

showed. Most men and women continued to view the woman's proper place as being in the home. Despite this, or perhaps because of this, in 1972 only 22.7 percent of women in Cuba were employed, an increase of 5 percent since 1969. In contrast, 54 percent of Cuban exile women in the U.S. were employed. Revolutionary exhortations probably helped women in Cuba to decide to leave home for the workplace, but Cuban exile women who were better educated and had experienced the personal travail of being uprooted were much more willing to go against tradition.

While incorporation of women into the workforce was one government policy which affected women, another which had far-reaching consequences for women was the emphasis upon education. Fifty-six percent of those who learned to read during the literacy campaign were women. Women were encouraged to apply for educational programs formerly seen as male areas of study: science, medicine, engineering, and technical areas. This change meant that as women entered the labor force, they were no longer concentrated in domestic services. Increasingly over the decades, women moved into professional positions, including medicine, technical areas, and management. As a consequence, in 2000 Cuba's representative reported to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women that

"women's employment in the civil-State sector had risen from 42.3 per cent in 1995 to 43.6 per cent in 1999. Moreover, in some middle- and higher-level job categories (that is, technical and professional),

women's employment had risen from 63.8 per cent in 1995 to 66.1 per cent in 1999. She also noted that the participation of women in decision-making had increased from 29.8 per cent in 1995 to 32.3 per cent in 1999. She stressed the qualitative and quantitative improvement of women's participation in Parliament, where women represented 27.6 per cent in comparison to the 1993-1998 period when women accounted for 22.8 per cent."²⁰

With the movement of more women into paying jobs, conflicts began to develop within families. Men expected their wives to continue their traditional roles in the family when they returned from work. This "double shift" was a heavy burden for women, causing many to quit their employment or not to consider working outside the home at all. The FMC brought the issue to the government, so that in 1974 a new Family Code was enacted. The code recognizes the impossibility of women doing the double shift. In the new code, wives are recognized as coequal with their husbands, with each having the right to personal development and to employment. Both are responsible for the upbringing of their children. The implementation of the law proved difficult, however, for it attempted to change Cuban customs which were deeply imbedded in the culture. The code is more the statement of an ideal than a reality, but it points the direction in which the government wants family relationships to move.

Part of the code is the Law of Maternity, which defines a working woman's rights and the