9)	454(9.3)	540(9.8)	685(9.8)	225(8.1)
Subtotal	28,646	3517	4943	4881	5508	7019	2778
Unidentifiable	370	29	72	58	92	92	27
Total	29,016	3546	5015	4939	5600	7111	2805

\*\*\*The specific bureaucracies in this group are listed in Appendix A. They are not included in this table due to the incompleteness of the information found in them. Thus, no standardization index was computed for this group, nor are they analyzed in terms of the segregation patterns of women in them (see Table 4).

Females in administrative offices during 1968-1974 consistently comprised over 10 percent only in the following bureaucracies: Presidency of the Republic, Ministry of Education, Book Institute, Cuban Institute of Friendship with Peoples, Federation of Cuban Women, Union of Cuban Newspapermen, Mid-Level Student Federation, Unions of Cuban Pioneers, Prensa Latina News Agency, and (not shown in Table 3) the Children's Institute and the National Council of Culture. Moreover, their presence in the Presidency of the Republic declined during 1968-1974, from 20.5 percent to 7.8 percent.

Apart from the overall low representation of women compared to men most of these bureaucracies show high coefficients (>100) using the average female representation of the standardization index (Table 3). We need only to add the Ministry of Justice, Union of Young Communists, and the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution to complete the list of bureaucracies with average female representation in terms of the very low female presence predominating.

It is quite obvious from Table 3 that generally, women are most under-represented in sectors in which they have not traditionally worked, which tend to be those of greatest import and prestige. Thus, though they are well represented at this level in the Ministry of Education, they are almost totally absent from the National Commission of the Cuban Academy of Sciences. Nor are they equally represented as members of the Communist Party, or in the internal security and armed forces; or in the ministries of construction, planning, foreign trade, basic industries, mines and metallurgy, sugar, domestic trade, food, light industry, communication, transportation; or in the institutes of Agrarian Reform (INRA), Fishing, Forestry, Veterinary Medicine; or in the Confederation of Cuban workers, National Administration, National Association of Small Farmers, and in the National Bank of Cuba.

Indeed, this list suggests how enduring cultural practices (Cooney, 1975) affect women's achievement of high occupational status in a socialist administration.

Quite apart from the problem of their adequate representation in it, women's segregation in a bureaucratic structure is important, since it also reflects ingrained social attitudes and values. It is in this respect that the situation gives greatest basis for optimism.

TABLE 4 INDEX OF FEMALE DIFFUSENESS, BY YEAR AND GROUP OF BUREAUCRACIES

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1973	1974
Group A*	0.1016	0.1436	0.1641	0.1524	0.1124	0.2127
Without Cuban Federation of Women	0.0782	0.0699	0.0745	0.0777	0.0594	0.0825
Group B*	—	0.1774	0.1774	0.2291	0.2513	—
Group C*	—	—	—	0.2925	0.3799	0.5100

\*See Table 3 for the bureaucracies included in each of the three groups.

The relative importance of the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) in terms of the overall bureaucratic structure, as the focus of female concentration at this level of employment, has steadily increased during 1968-1974. However, once its influence is eliminated, it becomes quite clear that female employees are not segregated in any one sector of the labor force. While women continue to be under-represented in most of the bureaucracies, they nevertheless participate throughout the labor force; their problem is not total exclusion, but under-participation.

Premier Castro has recognized the cultural roots of women's low status (Granma, 1974). Yet his attempts to solve the problem by providing childcare centers and cafeterias (Jeness, 1970; Castro, 1969: 205; 1960) ignores the fact that the liberation of women depends not simply on the development of social capital, but also on changing the stereotypes about the appropriate behavior of the two sexes. If for instance, household tasks and occupations traditionally performed by women are to be shared by both sexes, the prerequisite is as much to re-educate males and females as to develop the necessary facilities so that women can work (Castro, 1966: 266-267). Significantly, elsewhere (Jeness, 1970: 8) Castro states that women's most important function is the procreation of new generations and they are not allowed to perform certain jobs which are seen as unsuited to their weaker nature. Moreover, perhaps in response to the ideological orthodoxy, it is only rarely in Cuba and then briefly, that an awareness is evinced of how cultural stereotypes of the relation between the sexes affect the life experience of Cuban women (Ramos, 1971: 72). In fact, it has been until recently, and most visibly during the II Congress of the Federation of Cuban Women, in the last week of November, 1974, that Fidel Castro, as well as other officials, have recognized the existence of discrimination and prejudice against women in the island. The Cuban premier, in his most important speech on the subject so far (Granma, December 8, 1974), lashed against the cultural roots of women's oppression and promised to the Congress to make its future resolution one of the most important goals of the revolutionary government. A new family code has been discussed at all levels of the government and mass organizations. It stipulates that housework is the joint responsibility of both married spouses. This laudable legislation is unenforceable in practice and could very well be substituted by a vigorous national affirmative action program.

The discussions in the Congress mark the first time that adequate emphasis is given to the cultural roots of women's oppression and may, indeed, be the turning point in revolutionary policies and programs (Chertov, 1970)<sup>7</sup>. But judging from past performances on past promises, the outlook for the future is uncertain. The lack of an independent and active women's movement and the consequent absence of autonomous women leaders, considerably lessens the

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<sup>7</sup>Since then, Vilma Espin's address to the participants to the Women's World Conference in Mexico (Espin, 1975), Raul Castro's speech on the occasion of the XV Anniversary of the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) (Castro, 1975), Fidel Castro's speech to the First Congress of the Cuban Communist Party (Castro, 1976), and the resolution adopted by the first congress (Granma, 1976), have strongly underscored the need to eliminate discrimination and prejudice against women and represent significant advances.

pressure on the Cuban male leadership to act decisively on the woman question and augurs un auspiciously for the progress of women in this area of employment.

APPENDIX A

The following bureaucracies constitute Group D (see Footnote\*\*\*, Table 3):

Children's Institute (I.I.); Foreign Organizations Section; National Commission on Economic, Scientific and Technical Collaboration (CNCECT); Consumer Goods and Domestic Trades Industries Sector; Institute of Domestic Needs (IDI); Transportation and Communications Sector; National Institute of Hydraulic Resources (INRH); Energy Research Institute; The Construction Sector; Council of the Soil, Fertilizer and Cattle Technological Education Plan; Directorate for the National Development of Agriculture and Cattle (DAP); Development of Social and Livestock Agricultural Construction (DESA); Ministry of Economy; Education, Culture and Science Sector; Basic Industries Sector; Cuban Institute for Normalization, Metrology, and Quality Control; National Institute of Sports, Physical Education and Recreation (INDER); Institute of Animal Science (ICA); Transportation Equipment Import Enterprise (TRANSPORT); Cuban Construction Machinery and Equipment Import Enterprise (CONSTRUIIMPORT); Cuban Red Cross; House of the Americas (CA); National Council of Culture (CNC).

Among these bureaucracies, only the Children's Institute and the National Council of Culture had sizable numbers of women, respectively, 54 and 18 women for the years 1973 and 1974. The author will, upon request, furnish information on this group of bureaucracies.

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