

THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION
IN THE LABOR FORCE IN MEXICO: A NEIGHBORHOOD
IN MONTERREY

by

MARÍA LUISA MARTÍNEZ SÁNCHEZ

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of
The University of Texas at Arlington in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT ARLINGTON

December 2007

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

*To be myself I have to be the others
To leave from myself and looking for myself inside the others
The others who are not if I do not exist
The others who give me whole existence.*

Octavio Paz, Mexican poet.

This dissertation is a product not just of my own work. I am not alone in life, and was not alone while doing this study. Other people have been with me, the majority of them new in my life along the path of these four years. However, the ties developed by sharing little triumphs, which become strong bonds—not because of time knowing each other, but because of the intense interchanges. I want to say thank you to all of you. Foremost, to Dr. Eduardo Lopez, my dissertation chair, for your caring and wise guidance in this Ph.D. program. I also wish to express my deep gratitude to my co-chair at UTA, Dr. Vijayan Pillai, for his confidence in me and for his clear direction in this work. Also, I recognize Dr. Hector Diaz for his sensitivity, his orientation and his particular humanity in how to treat Mexican students. I told you once, and I say again: you both were my blessing in that country. Dr. Mario Jurado, my sociologist colleague, I appreciate your incomparable solidarity and your disposition to look for solutions; Dr. Gustavo Alarcón for your resolute support. I appreciate also the unconditional support of Mtro. José Reséndiz, Director of Philosophy School at UANL.

I further wish to recognize my friend Edgar Martinez for being my expert advisor in English proficiency, you stayed with me from the beginning to the end. To Jo Ann Stevenson for her great disposition and particular skills in giving the correct form to my final work. I would also like to specifically mention Ana María Acosta, Sandra Mancinas and Fabiola Rentería, the sisters and the daughter I would like to have had, for their support in the field work. To Patty Silva my friend; to my classmates and friends at UANL and UTA: I suffered with you, I celebrated with you, I traveled with you, I danced with you, I learned with you. .my social capital.

Finally, I want to thank all my family for their support and encouragement during my personal challenges, particularly my mother—her strong spirit and life example are part of myself; to my brother and my sisters for the shared moments. And last but not least, to my sons Ricardo, Luis Enrique, Noel and Alejandro—light of my eyes—for their love, and to my five grandchildren, who will regain their grandmother tomorrow and forever.

November 21, 2007

ABSTRACT

THE EFFECT OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION
IN THE LABOR FORCE IN MEXICO: A NEIGHBORHOOD
IN MONTERREY

Publication No. _____

María Luisa Martínez Sánchez, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Arlington, 2007

Co-Supervising Professors: Vijayan K. Pillai and Raúl Eduardo López Estrada

The purpose of this dissertation study is to explore associations between women's participation in the labor force (WPLF), family organization (type of family, family size, domestic work and decision-making), personal attributes (years of schooling and labor experience), and social capital (an original approach of this study to understand WPLF). Social capital theoretical approach has been tested mainly in developed countries; in this study a qualitative component to explore cultural factors has been added.

In the quantitative component, the study is a cross-sectional, with survey of 190 women (103 working woman, 87 non-working women) between the ages of 18 and 64 years) in the community Lomas de Anáhuac, located in Monterrey, México. To address the hypotheses, factor analysis, bivariate analysis and binary logistic regression analysis are performed with the data. In the multivariate model, four variables are significant predictors in

the likelihood of WLFP—domestic labor, decision-making, network size and network quality.

To identify cultural impression the qualitative component is exploratory with 20 interviews of women participating in the labor force. Findings show that culture factors are involved in women's ideas about WPLF (e.g., work significance, advantages and disadvantages of working outside the household, perceptions of both working and non-working women, and intergenerational changes).

The social capital approach defined here as potential social capital—social networks—and effective social capital—obtained benefits—is innovative. The findings related to potential social capital are a step ahead in social capital theoretical discussion, and could be the basis for more effective social policies encouraging women's participation in the labor force.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
LIST OF TABLES	viii
Chapter	
I. RESEARCH PROBLEM.....	1
II. THEORETICAL AND LITERATURE REVIEW	9
III. METHODOLOGY	39
IV. RESULTS	62
V. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS	134
Appendix	
A. SURVEYS IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH	146
B. GRAPHICS	165
REFERENCES	169
BIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT	180

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1 Theoretical model for women's participation in labor force	15
2 Mothers in work force and mothers not in work force	41
3. Control variables at time of interview	46

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Operational Definitions: Family Organization	42
2	Operational Definitions: Human Capital	43
3	Operational Definitions: Social Capital.....	44
4	Sample Size According to STATS ¹	49
5	Interviewer Codes and Meanings	61
6	Type of Work and Childcare	67
7	Factor Analysis Family Organization.....	68
8	Factor Analysis Effective Social Capital.....	69
9	Group Statistics: Social Capital	85
10	Regression Coefficients	88

CHAPTER I

RESEARCH PROBLEM

Every society is a collective construction with its own sustenance organization, that is, the division of labor in sustenance activities that make possible its survival and development (Frisbie & Poston, 1975). According to modernization theory, in most countries where capitalism is the productive system, industrialization has been the main motor of two displacement processes with changes in sustenance organization, in the last century (Bernstein, 1971; Sills, 1968; Steward, 1967). The first displacement process is the concentration of population in metropolitan centers, with displacement of people from the rural to the urban areas as a consequence. The second displacement process is the movement of people from one sustenance activity to another, from the primarily agricultural-economic sector to the second and tertiary sectors. Both processes have given rise to many social changes.

Modernization is the major constant in the present world and is “the process of social change in which development is the economic component” (Sills, 1968, p. 387). Modernization is also used to designate socio-cultural transformations that result from factors and processes that are distinctive of the contemporary industrial world (Steward, 1967). Later in the academic discussion, authors will make a differentiation between modernization (economic changes) and modernity (socio-cultural changes) associated with the economic modernization process (Arriagada, 2002). The development processes and social

transformations have produced both technological innovations that have changed the production sphere and transformations in sustenance organization that have reached the reproduction sphere in many countries. According to Higgott (1980):

[Modernization Theory originated] in the context of a post-World War II optimism [and] assumed that, by a process of guidance and diffusion, the conditions of advanced industrial Western Society could be established in the Third World. This assumption led to an essentially dichotomous approach to the study of political development, based on the work of nineteenth century evolutionary theorists, and the comparison of the ideal-typical variables, tradition and modernity. (p. 29)

Modernization Theory's initiator in the U.S. was Walt W. Rostow, President Kennedy's assessor in foreign policy in Latin America (Ish-Shalom, 2006). Some premises might seem similar to Marx's Theory of Capital, as some authors with isolated citations argue: "The country that is more developed industrially only shows to the less developed, the image of its own future" (Sills, 1968, p. 386; Marx, 1987, p. 6). This deterministic way of thinking of the future of society goes to a very different ending. In Marx there is an obligated transit for this capital phase to the future socialist society. That is not the case for Rostow's theory, where the means is the end (i.e., the transit is obligated to be the model to follow by helping developing countries to become as developed as the occidental society.

The Modernization process originates transformations inside each structure of a society. As Steward (1967) points out, "This cultural evolution implies structural modifications and transformations that result from internal processes, whether these processes are initiated by internal or external factors"(p. 20). Total population participating in the labor force in the world in 2003 was 2,878 million; more than 40% of them were women, (1,208 million) (Elder & Schmidt, 2004). Women's participation in the labor force (WPLF) is one of the phenomena associated with social change, according to the criteria of modernity

established by Rostow's Modernization theory. Such criteria of modernity are: (1) economic and (2) non economic. The first includes decisions on investment criteria and resource allocation; the second includes more diverse factors such as population growth, urbanization rates, socialization of youth, mass media, family structure and education. The two latter factors have been used as explanations for WPLF (Sills, 1968). This theory is used in this study only as a frame of reference, in a critical way, due to its incomplete approach to explain WPLF. Modernization theory doesn't include women's social capital as a factor that could enable their participation in the labor force, as this study proposes.

Social change, therefore, is a byproduct of Modernization and Modernity processes in Western society. As a result, the patriarchal system as a social structure has been modified, although family generally is perceived as an immutable institution (Arriagada, 2002). Arriagada makes a distinction between changes originated by modernization or by modernity. The first are associated with social and economic changes because of industrialization, while the second is referring to the normative and cultural dimensions like modification of roles and changes inside the family. This distinction, however, is only for analysis because both processes go together. The roles inside the family might also have changed, and the traditional confinement of women to domestic activities has been challenged with their higher participation in the labor force. At the same time, women's participation in the labor force (WPLF) might provoke changes in the patriarchal system, including household power asymmetries, in a transformational manner that has not been adequately studied in its complexity.

If Modernization theory explains WPLF in an incomplete way, if agents disappear given that structures are determinants, and if women are just pushed to the labor force

because of macro-structural factors, where then is women's agency? Do they only respond when they are more educated or when the size of their family is decreasing? Do they think as rational actors, in terms of cost-benefit and being able to do whatever they decide or want, independently of their external structures? What about the others—family, friends, neighborhoods—and the rest of society? What about their social ties, emanating from their social relationships? What about their social capital?

An alternative theory combining both structural and rational-actor is needed to answer these questions, and that would be the theory of structural constraints on individual choice, which is a combination of both structural and agency theories (Folbre, 1994). In this explanation, social capital as well as personal attributes (e.g., years of schooling and labor experience) might be considered as particular structures that could enable or, in their absence, constrain WPLF. A general premise is that individual behavior is not defined totally by the structures; there is always a space for individual action even in the most adverse situations (Garcia & Oliveira, 1994).

In this context of modernization in developing countries, poverty has been addressed as an important issue in the international organizations' agendas. The World Bank's strategies to reduce poverty have been known world-wide. One of the most discussed strategies in the last decade is precisely social capital. A lot of studies have supported the use of social ties as an additional resource to face poverty (Lockhart, 2005; CEPAL, 2003; Woolcock, 2001; Rankin, 2002). Also, a lot of studies have related social capital with employment (Livingston & Massey 2003; Solís et al., 2003). However, most of the studies in Mexico on women's employment tend to be descriptive and focalized on poverty, that is, the rest of women are excluded and the explanations to improve employment for all women are

reduced, even if women's vulnerability in the labor market is a general issue (Horbath, 2001).

Most of the studies of WPLF have been done in developed countries like the U.S. (Clayton, 1986; Johansen-Holt, 1993), and their descriptions probably do not reflect realities of developing countries. This is because a specific structure historically exists that is constructed by social groups in each country, and that is the culture. Mexico is one of the major developing countries where WPLF has had growth in the last decades. Its economic progress according to modernization theory is evident, but it is not the case in modernity factors in cultural, imperceptible changes. Mexico's idiosyncratic patriarchal structures could, however, be changed by its particular modernization process (García & Oliveira, 1994).

The primary concern in this study is WPLF. When women's lives make a dramatic change from the private to the public spheres, they might make a change in their domestic conditions, resulting in a higher level of decision-making. Indeed, because of modernity one of the changes is the promotion of social freedom and individualization process with more human rights, particularly for women and children. A critique of the patriarchal power inside families because of the development of individual empowerment is expected (Arriagada, 2002). The assumption is that they are agents who might change their own structures, in the sense of Folbre (1994). It is also important to be aware of some factors that could enable WPLF, those that modernization theory have recognized as traditional explanations to WPLF. These factors would include human capital and family organization, and the particular element proposed by this study—social capital.

Women whose disadvantaged and subordinated position in the labor market have been broadly studied (Parrada & Zenteno, 2000; Folbre, 1994; Johansen-Hold, 1993). Most of the WPLF studies have analyzed the economic cycles (Parrada & Zenteno, 2000; García & Oliveira, 1994), the labor markets (Maruani, 2002; O Martinez, 2000), or poverty (Mayer & Rankin, 2002). These are external structures of WPLF. This study adds to the research because it uses the social capital theory to test the internal resources in a developing country, particularly in Monterrey, the second largest industrial city in Mexico. These internal resources include family, friends and neighborhood, and adds their voices about cultural factors that are so important to WPLF. What are the structures that enable or constrain WPLF? Does social capital have an influence on WPLF? What are the effect in social capital between women who participate and women who do not participate in the labor force? Which of these two groups has higher decision-making power at home? What are women's ideas about WPLF? What are the cultural factors enabling or obstructing WPLF?

Other studies have stressed changes in women's attitudes toward WPLF (Caballero, 2001), or changes inside the families (García & Oliveira, 1994). It will be an interesting to discover if women who participate in the labor force have a higher level of decision-making than women who stay at home. Also, does decision-making have influence in WPLF? Even if the decision to participate in the labor force outside the household marks a crucial change in the production characteristics of the households, neither the supports used by women, nor the changes in the family household have been addressed together by researchers in a developing country, as this work proposes.

In sum, the objectives here explore associations between WPLF, family organization, personal attributes associated to human capital, and social capital in one neighborhood in

Monterrey. The first two elements, family organization and personal attributes associated to human capital, have already been well studied to explain WPLF, but the third one, social capital, is an unexplored approach. This work not only analyzes social capital and adds to the theoretical discussion, but in addition proposes a new way to observe and comprehend this theoretical construct.

This work also proposes that it is time for social work as a discipline to go beyond the practice of merely identifying social problems and selecting theories and available instruments to study the real world, and then profess they are valid. Those theories must be tested with critical eyes and challenges made of macro theories (e.g., Modernization) and individual theories (e.g., rational choice) in an effort to explain WPLF and other social problems. Social problems are neither black nor white, but highly complex phenomena where both structure and agency coexist in the daily lives of women. These women's attitudes toward any social problem are indicators of social representations in their particular culture.

Theory of structural constraints on individual choice, emanating from Giddens' structuration theory, is a better combined theory from which to comprehend social phenomena (Giddens, 1984; Folbre, 1994). Social capital may be seen as one of the structures, created by women themselves to enable them to participate in the labor force, where they are real agents with a higher opportunity to change old oppressive structures.

Social policies in Mexico are designed for men, as if women do not exist in the public sphere. Paradoxically, in the rural area they can be recognized in the public policy as agents, but only when they are land owners or heads of households (Martinez, 2004). This study, however, takes place in Monterrey, a well-industrialized city where nearly 35% of women participate in the labor force. These women have no specific program or government support

to ameliorate their struggles, only receiving minimal support from their partners while they themselves cover multiple roles as mothers-wives-workers. There are strong implications for social policy potentially stemming from this study because of the changes in the patriarchal structures inside the households and the need for resources for women to participate in the labor force. Becoming aware of the phenomena is the first step to creating specifically oriented social policies.

CHAPTER II

THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The emergence of women's increased worldwide participation in the labor force in recent history and their subsequent burgeoning financial support of the family have created research challenges for the social sciences. "Never before have so many women been economically active; the female labor force (the sum of unemployed plus employed women) was 1.2 billion women in 2003 up from 1 billion in 1993" (Elder & Schmidt, 2004, p. 3). Since women have become study subjects, the framework of the feminist theory has shown it can be a useful tool in comprehending women's dual situation—in the labor market as well as in the family sphere.

Two main theoretical gender perspectives have dominated the explanation of women's participation in the labor force: (1) the macro-structural theory and (2) the rational-choice theory (Folbre, 2004). The macro-structural theory, which addresses the nation as a whole and describes variations in gender equality among the different countries, is based on the assumption that women do have certain advantages when they become more involved in non-domestic production (Johansen-Holt, 1993). Rational-choice theory is based on the rational actions of purposive agents, and the assumption is that women decide to participate in the labor force depending on the opportunity cost-benefit to leave their homes.

Both theoretical perspectives use gender inequality as a starting point, and the existence of a patriarchal system based on hierarchical institutions such as the traditional

family, where the male head of household generally exercises great authority over his subordinated wife and children (Folbre, 1996). In a peculiar perspective, Folbre (1994) proposed a theory of structural constraints on individual choice. This theory recognizes that the process of economic development has led women to paid employment as a result of individual choices in constraint structures. As part of chosen or given groups, women's choices are limited by structural factors that involve assets, rules, norms and preferences (i.e., economical and cultural factors operate in the market, as well as in the family, enabling or constraining women's participation in the labor force [WPLF]) (Folbre, 1994).

In the economic arena, even if “the market economy has expanded, to a large extent, at the expense of the family economy” (Folbre, 1994, p. 1), the social division between the valued-production and the undervalued-reproduction of society and the confinement of women to the reproduction sphere have situated them in a disadvantage position. In the cultural and political spheres women are in the middle of two contradictory processes, the expansion of democratic rights and the constraints of their traditional roles in social reproduction.

Economic development, with processes such as industrialization and urbanization, transcend the productive sphere to reach the family sphere, and there is an interaction between productive and reproductive systems, particularly with WPLF. When women participate in the labor force they are *agents* who are acting in a time-space different from their traditional role centered in the reproduction sphere; they have more opportunities to transform *structures*, and, at the same time they are influenced by the same changes they originate (Giddens, 1984; Folbre, 1994). Therefore, out of their personal and particular motives to be in the labor force, there is an opportunity for women to change old structures

and recompose the division of power inside the household when they are in the labor force (Garcia & Oliveira, 1994; Folbre, 1997). Pillai (1999) states, “Women’s labor force participation increases their economic independence and challenges the traditional image of women as merely child bearers and child-rearers” (p. 54). According to Elder and Schmidt (2004), “The ability to take decisions—on marriage, on childbearing and on contraception, among others—requires a sense of personal autonomy. . . . This sense of personhood fundamentally depends on having their own decent income” (p. 15). But what are the structures that enable or constrain WPLF?

The primary focus of this study is WPLF in Monterrey, Mexico, a well-industrialized city situated very close to the United States’ southern border. Women are considered to participate in the labor force when they have paid-jobs; it doesn’t matter if they are in the formal or the informal sector. Informal employment has become parallel to the formal one, thanks to the inefficiency of the Mexican economy to create formal jobs (Baruch, 2003). The key questions are: What kind of resources do women use in order to participate in the labor force? How do differences in family organization within the household influence or not influence the participation in the labor force? What is the influence of women’s education on their participation in the labor force? Do women use their social network benefits (*social capital*) in order to participate in the labor force? How much social capital do women have? What kind of social capital influence WPLF? What happens when women do not participate in the labor force? These questions are the guides for this study.

Women's Participation in the Labor Force
in Monterrey, Mexico

The right to employment is defined in the Declaration of Universal Human Rights; it is a right for every human being, without conditions of gender or social class. Women's increased participation in the labor force (WPLF) has been attributed to an increment in industrialization, greater opportunities in education, and a decrease in the fertility rate (Johansen-Holt, 1993). Researchers have found a negative association between fertility rates and WPLF rates. (Becker et al., 1990). In Latin America and the Caribbean, for example, there was an increment of WPLF from 46.5% to 49% and a decrement in fertility rates (births per woman), from 2.9% to 2.7% in 1995 and 2000, respectively (Elder & Schmidt, 2004). However, each country has its particular development process according to its own history. In the case of Mexico, it has had its own socio economical history, and the internal factors involved in its sustenance organization might have its own profile.

WPLF in Mexico has grown in the last decades. The economic participation female rate rose from 31.5% in 1991 to 37.5% in 2004 (INEGI, 2005). From an economic point of view, there were two major changes that facilitated the inclusion of women in the labor market. First, the export-oriented model in the country since the 1980s promoted the establishment of international industries called *maquiladoras*, with available positions for women. Second, the informal sector—that sector in which women participated as a means of family survival during economic crisis—rose (De Oliveira, 1997). As a result, female participation has constantly moved up, and married women with children have had the highest increment in participation between 1993 and 2000 (Pedrero, 2003).

Married women's entry into the labor market is also associated with economic crisis (Parrada & Zenteno, 2000; García & Oliveira, 1994). In situations calling for household survival, women tend to maintain household income in the face of economic recession and the consequential decline of male earnings (Ward, 1997; Salas, 2002; Pedrero, 2003). However, this need for participation may apply more to women in poverty.

In the socio-demographic dimension, a decrease in fertility rate and an increase in education have produced a favorable movement of women toward the labor market. From 1970 to 2000 there was a reduction from 6.8% to 2.4% births per woman in Mexico (INEGI, 2003), and since 1991 to date, Mexican women have reached higher levels of education than men. In 2004 females had an average of 8.4 years of schooling while men had 8.1 years of schooling (INEGI, 2004).

Mexico is a very complex mosaic of economic regions and social groups, with high concentrations of population in three urban-metropolitan areas, some of which reflect a disproportionate concentration of wealth in a few people. Nuevo Leon's geographic position at the north is one of the states where the *maquiladoras* were established, with their available positions for women, particularly in the electronic industries; WPLF in 2004 was 34.4%, which was less than the national mean of 35.3% (INEGI, 2005). Some American authors affirm that normative proscriptions against maternal employment have virtually disappeared (Clayton, 1986). In Mexico the traditional pattern of interruption of employment for childbearing and childrearing is supported by conservative values. Ribeiro (2000) states that "even though in Mexico female labor is becoming more 'normal,' male opposition still remains one of its most significant obstacles." In a study in Monterrey, the second industrial city in Mexico, and object of our study, 35.3% of the men interviewed said that they would

never accept their wives working outside the house (Ribeiro, 2000). He also found that there is opposition from women also because 64% of the interviewed considered that a woman who does not have an economic need should not work outside the home. Those findings sustain Ribeiro's assertion that there is hostility on both sides toward women's employment. At the same time, changes in participation patterns were observed by Pedrero (2003): "Young women entering the labor market do not drop out after marriage or even the first born, like they did before" (p. 738).

In most cases, modernization impacts the capitalist socio economic system of production due to changes in family values. Reflecting these changes are modification of the distribution of family types, decline in family size, and transformation of the power structure within the family. In addition to the changes in family organization, modernization contributes to higher educational levels, owing to the fundamental changes in organization of production and consumption. This brings about an increase in demand for new skills and technologies. Thus, as education is an immediate outcome of modernization changes, it is also an important determinant of labor force participation.

Modernization theory provides two general explanations for women's labor force participation: (1) *education* and (2) *family organization* (Sills, 1968). One of the premises of the modernization processes is that, particularly in the economic aspect, women are forced to look for and ultimately attain higher educational degrees, and at the same time have more experience at work. These personal attributes are part of the human capital explanation. The family organization explanation considers that WPLF is due to a decrease in fertility rates, and consequently to smaller families; this decrease in women's domestic work gives them more available time to participate in the labor force. An element, however, is missing in the

explanations of Modernization theory, and that is the absence of a social group that depends on its history and its culture, and that is social capital (see figure 1). This explanation is the particular contribution of this study to the comprehension of women's participation in the labor force.

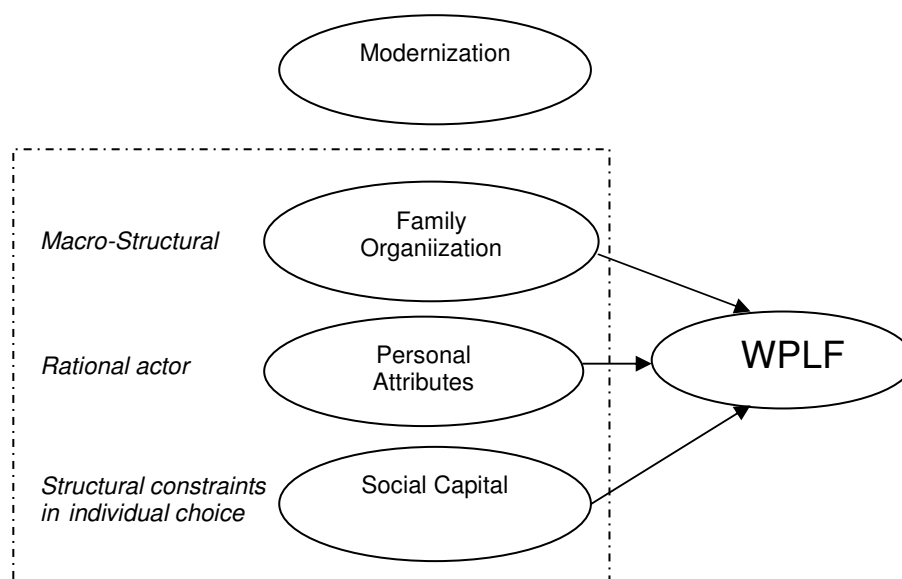


Figure 1. Theoretical model for women's participation in labor force.

Personal Attributes Explanation

Education and labor experience are the characteristics of an individual that make him or her financially productive. It is that education plus those skills and experience that a person brings to the labor market that gives them value (Becker, 1964). Although Becker's primary theory included investments in human capital in many forms (e.g., schooling, on-the-job-training, medical care, migration, searching information about prices and incomes), his own studies reduced the concept to educational issues, and that is the sense in which it is used later by researchers. Thus, personal attributes are related to human capital, which is a

linear explanation that refers to the individual; it is related to the education and skills that a person has. Becker's assumption is that "more highly educated and skilled persons almost always tend to earn more than others" (Becker, 1964, p. 2).

Becker's (1964) explanation is useful when it is a general study or, as it is in this case, when it is about women, without including men. That is because Becker's theory does not consider the gender gap. In a global report of the International Labor Organization Elder and Schmidt (2004) conclude, "Women everywhere typically receive less pay than men" (p. 12).

Becker et al. (1990) also applied human capital theory at the national level. They studied the relationship among human capital and fertility to understand the differences of economic growth among nations. They found that investments in human capital, choices over family size and birth rates, interactions between human capital and physical capital, the existence of stable states, and the crucial role of luck in the past explained the differences between developed and developing countries.

At the individual level, according to Coleman (1994), people who invest the time and resources in building up this kind of capital will have benefits in the form of higher-paying jobs, more satisfying or higher status work, or even the pleasure of greater understanding of the surrounding world. Human capital will return over the investment, ensuring the best positions with higher incomes (Norwood, 2001; Aguilera, 1999). This assumption reinforces that those with higher education, either men or women, will obtain better jobs. On the other hand, since 1991 to the present, Mexican women have reached higher levels of education than men, but most women are still concentrated in the lower wages. In 2004 Mexican women had an average of 8.4 years of schooling while men had 8.1 years of schooling in the

same year (INEGI, 2004). In 2004, 47.6% female workers received fewer than two minimum salaries, (\$7.50 per day), while 35.8% male workers received the same salaries. Men were concentrated in higher salaries.

Research results also have demonstrated that a personal attribute such as education is a predictor in getting and maintaining a job (Preston, 2003; Bynner, 2001; Becker, 1990), and in having higher incomes (Parrado & Zenteno, 2003; Norwood, 2001; Aguilera, 1999; Clayton, 1986; Becker, 1964). Educational perspective has been corroborated in Mexico by Parrado and Zenteno (2000) and García and Oliveira (1994). They measured personal attributes as years of schooling and experience and found that women with higher levels of completed education are significantly more likely to work than less educated women.

Social policies in Mexico have stressed the importance of education as a way to improve the wellbeing opportunities for everyone. As a result, the country's mean level of education rose from 6.6 years in 1991 to 8.2 years in 2004 (INEGI, 2005). Nuevo Leon is the second state in education average with 9.5 years of school. In Nuevo Leon there are several well-recognized institutions of superior education. Two of the foremost are the Universidad de Nuevo Leon, the second university in the country with more than a hundred thousand students, and the other is the Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey. In Mexico's main city, Monterrey, 39.08% of the population of 12 years and above have between medium and superior education level. At the national level 28.41% are women in the same level of education (INEGI, 2006). Therefore, Monterrey is a good case to test education explanation in Mexico. In this study the focus to test women's personal attributes—years of schooling and experience at work—is to identify how the probability of

higher levels of education and labor experience might be influencing women's labor force participation.

Family Organization Explanation

According to the discipline of economics, there is a division in the sustenance activities of any society. For one side there is the productive system where goods and services are produced for selling in the market; any activity in this sphere is valued in terms of cost and price. But there is another side where the reproduction of the system is taking part, that is, in the family. Here, women are traditionally in charge of unpaid activities of care, nurturance, and domestic labor. It is the family that provides future workers for the production system. Without these activities, no social group could survive.

“In the patriarchal family of the 20th century a very clear differentiation was established between public and private spheres, with a work division by gender” (Arriagada, 2002, p. 146). Men with authority, in charge of the public sphere, would provide, protect and guide the family. Women were only a complement to men, collaborators in the private sphere. Up to now, this has been the traditional and prevalent model in most Latin American countries.

Even if family is a very strong institution, it is not an immutable social structure, and, according to Arriagada (2002), “Family is very permeable to the external intervention” (p. 146). Therefore, changes in family organization are expected when women participate in the labor force. Five main variables are used to understand family organization's changes: (1) family type, (2) family size, (3) domestic work, (4) family life-cycle, and (5) decision-making. The type of family (i.e., nuclear or extended, number of children, distribution of domestic work, and decision making) is a product of the modernization process and of the

collective action, and the interchange of the two spheres of production and reproduction. (Folbre, 1994).

Family Dimensions

Presently nuclear families keep their predominance in Latin America in rural and urban areas in spite of the demographic changes and the emergence of new kinds of families such as couples without children, households without nucleus, or female-headed households (Arriagada, 2002). The nuclear family is formed by a couple and their children. Non-nuclear families consist of extended families that include more than one generation or more relatives and possess different familial dynamics and domestic labor distribution.

In Mexico 3 of each 4 families are nuclear, therefore 1 of each 4 families is extended or non-nuclear. In Nuevo León 71% of families are nuclear (INEGI, 2000). However, in this state, in the 10 years between 1990 and 2000, extended families grew more than twice that of nuclear families. This could reflect the effect of the critical economic downturn during this decade, but could also have been influenced by WPLF.

Another important demographic change in Latin America in the last two decades is the family size. Families have become smaller because of the decrease in childbirths and a higher space of time between them (Arriagada, 2002). In Mexico during the past three decades, there has been a successful policy oriented to birth control and to convincing people of the advantages of smaller families. García and Oliveira (1994) posit that it is fertility that influences WPLF, particularly when there is a significant reduction in the number of children, there is an increase in women's free time. Therefore, the reduction in fertility rates becomes an important factor for women to participate in the labor force, given that the childbearing period depends on the number of children and the time-space between them

(Young, 1978). The size of the family or the number of residents at home has been studied in México as a possible facilitator or obstacle for WPLF (García & Oliveira, 1994). In a national research, they found that there is a negative association between the number of children and WPLF.

Family Changes: Domestic Work, Women Decisions and Family Life Cycle

Changes in women's attitudes toward the household organization are expected in women who have paid jobs, because they combine the public and private arenas, and they take part in the production and reproduction spheres. Women's autonomy has a double sense—economic and personal (Valle, 2003). According to Folbre (2000), as women gain economic and political autonomy, their collective struggles for individual rights emphasize sexual liberation. The assumption is that women increase their independence when they participate in the labor force, and that kind of autonomy changes the distribution of power inside the family. García and Oliveira (1994) state that paid employment helps women become conscious of their subordination and encourages them to look for their own space.

Research has shown that women prefer outside employment to having a large number of children, that is, if, among other conditions, “women's employment is ‘empowering’ or ‘status enhancing’, so that women have control over income and resources, and a greater say in family decision-making, including fertility decisions” (Elder & Schmidt, 2005, p. 5). One indication of gender equality or gender empowerment derived from WPLF is the emergence of increased decision-making by women. According to Pillai (1999), “Egalitarian relationships enable women to make independent decisions with regard to starting, spacing

and stopping family formation” (p. 54). International research by Pillai confirmed that gender equality has a strong and positive effect on women’s reproductive rights.

There could be a new form of living in society for women who participate in the labor force. Valle (2003) points out that women’s autonomy has double value—economic as well as personal. The economic autonomy is expected as a result of women’s participation in the labor force, but personal autonomy is a complex construct related to an individualization process whose manifestation is in decision-making. This incipient individualization process in Latin America emphasizes the selection of individual rights, and women are beginning to incorporate this as part of cultural changes in the modernization process (Arriagada, 2002).

Decision-making is a psychological process that reflects the autonomy and individuation of a person. The outcome of that process is the selection of a choice that will guide the actions of an individual. The assumption is that social agents are individuals with personal strategies and objectives, and they are capable of some autonomy independent of structural constraints. Therefore, they have the opportunity to change not only their personal situation but also their social practice (Valle, 2002). Hence, women who participate in the labor force could be more than contributors to the household wellbeing in the economic sense. It is possible that they are altering the power structure within the family, particularly by their decision-making

Traditional theories conceive decision-making as a primary function of males because they are supposed to be the head of the family, the providers, and the rational thinkers. From this perspective, females are more dependent, subjective, and guided by feelings and heart than men are. However, feminist theories point of start is that there is a gender inequality in

the power structure and this traditional division between men's and women's roles with their expected behaviors are only the expressions of the reproduction of that power structure.

Life-course framework, a feminist approach, assumes that women make decisions in their lives according to their expected social roles, their particular desires, motives, expectations and situations. Women's decision-making is influenced by their particular family situation and their age. For example, in an exploratory study of women's decision-making, Veeder (1992) included 100 women from three age cohorts within the same family. Veeder analyzed the changes in conceptions about family, education, marriage and work, but she particularly observed, from one generation to another, the women's incremental feelings of power. She concluded that "women possess considerable actual power, particularly in their domain over life itself, its development and the maximization of its potential" (Veeder, 1992, p. 128).

On the other side, results in a qualitative study in Mexico across three generations of women demonstrated that in the second generation, women could decide how many children they would have (Caballero, 2001). Therefore, decision-making is a personal process in a particular social and cultural context, and women's decision-making is associated with a more egalitarian relationship. Women's empowerment, in this case, derived from their participation in the labor force. For example, as a result of a case study in Mexico and Monterrey in particular, women have a bigger decision power in reproductive issues than in any other dimension in life family. However, there is a tendency for men to constrain women's freedom because "a lot of woman have to ask for permission to work, to belong to associations or to visit some friends or relatives, and there are some exclusive man-decisions

like buying goods and the choice of the place to live” (Garcia & Oliveira, 2001 cited by Arriagada, 2002, p. 159).

With participation in the labor force, there are some transformations inside the households. One of the expected changes is the distribution of domestic labor. Although domestic activities are socially assigned to women, when they go outside to obtain economic resources for the household, a more equitable division of labor at home is expected. In addition to the redistribution of domestic labor, women could increase their power in the family. Women’s decision-making is related not only to the social and cultural context, but also is related to their personal trajectory, particularly that associated with their families (Caballero, 2001). That means that it would be Utopia for women with a high level of autonomy and independence to include their families in their decision-making.

Family life cycle is another way to analyze women’s roles. It includes three main stages: (1) when children are born, (2) the consolidation stage when there are no more births in the family, and (3) the empty nest stage when sons go out of the home to have their own families. This typology is based on children’s ages because they are the ones who demand more mother-woman attention at home (Arriagada, 2002). Most families in Latin America are in the second stage of growing and expansion (i.e., with children less than 12 years of age). Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Panama, however, are exceptions. Most of these countries’ families are in the consolidation stage, with children over 13 years of age, or else they are empty nest, without any children (Arriagada, 2002). Given the formerly mentioned role of women traditionally confined to domestic activities, the family cycle should be considered. This study focuses on the first three stages of marriage: (1) before having children, (2) while the children are preschool age, and (3) when the children begin school.

Research related to family life cycle and WPLF has found that when women are more educated they tend to drop out of the work force while their children are preschool age (the second stage of marriage) (Young, 1978; Rexroat, 1985). Young has found that when lower income families begin to experience a shortage of money as the children progress through the school years, women reenter to work. Therefore, the timing and continuity of employment among women is best understood within the context of family life cycle (Van Velsor, 1984).

During their life-course, women four distinct options: (1) work before marriage or until the first birth, (2) work after child caring, (3) work before marriage or until the first birth and work again after child caring, and (4) work continuously (Omori, 2003). As life-course framework is based on women's age, family life-cycle is based on children's age. Both approaches are necessary to understand women's decision making in constraint structures of roles and family. Is there a difference in decision-making in women who do participate in the labor force and those who do not? Do children's age or family life-cycle matter?

Social Capital Explanation

In the past human capital and social capital theories have been used to explain and understand employment (Livingstone & Massey, 2003; Norwood, 2001). Both theories not only have distinct assumptions, but they also they have diverse perspectives. Bordieu (1986) was the pioneer in singling out social capital as one of the forms of capital in addition to the economic capital and the cultural capital. In his theoretical framework, Bordieu considers social capital as made up of social obligations (“connections”), which are convertible under certain conditions. Bordieu states:

Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group—which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a “credential” which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. (p. 249)

The volume of the social capital possessed by a given agent, thus, depends on the size of the network of connections he or she can effectively mobilize, in order to obtain particular benefits. An individual or a group invests consciously or unconsciously in establishing relationships to be usable in the future. Social capital is intangible, and its theory has internal contradictions due to its assumptions. For instance, some theorists applied this concept to a social level and some others to the individual (Portes, 2000); therefore, it could be both a public and a private good (Ecclestone, 2003; Walters, 2002).

Considering social capital as a public good, Putman’s studies in Italy referred to the implications of differential social resources in political institutions. In the same way, Preston (2003) and Walters (2002) considered the civic engagement and social trust in liberal democracies. Some studies correlated social capital characteristics with the wellbeing in different countries (OECD, 2001). This kind of social capital as a collective resource is criticized by Portes (2000) as:

an intuitive appeal that conceals, but does not remove its basic logical circularity. . . . Why are some cities better governed and richer than others? Because they are “blessed” with substantial stocks of social capital [that is], the existence of social capital as a property of cities and nations, measurable in “stocks” is inferred from the same outcome. (p. 4)

Social capital as a private good is defined as “a particular kind of resource available to an actor” (Coleman, 1988, p. 4). But the resource is contained in the social structure, and the function of social capital is to facilitate certain actions of actors, within the structure.

Social capital also assumes a self-maximizing individual for whom associative activity can, under certain circumstances, be an investment, hence, the metaphor of “capital.”

Behind Coleman’s definition of social capital, there is the theory of rational actor, in which each actor has control over certain resources. Social structures contain resources and facilitate certain actions of actors within the structure. The value of social capital is that actors can use the resources in the structure to achieve their interests. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would be not possible (Coleman, 1994). The forms of social capital in Coleman’s theory are obligations and expectations, information channels, and social norms. The essence of Coleman’s vision is that social capital is a resource in social structure to be used for actors, but he emphasizes the social norms, and applies social capital to educational issues.

Some theorists consider that social capital could be intentionally constructed (Ecclestone, 2003; Abreg, 2000), while others consider that it is a natural result from repeated interactions (Bourdieu, 1985; Raju, 2004). Most of them consider that trust is the basic factor in which networks are developed; however, negative effects of social capital are also taken into account. For Bourdieu, social capital, as part of cultural capital, is inequality in access according to the social stratum and the type of resources that a network possesses. This explains the reproduction of socio-economic inequalities that include educational inequalities (Preston, 2003; Bourdieu, 1986, cited by Ecclestone, 2003; Abreg, 2000).

Portes (1998) analyzed both Bourdieu’s (1986) and Coleman’s (1994) theories. He criticized Coleman for confounding the resources in the structure and the ability for actors in using those resources. To be systematic in the treatment of social capital concept, Portes

proposes to distinguish among: (1) the possessors of social capital (those making claims), (2) the sources of social capital (those agreeing to these demands), and (3) the resources themselves. According to Portes (1998) social capital is “the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures” (p. 6).

Social Capital/Social Networks

Social network approach has been a very useful methodological tool to study social relationships, since the beginning of the past century. It was related with social support to individuals and families, particularly in mental health and community development issues. Chadi (2000) defines social network as a group of people, members of a family, neighbors, friends and other persons who provide a mutual support to an individual or a family. In the same sense, for Sluzki (1998) social network is the sum of all the relationships an individual perceives as significant; he uses the social network approach as a clinical tool to intervene therapeutically in community mental health area. In a similar way, Warren (1981) used social networks in mental health as support relationships for those who had been in mental hospitals. This author considers that an individual is part of a network system, and that system can provide him some support resources. He analyzes the difference with social support activities, but those are more concerned with emotional social feedback and stress reduction.

There is a metaphor of the universe like a network or relationship map, where the individuals are nodes of such network, says Dabas (1991). Man, therefore, is part of his multiple interaction networks (familial, laboral, friendship, politics), by means of social affective ties, language and behaviors that individuals have in their lives. Sluzki (1998) includes size, density, composition, dispersion and homogeneity as characteristics of

structural ties. On the other hand, the network functions are multidimensionality, reciprocity, intensity, contact frequencies and history of the relationship. The three basic lines of influence in social network approach are the sociometry, anthropological and organizational studies in Manchester School and in Harvard and Chicago during the 1930s.

On the other hand, social capital is originated in Bordieu's (1986) conceptual analysis as one of the three forms of capital besides the economic and the cultural ones. Social capital for Bordieu is a resource link to the possession of a durable network with relationships like the group membership where each one has the back of the rest of the collectivity. Bordieu refers to the network of relationships as "the product of investment strategies, individual or collective, consciously or unconsciously, aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term" (p. 249).

Zhao (2002) makes a differentiation between individual social capital as: (1) possessed and (2) used; however, possessed assumes certainty in the ownership; potential or latent indicate only the possibility to become actual. The assumption for potential social capital is that it could be mobilized, that is, it is available in access. The value of individual social capital depends on network size and its connections, that is, its potential social capital, but it is not effective social capital until he/she does mobilize the resources needed to obtain particular benefits. In other words, even if social capital is a resource related to the possession of a social network, it is not the network itself but the particular benefits an individual can get thanks to his/her connections.

Both social network and social capital approaches are based on social relationships as the core of social life. However, social capital stresses the interchanges in the social relationships, particularly those resources that can be translated into personal benefits: good

or services. Both social network and social capital are centered in the relationships, not in the elements' attributes. Even if the core idea of social capital is that social networks have value (Ecclestone, 2003), this value can only be exchanged where there are common ends to achieve, such as in the case of group actions or having a personal benefit in an individual's case. The resultant transactions of these kinds of social relationships possess logic rationality equal to the market value transaction, where one is always waiting for a gain, in this cost-benefit way of thinking. At the end, the core of social capital is the use of it; it is neither the social network itself nor the expectation of reciprocity, but the consummated social capital in someone's benefit.

Social capital is not the resources in the structure as in Coleman's definition, nor the individual's ability to secure benefits as Portes proposed. A network might have resources but they are not effective social capital if they are not used. A person might have the ability to secure benefits from a network, but if his/her network does not have resources, he/she can not secure any benefit. If an individual has a big network with strong ties, but he is unable to change them in a particular necessity, then he did not have social capital; therefore, we can not be sure of the existence of social capital until it is changeable for a benefit in any transaction.

The existence of a social network with all its characteristics is only the assumption of potential social capital. If the outcome of its use is not a benefit for an individual or a group, then the social capital does not exist, or it is only in latent state. This "latent" or "potential" social capital is included in Bordieu's (1986) definition of social capital when he refers to "the actual or potential resources" (p. 248). You cannot possess any form of capital if you

can not use it by changing it for a good or service. Therefore, effective social capital is the use of social ties in acquiring some benefits either individually or communitarian.

The outcomes in using financial capital are merchandise; the outcomes in using effective social capital are the benefits obtained without other payment that the previous interactions and experiences shared with others. Those social relations in a common time-space produce ties, which actually are constructed with trust and reciprocity, but also with sympathy and affection (these elements ignored in all previous theories). All those elements can produce the action-reaction of individuals to give up their possessions (material goods or personal services) and to give support to others' benefits. When those others use their possessions to receive a benefit, they are running the social capital. The quantity and quality of resources to be used depend not only on the possessors of the social ties, but particularly on the sources (i.e., in those other elements in the network and their possessions). There is an endless benefit-use-benefit, while trust and reciprocity are maintained.

As part of the involved structures for this study in WPLF, a synthesis of social capital, its definitions and measurements are necessary ([Annex 1](#)). Social capital is a complex theoretical construct used to explain personal, groups and national economic development. The literature review has demonstrated that there is a variety of methods to measure social capital in empirical studies (Schuller, 2000). That is because of the different uses of the concept. A portrait of social capital could be the individual, communities, organizations or even countries and could be measured at an individual level (Zhao, 2002; Lamba, 2003; Barbieri, 2003) or at group or societal levels (Inkeles, 2000; Narayan, 2001).

On the other hand, social network approach has been used to measure individual social capital (Zhao, 2002; Navjot, 2003). According to our definition of social capital as

discussed in chapter 1, social network is a structure that could be used to measure someone's potential social capital there is a distinction, however, between this kind of social capital and the effective social capital whose measurement has to be in obtained benefits.

Social network approach can be used to know the potential social capital because it measures the quantity and quality of a personal network (density, size, strong and weak ties) (Zhao, 2002). However, this kind of measurement emphasizes more the social relationships than the social resources. It is not an effectively used social capital but a potential or latent social capital (Van Der Gaag & Snijders, 2005). Social capital is more than the network structure; it is related to the outcomes of the inter-personal exchanges. It is the reason why in this study the use of social ties in personal benefits (goods or services) by women who participate in the labor force, that it is their social capital emanating from their social networks. Therefore, potential social capital is included with the assumption of availability in use when it might be needed.

The consensus in social capital's content is that it is formed by social ties that construct networks based on trust and reciprocity. Reciprocity is a mutual exchange mechanism. According to Nanda (1980), there are three forms of reciprocity: (1) generalized, when someone is giving without any expectation of return; (2) balanced, where there is a clear obligation of returning goods of similar value; and (3) negative, when a person is waiting to receive something for nothing in exchange. It is obvious that balanced reciprocity is the one related to the social capital concept.

All those ties have value that the possessors can use on individual or communitarian goals. The difference is that in communitarian or national goals, the measurements are for one side the expected outcomes such as economical growth, education and wellbeing and for

the other side, what Putnam calls networks of civic engagement (i.e., norms of reciprocity and social trust) (Putnam, 1995). On the other hand, at the individual level, the measurements are the quantity and quality of a person's network, in other words, the resources that are used to obtain personal outcomes that can be converted into economic benefits.

According to Barbieri (2003), there are three ways in which social capital takes shape and acts in the lives of individuals: (1) as an information resource, such as individuals use in getting a job; (2) as a resource of influence and active support able efficaciously to help individuals to attain personal objectives that otherwise would not be achievable by them; and (3) as a resource of socialization and recognition by transmitting to individuals the values, behavioral, standards, social competence, and above all the system of reciprocal expectations, and the role of obligations "in force" within a specific community. In this study we use the second approach: social capital as an active support to help women to maintain a job in the labor market.

In Mexico social capital has only been studied in the rural areas by international organizations like the World Bank; as political participation in the sense of Putnam (Klesner, 2003); as immigration's facilitator from Mexico to the United States (Phillips & Douglas, 2000), and as family and social support for children on the streets (Ferguson, 2003). No single study has been found about social capital, not in relation to employment nor in relation to women. It could be that in Mexico the social networks' benefits have been studied to explain survival strategies among the people in poverty (Lomnitz, 1984), or as a support strategy for women to participate in the labor force, given their double role of mother-worker (García & Oliveira, 1994). Even if the content of the concept could be similar, Mexican researchers rarely use the term social capital.

For this study, the assumption is that the benefits in terms of instrumental, material, and psychological support to maintain women's participation in the labor force are the result of the network's ties that women have constructed with others in their lives. For one side, women's social networks are used to measure their potential social capital. Availability in access is the assumption behind the potential social capital concept; it is available in access. On the other side, obtained benefits are indicators of women's effective social capital. The sum of both are women's social capital.

In summation for this study, based on Bourdieu's *Forms of Capital* (1986), we consider an alternative definition of effective social capital as "the use of social ties in acquiring some benefits, either individual or communitarian." Therefore, effective social capital is any network support—goods or service—provided to women who participate in the labor force. In other words, we consider social capital as women's potential social ties (familial or extended), whose resources are used or can be used to enable their participation in the labor force.

Social Capital, Education, and Employment

Much literature and research support the correlation between education and employment. For example, in a longitudinal study Bynner (2001) demonstrated that "possession of qualifications and numeracy skills were protective against unemployment" (p. 279). Lack of qualifications, according to Bynner, leads to labor markets exclusion. He concluded that across generations, the process of social exclusion from the labor market accelerates. The opposite of exclusion, Brown (2003) defines employability as the relative chances of acquiring and maintaining different kinds of employment. Abreg (2000) suggests

that employability rests on the assumption that the economic welfare of individuals has come to depend on their knowledge and skills, and that is the foundation of human capital.

Comparing social capital to human capital, Prestone (2003) concludes that “broadly, if human capital describes individual economic capacities, social capital captures the quality of experience and the ways in which it is shaped by relations between individuals and groups.” That is, if human capital assumes linearity because it is a personal attribute, social capital is about interactive and circular relationships because it is a social construct, even if its benefits can be observed at the individual, community, or national level.

There is empirical evidence trying to explain employment with human capital and social capital theories. Norwood (2001), in his dissertation research, examined the data from the 1992/1994 Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality (MCSUI). Results of this study, which included 5,326 labor force participants, show that human capital measures have much more impact on wages than social capital measures. That is, to gain employment, social capital seems to be more important, but the quality of one’s employment as measured by wages and benefits seems to depend more on human capital attributes. As a general conclusion, social capital is an important element to finding a job but human capital is necessary to keep and improve job performance

In another study, Aguilera (1999) examined the labor market outcomes of immigrants by making a comparison between social capital and human capital. He found support for human capital theory, citing that as immigrants possess higher levels of human capital, they are able to obtain higher incomes. He found, like Norwood (2001) that social capital leads immigrants to higher salaries, positive income mobility and longer job tenures. In general, immigrants’ access to and use of social capital are positively related to labor market success.

Aguilera incorporates informal economy in his discussion and he finds that human capital has no impact on immigrants' participation in informal economies. He concludes that labor market outcomes of immigrants are not only determined by the level of human capital, but also through a series of relationships influenced by community, friends, and family, which is, of course, social capital.

Social capital is important in acquiring employment, but it could be essential for women whose traditional responsibilities of home and child care might have not changed, even with their participation in the labor market. Social capital, in the case of women, could be important not only in acquiring employment but also in retaining it. Unfortunately, most of the studies of social capital and human capital do not include gender vision. Therefore, this is very well the issue to pursue, considering social capital, more than human capital, as the alternative that increases the possibility of Mexican women's participation in the labor market.

Social Policy Implications

In Mexico the problems that gain a space in the social policy have followed two ways or a combination of them. They could come from: (1) population demands or (2) international conditions—moral or economic—that the world institutions demand of the developing countries. As a first type of social policy it is the National Solidarity's Program in 1988-1994. It was created at the top level of government to face the poverty in an integral way, and it has continued, with changes in form, but not in content, in the following government periods with different names: *Progresa* (1994-2000) and *Oportunidades* (2000-2006). As second type of example there are the programs referred to particularly vulnerable groups like *Pro-equidad* a program whose objectives are related to empower women and to

decrease gender discrimination. However, “*Pro-equidad*” and El Instituto de la Mujer have been focused on reducing the inequities in public offices, but particularly in program’s discourses, more than in labor-related situations.

Programs in Mexico oriented to encourage people’s employability and to ameliorate poverty have small coverage. In the National Development Plan 2000-2006, there are 25 programs whose objectives are related to employment and poverty, but only two of them are directed to women in rural areas, one for indigenous and the other for farmers. None is directed especially to working women. Women are only subjects when they are land owners in rural areas and they have access to some financial resources to be productive. But in the National Development Plan 2000-2006, the social policy framework act, women are generally ignored as productive subjects. It is particularly obvious in the labor policy (Martínez, 2004).

Another problem in studying women’s participation in the labor force is that public policies are directed to the formal sector, even if the informal sector has increased in past decades in Latin America. The informal sector is defined as the units which produce goods or services by creating employment. The basic characteristics are the null distinctions between capital and work as production factors and occasional employment relationships, based on personal relationships without formal contracts INEGI (2003). In Mexico the informal sector is responsible for 31.2% of the employment generated between 1995 and 2003. By age, this increase was particularly important in women’s participation aged 50-59 (49%) and 40-49 (32.7%). That might mean that they are the women whose reproductive cycle and child bearing has been finished, who have increased their participation in this

sector. In 2003, 91.6% of Mexican women combined domestic work with some kind of extra-domestic work (INEGI, 2004).

As the education required to work in the informal sector is low (60.1% of the participants have not finished high school), it is expected that these types of jobs will also be low-wage (INEGI, 2004 a). Half of workers in 2003 received on average 13.29 pesos per hour. But wage inequality is obvious because women's wages were on average 9.97 pesos per hour, while men's wages were on average 14.55 pesos. Most women in the informal sector work in their own home or in small stores in public places (INEGI, 2004).

This topic is very important because it is related to both economic policy and social policy, but with a gender emphasis. To study the way that social capital functions as a factor to increase women's participation in the labor force is justified not only because of the economic nature, but also because of a commitment to those who find themselves in vulnerable situations. The findings could be used as the basic issues for better articulated programs to improve the participation of women in the labor market. The most important goal is to consider the worst conditions that people can be found in—to suffer lack of resources (*social capital, human capital and decision-making*) and to be a woman in a discriminatory labor market.

Since the position of women's agency, the study of WPLF has its own dimensions. If social capital, as it is hypothesized, is an element influencing WPLF, there is a social resource whose use is manifested in economic benefits. That is the basis for more effective social programs to facilitate the use of social capital to enable women's labor force participation, the first step to their empowerment.

Conclusion

The objectives in this study are, first, to test the probability of women's participation in the labor force according to their levels of: (1) social capital, personal attributes (e.g., education and labor experience), and family organization (e.g., controlling family income, women's ages and children's ages); and second, to compare decision-making between women who do participate in the labor force and those who do not have paid-jobs. The results are the basis for public policies, and more effective programs oriented to working women in Monterrey, Mexico.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Rationality and Purpose of Research

The main purpose of this dissertation is to test the following factors used to explain WPLF: (1) family organization (e.g., type and size of family, children's ages, domestic work, decision-making in household) and personal attributes (education and labor experience). Also, a new exploratory element has emerged that has not been used before to explain WPLF; it is called social capital.

The rationality of this study is based on the following three premises:

- When women have paid jobs (labor forced participation) and are outside their households, they begin to interact with other people at work. That interaction, probably for the first time, becomes a basis for women to compare this experience to their prior situation.
- Women who participate in the labor force become providers. They make money, gain self-esteem, and become more empowered.
- Participating in the labor force gives women opportunities to modify their traditional role as homemaker, mother, provider of love and services.

Methods

Two methods are used in this research—quantitative and qualitative. Quantitative methods have some advantages but “they are not capable of responding to some questions

about culture or certain ways of living” (Kerlinger: 2001, p. 535). Using Garcia and Oliveira’s (1994) methods from their study, a qualitative component was introduced when necessary to understand some cultural factors related to WPLF. One difference, however, is that Garcia and Oliveira used secondary data based of national statistics. In this study, quantitative method is used in the first component with a survey design; qualitative method comes in the second component with some questions derived from the ones used in the survey. This is done with the purpose of going deeply into women’s ideas, experiences, and social representations. Data collection in both components is simultaneous in time, but research designs are described separately as follows.

Quantitative Method.

Research Design

The research design was based on Hernández Sampieri’s (1999) classification. It was non-experimental, or *ex-post facto*, trans-sectional, and co-relational. It was non-experimental because no variable was deliberately manipulated; the phenomenon was observed in the natural context and analyzed *a posteriori*. No conditions or stimuli were provided to the participants because they were observed, via the survey, in their natural environment. On the other hand, this was also a trans-sectional design because data are collected just in a moment, in a unique time. Finally, it was a co-relational research design because the relationship between two or more variables were described; in this case, the dependent variable, “women’s labor forced participation,” was correlated with some other independent variables described in the research model.

Primarily, the study finds the relationships between the dependent variable, two groups of women (mothers-with partner, who participate in the labor force, and mothers with

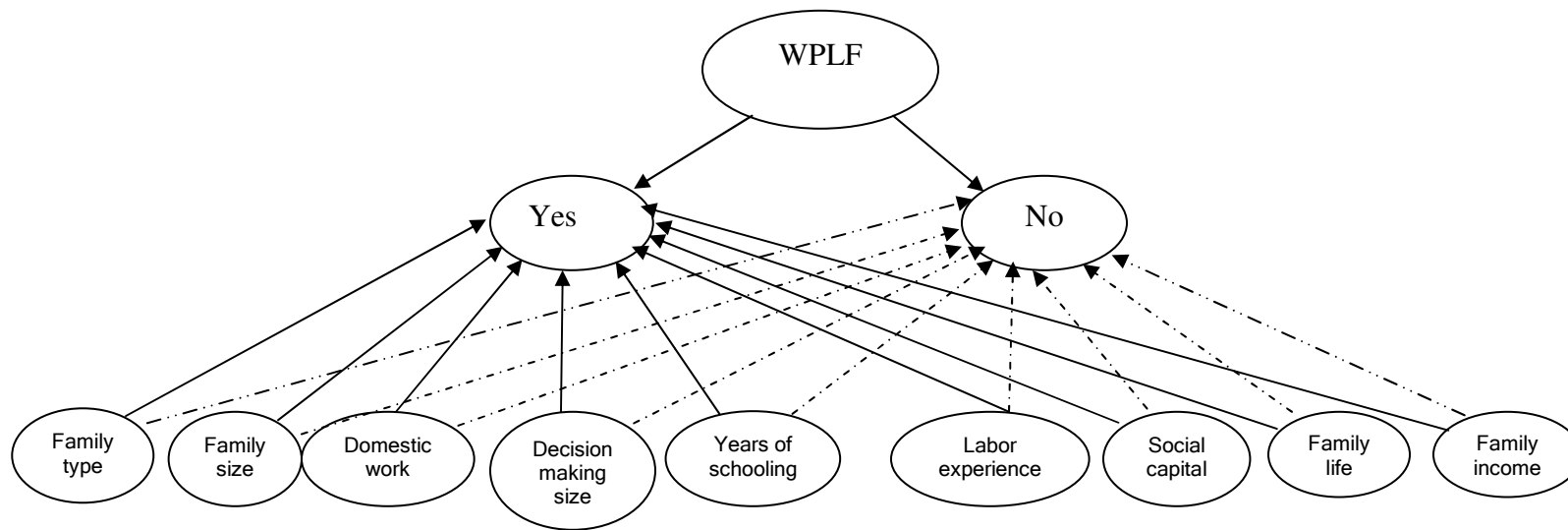


Figure 2. Mothers in work force and mothers not in work force.

partners who do not participate in the labor force), and each one of the independent variables in both groups, in a particular moment (see figure 2).

Hypotheses, Variables, Indicators

Hypothesis 1: Family Organization

1. Women with smaller family size are more likely to participate in the labor force than those with higher family size.

2. Women with nuclear family have higher probabilities to participate in the labor force than those with non-nuclear family.

Table 1. Operational Definitions: Family Organization

Variables	Definition	Indicators & Values
WPLF	The dependent variable referring to women who have paid-jobs.	0=No 1=Yes
Residents at home	Number of persons living in the household.	N
Family type	Composition of family according to number of couples living in the household.	1 = Nuclear 2=Non-nuclear
Children's ages	Number of years before children leave home. (Used to know family life's cycle.)	N
Woman's domestic work	Time in hours dedicated to realized domestic work.	N
Decision-making*	Total # of women making decisions in family. (children's education, family planning and resource distribution.	0-15 Higher score, higher # of women
Woman's age	Number of years after birth.	N

*This 15-item scale is taken from a national survey of household dynamics applied to 20,160 Mexican women older than 15 by the Statistics National Institute in Mexico in 2003 (INEGI, 2004).

3. Women with fewer hours dedicated to domestic labor are more likely to participate in the labor force than those who dedicated more hours to the domestic labor.

4. Women with higher decision-making levels are more likely to participate in the labor force than those with lower decision-making levels.

Hypothesis 2. Personal Attributes: Education and Years of Experience

1. Women with more years of schooling are more likely to participate in the labor force than women with lower levels of education.

2. Women with higher number of years of experience at work are more likely to participate in the labor force than women with lower years of experience at work.

Table 2. Operational Definitions: Human Capital

Variables	Definition	Indicators & Values
WPLF	Dependent variable referring to women who have paid jobs.	0=No 1=Yes
Personal attributes:		
Years of schooling	Total number of years of schooling a woman has.	N
Years of work-experience	Total of years of work experience that a woman has whether or not she participates in the labor force.	N

Hypothesis 3: Social Capital

The main hypothesis is: women who have higher levels of social capital are more likely to participate in the labor force than women with lower levels of social capital.

1. The higher existence of potential social capital, the higher probabilities for women to participate in the labor force.

2. The higher existence of effective social capital, the higher probabilities for women to participate in the labor force

Table 3. Operational Definitions: Social Capital

Variables	Definition	Indicators & Values
WPLF	Dependent variable referring to women who have paid jobs.	0=No 1=Yes
<u>Social Capital</u>		
Potential:		
Network elements' level of education	Potential social capital is the set of social networks or significant contacts that women possess.	Score derived from the sum of the four variables. The higher the score, the higher the existence of potential social capital.
Network position at work		
Network elements' occupation		
Network elements' years of relationship		
Effective:		
Type of benefit/support	Effective social capital is the set of benefits that women get because of their social networks.	Score derived from the sum of the number of contacts and the score assigned to each one of them by the woman inter-viewed woman. The higher the score, the higher the effective social capital.
Number of contacts		
Score for each contact		

Socio-demographic Variables

1. Woman's age is the total of years of women after her birth.
2. Work/not-work is used to assigned women to the working or not-working group.
3. Family income is the sum of the economic contributions of the family elements to the household waste.

Data

Although there are some antecedents of national surveys about women, the focus has been the family and its domestic organization. In this case, a survey is applied to a sample in one neighborhood in Monterrey, Mexico. The main purpose is to know if social capital influences women to participate in the labor force. Two groups of women (with children), who have paid-jobs are measured (whether they went outside their household or stayed in it) and a women's group that did not have paid jobs.

Among the themes used in this study are the socio-demographic characteristics that provide support for the personal attributes and family organization explanations. A subset of items related to decision-making in the households measures this variable. Social resources are addressed in full to support social capital measurement.

Social capital is the main independent variable, and it refers to actual and potential working women's social ties (familial or extended), whose resources are used or potentially could be used to enable their participation in the labor force.

The focus of this work is at the individual's level where the variables commonly utilized have been the networks (Navjot, 2003; Zhao, 2002) or in support activities as in practical and moral support, and counseling to get work (Barbieri, 2003). The range of indicators covers both attitudinal data and levels or participative activities that are extended to informal types of association (Schuller, 2000).

The assumption is that women construct network links their relationships to others. These links are manifested in instrumental, financial, and psychological support—social capital that women use in order to participate in the labor force. A scale has been constructed as a general measure. It includes a social network measurement (potential social capital) with

indicators (type of contact, contact's level of education, contact position, and years of contact's relationship). To measure network structure, two instruments are adapted: (1) Name Generator/Interpreter, from the U.S. General Social Survey on Social Networks and (2) Position Generator, a classic version developed by Lin. (Franke, 2005). The general measure also contains benefits (effective social capital), three kinds of support (instrumental, financial and psychological), and support related to particular transitions in women's lives, especially in labor issues. The higher the results of both types of social capital, the more social capital a woman has.

Control variables are age, referring to the age of women at the time of the interview, and children's ages as an indicator of the family cycle, before and after the children have begun school. The variable, family income, is the sum of the economic contributions of all the family elements (see figure 3).

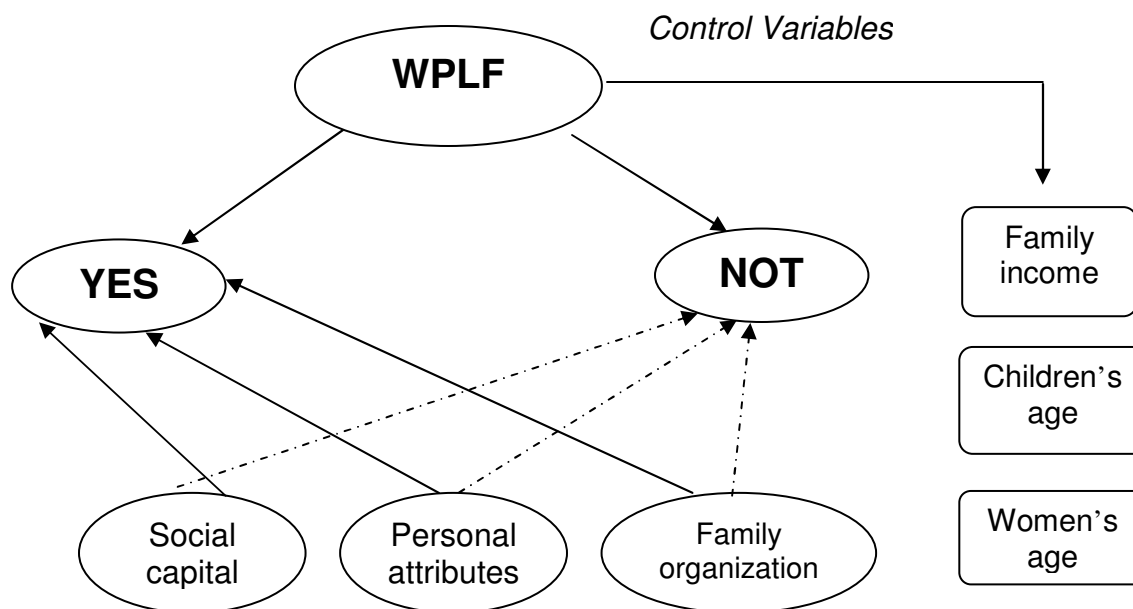


Figure 3. Control variables at time of interview.

Analysis

Women in the sample are divided into two groups, whether or not they participate in the labor force. Each variable is analyzed in each group separately. A description of each group is the first result. The next result is a comparative description of both groups of each variable. These comparisons show the effects of social capital, human capital and family organization in WPLF. Logistic Regression is the appropriate statistical test to use when there is a dichotomy dependent variable, as in this case.

Logistic Regression is used to test the model. It is an appropriate technique to examine differences in the ability of the independent variables to predict the likelihood that a woman will be participating in the labor force. This test goes far from the description between groups and controlling variables such as women's ages, children's ages and family income. The actual effect of the independent variables (social capital, human capital, and family organization) on the dependent variable WPLF is known.

The strategy is to evaluate the effects of each attribute of a target independent variable (social capital, personal attributes, and family organization) found in the parameters estimated on the dependent variable, WLFP. It will be holding all other variables in the model constant (i.e., the control variables). Logistic Regression results, in terms of probability will show the likelihood of WLFP according to their level of personal attributes, family organization, and the new element, social capital.

Sample

Women are the unit of observation in this research. In Monterrey, according to the population census in 2005, there are 444,644 women older than 15. Target population are

women-mothers with a partner, older than 18 but younger than 64 years of age. The target population was limited to age 64 because older than that, women's labor force participation decreases significantly; this is particularly true in Nuevo Leon. In 2004, for example, the WPLF rate in this state was 39%, higher than the national medium of 37.5%; when analyzed in groups by age, 14.4% of the women were older than 64. At the same time in Nuevo Leon working women of the same age participated even less (9.5%) (INEGI, 2004).

A sample population of women was located in household units in a neighborhood in Monterrey. The main definitions for the sample process were taken from: Lohr, (2000). However, for this study, lack of economic resources caused a non-inclusion of the whole population of women in Monterrey, because they are in a total of 466 communities in a geographic space of 781,438 Km². For that reason, based on the purpose of the study, the first limit in the sample process is the decision to take only one geographic community.

The community Lomas de Anahuac was randomly selected. It is situated in northwest Monterrey, and has 1,833 inhabitants. From this total, 954 are women, and 719 are between 18 and 64 years of age. There are 300 working women in the labor force. The mean of schooling in the colony for people older than 15 is 11.31 years. A total of 365 married women and five unmarried women older than 12 live in the community.

Sample Size

According to Hernández Sampieri (1999), "The sample size tends to depend on the number of sub-groups we are interested in a population" (p. 324). In order to compare the sub-groups in this study—women who do participate in the labor force, and women who do

not participate—the STATS software was used to define the sample size for the population in the selected colony. Table 4 describes the results.

Table 4. Sample Size According to STATS¹

Colony	Population ²	Households	Sample ³	Sample ⁴
Lomas de Anáhuac	719	426	201	184

1. Statistics software from Hernandez Sampieri et al. (1998).
2. Women's ages between 15 and 64
3. With a 50-50% estimated percent
4. Adjusted sample size with an estimated 70/30%, considering that at the national level as well as in Nuevo Leon data, 30% of women older than 15 inferred the same proportion in the selected colony.

The sample method, systematic, is used when, as in this case, the population is known, and the sample size is defined. According to Kerlinger (2001), the assumption in the systematic sample method is that the population's elements are in some kind of arranged order. In this particular case, there are 719 women in 426 households, and it was needed to find a sample size of 184 women defined by STATS. The survey was applied once in each two households.

Survey Description

There are four thematic sections in the survey:

1. Socio-demographic data. There are six independent variables that allow analysis of the samples profiles; there is descriptive and co-relational data between chapter 3 and the other chapters.

2. *Work.* An analysis of the work situation of women who participate in the labor force contain 10 variables (e.g., occupation, position at work, years in the position, place of work, economic sector, and principal motive to work).

3. *Family organization.* Although family organization is composed of independent variables, it is possible to describe the kind of colony, parts of the family's dynamic, their size and type. It also detects the presence of school-aged children, because that is a factor influencing women's participation in the labor force.

Thirteen independent variables are used to describe the family elements living in the household, their ages, relationships, level of study, and their particular contributions to income. Women in the home who are not in the job force will also be accounted for. The hours spent in domestic activities by these women will be registered.

4. *Decision-making.* This theme is measured with 15 indicators, reflecting who is making the decisions concerning family planning, children's education, and distribution of resources at home (INEGI, 2003c).

Personal Attributes

The survey identifies women's personal attributes (years of schooling and years of labor experience), as well as lists their partner's education, both measured with the same indicators. Education and years of experience are explicative premises for women's participation in the labor force, and in this case both scores will be kept as independent variables. The higher the years of schooling and the years of labor experience scores, combined with higher personal attributes, the more likely women will participate in the labor force and achieve higher salaries.

Social Networks and Social Capital

From the analysis of social network and social capital literature, a distinction between potential social capital as opposed to effective social capital has been found. The first is the traditional structure of social network, while the second lists the benefits of goods and services that women receive from others due to their social ties.

To measure potential social capital four variables are used to define women's network structure (i.e., to delineate how many significant contacts they have, the contacts' levels of education, types of relationships [measured by closeness], years of relationships). These variables are included based on the survey « Name Generator / Interpreter », used in the U.S. General Social Survey on Social Network. Except for the network size, the other three networks' variables are accumulative and define the network quality. The higher score in both network size and network quality the higher potential social capital a woman has.

To effectively measure social capital three variables have been included. These variables identify the social capital sources (e.g., relatives, friends, neighbors, working mates). Women can acquire added benefits (social capital), and a score has been assigned to each one as quality of resources. Both social capital and quality of resources are combined under effective social capital. They will, however be maintained as independent variables. Higher scores will indicate a higher use of women's effective social capital.

Pilot Test

The survey was tested with three volunteer women with the proposed profile. The purpose at the beginning stage was to verify comprehension, and clarify any imprecise terms. The SPSS software confirmed and modified the survey design.

Experts suggest that when a sample is higher than 200, the survey pilot test should include between 25 and 60 cases (Hernández Sampieri, 1999). This survey was conducted with 30 women in the Belisario Dominguez neighborhood, which has a lower average in education level (7.12 years of school) than Lomas de Anahuac, the selected neighborhood for this study (11.31 years of school).

Data Collecting Procedure

Two professionals were selected from sociology and social work colleges. The principal researcher and both professionals completed the course, The Protection of Human Research Subjects, in November, 2006. They had a double role as survey applicants and data capturers. Data collection procedure was done in eight weeks, including weekends, because women who participated in the labor force had time available only on weekends. Each one of the participants, including the researcher, was responsible for collecting and verifying data in the planned amount of time. All interviews were performed by the principal researcher.

Data collection was made as systematic sample—one household, each two. The first stage of the interview process was defined randomly by blocks. If the total number of women needed for the sample was not completed (which it was, however) then the process would have had to start again, taking into account those households skipped in the first stage. The process was finished in the second stage when the number of surveyed women was reached.

Limitations

Representativeness was the main limitation of this study. Lack of resources to include a random sample from the 444,644 women in Monterrey, a large geographical area, was the

reason to limit the sample to one colony. As a consequence, generalization of findings to other population will not be possible.

Reliability and Validity

Although the equivalence reliability is ensured because multiple indicators are used in the operationalization of a construct (Newman, 2003), a Cronbach Alpha test was used to back up reliability in some of the survey's constructs. In this instance, a social capital scale was constructed with 12 questions (multiple indicators) in the survey. The scale included two dimensions of social capital—potential or latent and used or effective. In the first dimension two variables were used: (1) network size and (2) network quality (constructed by adding education level of women's personal contacts in their network, types of relationships, and years of relationships). The higher the obtained score, the higher the potential social capital a woman has. The selected questions for effective social capital are related to different kinds of support (instrumental, financial and psychological) that women might use as their social capital. Also, data about women's contacts (the sources of the social capital) were maintained with a score assigned by the women themselves to each one of their contacts. The sum of every contact score was the effective capital score.

Previously, social capital has been measured in very different ways. Also at the operational level the interpretation of what social capital is and is not is diverse (Narayan, 2001). In this study, however, the resources used by women as part of their social capital to participate in the labor force, as well as their social networks' characteristics, are consistent with the selected questions to construct the measurement scale. However, internal validity was tested with factor analysis, particularly in the case of social capital construct. External validity is ensured with the use of similar questions in other countries, as the Reference

Document of PRI Project about Measurement of Social Capital in Canada (Franke, 2005) has made clear.

The reliability and validity with years of schooling and labor experience are based on the empirical research, and measures them as part of the human capital approach. They have been used here, however, as independent variables. Family organization is a construct formed by four different and independent- variables: (1) family type, (2) family size, (3) domestic work, and (4) decision-making. The first three variables are categorical data (i.e., there is no problem about reliability or validity). Fifteen questions were used in the survey to gain information about women who make decisions inside the home on such matters as children's education and distribution of resources. As in the case of social capital, the use of multiple indicators ensures the reliability of this variable. Decision-making external validity is ensured because this scale was used by INEGI, the national institute responsible for statistics in Mexico from a national survey in Mexico in 2003 and 2006.

Qualitative Method and Approach

The main objective of the qualitative component is to comprehend women's labor force participation through understanding their ideas, motives, expectations, perceptions and representations. Information is extracted from their interviews based on cultural issues related to women's labor force participation.

Phenomenological approach is appropriate for this study, given the purpose to respect women's words and phrases shared during the interview. There are two premises in this phenomenological approach. It is about: (1) people expressing in their own words what they think about the world and how they see themselves living in it and (2) the context in which women live, in this case, the women being interviewed. Morse and Richards (2002) assert:

Human existence is significant and interesting because we are always conscious about something; that's why existence implies that people are in their own world, and they can only be understood within their own contexts. Therefore, human behavior has to be put into context by women within its relationships with objects, persons, facts and situations. (p. 86)

For this study social-hermeneutic discourse analysis is considered the appropriate tool to analyze women's discourses because it tries to make a "reconstruction in the sense of those discourses in a situation—macro social and micro social—to find a comprehensive model in a concrete social context, with a history where actor's interests implied in their discourses can be reconstructed" (Alonso, 1998, p. 188).

Women's discourses in this study have a starting point and a general and common framework because women's material conditions of existence seems to be homogeneous, as they were described in the neighborhood socio demographic data. Even if the objective is analyzing women's discourses it should "identify repetitive patterns of events, facts or actions-interactions that can represent what people do either by themselves or with others in response to problems and situations in which they are involved" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 142). However, every biography is quite different because it has been influenced by unique events in each woman's life. Therefore, discourses also have peculiarities as well as regularities, given the general common framework mentioned above.

To interpret and understand what women say about themselves, based on their educational background, experiences and their daily lives, it was necessary not only to listen to their words and record them, but also to put these women's words into an imaginary space. Who said what? How did she say it? Where was she actually and emotionally when she said what she said? Hence, this is a reductive type of methodology, supported by discourses analysis on specific themes.

Identification of cultural elements or sets of ideas women have about themselves, and women's labor force participation as main objectives in this study could work as sometime obstacles to or even sometime facilitators of women's labor force participation. Culture is not thought about; it is lived, according to Geertz (2000). Women's ideas are understood in the sense in which Malinowski (1970) considered, "One's symbol or idea definition is something that can be materially scripted, registered and defined. Ideas, thoughts and emotions must be treated as all other cultural aspects" (p. 35). Women's discourses have a concrete and material existence that are evident in tangible symbolic structures that can be reconstructed over and over again. With enough repetition, the one who is observing forms a permanent comparative logic, until categories emerge, in the same metaphoric sense that furrows get deeper and deeper as the farmer ploughs the field over and over again. At each emergence it becomes more clear to the observer, who first knows them by intuition and then observes and records them.

Sample

Quantity component's sample was randomly defined among all the INEGI's geographic areas. Quantitative sample size was determined, 190 women in the neighborhood were surveyed, and 20 women were selected to be interviewed. This selection was intentional, based on some personal attributes, such as communicative skills, observed by the principal researcher. The main determinant was a woman's willingness to participate, once they were aware of data confidentiality and the commitment to keep them anonymous. All participants' names were changed and only the principal researcher knew the original names.

Sample size in qualitative research is associated with saturation. When subjects' information becomes repetitive, and the qualitative component is a complement of the

quantitative one, then this reflects a homogeneous neighborhood, and 20 interviews were purposely defined as sufficient. In Lohr's (2000) words, "Intentional or judgment samples can provide valuable information, particularly in the first research steps" (p. 5).

Data Analysis

Qualitative research's major contribution is not only in exploratory studies but also when the basic intention is to listen to protagonists in the social phenomena. Any observation is a clue to understand subject's discourses, motives, actions and attitudes in a particular situation historically lived. Data analysis, therefore is a very complex and creative process, where researcher's skills in logic thought, intuition, and sensitivity to capture essential nodes for possible explanations are tested.

For a detailed and exhaustive data analysis process, Gadea's (2005) five-phased process was used:

1. Literal interviews' transcription,
2. Reading of transcriptions and selecting textual phrases in accordance with the dimensions defined above in the research design—an initial categorization was proposed to ease the later analysis,
3. Textual phrases are grouped and classified in accordance with phenomena's dimension.
4. Grouped phrases are interpreted and compared looking at their content's differences and similarities; this comparison allows to conform another type of categorization more descriptive or conceptual,
5. Results associated with every dimension of analysis are presented in accordance with an argumentative description, with consistency.

Analytical Categories

With the phenomenology approach, questions are directed in order to understand the significance of an experience that people have lived. Data analysis consists then in a reading process filled with reflection, writing and rewriting, which allows the researcher to transform the lived experienced into a textual expression (Alvarez-Gayou, 2006).

Questions are oriented to study in depth women's participation in labor force, particularly in the cultural issues. There are usually pre-categories behind every question related to the subject matter. The interviewer's guide contains a set of themes that women could have experienced regarding women's labor force participation—motives to participate or not, images about other women and about themselves, advantages and disadvantages of working, and the meaning of paid-work.

Besides women's imaginings about these issues, the interviewer's guide includes some pre-categories about women's circumstances in the domestic labor division at home, labor trajectories, and decision-making opportunities. At the end of the interview a remembrance process is brought out by asking women to compare their mothers' personage with their own self images, and also their daughters' views, including attitudes and behaviors for three women's generations. These strategies help the interviewer to know the women's actual situations, and then to find traces of social change perceived by themselves during the discourses.

Labor trajectory has become a part of women's vocabulary. Given the homogeneity of women's material conditions of living, certain distinctions will come from women's labor force participation: (1) null if women have not participated in the labor force, (2) discontinuous if women are often on and off the labor market, or (3) continuous if women

have been participating in the labor force during their whole lives, and (4) positive if women are retired after a lifelong participation. (The last category emerged from the data.)

The assumption is that if women go outside their household in order to participate in the labor force, they might change their perspectives and worldly comprehension, and, as a result, could change their living conditions (Garcia & Oliveira, 2003). A quantitative study that included Monterrey and Mexico City in 2003 found that there were five variables in a balanced family relationship: (1) husbands' participation in domestic activities, (2) husbands' participation in childcare and transportation to school, (3) women's participation in family decisions, (4) women's freedom, and (5) women's labor experience, the last being the only one that "predicts significantly more egalitarian relationships" (p. 24) in their families.

Sample

1. Null WPLF (8).
2. Discontinuous WPLF (3).
3. Continuous WPLF (3), and
4. Retired women (6 teachers). (They are now retired after they participated in the labor force 28 years minimum.)

Initial categories were elaborated specifically for this study, based on some questions of the original survey used in the quantitative component. The selection of questions was done with the unique criterion of seeking cultural elements contained in women's ideas. Such categories and their definitions are the following:

- Motives—set of reasons, causes and justifications expressed by women about their participation in the labor force
- Significance—meaning attributed by the interviewed women to work

- Advantages—arguments expressed by interviewed women in favor of their participation in the labor force
- Disadvantages—arguments expressed by interviewed women against their participation in the labor force
- Images—set of ideas or social representations expressed by the women about women participating in the labor force
- Domestic labor—division of labor activities inside the household
- Decision-making—distribution of decision power among family elements, not only between the couple, but also other's participation in familiar decisions
- Labor trajectory—women's history about their participation in the labor force
- Generations and culture—set of ideas expressed by interviewed women about the observed differences in the way they have lived their own marriage; the way their mothers did it, and the way their daughters are living their marriage; also relationships among generations

Codification

After categories have been defined, derived from research questions and detailed reading of interviews, the next task is to identify the narrative with codes. The objective is to ease not only the analysis but also the location of the interviewer's information. Codification, according to Deslauriers (1991), even if it is the point of start data analysis process, when the researcher is dividing the whole information, he/she is elaborating ideas at the same time. Therefore, it is recognized as an initial interpretation, because in some way information is intentionally classified. For defined codes see table 5.

Table 5. Interviewer Codes and Meanings

Code Meaning		Values
1	Interview number	Del 1 al 20
1/ OP	Occupation profile	NW=Never worked DW=Discontinuous work CW=Continuous work RW=Retire work
1/ OP/1	Category	1. Motives 2. Significance 3. Advantages 4. Disadvantages 5. Images 6. Domestic labor 7. Decision-making 8. Labor trajectory 9. Generations & culture
1/ PO/1.1	Interview's page	1 n

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

In chapter 3 the model was first tested for this study and the strategy followed in the data analysis. The quantitative component is based on 190 surveys where data were collected in Lomas de Anahuac. The neighborhood was randomly selected. The quantitative component's purpose was to test the probability of women's participation in the labor force according to levels of: (1) family organization, (2) personal attributes, and (3) social capital.

The qualitative analysis is another component in this study. This method analyzes women's perceptions, ideas, images and values of Mexican culture. The purpose of this component is to enrich the quantitative picture by going beyond and deeply into some of the items defined in the survey. "By combining qualitative research methods with survey research methods, we can benefit from the strengths of survey research while we offset its weaknesses regarding superficiality, missing social context, inflexibility artificiality and questionable validity" (Rubin & Babbie, 2001, p. 382). The qualitative sample is composed of 20 interviews of women selected from the 190 surveyed. Although this component is analyzed separately, it is considered appropriate to include some qualitative findings, either to complete, corroborate or to distinguish both types of findings.

This chapter is divided in two parts: (1) quantitative results and (2) qualitative findings. The two are divided because of analysis requirements; however, both types of results will be combined in chapter 5.

Quantitative Results

In the sample the women are divided into two groups, whether they now participate or have participated in the past in the labor force. Each variable is analyzed for descriptive purposes with the total sample. Subsequently, each variable is analyzed in each group separately. A set of variables is presented of the results of working women's labor participation. A description of each group in common variables follows. The factor analysis results are discussed to validate the scales adapted from other survey instruments—decision making and potential social capital—and for confirming the internal construct validity of general factors. Next, the mean differences and observed discrepancies from the bivariate analysis between women who participated in the labor force and women who did not participate in the labor force will be displayed. Finally, a regression analysis will indicate the effect of social capital, years of schooling, experience at work, and family organization on WPLF.

Sample Description

Women's ages are between 21 and 64 years. However, there are only 12% of women between 21 and 30 years of age; the mean is 46 and the mode is 56. Mature women are the majority of the 190 in this study. Most women (186) are married, and four are living in free union. Most (92%) are living with their partner, while 15 (8%) are living separately from their husbands.

Women's labor force participation is the dependent variable in this study, and from N=190, 53% are participating in the labor force, while 47% are not. (Data were collected from April 1 to July 1, 2007.) This is a non expected proportion because at the national level

WLFP is 37% while in Nuevo Leon state it is 36%. Therefore, we may say that the percentage is inverted in the study neighborhood.

Participation Motivation

Women's most often expressed motive for working is "household spending." This is coincident with other findings, particularly in the qualitative part of this study, where women consider economic necessity as almost the *only* reason to justify WPLF. The citations supporting the economic necessity statement are included in the qualitative component. Another motive is "to achieve personal fulfillment," but mentioned only half as often as the second reason. Further motives for working varied: "for their son's wellbeing," "for my hobby," or "for personal spending." Only one woman said that her participation in the labor force was "to help her parents." Sometimes a motive for working is a kind of moral obligation for educated women's participation in the labor force. Another depends on the family life's cycle. "Before you have children, paid work is to achieve personal fulfillment; when you have children, paid work is for helping the family's economy; and when children have gone it is to achieve personal fulfillment again (9/TJ/1.1).

On the other hand, reasons for not working are diverse. The most frequent motive is "to attend to the family." Other comments for not working range from, "I have sons of school age," to "I feel too old to work." The average age is 51 for these women who do not participate in the labor force; that is a culture that has a brief productive cycle and a lot of unemployed labor. Also, men and women older than 45 are discriminated against. Nine percent of women do not participate in the labor force because "I do not need it," and another 9% because, "I do not have my husband's consent."

Participation Profile

Nearly 57% of the women have a continuous participation pattern (i.e., their work history is uninterrupted). Most of them have been working in extra domestic activities, not stopping for marriage or for motherhood. Another pattern of participation is discontinuous (i.e., women start to work before they have children but they might drop out of the labor market when they do). In this study the idea that women tend to participate in the labor force until their children are older cannot be sustained, given that only 7% of women here have this pattern of participation.

Another variable with non-awaited results is type of work. Almost 66% of women have fulltime employment versus 26% of women with part time employment, and a meager 7% of women work flexibly by task. That kind of flexibility, a part time job, is the model for women all over the world, but does not apply to this neighborhood.

The majority of women participating in the labor force have an employee position (68%), that is, a subordinated position at work, versus self-employed without subordinated collaborators (26%). A minimal 6% of women are self-employed with subordinate collaborators; this is the most autonomous level of work.

The productive participation sector of most women is the service sector (68%), and occupations such as teachers (21%) and secretaries (16%). Saleswomen (19%) are divided between the formal service sector and the informal sector (21%). Minor is the participation in the secondary or industrial sector (11%), as well as the absence of participation in the primary or agricultural sector, given that this neighborhood is absolutely urban.

Distance of work for women is revealed as follows: 59% go outside their community, and need transportation and time to get to their place of work. Only 26% of women work in

the same community or neighborhood, and approximately 15% carry out extra-domestic work at home. As is expected, most of the women who work at home (60%), say that their main objective of employment is to help on home expenditures. Almost 50% of work by task, and 40% of women's work is part time. Most (80%) are self-employed without collaborators, and 67% are working in the informal sector. The majority of these women (60%) have only a small social network with just one or two close friends.

The hours worked during the week, or weight work, show that 25% of women work 20 or fewer hours, while another 25% work fewer than 40 hours (the working time stated in the Federal Work Law in Mexico). However, 34% of women work more than 40 hours and in some extreme cases, 15 women work between 50 and 80 hours per week. Thirty-five percent of the women work intensively on weekends (28 hours in two days). The frequency of years at work has a very broad distribution that goes from some weeks until more than 31 years. However, most of the women (33%) have between 1 and 5 years seniority at the same place, and if we add the women who have worked between 6 to 10 years, both groups would come to 52%. The majority of women have no more than 10 years seniority in the same employment.

In the majority of women's households there are no children less than 12 years of age. This is what was expected given the maturity of most women in this neighborhood. However, we must remember that some women take care of their grandchildren although they might live in other neighborhoods. But without any doubt, in Mexican culture children's care is a very basic aspect because motherhood is considered the main role in women's lives. Of the 101 women we found participating in the labor force, in 45% of the cases their children were

being cared for by relatives. Thirty-two percent are caring alone for their own children, and 9% of husbands are participating in childcare.

There is a limited use of domestic employees (3%) for childcare, in spite of being a neighborhood with high quality of life. This might be because of the importance of childcare in Mexican society in general, and particularly in women whose distrust might resist to outsourcing this activity to strangers. In words of an interviewed woman, “Among the disadvantages of participating in the labor force is that children are bound to other educative forms, to other people with different ideologies” (16/TJ/4.1).

One-third of working women in this neighborhood take care of their children by themselves. They could be adapting their jobs in a flexible way, working part time or working in the home and carrying out a double role (as family caregivers and working women). Working women who take care of their own children tend to have fewer fulltime jobs (52%) than those who make other arrangements (72%), and more part time jobs (32%) than those who receive support in childcare (24%) (see table 6).

Table 6. Type of Work and Childcare

Type of Work	Women Care Own Children	%	Others Care for Children	%
Fulltime	16	52	48	72
Part time	10	32	16	24
By task	4	13	2	3
Other	1	1	1	1

In summary, the working profile of women in this neighborhood is continuous, before they have children, and not interrupted by motherhood. It is also a fulltime work far from the neighborhood, with an average week of 34 hours. Women are working primarily in the

service sector as teachers, salespersons and secretaries and are mostly subordinated employees. Women's participation in the labor force in this neighborhood is mainly for economic reasons, than for achieving personal fulfillment. This was not unexpected since it was a middle economic class neighborhood.

Reliability and Validity

Factor analysis was performed to corroborate the internal validity of the family organization dimension, and for a social capital scale adapted for this study. The principal axis factoring extraction method was used with the rotation method Varimax.

In family organization dimension, factor analysis was performed on four variables. They are in two components shown in table 7. Cronbach Alpha, the second component, is too low. It might be because there are a lot of zeros given in the answers that indicate men rarely contribute to domestic activities.

Table 7. Factor Analysis Family Organization

Variables/component	Loading	Cronbach Alpha
Total of residents at home	0.897	0.471
Type of family	0.894	
Total women's domestic labor	0.687	0.128
Total men's domestic labor	0.788	

Decision-making is a scale used in a national survey in Mexico to measure women's decision-making ability. It is composed of 15 items. The Cronbach Alpha Coefficient for the original 15 scale items is 0.747.

Factor analysis was not performed to corroborate the internal validity of potential social capital (network size and network quality). However, network quality reliability was tested with Cronbach Alpha Coefficient and was a score of 0.758; therefore, this construct reliability is ensured. The Cronbach Alpha Coefficient for the original 5 scale items was 0.680. Therefore, reliability is ensured.

Table 8. Factor Analysis Effective Social Capital

Variable/component Scores	Loadings
Labor support	0.988
Children's care	0.977
Economic support	0.968
Housekeeping support	0.982
Psychological support	0.940

Comparing Groups

Family Organization

Family organization is a dimension used to explain women's participation in the labor force. Variables include family organization defined in chapter 3 as family size, family type, domestic labor, and decision-making. The general hypothesis is, *Women's participation in the labor force varies according to family size, family type, domestic labor and decision making.*

Family Size and Type of Family

The average number of residents in each household is five. The number is similar to the average of residents per group. The type of family results indicate that most families in this neighborhood are nuclear (73%), therefore, extended family make up 27%. This is

coincident with numbers at the national and state level. Also this finding corroborates Arriagada's (2002) report: that "nuclear families keep predominance in Latin America" (p. 152).

Family Size

Scores of family size in both groups of working and non-working women were compared for differences of family size in both groups. An independent-samples t-test was calculated comparing the mean score of women's family size in two independent groups—women who participate in the labor force and women who do not. No significant difference was found ($t(185) = -0.822, p > 0.05$). The mean of women who participate in the labor force ($m = 2.84, sd = 1.80$) was not significantly different from the mean of non working women ($m = 2.63, sd = 1.75$).

Type of Family

A chi-square test of independence was calculated comparing the result of type of family for women who participate in the labor force and women who do not participate in the labor force. A significant interaction was found ($\chi^2(1) = 0.758, p > 0.05$). Therefore, type of family and WPLF are independent each other.

Domestic Labor

Domestic labor refers to the number of hours women work in the household, and also the number of hours that husbands participate in that kind of work. Data about any other personal support of domestic activities in the household is also included.

The number of hours women dedicate to domestic labor is variable because it spans from 3 hours to 98 hours per week. The mode with 13 frequencies is 56 hours. During the

collecting data phase, a difference in the behavior of this variable was observed between Monday to Friday on one side, and the weekend (Saturday and Sunday) on the other. Therefore we have variables with sums of hours dedicated to domestic labor during the week and on the weekend, and total hours for women's household work.

Women's total domestic labor

Results show that most women who carry out domestic labors spend 40 hour per week during the weekdays, while most women who do domestic labors on weekend dedicate six hours on both days. There are five women who participate in the labor force that during the week do not dedicate any hour to domestic labor; these same women work from 12 to 20 hours in domestic activities on weekend. There are 35 women who do not carry out domestic labor on weekend; 18 of them do not participate in the labor force, and 17 are working women.

Scores of hours dedicated to domestic labor in both groups of working and non-working women were compared to determine any difference between the two groups. An independent-samples t-test compared the mean scores of women's hours dedicated to domestic labor in two independent groups—women who participate in the labor force and women who do not participate in the labor force. A significant difference was found between the means of the two groups ($t(3.43)=0.001, p<0.05$). The mean of the non-working women was significantly higher than ($m=42.10, sd=20.85$) than the working women ($m=31.65, sd=20.99$). A significant difference between both means was found between the quantity of hours dedicated to domestic labor.

The difference in both means, even though significant, is not so high (nine hours per week), that is, working women do a lot of domestic labor. Total of charge in hours for 103

working women is a minimum 13 and a maximum 131 hours, with a mean of 66 hours a week. Added hours are spent at work in domestic labor, so we begin to get a picture of how demanding it is for these women to be both a worker and a housewife.

Husband's total domestic labor

Seventy percent of husbands (133) do not help in household work. On weekends the number of men who do not help women in the household increases to 136 (72%). It was expected, given that husbands have more free time on weekend, that the number who didn't help, would decrease.. Of the 54 husbands who did help with household work, most (22) spent only two hours per weekend.

Scores of hours dedicated by husbands to domestic labor in both groups of working and not-working women were compared to observe if there is a difference. An independent-samples t-test was calculated to compare the mean score of men's domestic labor in two independent groups: women who participate in the labor force and women who do not. No significant difference was found ($t(178)=0.554$, $p>0.05$). The mean of the women who participate in the labor force ($m=4.51$, $sd=8.67$) was not significantly different from the mean of non working women ($m=3.78$, $sd=9.32$). The fact that there is no difference between the means of both groups indicates that husbands do not help domestically even if their wives are participating in the labor force.

Other supports in domestic labor

Most women did not receive any other support in domestic work (43%), but 24% reported receiving support from their daughters, while only 11% received support from their sons. It seems to be the cultural ideology that designates women for household work.

Half of the interviewed women carried out all domestic activities by themselves, without any support. Also in the qualitative component it was possible to detect differences in the types of domestic activities in which husbands are more willing to help (e.g., cleaning the cars, doing yard work, going to pay receipts' services). Children did keep their bedrooms in order. Women's exclusive spaces were the kitchen and general home sites (cooking; cleaning activities). Traces of changes in domestic labor distribution are perceived in younger marriages.

Decision-making

Decision-making is a psychological process that reflects personal autonomy or individuation. The assumption for this study is: social agents—women in this case—are individuals with personal strategies and objectives, and they are capable of some autonomy, independently of the structural constraints. Hence, women might have increased their decision-making level thanks to their participation in the labor force.

Who decides?

There are 15 different type of decisions related to the family. In the survey, each type of decision had four possible answers: 4 she; 3 both; 2 he; 1 others. A total score was constructed by adding answers to each type of decision. The answers' continuum went from total absence of women in decision-making, 1 and 2 options, to 3, where it was posited that women do have a voice in decision-making, until 4, when there was an entire assumption of personal decision-making.

We assumed that higher scores would indicate a higher women's decision-making level. In most cases, 49% of husbands were making the decisions in family versus 37% for

women and 19% of cases when both were making decisions together. Only 2% of the cases were there other persons, neither she- nor he- making decisions (frequently these are their parents). Changes can be observed when this variable is applied to groups of women working and groups who are not. Men decide more (25%) when women do not participate in the labor force than when they do (15%). Even if differences related to decision-making by women in both groups seems minimum, 38% and 35% respectively, decision making shared by both men and women in marriage is higher when women do participate in the labor force (45%) than when they do not (39%). The total decision score goes from 27 to 59 points.

Later, the scores of decision-making in both groups of working and non-working women are compared to see if there is a difference between decision making in both groups. An independent-samples t-test comparing the mean scores of women's decision-making scores in two independent groups: women who participate in the labor force and women who do not participate in the labor force, found a significant difference between the means of the two groups ($t(182) = -3.11, p < 0.05$). The mean of decision making of working women ($m = 47.34, sd = 5.53$) was significantly higher than decision making of non-working women ($m = 44.80, sd = 5.63$).

Decision-making is the only positive variable associated with the ideal of family in modernity that "would be expressed in democratic rights, its members autonomy and a more equilibrated division of labor (domestic and social), opportunities and decision making" (Arriagada, 2002, p, 148).

Types of decisions

Of particular consideration is the type of decisions women make. According to qualitative results in this study, the type of decision is related to children's ages, because a lot

of decisions are made for them when they are younger (e.g., education, discipline, health care). As one of the interviewed women pointed out, “When they were children, decisions to make were about education, but now they have a life done, I cannot decide anymore” (7/NT/7.4).

In general, women in the neighborhood make many decisions about food (68%) and the use of contraceptives (67%). They have a low decision-making score in decisions of when to have sex (10%) or about buying a car (13%). The main decisions they make together with their husbands are those related to children, such as education (64%), how to spend free time in the family (57%) and about children’s activities (47%). Unexpected information was that both men and women make decisions about the use of contraceptives, but in most cases (67%) it is the women who have to use them. In summary, areas of decision-making are clearly defined.

There seems to be a peculiar decision-making process in the Mexican culture revealed by the qualitative component, and that is even if women actually make the decisions, they simulate as if men themselves had made them. An interviewed women said that “decisions about children, I make them by myself, but I have to manage the way I tell him because he does not accept that I decide. I have to simulate as if he would be making the decision to avoid problems” (15/TJ/7.5).

Family Income

Possibly based on the actual environment of distrust in Nuevo Leon’s society, participants in this study refused to share money information about personal or family income. One in 4 (1 in 4) women did not answer this question about family salaries. This variable is scattered. From 141 surveyed women who did answer this question, salary ranges

from 1,000 to 52,000 Mexican pesos per month, with two modes (11): \$8,000 and \$12,000.

The median is also \$12,000.

Results of family salary varies between the two groups: (1) with N=81, family salary of women who do participate in the labor force ranges from 2,130 to 52,000 pesos, with a mean of 17,628 pesos, and (2) with N=60, family salary of women who do not participate in the labor force ranges from 1,000 to 32,000 pesos, with a mean of 11,828 pesos.

Most surveyed women (86%) receive no economic support from others outside their household. Women who do receive support (14%) are primarily those who do not participate in the labor force (62%). Most economic support comes from women's relatives (27%), and pensions (23%). The quantity of economic support varies between 500 and 8,000 Mexican pesos each month. The mode is 2,000 pesos, and the mean of economic support is 3,217 pesos each month

Personal Attributes

Schooling

In the full sample, 23% of the women in this neighborhood qualify for a professional career with 16 years of schooling; 17% of the women have finished high school level with nine years of schooling, More than half of women in the sample have more than 12 years of schooling. The average women's education is 11.72 years, and is higher than the national and state averages of 8.2 and 9.5 years of school, respectively.

When averages in schooling in both groups are compared, women who participate in the labor force have a 12.81 average; meanwhile, those who do not participate in the labor force are less educated with 10.48 years of schooling. It might seem to be a non-significant difference, but 33% of working women's level of education compares to 27% of the

education level of those who do not participate in the labor force. Becker's assumption that higher levels of education bring higher levels of women's participation to the labor market (Parrado & Zenteno, 2000; Garcia & Oliveira, 1994) is corroborated by this study results. For example, 8% of women who participate in the labor force have more than 16 years of schooling, while none of the women who do not participate in the labor force have reached this level of education.

An independent samples t-test was used to compare the mean scores of years of schooling in two independent groups—women who participate in the labor force and women who do not participate in the labor force. A significant difference was found between the means of the two groups ($t(183) = -4.44, p < 0.01$). The mean of years of schooling of working women ($m = 12.83, sd = 3.74$) is significantly higher than the years of schooling of non-working women ($m = 10.41, sd = 3.72$).

Schooling and salary

Almost 39% of the surveyed women refused to give information about their salaries. From those who did give information (62), the salaries ranged from 1,000 to 30,000 Mexican pesos. One-fourth of them were concentrated between 10,000 and 15,000 pesos. Monthly salary's mean, with such a high dispersion, was \$9,062.58. This level of salary confirms the economic wellbeing of the surveyed women, as well as the neighborhood they belong to, given that almost a half of women at the national level receive two minimum salaries of only \$7.50 a day. This is about 2,300 Mexican pesos (INEGI, 2004).

A hypothesis concerning schooling and salary is, *Higher wages are expected for women with higher years of schooling*. A Pearson's correlation coefficient was calculated for

the relationship between schooling and salaries for women who participate in the labor force. A moderate positive correlation was found ($r(62)=0.474$, $p<0.001$).

Labor experience

The labor experience variable is defined as the number of years that women have been participating in the labor force. In the qualitative component most women had some labor experience before they married. Some of them dropped out after marriage. The conclusion is that frequently women opt for the roles of mothers, wives and daughters over women's worker role. Participation in women's labor force is dependent on family dynamics, not on women's personal plans. Labor frequencies are much dispersed because they go from 0 to 42 years, with a mean of 12.91 years and a mode of 10 years. Twenty-six percent of surveyed women have never participated in the labor force. As stated previously, however, 57% of women now have a continuous pattern of participation.

Scores of labor experience of working and non-working women were used to compare to labor experience in both groups. An independent-samples t-test compared the mean scores of women's labor experience scores in two independent groups: women who participate in the labor force and women who do not participate in the labor force. As expected, a significant difference was found between the means of the two groups ($t(167)=-9.44$, $p<0.01$). The mean of labor experience of working women ($m=18.26$, $sd=10.81$) was significantly higher than labor experience of non-working women ($m=6.29$, $sd=6.34$).

Potential social capital

Social network approach is used to know the potential social capital, because it measures the quantity and quality of a personal network (e.g., size, density, strength, weak ties) (Zhao, 2002).

Women's Network

Network size

In general, women's network size is small because it has a mean of 2.87. The reason might be an absence of social cohesion, an isolation not only in neighborhood ties but also in family ties. Perhaps this is a source for another study because of a generalized distrust in Monterrey's society. Results definitely indicate that there is an absence of social support for women, whether they do participate in the labor force, or whether they do not. Eight percent of women in the sample had a total absence of potential social capital, no frequent sources of social support, with no help from families.

Network size is one of the variables that discloses the existence of potential social capital in women's lives. If it is small, then social capital is, in all probability, at a minimum. Forty-four percent of women have a network size of two or three persons. On the high end of social capital were two extreme cases of eight persons in their social network.

Means of network are not very different: 2.84 (N=103) for those who are participating in the labor force versus 2.63 (N=87) for those who do not participate in the labor force. Women who participate in the labor force have more empty networks (10%) versus 6% of women who do not participate in the labor force. In the extreme cases of the two women who do not work but have eight elements in their social networks, could future studies ask, do you have more support because you have more free time to develop your social ties? Then we could ask those women who do participate in the labor force with smaller social networks, since you have less time available, are you using your social capital more intensively?

For this study, an independent-samples t-test was calculated comparing the mean score of network size in two independent groups: women who participate in the labor force

and women who do not. No significant difference was found ($t(185) = -1.432, p > 0.05$). The mean of the women who participate in the labor force ($m = 3.15, sd = 1.63$) was not significantly different from the mean of non working women ($m = 2.79, sd = 1.67$).

Network's gender

Network support is made up primarily of women. Women support each other. It doesn't matter if the women are in the labor force, or not, the percentage is identical—in both groups 74% receive their support from other women.

Network significant contacts: Who are they?

A primary significant contact is a person that women first go to seeking a confidant, affection, closeness, and support. Twenty-two percent of the women in the working force said that their primary contacts were their husbands, 19% were their parents (commonly the mother), 18% their sisters and brothers, and 10% to their sons and daughters. Slightly less than 12% went to their friends as the primary significant contact. This is important given that the majority of women have adult sons and daughters.

On the other hand, women who do not participate in the labor force went to their sisters (20%) with higher frequency than they went to their husbands (19%) and to their parents 13% of the time. That means that sisters are more important in women's lives when they are not participating in the labor force than in the working group. Another observation is that women who participate in the labor force mentioned their friends in the same quantity as non-working women mentioned their brothers and sisters. Family ties might be replaced by friendly ties when women go out from their household to work. Neighbors are absent in both

groups, but possibly they were mentioned in the relatives or friends categories. When a neighbor becomes a friend, he/she drops out of the category of neighbor.

The average age of the women's significant contact is 54 in both groups; this was expected because the average age of the surveyed women is 56. The professional level of education of the primary significant contact was 35%, and if technical level of 21% were added to that, the total sum of a good level of education would be 56%.

Network element's personal attributes:

Quality of network

Women's significant contacts come to a women's network with their personal human capital:

1. Education, providing their potential value to the women's networks;
2. Contact's position at work;
3. A type of relationship, that is the relationship that has a significant contact with a woman. This variable is categorized by closeness to a woman: 8=husband, 7=son/daughter, 6=parents, 5=brother/sister, 4=other relative, 3=friend, 2=workmate, and 1=neighbor; and,
4. Years of a relationship, with the assumption that along with their association, confidence, solidarity and trust would be increased. It is measured in the number of years that a woman has met her network element.

The four variables are added to produce a kind of quality of network score which, together with network size, are the potential social capital.

Quality of network was explored, looking for differences between both groups. An independent-samples t-test was calculated comparing the mean score of women who participate in the labor force to the mean score of women who do not participate in the labor

force. No significant difference was found ($t(157)=1.24, p>0.05$). The mean of women who participate in the labor force ($m=37.61, sd=11.32$) was not significantly different from the mean of women who do not participate in the labor force ($m=40, sd=13.73$).

Later quality of network's variables were revised again. There was a problem with position at work because almost 30% of the surveyed women did not know this personal labor situation in their contacts. This variable was eliminated from this construct, and then another variable, network average, was elaborated on. It is the sum of three original variables: education, type of relationship, and years of relationship, listed above; this total was divided by network size. Originally, it was only a general sum, including network size, but now it is considered it is possible to know about the quality of each significant contact based on the network size.

Scores of network averages in both working and non-working women were compared to see if there was a difference between the two groups. An independent-samples t-test comparing the mean scores of women's network quality scores in the two independent groups, found a significant difference between the two means ($t(189)=1.894, p<0.05$). The mean of network quality of working women ($m=33.22, sd=16.13$) was significantly lower than the network quality of non-working women ($m=16.28$).

Effective Social Capital

Social capital is defined as benefits in terms of instrumental support, material support and psychological support obtained by women, thanks to their social ties emanating from their social networks. These benefits have been grouped into the following variables—type of received support, sources of social capital (relationships with other women), and a

measurement of quality of the obtained benefit (from 1 to 10 given by women's perceptions of the value of the received support).

1. Types of support are psychological, economical, instrumental (children's care or domestic labor supports), and labor. Most forthcoming was psychological support, given that only 14 women never received any. Economical support, however, was the most extensive support, with 27 women who did not receive any; 36 women did not receive support in childcare; and finally, 136 women never received support in getting a job.

2. Sources of social capital are the relationships of persons who provide some kind of support to women. They are mentioned in order by closeness: relative, friend, neighborhood, or workmate.

Women in the neighborhood obtained psychological support from their relatives (72%); this proportion is similar in both groups. The next source of social capital is friendship, although this relationship is more relevant in women who do not participate in the labor force (15%); that in women who do work (12%). The difference is that the latter substituted with workmates.

Almost 80% of women receive economic support from their relatives. They rarely receive this kind of support from their friends or neighbors. Cultural reasons might be the reason for this. Especially where social status is concerned, people tend to hide when they have a hardship situation about economic resources. In Mexico this is called "apuros económicos." Seventeen percent of working women and 11% of women did not go to anybody for help when they needed economic help.

Women receive childcare support from their relatives (70%), but women who participate in the labor force increase their demand for this kind of support (76%), versus

64% of those who do not participate in the labor force. Women participating in the labor force do not ask for childcare support (16%), and this might be an indicator that women have combined their participation in the labor force with their childcare responsibilities by adapting their work to flexible work schedules or part time jobs because women have been participating in the labor force most of their lives.

Women's support in domestic activities has similar results in childcare support; given that 56% of women receive these benefits from their relatives. Women who participate in the labor force do not receive any support in domestic labor in 21% of cases versus 24% of women who do not participate in the labor force and do not receive this kind of support either. This minimal difference could be the symptom of a double working charge of women who are participating in the labor force.

Women seem to be more open to hiring persons for domestic services (20%) than they do for childcare. A seeming contradiction emerged in the finding that women who do not participate in the labor force hire persons for domestic services (23%) more often than women who do participate in the labor force do (18%). Cases of hiring services in any type of support have not been included because women have to pay for them; they are not social capital.

Social capital used to get a job has been studied in other countries. Results in this study show that most of women (63%) have not received any support to get their jobs; only 21% of them have received this kind of support from relatives, and 13% have been helped by their friends. This means that 1 of each 3 women who participates in the labor force has used her social capital to gain employment.

About 25% of women have received other kinds of support; the most important being the care they received in cases of serious illness. In most cases they have received this kind of support from their relatives. A few women mentioned other kinds of support such as spiritual (5), moral (4) or orientation (3). They may have misunderstood the question that was included with psychological support.

Three final variables were constructed:

1. Effective social capital types (CS_types) is a sum derived from the types of support women are effectively receiving: psychological, economic, instrumental (children's care and help in domestic labor), and labor. The CS_types measure the presence of types of support. Highest score is 5, when a woman receives all types of support.

2. Effective real social capital average (CS_PromR) is the product of total social capital score divided by CS_types to measure the effectiveness of the received social capital.

3. CS_Prom_5 is the average result between total social capital score divided by 5, which is the major presence of social capital according to the 5 different types.

Table 9. Group Statistics: Social Capital

Variable	t	gl	Sig	Group	Mean	Std. Dev.
Social capital types	-1.22	187	0.225	W	3.74	1.02
				Non-W	3.56	9.49
Social capital Real average	-1.70	186	0.091	W	10.11	2.43
				Non-W	9.53	2.26
Social capital General average	-2.32	187	0.021	W	7.49	2.47
				Non-W	6.75	1.95

Scores of the three variables mentioned in table 9—CS_types, CS_PromR, and CS_Prom_5—in both groups of working and non-working women, were compared to see

any difference in these effective social capital indicators between both groups. Results showed that only in one-third CS_Prom_5, an independent sample t-test comparing the mean scores of women's social capital average scores in two independent groups: women who participate in the labor force and women who do not participate in the labor force—was there a significant difference between the means of the two groups ($t(187)=0.21$ $p<0.05$). The mean of women's social capital average (CS_Prom_5) of working women ($m=7.49$, $sd=2.47$) was significantly higher than the mean of women's social capital average (CS_Prom_5) of non-working women ($m=6.75$, $sd=1.95$).

Quality of obtained benefit

Finally, a measurement of effective social capital is included. It is a number assigned by women to qualify the obtained benefits coming from their social networks. Results demonstrate that women who participate in the labor force's mean is higher (37.53) than mean of those who do not participate in the labor force. (33.73). It might indicate that women who are participating in the labor force utilize their social capital more than women who do not participate in the labor force. Mode in the first group is 50; it is 30 in the second one.

Scores of effective social capital in both groups of working and non-working women were compared to observe whether there is a difference in social capital between both groups. An independent-samples t-test comparing the mean scores of women's effective social capital scores in two independent groups: women who participate in the labor force and women who do not participate in the labor force, found a significant difference between the means of the two groups ($t(187)= -2.319$, $p<0.05$). The mean of effective social capital of working women ($m=37.46$, $sd=12.34$) was significantly higher than effective social capital of non-working women ($m=33.73$, $sd=9.76$).

Multivariate analysis was conducted to determine if status as working women could be correctly predicted from a series of predictor variables related to family organization, personal attributes, and social capital. Binary logistic regression was selected as the most appropriate statistical approach to answer the hypothesis.

Logistic regression is the statistical appropriated test “to predict a discrete outcome such as group membership from a set of variables that may be continuous, discrete, or a mix” (Tabanick & Fidell, 2000, p. 517). Where there is a dichotomous dependent, logistic regression must be the test to use. The hypotheses to test are defined in terms of the probability for women to be participating or not participating in the labor force, according to 10 variables that might predict this situation. The Enter method is preferred over the Stepwise methods because there were no hypothesized speculations concerning the order or importance of predictor variables.

Logistic regression has no assumptions about the distribution of the predictor variable (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2000). Normality graphics have been explored in SPSS of all the independent variables. In most of the cases, extreme values have related with the absence of social networks, and that is important for this study because it is also an indicator of zero social network support. In other cases outliers have been controlled or erased to have a better normal distribution.

On the other hand, multicollinearity is a situation in which two or more of the independent variables are very highly correlated, and it is impossible to estimate the regression coefficients of the independent variables. Kendall’s bivariate correlations among independent variables have been measured. Results demonstrate that any correlation coefficient is 0.90 and above (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2000, p. 83). Some created variables

were eliminated because they were created based on existing variables, which is the case of total potential social capital. This is the sum of network size and quality of network, plus effective social capital and the sum of social capital type and quality of social capital. Therefore, multicollinearity is absent.

The total sample size for the logistic regression analysis is 190, of which, 173 are included in the analysis. A total of 17 was excluded due to partial missing data. Regression results reveal that the overall model consisting of 10 predictors is significant in differentiating between participation and non-participation in the labor force status by mothers' and women's ages 18 to 64 (-2 Log Likelihood=146.59; Model Chi-Square=2.88; $p>0.05$). With knowledge of the predictors included in the analysis, the model accurately classified 79.8 % of the cases. Although it is more precise in correctly classifying women's non-working status 78 % of the time. Table 10 depicts the regression coefficients only for the statistical significant variables included in the logistic model.

Table 10. Regression Coefficients

Predictor	B	SE	Wald	df	p	Exp(B)
Labor experience	0.196	0.034	32.179	1	0.000	1.216
Decision-making	0.084	0.043	3.902	1	0.048	1.088
Network size	0.919	0.313	8.585	1	0.003	2.506
Net quality	-0.025	0.007	11.186	1	0.001	0.976

The Wald statistics and accompanying significance level reveal that four variables are significant in predicting women's participation in the labor force at the $p<0.05$ level, controlling for the influences of the other predictors in the model: (1) women's labor experience significantly predicted the participation of women 18 to 64 in the labor force

(Wald 32.179, $p=0.000$), (2) decision-making significantly predicted the participation of women in the labor force (Wald 3.902, $p=0.048$), (3) network size significantly predicted the participation of women in the labor force (Wald 8.58, $p=0.003$), (4) net quality significantly predicted the participation of women in the labor force (Wald 1.86, $p=0.001$).

The Exp(B) statistics, or odds ratio, reflects the increase in odds of being classified in one outcome category when the predictor variable increases by one unit. Thus, when labor experience increases a year, the odds of women's participation in the labor force increases by 1.21 times; when decision-making increase a unit, the odds of women's participation in the labor force increases by 1.08 times; when network size increases in one significant contact, the odds of women's participation in the labor force increases by 2.56 times; and finally, when net quality increases in one unit, the odds of women's participation in the labor force increases 0.976 times.

Hypotheses

Family Organization

1. *Women with smaller family size are more likely to participate in the labor force than women with larger family size.*

Hypothesis 1 was not supported by the data even if this variable with family size was identified together as a factor. However, the t-test did not find a significant difference between means in both groups, and the regression coefficient results did not support this hypothesis.

2. *Women with nuclear family are more likely to participate in the labor force than women with extended family.*

Hypothesis 2 was not supported by the data. This is an homogeneous sample, and differences between groups were not enough to support this hypothesis, either as differences or as a predictive. Chi-square did not find differences between working and non-working groups. Regression coefficient confirmed the absence of influence of this variable as a predictor in women's participation in the labor force.

3. Women with fewer hours dedicated to domestic labor are more likely to participate in the labor force than those who dedicated more hours to the domestic labor.

Hypothesis 3 was not supported by the data. However, t-test found a significant difference between both groups of working and non-working women in hours dedicated to domestic activities. Women's hours spent at work added to hours dedicated to domestic labor. One hundred and three working women gave an average of 66 hours a week.

4. Women with higher scores in decision-making are likely to participate in the labor force than those with smaller scores in decision-making.

Hypothesis 4 was not supported by the data. However, t-test found a significant difference between both groups in decision making: women who participate in the labor force make more decisions than non-working women.

Personal Attributes

1. The higher levels of education, the more probabilities for women to participate in the labor force than women with lower levels of education.

Hypothesis 1 was not supported by the data. However, t-test found a significant difference between means of the groups of working and non-working women. Working women are more educated than non-working women.

2. *The higher levels of labor experience, the higher the probabilities for women to participate in the labor force than women with lower levels of labor experience.*

Hypothesis 2 was supported by the data. Women with higher levels of *labor experience* are more likely to participate in the labor force than women with fewer years of experience.

Social Capital

1. *The higher existence of potential social capital, the higher probabilities for women to participate in the labor force.*

Hypothesis 1: Women with higher network size and network quality are more likely to participate in the labor force than women with lower network size and network quality. Both variables, network size and network quality, are women's potential social capital in this study, and both are predictors in women's participation in the labor force.

2. *The higher existence of effective of social capital, the higher probabilities for women to participate in the labor force.*

Hypothesis 2 was not supported by the data, even if it was an emerged factor as an underlying construct in the factor analysis. In this study the two variables, total social capital and quality of social capital, are considered the effective social capital in women's lives. However, they were not predictors in women's participation in the labor force. That is, women are using their social capital in an effective way so it doesn't matter whether or not they are participating in the labor force. According to t-test results, that is the case even if working women's benefits are higher in quality.

Qualitative Findings

Analysis

Ideas are expressions of a culture. According to Geertz (2000), culture is a set of semiotic significances. “Man is an animal insert in significant plots made by himself; I consider culture as this human plot, and therefore culture analysis has to be not an experimental science looking for laws but an interpretative science looking for significances” (p. 20). How can we express any object of subject imaginary? Only by language mediation.

Analysis has been divided into three parts:

1. motives, images and ideas about women’s labor force participation in their own words;
2. categories about women’s situation, as understood by Garcia and Oliveira (2003), describing women’s situation in family (i.e., domestic labor organization and decision-making inside the household); and
3. generations and culture women’s ideas.

Women’s labor trajectory is always the context of their words.

Interviewed Women’s Profile

Interviewed women range between 31 and 62 years of age; the average is 51. They are mature, with families in the “empty nest” and their sons and daughters have gotten married. This is corroborated with the number of children residing at home, because there are no children under 12 in most of the households. Families are mostly nuclear (i.e., only three are non nuclear or extensive families). This type of family proportion is similar in the quantitative component.

Motives to work: vary between children's welfare and family economy

Interviewed women maintained that participation in the labor force is justified only for economic motives. Otherwise, women should stay at home. A woman that never has participated in the labor force said

If my daughter would have chosen a man with professional career, she would not have need to work. I would have liked that she would dedicate to her son... that she would stay at home (11.NW/1.6).

Another professional young woman:

Since my husband is doing well at his job, then there is no need for me to leave my home to work (4/DW/1.1).

An idea is present in professional women's discourses: Working is a logic consequence for those who have studied a professional career, that is, if someone has a high level of education, there is an expectative of continuous participation in the labor force. This finding corroborates Valle (2002) who referred to the association between level of studies and resistance to drop out of the profession. That means that educated women are the ones who have more doubts about deciding between productive work or staying at home. Words of two interviewed women:

If I will study a professional career it is because I will work on it (5/CW/1.1).

I never leaved my work because being a teacher is my profession, and it is my vocation (12/RW/1.1).

She was the only interviewed woman who refered to vocation as motivation to work. Participation in the labor force is also influenced by type of work or occupation. For example, women tends to participate in activities associated with women's typical social roles, such as care for others. In this case, most working women were teachers with the advantages of work schedule (5 or 6 hours a day); retirement benefits and social recognition.

These types of professions reduce the possibilities of conflict with their husbands. Only one of the interviewed women had dropped out of her job when she got married, while six other women stayed working until they accomplish enough years to be retired.

One response gives us a good picture of the idea of a change in women's perceptions of their life's course. It refers to achieve personal fulfillment:

Work is to achieve personal fulfillment before you have children; when they come, we work outside the household to contribute to family economy; when sons and daughters have gone, we work again to achieve personal fulfillment (9/RW/1.1).

Among all the interviewed women, this above mentioned reflected women's idea of the way to achieve personal fulfillment. According to this woman, to achieve personal fulfillment depends on the presence or absence of children, unless (this is a clue for future studies) motherhood produces some kind of personal fulfillment substituting for the one of paid-labor. This would contradict Garcia & Oliveira (1994), who elaborated a significance for work typology and probe it in different socio economic status. They concluded that participation in the labor force in medium sectors, as is this case, are more related to women's personal fulfillment and personal development than in popular sector where participation is associated to economic motives.

Women who do not participate in labor force—their motives

Among these interviewed women, 4 of 9 said that children were the main motive for not working. The women wanted to be there while they grow up, and did not want to leave them in the "hands of strangers." It is possible to infer that women's possibility to participate in the labor force is conditioned by a lifetime caring for others. An example is a particular woman's case where she never participated in the labor force, first raising her children and later taking care of her mother, who was sick in bed for five years. Another case, a women

waited for the children's time at school to coincide with her going to work; which never happened, so when she was ready, their children were teenagers. "It was not a good idea to leave them alone at home" (20/NW/1.2). (Original women's names have been changed to keep them anonymous.) The idea that they need their husband's permission to work and need to submit to their husband's orders are still predominant thinking with Mexican women. This is Elvira's case who accepted her boyfriend's condition: "*You will live to take care of my home and my children*" (1/NW/1.3)

When family is in the empty nest phase, and children's care is over, the demand of women's care decrease; then a new activity will catch women's efforts—grandchildren's care. The majority of the interviewed women take care of their grandchildren, even if they participate in the labor force, and particularly if they are retired from their works. That means that motherhood and childcare transcend the different stages in women's lives. An example is Alicia's case (7/NW/) who has helped to her daughters a lot because she has taken care of her seven grandchildren. The oldest one is now 16 years old. Her daughters could not be in the labor force without Alicia's support.

Work significance—between personal fulfillment and helpfulness

In Mexico there is a tradition in studies of the significance of work in women's lives, and that is the logic behind WPLF: economic need and personal fulfillment (Garcia & Oliveira, 1994). Occupation and type of work influence women about paid-work. Women who have been working continuously consider paid work a personal fulfillment because their performance in a particular profession or occupation produce motivation and satisfaction. However, they lost that priority as soon as any care requirement appears at home.

Paid-work as an instrument, as a mean, varies in women's expressions: "It is a therapy," said Elvira (1/NW/2.1) who creates handmade flowers at home; "It is a resource to live," said a retired teacher who now is employed in a wedding-dress store (20/RW/1.1). Paula's words reflect her vision about paid-work as a means and source of other material benefits:

I always have thought that work is like my dad. . . . Work never tells me that there is nothing, on the contrary, work have given me to go on vacations; to have a good life, to dress me, to eat whatever I want; to live decently, then for me work is everything (17/CW/2.1).

Women who have been working in a discontinuous pattern, on and off the labor market, talk about a presence or an absence they consider worthy:

I was working long time ago, and when I did it, I was another person," says Guillermina with nostalgia (14/DW/2.2).

Here at home I feel that I am a non-worthily person because I do not help to the family economy; I feel as a complete person when I have paid-jobs (10/DW/2.1).

Some interviewed women referred to work as support of their husbands. They felt that the main provider role was not theirs. None of the women had a negative expression about their work, that is, they perceived it not as a burden but as a positive activity.

Here are the words of a woman who has never participated in the labor force:

I see around me, that women just want to work because they want to escape from the responsibility at home. . . there is a lot of work. . .without any payment. (11/NW/5.3).

In this study paid work as a personal career is not observed. It would be if women could fit their other roles around the worker role. This has not happened here because it is observed (in women's words, professional women included) that paid-work is a complement; it is lesser to roles like housewife or daughter, and especially to a mother's role. Therefore, in

interviewed women the conception of paid work as a personal project, associated with the vision of a major autonomy, is absent. It is contrary to Garcia and Oliveira's (1993) findings.

Advantages and Disadvantages: Triangulation

Questions about advantages and disadvantages for working were asked of interviewed women. What were the advantages and disadvantages for working and for not working. The purpose was to corroborate the information that would be a crossover (e.g., what are advantages for a woman who participates in the labor force might be disadvantages for a woman who did not participate in the labor force). At the same time, disadvantages expressed by women not participating in the labor force, are referring to the advantages they would win if they could participate in the labor force. In general terms, this question is about what women gain or lose when they are or not participating in the labor force.

Income is frequently expressed by women as an advantage of working or a disadvantage of not-working. As an advantage, the next brief and textual expressions are evidence of the importance of income: *"To live better economically"* (1/NW/3.1; 5/NW/3.1), *"To have more money"* (2/NW/4.1), *"If there are two salaries at home, a better way of living"* (7/DW/3.1), *"With two salaries there is a better chance to decorate your home, to give a better education to your children, and also to feed the family better"* (8/RW/3.1), *"Maybe with my husband's salary alone, my sons would have not studied"* (15/RW/3.2).

As disadvantages for not working: *"Income does not enter"* (1/NW/3.4), *"in economics"* (20/NW/3.1), *"less income"* (15/RW/3.4).

Being independent was another frequently stated opinion by interviewed women. However, it is just an economic independency because phrases immediately after the word "independent," are oriented to resources availability; for example:

[A woman] *“is more independent, she have her money”* (4/DW/3.1).

“First of all, we become independent. To know you have enough resources to maintain your economy next day. This kind of things give you a lot of security, it gives you a lot of value; it makes you self-sufficiently (6/CW/3.1).

“Being independent. . .I like to make my own money because I like to spend it whatever I want” (17/CW/3.1).

“Family economy is better, you are more independent” (14/DW/3.1).

Overall you do not depend on your husband, I mean, if I want to buy shoes, I do not have to ask anyone to give me money” (15/RW/3.2).

Among disadvantages of not working, which confirms the advantages of work,

Carmen and Paula, two women who have been working their whole lives say:

“She cannot decide about buying or how much to spend, because she depends on what her husband says” (19/RW/4.2).

A disadvantage might be that she does not have things thanks to her own work, her own money, her own effort” (17/CW/4.2).

More social life, a strong self-esteem, to realize what one has studied, your own satisfaction, to learn opportunities, free decision, and your children’s pride are diverse phrases from interviewed women. These phrases describe advantages of a working women:

“I feel that women must work if they want not to be subordinated to men. . .if I would not have worked, I would be with the yoke more fit” (15/RW/4.3).

It was the expression of a retired teacher who interrupted the interview to go in and clean her husband’s shoes.

“Woman who do not work, do not have advantages” (2/NW/4.1). (This is the categorical expression of a woman who has never participated in the labor force.)

An opposite argument is from other woman:

“To me the best thing is to stay at home, waiting for children. I have enjoyed my home a lot, my domestic activities, the cleaning, everything in order” (7/NW/3.2).

On the other hand, the advantages of not participating in the labor force or the disadvantages of participating in the labor force are referred to what women say when they want to stay at home and might lose when she goes out her home to work. Most of the surveyed women mentioned their children as the main beneficiaries of their domestic labor; to live side by side, to enjoy them and to keep an eye on them, are all arguments given by women to stay at home. It is inferred that results will be familiar cohesion. For example:

“To me it is a big thing to stay at home, waiting for children come from their school, preparing the meals they want to eat. I have enjoyed my home a lot, the domestic activities, cleaning, everything in order” (7/NW/3.2).

Those are phrases expressed by a woman who has never participated in the labor force because her husband did not let her. Another woman who was never part of the labor market said:

“When you stay at home, you support your son, support your husband; there is a lot of familiar cohesion; your husband goes to work, and when he come back you have the meals ready, you have his clothes ready, everything” (13/NW/3.2).

To the contrary, expressed by women who do not participate in the labor force, there are some disadvantages of working; for example, children are abandoned, and you are not present at the very important moments in your children’s lives.

The main disadvantage of working, expressed by women who do participate in the labor force, is the scarcity of opportunities to participate in family and scholarly activities. however this is not insurmountable. In her own words:

“Sometimes I do not have opportunities to go to some activities, because I think it twice before asking for leave allowance at work; however I do not feel it may be a great disadvantage” (5/CW/4.2).

“Sometimes you do not attend special occasions, some familiar activity because of your job responsibilities, but I think that you can combine both.” (9/RW/4.1)

Another disadvantage for not working, from the point of view of those who do participate in the labor force, is about the benefits a woman obtains herself by staying at home, for example:

“They do not have to be at home at a specific time, they may program their time as they want to” (6/CW/3.4).

“They can stay there and do whatever they want. If they want to read, if they want to care of their children, if they want to clean their homes” (10/DW/3.3).

“They may do their home activities, the meals, everything slower, quieter, they are not in a hurry like us” (15/RW/3.4).

“I think that if she organizes her time, she has a more relaxed life, rest hours, even leisure activities” (16/RW/3.2).

Stress is another disadvantage of work, expressed by one of the retired teachers:

A disadvantage of working is that we are running and running as a crazy woman, yes. You want to leave your house in order and cleaned. You go to work and bring work from the school to your home, and go on” (15/RW/4.2).

That same disadvantage was mentioned by a woman who has never participated in the labor force, but has observed their married-daughters' lives:

“When women work, they lose the advantages that we –the old women- have... modern women do not have them... they are stressed because they have to go to work, and come back, and they have to prepare dinner... they do not have time for anything, they do not have time for themselves... when they go to work they only have time enough to go to work... they get up in the morning, they go to the nursery to leave the baby, and go and they are in a hurry all day... and they go to sleep until midnight... and they get up early in the morning to start again” (13/NW/3.2).

These findings are similar to Ibrahim (1990) who found that multiple roles in Mexican women and “the level of their responsibilities and the demands on their time associated with the lack of help they have received from their husbands in meeting these demands, contributed to this overload” (p. 87). Also stress has implications for their health.

Images: The Number of Other Women

“I admire woman who works, who can with the household, who can with her children and her job” (7/NW/5.1).

This is the opinion of a teacher that left her work when she got married because she did not have her husband’s permission to work. She has taken care of all her grandchildren because she wants her daughters to work outside their homes.

Opinions and images can be socially defined. These social representations were here when they were born, and probably they will be there when they have gone. What ideas have non-working women about women who participate in the labor force? And, what are the perceptions that working women have about non-working women? These are their words:

Non-working women express their admiration about those who participate in the labor force. Also they think that working women are independent, dynamic, are capable to face challenges and become successful in their lives. These are the words of a woman who never has been in the labor market:

“They are positives. I think, now a days, a lot of women do not work because they need but because they want to” (20/NW/5.2).

Another woman with some kind of nostalgia, says:

“A paid-work is a motivation; she is giving herself the luxury to out and get money and to help her husband” (11/NW/5.3).

A retired teacher from her experience talked about working women’s image:

“I respect them because they are on charge of their work, they have to accomplish their schedule; they have to perform a labor activity; maybe they have conflicts at work, and then they go home to do domestic labor; to discipline children” (12/RW/5.2).

On the contrary, another retired woman emphasized her positive vision of work when she expressed:

“It is important a woman’s performance when she works because first of all, she achieves personal fulfillment; she has a personal freedom that produces satisfaction... and she achieves professional fulfillment as a professional woman, and at the same time, she collaborates to society’s development” (16/RW/5.1).

Women who are working outside their households think about women who do not work, as conformists, because:

“They resign themselves to whatever their husbands want to give them” (2/NW/5.1; 15/NW/5.3).

“They do not have aspiration.” (8/RW/5.3).

Convenience to comforts and submission are other explicative elements in women’s words:

“I think that there are women who do not work by convenience. . . because they like to stay only at home and they do not want to have responsibilities. . .but also there are some women without husbands allowance to work” (17/CW/5.1).

And, as a woman accustomed to having this double role as worker-housewife says:

“Submitted, I think that they are very unresisting women and maybe they are scared” (17/CW/5.2).

These findings are similar to Ibrahim’s (1990) study in Mexico:

The Mexican woman is confined to the home or to a repetitive, low-paying job, is unconditionally subordinated to men in general and her husband in particular, is passive and lacking initiative in making decisions, is self-abnegating and self-effacing before the interests of her husband and children. (p. 88)

Economic motive is often present, that is, the idea that women’s labor force participation is linked only to economic needs, given that men-providers are not capable to resolve the economic situation, and then women “help” them. Among them there are two retired women’s voices:

“Maybe husbands do not provide for all expenditures” (8/RW/5.3).

“She needs to go out to work because her husband’s salary is not enough and then she leaves her home and tries to help; she tries to complete with both salaries” (19/RW/6.1).

Another retired woman confirms:

“Well, if she doesn’t work, it is because she does not need it. If her husband gives her all she needs, she does not have to work” (19/RW/5.1).

Conformism is present also in self-image women who do not work have about themselves. For example, a women who has never worked outside her household in her marriage says:

“A woman who stays at home, maybe she does not want more money, she has to be happy to what her husband provides her, hasn’t she?” (2/NW/5.1).

Also respect is present in these images. It is linked to recognize that domestic activities are heavy, and socially undervalued; it is the case of a woman who has stayed in the labor force:

“Well, I respect them a lot. It is incredible but I have neighbors who enjoyed being housewives, since their hearts. . .really, they enjoy doing domestic labor; they enjoy taking care of their children; now taking care of their grandchildren, because all of them are grandmothers now” (6/CW/5.3).

A young professional woman who is dedicated to household says:

“A woman who stays at home is more worthy because domestic labor is never finished, and also it is a more heavy work, and you do not receive pay for it... it does not have value, and in office work, you just go to work from 9 to 6, and leave out.. and your work is finished” (4/DW/5.2).

About housekeeping labor and its payment, one of the retired women refers:

“It would be ideal if our husbands would pay us for domestic labor, as it is in other countries, and that we as women would be at home encouraging values: respect, responsibility, compassion for others; one of both must be closed to their children fostering those values” (16/RW/5.1).

Another woman who has not participated in the labor force during her marriage, proposes a solution to domestic labor, for those who work outside their households:

“I think that there are young women who like very much to stay at home. They like to do this kind of work, and I think that they could perfectly do this housekeeping role working at the homes of women who work outside their homes, because they need who take care of their children and they look for someone to enjoys this kind of work” (20/NW/5.2).

The same idea that academic and professional preparation is the source of a kind of enforcement for prepared women to participate in the labor force, or, on the contrary, lack of education is an argument for not to participate in the labor force; an example is a young professional who expresses:

“It is the same image of a woman –working or non-working; the only difference is her preparation; it is the academic level” (4/DW/5.2).

Another retired teacher says:

“Sometimes it is better for woman to stay at home, particularly if she is not prepared, and she is going to resolve her life with a low salary, but if you have an academic preparation, why not to get some benefit serving to society?” (8/RW/5.3).

A woman who did not realize extra-domestic work in her life considers two possible explanations to the causes a woman might not participate in the labor force:

“There might be two possibilities: (1) She is not prepared, that is, she does not have a profession and (2) she does not want to excel herself even if she is prepared, but she is a conformist person, that has to be happy with what he gives to her, it does not matter if it is enough or it is not” (7/NW/5.2).

Two women who are participating in the labor force express some arguments in favor of those who do not participate in the labor force, but their discourses close with, “I prefer to work.” It is the case of one of them whose labor trajectory has been at the same time continuous and diverse in experiences. She says:

“They are beautiful, I admire them a lot, and I respect them for that, because I cannot say that I like to be a housewife; I just do it because it is my duty, but I prefer to work” (6/CW/5.3).

Other interviewers say:

“That’s good, she can be with her children all the time, but whatever, I think this is so boring” (10/DW/5.2).

“They deserve my respect because they are dedicated to their house, and their husbands, and their children with all their soul, but I think they are not achieving personal fulfillment themselves” (12/RW/5.2).

Domestic Labor Organization

“That’s good you work outside your household, but what a fuse (10/DW/6.2).

Division of labor between men and women is in social construct of women’s and men’s roles that consider familiar and domestic spaces proper for women. Traditions, values, and cultural norms influence women’s assignment to reproductive activities: procreation, child care, and domestic activities (Garcia & Oliveira, 1994). Distribution and carrying out of domestic labor is one of the factors mainly on women’s shoulders; it is the element most resistant to modern changes. Women who do not work—half of interviewed women—say that they carry out *all* domestic labor at home; and their expressions far from resigned, are evidence of their perceptions of such activities. Frequent phrases refer to domestic labor with adjectives like “boring,” “routine,” “demanding,” “wearing out and tearing,” “very exhausting,” and, of course, “no payment for any of it.”

Some of the interviewed women are supported by other women in domestic activities; two of them, who do not participate in the labor force, are dividing domestic labor fairly with married daughters living at home as extended family. One women is helped by her mother who lives next to her. She says:

“My mother or I myself prepare meals, clothing is washed by my mother, cleaning is my accountability. I program myself, one day I sweep part of the house, other day I clean another part. I cannot do all every day, it is very heavy work” (17/CW/6.2).

And finally, it is a surprise that only two women are employing domestic workers, because this neighborhood has high quality of life, that is, people in this neighborhood are well off and in a comfortable economic situation. It would be expected then that women participating in the labor force, with double work, would hire domestic workers, but it is not happening.

About type of domestic activities, in some cases, children support is reduced to cleaning their bedrooms, and this is just in childhood and maybe during teenage years, but this support tends to disappear when they get older:

“When they were younger they had some duties, they did their beds and brought the dishes to the kitchen sink; now they are older, and they do not help anymore” (15/RW/6.4).

“I do most part of domestic labor because they have a lot of activities, their study schedule, their engagement relationships, friendship commitments, they practically do not have time for home, and logically I have to do everything, but I leave their bedrooms in their hands” (16/RW/6.2).

Some women blame themselves because their children do not help them in domestic labor, for example, one of three retired teachers says:

“Domestic work is not distributed; here I do everything; my children do not help me. I spoil them” (7/NW/6.3).

Another woman says:

“I was accustomed at home that my mother did not ask me to do anything. If we wanted to help, then we help. I follow the same procedure with my children because I don’t like to force them to do anything” (19/RW/6.2).

One more comments:

“That has been my worst mistake. I always want to do everything, I recognize it; I always wanted to be myself; I did not let them to help; I recognized 100% that it was my mistake” (7/NW/6.3).

Some of these women questioned that their children do not help them in domestic labor, but none of them questioned that their husbands do not do this. Simply, they welcome their husband’s support, which occurs mainly when marriage is in empty nest phase, or when their husbands are retired. It seems to be that when they are getting older, men tend to have more disposition to help their wives in domestic activities. This is the case of a surveyed woman’s parent:

“Domestic labor is boring. It never ends. We live with my parents and domestic activities are divided between my mother and me. Men do not participate, maybe my dad like a 10%” (4/DW/6.3).

One of the women non-participating in the labor force says:

“My husband is now retired from work and he helps me a lot in domestic activities” (13/NW/6.3).

Some husbands, however have not helped in domestic labor even if retired from work:

“My husband does not carry out domestic activities. He considers he already work enough in his life. He is now retired, his work is over” (20/NW/6.3).

Social gender representations are very strong among family. Distinction may be observed in the spaces of participation, because it is a kind of division of domestic labor and support activities carried out by men, in external “outside” spaces, and daughters, in inside more limited spaces. A retired teacher talks about her sons, before they got married:

“He was on charge of washing the cars, cleaning of the garage, cleaning of backyard, outside spaces. Children study all day but everyone was responsible on cleaning their

rooms. My daughter washed the dishes and thing like that, but the boy only cleaned the cars, nothing more” (12/RW/6.3).

The exclusive women’s sites are the kitchen, general areas, laundry and ironing, as it is expressed by a woman who has been continuously working outside her whole life:

“I wash, iron, and locate the clothes in boxes, rarely my youngest daughter and I cook our lunch; I do my bed, order the kitchen and pick up everything they threw away in the living room, because they leave the newspaper and the shoes everywhere, and I order them into the closets” (6/CW/6.5).

A retired teacher, with older sons, refers:

“I leave their bedrooms in their hands, but I try to do nothing more than what is general services, in the general areas...my husband does not collaborate” (16/RW/6.2).

Another retired woman says:

“Children know they have to order their bedrooms, and do their homework, these are their jobs; like a mother I have to wash, iron, prepare meals, do the shopping, most of the work is for women; after my work my responsibility is to take care of my children; to have ready the meals, and the clothes cleaned. Now (after her retirement), my children are happy, their meals are hot, their cloth and personal things are always in order, first of all, all the stew I cook now for them with all my pleasure”. (8/RW/6.3).

Services’ payments—an outside activity—is generally realized by men in both working and non-working groups. These are the words of a retired teacher:

“I am not doing payments; he is on charge of it” (8/RW/6.4).

Another woman who participated in the labor force, refers:

“He is in charge of every bill because he is always in the street, going for the purchases, I only remember him which bill is getting expired (10/DW/6.5).

There is a very beginning change between younger marriages, they seem to be more open to share responsibilities about children’s care, as in the case of Alma, a professional working out of her home, with two children: a boy and a girl.

“He assists the boy, I help the girl... each one prepares breakfast and carries the assigned child to school” (5/CW/6.4).

One of the household who has a lot of family participation in domestic labor is a woman who never had participated in the labor force; she does not divide the activities, but she says:

“My home is not pretty well organized It is done whatever is possible, nothing more... we do it, and everyone help. We do not divide the labor, if someone want to do the dishes or to clean the bathroom, they do it, but I do not propose; they wash their clothes since they are in high school, men and women. I accustom to them because I know they would live in time where women would work outside the household, and both –man and woman- labor would have to do domestic labor... so, both know how to cook... daughters too, but they re not pigeonholed in learning a lot of cooking; I did not assigned those kind of activities as proper only to women... No... I did not accustom them to serve a man, I didn’t do that because I don’t think it is correct” (20/NW/6.3).

In this study there are corroborated Ribeiro’s (2004) findings who have studied women’s labor force participation since the familiar context in Monterrey. He says that the problem of women’s labor force participation is seen as an exclusive women’s problem because they are the ones who have to move in both spheres (public and private); they are the ones who have to “balance their labor and domestic activities” [and] rising in women’s labor force participation has not been on the hand of a more fair division in domestic labor” (Ribeiro, 2004, p. 231).

One motive for reflection is about the rare use of domestic employment in such neighborhood, given that it is a medium-high level of economic status. Only three women have used this kind of support. However, this support generally disappears when a woman retires from paid-work, and begin to stay home, doing domestic labor, and take care of their grandchildren. Then the history’s cycle repeats again.

Decision-making.

Decision-making is a psychological process that reflects the autonomy and individuation of a person. The outcome of that process is the selection of a choice that will guide the actions of an individual. The assumption behind decision-making and women's labor force participation is that women as individuals are social agents with personal strategies and objectives, and they are capable of some autonomy independent from the structural constraints. They also have the ability to change those structural constraints.

Most of the interviewed women, working and non-working state that decision-making is a process where both men and women are participating, and no one is influencing their marriage's decisions. However, there are some differences and some exceptions.

Some women, for example, say that strong decisions are made by their husbands and they only make decisions related to home and kitchen. However, particularly if it is about children's allowances, who is making decisions depends on how far they need to go, and if it is during the day or it is extended to the night hours. Here are one's teacher words:

"A non-transcendental allowance, I made the decision, but when it is something harder or they would go out home more time or to some retired place far away, both made the decision" (8/RW/7.4).

Another teacher who are now working even if she was retired on his original teaching activity says:

"Decisions at home, we really both are taking them. We try to agree each other. For instance, an allowance to leave the home now that they are teenagers, on Easter holidays days there is a lot of risk to go to the beach. We discuss about that an finally we reach an agreement, but together. There is not difference such as one say "yes" and the other "not" (9/RW/7.3).

A woman participating in the labor force with younger children says:

“Most important decisions are about the boy who has to go far from home. The girl is still without allowance to leave home. I give permission to him to go to the “ciber” but not in the night. If it is to go to another place, he has to ask to his dad He is for stronger decisions” (10/DW/7.5). (“Ciber” is a place where computers are for rent. These places are extended in Mexico; thanks to the hard economic crisis; not all people have computers at home.)

There are some cases in which women themselves recognize their husbands have the absolute power in decision making; those are the cases of non-working women:

“Well, I am not so fast in decision making, so it is him who make them and I always agree with him” (2/NW/7.4).

“At the end it is my husband who decide” (3/NW/7.3).

“Decisions are made by my husband. I just support to him” (11/NW/7.4).

“My husband is who make all decisions at home; nobody is involved, never” (3/NW/7.3).

About other's involved in marriage's decisions, two of the interviewed women talk about their mother-in-law's interventions, particularly at the beginning of their marriages. This attitude has changed along time, as a women with a discontinuous pattern of participation in the labor force says:

“At the beginning it was his mother who got involved in our decisions; for example, in children's education. She was at home everyday, but not anymore” (14/DW/7.3).

Types of decisions also change according to children's ages given that during childhood decisions are about them most of the time, and they refer to their education, feed and allowances. As they get older, decisions are made by themselves. Later they are taken into account to make important familiar decisions at home. This doesn't happens during their childhood. For instance, a working-women says:

“There are not important decisions anymore because they are getting older, but when they were little boys and girls, I was the one who made decisions about them” (6/CW/7.7).

“When they were little boys decisions were about their education but now they have a life, I cannot decide about them anymore” (7/NW/7.4)

A retired teacher clearly explains:

“As they are now older, I just support them, the important decisions, when they were kids, are about their studies, their health, right feed, manage of resting time and schedules for study” (16/RW/7.3).

Another woman who has not realized paid work during her marriage says:

“Decisions about children’s education were made by both of us. He was in charge of discipline and also he defined who might be friends and who do not, but now we have confidence in them; they are getting older” (20/NW/7.5).

On the other side, decision-making is sometimes a non-desirable responsibility, and it is left in the husband’s hands. These are two cases about working women who refer to decision making as “a package”:

“I don’t know if fortunately or unfortunately, I always made the decisions at home. Even now, he says to my daughters: “you have to ask your mother. I don’t know.” That’s very sad, but I cannot complain for it. I took the package” (6/CW/7.10).

“He is for the stronger decisions, but he tells me that I don’t leave all the package to him, but I do not want to get worried, so I tell him that he is more intelligent” (10/DW/7.5).

Another peculiar case that might reflect a Mexican culture’s characteristic about decision-making is when a woman make decisions in a simulated way, that is, when she really makes the decision, but she only keeps up appearances as if her husband had decided:

“It is about machismo. [Machismo is a well known Mexican culture characteristic. It is the absolutely power of man over woman who becomes another property owns by man.] “I make the decisions about children, but then I have to think about how I have to tell him, because there is a problem if a give an order and I don’t let him know. I have to tell him, “Oh, the child wanted to go to somewhere, what do you think? Even if I have made the decision, because he doesn’t want that I make any decision, I have to manage it in a simulated way to avoid problems” (15/RW/7.5).

Another case is reflecting an association between decision-making and women's participation in the labor force receiving a salary. A woman who has a discontinuous pattern of participation in the labor force says:

I never was on the case that he would decide everything because when I met him, I was working, and also I was responsible of the home management because I was the oldest daughter and the only one who –besides my father- gave money for the family economy. When I got married it was the same thing because both were working, but when I dropped out of the labor market, I felt that I pushed myself into the background. That's why sometimes I feel I am not so worthy, because I was used to "divide the cake" and later someone put me away. When I got married, you know, we went this way (she made a sign with her hands to imply that they were at the same level).. and then my husband left me behind him, and I am still behind" (10/DW/7.10).

The opinion above, however, it is more an exception given that she was the only woman expressing such a way of thinking; none of the other working women have made this association between participating in the labor force and decision-making, but this is a very interesting point of view.

Women's discourses in this study corroborate the idea that those women who participate in the labor force have a major incidence in decision-making at home than those who do not have paid-work (Martinez & López, 2006). We also have to be cautious in recognizing that there is a difference among the types of decisions women are effectively making that refer to management of home and child care decisions, but they are not deciding about major purchases like cars or houses. In a secondary data study, based on a national survey in household dynamics (ENDIREH) realized by INEGI in October, 2003, with 34,191 surveyed women, 15 and over years old, Martinez and Estrada compared decision-making in both groups—working and non-working women. Results showed that those women who participate in the labor force are making more decisions in family than other women. (Martinez & Lopez, 2006).

Research's conclusions were made by Garcia and Oliveira (2003) comparing Mexico City and Monterrey:

Men and women residents in Monterrey would be closer to a more egalitarian practices inside their families than those in Mexico City. However women in Monterrey northern context have to ask more allowances to men to carry out different activities. Therefore there might be restricted achievements in beating feminine subordination in that northern city because on one side they have more egalitarian relationships with their husbands but on the other side, there is a greater acceptance to social normative with the roles established for women and the spaces considered as appropriated for them. (p. 25)

Labor Trajectory

Women's labor trajectory are traces of their productive activities in society. Those trajectories have influenced their ideas and their world perspective. There are few cases in which interviewed women demonstrate more interest in their worker-role than in their other roles of mother and housewife. In fact, the majority of interviewed women had labor experience at work before marriage but dropped out of the labor market when they got married.

It is possible to distinguish, among the group of six teachers now retired from work some social appreciations about their convenient and pertinent decision to select a profession typically for women (i.e., feminine activity of caring for others such as in nursery school and teaching). This last profession combines flexibility, a midday schedule of 5 hours a day at work, and social security benefits even if they retired. One of these teachers refers:

"I have retired three years ago. I always worked continuously. Being a teacher is a very pretty profession; it was half of traditional hours, and you have some advantages and benefits. Of course you have to love this profession, on the contrary it would be a heavy work. I gave all my life to education and work, but finally I decide to retire because I had stolen time from my kids". (8/RW/8.1).

Finally, another teacher said:

“I had studied so much; I had burned my midnight oil; I had suffer a lot... I have had hard time in trying to get a job, and I become Principal at my school” (15/RW/8.1).

The most important thing here is that women on and off of the labor market are subordinated to family lives. Sometimes they keep on working while they do not have babies, other times their husband’s situation at work is unstable. An example of the first case is a woman discontinuous work’s words:

“I left my job because there was an agreement between he and me. He told me, that’s ok, but when we get married you will not work outside. Until I have my first baby, not before, I said. What I am going to do at home alone?” I said no. It is better to continue at work to do our best before we have babies” (10/DW/8.6).

Other woman says:

“I got married in ‘71 but I did not leave my job because my husband did not have a formal job, so I had to work while he got a stable work” (13/DW/8.1).

A woman who had been working continuously said:

“I had retired because of insecurity in the labor union. I never had thought about leave my job.. maybe to work less hours for my children, but once they were getting older, I returned to work” (9/RW/8.3).

A decision to retire, even if it represents giving up their personal fulfillment, is always related to family. As one of the retirees teacher says:

“When I made the decision to be retired, I was not sure but I had to do that because my oldest son was on drugs and my husband had a tumor in his head... I did not wanted to be retired of work, my idea was to stay until I totally achieved my professional fulfillment. My goal was to reach superior administrative positions, but I made the decision because of those problems and I wanted to keep an eye on my family health. I needed to take care of my son and my husband” (16/RW/8.5).

Another woman who has been in the labor force said:

“When I had a good position in the bank, after 15 years of labor, I had to give it up because my husband had go to work outside the city... then I have had a series of jobs, and when my daughters were older, I went to study English for a summer to New Mexico, I went for a summer but I stayed a long time studying and working... there I finished high school and I was to register to the university but my older daughter was

moving to Mexico, then my husband called me and told me that family was disintegrated; therefore I had to come back but I would like to stay with all my heart. (6/CW/8.14).

This finding about the primary women's social role is similar to Ibrahim's (1990) conclusion, "The societal priority of women's role in the family is demonstrated by the support these workers had from their employers in order to fulfill their maternal role when necessary, even at the expense of their work role" (p. 88).

Culture, Figures and Generations

"It is the behavior pattern; my mother who accepted everything, taught us to be compassionate in spite of, and I tell in spite of, because it is a behavior pattern that takes too much time to be broken" (16/RW/9.11).

It is difficult to think about Mexican women as autonomous persons who decide their own way, independently of those who are around them: parents, husband, children, family. Culture is "the integral set constituted by consumer's tools and products, with norms governing to distinct social groups, by the ideas and crafts, beliefs and costumes" (Malinowski, 1970, p. 40). The cultural essential element is human organization in permanent groups as in this case, the family. Because culture is not the center of this study, about Malinowski's broad definition of culture, we understand that beliefs, ideas and costumes of women's interviewed are the result of social normative and their own experiences. Both influence social representations contained in women's discourses.

Family organization in Mexican culture is still based on sexual division of labor: man provides family sustenance by his paid job in the labor market, while woman is in charge of reproductive aspects and domestic care of men, children, and the elderly; that is what Arriagada (2002) defines as care economy. Care economy refers to providing goods and services to care for other persons, particularly in the immediate family. These activities are

often realized by women (Arriagada, 2002). This kind of economy, however, is not readily reflected in the national accounting system because it is daily “invisible,” undervalued work, but very useful since Marxist’s socialist perspective.

In Mexican culture, family is defined as a particular “triangle” type, where father, mother and child are on each point of that triangle. That means that there is no communication as a marriage or parents and son; also there is a kind of determination and differentiation of roles as a provider vs. reproduction. At the end, according to Ramirez (1986), this is the source of a particular family with excessive mother but absence of father.

This ultimate characteristic, absence of father, has been corroborated not only in the present surveyed women’s families but also in their original family, and not only in non-working’s histories but also in those who participate in the labor force. In their own words:

“For example, when my brother was a child, my father did not support him to sports. He always had long scheduled works, he always came back home too late” (5/CW/9.14).

“ and what happened was that my dad always worked so far from home, in fact I tell Carlos (her husband) that my family is a matriarchy because my mother was who stayed with us all week. My father came on Saturday and left us Sundays at noon;most of our childhood was with my mother” (10/DW/9.10).

“Actually my husband never gave attention to children formation. He never talked to each one... never... I always “take care my child... be careful”.. he always just work and work and work... I had to serve him... it was his only contribution during all this time” (7/NW/9.5).

A woman who had never participated in the labor force, expressed:

“He (her daughter’s father) never was concerned about her when she was a child. I took care of herbecause he always was outsid;, he never knew about his daughter, and now he says, Where was I that I never was concern about my daughter?” (13/NW/9.7).

A retired woman:

“My father did not know about us. There was a lot of distance between father and sons, particularly with daughters because at that time, mothers were in charge of women. I don’t remember my father telling me off any time. My mother was who punished me with a pinch or a hair tug, and things like that. She was very straight with us”. (15/RW/9.8).

A young professional woman with a little child refers to the present time:

“Women are who really go ahead with children because fathers,-not all but the majority only say, I give you the money, the economic stuff, I do not get involved with them (children) at the emotional level you are who must be in charge of them” (4/DW/9.2).

Rigidity in familiar roles assigns women to private spaces, with the caring and reproductive role. Women’s ideas are unimportant, and dependence on a man-provider is inevitable. Then the man becomes an absent father who is emotionally far from his children.

Passive dependence of women is described in the next women’s phrases:

“She has to wait for her husband, when he comes back might take her out to go for a walk” (2/NW/9.2).

When balance between both roles is broken there are familiar problems, for example, a woman who does not participate in the labor force said:

“When a woman gives more money than man, as in my sister’s case, even if she does not say anything, she is not feeling happy, not at all, She is happy because she has a bigger and very well-decorated house, with more comforts than me, but she very deeply would like to be on my position” (3/NW/9.2).

Dependence level change along life time in marriage, for instance, a retired teacher observed:

“In my new married life, neither my mother in law never loved me, nor the older brother; they never accepted me. Then I made myself the idea to depend a lot on my husband; I always wanted to have moral support from him, but a hundred percent... after, along time I discover that it was not true; when I understood that, I began to be self sufficient, independent. I never had been bothering anybody to go to the pediatrician with me... never (7/NW/9.9).

One of the cultural and traditional Mexican family's characteristics is the desire to maintain the marriage contract and the common life in spite of damaged relationships between a man and a woman. The idea is that children will be more hurt if they are without their father, and women are morally obligated to stay and maintain the marriage. One of the retired teachers expressed clearly when she talked about her parent's marriage:

There was infidelity, there was physical maltreatment, there was verbal violence, there was psychological damage in us, the children. But in spite of that my brothers say that we were lucky to have a very lovely mother, a selfless mothers. A generation supported a lot of women just trying to keep their children's father. (16/RW/9.8).

"My mother was a traditional woman; she responded to violence but she always gave up. She finally decided to stay with him because grandparents thought that it is a very bad idea to destroy a family; it is a very bad thing to leave the children alone, without the father, so she always allowed humiliations; and it was very painful for children" (16/RW/9.9)

Another woman who has participated permanently in the labor force expressed:

"My mother always has been very hard working person. They had a business. My mother was very submissive because my father was alcoholic and she bore with him. She said that she bore with him because of us. I tell her now that it is not possible that someone can support that, but she was afraid that we would complain with her in the future" (17/CW/9.6).

Women who stay in their marriages in this culture may obtain their children's recognition, as this is the case of a woman who never participated in the labor force:

"My mother was a very intelligent person because she bear with my father's strong character, so she bear him and she maintain her marriage very special". (11/NW/9.7).

Motives to stay in marriage a lifetime are not always linked to the kids, as a non-working woman expressed:

"My daughter asked me about why I didn't leave him before (her husband)... because I could not abandon my comfort and everything I had done. I suffered too much to

have what I have and I cannot allow that any other woman comes to enjoy what I did...no” (13/NW/9.11).

Transferring parents’ duties to sons, and the caring of babies to the oldest daughters is also an observed tendency in this study. For instance, a woman who never has participated in the labor force during her marriage said:

“And she (her mother) did work to help my father; my oldest sister took care of us.”

Another woman who was participating in the labor force in a continuous way stated:

“We grew up adrift because we did not have even a hug, neither from her nor from him. When I got married my mother look for my support, when I was single I was the law at home.. still is the respect... I reared all my brothers... just like if I were their mother” (6/CW/9.21).

Another woman:

“I can say with true that I had no childhood. I took care of all my brothers, since I was nine years old. I could no going to play because I had to wash the cloth, even my father’s pants... and we had no washing machine. There were always babies at home... I prepared the milk and feed them. My brother went to work outside since he was a very young boy... first he sold gums, then he was shoe shiner; then we worked at the market, and then as a hat seller... we both, the oldest, always worked...” (6/CW/9.7).

In summary, every society has its own history, weaving daily with the individual lives; norms and values are part of attitudes to face life. Mexican culture is full of these women’s ideas about their marriage, their children, their others. In the following sections a retrospective exercise is done to look for the origins of such attitudes in their mothers’ lives, and later a prospective exercise looking at the present with a glance to the future generations. A better picture about Mexican culture related to women’s participation in the labor force is expected.

Mother Figure: Familiar Determinants

“After all it is the way we were brought up—women at home and men to work (3/NW/9.2).

Mothers’ lives of the interviewed women talk through their daughter voices, opening up a generation full of economic difficulties; women who have been pushed to the labor force since they were children to help the family economy; women who might have come from the rural area; women who got married very young trying to escape from their destiny.

Most of surveyed women’s mothers have a very basic education and sometimes they weren’t at school at all. In particular, mothers of women who do not participate in the labor force are described in their daughter’s words:

“My mother was very hard working since she was a child; she did not study. At four years old she already was working at home, cleaning the corn... it was a very hard life; my grandfather got sick and he could not work, so my grandmother had to work and my mother had to help her. She got married at 15 years old, just to leave her home, she had six children and she continued working very hard” (3/NW/9.7).

“Unfortunately my mother has been a very lonely woman; very poor... she always depended on my father... my dad –God bless him- was a very irresponsible man. We suffered great hardship, hungry... then my mother who had not any voice at home... any authority... that’s the word... he beat her... she was very battered” (7/NW/9.7).

Working women’s mothers’ stories are not quite different, however it may be perceived in some cases the overcoming seed they sowed on their daughters. One of the retired teachers said:

“My mother was a very silent, quite woman; my father had a very hard character... she was very traditional, conservative, housewife, no expressive, very introvert, very quiet... Mi mother never worked outside home and also she did not go to school” (8/RW/9.6).

“My mother always thought that if life have changed so much, if we have studied thanks to sacrifices, it was fear for us to take some advantages to work because I was graduated, I worked three years, I helped my parents a lot, and then I got married” (8/RW/9.6).

Another retired woman referred:

“My mother was a very dedicated woman to her children. She had a lot of very strong family problems because her mother passed away when she was six years old, then she was reared by her father. She had a step mother who did not want her, and finally she got married. She did not work outside household, I think she got married to escape from that complicated family situation. She had seven children” (9/RW/9.7).

About her mother’s appreciation of unpaid job, the same woman above said:

“My mother never criticize that I worked outside home, on the contrary, she always told me that if I had studied, I would have to work in my profession” (9/RW/9.8).

Other retired teacher expressed:

“My parents were farmers; they came from the rural area. My mother only studied until 6th grade. My father had to leave to come here looking for a better way of life” (16/RW/9.7).

“There was infidelity, there was physical maltreatment, there was verbal violence, there was psychological damage in us, the children, but in spite of that, my brothers say that we were good lucky because we enjoyed a very lovely mother” (16/RW/9.8).

A woman who has been participating in the labor force in a discontinuous pattern, who had studied as a secretary before she got married, but studied a profession during her marriage, expressed:

“My mother was a lady who likes modernity. She always wanted that we study, that we go ahead, that we learn to drive a car; that we always were up to date. In spite of she did not go to school, she always was at home; she got married very young and all her life she was with us. I think she passed away very young because she had a lot of children. We were eleven and also another two babies who have died” (14/DW/9.6).

Finally, a young professional woman who had been continuously in the labor force, in retrospective talks about her grandmother and her mother:

“When I was a child, we visited to my grandmother on my mother side. My grandfather dead since I was four years old, and my grandmother never got married again but she could give them a life; they are seven brothers. She had a store and always she was a nurse; she was a very kind person; she told us stories and poems

“My mother studied to be a secretary but bilingual, and also she worked when she was young, but she got married” (5/CW/9.9).

Mother and grandmother figures are very important in women’s lives (Caballero, 2001). Caballero studied three generations of women and found higher levels of decision-making in the second generation because they decided how many children to have, which was quite different from their mothers who had “all the children that God decided.” She described in this qualitative research in Mexico City, how women in the third generation have personal fulfillment, and they are interested in labor goals as well as in professional responsibility. It is a kind of “female individualism” because by participating in the labor force there is not only more money but also an escape from domestic life and a step toward their independence.

Between Generations: Traces of Breaking Off.

“Children are clay in our hands. We can mold them to our image by giving them a good projection” (8/RW/10.3).

Continuities

Attachment to traditional ideas of power distribution in marriage is a very present continuity. A woman who has not participated in the labor force referring to her daughter stated:

“My husband says to my son-in-law that he must forced upon her: “You have to command respect from her, you also have to make decisions, you have to agree with what she is doing, not only her. She would not manage everything, wouldn’t she? There are only certain things that we will leave in women’s hands, but not all... not all” (13/NW/9.13).

About roles continuity, one of the retired teachers talked about family conflict because her married son is going to have dinner in his parents home:

“And I with my pleasure, says the woman, but my husband say: “How much are you doing well? You might be doing something good for him but maybe you also are doing a bad thing when you are taking off a duty of his wife. What he does not like is that our daughter-in-law is not cooking to her husband” (15/RW/9.12).

Naturalization of women’s functions like caring services and value transmission are continuities. These ideas also contribute to the father’s role as a provider and its consequence, father’s absence. According to one of the retired teacher’s arguments:

“It would be ideal that we as women would be at home encouraging values such as respect, responsibility and compassion. By their psychological characteristics, women is the one who has to do this function, because in women it is most a natural solidarity, women is who has to construct the moral basement of an individual, in this case their children..” (16/RW/92).

Conflict and Social Change

The expressions of women who do not participate in the labor force suggest a major resistance to change; for instance, a woman who, after she got married, dropped out of the labor market, leaving her profession:

“These young ladies are very liberals; they are on the same position as men because both are working... both have rights... that is what I observed, listen... They say “it is because I am also working, I am giving money”... In my époque, no... maybe because I did not work... I had another school... what he say is what is done... if he argue, well... never mind...” (7/NW/9.14).

Another woman who never participated in the labor force during her marriage:

“Because I observe the young women who are working try to blackmail to their husbands, because they say: Ah, I am also tired, not only you, you have to wash the dishes because not only you are tired. I think it is not ok, even if she is my daughter because her husband also help her. She tells me, he has to help me, not because he wants but because he has to. That’s why I think working women are not pretty well” (11/NW/9.6).

A retired teacher:

“Women before were more at home; younger mothers now have more husbands’ support, and now the younger marriages are educating their boys to clean their

rooms, to sweep...nothing will happen... it is a different way of education” (12/RW/9.6).

“Women who are older like me did not work before; our husbands or our fathers supported us, didn’t they? But now it is required that women work because if it is only one salary they cannot buy a house, they cannot survive” (13/NW/9.2).

A working woman talks about domestic labor support in younger women, in news marriages:

“They are not as used to be... nobody helps you; you had to do everything alone, even if you were working, you had to take care of your children, you had to resolve all the home problems, because work and economic support was the only men’s responsibility. Our generation was educated on that way; they did not have to help at home; now I am very glad with my friends’ daughters because their husbands help them to iron, and my friends are embarrassed when they see their sons in law ironing” (6/CW/9.24).

A retired teacher who is still working restated the same topic:

“Now it is another time... now boys are much more sensible with their kids, about domestic activities... they help; they support; they agree about expenditures... in my daughters’ cases, they manage the money at their homes... in my case I only managed my money, and he managed his money... he did not help in caring the kids... he was there, but he did not help... now my son in law sometimes is taking care of my grand daughter... now it is more equity ... they are a different generation.... I think it is a good change maybe because I have two daughters, I don’t know if women with sons are thinking as the same way...” (19/RW/9.6).

Mutual support in domestic labor, of course is not a constant. A retired teacher’s words about her daughter’s marriage:

“In my daughter’s case, she is also with the heavier charge, because she has the responsibility to rear her baby, to wash the clothes, to cook, to transport the kids, to come back home and do the domestic activities, but she defend herself more than I did because she says: “On Sunday I don’t do anything at home. I stay watching TV and talking to my daughter. Saturday I clean the house, I wash the cloth, and I plan the next week’s activities, but if her little girl get sick, my daughter is who have to run and I support her, but not him. He only what he can do as an economic provider... no more” (16/RW/9.11)

A woman with a discontinuous pattern in labor force participation talked about the increase in decision-making from one generation to the other, particularly about their daughters-in-law that are now working. She thinks that women must decide only in men's absence; in her words:

“When young women work it is different. I think it is a good thing they work because they are independent, they do not depend always on their husbands, because husband is not forever. They may decide in a difficult moment if their husband is absent, maybe I had more decisions than my mother had” (14/DW/9.7).

An interviewed woman who has not participated in the labor force commented about the generations' conflict of maintaining married life upon any other idea:

“Up to date marriages want to divorce with any excuse. They don't want to support anymore. My daughter has tried to leave him twice, but we, our parents do not agree with her. We just tell her: if some day you will leave your husband, you have to look for (she make a signal with their fingers; it means that her daughter have to look for another support in other place). Look you cannot come here with your kid, if you are feeling self sufficient enough to do it alone, go ahead, look for a rent house, but not here” (13/NW/9.13).

A retired teacher also expressed:

“Now in these days marriages are broken, also if they have 30 or 40 years they are getting the divorce. I think we are having a lot of influence of mass media. We are invaded, but now there are a lot of conflicts in family for one thing or another” (8/RW/9.11).

Another conflict in marriage appears when working woman are earning more money than their husbands. That is the case of an interviewed woman's daughter:

“There is a kind of professional jealous. She is doing a very high level work, with education; he did not finish high school; he always has low self-esteem, and always tells her that she feels superior than he because she is getting more money than he... he is only in eventual works.. this kind of things provoke violence at home” (16/RW/9.10).

In the same sense above are the words of a women participating in the labor force:

“My son is married. I think that there are discussions between them because she is getting less money than his wife, and she is feeling more solvent than he, then sometimes they have frictions, I think that’s the problem” (17/CW/9.8).

One of the retired teachers, still in the labor force, looking at the future, says:

“There are many aspects changing in younger marriages... normative is changing because of the same social dynamics always in evolution. I think that some situations might be seen before as not correct but they become normal, as marriage, now people think as something that you can probe, and if living together is not a happy experience, nothing is lost. In women’s labor force participation now is more opened because it is not possible to think in a marriage in the future with a woman exclusively as a housewife because both have studied, for example, my son’s girlfriend is now studying and think in their future, in their achievement of personal fulfillment... it is not possible to think that she will be at home” (9/RW/9.8).

Turning Generations: Advances and Backwards

“My mother in law worked all her life, and my husband does not want that for our children. I don’t want that you work out our home (11/NW/9.4).

Women’s work charge is not only a continuity for women staying at home; it is at the same time a backward change for women who are participating in the labor force and now they are not only responsible for their work in the public sphere, but also they continue with their traditional role in the private sphere. It is the case of a woman who has retired:

“A day in my life? In a daily routine I get up at six o’clock in the morning; I prepare breakfast if my daughter doing her social service wants to... if she does not want I just wait her because we leave home at 6:10. I take her to her transportation like 6 blocks from here; when she is picked up I come back home and prepare another breakfast for my other son who is doing professional practice in an accountant office in downtown. I say goodbye to him and I go to leave my daughter at high school because she has to be at 7 o’clock in the morning... I go to drop her and come back to prepare my husband’s breakfast... he leaves home at 9 or 9 and a half...they I have breakfast and start my domestic activities, I clean the house... and then I begin to prepare the meal for those who stay at home and I wait for my high school’ daughter and my eldest son and we have dinner together... then I clean the table and the kitchen and I continue in domestic activities. At 3 o’clock I go to the nursery to pick up my grandchild because I take care of her while my married working daughter come home at 8 o’clock... meanwhile I prepare supper, everybody at home has supper and then again I clean the kitchen... I wait for my husband and after he has supper at 10:00 pm, I clean the kitchen again and go to my parent’s home. Everyday I

go with them because they are old and alone. I prepare something for them if they want to have supper and I help in cleaning their home; I take them to their bedroom which is upstairs their home. I come back home and I give a glance to check everything in order to prepare the next day... I go to bed at 12:30 or 1:00 in the morning. (16/RW/9.3).

In summary, it seems that women enter the labor force because of others' needs, and their labor lives depend on other roles like the caregiver, which is endless because the cycle is starting again with their grandchildren. Most of those who have continued in the labor sphere, are part time and teaching oriented, but the caring role after the workday is over continues at home. Any family requirement such as elderly parents or some illness in family, that needs particular care, cause women to reconfigure their worker role and their activities. Social changes are very slow and traditional ideas conforming Mexican culture are perpetuating in each new generation. However, as it could be corroborated here, in the surveyed women's words, traces of progress can be observed.

Findings

Until now, thanks to most of the studies of women's labor force participation, we have "hard" data that show tendencies in numbers; or we have efforts to systematize other dimensions as in the labor marker behavior; the economic repercussions and the meaning of work. We do not, however, have the description of the process in which values are transforming in women's thoughts, combining their own ideas and their material circumstances. This has been an attempt to reconstruct the process of social change in cultural dimensions inside the family starting with interviewed women's own words. Here are the findings.

Economic motives are the principal reasons for women's participation in the labor force. The idea that only when men are not capable to be providers, then women's

participation in the labor force is justified. In spite of the waited motif was personal fulfillment, according to the high economic level of the neighborhood, it was not there. It seems to be that personal fulfillment is a condition to the presence or absence of children, unless motherhood produces a particular kind of personal fulfillment in women that might substitute for the personal fulfillment associated to the labor force.

Occupation is also an element of interviewed woman's profile. With the exception of one woman, who is a professional in systems engineer, most of women participating in the labor force are retired teachers. They had a flexible, typically feminine part-time occupation associated with caring for others. This kind of job might be considered an extension of women's work at home.

Children's care is the main motif expressed by women for not participating in the labor force. This conclusion corroborates Pitkin and Bedoya's (1997) findings in a qualitative study in Quito, Ecuador: the most common reason women gave for not working outside the home is having young children and lack of alternative caregivers. In our study, children's care is done by some relatives, particularly women's mothers who care for their grandchildren. This has been and continues to be a repeated cycle. Most of these women, independently of their labor trajectories, take care of their own children. In addition, it is still a requirement to ask for permission to work. In spite of this, the interviewed women suggested that when a woman has a profession, she must use this advantage to participate in the labor force. Results corroborate that in general women participating in the labor force have higher schooling than those who do not participate in the labor force.

About significance of work, women who have been participating continuously in the labor force consider it a personal fulfillment because they are developing in a profession that

produces satisfaction. However, they drop out of the labor market as soon as a family member requires special care (e.g., baby, elderly parents). Also in their discourse there is a perception of paid work as an instrument, that is, a mean to obtain resources. None of the interviewed perceive paid job as a charge, contrary to what happens with domestic labor.

In this study job selection is not perceived as a career, that is, to organize the rest of women's roles to the worker role, even in professional women. This is because paid-work is a complement to and subordinated to the housewife's (or mother's) role. Therefore, in most interviewed women the meaning of work as personal fulfillment associated with major autonomy is absent; it is to the contrary (Garcia & Oliveira, 1993).

About advantages and disadvantages of participating in the labor force, interviewed women mentioned some dichotomies in favor of women's participation in the labor force such as income-absence of income and independence-dependence. But in favor of non-working women is their caring for children, non caring, and the possibility of organizing their domestic activities without the stress that working women have because of their double role of household and working roles.

Women who participate in the labor force perceive women who do not participate in the labor force as conformists, without aspirations, who have a comfort-loving, and are submissive; they like to be at home without responsibilities. On the other hand, women who do not participate in the labor force consider their counterparts as admirable because they are independent, dynamic and capable of facing challenges, and are successful in life. A retired teacher expressed respect for those who have a double role, but they are achieving personal fulfillment themselves as human beings. The same women say that if women do not work outside their household, it is because they do not need it; they infer that these retired woman

did have necessity. Self-conformism is present in some of the women who do not participate in the labor force.

Results of domestic organization indicates that most of the domestic activities are done by women, independently if they are working in paid jobs or they are not. Arriagada (2002) posits that women gain autonomy and a better economic situation by participating in the labor force, but they increase their responsibilities, are divided between family and work, and with scarcely any husbandly support and social institutions.

Generally, with the presence of another woman at home, domestic labor becomes lightened. It seems to be that children and teenagers are helping in basic aspects like cleaning their own rooms. An increment in participation of younger husbands in babies' care is perceived. Another potential change is husbands' support in domestic activities when they finally do retire. However, this is more an exception than a rule.

Interviewed women expressed that most of the decisions at home are made by both husband and wife. However this statement must be taken cautiously because when types of decisions are observed, generally women are deciding only about children's education and allowances and even that only when they are young. Other decisions that might imply money such as buying a car or a house, it is the men who decide. In cases of women who do not participate in the labor force it is common that they leave all decisions to their husbands.

Triangle family (Ramírez, 1982), characterized by absence of father and mother in excess, has been corroborated in women's expressions; it is the same in both groups. Rigidity in familial roles provoke dependence in women and a lot of conflicts when men's space is "transgressed" by women. However, dependence level in women decreases along time. Some traditional customs, like maintaining marriage in spite of deteriorated relationships, are

observed. This finding is similar to that observed in Quito, Ecuador by Pitkin and Bedoya (1997) about social pressure on women to remain married in spite of discontent with their situations, often reinforced by extended-family members. In our study children are the most common argument to keeping marriage ties. A secondary, but important reason is expressed by women who wish to keep their commodities and material achievements.

Changes, continuities, and conflicts between generations were detected. For example, the custom of transferring duty toward parents to older sons is practically absent in the new generation. This might have happened because the majority of women were migrants from the rural area, or they came from an inferior social status. Attitudes toward traditional ideas about distribution of power in marriage with parents' pressures upon their sons are still strong in the Mexican culture. Naturalization of women's functions as caregivers and the transmission of value contribute to the absence of the father in the family life. Discourses of women who are not participating in the labor force suggest a higher resistance to changes from their counterparts.

Cultural dimensions like modification of roles inside the family as Arriagada (2002) described were not identified among interviewed woman. However, it was possible to distinguish some perceived changes about the next generation in women's discourses. For example, they have higher levels of education than their mothers had. First generation women, working women's mothers, transmitted high interest for her daughters' education and participation in the labor force. Also higher participation of third generation's husbands in children's care is seen, as is women's higher participation in decision-making, and support in some domestic activities. Younger people have modified their commitment to maintaining

marriage and, finally, the presence of tensions and conflicts because of changes in social roles is perceived.

The circumstance least subject to change is the double work charge when women participate in the labor force. It seems that there is democratization in income but not in domestic activities. However, in spite of this double schedule of work, women outside and inside household, are keeping their paid jobs. Another intangible profit for women, is that in addition to their salaries, a redistribution of power might have a positive balance. Perhaps standing in the way is still the idea of the third generation, that is, sons and daughters from women who participate in the labor force might be thinking that “any past time was better,” and they might be supporting the traditional rigidity in familiar roles, with the implied price.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study was guided by three general hypotheses related to three main dimensions of women's participation in the labor force—family organization, personal attributes, and social capital. Each dimension refers to different explanations of this increasing social and economic phenomena. The first dimension, family organization, is a set of social structures related to the family dynamics—family size, family type, domestic labor, and decision-making. The second dimension refers to women's personal attributes—education and labor experience—that might influence their participation in the labor force. A lot of studies based on Modernization theory have explored the two first dimensions, family organization and personal attributes, either as a cause or as a consequence of women's participation in the labor force. But there is a third dimension, an original approach proposed in this study to explain women's participation in the labor force, and that is social capital. Social capital has been uniquely related to employment as the use of social relations in getting a job, particularly among immigrants in the U.S. It is a recent theoretical construct, and it is considered here as another social structure that might influence women's participation in the labor force.

Two components based on two different methodologies, quantitative and qualitative, are combined. The purpose is to study decision-making, family type, education and years of experience applying the new approach, social capital. Several hypotheses pertaining to the

differences in the selected factors across the working and non-working women are empirically tested.

Sample (N=190) is composed of mature women whose ages average 46. Fifty-three percent (53%) of women in the sample participate in the labor force versus 47% non-working women. This is a non-expected result given that the average participation at the national level, as well as in Nuevo Leon, is just under 40%. Another unforeseen outcome was the mature age factor of most of the women, therefore family life cycle approach was out of the analysis, since there were few surveyed women in the sample with children under 12 years of age. Arriagada's (2002) findings of families in Latin America (Mexico included) were different from this study's findings because Arriagada's majority was in the second step of family life cycle, that of development and expansion. In contrast, in the Monterrey neighborhood most families are in the last step, called "empty nest."

Women in this neighborhood participate in the labor force because of economic motives. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches support this statement. Even if personal fulfillment is the second motive for working, only 1 of 5 women expressed this reason. Women's decisions to retire are influenced by several special circumstances of economic need arising from family related problems (e.g., illness of a family member).

Most literature about women's participation in the labor force in Mexico supports the idea that women work in the informal sector because of its flexibility in working days/hours. In this study, most women work as full time employee in the formal sector. Also their participation is continuous; they did not leave their jobs because of motherhood. It might be because their occupations have more flexible schedules (teachers, saleswomen), but also with a typical woman's profession such as secretary, doctor or nurse, there is a little more working

hours leeway. Women's jobs could be considered extensions of women's work at home as caregivers. As Pitkin and Bedoya (1997) expressed, even when women venture beyond the household, many of their activities are merely an extension of their domestic role, as this research corroborated.

Contrary to the findings of Garcia and Oliveira (1993), personal fulfillment as reason for labor force participation was not found to be a significant factor. Qualitative findings support the idea that motherhood is the main role in women's lives because the rest of their roles as daughters-wives-workers, are subordinated to the motherhood role. This is corroborated by quantitative results about childcare. One in three (1 in 3) women take care of their children by themselves, and in most other cases, there is a relative, another woman at home, who takes care of the children. Women distrust outsourcing this activity to strangers.

Women's labor force participation is not influenced by either the type of family or the family size. Three of four (3 of 4) families are nuclear, just as at the national level. However, none of these variables—type of family and family size—have an influence in women's participation in the labor force in the studied neighborhood.

The difference between domestic labor in both groups was statistically significant, as was expected. However, the difference in the number of hours worked among those who either did or did not participate, appear to be similar. The distribution of domestic activities is almost null. Working women's husbands are not helping in domestic activities, and women are carrying out most of this charge. Qualitative findings show that when the rest of the family helps in domestic activities, there is a "natural" division—daughters help more at home cleaning their rooms, and sons help in outside spaces like cleaning the cars or the

backyards. Only a very slight change is observed in husbands' participation at home when they are retired.

Men in the home mainly make the decisions independently. After them, women make the decisions at home, but they do not tend to make decisions together. Home-decisions are for women; economic decision are for men; however, they both make decisions about children. Comparing decision-making in working and non-working women, there is a statistical significant difference; working women make more decisions than non-working women.

Women are still having to ask for husbands' permission to work, so it seems that patriarchal families have not changed that much because of women's labor force participation. Quantitative and qualitative components corroborated Riveiro's findings (2000) that women have to ask to be allowed to work, but also they themselves are often convinced that home is their "natural" place. Men do not participate more in domestic activities even if their wives participate in the labor force. Working women have double journal (workers plus housekeepers) traduced to large hours of work in and out of household. Other studies have found that in Mexico women as mothers and partners and workers are overloaded (Ibrahim et al., 1996). The question is why are they staying in the labor force with this heavy charge? Decision-making is clear evidence of change: working women are making more decisions than non-working women. Decision-making is a significant predictor of the probability of women's participation in the labor force. In future studies it would be interesting to measure if decision-making is more an effect or a consequence of women's participation in the labor force. Do women not participate in the labor force because they are

making decisions, or do women have higher levels of decision-making because they are working outside their households?

Women rejected talking about family income in the survey as well as in the interview. There is an actual environment of distrust in Nuevo Leon given the intense local organized crime of the last several years in this state. Also there is the possibility that those who answered the question were lying, because the variable is very dispersed, and the economic status of the neighborhood makes it impossible to survive on \$100 dollars a month, even with \$800 dollars as it was with one of the mode. Therefore this variable is used only for descriptive purposes.

The second dimension is about personal attributes (i.e., education; labor experience). Becker's assumption that higher levels of education bring higher levels of women's participation in the labor force is corroborated in this study (Parrado & Zenteno, 2000; Garcia & Oliveira, 1994). A statistical test found a significant difference, that working women are more educated than non-working women. There is a positive correlation between years of schooling and salaries in working women; higher wages correlate with higher years of schooling.

In the same dimension (personal attributes) there is a statistical significant difference in labor experience between working and non-working women. Working women have more years of labor experience than non-working women. This could be due to: (1) the participation pattern of continuous work in women's lives and (2) 1 of 4 women have never worked. Qualitative findings corroborate that male opposition is still an obstacle for women's labor force participation (Ribeiro, 2000).

Social capital is the third dimension related to women's labor force participation. Social capital, as a theoretical construct, has been measured at the individual level with the network approach. However, in this case a new approach has been added, dividing social capital into two branches: (1) potential social capital and (2) effective social capital. Potential social capital include networks (women's personal contacts) and the quality of network contacts (education, relationship, years of relationship). Effective social capital is the type of benefit a woman has because of her social ties and the quality of those ties, scored by herself. Social capital as the original approach proposed here, has been measured in both branches, comparing these variables between both groups of working and non-working women. Later these variables are included as the variables in the above three dimensions, in a logistic regression statistical test.

Both qualitative and quantitative components support the idea that family is still the most important institution where individuals find a personal place of trust and moral support. Most of women's contacts are with their relatives. Even if the majority of contacts in women's networks are female, which means that women support themselves, working women mentioned their husbands as their first contact, while non-working women mentioned their sisters more often. Perhaps future studies could measure if trust and confidence inside the family change when women participate in the labor force.

Results indicate that network size and network quality are statistically significant in the logistic regression. Both variables have an influence on women's participation in the labor force. On the other hand, research demonstrates that in any social network there is a limit to benefits according to the resources of the network, so if it is a network with few resources, then just those few resources can be shared with others (Raju, 2004). In this case

there is a network with enough resources, but it seems that women do not use their networks in the sense of effective social capital. Hence, it is important to take into account the economic status when social capital is analyzed in any community. Merely the existence of resources in a network does not mean that they are shared.

Another part of the dimension of social capital includes an active interchange of resources, benefits, and services. Sources of social capital confirm that family is the main important social group, because the majority of women obtain benefits from their relatives. Families in this neighborhood are like little human islands where relationships rarely go from neighbor to friendship. Blood relationship is the most significant tie.

In summary, 4 of the 10 entering variables to the model (labor experience, decision-making, network size and network quality) are statistically significant to predict the likelihood of women's participation in the labor force. This is an important finding about the significant result of potential social capital (network size; network quality). Effective social capital (type of benefits; quality of benefits) is not a predictor of the likelihood of women's participation in the labor force. It is not the actual benefit but the perception of trust and confidence in their network contacts that makes the difference.

Qualitative findings about Mexican culture in this neighborhood could be taking into account future explanations of women's labor force participation. The consideration that social capital is widely used by women, independently of their labor status: social capital is used by everybody to achieve "n" ends.

Rational action in Mexican women in this neighborhood is combined with cultural issues, where traditional ideas of women's participation in the labor force influence their decision to work or not work outside the household. Culture, as a very important source of

social structure together with macro structural approach, have influenced women's decisions about WPLF. Rational action implies a cost-benefit way of thinking. There are not only economic elements, but also cultural elements in this "rational" decision. Cultural images of domination, as well as norms and social practices related to traditional families and WPLF, are still lived by women (Arriagada, 2002).

Triangle family (Ramírez, 1986) and rigidity in familiar roles provoke dependence in women. Traditional beliefs (e.g., marriages are to be maintained at any cost) contribute to dependency and lack of motivation to participate in the labor force. Arriagada's (2002) expected social changes inside families because of women's labor force participation—major autonomy, female economic independence and more equity in division of labor at home—were not found in this neighborhood. To the contrary, dependence and domestic labor division by sex were the constant. Because of the type of neighborhood that was being studied and the fact that the women were of mature ages, a new study of younger women might detect more accurately these expected social changes.

The idea that women are natural caregivers is also another possible culture factor that discourage women's labor force participation. Some changes between generations were observed (e.g., higher participation of third generation men in children's care). Another qualitative finding was that working women had very strong, empowering mothers. Their presence promoted women's participation in the labor force.

Re-enforcing the success of the combined qualitative-quantitative approach, two new circumstances emerged: (1) women who participated in the demanding work of the labor force began the care cycle of their grandchildren and, at the same time (2) many from the third generation of women refused to become participants in the labor force. The main reason

attributed to the latter's lack of participation is that they had suffered from an "absent mother" while they were growing up. Young women now desired to be present for their own children rather than to participate in the labor force. Consequently, in the future, in order to identify these new cultural patterns of social change, research should include intergenerational studies.

Limitations of the Study

Because of efforts to maximize both the internal and external validity, some caution should be exercised in interpreting this study's findings. Representative-ness is the main limitation of this study. Even if random is taken into account in the neighborhood's selection, lack of resources obstruct the possibility to include a random sample for the total of women's population in Monterrey. Therefore, generalization of findings is not possible.

The second factor is related to differences between what was proposed and what was actually found in the concrete neighborhood's situation. For example, it was expected to include women in of diverse ages and to compare women's patterns of participation in the labor force according to the family life cycle's stages proposed by Arriagada, (2002)—initial, in consolidation, and empty nest. Instead, homogeneity, not only in the economic situation but also in shared history of mature women, was found. There were just a few children of ages lower than 12. Therefore, the original hypothesis related to this variable could not be tested.

The increase of criminality at the local level may have been the third factor that influenced women's refusal to answer some questions related to family income. This particular social environment of distrust caused women to sometimes omit names of their

family members, or even to give false names in order to continue answering the survey's questions.

And, finally, even if it was a positive decision argued in the theoretical chapter to divide potential and effective social capital so it could be measured separately, social network approach (potential social capital in this study) had already been strongly supported in previous research. However, it was not the same case of effective social capital whose inclusion was made originally in this study. Therefore, there is work to be done to develop a more accurate measurement for effective social capital in future research.

Implications and Recommendations of the Study

Employment policy is a set of disarticulated programs in Mexico (Martinez & Lopez, 2005). Some of these programs emanate from the social policy as well as the from the economic policy. They are operated by various and sundry public offices. In summary, there is not a special, integrated program to encourage women to participate in the labor force, to give them some support in childcare, or to increase their employability. Women are only subjects when they are landowners in the rural areas. In the urban areas their presence is lost in their family group—they are mothers and housewives, but not workers.

Results of the study demonstrate that women's primary roles in Mexico's families are as caregivers. Working women have few supports to stay in the labor market (e.g., institutions for children and the elderly). Cultural factors intervening in WPLF should be further analyzed, and programs about gender equity need to be stressed, not only in public office, but also in the rest of society. To modify gender inequalities in social structure, "It is necessary to transform other mechanisms where this social inequality is reproduced" (Arriagada, 2002, p. 160), such as social class, ethnic origin or life cycle A society conscious

of inequality in marriage could have a positive effect inside the family. This and other studies (Ibrahim et al., 1996) show working women have double duty in and out of their households, in marriage, salaries, and sharing of domestic labor.

Thanks to a strong social policy supported by the Mexican government, there is a national program oriented to empower women and to decrease gender discrimination. The administrative structure in each state in the country is responsible to operate this program. Initially they were working with public offices' employees, but now they have extended to educational institutions where a solid social change could be started. Human resources formed in gender approach are needed.

Institutional conditions also might be structures that impede WPLF because women are absent in making labor policy. They are only included in universal policies that ignore their actual cultural subordinated conditions, that is, to their husbands at home asking for permission to work and to their employers who assign them to second level positions at work with lower salaries than they pay to men. Some authors refer to "labor market feminization" to express that WPLF has been increased. Women's wages, however, continue to be lower, which in turn affects men's salaries (Horbath, 2001; Maruani, 2002). Future policies are needed to reduce labor inequalities and employers' practices of exploitation.

Derived from this study's findings about potential social capital, community organization in "n" kind of groups might produce a positive effect in WPLF. It is not the obtained benefits, but women's perceptions of trust and confidence in their social contacts, that influence the continuation of WPLF.

Finally, for future research to produce more effective social policy, it is important to consider women's status, socioeconomic, and social group. This is all important because of

the reality of social structure and constraint to individual action. Unyielding conditions form women's ideas and social representations about social phenomena. Garcia and Oliveira's (2003) reference to inequality in uncompromising life conditions might imply different opportunities, different choices that mold human behavior. In this particular study, neighborhood's homogeneity was an obstacle for this type of analysis.

APPENDIX A
SURVEYS IN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

The effect of social capital in women's labor force participation in México: A community in Monterrey

The purpose of this survey is to obtain specific information about women's labor force participation; the personal and social resources that they use, as well as their family description. The target population is women-mothers with spouses/partners, whether or not they are participating in the labor force. Data will be collected in a community in Monterrey City.

Socio-demographic data.

V1. Identify number.

V2. Age.

V3. Marital status.
 1. Married.
 2. Living together / Unmarried

V4. Is your spouse/partner living at home?
 Yes
 No

V5. To support yourself financially, you:
(Write the first three answers)
 1. Participate in the labor force.
 2. Your spouse/partner supports you financially.
 3. A relative or someone else supports you financially.
 4. Receive retirement pension.
 5. Rent your property (family homes or office space).
 6. Spent your savings.
 7. Receive scholarships as a student.
 8. Receive government support.
 9. Other. _____

V6. Do you contribute to the household expenses/utilities?
 1. Yes.
 2. No. —————> **Go to V17.**

II. Work. *If you have a paid-job,*

V7. Your main reason for working is:

1. To contribute with household expenses/utilities.
2. To contribute to your children's well-being.
3. For personal self-esteem.
4. To help my parents.
5. To provide for my personal expenses or needs.
6. Other (s) _____

V8. You have worked:

- Before having children, on a continuous basis.
- Before having children, not on a regular basis.
- After having children, on a continuous basis.
- After having children, not on a regular basis.
- Did not work until children had grown-up.

V9. What kind of paid-job do you have?

- Part-time or half-time.
- Full time.
- Odd jobs/ tasks.
- Other (s) _____

V10. How many hours per day do you regularly work?

M	T	W	Th	F	Sat	S
---	---	---	----	---	-----	---

V10.Total:

V11. How long have you been in your present job?

_____ years. _____ months. _____ weeks.

V12. Your work-place is:

- Outside home (faraway, you travel outside your neighborhood)
- Outside home (near, in your neighborhood)
- At home.

V13. Your occupation is:

Mexican Occupations Classification (CMO2000)

V14. Economic sector of the labor activity:

V15. Your position at work is:

1. Self-employed, employing workers.
2. Self-employed, working alone.
3. Salary employee.
4. Other (s) _____

V16. Who takes care of your children while you are at work?

1. Your husband/partner.
2. Other relatives. Who? (Relationship) _____
3. Friends.
4. Neighbors.
5. A domestic worker.
6. Other (s): _____ Who? _____

V17. What are the main reasons for **not** working? You are:

(Read the options and write the first three answers)

1. Studying.
2. A full-time housewife.
3. Retired or receiving a pension.
4. Too old for working.
5. Rearing/raising children of pre-school age.
6. Rearing/raising children of school age.
7. Not trained or not educated.
8. Unable to find a job (unemployed).

Other: _____

III. Family Organization.

Persons living at home, related to the interviewed woman.

Name	Age	Relation-ship ¹	Education Level ²	Education Years	Does he/she work? 1=Yes, 2=No	Income (Monthly)	Contribution to the household expenses
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							
7.							
V18. Family Income							
V19. Household Income							

V20. Do you receive other financial support from persons who do not live at home?

1. Yes.

2. No → Go to V23

V21. Other monthly income: How much money do you receive from:

1. Retirement.

2. Financial support from family member.

3. Scholarships, property rents and/or bank interests.

4. Government programs.

5. Other (s) _____

Total

V22. Total other income

People residing at home

V23. Children younger than six years old.	
V24. Children between six and twelve years old.	
V25. Children older than 12.	
V26. Total number of residents: <i>Family size</i> .	
V27. Type of family. (1. Nuclear; 2. Extended; 3. Other)	

¹ 1. Interviewed woman; 2. Husband or partner; 3. Daughter/Son; 4. Other relative. 5. Non relative.

² 0. None; 1. Elementary school; 2. Junior high; 3. High school; 4. Teacher's degree; 5. Bachelor; 6. Master.

V28. How many hours per day do you do domestic chores?

M T W Th F S Sn

V29. Total:

V30. How many hours per day do your partner do domestic chores?

M T W Th F S Sn

V31.Total:

V32. Who else in the family does household chores?

1. Daughter (s)
2. Son (s)
3. Mother
4. Father
5. Other relative.
6. Other resident.

V33. Decision-making *Who decides in your family....*

(1 = She; 2 = He; 3 = Parents; 4 = Sons/daughters; 5 = Relatives; 6 = others)

1. If you can or must work? _____
2. How is the money spent in the household? _____
3. What kind of food to buy? _____
4. About giving permissions to the children _____
5. About the education of the children _____
6. About disciplining the children _____
7. About family outings and place to go _____
8. What to do when children get sick _____
9. About buying new furniture? _____
10. About buying a car? _____
11. About moving from house or city _____
12. The schedule for sexual relations _____
13. About how many children to have _____
14. About the use of contraceptive methods _____
15. About who uses the contraceptive method _____

V34. Total Decisions

IV. Human capital.

V35. Women years of school. _____

V36. Women years of labor experience. _____

V. Social networks & Social capital.

A. Social Networks³:

From time to time, most people discuss important matters with other people. Looking back over the last six months, who are the people with whom you have discussed matters important to you?

Name	Gender	Age	Level of education 1. None 2. Elementary 3. Junior high 4. High school 5. Teacher's degree 6. Bachelor 7. Master	Occupation	Position at work 1. Self-employed with workers 2. Self/employed without workers. 3. Employee 4. Other.	Relationship 1. Partner. 2. Son/daughter 3. Father/mother 4. Brother/sister 5. Other relative. 6. Friend 7. Colleague. 8. Neighbor 9. Other	Years of knowing him/her
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							
7.							

V37. Who are they?

V38. How many are they?

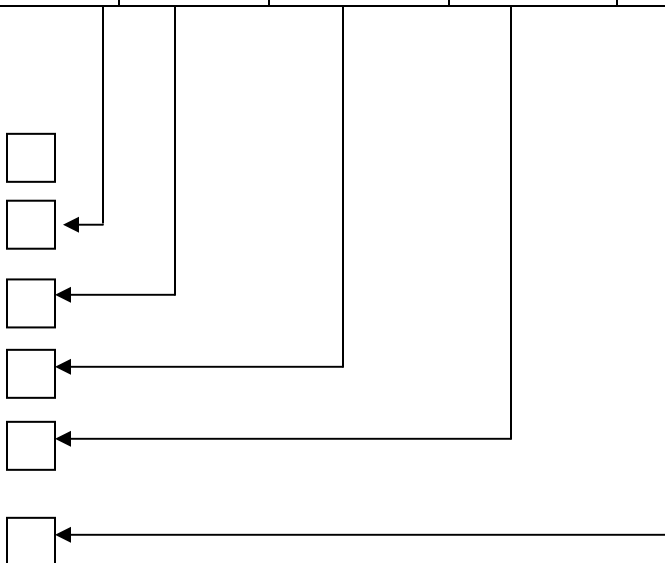
V39. Their education level?

V40. Their occupation?

V41. Their position at work.

V42. Relationship

V43. Years of knowing him/her.



³ Name Generator / Interpreter US General Social Survey on Social Networks

B. Social Capital.*Effective social capital*

Let us talk about those significant persons you have mentioned above. In terms of the kind of support you have received recently, who have supported you in the following situations?

And, if you would have to assign a number from 1-10 (one being the lowest, ten being the highest) according to the support they have given you in your life, how would you rate them?

Support	Relationship <i>1. relative</i> <i>2. friend</i> <i>3. neighbor</i> <i>4. Other</i>	Score 1-10
1. When you were sad, angry or worried.		
2. When you needed money.		
3 When you needed someone to take care of your children		
4 When you needed help with household chores.		
5. When you were looking for a job.		
6. When you have required other support. What other kind of support have you needed?		
	Total Effective Social Capital	

La importancia del capital social en la participación de la mujer como fuerza laboral en el Área Metropolitana de Monterrey

El siguiente instrumento tiene como finalidad obtener información precisa acerca de la participación de la mujer en la fuerza laboral, los recursos sociales y personales que utiliza para ingresar y permanecer en el mercado laboral y la caracterización de la familia a la cual pertenece. La encuesta esta dirigida a mujeres con pareja y con hijos –trabajen o no- que vivan en el Área Metropolitana de Monterrey.

Datos sociodemográficos.

V1. Numero de folio.

V2. Edad.

V3. Estado civil.

3. Casada.

4. Unión libre.

V4. En el hogar vive normalmente su esposo o pareja?

1. Si

2. No

II. Trabajo.

V5. Cómo le hace para sostenerse económicamente?

(Anote las primeras tres respuestas)

10. Trabaja.

11. Le sostiene su pareja.

12. Le sostiene un familiar u otra persona.

13. Recibe pensión por su trabajo.

14. Recibe renta(s) de su(s) casa(s) o ganancias de sus negocios.

15. Tiene ahorros.

16. Está becada.

17. Recibe beneficios o apoyos de programas de gobierno.

18. Otro. _____

V6. Aporta económicamente al hogar?

3. SI _____

4. NO _____

V7. Cuáles son los motivos principales por los que actualmente **no** trabaja?

(Leer opciones y anotar los tres primeros)

- 9. Está estudiando.
 - 10. Se dedica a los quehaceres del hogar.
 - 11. Está pensionada o jubilada.
 - 12. Edad avanzada.
 - 13. Porque tiene hijos en edad maternal.

 - 14. Porque tiene hijos en edad escolar.
 - 15. Porque le faltan conocimientos y habilidades.
 - 16. Porque no encuentra trabajo (está desempleada).
- Otro: _____

Pase a la pregunta V16.

Si trabaja,

V7. Cuáles son los motivos principales por los que usted trabaja?

(Anote las tres primeras respuestas)

- 7. Para ayudar en los gastos del hogar.
- 8. Para el bienestar de mis hijos.
- 9. Por realización personal.
- 10. Para apoyar a mis padres.
- 11. Para mis gastos personales.
- 12. Otro(s) _____

V8. Desde cuándo trabaja? Desde:

- 1. Antes de tener hijos, de forma continuada.
- 2. Antes de tener hijos, de forma discontinua.
- 3. Después de tener hijos, de forma continuada.
- 4. Después de tener hijos, de forma discontinua.
- 5. No trabajó hasta que sus hijos fueron mayores.
- 6. Otro (s) _____

V9. Que tipo de trabajo pagado tiene?

- 1. De tiempo completo.
- 2. De tiempo parcial o medio tiempo.
- 3. Por tarea o pedido. (A destajo).
- 4. Otro(s) cuáles? _____

V10. Regularmente, ¿cuántas horas trabaja cada día de la semana?

L M M J V S D

V10.Total:

V11. Cuánto tiempo tiene de antigüedad en su trabajo actual?

_____ años _____ meses _____ semanas

V12. Dónde trabaja?

1. Fuera del hogar (hay traslado mas allá del barrio o colonia)
2. Cerca del hogar (en el mismo barrio o colonia)
3. Dentro del hogar.
4. Otro (s) cuáles? _____

V13. Ocupación. Cuál es el nombre del oficio, puesto o cargo en su trabajo principal? (*Clasificación Mexicana de Ocupaciones CMO2000*).

(*Sector económico de actividad laboral*) V14

V15. Cuál es la posición que ocupa en su trabajo? (*Leer las opciones*)

5. Autoempleada con trabajadores a su cargo.
6. Autoempleada sin trabajadores a su cargo.
7. Empleada a sueldo o salario.
8. Otro(s) cuál(es)? _____

V16 Quién cuida diariamente a sus hijos mientras usted trabaja?

1. La pareja.
2. Otros familiares. Quiénes? _____
3. Amigos.
4. Vecinos.
5. Empleada doméstica.
6. Otros. Quiénes? _____

III. Organización Familiar.

Personas en el hogar y relación con la entrevistada.

Nombre	Edad	Parentesco ⁴	Estudio Nivel ⁵	Estudio Año s	Trabaja? 1=SI, 2=NO	Sueldo Mensual	Aportación \$ al hogar
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							
7.							

V18. Sueldo Familiar

V. 19 Ingreso Hogar

V20. En el hogar se recibe apoyo económico de otras personas que no vivan aquí?

7. Si

8. No → Pase a la V23

V21. Qué otros ingresos o apoyos económicos recibe?

Si recibe ingresos o ayuda por:

6. Pensión o jubilación

7. Ayuda de familiares.

8. Becas, rentas e intereses bancarios.

9. Beneficios o apoyos de programas de gobierno

10. Otros. _____

Cuánto?

V22. Total otros ingresos

Total de residentes y tipo de hogar

V23. Número de residentes menores de 6 años.	
V24. Número de residentes de 6 a 12 años.	
V25. Número de residentes mayores de 12 años.	
V26. Total de residentes: <i>Tamaño de familia.</i>	
V27. Tipo de hogar. (1. Nuclear; 2. Extenso; 3. Otros)	

⁴ 1. Mujer entrevistada; 2. Esposo o compañero; 3. Hijo (a); 4. Otro parentesco. 5. No tiene parentesco.

⁵ 0. Ninguno; 1. Primaria; 2. Secundaria; 3. Preparatoria; 4. Normal básica; 5. Profesional; 6. Posgrado.

V28. Regularmente, ¿cuántas horas dedica diariamente a las labores domésticas?

L M M J V S D

V29. Total:

V30. Regularmente, ¿cuántas horas dedica su pareja diariamente a las labores Domésticas?

L M M J V S D

V31.Total:

V32. Quién(es) de las demás personas que viven en el hogar le apoya(n) **más** con las labores domésticas?

7. Hija (s)
8. Hijo (s)
9. Madre
10. Padre
11. Otro familiar.
12. Otro residente.

V33. Toma de decisiones Quien decide en el hogar...

V34. Total Decisione

(1 = Ella; 2 = El; 3 = Padres; 4 = Hijos; 5 = Familiares; 6 = Otros)

16. Si usted debe o puede trabajar? _____
17. Cómo se gasta o economiza el dinero de este hogar? _____
18. Qué se compra para la comida? _____
19. Sobre los permisos de los hijos (as) _____
20. Sobre la educación de los hijos (as) _____
21. Sobre la disciplina de los hijos _____
22. Si se sale de paseo y a donde _____
23. Qué hacer cuando los hijos se enferman? _____
24. Sobre comprar muebles o electrodomésticos? _____
25. Sobre comprar coche? _____
26. Sobre cambiarse o mudarse de casa y/o ciudad? _____
27. Cuándo tener relaciones sexuales? _____
28. Cuántos hijos tener? _____
29. Si se usan anticonceptivos? _____
30. Quién debe usar los métodos anticonceptivos? _____

IV. Capital Humano.

V35. Años de escolaridad de la entrevistada: _____

V36. Años de experiencia laboral de la entrevistada _____

V. Redes Sociales⁶ & Capital Social.

V.1. Redes Sociales

Las personas conversamos sobre asuntos importantes con quiénes tenemos confianza y cercanía. En los últimos seis meses, con quienes platicó, compartió o pidió consejo sobre asuntos importantes para usted? Mencíónelos por su primer nombre.

Nombre	Sexo	Edad	Nivel educativo 1. Ninguno 2. Primaria 3. Secundaria 4. Preparatoria 5. Normal básica 6. Licenciatura 7. Posgrado	Ocupación	Posición en el trabajo 1. Autoempleado con trabajadores. 2. Autoempleado sin trabajadores. 3. Empleado	Conexión con usted 1. Pareja. 2. Hijo(a) 3. Padre/madre 4. Hermano(a) 5. Otro pariente. 6. Amigo(a) 7. Compañero de trabajo. 8. Vecino 9. Otro	Tiempo de conocerlo
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							
6.							
7.							

V37. Quiénes son?

V38. Cuántos son?

V39. Qué nivel educativo tienen?

V40. Que ocupación tienen?

V41. Su posición en el trabajo

V42. Relación

V43. Tiempo de conocerlos.

⁶ Name Generator / Interpreter US General Social Survey on Social Networks

V.2 Capital Social Efectivo:

Uso del capital social: Que tipo de bienes y servicios reciben las mujeres que trabajan de parte de sus amistades, familiares, compañeros de trabajo, vecinos?

- Si hablamos de las **personas importantes** en su vida que ya mencionó anteriormente, en términos del **tipo de apoyos** (V44) que ha recibido recientemente **quien** (es) (V45) le ha (n) ayudado:

V. 48 Y si tuviera que asignar un número del 1-10 a cada persona, relacionándolo con el tipo de apoyo recibido, cómo los calificaría?

Apoyo	Main source (significant contact)	Score 1-10
1. Cuando usted está triste, enojada o preocupada.		
2. Cuando usted necesita dinero.		
3 Cuando necesita que le cuiden a los niños.		
4 Cuando necesita apoyo en labores domésticas.		
5. Cuando ha buscado trabajo.		
6. Cuando ha requerido <i>otros</i> apoyos. Cuáles han sido?		
	V 49. Total	

EL CAPITAL SOCIAL Y LOS FACTORES CULTURALES

La siguiente guía de entrevista será utilizada como complemento a una encuesta que se aplicará a 225 mujeres en una colonia de Monterrey. Ambos instrumentos tienen como finalidad obtener información precisa acerca de la participación de la mujer en la fuerza laboral y los recursos sociales y personales que utiliza para ingresar y permanecer en el mercado laboral.

Una guía de entrevista enlista los tópicos que el entrevistador deberá cubrir (Rubin, 2000:406); esto asegura el contenido obligado para todos los encuestadores, aunque el orden y la secuencia no sean los mismos, puesto que el objetivo es permitir el libre flujo de ideas del entrevistado. Por otro lado, las preguntas abiertas, de acuerdo con Kerlinger (1986:633) son flexibles, tienen la posibilidad de profundizar y producen mejores estimados de las verdaderas intenciones, creencias y actitudes de los entrevistados. Además, considera Hernández Sampieri (1998:281), que las preguntas abiertas sirven en situaciones –como es el caso- donde se desea profundizar una opinión o los motivos de un comportamiento.

En particular, con las siguientes preguntas se busca la profundización del tema vía las propias voces de las entrevistadas, quienes aportarán información de los motivos, significados e imágenes que tienen sobre el hecho de participar o no en la fuerza laboral; además vía sus palabras se describirán –para una mejor comprensión- algunos procesos como la distribución del trabajo doméstico y la toma de decisiones, que se llevan a cabo al interior de los hogares; y, finalmente se identificarán algunos rasgos distintivos del capital social como los lazos sociales significativos, la confianza y reciprocidad y los beneficios obtenidos.

*El efecto del capital social en la participación de la mujer en la fuerza
laboral en México: una colonia de Monterrey*

CUESTIONARIO

- V7 Cuál es el motivo principal por el que usted **trabaja**?
- Qué significa para usted el trabajo?
 - Cuáles son las *ventajas* que tiene una mujer que trabaja?
 - Cuáles son las *desventajas*?
 - Qué apoyos considera usted que requiere una mujer que trabaja?
 - Qué imagen tiene usted de una mujer que no trabaja?
 - Qué imagen tiene usted de una mujer que trabaja fuera del hogar?
- V16 Cuál es el motivo principal por el que usted **no trabaja** fuera del hogar?
- Qué requeriría para poder hacerlo?
 - Que imagen tiene usted de una mujer que trabaja?
 - Cuáles son las *ventajas* de una mujer que no trabaja frente a una que sí lo hace?
 - Cuáles son las *desventajas* de una mujer que no trabaja frente a una que sí lo hace?
- V30. Cómo se distribuyen el **trabajo del hogar** al interior de la familia?
- Quién hace o ayuda en qué?
- V31. Cómo se realiza la **toma de decisiones** al interior del hogar?
- Cuáles son las decisiones que se consideran importantes en la familia?
 - Quién las toma y por qué?
 - Las toma siempre la misma persona?
 - Quiénes más toman decisiones en el hogar? Cuáles decisiones?
 - Hay personas fuera de la familia que influyen en las decisiones que se toman en el hogar? Quiénes son? En que tipo de decisiones participan?
- V33. **Años de experiencia laboral.**
- Ha trabajado de manera continua?
 - Ha tenido entradas y salidas del mercado laboral?
 - En qué períodos y por qué circunstancias dejó de trabajar?
 - Si nunca trabajó fuera del hogar, por qué no lo hizo?
- V35-39. **Capital social potencial.**
- Quiénes considera usted que son personas significativas en su vida?
 - Familiares? Amigos? Vecinos?
 - Por qué son importantes para usted?
 - Considera que también ellos la mencionarían como contacto significativo? Por qué?
 - Considera que las personas que la han apoyado esperan retribución de su parte?
 - Qué y cuándo?

V40-45. **Capital social efectivo:**

Cuáles son los apoyos que la mujer considera de mayor importancia en su vida?

Por qué? De quién (es) los recibe?

Cómo corresponde o retribuye a quienes la apoyan?

Ayuda ella a otras personas que no sean sus contactos significativos?

A quienes ayuda, cómo, con qué y cada cuándo? Espera retribución de ellos?

Qué es lo que espera?

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND CULTURAL FACTORS

The next questions are considered complement to the survey. They will be answered by 20 women selected among the sample. The objective is to obtain information about women, their social networks and their social resources. Women will be asked to talk about their reasons, images and meanings about their participation –or not- in the labor force. Furthermore, the comprehension about some issues such as the distribution of domestic activities and decision-making inside the households; and finally, some distinctive cultural characteristics will be identify.

QUESTIONNAIRE

V7 What is your main reason for **working**?

What does work means to you?

What are the advantages of working?

What are the disadvantages of working?

What type of support do you think a woman need to work?

What is the image do you have of a woman that does not work?

What is the image do you have of women who work outside home?

V16 Which is your main reason for **not working** outside home?

What would you need to work outside the home?

What is the image do you have of a woman that does not work?

What is the image do you have of women who work outside home?

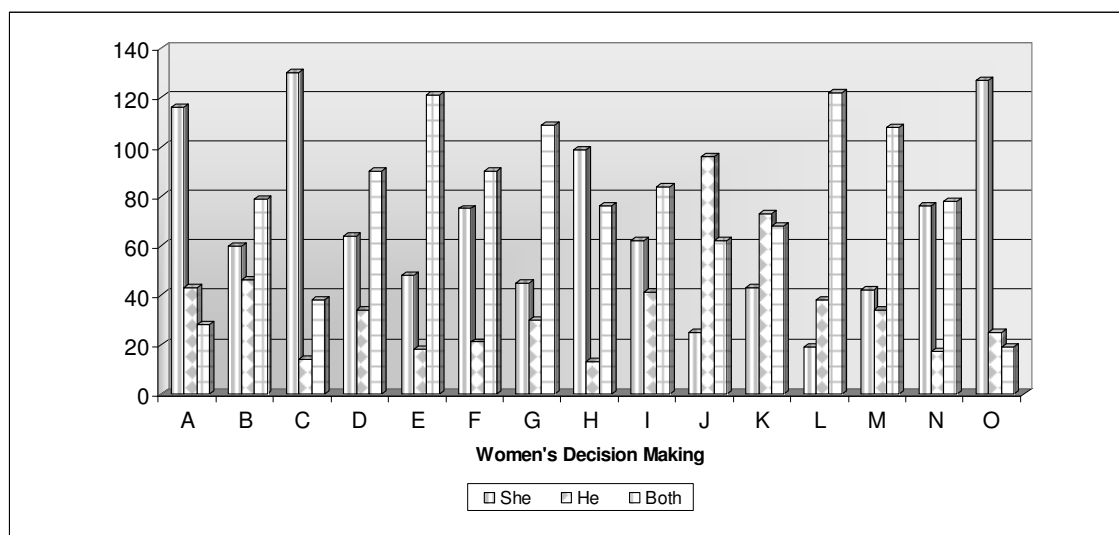
What are the advantages for a woman that works versus a woman that does not work?

What are the disadvantages for a woman that works versus a woman that does not?

V30. How the **domestic work** in your household is distributed?Who does what?

- V31. How **decisions** are made at home?
What type of decisions do you consider important in your home?
Who makes the decisions at home and why?
Does the same person make the decisions?
Who else make decisions at home? Which decisions?
Are there any people outside the family who influence in the home decision-making?
Who are they? In which kind of decisions do they participate?
- V33. **Years of work experience.**
Have you worked continuously?
Have you stop participating in the labor market?
When and why did you stop working?
If you never worked outside your home, why you did not?
- V35-39. **Potencial social capital.**
Who are your significant contacts? Are they family, friends, and neighbors?
Why are they important to you?
Do you think they also would consider you as important? Why?
Do you think people who have support you are waiting for a reward?
What and when?
- V40-45. **Effective social capital.**
What do you consider are the most important supports in your life? Why?
From whom do you receive them?
How do you correspond to those who support you?
Do you help other people that are not your main contacts? Who do you help?
With what and how often?
Do you expect any retribution from them? What do you expect?
-

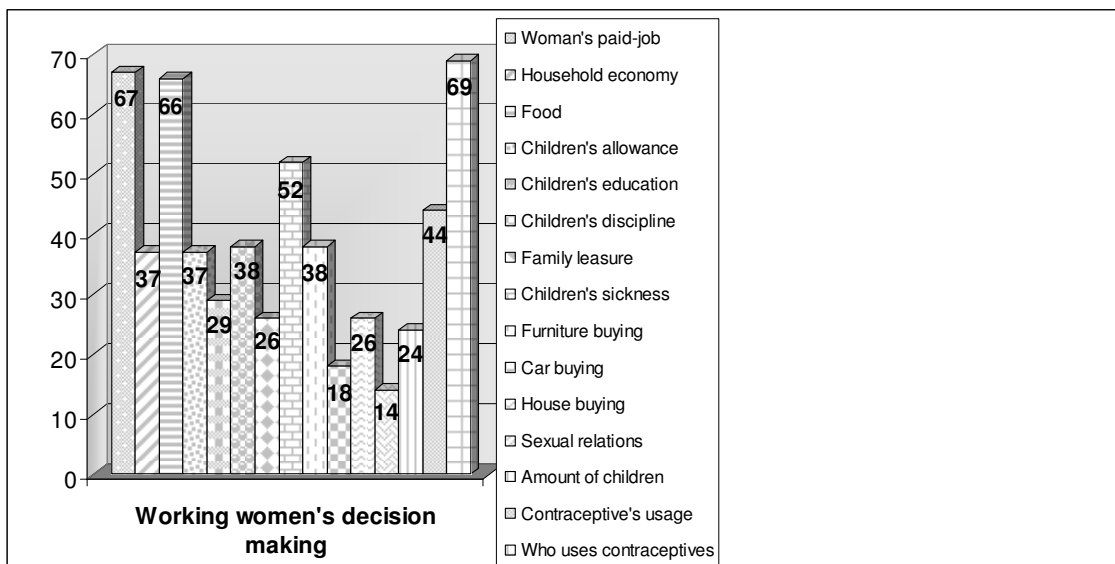
APPENDIX B
GRAPHICS



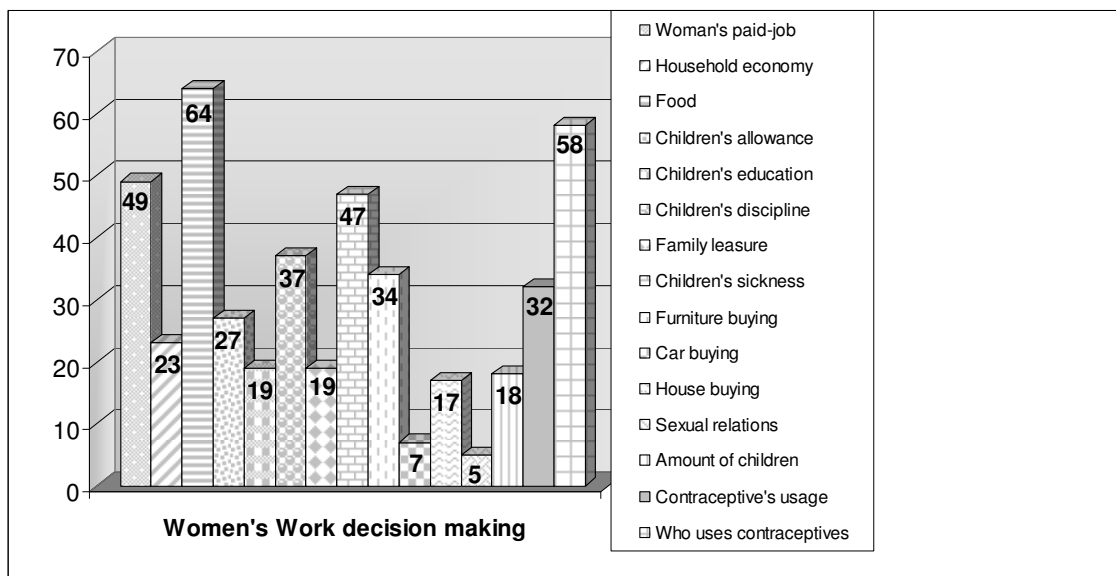
Graphic 1. Decision making (total sample).

Decisions about:

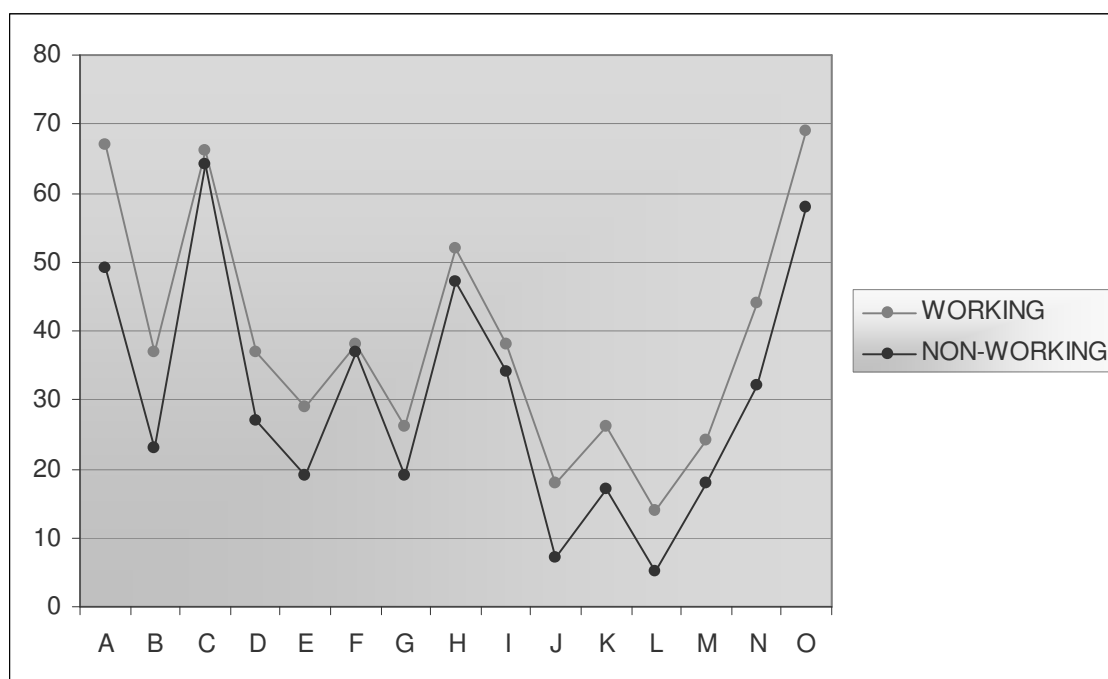
- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| A. Women's work. | I. Furniture buying. |
| B. Household economy. | J. Car buying. |
| C. Food. | K. House buying. |
| D. Children's allowance. | L. Sexual relations. |
| E. Children's education. | M. Amount of children. |
| F. Children's discipline. | N. Contraceptive's usage. |
| G. Family leisure. | O. Who uses contraceptives. |
| H. Children's sickness. | |



Graphic 2. Working women's decision-making.



Graphic 3. Non-working women's decision-making.



Graphic 4. Decision making (both groups).

Decisions about:

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| A. Women's work. | I. Furniture buying. |
| B. Household economy. | J. Car buying. |
| C. Food. | K. House buying. |
| D. Children's allowance. | L. Sexual relations. |
| E. Children's education. | M. Amount of children. |
| F. Children's discipline. | N. Contraceptive's usage. |
| G. Family leisure. | O. Who uses contraceptives. |
| H. Children's sickness. | |

REFERENCES

- Abreg, M. (2000). Putnam's social capital theory goes east: A case study of western Ukraine and L'viv. *Europe-Asian Studies*, 52(2), 295-317.
- Aguilera, M. B. (1999). *The labor market outcomes of undocumented and documented immigrants: A social capital and human capital comparison*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of New York at Stony Brook.
- Alonso, L. E. (1998). *La mirada cualitativa en sociología: una aproximación interpretativa*. Madrid, Spain: Fundamentos.
- Álvarez-Gayou Jurgenson, J. L. (2006). *Cómo hacer investigación cualitativa*. México: Paidós.
- Arriagada, I. (2002, Agosto). Cambios y desigualdad en las familias latinoamericanas. *Revista de la CEPAL*, 77, 143-161.
- Barba Solano, C., & Pozos, F. (2003). La calidad del empleo regional: un mecanismo para superar la pobreza? *Papeles de Población*, 38, 195-213. CUEAO/UAEM. Mexico.
- Baruch, R. R. (2003). *Tasas de retorno en los sectores formal-informal en México, 1987-2000*. Trabajo presentado en el Cuarto Congreso Nacional de Estudios del Trabajo. STPS.
- Barvieri, P. (2003). Social capital and self-employment. A network analysis experiment and several considerations. *International Sociology*, 18(4), 681-701.

- Becker, G. (1964). *Human capital. A theoretical and empirical analysis, with special reference to education: National Bureau of Economic Research*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bernstein, H. (1971). Modernization theory and the sociological study of development. *Journal of Development Studies*, 7, 141-160.
- Blanco, M., & Pacheco, E. (2003). *Entrelazamiento de trayectorias laborales y vida familiar de mujeres urbanas*. IV Congreso Nacional de Estudios del Trabajo. Sonora, México: Hermosillo.
- Boltvinik, J. (2003). Conceptos y métodos para el estudio de la pobreza, en revista. *Comercio Exterior*, 53(5). México: Banco Nacional de Comercio Exterior.
- Bourdieu, P. (1985). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood.
- Brown, P. et al. (2003). Employability in a knowledge-driven Economy. *Journal of Education and Work*, 16(2), UK: Calfax.
- Bynner, J., & Parsons, S. (2001). Qualifications, basic skills and accelerating social exclusion. *Journal of Education and Work*, 14(3).
- Caballero, M. (2001). Abuelas, madres, nietas: Generaciones y vida laboral en el México urbano. En J. A. Cooper (Ed.), *Esto es cosa de hombres? Trabajo, género y cambio social. Cuadernos de Investigación*. UNAM.
- CEPAL. (2003). Capital social y reducción de la pobreza en América Latina y el Caribe: En *Busca de un nuevo paradigma*. Santiago de Chile: Naciones Unidas.
- Chadi, M. (2000). *Redes sociales en el trabajo social*. Buenos Aires: Espacio Editorial.

- Clayton, K. (1986). *Premarital factors influencing labor-force participation of young married women*. Masters dissertation, The University of Texas at Arlington.
- Coleman, J. S. (1988). Social capital in the creation of human capital. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 95-120. Retrieved from the Internet March 22, 2005 <http://www.jstor.org/view/00029602/dm992703/99p0163q/0?>
- CONAPO. (2000). *México en cifras. Indices de Marginacion 2000*. Retrieved June 6, 2006 from <http://www.conapo.gob.mx/00cifrs/2000.htm>
- Cranwell, M. R., & Kilodinsky, J. (2002). The impact of microenterprise on low-income Vermonters building social and human capital to work towards economic self-sufficiency. *Consumer Interests Annual*, 48.
- Crockett, L. J. (2002). *Agency in the life course: Concepts and processes*. University of Nebraska-Lincoln.
- Dabas, E., & Najmanovich, D. (Compiladoras). (1995). *Redes: El lenguaje de los vínculos. Hacia la reconstrucción y el fortalecimiento de la sociedad civil*. Buenos Aires, Argentina: Paidós.
- Deslauriers, J. P. (1991). Recherche qualitative. En E López Estrada (Ed.), *Traducción* (pp. 33-40). Montreal: Mc Graw Hill.
- Ecclestone, K., & Field, J. (2003). Promoting social capital in a "risk society": A new approach to emancipator learning or a new moral authoritarianism? *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 24(3).
- Elder, S., & Schmidt, D. (2004). *Global employment trends for women*. Retrieved May 3, 2006 at www.ilo.org/trends. Geneva: ILO.

- Ferguson, K. M. (2003). *Child labor and social capital in the mezzo system: In search of family-and community-based risk and protective factors for street-working children*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Texas at Arlington.
- Frisbie W., & Poston, D. (1978). *Sustenance organization and migration in non-metropolitan America*. Iowa. University of Iowa Press.
- Folbre, N. (1994). *Who pays for the kids?: Gender and structures of constraints*. New York: Routledge.
- Folbre, N. (1996). *The economics of the family*. Cheltenham, UK: E. Elgar.
- Folbre, N. (1997). The future of the elephant-bird. *Population and Development Review*, 23, 647-654.
- Franke, S. (2005). *Measurement of social capital. Reference document for public policy research, development, and evaluation*. Canada: PRI Project.
- Gadea Montesinos, E. (2005). *Las políticas de participación ciudadana: Nuevas formas de relación entre la administración pública y la ciudadanía*. El caso de la ciudad de Valencia y su Área Metropolitana. Tesis doctoral. Universidad de Valencia.
- García, B., y de Oliveira, O. (1994). *Trabajo femenino y vida familiar en México*. El Colegio de México.
- García, B., y de Oliveira, O. (2003). Trabajo extradoméstico y relaciones de género: Una nueva mirada, ponencia presentada en el Seminario Internacional. *Género, familias y trabajo: rupturas y continuidades*. Montevideo 10 y 11 de Abril de 2003.
- Geertz, C. (2000). *La interpretación de las culturas*. España. Gedisa Editorial. 10ª. Reimpresión.
- GET. (2004). *Global employment trends*. Geneva: ILO www.ilo.org/trends.

- Ghai, D. (Ed.). (1999). *Social development and public policy: Study of some successful experiences*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. University of California Press.
- Gobierno de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos (en línea). Plan Nacional de Desarrollo 2000-2006. <http://pnd.presidencia.gob.mx/index.php?idseccion=32>. (página consultada el 23 de abril de 2004).
- Gobierno de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos. (2002) (en línea). Segundo Informe de Ejecución 2002. Septiembre de 2002. <http://nt.presidencia.gob.mx/Informes/2002Fox2/website/cfm/index.cfm>. (página consultada el 3 de mayo de 2004. México.
- Heemskerk, M. (2003). Self-employment and poverty alleviation: Women's work in artisanal gold mines. *Human Organization*, 62(1).
- Hernández Sampieri, R. (1999). *Metodología de la Investigación*. México. Mc Graw Hill.
- Hoffman, K., & Centeno, M. (2003). The lopsided continent: Inequality in Latin America. *Annual Review Sociology*, 29, 363-90.
- Horbath, J. E. (2001). Los determinantes de la vulnerabilidad laboral entre hombres y mujeres después de la crisis de 1995: Un análisis de la perspectiva de género. En J. A. Cooper (Ed.), *Esto es cosa de hombres? Trabajo, género y cambio social*. UNAM: Cuadernos de Investigación.

Ibrahim, M. et al. (1996). Employed Mexican women as mothers and partners: Valued, empowered and overloaded. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 23, 82-90.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática. (2000). *Science Áreas Conurbadas*. CD.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática (en línea) México Hoy (2003). http://www.inegi.go.mx/prod_serv/contenidos. Retrieved on June 6, 2005.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática. (en línea) A) Encuesta Nacional de Empleo. 2003. <http://www.inegi.gob.mx/est/contenidos/espanol/tematicos/coyuntura/coyuntura>. (página consultada el 25 de abril de 2004)

Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática (2004). B) Encuesta Nacional de Empleo 2004. Retrieved on May 1, 2005.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática (2004) (en línea) C) Encuesta Nacional sobre la Dinámica de las Relaciones en los Hogares. Características Metodológicas. Página consultada en Mayo 7 de 2005.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística Geografía e Informática (2006). II. Censo de Población y Vivienda 2005. <http://www.inegi.gob.mx/est/default.asp?c=6224>. Retrieved on May 25, 2006.

Ish-Solom, P. (2006). Theory gets real, and the case for a normative ethic: Rostow, Modernization Theory, and the Alliance for Progress. *International Studies Quarterly*, 50, 287-311.

- Johansen-Holt, C. (1993). *Women in developing nations: Determinants of women's representation in economic sectors*. Masters Dissertation, The university of Texas at Arlington.
- Lamba, N. K. (2003). The employment experiences of Canadian refugees: Measuring the impact of human and social capital on quality of employment. *CRSA/RCA* 40(1), 45-64.
- Livingston G., & Massey, D. (2003). *Does membership have its privileges? Gender, social capital and employment outcomes among Mexican immigrants*. Unpublished dissertation.
- Lockhart, W. H. (2005). Building bridges and bonds: Generating social capital in secular and faith-based poverty-to-work programs. *Sociology of Religion*, 66(1) 45-60.
- Lohr, S. L. (2000). *Muestreo*. Madrid, España: International Thomson Editors.
- Lomnitz, L. A. (1984). *Como sobreviven los marginados?* Mexico: Siglo XXI.
- Lustig, N. C., y Székeli, M. (1998). México: Evolución económica, pobreza y desigualdad. Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo. En *Política macroeconómica y pobreza en América Latina y el Caribe*. España: Mundi-Prensa.
- Malinowski, B. (1970). *Una teoría científica de la cultura y otros ensayos*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana.
- Martínez, M. N. (2004). La mujer en las políticas públicas de México. *Reforma*, 38, UANL.
- Martínez, M. N., y López Estrada, R. E. (2005). La política de empleo en México. *Pobreza, empleo y participación ciudadana: aportes para la política social*. Raúl Eduardo López Estrada, et. al. Coord. UANL. Monterrey, México.

- Martínez, M. N. y López, E. (2006). *La participación de la mujer en la fuerza laboral en México y la toma de decisiones al interior de los hogares*. Ponencia presentada en el III Coloquio Internacional sobre Políticas Sociales. Sectoriales. UANL. Monterrey, México. Agosto de 2006.
- Maruani, M. (2002). *Trabajo y el empleo de las mujeres*. Madrid. Editorial Fundamentos.
- Marx, K. (1987) *El Capital*. Tomo 1. Vol. 1. (16th Ed.) Siglo XXI Ed. México.
- Mayer, M., Rankin, K. N. (2002). *Social capital and (community) development: A north/south perspective*. Editorial Board of Antipode. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Molina, J. L. (2001). *El análisis de redes sociales. Una introducción*. España. Ed. Bellaterra.
- Nanda, S. (1980). *Antropología cultural: Adaptaciones socioculturales*. New York: Wadsworth Internacional/Iberoamerica.
- Narayan D., & Michael F. (2001). A dimensional approach to measuring social capital: development and validation of a social capital inventory. *Current Sociology*, 49(2) 59-102.
- Norwood, R. S. (2001). *Social capital and employment opportunities in urban areas*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Pennsylvania State University.
- O. Martínez María Eugenia de la. (2000). Flexibilidad, trabajo y mujeres. *Región y Sociedad*. 12(19), 83-120.
- Oliveira, O. (1997). Multiple analytic perspectives on women's labor in Latin America. *Curr. Sociol./ Sociol. Contemp*, 45(1), 109-119.
- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). (2001). *The wellbeing of nations: The role of human and social capital*. France.

- Parrada, E., & Zenteno R. (2001) Economic restructuring, financial crisis, and women's work in Mexico. *Social Problems*, 48(4), 456.
- Pedrero, M. (2003). Las condiciones de trabajo en los años noventa en México. Las mujeres y los hombres: ganaron o perdieron? *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, 65(4), 744-61.
- Peña Medina, S. (2003). Política económica de ajuste estructural y oferta de trabajo en México. Noésis: Nueva Época. *Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades*, 13(25), 45-67. Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez.
- Pillai, V. J., & Guang-zhen Wang (1999). *Women's reproductive rights in developing countries*. Brookfielt, VT: Aldershot, Hans, England.
- Pitkin, K., & Bedoya, R. (1997). Women's multiple roles in economic crisis. *Latin American Perspectives*, 95(24) 34-39.
- Portes, A. (1998). Social capital: its origins and applications in modern Sociology. *Annu. Rev. Sociol*, 24, 1-24.
- _____. (2000). The two meanings of social capital. *Sociological Forum*, 15(1) 1-11.
- Portes, A., & Landolt, P. (2000). Social capital: promise and pitfalls of its role in development. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 32, 529-547.
- Preston, R., & Dyer, C. (2003). Human capital, social capital and lifelong learning. *Compare*, 33(4).
- Putnam, R. (1995). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. *Journal of Democracy*, 6(1), 65-78.
- Raju, J. (2004). *Social capital and poverty of the wage-labour class: Problems with the social capital theory*. University of Dundee.

- Ramírez, S.. (1986). *Infancia es destino* (9ª. ed.). México. Siglo XXI.
- Rankin, K. N. (2002). Social capital, microfinance, and the politics of development. *Feminist Economics*, 8(1), 1-24.
- Rexroat, C. (1985). Women's work expectations and labor-market experience in early and middle family life-cycle stages. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 131-141.
- Ribeiro, M. (2000). Modernization, female employment and changes in the Mexican family. *Social Work and Globalization*, 2, 105-122.
- Ribeiro Ferreira, M. (2004). Relaciones de Género: equilibrio entre las responsabilidades familiares y profesionales. *Papeles de Población Año*, 10(39). México: UAEM.
- Salas, C. (2002) Mexico's haves and have-nots: NAFTA sharpens the divide. *Report on Post Cold War Latin America*, 35(4), 32-35.
- Salles, V., y Turan, R. (Eds.). (2000). Cargan las mujeres con el peso de la pobreza? En Maria de la Paz López y Vania Salles, *Familia, genero y pobreza*. Compil. Grupo interdisciplinario sobre mujer, trabajo y pobreza. México
- Schuller, T. (2000). Social and human capital: The search for appropriate technomethodology. *Policy Studies*, 21(1), 25-35.
- Sills, D. (Ed.) (1968). *International encyclopedia of the social sciences*. New York. McMillan & Free Press.
- Sluzki, C. E. (1998). *La red social: frontera de la práctica sistémica*. Barcelona, España: Gedisa.
- Solis Zuiker, V. et al. (2003). Hispanic self-employment: Does gender matter? *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 25(1).

- Strauss & Corbin. (1990). *Basics of qualitative research grounded theory procedures and technique*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Steward, J. H. (1967). *Contemporary change in traditional societies*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Tabachnick, B., & Fidell, L. S. (2000). *Using multivariate statistics* (4th ed.). Allyn & Bacon.
- Valle, T. (coord.) (2002) *Modelos emergentes en los sistemas y las relaciones de género*. España: Narcea Ed.
- Van Velsor, E., & O'Rand, A. M. (1984). Family life cycle, work career patterns, and women's wages at midlife. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 365-373.
- Veeder, N. W. (1992). *Women's decision-making. Common themes... Irish Voices*. Westport, CN: Praeger.
- Walters, W. (2002). Social capital and political sociology: re-imagining politics? *Sociology*, 36(2),
- Ward, J. (1997). *Latin America development and conflict since 1945*. New York: Routledge.
- Warren, D. I. (1981). *Helping networks. How people cope with problems in the urban community*. University of Notre Dame
- Woolcock, M. (2001). Microenterprise and social capital: a framework for theory, research, and policy. *Journal of Socio-Economics*, 30, 193-198.
- Young, C. M. (1978). Work sequences of women during the family life cycle. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 401-411.
- Zhao, Y. (2002). Measuring the social capital of laid-off Chinese workers. *Current Sociology*, 50(4), 555-571.

BIOGRAPHICAL STATEMENT

María Luisa Martínez Sánchez was awarded the Ph.D. degree jointly from the University of Texas at Arlington and The Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León in December 2007. She received a masters in methodology of science (1995) and a masters in labor psychology (1998) from the same university. Her undergraduate degree in sociology was obtained at the Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, in México in 1992.

Dr. Martínez Sánchez is currently a professor in the Sociology College in Filosofía y Letras School at the Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León. Her areas of specialty include topics in sociology of work, employment, women and labor competences. Her experience is both academic and practical in several national industries in Mexico.